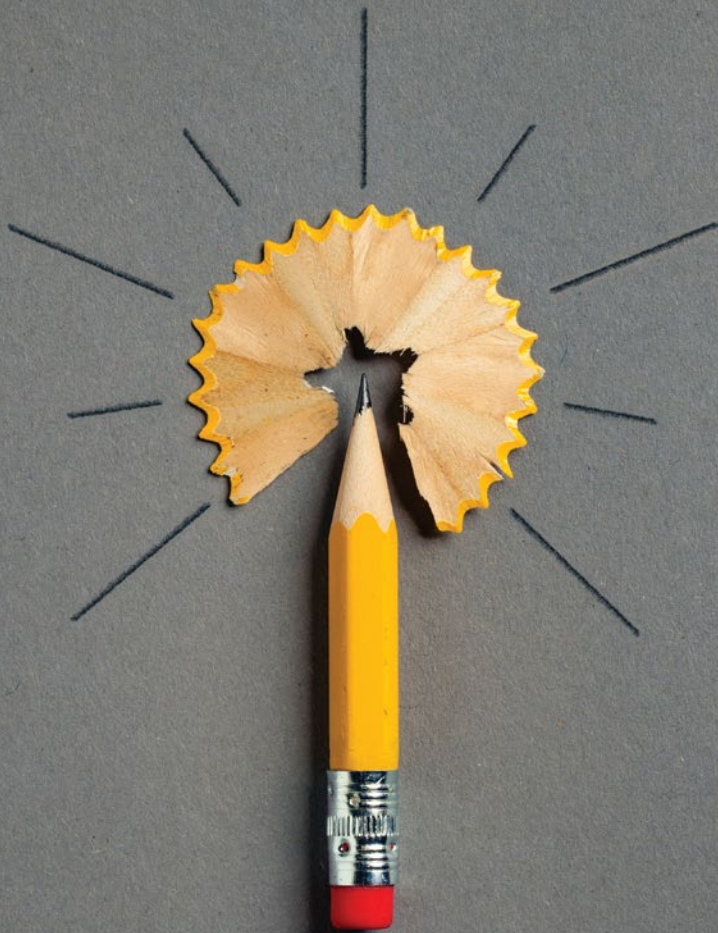


PALGRAVE
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THE PALGRAVE HANDBOOK OF CREATIVITY AT WORK

Edited by
Lee Martin and Nick Wilson



The Palgrave Handbook of Creativity at Work

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The Palgrave Handbook of Creativity at Work

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macmillan

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ISBN 978-3-319-77349-0 ISBN 978-3-319-77350-6 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-77350-6>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018937900

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Cover illustration: ThomasVogel / iStock / Getty Images Plus

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

We dedicate this Handbook to Coral, Flo, Jake, and Rowan, and to everyone, young and old, whose creativity at work cares for our world, now, or in ways yet to be imagined.

Editors' Preface

Welcome to *The Palgrave Handbook of Creativity at Work*. Our aim in bringing together this interdisciplinary compilation of forward-looking and critical research-led chapters has been to provide authoritative and up-to-date scholarship and debate concerning *creativity at work*. The volume provides a timely opportunity to re-evaluate our understanding of creativity, work, and the pivotal relationship between them. It is all too easily forgotten that the word “creativity” appeared only in common usage in the early twentieth century, though, of course, there is nothing “modern” about creative activity or ability per se. Though creativity is today most readily associated with artistic, aesthetic, and cultural activity—“work” in the context of the “creative industries” and the wider “creative economy”—its value in society was contingent upon science and technology, which revealed human independence as being *possible*, and the introduction of free-market economics, when constant innovation became inescapably *necessary*. Far from being a new arrival on the scene, the context of “work” has always been a place shaped and sharpened by creativity as well as a site that determines where, when, how, and for whom creativity emerges.

An opening premise for this publication is that creativity is a universal human capacity; we are all creative; furthermore, we are also (more or less) creative at work, regardless of our job title. In keeping with this, the handbook provides 30 chapters that are distinctively broad in their analytical focus. Research interest in *creativity at work* cannot be circumscribed by an interest in the creative labour of the few, for example, the specialist context of creative and cultural production. Nor should our understanding of creativity in a work context be limited to a particular form of problem-solving technique that can be applied instrumentally to meet market-focused objectives. By

emphasizing the opportunity to bring creativity research (in all its diversity) together with focused scholarship on creative labour, creativity in an organizational context, and the commercialization of creativity, the handbook offers a distinctive resource to help us research and practice creativity in new and beneficial ways.

It is one thing to acknowledge creativity as a universal human capacity, but as the history of thought on creativity reminds us, accepting this principle certainly does not mean that all those we study are able to apply their creative potential fully. Researchers have long been guided to consider the contextual barriers to creativity being enacted—in the workplace as elsewhere. A rounded sensitivity to “context” requires careful understanding not only of specific creative capabilities and media (musical, visual, written, etc.) but also of the social, economic, political, technological, and cultural conditions surrounding creative work. This requires taking an open approach to what creative processes might look like and ensuring we widen our search to fully embrace the range of factors involved in creative production. The question of how social values and biases in recognition practices can influence creativity research has constituted a major challenge to knowledge production, and indeed, this had led to research all too often prioritizing recognized creative action over the potential for its realization. To address this gap, creativity theory needs to explore ways to identify (latent) creative work outside of these recognition parameters. Throughout the handbook, we have commissioned chapters that tackle just these issues, helping us to move beyond a reliance on recognized creative workers alone.

Over and above providing an accessible, comprehensive, and authoritative single volume, therefore, this handbook is motivated and framed by the need to ensure that there is consistency between theory and practice. This need is all the more challenging, of course, when we acknowledge the extraordinary range of work, workers, and workplaces across the globe (we have purposefully included contributions from authors from many different international backgrounds in this volume). The lack of theory/practice consistency within creativity research is perhaps no more evident than when it comes to our focus on the “what” of creativity, which is most often cast in terms of novelty and value. Defining “novelty” remains problematic as in some way all things, events, people, and products are novel. Similarly, “value” and “usefulness” are riddled with issues of power and politics, and recognition by appropriate judges can dissolve creativity into the pronouncements of a privileged minority. The chapters in this handbook engage critically with these topics from a wide variety of perspectives, including discussion of professionalization, regulation, gender, power, political economics, education, entrepreneurship,

technology, digitization, space, sustainability, and globalization. In practice, creativity has all too often been reduced to what the prevailing definition of creativity tells us it is in theory—that is, an assessment of value by groups of legitimized people. In addition, much of the understanding developing around the creative process has been based upon laboratory studies of undergraduate students. A key goal for this volume has been to include chapters that encourage critical reflection on these theory-practice links.

The handbook asks many critical questions, including—Why is creativity important at work? What can we learn from creative labour in the context of the creative economy? What do we need creativity for? How might creativity be different from innovation? How should we understand the ethics of creativity at work? We agree with other commentators, particularly those working in the field of education, that it is increasingly important to ask such searching questions of creativity. For example, one of the distinguishing features of the capitalist system is its tendency to give rise to relentless accumulation—of profits, of credit, of waste but also of innovation. With the advent of the fourth industrial revolution, this drive for ever-increasing innovation is at risk of clashing directly with the drive to ensure a more sustainable society. Is it time to question this logic of using our creativity for achieving more, or better? Is it time we got more creative about *creativity at work*?

Commercially motivated interest in creativity has mushroomed, and there is now a global industry dedicated to enhancing, fostering, enabling, and developing creativity in the workplace. But with this increased demand to “get creative” comes renewed responsibility for research to get it right. This is not simply about satisfying the market’s insatiable appetite for innovation, nor is it applying a set of tried and tested heuristics that can enable better problem-solving in a business and management context (helpful though these might be); it is also about challenging preconceptions and taking a critical eye to the types of outputs, outcomes, and innovations we want to see for ourselves, our organizations, industries, and communities. This handbook is being published at a time when global sustainability challenges make the need for developing “value positive” creativity within the workplace even greater. Researchers have made significant progress in our understanding of exactly what creativity is, what enables successful creative work, how to develop creative potential, and the organizational and cultural conditions that enable creativity to flourish, and this handbook builds on this wealth of knowledge; however, as editors, our *raison d’être* has been to answer another even more pressing question: what is the future for creativity research, given contemporary sustainable development challenges? Human creativity has undoubtedly brought progress, but not without cost, especially to the natural environment.

To argue within a new handbook on creativity that research should continue with “more of the same” would, therefore, be problematic, to say the least.

Those researching creativity today, who are also concerned with sustainable economic, social, and environmental development, do so with an understanding that the overwhelming evidence of history suggests the products of human creativity, whilst bringing many benefits, have also (directly and indirectly) given rise to significant challenges to sustainable development. We discover uses for oil and create energy systems that damage the planet, we create antibiotics and face threats from resistant bacteria, we unpick the inner workings of the atom but can now envisage nuclear Armageddon, we organize for economic growth but at the expense of human happiness, freedom, and flourishing. The intended and unintended negative consequences of human creativity are manifold. To now fail to call upon creativity (at the very least) to mitigate the risks associated with the threats from previous creative work, such as those associated with climate change, a loss of biodiversity, and growing inequality, would be a huge mistake for the future of creativity research.

There is then a need to research creativity in ways that enable both the release of more creativity and greater understanding as to how its existing or potential unintended negative consequences can be reduced or prevented. As an example, the United Nations Paris Agreement on climate change contains provisions for, amongst other things, the invention of carbon capture technologies by the middle of the century. The question is, can our current understanding of creativity enable these discoveries to happen without further risk of unintended damage to our ecosystem? It is with just this duty of care for our world in mind that many of the chapters within this handbook have been commissioned.

Creativity research, therefore, needs to understand and explain not only how creativity “works” within contemporary neoliberal economic systems but also what it is able to become, as well as the conditions that could enable a transition towards using our creativity more sustainably. For example, Wilson (2010) identifies that creativity is, by definition, a social process, yet, the predominant legal, cultural, and management frameworks within which creativity is enacted prioritize and reward individual action over and above social or group action. Establishing that creativity is fundamentally a social process points to the importance of social contexts for successful creative production being identified, specified, and explained. We are delighted, therefore, that the chapters comprising this handbook offer up so many examples of just such identification, specification, and explanation. In the process, they contribute to a deeper understanding of what human creativity is and can become.

Accepting the fact that human creativity is a universal capacity, and a potentially unsettling and disruptive one at that, the aim of this handbook is also to challenge us to think critically about how this capacity is developed into an advanced capability (which is where much of the research on creative “genius” has so far resided), especially in the workplace. The handbook provides a welcome space for new directions, regardless of disciplinary, meta-theoretical, or ideological starting positions. To understand *creativity at work*, we must understand the physiology, psychology, sociology, economics, politics, philosophy, art, aesthetic, business, and practice(s) of its existence. Creativity, after all, is an emergent human quality that extends across all our scientific, philosophical, and artistic interests. Developing explanations of how to make creative work more sustainable, interrogating the role of context, and understanding how creativity exists outside of its recognition are important issues to tackle as creativity research progresses. Whilst this handbook offers a wide range of contributions to our understanding of creativity, these themes are explored throughout this work.

The handbook is divided into four parts:

Part I: Working with Creativity (introducing key theoretical perspectives)

Part II: Putting Creativity to Work (developing understanding from practice)

Part III: Working in the Creative Economy (exploring tensions and challenges)

Part IV: Making Creativity Work (raising opportunities for the future)

In the opening part “Working with Creativity”, contributing authors provide a wide-ranging introduction to the field. The chapters present key theoretical perspectives, explore debates surrounding what creativity *is*, particularly where we are struggling to understand creativity in practice, analyse creative identities, and provide a preliminary contextualization of creativity at work. Part II “Putting Creativity to Work” develops our understanding of creativity at work through consideration of situated practice—across a range of educational, commercial, workplace, and marginal contexts. Attention falls on the organizational nature of creativity and the implications (“good” and “bad”) for those involved. The third part “Working in the Creative Economy” takes the disputed context of the “creative economy”, where creativity has been synonymized with innovation, as its focus. Chapters explore tensions and challenges influencing the creative labour of everyone—not just those labelled “creative” or working in the cultural and creative industries. The concluding part “Making Creativity Work” is explicitly future focused in order to respond

to the question “creativity for what?” Chapters in this final section include discussion of “value-based innovation”, everyday creativity, the role of social media, sustainability, and ethics.

We are very grateful to the internationally recognized scholars, researchers, and practitioners who have contributed to *The Palgrave Handbook of Creativity at Work*. As editors, we have encouraged risk-taking, and it has been wonderful and enlightening to read the many new insights, paradigms, and perspectives they have provided within these pages, which collectively question where we must go next and what still needs to be done. We hope very much that you find this handbook inspiring and insightful, as you develop your own *creativity at work*, wherever that might be, and in whatever form it might take.

Coventry, UK
London, UK
June, 2018

Lee Martin
Nick Wilson

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Part I

Working with Creativity



1

Measuring Creativity at Work

Xavier Caroff, Justine Massu, and Todd Lubart

Creativity can be defined as the ability to produce original ideas or work that fits within a specified context and responds to task constraints (Sternberg & Lubart, 1995). Creative ability is best manifested in unique accomplishments that are recognized as valuable. Creativity is increasingly cited as a twenty-first-century skill that is valued in education and the workplace (Adobe, 2012a, 2012b, 2016). For example, the World Economic Forum placed it in the top characteristics for employability in the coming decade (WEF, 2016), and a survey of 1541 CEOs of major international companies indicated that creativity was the most important ability that a good leader must show in order to address the complexity of the new economic environment (IBM, 2010a, 2012). Since the 1980s, the multivariate approach to creativity has contributed to help conceptualize and measure creativity. In this approach, creativity requires a particular combination of factors within the individual (cognitive, conative, and affective factors), and outside the individual, in the environmental context (see Lubart, 1999).

Specific aspects of cognition (such as mental flexibility), personality (such as risk taking), motivation, and affect (such as emotional idiosyncrasy) combine with physical or social stimulation from the environment and provide the “ingredients” that come into play in the production of creative work. The extent to which the various person-centered and environment-centered

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“ingredients” are qualitatively and quantitatively optimal, given the nature of the problem to be solved, determines the degree to which highly creative productions can be achieved. Of course, it is important to note that these ingredients, or factors, combine in interactive and maybe non-linear ways. Thus, there may be some partial compensation between strong and weak factors but also some multiplicative effects in which the co-presence of two or more factors leads to an extra boost in creative output. In addition, it must not be forgotten that the “ingredients” that favor creative work must be brought into the productive process of thinking. The manner in which these psychological or environmental factors enter the work progress will also determine the effect on the creative work produced.

Therefore, according to the multivariate approach, which is developed in this chapter, creativity depends on cognitive, conative, affective, and environmental factors. Each person has a particular profile on these different factors. This profile may be more relevant to the requirements of a given task or job. In order to conceptualize creativity and measure it, we distinguish (1) creative potential, which is a latent capacity of a person to produce novel, valuable work, from (2) creative accomplishment, which refers to the effective production of work that is appreciated as novel and valuable in a given social context.

Walberg (1988) considers creative potential as part of human capital, at the individual level, but also at the organizational or societal levels. This capital may be put to use if the opportunity exists. An individual, and his/her organization, may be aware of this potential, although this is not always the case. Each person can be described as having a certain level of creative potential in a given domain of work, and more specifically, in a given task. As the specific nature of creativity varies to some extent across domains, it is expected that individuals will have heterogeneous levels of creative potential and creative accomplishment across diverse domains of activity.

In terms of the measurement of creative potential, it is useful to distinguish three main approaches.

1. Assess the resources that form the basis of creative potential

To assess creative potential in a multivariate approach, an individual may be presented with a series of measures designed to assess the ingredients or resources underlying creative work. This assessment situation covers, ideally, cognitive, conative, affective, and environmental factors. The set of assessed resources can be summarized in a person's profile.

2. Assess creative potential manifested in a sample task

Another way to assess creative potential is to have a person complete a sample task, which simulates a real-world situation. In this case, it is typical to compare individuals' performances on the simulated task, as through indices such as the number of ideas generated or judgments of the creative nature of the ideas by appropriate evaluators. In this measurement approach, all the relevant resources can be brought into play during engagement in task completion. Here the simulated task should be as close to the real task as possible. It is also important to assure that individuals engage as fully as possible in the simulated task.

3. Assess creative potential through previous creative achievements

In this line of measurement, which focuses on creative achievement, real-world accomplishments are evaluated for their creativity. This may take the form of self-reported judgments of work, peer judgments, or expert (supervisor or external panel) judgments. Although these measures concern creative achievement, they can also be used as a proxy for future expressions of creative potential. In this view, the person-centered and environment-centered resources that were brought into play in the past have a good chance to be brought again into play in the future. Again, estimates of creative potential based on past achievements depend partly on the similarity of future tasks to past ones.

This presentation of the three main ways to assess creative potential can be extended to measures of innovation. Creativity and innovation are closely related topics, and creativity may be considered as part of innovation (Tang, 2017). To simplify, creativity is often seen as the ability to "get ideas", which is considered as the first part of an innovation cycle (Amabile, 1988; Anderson, Potocnik, & Zhou, 2014; Cropley, 2006). Then these ideas need to be developed and brought to market, which tends to be the focus of work specifically on "innovation". In fact developing ideas and bringing them to fruition itself often involves the generation of new ideas, so the distinction is quite blurred in most cases (Paulus, 2002; Scott & Bruce, 1994). We can note, however, that the three types of assessment of creative potential, mentioned earlier, can be adapted to measure the potential for innovation.

In the next sections of this chapter, we look into contemporary issues concerning each of these measurement topics. First, the measurement of creative potential through assessment of the multivariate resources is described. Second, the peer-assessed evaluation of productions generated through sample

tasks or achievement measures is examined. Third, measures that concern creative achievements within the broader innovation cycle are presented.

Part I: Assessment of Multivariate Resources

Given the importance of creativity for work and organizational psychology, some authors have addressed research questions related to professional selection (e.g., Althuizen, 2012; Hunter, Cushenbery, & Friedrich, 2012; Malakate, Andriopoulos, & Gotsi, 2007) or creative personnel management (e.g., Mumford, 2000). Creativity is becoming a major issue for companies, and it is therefore important to know how to detect the creative potential of people.

There is, however, relatively little research on the selection and recruitment of creative staff. In one study, Scratchley and Hakstian (2001) examined the possibility of detecting the creative potential of managers in a real recruitment situation for Canadian firms. They defined managerial creativity as the ability of a manager to produce new concepts, new ideas, new directions, new procedures, and new methods that will be useful to the company. In order to detect candidates' creative potential, they developed a battery measuring openness (composed of openness to change, risk taking, and tolerance to ambiguity), general intelligence (Wonderlic Personnel Test), and three divergent thinking tasks. This battery was administered to 223 candidates, managers from the public and private sectors. To validate their measures of creative potential, Scratchley and Hakstian (2001) assessed also the candidates' creative performance. To do so, they asked the candidates to name one of their supervisors that would be able to evaluate their work. Then, indicated supervisors had to evaluate the candidate's managerial creativity on three criteria: the ability to have (1) ideas that produce fundamental changes in the organization's activities, (2) ideas that improve products and processes but are only a small lag in relation to existing practices, and (3) general managerial creativity (a composite score). The results show that, for each criterion, openness was the best predictor (correlations vary between 0.20 and 0.43). However, both openness and divergent thinking contributed uniquely to the prediction of creative manager behavior. Intelligence did not show in this study the expected effect on managerial creative performance.

In line with this finding, creative potential for a task is envisioned, according to the multivariate approach as the confluence of several distinct but inter-related resources (Lubart, 1999; Lubart, Mouchiroud, Tordjman, & Zenasni, 2015; Sternberg & Lubart, 1995). A few examples of these resources are described.

Cognitive Resources

First, mental flexibility refers to the capacity to change perspectives, to explore a new direction during problem solving. It is often contrasted with mental rigidity or fixedness. Flexibility allows a person to move from one line of ideas to another and thus explore a topic more widely. Flexibility is related to cognitive mobility, which is by definition one of the keys to adopting new approaches to a problem or task. Second, associative thinking is a fundamental ability to bring together ideas, to make connections (e.g., Mednick, 1962). Being able to find possible associations, in particular ones involving elements that are not commonly connected, is facilitated by a rich knowledge base. In addition, it helps synthesizing disparate elements in new ways. Koestler's "bisociation", Rothenberg's (1979, 2001), Janusian thinking, homospatial thinking, and Sepconic processing (connecting separate elements) are examples of this ability allowing multiple views to be simultaneously considered and then combined to form a new entity.

Conative Resources

Conation refers to personality traits and motivations. One example is risk taking, which is central to creative work because originality involves breaking from habitual ideas (Prabhu, 2011; Sternberg & Lubart, 1995). To engage in creative behavior, one must risk the use of personal resources (time, money, energy) and accept the possibility of social criticism (new ideas are often met with resistance and rejection). A relevant motivation that favors risk taking is sensation seeking. A second example is openness to new experiences. A high level of openness is thought to facilitate the exploration of alternative solutions (e.g., Feist, 1998; McCrae, 1987). Individuals with low openness tend to have more conventional or traditional interests as well as being more dogmatic. Need for novelty is a relevant motivation which supports openness. Those who are easily bored will naturally be prompted to seek new experiences.

Affective Resources

Affective resources refer to emotional states, traits, and competencies. A growing body of research has investigated the impact of affect on creativity. For example, positive mood states have been found to favor divergent thinking. Related to the tendency to be in a particular mood state, which may favor

certain kinds of thinking, emotional intelligence may be important for creativity as one facet of this capacity is the ability to induce a mood state, in oneself or others, and thereby favor specific kinds of thinking. Lubart and Getz (1997) focused on idiosyncratic emotional experiences that people may have as part of their daily functioning. The extent to which daily emotions are rich, are given attention, and become part of an individual's memories, these emotional traces can serve as a source of associations leading to unique connections between objects, people, and places, which remain habitually quite distinct in typical purely knowledge-based approaches to the existing world.

Environmental Resources

The main dimensions of the work environment that stimulate or, on the contrary, hinder creative production have been identified in literature reviews and meta-analyses (see, Benzer & Horner, 2015; Hunter, Bedell, & Mumford, 2005, 2007). For example, Amabile, Conti, Coon, Lazenby, and Herron (1996) distinguish (1) the dimensions of the environment that stimulate creative production, such as encouraging creativity (open circulation of information and support for new ideas at all levels of the organization), autonomy or freedom (autonomy in everyday work, a sense of individual ownership, and control of the work), resources (materials, information, and general resources available to work), and some positive pressure (challenges); and (2) the dimensions that hinder creative production, such as negative pressure (excessive workload) and organizational barriers to creativity (conservatism and internal conflicts). Employees' perception of these different dimensions within their work environment can be assessed using questionnaires, such as the KEYS (e.g., Amabile et al., 1996). But other questionnaires exist that assess different conceptions of creative climate. For example, the Creative Climate Questionnaire (CCQ; Ekvall, 1996) measures the climate for creativity within organizations, and the Team Climate Inventory (TCI; Anderson & West, 1994, 1998) measures group climate for innovation. For a synthesis, see Mathisen and Einarsen (2004).

Putting the Components Together

Because each of the key components does not have the same importance as a function of a specific creative task or domain of creative expression under consideration (as per the multivariate approach of creativity), we have recently developed the creative profiler tool (Caroff & Lubart, 2012; Lubart, Zenasni,

& Barbot, 2013). The creative profiler tool consists of a set of cognitive, conative, affective, and environmental measures that allow an individual to be described in terms of his/her resources for creativity. Creative potential is conceived here as the extent that an individual's profile is similar to an "optimal" profile for a given kind of creative work. The creative profiler capitalizes on modeling individuals who are recognized for their high creative performance in a given domain (or a specific creative task). After obtaining a measure of these individuals on the components of the creative profiler, we generate an "optimal" creative profile for a specific task. This becomes a "target" profile against which additional individuals, who are screened with the creative profiler for their potential, can be compared, using classic statistical measures of distance between an individual's multivariate profile and the centroid of the "expert" group profile (for additional details on this approach, see Barbot, Tan, Randi, Santa-Donato, & Grigorenko, 2012).

Part II: Assessment of Productions to Estimate Creative Potential (Sample Tasks or Achievements)

In assessments of creative potential through simulated performance tasks (such as asking individuals to solve a hypothetical management problem) or through the measures of actual achievements (which may serve as a proxy for future potential), it is common to rely on judges to evaluate the creativity of the productions or work. There is a growing body of research that examines issues about these judgments. This work is reviewed here.

The Technique of Consensual Evaluation

Since the first publications of Amabile (1982), the technique known as "the consensual evaluation" (or Consensual Assessment Technique, CAT; Amabile, 1996; Hennessey & Amabile, 1999; Kaufman, Plucker, & Baer, 2008) is commonly used in research on creativity. There are three main reasons for this success: this technique evaluates a person's creativity based on his/her productions, it does not depend on any particular level of creativity, and it is quite consistent with how creativity is concretely evaluated in daily life (Kaufman et al., 2008). The general principle of this procedure is to ask subjects to produce creative productions in a particular field which will then be evaluated by a group of experts. For optimal use of this technique, however, researchers

must respect certain constraints. First, creative productions must be directly accessible in order to be able to be evaluated and, if possible, their realization should not depend on any specific skills related to the production area to guarantee the validity of the assessment. As far as expert appraisal is concerned, care must be taken to recruit suitable judges, who have sufficient experience in the field to be able to recognize creative production, to ask them to evaluate independently the productions in relation to each other and according to their own conception of creativity. To give some examples, it should be remembered that this technique has been used successfully to evaluate the creativity of different types of production such as: musical compositions (Hickey, 2001), literary productions (Baer, Kaufman, & Gentile, 2004), drawing productions (Dollinger, Urban, & James, 2004), collages (Stanko-Kaczmarek, 2012), achievements in the field of design (Lu & Luh, 2012), or realizations in companies (Lee, Lee, & Youn, 2005).

Indeed, evaluations of creativity obtained with the CAT are generally fairly reliable. First, many studies show an acceptable inter-judge agreement (e.g., Amabile, 1996; Hennessey, 1994; Hennessey & Amabile, 1999). Second, creativity assessments are characterized by relative stability over time. On this question, for example, Baer (1996) asked children to create two poems, or two stories, under identical conditions, but with an interval of 11 months between achievements. Despite this relatively long delay, creativity scores were relatively correlated (around 0.50), whereas they were estimated by two different groups of judges, respectively. Moreover, contrary to Amabile (1982) and Piffer (2012), the use of CAT should not be reserved for the evaluation of productions obtained under standardized experimental conditions. Baer et al. (2004) found a relatively high level of inter-judge agreement on the assessment of creativity for different types of children's writings in a national assessment and under varying conditions. These results confirm that CAT can be applied successfully to productions obtained under poorly standardized evaluation conditions.

Despite the obvious success of the CAT, several important issues remain unresolved. In Amabile's (1996) opinion, further research is needed to understand what characteristics of the judgment task and the judges themselves could influence inter-judge agreement. Hennessey (1994) proposed that differences between evaluators should be studied for themselves and not just to seek ways to improve the reliability of their assessments. In the same vein, Runco and Charles (1993) proposed exploring how judges evaluate creativity in production.

Individual Differences in Judgments Related to the Expertise of Judges

Research on the technique of consensual assessment focused on the effects of individual differences in judgment expertise to explain the variability of creativity judgments (Kaufman, Baer, & Cole, 2009). According to Amabile (1982, p. 1002), “if appropriate judges accept independently that a given production is very creative, then it can and must be accepted as such” (see also, Kaufman & Baer, 2012; Kaufman et al., 2008). In other words, it is postulated that if the judges possess a certain level of expertise in the domain in which the productions are evaluated, they should spontaneously be able to evaluate their creativity. With this technique, it is therefore crucial to obtain a relatively high coefficient of agreement (usually the Cronbach’s Alpha) to conclude that the assessments are acceptable. According to this logic, it would therefore be perfectly useless or even prejudicial to propose to the experts a normative definition of creativity, to encourage them to evaluate this characteristic on the basis of explicit criteria (e.g., originality and appropriateness of productions), or even to train them to use such criteria (e.g., Amabile, 1982, 1996).

The choice of a group of suitable judges therefore depends on the area in which one wishes to evaluate the creativity of productions and the scientific or practical objectives pursued through this evaluation. Consistent with the principles of consensus assessment, Kaufman and Baer (2012) distinguish three types of judges according to their level of expertise: (1) relevant experts who have at least ten years of specific experience in the field and who have distinguished themselves by exceptional achievements in this field; (2) quasi-experts who have more experience in the field than novices, but they lack a recognized position as experts; (3) novices who have no expertise in the field but whose skills are not unrelated to the type of production to be assessed (e.g., graduate students, teachers, or creative researchers). According to these authors, the assessment of creativity by appropriate experts should have three characteristics: benefit from an inter-judge agreement that is very high and, at the very least, superior to that which would be obtained from quasi-experts, let alone novices; the evaluation of experts should have little (if any) correlation with those of quasi-experts and novices, respectively.

Numerous studies have shown that the inter-judge agreement with experts or quasi-experts easily reaches the conventional threshold of 0.70–0.80, which leads to the conclusion that the evaluations are acceptable. However, it is sometimes observed that judges’ assessments of novice judges can also reach,

and even surpass, the same level of inter-judge agreement. This is the case, for example, with some research in which judges were recruited from students enrolled in a psychology curriculum (e.g., Baer, 1996; Chen, Himsel, Kasof, Greenberger, & Dmitreiva, 2006; Chen, Kasof, Himsel, Dmitrieva, Dong, & Xue, 2005; Chen, Kasof, Himsel, Greenberger, Dong, & Xue, 2002; Joussemet & Koestner, 1999; Kasof, Chen, Himsel, & Greenberger, 2007; Niu & Sternberg, 2001; Silvia, 2008). By comparison, it sometimes happens that the inter-judge agreement is not so high among experts.

In research that directly compares the coherence of judgments between assessors with varying levels of expertise, the judgments of novice judges or quasi-experts are not even less consistent than those of experts. In her first publication on the consensual evaluation technique, Amabile (1982; Experiment 1 & 3) finds that the consistency of the evaluations performed by novice judges was relatively acceptable and not significantly lower than those of experts. Moreover, the agreement between the different groups of judges on their creativity assessments was quite good.

In a research on musical creation, Hickey (2001) asked different kinds of judges to evaluate compositions made by children aged 9–11 years attending music schools. Hickey found that the composers, the only truly expert judges based on the criteria of Kaufman and Baer (2012), showed no consistency in their assessments ($\alpha = 0.04$). For the quasi-experts, the music professors, the inter-judge agreement varied according to the type of education they provided (from $\alpha = 0.53$ to $\alpha = 0.81$). In this research, novice judges were two groups of children, respectively younger and older than those who composed the music to be evaluated. Unsurprisingly, the inter-rater agreement is quite low for both groups, but it remains at the same level as those of the less coherent teachers in their assessment of creativity. The analysis of the correlation creativity judgments of these different groups of judges shows that the different types of teachers agreed among themselves and with the music theorists (cross-correlation ranged from $r = 0.63$ to $r = 0.88$). Similarly, the assessments made by the two groups of children were correlated ($r = 0.83$). However, evaluations of children were not correlated with those of teachers (the highest observed correlation is $r = 0.41$).

Kaufman, Niu, Sexton, and Cole (2010) asked students to write a poem and a short story from a title. The creativity of these two kinds of literary productions was then evaluated by two types of judges. The group of experts was composed of poets whose works were published; the novices were students, other than those who had written the poems and without any particular skill in the field. The results indicate that the inter-judge agreement found among experts ($\alpha = 0.83$) was higher than novice evaluators ($\alpha = 0.57$) and

the correlation between the measurements of creativity made by these two kinds of judges was significant ($r = 0.22$). In a second research on the same problem, Kaufman et al. (2009) analyzed data on the evaluation of creativity of short stories. As for the inter-judge agreement coefficients, they found results comparable to those obtained with poems. In contrast, the correlation between creativity evaluated by poets and evaluated by the students this time was much greater ($r = 0.71$).

In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to conclude from the findings about the effect of the individual differences of expertise of judges on the assessment of creativity of production. Quasi-experts (experienced but lacking recognized standing as experts) can be appropriate judges depending on the domain of production (Kaufman, Baer, Cropley, Reiter-Palmon, & Sinnott, 2013). Moreover, creativity assessments collected from novice judges may be fairly consistent and, in this respect, sometimes superior to those of expert judges in the field of creative production. Moreover, although novice assessments sometimes correlate with those of experts, this is not always the case. These results are obviously insufficient to suggest that we can only solicit novice judges (Kaufman et al., 2009), and when evaluating productions it is better to resort to expert judgment, to the extent that experts exist and provided they are easily accessible. However, the assumption that the validity of the evaluations collected by the consensual assessment method would be based on the use of experts as judges, on the condition that their judgments are coherent, and its corollary, is questionable. On the one hand, expert judgments do not always reach an acceptable level of coherence. On the other hand, expertise in a field does not guarantee that the evaluation of creativity will not be biased by certain stereotypes (see Elsbach & Kramer's, 2003). In an attempt to overcome this difficulty, Dollinger and Shaffran (2005) proposed training non-expert judges to calibrate their scores before asking them to evaluate the creativity of productions. This training consisted simply of giving psychologist judges a series of drawings to illustrate the prototypical levels of creativity according to the expert (artist) judgments. With this small modification of the CAT procedure, the authors found that the inter-judge reliability improved for psychologists, compared to the results obtained in a previous study (Dollinger et al., 2004); also, the correlation between assessments by artists and psychologists was significantly higher. These results raise the question of the effect of education and training on judgments of creativity. In another approach to that problem, Galati (2015) postulates that difference in creativity assessment between experts and non-experts could depend on the complexity of the judgment task. His results show that for low complexity of judgment, ratings from experts and non-experts concord; in the case of high complexity of judgment, their ratings are, on the contrary, very different.

Part III: Creative Potential Within the Broader Innovation Cycle

Creativity is important in organizations, especially as it is the main ingredient of innovation. Thus, in a schematic way, creativity consists of generating and selecting new and adapted ideas, and innovation results in the promotion and implementation of these ideas in practices or products. Creativity is therefore perceived as a necessary but insufficient step or facet of innovation (Amabile, 1988). Focusing on the measurement approach to creative potential, which we have presented in the first part of this chapter, it is possible to identify individuals who will be able to submit new and adapted ideas which can later become innovations in the organization. However, before a product or a practice is recognized as innovative and the organization can benefit from its added value, employees must follow many steps that will allow them to create and implement these innovations. These steps consist of different behaviors that one or more individuals can adopt. Thus, beyond creative potential, organizations can seek to identify individuals who, at present or in the past, have supported adoption behaviors, or engaged in them, resulting in the implementation of innovations. This measure of behavior can be perceived as an indicator of involvement in the innovation process and a measure of innovation potential for future engagement. The next section presents some existing scales for assessing the span of creative and innovative behaviors, and the advantages and limitations of these tools.

Measuring Creative-Innovative Behaviors

The first scales of creative-innovative professional behavior proposed in the literature were short and unidimensional. They made it possible to evaluate quickly the propensity for different individuals to adopt, in general, behaviors linked to creativity and innovation. These scales, although only assessing a global score, conceived of creative and innovative behavior as a multistep process. For example, Scott and Bruce (1994) conducted interviews with managers of research and development departments and relied on the different stages of the process proposed by Kanter (1988) to propose a scale in only six items. These items evoke the generation of creative ideas, the promotion of the idea, and the investment of resources for implementing the idea. Based on Scott and Bruce (1994), Janssen (2000) developed a scale of innovative behaviors that distinguishes the three stages: generation, promotion, and implementation of ideas. Three items measured each stage, but psychometric analysis led

to the conclusion in favor of a unique general factor. Some authors have subsequently attempted to build scales to measure separately behaviors in different stages of the process, but the psychometric analyses do not suggest a multifactorial structure for these scales (de Jong & den Hartog, 2010; Kleysen & Street, 2001). However, these tools allow a general measure of creative-innovative behavior based on a more comprehensive list of behaviors.

Two scales of creative and innovative behaviors allow distinction to be made between creative from innovative behaviors. The scales developed by Krause (2004) and Dorenbosch, Van Engen, and Verhagen (2005) allow organizations to identify individuals with preferences and predispositions regarding the different behaviors relevant to creative and innovative process. The organization could then be able to form groups in which individuals complement each other. Thus, if an employee prefers behaviors that appeal to idea generation, it might be interesting to integrate that person into a team whose other members have preferences for the promotion and implementation of ideas. The organization could then be able to form groups in which individuals complement each other. Krause's (2004) scale measures two dimensions: the generation and testing of ideas (five items, e.g., "During the process of innovation, I Invested time and energy to find better variants") and the implementation of ideas (three items, e.g., "The result of the innovation is that I Implemented the project idea in my area of work"). Dorenbosch et al. (2005) created a scale with two dimensions. The first is entitled "Creativity work-oriented behavior" and includes ten items related to the issue of recognition (e.g., "How often do you think actively concerning improvements in the work of colleagues live?") and generation of ideas (e.g., "How often do you generate new solutions to old problems?"). The second dimension, "Implementation-oriented work behavior", includes six items on idea promotion behaviors (e.g., "How often do you make your supervisor enthusiastic for your ideas?") and realization of ideas (e.g., "How often do you in cooperation with colleagues, get to transform new ideas in a way that they become applicable in practice?").

In more specific cases where organizations would need to target precisely behaviors, some scales may also be proposed. First, there is the assessment of intentions in specific situations. Before a project begins, the company can benefit from the evaluation of employees' intentions to adopt creative behaviors in the project. To do so, organizations can use a scale built by Kunz and Linder (2013). It consists of nine items that address the various stages of the process (e.g., "I will try to generate new ideas for work practices/processes"). This scale was designed for managers but can be adapted to all employees. Second, other scales have been developed to measure only specific steps of

creativity (e.g., Rice, 2006; Runco, Plucker, & Lim, 2001; Runco, Walczyk, Acar, Cowger, Simundson, & Tripp, 2014) or the promotion and implementation of ideas generated by others (Howell, Shea, & Higgins, 2005).

These scales are usually presented to individuals who assess themselves, using a five- or seven-point response scale. Self-evaluations of creative and innovative behaviors are subject to biases because an individual is not always able to assess accurately the propensity with which he/she adopts behaviors. However, this method has also advantages because creative behaviors may result from cognitive efforts that are not always visible to outsiders. For example, exploring problems or opportunities can consist of individual reflections, which are difficult to assess by outsiders in terms of frequency. Additionally, studies have previously shown that these scales of self-reported creative and innovative behaviors predicted significantly people's creative performance (Ettlie & O'Keefe, 1982).

Another possibility is to ask the manager and/or team members to assess the behaviors of an employee, using the same scales. Some measures were designed with this in mind (e.g., Scott & Bruce, 1994). Finally, the most comprehensive approach may be to cross the measures of the individual using a 360° approach. In this context, de Jong and den Hartog (2010) propose a scale consisting of 17 items for supervisors that allow a team member to be assessed and 5 items for self-evaluation of the employee. Studies have shown that self-evaluation of creative behaviors converged, to some degree, with the assessment made by the other in the environment (Amabile, Barsade, Mueller, & Staw, 2005; Binnewies, Ohly, & Sonnentag, 2007).

The use of these behavioral scales allows a subjective measure of creative performance of individuals within organizations. These scales are simple, accessible, and easy to analyze. According to Janssen (2000), the scales capture an individual's representations of their own behavior within an environment in which they compare and evaluate themselves. Based on these scales, human resource departments or supervisors could begin to question employees about organizational factors that facilitate or hinder the adoption of different behaviors and subsequently undertake organizational climate improvements.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented an overall approach to measuring creativity, with a focus on the assessment of creative potential. Then, three lines of investigation were developed in detail. First, the application of the multivariate approach using a creative profiler tool was presented. Second, issues concern-

ing the use of consensual assessment of creative productions were examined. Third, the extension of creativity issues to innovation was described. These assessment issues have particular current relevance in the workplace. Crossing these assessment methods could help organizations to identify individuals who are creative and recognized for it and individuals who perceive themselves as creative or that have unexploited potential but still remain in the shadow. Thus, organizational support and resources for creativity and innovation could be provided adequately to ensure that employees with notable aptitudes will be given the possibility to ensure future organizational success.

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2

Creativity in the Context of Multiple Goals

Kerrie Unsworth

Introduction

It is a truism now to say that creativity and innovation are required in the workplace. As noted elsewhere in this book, organizations recognize that they need to innovate to survive, and that to innovate, they require their employees to be creative. Yet this is only one thing that an employee needs to be doing while at work—they are also likely to be looking for promotion, engaged in corporate social responsibility activities, helping their colleagues and building relationships, maintaining work-life balance, and other activities, all on top of getting their core job tasks completed. The workplace is a context imbued with multiple goals (Unsworth, Yeo, & Beck, 2014). While we can understand aspects of creativity when examining it on its own, I believe we must start considering the multiple-goal context to fully understand creativity in the workplace. In this chapter, I examine how, in previous literature, creativity has been considered at different levels within a goal hierarchy. Following this, I identify how situating creativity within a multiple-goal context helps us to understand some of the debates in the literature and how it helps us to extend our knowledge of creativity in the workplace.

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How Multiple Goals Operate

To begin, it is important to understand the basic principles of multiple goals. Unsworth et al. (2014) integrated various literatures and generated seven principles for multiple goals:

1. Goal structure and activation—that is, how goals relate to each other generally.
2. Goal alignment—that is, the degree to which goals overlap.
3. Goal-based informational value—that is, the degree to which one goal gains motivational power by helping to achieve other goals.
4. Goal-based affective value—that is, the degree to which one goal gains motivational power by being related to goals that are fun, enjoyable, or otherwise imbue positive affect.
5. Goal performance discrepancies—that is, a discrepancy between where one's current state in regard to goal achievement and where one would ideally be.
6. Expectancy—that is, how likely a goal is to becoming achieved.
7. Goal shielding—that is, when the focal goal is protected by forgetting competing goals.

It is now generally recognized that goals exist in a semi-organized hierarchy (Austin & Vancouver, 1996; Cropanzano, James, & Citera, 1993; Kruglanski et al., 2002). At the top of the hierarchy are long-standing values—what a person hopes to achieve over the course of their lifetime. Further down the hierarchy are identities, followed by long-term goals. Towards the bottom of the hierarchy are everyday task goals. Thus, the goals are organized such that they increase in abstractness and temporal length as one moves further up the hierarchy.

Alongside this goal structure is a recognition that the goals are linked through facilitative and inhibitive networks, akin to a neural network (Hanges, Lord, & Dickson, 2000; Lord & Hanges, 2003). When a lower-order goal helps to achieve a higher-order one, there is a facilitative connection; when one of these goals is activated, those that are connected to it are also activated (Kruglanski et al., 2002). On the other hand, when a lower-order goal stops a higher-order one from being achieved, there is an inhibitive connection which stops activation from occurring (Kruglanski et al., 2002).

Three other concepts are required before moving on to examining creativity in this context. First, a lower-order goal can be related to multiple higher-order goals, and this is called multifinality (Kruglanski et al., 2002). Multifinality

means that the lower-order goal has more “bang for the buck”—by focusing on achieving that goal, you are able to work towards a number of higher-order goals (Kruglanski et al., 2013). Alternatively, a higher-order goal can be related to a number of lower-order goals, what Kruglanski, Pierro, and Sheveland (2011) describe as, “all roads lead to Rome”. This is termed equifinality and, in social psychology, is deemed to dilute the connection between each of the separate lower-order goals and the higher-order one. Both multifinality and equifinality lead to the final concept—self-concordance. Self-concordance has been defined as the degree to which behaviours express a person’s enduring interests and values and has considerable motivational power (Sheldon & Emmons, 1995). Adriasola, Unsworth, and colleagues have shown that self-concordance is best conceptualized through the goal hierarchy, such that the more facilitative connections a lower-order goal has with higher-order goals (and, conversely, the fewer inhibitive connections), the more self-concordant that lower-order goal is (Adriasola, Unsworth, & Day, 2012; Unsworth, Adriasola, Johnston-Billings, Dmitrieva, & Hodkiewicz, 2011; Unsworth, Dmitrieva, & Adriasola, 2013; Unsworth & McNeill, 2016). Thus, goals are structured in an informal hierarchy, connected to each other throughout that hierarchy, and creating motivational power for goals that have more positive connections.

Integrating Creativity Research into the Goal Hierarchy

To date, most of the creativity research that speaks to the goal hierarchy and the multiple-goal context examines only the content of the goals that creative behaviour is associated with. Much less work has examined the principles highlighted by Unsworth et al. (2014). In this chapter, I first provide a quick overview of the work that has examined goal hierarchy content—what would the goals be in a “typical” creative person’s goal hierarchy—before moving on to more intricate implications of the multiple-goal context.

At the top of a goal hierarchy are values. Schwartz (1992) defined values as guiding principles; motivational goals with varying degrees of importance that act as standards for behaviour and as a guide towards action. Many people, both researchers and the lay public, have suggested that creative people cherish and strive for creative goals, to an extent that reaches across their lifetimes (e.g., Barron, Montuori & Barron, 1997). In other words, the implication is that creative people hold creative values. Yet rather than there being an association with the value for “aesthetics”, instead it seems as though a constellation of values around autonomy and stimulation is more important

for creative behaviour. For example, Dollinger, Burke, and Gump (2007) measured the values of over 100 students and asked them to complete three creative products (a picture, a story, and a photo essay). They found that self-direction, universalism, and stimulation were associated with greater levels of creative accomplishment, while tradition and security values were negatively related to creative accomplishment. Others have also found that a value for self-direction was positively associated with creativity (e.g., Rice, 2006), especially when the person is also intrinsically motivated (Kasof, Chen, Himsel, & Greenberger, 2007).

Next in the goal hierarchy are identities. In contrast to creative values, research does suggest that creative behaviour is associated with a creativity-specific identity. These creative identities can be formed around social representations (e.g., Petkus, 1996), roles (e.g., Farmer, Tierney, & Kung-McIntyre, 2003), and personal selves (e.g., Jaussi, Randel, & Dionne, 2007). A creative identity interacts with the environment to produce different effects. For example, a creative identity that is denied is likely to lead to reduced creative effort (Glăveanu & Tanggaard, 2014), and creative identities have more of an effect in an environment that has benevolent leadership (Wang & Cheng, 2010) and supports creativity (Farmer et al., 2003). While less attention has been placed on the effect of other identities on creative behaviour, some research has looked at identification through group membership; it finds that identifying with the team will lead to greater creative effort on behalf of that team (Hirst, van Dick, & van Knippenberg, 2009).

To our knowledge, almost no research has examined the long-term goals that lead to creative behaviour. Most of the research examining this is based on understanding how to manage creative projects or to manage those who work in the creative industries (e.g., Obstfeld, 2012; Simon, 2006). As such, it is difficult to know whether there are particular long-term goals that are more, or less, likely to lead to creative behaviour.

Finally, task-level creative goals have been studied both in the workplace and in the laboratory. Most of this work has examined the effect of goal setting—creative behaviour is most likely to occur when a creative goal is set (Carson & Carson, 1993; Shalley, 1995). In the workplace, creative task goals are incorporated into creative requirements, which have been found to have effects on creative behaviour (Shalley, Gilson, & Blum, 2000), and to mediate the more distal effects of supportive leadership, empowerment, and time demands (Unsworth, Wall, & Carter, 2005). As can be seen by this brief foray into the creativity literature, most of the work examining creativity and goals has focused on single goals, whether they be at the level of values, identities, or task goals. Much less work has considered the multiple-goal context.

Implications for Creativity in the Multiple-Goal Context

So far, we have outlined research that has examined the content of the goals that are most likely to be present in the goal hierarchy of an employee who is creative. However, as noted earlier, goal content is only one aspect of the multiple-goal context, and it does not address the relationships between the goals. Moreover, most of the goal content research does not explicitly examine the effects of multiple goals. Therefore, I now consider creativity in the multiple-goal context and particularly the work context.

Goal Conflict

The premise underlying the multiple-goal context is that, in general, goals which do not have facilitative connections between them are in conflict with each other. Each is vying for the resources and attention needed for accomplishment. Perhaps the most commonly understood example of this goal conflict by lay people is between work goals and home goals; trying to achieve more of the work goals often (although not always) leads to home goals being neglected, and vice versa (see Nippert-Eng, 2008). In the workplace, such conflict can also occur between different identities (e.g., Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2006; Seivwright & Unsworth, 2016), different work tasks (e.g., Molina et al., 2014; Unsworth et al., 2011), and between work goals and more socially oriented goals (e.g., Unsworth et al., 2013).

When considering creativity and goal conflict, the thinking has generally been that inner conflict underlies artistic creative effort (e.g., Freud, 1910, 1924; Taylor, 1975). For this work, it does not matter which goals are in conflict, simply that there is a conflict that the individual creator has to work through (I discuss in the section on Goal Shielding what happens when a creative goal is in conflict with other goals). However, little empirical research has examined this. One study which did explicitly examine general goal conflict was Sheldon (1995). He had 39 students identify their personal strivings (i.e., long-term goals) and then to choose (and rate) the most problematic conflicts between these strivings. Participants then rated their confidence in dealing with each conflict, the potential benefits of each conflict, and their ambivalence towards each conflict. Finally, creativity was measured by asking faculty who knew the students to rate their previous and potential creative accomplishments. Interestingly, it was not the amount of conflict that was related to creativity nor the benefits of or ambivalence towards the conflict;

instead, it was the confidence in dealing with the goal conflict that was related to greater creativity. Thus, extrapolating to the workplace, an employee who has a conflict she perceives as intractable, or who has little autonomy to deal with the conflict, may be less creative.

While Sheldon (1995) showed that it was the perceived ability to deal with the goal conflict, rather than the conflict per se, that led to greater creative achievement, it must be noted that this research was done with a small group of students and not with employees. Self-efficacy is likely a strong predictor of creativity in the multiple-goal context, just as it is of creativity in the single-goal context (e.g., Gong, Huang, & Farh, 2009). However, goal conflicts in the workplace are likely to be objectively more intractable than in one's home life as many of the goals are set for the employee rather than self-set. In a declining economy, many employees are not able to change jobs at will and therefore must put up with job-based goal conflict if it emerges.

Moreover, the thinking which suggests that goal conflict can lead to greater creativity tends to consider artistic endeavours rather than creativity produced by employees (e.g., Taylor, 1975). Studies that have examined effects of goal conflict in other domains of performance consistently show increased stress and decreased well-being (e.g., Boudreaux & Ozer, 2013; Emmons & King, 1988), as well as decreased cognitive performance (Cosier & Rose, 1977). Therefore, although internal conflict might produce the tension required to create a new artwork, prose, or poetry, an employee is unlikely to have the time to spare to be able to work through that conflict and instead is more likely to end up simply feeling stressed.

As such, it is difficult to know from previous research the effect that general goal conflict might have on creativity. At best, it appears that goal conflict will not increase employee creativity but that a perceived ability to deal with those conflicts will do. At worst, general goal conflict might lead to increased stress and decreased well-being without any upswing in creativity. This is one area where further research is definitely required.

Proposition: *General goal conflict will decrease creativity in the workplace for people with low levels of autonomy and self-efficacy, mediated by well-being; for people with high levels of autonomy and self-efficacy, general goal conflict will lead to a potential increase or no decrease in creativity.*

Goal Alignment

Unsworth et al. (2014) define goal alignment as “the act of cognitively reframing the representation of goals to highlight their commonalities and reduce

their differences” (p. 1067). In the identity literature, goal alignment is often used as a strategy to reduce goal conflict, such as that felt between professional identity goals and organizational identity goals (e.g., George & Chattopadhyay, 2005) or between role identity goals and personal identity goals (e.g., Kreiner et al., 2006).

In the creativity literature, Litchfield (2008) suggested that goal alignment could be used as a way of overcoming the goal conflict inherent in brainstorming. In traditional brainstorming (Osborn, 1953), there are four goals—generating a large number of ideas, omitting judgement, piggybacking on others’ ideas, and recording ideas as they occur. Although these might not always be in direct conflict, the number of goals means that there is likely to be some dilution of their motivating potential, similar to the way in which high levels of equifinality reduce the motivating potential for any one strategy (see Kruglanski et al., 2002). Litchfield suggests that quantity of ideas may be able to be viewed as the key overarching goals under which the other three can be subsumed but also cautions that this assumption has not been tested.

Although, to the best of my knowledge, creativity literature has not considered goal alignment, there is another area where this principle will have implications. Unsworth (2001) theorized that there were four types of creativity which differed based on the locus of the creative problem (self-initiated or externally initiated) and the openness of the creative problem. Based on the principle of goal alignment, creativity is more likely to occur in the workplace when the creative goal aligns with the other workplace goals. As such, different types of creativity may be more or less likely based on what other goals are salient for the employee. A task or performance goal is likely to be aligned with a responsive creativity goal (i.e., creativity that is externally initiated and closed) because both are focused on achieving the best outcome for the core job task. Thus, I propose that responsive creativity is the most likely type of creativity to occur in a situation when a task goal is salient. When a long-term project goal or career goal is salient, it is most likely that a goal for expected creativity (i.e., externally initiated and open) may be aligned and thus is more likely to occur than other types. Goals that are related to collegiality or helping others will be aligned most easily with contributory creativity (i.e., internally initiated and closed) and, thus, this will be the most likely type of creativity to occur when those collaborative goals are salient. Finally, broad creative identity or creative value goals can be most easily aligned with proactive creativity (i.e., internally initiated and open), and therefore, I propose, proactive creativity occurs more often than other types when those abstract identities and values are salient.

Proposition: *Different types of creativity will occur depending on the alignment with the employee's other goals. Responsive creativity will occur more than other types when the employee is focused on core job task goals; expected creativity will occur more than other types when the employee is focused on long-term project or job goals; contributory creativity will occur more than other types when the employee has collegiality or helping goals; and proactive creativity will occur more than other types when the employee has a salient creative identity or value.*

Goal Prioritization

By far the most common approach to examining the effect of multiple goals in the organizational literature has been through identifying how and when specific goals are prioritized (e.g., Humphrey, Moon, Conlon, & Hofman, 2004; Vancouver, Weinhardt, & Schmidt, 2010). In the sections below, I highlight the mechanisms outlined in those literatures for prioritization.

To begin, though, I consider the effects of prioritization. Generally, when a goal is prioritized over another in which it is in conflict, it maintains priority for a short while (e.g., DeShon, Kozlowski, Schmidt, Milner, & Wiechmann, 2004). Then, whether due to goal performance discrepancies, goal-based emotional value, or expectancy, the alternative goal is “swapped in” and prioritized (see the following sections for discussions regarding each of these). Thus, an employee may focus on one goal, then switch to focus on another, then switch back again to focus on the first (Louro, Pieters, & Zeelenberg, 2007). For general performance tasks, this multitasking can have negative effects through forgetting (Jett & George, 2003), but for creativity, it might create the incubation period that is necessary for large breakthroughs to occur (Jett & George, 2003). Madjar and Shalley (2008) examined the effects of switching between tasks, such as might happen during a goal prioritization process. They conducted a laboratory experiment with undergraduate students and found that creativity was highest when goals were set for both the creativity task and the intervening task, and participants had discretion to move between the tasks. They suggest that having a goal on the intervening task created a forced incubation rather than simply a break and that the discretion reduced cognitive exhaustion from occurring. In other words, the multiple-goal context and constant prioritization and re-prioritization of creativity in the workplace may have overall beneficial effects for the level of creativity.

So what factors will determine when creativity will be prioritized over an employee's other goals (or, alternatively, when will the other goals be priori-

tized in creativity's place)? One key creativity theory which provides some ideas is Ford (1996). He pitted creative action against habitual action. In other words, he suggested that there is always goal conflict for creativity and that there will always be a goal prioritization process, given the fundamental struggle between creativity and habit. His theory suggests that creative action will emerge when one has a problem-finding orientation rather than an automatic interpretation; when one's higher-order goals are creativity, independence, and achievement rather than self-confirmation; when creative actions are within reach and rewarded rather than common actions being capable and rewarded; and when one's abilities are diverse and include social competence rather than narrow and with low social competencies. These are similar to self-concordance (orientation, higher-order goals, and rewards) and expectancy (capabilities and within reach) and both of these are discussed later.

Beyond Ford's (1996) groundbreaking theory, however, we can only piece together bits of empirical research with extrapolations from social and cognitive psychology, held together with a large wad of sticky supposition. Later, I outline other factors which are likely to affect when creativity is prioritized in the multiple-goal workplace, but there is a great deal of uncertainty in many of these propositions, and future research is very much needed.

Goal-Based Informational and Affective Value

One of the most common predictors of goal prioritization is the degree to which a goal helps to achieve higher-order goals. This is its informational value and is akin to self-concordance described earlier. Much of the literature discussed earlier suggests that creativity is more likely to occur when a person has values, identities, and job requirements that can be achieved through engaging in a creative goal (e.g., Jaussi et al., 2007; Unsworth et al., 2005). Hon (2011) found that self-concordance mediated the effects of organizational modernity, empowering leadership and co-worker support. Although she argues that the Chinese context is different to Western contexts, the similarity of these findings to others in the creativity literature (e.g., Scott & Bruce, 1994; Shalley et al., 2004; Woodman et al., 1993) suggests that the effects of self-concordance may also be generalized. Thus, it is likely that creativity will be prioritized in the workplace over other goals when it is more self-concordant than other goals.

To date, self-concordance research has considered only the informational value of a goal—what other goals can it help to achieve? However, there is some interesting research which suggests that affective value may also aid in

increasing the prioritization of a particular goal. In this case, higher-order goals that are associated with positive affect should have greater weight and more motivational “oomph” than higher-order goals with low positive affect or negative affect (Custers, 2009; Custers & Aarts, 2005, 2007). Thus, self-concordance is likely to consist of both informational and affective value. For example, if a creativity goal is linked to a long-term project goal that the employee enjoys working on, then it will have both informational value (if I’m creative, then the project will be more likely to be achieved) and affective value (if I’m creative then I’m more likely to achieve something that makes me feel good). This increased self-concordance, compared to simply informational value, is likely to increase the likelihood that creativity will be prioritized compared to an alternative goal.

Interestingly, the consideration of creativity from the standpoint of self-concordance and multiple goals could inform the debate on the role of extrinsic motivation in creativity. Over the years, there has been debate on whether extrinsic motivation is truly bad for creativity. Originally, intrinsic motivation was seen as the only motivational force that would lead to creativity and that extrinsic motivation (i.e., being motivated by things outside the task itself) were negative (e.g., Amabile, 1985; Amabile, Hennessey, & Grossman, 1986). However, other research showed that rewards (i.e., extrinsic motivators) could lead to increased creativity, particularly when they were small (Eisenberger & Armeli, 1997; Eisenberger & Cameron, 1996) or when self-efficacy was high (Malik, Butt, & Choi, 2015). Now we bring self-concordance into the equation. Adriasola and colleagues (2012) argue that self-concordance is often aligned with intrinsic motivation but not always—for example, although marking student exams is not fun (i.e., intrinsically motivating), it is often connected to an academic’s teaching identity and thus is still self-concordant. When considering creativity, we can think not just about the extrinsic nature of a reward but also about its level of self-concordance. For example, a money prize for the best idea in a suggestion scheme may be seen in the goal hierarchy as positively related to other goals (e.g., the employee sees the reward as a link to promotion or as a recognition of one’s creative identity); then, generating an idea for the suggestion scheme will be self-concordant even though it is based on an extrinsic motivator, and, I argue, the financial prize would have beneficial motivational effects on creativity for that employee. On the other hand, if the reward has few or negative relationships with other goals (e.g., the employee does not see it as helpful to their promotion or if it is seen as “selling out” and thus harmful to one’s creative identity), then it will not be self-concordant and will have the expected negative effect. Although such arguments are tentative, I believe they may explain the inconsistent findings for

intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and would be interesting areas for future research to address.

Proposition: *The more connected a creativity goal is to higher-order goals, and the more those higher-order goals are associated with positive affect, the more likely creativity is to be prioritized over other workplace goals. This relationship will hold for both intrinsic and extrinsic motivators of creativity.*

Goal Performance Discrepancies

Unlike self-concordance, the next principle is based on research from the single-goal context. Unsworth et al. summarize that literature by suggesting that people try to reduce any discrepancies between where they actually are in relation to a goal compared to where they want to be in relation to that goal (e.g., Vancouver & Putka, 2000). In the multiple-goal context, this means that the goal with the greatest discrepancy is the one that is most likely to be prioritized—as long as there is a chance of that goal being achieved (see Expectancy in the following section)—and research has shown that these discrepancies are powerful motivators for prioritizing one task over another (Ballard, Yeo, Loft, Vancouver, & Neal, 2014; Schmidt & Dolis, 2009; Vancouver et al., 2010).

Unfortunately, there is not much research examining discrepancies on a creativity goal in a multiple-goal context. In the single-goal context, we know that a difficult creative goal is better than not having a creative goal (e.g., Carson & Carson, 1993; Shalley, 1995) indicating support for the role of discrepancy. However, there was no significant difference between a difficult creativity goal and a do-your-best creativity goal when participants also had a productivity goal (Shalley, 1991). Thus, it could be that in a multiple-goal context (or at least a dual-goal context), discrepancy is not as powerful at driving creativity goal prioritization. Given these inconsistent findings in creativity research, it is difficult to know how discrepancy will be related to creativity in the multiple-goal context particularly that of the workplace and it remains an open question requiring future research.

Research Question: *Will an employee be more likely to engage in creativity when there is a greater discrepancy between the current state and the ideal state than the discrepancies for the competing goals?*

Expectancy

There is debate in the literature about the role of expectancy, that is, the degree to which one believes that you can achieve a goal and your likelihood of achieving it (see e.g., Bandura, 2012; Vancouver, More, & Yoder, 2008; Yeo & Neal, 2013). In general, though, a person is more likely to engage in goal achievement when they expect to be able to achieve that goal and less likely to engage when they expect that they will not be able to achieve it (e.g., Parker & Dyer, 1976).

In the case of creativity in the workplace, it is likely that the creative goal will be less likely to be accomplished than core productivity goals but may be similar in expectancy to other non-core goals such as work-life balance or collegiality goals. As such, we might expect that when there are resources and capabilities for core goals, then those goals will be prioritized to the neglect of creativity goals. On the other hand, support and resources for creativity will increase its expectancy, thus allowing it to be prioritized when combined with other prioritization factors such as self-concordance or discrepancy. This therefore underscores the importance of organizational and leader support in employee creativity (e.g., Clegg, Unsworth, Epitropaki, & Parker, 2002; Eisenberger, Fasolo, & Davis-LaMastro, 1990; Mumford, 2003; Scott & Bruce, 1994; Unsworth & Clegg, 2010).

There are two complications to this general principle. The first is that expectancy is most powerful in the prioritization decision when it is moderate—when the focal goal is very far from completion (i.e., low expectancy) or very close to completion (i.e., high expectancy), then the person is more likely to swap to the competing goal (Louro et al., 2007). The second is that the person's orientation towards the goal's expectancy is also likely to affect goal engagement. When a person has a progress orientation, they are likely to view progress on that goal as liberating them, allowing them to switch to the competing goal (Fishbach & Dhar, 2005). Interestingly, this might help to explain why suggestion schemes stop working. Suggestion schemes often activate a progress orientation (e.g., by having a goal of a “5.5% improvement in productivity”, Siemens) which might create an initial flurry of creativity; however, as the goal becomes closer to being achieved or when experience shows that ideas are unlikely to be implemented visibly or in the near future (i.e., low perceived expectancy), the number of ideas is likely to drop considerably.

Proposition: *An employee is more likely to engage in creativity when the goal is able to be achieved but not especially close to achievement (that is, is not highly unlikely nor highly likely to being achieved). This is particularly the case when employees have a progress orientation.*

Goal Shielding

Goal shielding occurs when the focal goal is prioritized and the other goals are forgotten in an effort to shield attention on the main goal (Kruglanski et al., 2002). Theoretically, then, in the workplace productivity, the most common focal goal would be shielded from resource-stealing goals, such as creativity, leading to decreased creative performance. Although no research has directly examined creativity and goal shielding, one study by Shalley (1991) suggests that creativity might not succumb to shielding effects in a similar way as other goals. In her experimental study, Shalley (1991) had two goals—a productivity goal and a creativity goal. When both goals were difficult, then creativity did not suffer and both productivity and creativity outcomes emerged. It was only when no creativity goal was set and a do-your-best or difficult productivity goal was set that creativity decreased. In other words, productivity was not shielded from the creativity goal.

Of course, this was an experimental study, and it could be that goal performance discrepancy on the productivity goal decreased to such a level, and with enough time and resources left, to enable work on the creativity goal performance discrepancy; in other words, it could be that the productivity goal was indeed shielded initially until within safe range of achievement. Unfortunately, the study's design does not allow us to determine whether this might be the case or not. As such, it is an open question at the moment as to whether shielding of employee productivity goals may decrease achievement on creativity goals in the workplace.

Research Question: *Are creativity goals in the workplace vulnerable to productivity goal shielding?*

Practical Implications and Conclusion

So far in this chapter, I have outlined the implications of creativity for each of the multiple-goal principles as though they operated in isolation. Of course, this is no more the case than single goals operating in isolation is the case. A

number of principles work together to affect goal prioritization, for example. A practitioner wishing to increase employee creativity needs to assess the goals that are operating for the employees in question and determine the key points for that particular multiple-goal context.

In general, though, what can we say about when an employee is most likely to engage in creativity?

1. When an employee's goals overlap—that is, when the creative goal is similar to core goals such as productivity or collegiality.
2. When there is high self-concordance compared to other goals—that is, when the creative goal helps to achieve the employee's other higher-order goals.
3. When there is positive affective value for engaging in creativity compared to other goals—that is, when the higher-order goals that creativity is related to are imbued with positive affect.
4. When expectancy is moderate compared to other goals (i.e., high levels of support and few barriers) but not close to completion.
5. When other goals are either almost completed or unlikely to be completed.

In conclusion, I have outlined some implications for considering creativity in a multiple-goal context. Employees are often juggling a range of different goals and it is incumbent upon us to take this context into account while trying to increase creative behaviour. In identifying these implications, I have clearly shown that much more research is needed for us to completely understand creativity in the workplace.

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3

An Exploration of the Tension Between Tradition and Innovation

Simon Poole

Introduction

This chapter presents an exploration of the tension between tradition and innovation. Terms and meanings are first defined and delineated. Tradition is delineated by way of a consideration of folk culture in extremis, and innovation by way of a personological understanding of creativity, again in extremis. The exploration takes place within a framework expounded by folklorist Bausinger in “Folk culture in a world of technology” (Bausinger, 1961). By revisiting his concepts, and utilizing his notions of *spatial expansion*, *temporal expansion*, and *social expansion* as lenses, I reconsider folk culture and the relationships it has with multidimensional topological theories of creativity in a world of digital technology.

Several tensions extant in the concept of culture have been posited by previous writers, such as Eliot (1948), Dundes (2002), and Dewey (1938). These tensions are often seen as dichotomies, divisions, or contrasts, which are represented as being opposed or entirely different, as a binary construct. Such constructs might serve the creative practitioner better if reframed instead as spectrums of tension. These two extremes, existing in a state of equilibrium, might benefit the creative practitioner, creative act and culture, and society more broadly.

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Exploring these tensions will contribute to the themes and discourses of creativity and culture. Reconsidering each expansion will in turn present new perspectives and ways forward, through the examination of the supposed tensions, and the values and ideas that each expansion deals with. The chapter concludes with thoughts on what the ramifications of these tensions might be and on the implications for future creative and traditional practice: I am mindful here of the purpose of Bausinger's original concepts concerned with uncovering new folkloric perspectives and potential standpoints. The chapter therefore has three aims, first to propose an alternative way of being, and knowing the world, that suggests by connecting with or knowing the past and our cultural traditions, practitioners, professionals, or workers can engage in a more personally and socially meaningful creative practice in the digital world. A secondary aim is to reflect upon how this standpoint promotes identity formation and broader social cohesion. And, finally, how it might in itself represent a folk realpolitik.

Definitions

Folkloric tradition has been defined and redefined since the age of the great philosophers, but it was in 1846 when William Thoms first suggested “a good Saxon compound, Folklore—the lore of the People” (Thoms, 1846) that the term “folklore” began to supplant “popular antiquities” as the preferred nomenclature. With it, ideas of verbal, material, or behavioural culture being passed on as folklore became understood as traditional items in the folkloric sense. Bowman and Hamer (2011) noted three characteristics of Brunvand's (1986) definition of folklore that are particularly useful when considering the relationship between folklore and creativity, and the relationship they highlight between tradition and innovation. Brunvand (1986) states that:

Folklore is the traditional, unofficial, non-institutional part of culture. It encompasses all knowledge, understandings, values, attitudes, assumptions, feelings, and beliefs transmitted in traditional forms by word of mouth or by customary examples. (pp. 8–9)

The words “non-institutional” and “unofficial” imply that folklore does not include the creation of, or response to, something, nor the innovative solving of a problem, unless conceived and undertaken by an everyday person:

If we want to know how people; not the media; not political leaders; not famous authors or filmmakers; just people, feel about something we can look at our shared cultural creations. (McNeill, 2015)

Secondly, Brunvand (1986) provides a simple outline of what these “cultural creations” might be, as a means of illustrating the various forms of folklore that a folklorist might deem noteworthy or important:

Folklore manifests itself in many oral and verbal forms (‘mentifacts’), in kinesiological forms (customary behaviour, or ‘sociofacts’), and in material forms (‘artifacts’), but folklore itself is the whole traditional complex of thought, content and process—which ultimately can never be fixed or recorded in its entirety; it lives on in its performance and communication, as people interact with one another. (Brunvand, 1986, p. 9)

Thus, folklorists in the digital world might consider Alternate Reality Games and the language used by gamers as mentifacts.¹ Equally, they are fascinated by the ways that Facebook users greet each other or take leave; by the contents of twitter feeds; the ways in which people arrange protests or flash-mobs with others or friends is viewed as customary behaviour (McNeill, 2012). They marvel in earnest at the artistry of a meme, at the tweeter or poster’s arrangement and the subsequent re-arrangement of the message as artefacts, for example, like the photographic meme “Casually pepper spray everything cop”, taken at the UC Davis Campus (Blank, 2012). There are those of more purist belief however that would not consider these examples as folklore (Oring, 2012): *Tradition in extremis* would argue that the items could not possibly be traditional because they are not inter-generational, in a historically linear fashion, face-to-face, orally transmitted, nor containing traditionally “traditional” material. But against those who would curate folklore, as ancient “items” in a museum (Glassie, 1995; Oring, 2012), there is a strong argument: This argument resists “items” being perfectly represented and accurately identical in every way. Instead, it suggests that folk culture actually resides in the way these things are experienced, that items of folklore are continually enacted and recreated—each time a little bit different from before.

By comparing this fallacy of the timeless culture that imputes a changeless quality to culture, to Dewey’s (1938) biological interpretation of *habit*, which understands experience as something which when enacted also modifies the subject, allows an appreciation of Dewey’s (1938) principle of continuity of experience. From his perspective, it would mean that “every experience both takes up something from those which have gone before and modifies in some way the quality of those which come after” (Dewey, 1938, p. 35). He points out Tennyson’s concurrence in *Ulysses*:

... all experience is an arch wherethro’
Glams that untraveled world, whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when I move.

But back to Brunvand (1986), and the third characteristic of his definition, which differentiates between kinds of tradition: Elite, normative, and folk. In a way, it is this characteristic that has an unusual synergy with creativity, for example, Craft's (2001) "high creativity", as opposed to "ordinary, or 'democratic' creativity". "In general, the elite and normative traditions are transmitted mainly in print or by other formal means, while the folk tradition relies on oral or customary circulation" (Brunvand, 1986, p. 10). Hence, in society, the artefacts of a symphony by Mozart or Beethoven would be elite culture; a song by Adele would be normative culture (popular or mass); and "Row, row, row your boat" is folk. These classifications however are dynamic. For example, Bowman and Hamer (2011) discuss how "Snow White" was not a folktale because it was old, provincial, or false. McNeill (2015) would define it as a folktale because it is the culture of everyday people, told with many variations. "Until the German Brothers Grimm collected it and wrote one authoritative version, which became elite. Disney turned it normative or popular. And each time children act out or play the story, it is back to folk" (Bowman & Hamer, 2011, p. 3).

To develop this point and introduce a brief definition of creativity, McNeill (2015, YouTube) clarifies how "The Grimm's knew that in order to truly understand a group of people you need to look at the 'cultural productions' that everyone is engaging in, not just the select few".

Definitions of creativity, where academics such as Dellas and Gaier (1970) "treated creativity as if it were an individual attribute" (Craft, 2005, p. 134), have been fairly detrimental to our understanding of it. Such psychological perspectives of creativity in extremis have continued to influence research and culture since Torrance's (1966) first psychometric tests. That it could be a cognitive characteristic that produces "eminent creativity (also called "Big-C"), which is reserved for the great" (Kaufman & Beghetto, 2009, p. 1), arguably disregards social and political factors. Freud called for greater synthesis and collaboration between the fields of psychoanalysis and folklore (Bronner, 2015). The "major distinction" that has been made between "'high' creativity, shown by the exceptional person, and 'ordinary' or 'democratic' creativity, which can be shown by everyone" (Craft, 2001) is a false dichotomy.

Educational psychologist Kaufman (2016) continues to exhort that "we have agreed on a basic definition for more than 60 years" (p. 25). Runco, Jaeger and others (Cropley & Cropley, 2008; Runco & Jaeger, 2012) disagree with Kaufman's statement given that their recent works have all been critically concerned with definitions of creativity. To suggest that "One easy way to tell an essay is written by someone who does not know the field is that it begins

with: “No one can agree on how to define creativity”” (Kaufman, 2016, p. 25) seems ludicrous when eminent researchers in the field are still finding a standard definition a matter of contention.

Kaufman (2016) is not alone though with some of his remarks, for example, he suggests “that creativity is an activity that produces something that is both new and task appropriate” (p. 25). The National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education (NACCCE) also suggest that it should be thought of as an: “imaginative activity fashioned so as to yield an outcome that is of value as well as original” (Robinson & Craft, 1999, p. 30). In these definitions, both “new” and “original” are key ideas, which sometimes are alternatively labelled as “novelty”. They are themselves however ambiguous and misleading in many ways within the context of folkloristics and now more so in the digital world, considering, for example, ideas of authenticity, genuineness, and spuriousness, which will be looked at later. As ideas, they also have a connection with globalism and capitalism, especially if used in conjunction with the other key idea of “task appropriate” or “value”. The latter is a label with quite clear connotations in research on economics and creativity; “it describes how original and valuable products and ideas depend on the current market, and more specifically on the cost and benefits of contrarianism ...” (Runco & Jaeger, 2012, p. 92). Aware, but wishing to avoid accusations of a domain-specific perspective, Bausinger’s (1990) preface as an alternative substantiation of creativity’s current particularly aligned definitions could nonetheless be drawn upon. That is, if that folk culture is read as interchangeable with creativity. In this way, a glimpse of its connectedness with folklore, its culture, process, performance, and construction might be seen. Bausinger (1990) states:

<there is an>... urgent need to disentangle and disenchant folk culture, to pierce the romantic façades and arrive at the deeper reasons for those constructions. The performance of folk culture had long since drifted away from its original texture and context; the praise of the original and primary had become part of a secondary system closely connected with advertising and public-relations activities, with economic and political interests. (p. xi)

There are connections here between definitions in extremis, between creativity and folklore, and more specifically tradition and innovation. Expressly, these connections exist around conceptions of the individual and their entanglement with creativity and the social world.

A Theoretical Framework

It has been widely recognized within the field of folkloristics, that Bausinger's (1961) theoretical principles integrate several previously divergent notions (Beckwith, 1992; Ben-Amos, 1990; Mechling, 1991), specifically, notions regarding the development of folk culture. The synthesis found in "Volksculture in Der Technischen Welt" (Bausinger, 1961) still has a considerable amount to offer future investigations (Beckwith, 1992; Mechling, 1991; Tokofsy, 1995), again, mainly with regard to the changing nature of society and tradition. This also offers a possible pathway for the future of research into creativity. Beckwith (1992), for example, notes how Bausinger "anticipates the themes of contemporary post-modern thought without sacrificing a commitment to the phenomena and to more traditional models of scholarly rigor" (p. 100).

I suggest that even now the book has that same relevance and vitality despite the fact that folklorists in the United Kingdom have rarely acknowledged this particular work. Mechling (1991) recognized the poignancy the work had in relation to the issues of the day such as immigration and pluralism 30 years ago, and this has gained resonance in recent times. Ben-Amos (1990) recognized a differing but no less important relevance of Bausinger's approach in the increase of research into comparable subject matter: Themes such as folklorism, folk revival, and urban legend have all been increasingly researched over the decades since Bausinger's publication. Each of these themes has been analytically and descriptively studied over the years (Boyes, 2010; Brunvand, 1981; Maximiliano, 2013; Newall, 1987), but it was arguably and solely Bausinger that decided to deal with them within a unified, systematic theory that presupposed each individually and collectively as a response to the incipience of new technology. I intend to embark upon a similar path, in the use of Bausinger's supple, systematic theory as a way of conceiving some of the responses to the epochal change that is the emergence of digital technology. I suggest that creativity, and cultural change for all of its finality, if employing Bausinger's methods, does not obliterate the past, but instead conserves and changes features of previous embryonic practices and their development (Beckwith, 1992).

In contrast to the common lament about the passing of traditional societies in the face of advances in technology, Bausinger theorises and demonstrates that while man's environment changes, the dynamics of tradition may be transformed but they do not disappear. He proposed a theory of expansion rather than disintegration, of traditional culture in the age of technology. (Ben-Amos, 1990, p. vii)

Beckwith (1992) recognizes the impact of this and how it is a perspective that reverses the reader's expectations: The manner in which folk culture is re-identified as something other than timeless tradition. That it too is subject to time and change makes Bausinger's (1961) book revolutionary. With it he ushered folklore studies into the modern world, forcing others to confront and cope with the changes that were occurring in modern society.

Bausinger, therefore, can be seen to have contributed significantly to the pivotal paradigm shift of folkloristics in the 1960s, by challenging the idealization of traditional life and viewing its romantic naïveté with a restrained disdain. Somewhat akin to Botkin's Folklore Unit and Royce's Social-Ethnic Studies Unit, both under the auspice of the Federal Writers' Project (FWP) of 1930s' America (Banks, 1980), Bausinger suggested a shift in the focus of praxis. But unlike his predecessors, rather than concerning himself solely with the collection of industrial and urban folklore, as opposed to the stereotypical rural lore more often associated with tradition, his theory instead made some conceptual leaps. And although there was a distinct likeness to Botkin and Royce's (Botkin, 1939, 1958) decision to focus upon the folklore of immigrants, Bausinger's premise moved beyond the superficial suggestion that the urban environment with its factories, congestion, and widely diverse demographics was a "natural environment" as much as any agrarian, countryside environment.

The age-old tension between the countryside and the city that provokes and reveals itself as nostalgia (and perhaps an inspiring influence for the advent of folkloristics) was for Bausinger a function of technological advancement. He sought to understand how the technical world affected folklore. How "technology came to be 'naturalized' in European thinking and how even the 'regressions' to pre-technical beliefs turn out to confirm the triumph of technological thinking" (Mechling, 1991, p. 83). As such, within Bausinger's theory, the concept of tradition changes. The import of tradition itself develops from being the principal concept of folkloristics to the concluding or absolute concept of folklore in society (Ben-Amos, 1990).

This understanding would challenge notions of tradition being represented as a product, passed on in a linear fashion from one generation to the next. Dewey's (1938) educational philosophy of progressivism has salience with Bausinger's thinking. For Dewey (1938), conservative and traditional philosophies of education such as Perennialism or Essentialism, regard education (like views of tradition *in extremis*) as the business of transmitting time-honoured bodies of knowledge and values, from one generation to the next, through language, arts, and music. Many Progressivist thinkers today still view this mode of education as largely disenfranchising for the learner and

unresponsive to changes in society (Robinson, 2010). Rendering any transmitted knowledge or value as increasingly irrelevant for each generation of learner, if it is not allowed to evolve or adapt to the contemporary environment. Although frequently misquoted and misunderstood (Gove, 2013), Dewey (1938) did not dismiss pedagogical approaches of transmission entirely. On the contrary, the application of progressivism as an underpinning educational philosophy of practice, to his mind, should bring about a balance between didactic transmission and learner-centred discovery in pedagogical approach.

Like Bausinger's (1961) views, Dewey's (1938) are process rather than product orientated. They allow for change; for the invention of tradition; a space for creativity within, and as part of one's cultural heritage. Tradition from this perspective is no longer a mere product of transmission, it is dynamic, ever-changing, and is drawn out by the tensions created by the processes of innovation: It "cannot be inherited, and if you want it you must obtain it by great labour" (Eliot, 1982, p. 37).

Tradition, Bausinger (1961) would suggest, needs to be considered as something in perpetual retransformation; in a state of constant precariousness, fracturing under the storms of change. Individuals within a society, collectively and continually attempt to fix, repair, and reshape tradition, through performances, customs, rites, and a multitude of other practices, either refreshed, revived—or if necessity demands—invented. As a way of understanding creativity and knowledge creation, this perspective resembles Neurath's (1959) metaphor of the ship, forever sailing and continually being repaired and rebuilt at sea by the crew. Neurath used his metaphor to draw an argument against empiricist foundationalism; a philosophical theory of knowledge that considers justified belief to be founded upon immediate experience being described. A parallel can easily be drawn here as Bausinger's theory challenges notions of maintaining the status quo in terms of tradition, described earlier as "curatorship", in favour of an ever-changing, organic understanding of sense experience. In the 1930s, Neurath wrote:

There is no way of taking conclusively established pure protocol sentences as the starting point of the sciences. No *tabula rasa* exists. We are like sailors who must rebuild their ship on the open sea, never able to dismantle it in dry-dock and to reconstruct it there out of the best materials. Only the metaphysical elements can be allowed to vanish without trace. Vague linguist conglomerations always remain in one way or another as components of the ship. (Neurath, 1959, p. 201)

With this particular appreciation of knowledge, Bausinger's work precedes Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) seminal book *The Invention of Tradition*, not only by seeing tradition as a cultural construct rather than as a cultural given but also in the ideological use of the past in the present (Ben-Amos, 1990; Mechling, 1991, p. 83).

It is not my intention here to suggest that merely taking stock of the past will allow a marshalling of the future, but instead that a temporal understanding of the past, as much as Bausinger's other horizons: Spatial and social is something that should be reconsidered in order to garner new possibilities in an understanding of creativity.

The prescient nature of Bausinger's (1961) three core concepts is multifaceted. Whether as a structuring feature of his work, such as the concept of expansion, or by the concepts that run as threads through the various sections, like his concerns with the commodification of folklore and denationalization. Although I would err towards the term postnationalism, a political stance that denounces the need for nation and concepts of nationhood, as synonymous with denationalization, given the movement and direction of more recent studies in that vein (Dubey, 2003; Thompson, 2012).

Bausinger's (1961) principle concept, and that which structures his writing, concerns the horizons of the folk: In a spatial, temporal, and social sense. He considers how these horizons have undergone expansion in a technological world and consequently, how folklore has too. The conceptual thread of postnationalism certainly refers to a perspective that postmodern society could establish towards folklore and indeed in many ways it has. It could also, in disagreement with Ben-Amos (1990), denote a process of folklore within traditional culture itself, by virtue of it being a perspective that must necessarily change *ad inifntum*.

Postnationalism to Bausinger (1961) represents an assessment—quite literally—a society “sitting beside”² their own folklore, and recognizing what import they themselves give to aspects of it. Eliot (1948) too, saw the need to consider what a society ascribed to, or devalued in, their own cultural tradition, as one facet of keeping a balance between unity and diversity within society itself. This being the main reason why one might not consider Eliot to be quite so culturally conservative as some writers would have one believe (Jones, 2009). While cultural tradition and folklore may have been prized and thought vital to a folks understanding of nationhood, Eliot's (1948), like Bausinger's (1961) argument is that as a precondition for a stable culture, it's folklore should neither hold with nationalism, nor cultural homogeneity *in extremis*. Folklore then should be stripped of any romantic, nationalistic

meaning if we are to analyse it as a way of considering personhood rather than locating nationhood.

Folklore and nationalism have had a long and at times unfortunate relationship. The manipulation of cultural tradition and folklore into differing political ideologies through the ages has caused tragedy after tragedy. When they are misrepresented as the “spirit of the nation”, often through a humanistic yet romantic lens, they can be used in a nefarious manner. Take the current search for “British values” in the education system of the United Kingdom, for example (Travis, 2014). Eliot (1948), and to a large degree Dewey (1938), both of whom were writing amidst a backdrop of growing nationalism and fascism, recognized that a balance was desperately needed. Bausinger (1961) similarly suggested that if we were going to reclaim folklore from the perceptions and practices of nationalism, especially those of Nazism, it would need to be disassociated from the nation state, and treated instead as a field not dissimilar to sociology. The postnational discourse of more recent years has exploited the denationalizing function of the research shift from the urban to the digital environment; in the same way the shift from the rural to the urban did, as Ben-Amos (1990) describes. Within this exploitation, Bausinger’s (1961) recognition of romanticism’s obscuring of particular aspects of folklore is strengthened: That folklore’s function is to purposefully homogenize cultural differences between and across social, temporal, and geographic horizons becomes clearer.

While Bausinger (1961) began to explore the social experiences of urban life for immigrants, the impact upon the social world via the virtual or digital world might now also be considered. The virtual experience, as before, has conservative and expansive powers influencing the traditional cultures that digital immigrants, and natives alike (Prensky, 2001), suffuse into the digital world. Regardless of whether one subscribes to Prensky’s (2001) views, for either immigrant or native, the digital world does not serve as same kind of culturally pluralistic realm that the city did. Nonetheless, social life operates with new, diverse forms of context, which both translates traditions into the digital world and generates new ones that are digital in origin and perhaps only appreciable digitally. Arguably, the traditions of the person who regularly uses the internet, or netizen (Thompson, 2012), transcend even those of the urban immigrant, that Ben-Amos (1991) describes as “uprooted and rerooted”, in terms of not being subject to nationalist inclinations. Therefore, it is not just Bausinger’s (1961) methodology that is postnational nor the cultural and creative acts under consideration, but the manner in which these things are themselves becoming increasingly postnational.

In the same way that Bausinger (1961) employs his folkloristic theory within a milieu of romanticism, I propose, with a continuing appreciation of this milieu, to extend his theory to formulate a theory of folklore and creativity in the digital world, employing the same principle concept: An expansion of horizons. This expansion should be considered in a positive light. One which considers tradition, in the digital world, virtual experience, and digital expertise as expanding rather than disintegrating. Widening our understanding of folklore in communities, and feelings of *communitas*, as something inevitably and increasingly becoming more complex and interrelated, rather than understanding it as undergoing a process of entropy. Aligned with Bausinger's (1961) thinking and framework, I propose exploring this expansion through the same three horizons: The spatial, social, and temporal. Mechling (1991) suggests that the dramatic expansion of these dimensions, of the folk's horizons, and the perceived corresponding dissolution of boundaries, actually leads to the romantic reaction and its proposition that *Heimat*, for example, is "the only genuine and popular culture" (Bausinger, 1961, p. 54). *Heimat* defined here as denoting the relationship of an individual with a specific spatial-social group. Bausinger equally sees tremendous irony in these motions, "as they inevitably construct folklore displays highly dependent upon commodification and high culture" (Mechling, 1991, p. 83)

Folklore of the digital world becomes loose, looser than that of the technological world, and discards some of its ritualized, ancient, and mythological aspects that were looked for in the traditions of primitives throughout modernity. Curiously indeed, "modern primitive" is an oxymoron frequently used by individuals to describe themselves if they feel they subscribe to the new folk idiom (M-Magazine, 2016). For postmodern folklore, this kind of self-reflexiveness becomes a central aspect of tradition, so too is the notion that it is something that can be sold. Tradition has developed from being understood communally with a shared viewpoint to being understood in a societal way with numerous viewpoints. It can now be understood in a virtual way through an infinite amalgamation of viewpoints, with infinitely diverse evaluative structures.

It has acquired new symbolic significances in which the spurious obtains a new genuineness in its new contexts, and the genuine loses its historical significance to become valued for its antiquity, which in turn can be faked. (Ben-Amos, 1991, p. 5)

This perspective is coherentist and one in which relations and references are expanding. As Quine and Ullian's (1970) metaphor and eponymously enti-

tled book *The Web of Belief* states, knowledge is becoming increasingly and profusely interconnected. In agreement with Neurath (1959), knowledge is not something that is based on foundations. Quine (1960) promoted Neurath's (1959) metaphor:

Neurath has likened science to a boat which, if we are to rebuild it, we must rebuild plank by plank while staying afloat in it. The philosopher and the scientist are in the same boat. Our boat stays afloat because at each alteration we keep the bulk of it intact as a going concern. (pp. 3–4)

Similarly, the Renaissance tradition of the pastoral has extended its subscription to a digital world whose inhabitants have aspirations of ruralism and antiquity. The symbolic constancy and permanency, of such aspirations, seemingly missing in the contemporary, digital, fast-paced world is provided by the miscellaneous presentations and items that symbolize these ideas. From one point of view this expansion of folklore could be viewed like the development of Quine's (1963) evaluation of the analytic-synthetic distinction, when he suggests that the sum of our knowledge is:

A man-made fabric which impinges on experience only along the edges. Or, to change the figure, total science is like a field of force whose boundary conditions are experience. (Quine, 1963, p. 42)

The fabric's edges or field of force's boundaries are growing and thus are appraised from an expanding perspective. In the digital world, experience gains diverse meanings, by differing netizens and the various societies they may be part of, at differing points in their lives. It is also increasingly referential, surpassing mere era, location, or social class to embrace the historic, the exotic, and the socially exclusive: The fabric is folded so that all edges meet, or the boundaries of a field of force are simultaneously a single point. Folklore, through expansion, has developed copious, sometimes contrastive, meanings that undergo constant revolution.

Apart from postnationalism, there is another thread that runs through Bausinger's theory. While it is first considered by him in the untranslated 1971 publication "Folklore: From Antiquity Research to Cultural Analysis" (Bausinger, 1971), the commodification of folklore is widely acknowledged to be a concept that was introduced to academia by Bendix (1988), as indeed was the term which has come to describe it: Folklorism. A chapter on folklorism was added to the 1990 reprinted publication as a natural progression of his former theory.

For Bausinger (1990), it represents the transformation of folklore in the postmodern world into a tradable or marketable commodity, converting a group's tradition into a resource; a means of making a living. This kind of remuneration is not new to traditional cultures. Monetary gain for all kinds of performance, presentation, or creation has long been tolerable, sought after even. The sale of such things, however, is no longer for their own intrinsic worth or purpose, but instead is due to the belief that the said things embody the meaning of tradition of a particular national, regional, ethnic, or subcultural group. The intention of these creations is for them to be marketed to as many consumers as possible so they often pander to the clichéd views or conform to ideas that their audiences and consumers have picked up of the traditions of a certain location or particular folkloric group (Ben-Amos, 1990). Think here of the revival of nautical tattoos by hipsters in the 2010s that seek to re-present British tradition. The export market also gives us examples of commodified tradition through souvenirs and shows for holidaymakers, or groups of artists from other countries performing abroad.

Bausinger's (1990) theories and accounts have relevance for any geographical location; as Ben-Amos suggests while he relays examples of German culture, "one could provide examples of similar processes albeit with modifications for local conditions" (1990, p. 10). This is still the case for virtual spaces too. As virtual groups materialize in reality, through the significance of coming from a village, feeling that a country is home, remembering or taking part in an old tradition that somehow resonates with oneself, whether it was invented or transmitted, these all lie in the imagination and aspirations of the individual. Identity develops, whether it be regional, ethnic, national, or other. Intrinsically, postmodern folklore, can be a constructive and beneficial social force among those who endeavour to reconstruct their lives after they have been crushed by hegemony or indeed homogenization. Equally though, there is a contrary concern: Folklore could just as easily be an atrocious negative social force, one that drove Botkin (1939) to state that it was essential to differentiate the "democratic and progressive folk consciousness from the regressive folk dogma of the racialists and nationalists" (Botkin, 1939). Indeed, after experiencing the crisis and tragedy of World War II, Dewey expressed that a "'Great Community' consisting of a confederation of local communities" (Kearney, 2004, p. 238) would be the only definitive resolution to nationalistic crises. He contended that only if communal, local life could be re-established, would the folk satisfactorily find a resolution to their most critical problem: To discover and identify themselves.

Expansion of the Spatial Horizon

The expansion of the folk's spatial horizon can directly be appreciated through what Bausinger (1990) termed "exotica" and its acceptance into a local culture. This might at one time, for example, have been understood as the absorption of a neighbouring village or town's custom or song; whereas now geographical barriers are circumnavigated by digital technology and "exotica" can come from any part of the globe; an English singer's repertoire could easily include a Ghanaian or Japanese folk song via the internet, or any other mentifact or artefact for that matter. If such items are accepted as being culturally relevant, they would also affect the cultural identity of the individual and community they were a part of. In terms of creativity, the corresponding impact of multiculturalism has been shown to be similarly productive (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008; Leung & Chiu, 2010). The authenticity or relevance of such digital creative products can be scrutinized from either one of two contrasting perspectives. On the one hand, from a traditionally purist, specific social and geographically located perspective. On the other hand, from a more contemporary, virtual culture and individual identity-orientated perspective. The purist would view the introduction of exotica as a dissolution of their spatial horizon, and would instead "preserve" "traditions in favour of a process of increasing rigidity; these traditions are frozen out of an anxious aversion to damaging historical forms, and what existed in continuous evolution is misunderstood as a completed process" (Bausinger, 1990, p. 78). Which perversely only serves to render a tradition or culture increasingly obsolete or irrelevant. The netizen on the other hand must deal with new conceptions of what is meant by "original", especially in terms of creativity.

There is however a more complex understanding of spatial expansion. Implicit in Bausinger's dealings with technology is a dynamic and culturally diverse understanding, as opposed to a machine-like standardization of life and processes. He encourages the reader to reconsider mechanical and organic metaphors of folk culture, repositioning the mechanical as not necessarily obsolete or deceptive and the organic as containing often overlooked intrinsic risks. Again, drawing our attention towards our tendency to polarize our definitions of the technical/artificial on the one hand and the natural on the other. Dewey (1938) states that: Mankind likes to think in terms of extreme opposites. It is given to formulating its beliefs in terms of *Either-Ors*, between which it recognizes no intermediate possibilities (Dewey, 1938, p. 17). Bausinger (1961) in the same manner develops his theoretical framework on the eschewing of a false dichotomy and instead stresses "the 'natural quality'

of the technical realm” (p. 4). Furthermore, that folk culture as well as the more pernicious and pervasive popular culture both share a fabricated notion of nature. As Beckwith points out “the natural environment can become an exterior ‘exotic’ realm, a mere escape from and compensation for the rigours of industrial, *or digital*, life”³ (1992, p. 100). It could be argued that a sustainable future depends upon how our creative and cultural understanding avoids the depreciation of nature to merely being something that can be appreciated: An unfortunate bi-product that our digital world projects.

Notions of progress that do not attempt to address this depreciation are detrimental to an individual’s relationship with their spatial horizon. An unnatural disjunction is imposed between the individual and nature and any sincere dealing with ethical issues is compromised because nature cannot be experienced directly. Any reconciling encounter that attempts to resolve this disjunction is equally obscured by nature’s sentimentalized appearance. In terms of sustainability, however, such an obfuscation may be more worthwhile than no recognition at all. It at least demonstrates Bausinger’s (1990) central conceit regarding the natural environment: How we have throughout history attempted to connect with the natural world, from a position already undermined by cultural determinisms. Beckwith (1992), however, perceptively identifies the irony of how Bausinger in trying to elude the false dilemma between a romanticized nature and the innovations of utilitarian technology ends up painting a picture of modernity that is rather triumphant. Bausinger (1990) recognizes the same flaw 30 years later:

At that time [1961], ethnographers looked at folk cultures as preindustrial pockets not even touched by technological changes—thus, I emphasized the interdependence of technological developments and the folk world, and the secondary naturalness of technological experiences. Now I would question that naturalness and the dangers of unchained technology. (Bausinger, 1990, p. xii)

The gravity of the ramifications of exponential technological developments in the digital world is now being felt in such a way that this disjunction has arguably become normalized. The often surreal, but accurate, pessimistic satire of social commentator and critic Charlie Brooker (2016) is one example of the impact technology is having on post-industrial lives. His evocative critiques highlight the current environmental and social issues technology is responsible for posing and asks us to question them morally and ethically. Similarly, there were critiques throughout the latter half of the last century that must have influenced Bausinger’s repositioning. This repositioning still aligns with the paradigm his former work outlined: The notion that folk tra-

dition and technological innovation are not polarized concepts. That they coexist in tension, from which new and old traditions are borne or modified. A tension that necessarily exists; its sentimentalization is unavoidable, as it is functional. The innovative impulses, drawn out by tradition, might aspire to redress the balance in the fashion that Eliot (1948), Dundes (2002), and Dewey (1938) each describe should be strived for. Thus, creativity research as well as practice, for its part, might benefit from embracing these concepts, or even work with them, for a balanced appreciation of culture and progress. Beckwith (1992) similarly invokes the work of Whitehead (1979) as another example of how this tension might be balanced. By acknowledging the requisites of social progress, he criticizes Bausinger's (1961) attempts as "naïve and ideological" in form. Though this perhaps misses the point: The tensions *have been* unmasked.

In terms of what this means for the future of creativity research, it may simply be a matter of building upon the already recognized part that the expression of one's culture plays in acts of creativity (Ashton-James, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chartrand, 2009) and how they are necessarily bound up with belonging, well-being, identity, and the various ways of understanding our environment: The virtual being an expansion of the natural. The internet is not responsible for disassembling our culture: Diminishing our social skills; restricting the vivacity of culture; or destroying our individual creativity. Quite the opposite, communication technologies like tablets, computers, and mobile phones have become the cynosure of a vast expanse of contemporary folk culture. Appreciating the composition of this folklore can assist us in identifying the positive elements of digital creative culture (McNeill, 2015) and offer a new landscape for equally positive creative acts that could work more towards social cohesion rather than consumerist goals. Spatially speaking, the fundamental question is how do different peoples and various cultures reconcile who they are as a people, when there are now infinite options available to them.

Expansion of the Temporal Horizon

Bausinger's principle argument is that folk culture was not in itself organic and separately distinctive to technology, nor was it being lost or decomposed through the societal movement from one age to the next. Like others with similar preoccupations (Anonymous, awaiting publication) with the passage of time, what he was concerned with was the shift from preindustrial to the industrial. Yet, the complex relationship between technology and folk culture

are just as relevant in today's digital age. As Beckwith (1992) reiterates, folk culture, folk practices, and folk goods exist within, and as an element of, any new technological environment. As any environment expands, especially the digital realm, it imbues folk culture with new traditions and layers of meaning.

The aim then, in such a context, is to rise above romantic notions of the "folk" and simultaneously expose living traditions, and modes of learning that have hitherto been side-lined, misunderstood, or disregarded. From here, it is apparent how Eliot's (1982) understanding of creativity from an artist's perspective applies to the process of learning within folk practice as a "historical sense involves a perception, not only of the pastness of the past, but of its presence" (Eliot, 1982, p. 37). This presence, specifically its relation to tradition, might be likened to what Garner (1997) would call engrammatic. Recognizing it as such is a crucial perception for creative practice in the digital world. To offer an analogy of this perception, one could imagine looking up at a constellation in the night sky. The light from each star within the constellation would be travelling a differing number of light years to those of its neighbours to reach one's eyes. While one star might be embryonically shining in cosmic terms, its neighbouring star in the same constellation may have already died at the time of one's glance. In short, when looking at a constellation one is looking at different times of the universe, yet viewing them at the same time. To extend this analogy, when one feels grief for the loss of a loved one, it is a deep and powerful memory. If in the future one were to lose another loved one, in engrammatic terms, one would not only feel grief for losing them, but a multifold intensity of grief from the loved ones for whom one has also grieved for in the past: Emotions as well as creative ideas operate as a constellation of loss. There are many folklorists, creativity researchers, and practitioners alike who only see the constellation at a glance, and thus believe:

In the preservation of the authentic, old and original because of their reliance on a fundamentally static conception of society. Such a conception assumes that folk traditions do not belong to a historically defined level but to a basically timeless substance. Folklorism changes folklore in its essence, but is based on this assumption: because the antiquated is thought to be 'authentic' and therefore timeless, it is rescued in a time alien to it, necessarily changed, but for all that admired and regarded with amazement. (Bausinger, 1990, p. 156)

Researchers and creative practitioners too, perhaps, should be wary of attempting to preserve the status quo. Many current intellectual theories and definitions of creativity are bound up in the economic terms and trends of our

time (Fatt, 1998; Seltzer & Bentley, 1999; Weaver, 1999) under the assumption that it would be most productive for creativity to be in a relationship with the business world. This connection is likely to dissipate (Jones, 2011). Like folklore, it can be argued that creative acts are never absolutely “original”, as in unchanged through time. Whether old or new, they must necessarily contain traditional elements for them to be first conceived, and later more widely understood: Authenticity can be imitated in order to fit in with existing creative products or ideas. But, this should not be viewed as detrimentally faking the creative process, or compromising one’s integrity; on the contrary, for the practitioner:

The necessity that he shall conform, that he shall cohere, is not one-sided; what happens when a new work of art is created is something that happens simultaneously to all the works of art which preceded it. The existing monuments form an ideal order among themselves, which is modified by the introduction of the new (the really new) work of art among them. The existing order is complete before the new work arrives; for order to persist after the supervention of novelty, the *whole* existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered; and so the relations, proportions, values of each work of art toward the whole are readjusted; and this is conformity between the old and new. (Eliot, 1982, p. 37)

Aligned with Bausinger’s methods of historical interpretation, folk culture like creativity reveals itself not as a stable and lasting phenomenon, as just an embodied spirit or product, but equally as a process—a mind-made construct being invented and reinvented through, and affected by, time(s) (Beckwith, 1992). So, what is the place of creativity then, if not viewed as a means of progress? Benjamin (1974) could be recalled here too, and his Klee (1920)-inspired angel, blown by the winds of progress, walking backwards into the future, surveying ruins upon ruins being increasingly heaped on top of one another as time passes. The very notion of “historical progress” was a cruel illusion to Benjamin. But if it is to be from these ruins which a narrative should be chosen and drawn, then could not creativity be considered or utilized to look back or to look within? To reinvent or improve the quality of life through cultural maintenance rather than attempting to improve it by change. Or rather than thinking of creativity as a tool, accept that it is our natural predisposition as humans and allow it to flourish rather than directing it for fiscal gain.

Let us take, for example, a notion of time which may offer a new understanding of undertaking practice for creativity and folklore. It disregards ideas of the original and thus authenticity, whether old or new, and in turn, trans-

forms the concept of value to one more which is also more appropriate for social cohesion in the digital world: For some Aboriginal cultures, the notion of time is different to the Judeo-Christian notion, primarily in that it is not perceived as a solely “linear” series of events (e.g. past—present—future). Instead, it positions significant events as patterns of concentric circles of time, where the individual or community is at the centre. The more significant an event is to an individual or his or her community determines how close to the individual or community the “time-circle” is positioned. The greater the significance of an event, therefore, will lead it to being perceived as “closer in time” (Janca & Bullen, 2003). Praxis, or any kind of creativity at work that considers the temporal expansion and acceleration of tradition due to the digital world can offer a relevant future which has at its heart the well-being of individuals as a community.

Expansion of the Social Horizon

Social expansion, is at the heart of Bausinger’s work according to Mechling (1991). It is through this lens that Bausinger deals with the unusual class-lelling effect of the commodification of folklore. Looking in detail across class sensitivities and perceptions of the sentimental, Bausinger’s analysis (pp. 100–108) reduces the sentimental to an acute irony. One which Mechling describes as an “excellent contribution to our current understanding of the social origins of the ‘postmodern’ aesthetic” (Mechling, 1991, p. 84). While this is a valuable insight, it is perhaps more worthwhile exploring the political aspect of social expansion, by considering the relationship between the individual and social or cultural traditions more specifically. So, if following Bausinger’s (1961) aspirations and folkloristics was allied with sociology, an appreciation of the dialectic between “social realities” and “cultural forms” could be sought. Again, allowing the question of how has the digital world affected tradition and creativity to be posed (Mechling, 1991).

For example, after Boas introduced the concept of folkloric relativism (which became popular prior to the 1950s) “as a mirror of the differences between cultures” attention turned “to the functions of folklore within a cultural matrix” (Bronner, 2015, p. 23). This consequently “led to folkloristic work in complex societies treating individual tradition bearers as creative artists and performers. Such an approach often raised psychological questions about the motivations of individuals in perpetuating, adapting, and creating traditions” (Bronner, 2015, p. 24).

Some folklorists of a psychological orientation, such as Mechling (2006), began to consider the folklore of individuals as creators. Others began to consider symbols as an expression of Freudian desires (Carvalho-Neto, 1972; Dundes, 2007). “These folklorists also seek to view the dynamic of tradition in material and social forms as externalisations of feelings as much as narrative” (Bronner, 2015, p. 21). Either way, it offers a different kind of perspective to the common discussions surrounding the social construction of meaning, and meaning-making, which has been the focus of much research into creativity (Binswanger, 1958; May, 1975). Furthermore, it breathes new life into research on how an individual attaches subjective meaning to their actions and imbues the meaning on a particular historical occasion (Weber, 1904, 1921), offering new insights into how such undertakings are a precursor to the formation of a political understanding. Political in the sense of an individual being motivated by their beliefs or actions.

As previously mentioned, psychological interpretations of creativity might be lamentable for being devoid of social, cultural, or folkloric understanding. Dundes (2005) contrariwise criticizes folkloristics for not embracing psychoanalytics, despite there having been a great deal of research into individual creativity (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996) and its social function in modern life (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988). In the main, Dundes’ (2005) critique was due to folklorists merely describing traditions’ outward, observable outcomes, or performances from a conscious level, rather than analysing the psychological reasons for producing them: Asking why those creative practices and performances emerged from the unconscious (Bronner, 2015). Dundes (2005), like Freud, felt antiquity and orality should be side-lined as the determining factors of what makes something folkloric. But also as the determining factors that allow the manifestation of signs of inhibitions. In their place, the “play-frames” (Bateson, 2000) that the manifestations exist within were favoured as factors. How they give licence “to do and say things that would be difficult to do outside the frame, or reality dominated by the moral super-ego” (Bronner, 2015, p. 22).

Dundes (2005) maintains that the folklore of ordinary life is a process of projecting worries and concerns onto traditional forms, because it is a safe place to express them. Consigned to modes of play, comedy, or the creative act diminishes the chance of disappointment, dismissal, or public condemnation. These modes can also be loaded with political, risqué, or absurd ideas without being intimidating: The use of creativity within a culturally traditional field requests audience participation, but in such a way that allows for the impartial exploration of a potentially contentious or inflammatory issue. To adapt a further suggestion that Dundes and Pagter make (1978, cited in Bronner,

2015): Such creative folk interactions are a metaphorical “*veil* barely concealing an expression of most of the major problems” (p. xvii) facing our digital society. This intrinsic contradiction of play centres an understanding of creativity through the folkloric practice of an individual instead of a community. Bronner and Mechling (Bronner, 1996, 2005, 2011, 2014, 2015; Mechling, 2006) draw attention to the dynamic processes between psychology and the production of culturally traditional creative products. To be precise, how through the creative act of work or play a person embodies and ritualizes them self. This might lead to questions of how such acts of creativity in the digital world would also be new, invaluable, and rich veins of potential research. Not simply by recognizing the folkloric references within such acts, as this has its own dangers, but by surrendering to them. For example, the social and political standpoints would necessarily be approached with a new sensibility; the words of Eliot (1982) might be appreciated anew. The “value” expressed here is not bound up in any economic frame of reference, but instead relates to experience:

What is to be insisted upon is that the poet must develop or procure the consciousness of the past and that he should continue to develop this consciousness throughout his career. What happens is a continual surrender of himself as he is at the moment to something which is more valuable. The progress of an artist is a continual self-sacrifice, a continual extinction of personality. (p. 39)

Summary

The internet is not ostensibly a political or institutional tool. It records, documents, and engages folk life and the experiences of everyday people. But it is, as Dewey (1938) points out, scientific study that results in and expands experience. This experience is only educative by virtue of it relying upon “a continuity of significant knowledge and to the degree that this knowledge modifies or ‘modulates’ the learner’s outlook, attitude, and skill. The true learning situation, then, has longitudinal and lateral dimensions. It is both historical and social. It is orderly and dynamic” (Dewey, 1938, pp. 10–11). Together with a third dimension, that of the spatial, the principle concepts that Bausinger (1961) discussed all those decades ago have been briefly explored. In many ways, the links to work and research into creativity are obvious and have been questioned within the field for many years too. Gordon’s (1961) synectics research, for example, published in the same year as Bausinger’s (1961) piece, recognized that individual and group creativity were analogous. The argu-

ment for psychological explorations of the social horizon of tradition has salience with that. The notions of “authenticity”, “experience”, “relevance”, “value”, and the “original” resurface time and again due to their pertinence to the individual and the group. Sartre (1969), like Eliot (1982) and to an extent Dewey (1938), upheld that the notion of “authenticity”, as well as “individuality” itself, had to be earned rather than learnt. That “death consciousness” needed to be experienced so that the truly vital might be found; “the authentic in our lives which is life experience, not knowledge” (Sartre, 1969, p. 246). Vygotsky (1987) too eluded to ideas of creativity being how new sense could be brought to a phenomenon’s social meaning, that it was in fact “the clarification of meanings and the establishment of values” (p. 67).

While many of these notions have been tackled to a large degree, it is perhaps the notion of “original” that is the fulcrum of the tensions under discussion here. As Thompson (2013) points out: “The measurement of ‘how original’ a particular piece might be is often held in reverse correlation to its connections to the past” (p. 150). This is in itself detrimental to a contemporary understanding of creativity, especially a folkloric one, if the previous discussion of the expansion of the temporal horizon is anything to go by. But vice versa too, a good deal of creative acts have equivalent predecessors, yet it is not concomitant that everything is traditional.

Handler and Linnekin (1984) noted how many writers have recognized a major flaw of the orthodox understanding of tradition. Since it advances a false dichotomy between “tradition” and “innovation”, suggesting that they are static, permanent, and incongruous things. It has been suggested before (Geertz, 1973), that given the ever-changing nature of culture, “tradition” and “innovation” can only be considered as interpretative and certainly not descriptive. There can only ever be the “original”, in the novel sense of the word. Although what “original” means depends upon the perspective of the user, as has been discussed, it can be suggestive of the new or novel, or it can be imbued with the figurative “value” of the “traditional”, suggestive that it is old. Proposing that any creative act falls under one or the other category, however, generates disjunctions of the kind that an appreciation of spatial expansion deals with.

The initial disjunction lies in the fact that such a polarized conception of “tradition” and “innovation” leads us to see tradition, culture, and creative acts as circumscribed representational objects, merely comprised of other circumscriptions. Consequently, the creative practitioner would be working from a fragmentary paradigm where tradition, culture, and creative acts and their composite parts are thought to have a nature that exists separately from the practitioners understanding of them; the practitioner might deliberate,

for example, over whether their creativity was “original”, in both senses of the word, or what parts were “authentic”, or of “value”, in order to demonstrate how the creative act or product forms part of the greater things they understand to be “cultural” and/or “traditional” (Handler & Linnekin, 1984). Santino (2009) shows this to be a falsehood when he distinguishes between emic and etic understandings of tradition. An emic understanding focuses study upon a specific culture via its internal elements and how they function, rather than via any existing external scheme, which if done would form an etic understanding. Santino (2009) points out that while an individual or group may consider something traditional, it does not necessarily follow that another individual or group would.

Therefore, the deliberation over creativity’s orientation is equally found in the self-reflective, self-conscious view of folklore. In calling a creative act innovative or traditional we are knowingly educating how the act or product was conceived and also aligning it with the significances of a particular idiom. Within any creative praxis, as with the folkloric, traditions are self-aware processes and enactments that necessarily consider their relations and references; they often consist of numerous assumptions, but even more numerous queries regarding identity. Thus, there are traditions, that are familial, religious, and nationalistic; and even occupational traditions and online group traditions. The choice to actually enact a particular tradition disregards other traditions. We also decide how we intend to modulate them to make them relevant and authentic to us as performers. Unlike Thompson’s (2013) thoughts, though, these celebrations are not choices made with future generations in mind. Problematizing the prevalent tendency of representational understandings of tradition and innovation that attempt to classify and define factors of culture via orthodox and linear understandings of the folk’s horizons might provide new understandings. As an alternative, attempts to appreciate our own, and others, present-day creative praxes through interpretative folkloric understandings could be foregrounded in order to challenge the current every day, and academic understandings of creativity (Handler & Linnekin, 1984).

The relevance of Bausinger’s theoretical approach to modern studies in creativity has the potential to offer interesting new perspectives. The creative or folk practitioner might recognize that the study of tradition has as much to learn from creativity’s past connections with psychology, as the study of creativity does from tradition’s past connections with notions of the original. Beginning from either end of the spectrum and seeking to investigate via the other would be going some way to maintaining a political equilibrium and developing a sustainable, balanced society.

Notes

1. The term “mentifact” is often used in conjunction with “sociofact” and “artefact” since Huxley (1955) coined it. Auger (2002) suggests that the term defines how values, beliefs, and ideas as cultural traits are transmitted generationally and as such become organic objects in themselves.
2. “To assess” etymologically derived from the Latin *assidere* meaning to “sit by”.
3. The words in italics were added by the author.

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4

Mysteries of Creative Process: Explorations at Work and in Daily Life

Terri Goslin-Jones and Ruth Richards

Introduction

The sudden surprises of creative novelty can change lives and even cultures. Yet the underlying process, in all its mystery, is still poorly understood. In this chapter, we suggest that new perspectives and research methods about creativity may help and can be applied to the workplace and daily life.

Since J.P. Guilford's 1950 Presidential Address to the American Psychological Association (APA), "creativity" has been increasingly acknowledged as a valid and important area of study (Runco & Pritzker, 1999). There has been an exponential increase in creativity research and scholarship, and across diverse domains. Multiple handbooks of creativity exist (e.g., Kaufman & Sternberg, 2010) and Runco and Pritzker's (1999) original *Encyclopedia of Creativity* is now in its second edition (Runco & Pritzker, 2011). There is an agreement on some core qualities of creative persons across fields, such as openness to experience and tolerance of ambiguity and acknowledgement of features and skills appearing more domain specific (Barron & Harrington, 1981; Plucker & Beghetto, 2004; Richards, 2007a). Far from scholarship on creativity being stereotyped to arts

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and sciences, at least one edited volume on *Everyday Creativity* (Richards, 2007a) was, for several years, an APA bestseller, and other books and collections have come out recently in important areas across domains, including education (Beghetto, 2010), ethics and creativity (Moran et al., 2014), play and development (Russ, 2014), and mental illness/health (Kaufman, 2014).

One may wonder if common factors across domains reflect one or more of personal and cognitive style issues, more complex ways of knowing, diversity of interests, risk-taking and intentionality, access to unconscious sources, and/or something else. Interestingly, creativity in the arts and sciences is no longer seen as dramatically different or opposed, and the most celebrated scientists have shown higher rates of arts involvement (Root-Bernstein & Root-Bernstein, 2004). Educational emphasis on science-technology-engineering-mathematics (STEM) has turned to STEAM, with the addition of arts (Carey & Dziengei, 2016). Process-oriented multi-modal group programmes in *expressive arts* (e.g., Rogers, 2011) have been applied widely across domains of endeavour—not just in arts—and towards both individual and group/social healing. In the realm of research, arts-based research (ABR) (Leavy, 2009, 2015) is bringing new depth and holistic awareness to inquiries of diverse sorts. Can such work bring us any closer to the mystery of creativity? The larger domain of qualitative research (Creswell, 2014) is emerging increasingly relevant.

The authors of this chapter combine expertise in business, coaching, and expressive arts with educational psychology, clinical psychiatry, and everyday creativity. We explore deeper ways of knowing of self, other, and our world through rich subjective methods including qualitative interviewing and ABR, framing this in current views of creativity, and then present four examples. Exploration includes the fuller range and depth of our sensitive, subtle, conscious, and unconscious creative processes. Emphasis here is on insight and realisation across work, relationships, and daily life. We use the “Four Ps of Creativity” (Richards, 2007a, Rhodes, 1961)—namely *product*, *process*, *person*, and *press* of the environment—to focus not only on a creative outcome or *product* but on the *process* that generates it, the *person* who manifests this potential, and the *press* of an environment that can make a difference. Four applications/research studies are entitled: Seeds of Creativity, Creative Process at Work, Creativity Coaching, and Relational Creativity. They suggest how research using multi-modal expressive arts can access and cultivate creative process in the workplace.

What Is Creativity?

We begin with *everyday creativity*, using the two *product* criteria of originality and meaningfulness, then turn to *process*. We advocate that human creativity is first universal and can be developed across multiple modalities and different ways of knowing. Creativity can also enhance the qualities of and offer benefits for the health of individuals and cultures. Societal valuing or lack thereof can help or hurt, and *press* of the environment, the “Fourth P of Creativity” (product, process, person, press), is also central. Further framing draws from chaos and complexity theory—viewing creative phenomena as part of our broader nonlinear functioning as open systems, linked interdependently with a world in flux. Consequently, awareness, assessment, and the development of creative process—through arts and everyday living—can contribute in numerous ways to meaningful work, deeper relationships, life satisfaction, and even our worldview.

This chapter explores subtleties of the creative process, especially in the early stages of generating new ideas, for diverse creators across fields and within organisations. However, even though creativity is a universal human capacity, it is often not fully developed. Nonetheless, our imagination and resourcefulness have played a role in human evolution and survival (Dobzhansky, 1962; Gabora & Kaufman, 2010; Richards, 2010; Richards, Kinney, Lunde, & Benet, 1988). Creativity is among the most complex of human endeavours, and we are “everyday creating” every single day of our lives—for example, when we reorganise the office, resolve conflicts with staff, drive a new way home, fix a gourmet meal, plant a garden, or tell our child a bedtime story. Yet do we understand our creativity?

We focus on the “originality of everyday life,” this broad form called “everyday creativity” which involves arts too but is a more pervasive phenomenon. It is probably second nature and intuitively obvious to many of us, whether flexibly adapting, following a hunch, solving a problem, or developing a new skill. Yet, first we need to *see* our creativity, a prerequisite to naming it and advancing it further (Richards, 1999a, 2007a). Otherwise creativity may become invisible. Interestingly, some still view creativity as confined *only* to arts or—heaven forbid—only to famous people. They are blind to our human birthright! Art is a set of life languages for all of us—not just the eminent. Art modalities can open us as well to broader ways of creating and being (Richards, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c).

What do we call creativity? Let’s focus then on the new and original, in general. Evolutionary biologist Dobzhansky speaks of our “phenotypic

plasticity” (Dobzhansky, 1962; Richards et al., 1988), which allows us a sparkling diversity of lifestyles and activities within the bounds of our genetic potential. Look at the amazingly diverse cultures and expressions found around the world. Now with epigenetics (Shenk, 2010) we see even more ways we can thrive—or unknowingly be limited—as our environment releases or suppresses our potential.

In a world at risk, the need is urgent to develop creative potential in work and our daily life to address the economic, environmental, social, and technological challenges of our world. We also bring ethics into the equation (Moran et al., 2014) since creativity is not always beneficent. Yet parts of process by themselves may point towards our higher human nature, even towards an open spontaneous, exploring and aware, useful and beneficent level of self-actualising creativity (Runco & Richards, 1997; Richards, 2014). Note the term *self-actualising* creativity (*actualising*, we are still on the road, never there). Our later examples discuss the seeds of creativity, meaningful work, creativity coaching, and relational creativity.

At best, our creativity affects our personal growth, our health, our relationships, our communities, and the interconnection of the world. It offers a way of life and being that can strengthen and enrich person, culture, and the workplace (Amabile, 1988; Catmull, 2008; Csikszentmihalyi, 2003; Florida, 2007; Goslin-Jones, 2011; Maslow, 1971, 2000; McNiff, 2003, 2004; Robinson & Stern, 1997; Rogers, 1959, 1961; Richards, 2007a).

How could we avoid a capacity so basic to our growth, health, and survival? Yet, as early as 1959, Carl Rogers forewarned (p. 70):

Unless individuals, groups, and nations can imagine, construct, and creatively revise new ways of relating to these complex changes, the lights will go out. Unless man can make new and original adaptations to his environment as rapidly as his science can change the environment, our culture will perish. Not only individual maladjustment and group tensions but international annihilation will be the price we pay for a lack of creativity.

Rogers (1961) advised that creativity was crucial if we are to adapt and thrive with the many changes occurring in education, the sciences, industry, the workplace, and in our personal lives. Maslow (1968) observed that each person has a creative perspective that can add value and new ways to understand a situation. This can indeed apply to business settings. Kaplan (1998) noted, even, how Maslow said the economic life could be an enlightened life. The workplace, as we shall see, can serve as a life laboratory for multiple areas of creative expression, experimentation, building relationships, and personal growth.

Greater use of qualitative research and creative practices is proposed in the workplace and in daily life, to begin to capture some of the subjective experience and subtleties we seek. The authors discuss creative *process* and how the interaction between creativity and work can be powerful, not only for creative *product* but for the creative *person* and the entire workplace environment. Hennessey and Amabile (2010) called for a systems view of creativity and advised that an interdisciplinary investigation of creativity should include neurological, affect/cognition, individual/personality, groups, social environment, culture/society (p. 571). The questions explored in this chapter include:

1. What is creativity, and how can the “Four Ps of Creativity” help us take a more well-rounded look at its effects in the workplace and daily life?
2. What are some subtleties of creativity (unknowns, surprises, mysteries) we can research that may help us learn more about self, other, and the world?
3. How can a focus on creative *process* instead of the more usual *product* support the development of workplace individuals and of meaningful work?
4. How can an arts focus and expressive arts in particular expand creativity even in occupations unrelated to the arts?
5. How can creative process and expressive arts facilitate deeper relationships with colleagues and key stakeholders?
6. How can qualitative research, including ABR, provide ways of going deeper and more holistically into understanding creativity and creators, and potentially advancing meaningful creativity in the workplace creativity and daily life?

We add to the varied perspectives on organisations by exploring applications of qualitative research, including depth inquiries into creative process, art-based research, expressive arts as intervention, promise of relational creativity, and coaching for *creative living* (Goslin-Jones, 2012b) to expand the power of creativity in the workplace.

Key Issues and Definitions Guiding the Inquiry

The following are important to our viewpoint and the four examples which follow later.

Chaos Theory

Colloquially, some speak of the science of “change and surprise.” Here is non-linear dynamical systems theory (NDS theory), with rigorous criteria involving

systems that are (Smith, 2007; Guastello, Koopmans, & Pincus, 2009) recurrent, deterministic, and can show sensitivity to initial conditions. Many examples make common sense, including the unpredictability of the weather, avalanches, stock market boom or bust, and even falling in love. At other times, nothing changes. Metaphorically at minimum, these formalisms can resonate deeply with features of creative process including the Aha! moment of insight. This has been discussed metaphorically for some time (Briggs & Peat, 1989; Guastello, 1995, Abraham, Combs, Zausner chapters in Sulis & Combs, 1996; Richards, 2017). Beyond this, NDS are profoundly interdependent. They not only help explain many paradoxes in our world but at best can leave us humbler before the immensity and complexity of nature. We cannot control everything! At the same time, we can learn to work with it harmoniously—and we may find mystery and great beauty there.

Creativity

It is often used as a product definition for productions (across domains) showing two criteria: originality and usefulness (Plucker & Beghetto, 2004). Another common set of criteria (after Barron, 1969; Richards, 2007a) is originality and, this time, meaningfulness. The choice is to not bring in society's judgement. Too many are the false positives, not to mention the missed creative triumphs discovered only years later. The Lifetime Creativity Scales (Kinney, Richards, & Southam, 2012) allow for assessment of everyday creativity based on real-life activities at work and leisure. Product can refer to a range of concrete outcomes, ideas, or behaviours; it generally involves *bringing something new into existence* (Barron, 1969; Maslow, 1968). It may also honour new ways of doing something we know. Consider a mechanic who invented his own tools (Richards et al., 1988). Product, yes. But moving more towards process, how it is done. May (1975) stressed how expression can involve an encounter or intense engagement and absorption with one's environment or life experience.

The Four Ps of Creativity

As noted, the Four Ps of Creativity (Goslin-Jones, 2010; Rhodes, 1961, Richards, 1999a) add further and more formal perspectives, important to this chapter. One may care not just about What but How, Who, Where, and Why. A bit like a mystery board game. Process refers to qualities, such as feelings,

internal experiences, mental operations, and behaviours relevant to creative outcomes. When more long term and stylistic, they can be aspects of creative *person*. Characteristics such as abilities, attitudes, cognition, motivation, and values can indeed be relevant. Environmental *press* refers to external conditions that inhibit or heighten individual creativity. Think of an encouraging parent or a highly critical boss. The burgeoning science of epigenetics adds further complexity for creativity (Shenk, 2010) as setting interacts with innate endowment. Think again, long term, of that critical boss.

Creative Process: The Three I's and a Closer Look at Some Subtleties

Creative process as described by Wallas (1926) can be broken down for convenience into five phases including *Preparation, Incubation, Intimation, Illumination, and Verification*. *Intimation*, the fifth, isn't always given but may be especially important here. In *preparation*, the person does groundwork in investigating what is known, in gathering resources. In the next three steps, The Three I's, we get more into what may comprise the realm of *mystery*.

The Three I's

Incubation is what may occur when we put the work aside and take that walk with our muse, or that shower, or otherwise relax and redirect our efforts. Something keeps happening presumably at an unconscious level. Then perhaps along with *intimation* (see below) comes sudden insight, or *illumination*. The Big Aha! The process may draw on conscious experience, as in the apocryphal example of Archimedes shouting "Eureka!" I found it (Kounios & Beeman, 2015) and, delighted, leaping (naked) from the bath. He knew how to tell whether the king's crown was all gold or a sneaky substitute; the secret involved density and displaced water. He saw the bath's water level change, and *Aha!* Nobel Prize-winning scientist Barbara McClintock, studying corn, said of her own process, and her own frequent insights, "Something happens that you have the answer—before you are able to put it into words. It is all done subconsciously I know when to take it seriously" (Kounios & Beeman, 2015, p. 27). Now, please hang on a moment more for *intimation*.

A nice aspect to note well is that this flash of *illumination* or insight tends to involve *joy* (Wallas, 1926) and not only joy but along with it, perhaps, a distinct neurological signature, an "alpha (wave) brain blink" preceding a

“gamma insight burst” (Kounios & Beeman, 2015, p. 84) In any case, our mind has changed, something has reconfigured, perhaps with new integration and meaning. (In psychotherapy, this can also feel good!) As Richards (2001), and Richards & Goslin-Jones (2018) also suggested, around the joys of beauty, this wondrous insight may also—in our seeking new knowledge—be part of the power and joy of *truth*. Values of creators (Barron, 1969) very much include an aesthetic of truth.

Intimacy: The Missing Link?

Now to that possible missing link, namely *intimacy*, happening for Wallas (1926) within the *illumination* state, at times as a herald. Have you known this “condition” yourself? He says it can readily be forgotten, perhaps as “fringe consciousness” or a “halo or penumbra” that surrounds and escorts the insight (pp. 96–97). With excitement of insight, do we forget the prelude? Maybe instead we should look.

Let us propose here that (1) “raising consciousness” of this stage may benefit our creativity and that (2) intimacy *may sometimes precede illumination by rather a bit more than an instant*. It may keep us, or start us, on a creative path. *And that, often, THIS can feel good*. Here, let us say, is a problem and we *know* we can solve it. We *know*. Next moment, we hope, next day if we are lucky. We will keep on working. Yet we don’t have a clue as to this insight or how it might be found!

Thus, *intimacy* may even be a bit freer floating in this (granted intentionally simplified) five-part creative-process scheme. In an extreme it could even come first and get us *preparing* and then *incubating*. Or it may pop up, more as Wallas says, during *incubation*, at least if we’re tuned in, and keep us aiming straight. Or it might—although it seems less likely—send us back to the drawing boards. Seems more like a completion is on the way. And we are fascinated, intrigued; we want to do it. Here is a peek below the surface, in any case. And probably *not*—from the standpoint of evolution and the value of creativity—an accidental one.

Richards (2015, 2017) is doing a series of interview studies called Seeds of Creativity (see several key results from “Seeds,” Study I, in examples below). What brain mechanism might help us suspect that an answer is there? Possibilities arise including a chaos theory gathering in material drawn to a “strange attractor” of mind (written about by Krippner, Richards, & Abraham, 2014, in the context of dream imagery, and as focus for later dream interpretation). Consider, in addition, what Briggs and Peat (1989) call *nuance* and

exemplified by figures including Einstein and Virginia Woolf, who, each in their own way, were fascinated by something subtle and nonverbal and were drawn in—even, in the service of this mystery, to a lifetime of creation. Five-year-old Einstein, for instance, got a compass—and looked for years (what kept that needle always pointing the same way?) for a unified field theory.

Nuance and Intimation

Nuance is said to be “a shade of meaning, a complex of feeling, or subtlety of perception for which the mind has no worlds or mental categories” (p. 194). We propose nuance may at times participate in intimation. How rich this one is, particularly to a student of Eastern Philosophy. In our manifest known world, which we have fastened down by names and categories, by conceptual thought, we are screening out all the rest (a vast infinity). In meditation, the goal is to transcend conceptual thought. By stilling the waters, says the Zen master, we can see to the bottom of the river. In this chapter, without our getting into fractal models of memory (as per Ben Goertzel), let us note again the wise Briggs and Peat (1989), also calling on Paul LaViolette. “Nuances exist in the fractal spaces *between* our categories of thought” (p. 195). We are fascinated, drawn to it! We are unfolding the infinite unknown in our creating. Just talk about mystery! And at least to the meditator, why wouldn’t this feel good, why wouldn’t it hold great joy?

At a more mundane level, we probably know something is happening subterraneously when we choose to study for the test at least “a day in advance.” Or when we “sleep on it.” The Three I’s, *Incubation—Intimation—Illumination*, may be recruited and are somehow working for us. Can we perhaps learn ways so they can work for us even better?

Finally, no. 5, the *verification* stage, is an intentional, conscious process that evaluates and validates insights that have emerged. Overall, we see these five categories are a richly valuable heuristic and deserve fuller study. Here qualitative inquiry and ABR can help.

Creative Qualities Crossing Boundaries

We reemphasise this vital point. In what ways can creative potential differ across fields; what is the common core? This has long been discussed (e.g., Plucker & Beghetto, 2004). Yet certain predilections, qualities, attitudes, cognitive styles are found throughout (e.g., Barron & Harrington, 1981; Richards,

2007a, S. Kaufman, 2014; Root-Bernstein & Root-Bernstein, 1999). In Richards' (2007a) content analysis, common process qualities were included: Dynamic, Conscious, Nondefensive, Open, and Integrating along with seven others including Brave. Compellingly, in the *Art of Perception*, Herman (2016) illustrated the importance of multiple ways of knowing by training experts from many fields to refine their visual intelligence. She used art and images to teach techniques that would help her clients analyse complex situations and to cultivate observational skills that can be engaged to recognise the risks and opportunities that emerge in daily life. At The Learning Connexion, www.tlc.ac.nz, in Wellington, New Zealand (see Milne, 2006), university-level art students are mentored not just in creating in their special areas of expression but in developing and transferring life skills from their creative studio efforts, for deliberate transfer and carryover into their efforts in the world.

Eminent and Exceptional Creativity

By distinction with everyday creativity—although eminent accomplishment typically arises from an everyday ground (Richards, 2010, 2014; Runco & Richards, 1997)—eminent and exceptional creativity is often focused on original products (vs. personal development). These may be linked more to a social need and involve more of a group or social judgement with the contributions yielding societal recognition or acclaim within a field or recognised category.

Everyday Creativity

As above, everyday creativity is defined explicitly first as a product (Barron, 1969) with the criteria of *originality* and *meaningfulness*. It can be expressed in any area of daily life across numerous human endeavours at work and at leisure, including more traditional creative activities such as the arts. Included too are varied other activities involving work, family life, community involvement, extracurricular activities, and processes for life-long learning (Goslin-Jones, 2010; Richards, 1999a, 2007a). We are creative by our very nature.

Expressive Arts

Practitioners in the field of expressive arts combine and integrate visual arts, movement, drama, music, writing, and other creative processes in an open

trusting, collaborative group setting, to foster growth and transformation with individuals and groups. When expressive arts processes are offered in this inter-modal way, a person may gain access to creative resources that contribute to decision-making, health and well-being, illumination, innovation, problem-solving, and stronger relationships (Fernandez, 2012; Goslin-Jones, 2010, 2011, 2012b; Goslin-Jones & Herron, 2016a, b; Levine & Levine, 2011; Rogers, 1993, 2011; <http://www.ieata.org>).

Meaningful Work

Meaningful work engages a person's unique gifts, talents, and passions and offers a contribution while aligned with one's values and sense of purpose. It is typically directed to socially useful ends, even a greater good. Meaningful work has the potential to support a person economically and also emotionally, intellectually, and spiritually. Over time, being engaged in meaningful work of this sort can transform a worker and the community where the work is being offered (Fox, 1994; Goslin-Jones, 2010; Hollis, 2005; Sheep, 2006; Tulku, 1994a, 1994b).

Relational Creativity

Relational creativity involves bringing presence, originality, and personal qualities that permit openness to another, to one's own personal change, and attention to a broader context or system than one person, moving beyond fixed beliefs, attitudes, ego issues, and other constraints. These spontaneous open reflective and adaptive interactions fit criteria of both *originality* and *meaningfulness*. At the same time, process becomes product. Richards (2007b, 2014) drawing from the Self-in-Relation model used by the Stone Center, Wellesley, emphasised five relational qualities validated in a challenging clinical inpatient setting where she worked. These included *engagement, authenticity, empathy, mutuality, and empowerment*. Beyond specific clinical applications, "relational" work in the arts is also addressed as interaction. So too the individual potential to ascend to highest personal and spiritual potentialities—for example, four immeasurables of Buddhism, *loving-kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy, equanimity* (Richards, 2007b; see also Buber, 1971; Wallace, 1999), through creativity—our relational and trans-relational potential.

Of importance here, person-centred expressive arts (PCEA) can foster deeper relationships, trust, risk, growth, and a sense of belonging by creating an inner connection to self, other, and one's efforts while accessing many of

the qualities that support relational creativity (Goslin-Jones, 2010, 2011, 2012a, b).

Self-Actualising Creativity

The self-actualising person, in Maslow's (1968) hierarchy of needs, is moving towards a higher peak, having primarily satisfied lower needs, such as physiological, and safety, needs, and is unfolding a higher human potential. The hierarchy is not absolute; that is, one needn't fully achieve one stage to go on to the next. But the order is important. Rhodes (1990) extended this model to self-actualising *creativity*. This in many ways resembles everyday creativity and is more focused on person in world, and a way of life, than on product. Based on interview research, Maslow (1968, 1971) found the self-actualising person was interestingly often focused on doing useful work, on helping in a field of expertise, or in the larger world. While spontaneous, open, and fun, and at times even childlike in enthusiasm (think of Einstein riding his bicycle), they also tend to adhere to higher "being values" such as truth, justice, and beauty. Another is very interesting in the context of conscious awareness, found central in everyday creativity (e.g., Richards, 2007a), namely, "aliveness." Self-actualising is in quest of one's humanness and the ultimate expression of a person (Maslow, 1968).

Expanded Research Approaches

Next, we address qualitative methods in general and the spectrum of ABR. This is not done in a comprehensive way, though key references are supplied. Rather it is to support adding research on the subtleties we have noted, beyond a more conventional research programme. The goal is not to replace current methods but to honour a richer combination, often of Mixed Methods research.

Qualitative Inquiry

Do we want to interview people? In creativity—why not? Learn about their subjective experience? What are they thinking and feeling? This might well be an important aspect of their creativity! Now some wouldn't call this a new approach, and participants have been interviewed, for one thing, for years. Yet qualitative research has been coming more into its own in psychology recently

and with the initiation, several years ago, of a research sub-emphasis within the APA.

Methods of qualitative inquiry (e.g., Creswell, 2014; Rubin & Rubin, 2005) are well-paired with quantitative inquiry (together as Mixed Methods). Here is a way both to go broad and deep, for instance, in a survey study, where a larger group is characterised and a subset is randomly chosen for in-depth semi-structured interviews around a topic of interest. Pressures in a work setting, for instance. Transcripts are often processed via thematic analysis (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). There are also numerous other qualitative approaches (e.g., Miles & Huberman, 2013; Yin, 2011). Quantitative inquiry can provide broad-based information for a large number of people, qualitative can give us the depth of human knowing. This approach has its own requirements for reliability and validity, and the sensitivity of the researcher as interviewer and interpreter of findings becomes critical.

Arts-Based Research: What Is It?

ABR can involve many things, many forms of expression. We may do paintings, act out conflicts, write in a blog, make a group sculpture in clay to capture a difficult experience, or develop a collective vision board. One doctoral student had young people do community murals to explore value-based learning and ways they could contribute. The community later celebrated these contributions.

ABR includes a series of approaches and ways of knowing that invite research questions to be discovered, described, and explored in new and often holistic and cognitive-affectively integrated ways (Leavy, 2009). A variety of approaches are used in arts-based inquiry such as dance, film, literary writing, images, and other art forms. When using an arts-based methodology, there is a greater focus on the impact of the *process* and *experience* that was manifested by the art method versus focusing on a desire to achieve a measurable or quantifiable result. The researcher can also use reflection and dialogue to examine an encounter with an art or interdisciplinary arts. Arts-based practices can be used, for example, to explore emotions, to understand an experience, and to raise consciousness about social issues (Leavy, 2009).

Barone & Eisner (2012, pp. 164–171) suggest that ABR contains ten basic features.

- A process of making sense of the world through *representation*.
- Forms of representation which each offer limitations and opportunities for new ways to interpret and understand.

- Dialogue which is created about noteworthy questions and allows one to re-experience and rethink traditional responses.
- A qualitative and experiential process that can illuminate meaning in a way that measurement cannot.
- Expansion of the possibilities and application of new aptitudes to research methods.
- Diversification of development and use of skills and engagement of interdisciplinary processes.
- Cultivated and application can occur across disciplines and serve as a catalyst for new dialogue and novel ways of thinking and being.
- Lessons are provided which can be learnt from just one person, an “N of 1”.
- Typically, not intended to replace traditional research, a deepening process offering diversification of perspective on a situation for complex issues we care about.
- Contribution to understanding through exploring expressive properties and relationships in varied media.

Four Examples/Illustrations

The following projects and examples demonstrate features and subtleties in developing creative potential, both in general and at work. One sees some diverse and sometimes quite unusual benefits for organisations. Recall that the focus goes beyond creative *product*, to look at *process*, *person*, and *press* of the environment. The first example is based on in-depth qualitative interviews around real-life creative lived experience, across diverse area—a study which Dr Ruth Richards continues at a second level. In the last three examples, Dr Terri Goslin-Jones used expressive arts in the actual interventions themselves, and a rich new type of data, for appreciating the power of creativity at work, is provided. Some background is given in each case.

Example One: *Seeds of Creativity—Origins of insight*

Example Two: *Creative Process at Work*

Example Three: *Creativity Coaching*

Example Four: *Relational Creativity in Work and Life*

Note that the first example is a study of highly creative individuals across domains and the next three are focused mainly on individuals in an organisational setting. These are personal, subjective, and include art-based compo-

nents. Compared to many studies, these vastly expand the scope, meaning, and potential of understanding creativity at work and in daily life.

Example One: Seeds of Creativity: Experiences on the Path of Insight

Here is a qualitative interview study (“SEEDS I”), with a follow-up study ongoing now; the first was done with eight remarkable people, four in the USA and four from New Zealand/Australia around lived experiences of creative insight (Richards, 2015). This was an intentional sample, individuals with ability to be highly original beyond boundaries, both in ideas and in their realisation. All but one was known personally to the investigator, and at least one associate seconded each nomination. Participants ranged from 20s to 70s, three females, five males, with median of 60 years, across fields including health, psychology, visual art, creative writing, and history. *Three-quarters (six people) had expertise and interest in both arts and sciences.*

Each participant was asked the same three questions, at their office or home location or an international conference. Each received these in advance for contemplation and so they could choose a particularly poignant (to them) example for each. Participants chose to discuss, as directed, experiences that felt particularly powerful for them involving:

1. Aha! moment.
2. Ongoing creativity.
3. Conviction that “something is there” without knowing details yet—or perhaps even having a clue!

This inquiry is particularly relevant to “The Three I’s” in Wallas’ (1926) five stages of creative process, as discussed and extended earlier. Follow-up questions were appropriate to each participant, focused on actual experience, and asked for concrete details; this was about real-life lived *experience*, not creators’ theories, childhoods, and so on! There was general enthusiasm from interviewees. Minimum time commitment was set at a half hour, yet there always was eagerness to continue and a couple of interviews ran almost two hours. Typically, there was audio taping of response with later transcription for content analysis (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). This is how such a study might often be done, except for the more flexible timing! In addition, one person, a conference participant with work constraints, did finish the in-person questions later by hand for the investigator.

This study has continued as “SEEDS II” (in SEEDS I respondents were guaranteed confidentiality; names are therefore not divulged, and group findings are the norm). In SEEDS II, still being conducted, participants are identified specifically by name, and they identify and speak about their actual work. They are sometimes publicly known personages.

From SEEDS I, there emerged seven main themes, which are given below. These came very much out of a context of lived experience, and subtle awareness by creative people of their underlying process, in tales they told about specific instances. Each theme has led to an area for further follow-up, yielding research questions for the ongoing SEEDS II. For further discussion of importance of creative process, and its subtleties, including potential phenomena from chaos theory, and (b) yielding ways—all else being equal, that creative process can benefit us, as individuals and even as cultures—see Richards (1981, 1994, 1999b, 2001, 2007a, b, c, 2010, 2014).

Interviewees could all relate (across domains) to the three experiences, of immediate and ongoing insight, and to “knowing it’s there” without knowing much more. The seven themes were intriguing, emerging from content analysis of interviews (Richards, 2015). They often (but not always, e.g., “collaboration”) involved the majority of participants.

1. Connecting with unconscious sources (e.g., “it usually comes just before sleep”)
2. Setting up conditions and letting things go (e.g., creative writer/historian intentionally creating a conflict between fictional characters and “seeing” how it plays out; “absolutely natural ... like being near a swimming pool ... jump in (more research helps)”)
3. Honouring *emergence* (Example no. 2; also, letting chance enter in a work of visual art)
4. Using creative collaboration (e.g., honouring a “synergy” in research or music)
5. Ways of staying with the flow (e.g., “letting” new effects trigger further effects)
6. Working with multiple states of consciousness (Example no. 1, plus modulating from open and receptive to more focused flow)
7. Beauty, awareness, openness, joy (e.g., aesthetic enjoyment and presence, and seen across diverse domains—as a creation develops)

Much can be said, here, including the role of the “Three I’s.” To give a flavour of this, incubation and intimation enter in example no. 2. (The creator was unusually in touch with that mental substratum, plus had a sense it’d work out. Another respondent even knew “where” it would end up, but not

yet how it would get there.) There are many instances of illumination (Aha!) sometimes through modulating mental state by oneself or with others, or using chance, or altered states, to facilitate this. Do know the “Seeds” research continues, including questions around these seven areas. For now, note as well, that some benefits are evident in research findings from the next three examples too—which is to say, they are relevant to people in organisations!

Example Two: Creative Process at Work

If creativity is necessary for survival and can lead to greater awareness and wholeness for individuals and for communities, then surely it may be a useful concern in our modern organisational work lives. Research is supporting this. As illustration, see Table 4.1, a ProQuest library search (February 15, 2017) using the terms organisational creativity, from 2006–2017 resulted in 11,164 citations across types of resources.

In a review, Hennessey and Amabile (2010) agreed there is increased exploration of creativity in the workplace. Findings indicated that psychological safety, time for creative exploration, autonomy, developmental feedback, and support in developing and implementing creativity goals facilitate creativity. An important summary point was that “people are most creative when they are motivated primarily by interest, enjoyment, satisfaction and challenge of the work itself—i.e. by intrinsic motivation” (p. 390).

How can creativity be facilitated in the workplace? Next, we discuss some qualitative research studies exploring ways to enhance workplace creativity.

Expressive arts combine and integrate visual arts, movement, drama, music, writing, and other processes to foster creative expression with individuals and groups (Goslin-Jones, 2010, 2011, 2012a, b, c; Rogers, 1993, 2011). Goslin-Jones (2010) studied the use of PCEA to generate greater creativity, both within the individual and in the workplace. The research investigated three topics:

Table 4.1 “Organisational creativity” (2006–2017)

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| Scholarly journal | 5969 |
| Dissertations, theses | 1477 |
| Trade journal | 1456 |
| Books | 643 |
| Newspapers | 599 |
| Other sources | 319 |
| Conference papers | 271 |
| Magazines | 264 |
| Wire feeds | 166 |
| Total | 11,164 |

Creativity in the workplace, meaningful work, and PCEA. Criteria for participant selection included involvement in the Saybrook Person-Centered Expressive Arts programme, professional work experience, and an interest in exploring the impact of creative practices on one's work life. Semi-structured interviews and qualitative thematic analysis were used with 14 participants.

Results contributed to an understanding of ways that expressive arts specifically could be used to advance one's creative expression in work, across different roles. There were also implications for developing a more integrated and holistic lifestyle. PCEA experience was linked to increased self-awareness that facilitated physical, emotional, and spiritual well-being and served as a catalyst for change and personal growth. Research participants shared how experience with expressive arts facilitated deeper and more creative relationships with their own selves as well as others. One aspect, and one subtlety, involved expressive arts offering a bridge to *preverbal* experience and creativity (Goslin-Jones, pp. 68, 109–110).

After accessing such preverbal information, many participants noted that their creative process was enhanced. They had found a deeper potential. Professionals can use expressive arts to access creativity in more general ways, including new behaviours, knowledge, and wisdom which can then be incorporated into one's work and can help support one's livelihood.

Layna, a research participant who previously worked as an engineer, observed that expressive arts could be used to solve complex business problems. She used art, image-making, painting, movement, music, and writing to search for new information that was "uncoded" and may not have language and vocabulary or even pictures as descriptors. The process of expressive arts gave her access to vast amount of preverbal or "uncoded" information. Layna used the term "coded" to describe information that had previously been unconscious and was not available to her in words. She described this experience:

Expressive arts use movement, sound, and things that are happening in the moment to gather information. New insights can be reached and later described and integrated into one's larger awareness. None of this new information would be available to the "coded system" without the process of expressive arts. A key insight for me is that expressive arts is a bridge between what is not coded to our coded world, left brain world. New insights can be reached, coded, and integrated into the stream of life using expressive arts. Expressive arts are fundamental, alive, and dynamic; it is working with new things that have not been coded. That leap is taken by putting words to what emerges through expressive arts, and writing about it. (Goslin-Jones, 2010, p. 93)

Barbara, a marketing executive, realised that expressive arts activated her general creativity, which she could apply to her business strategy.

The expressive arts process has released my creativity in many new ways. I have used my creativity and my skills in marketing, writing, teaching, and business to develop products that support understanding and awareness in people's lives. One of the products I created after going through expressive arts has a patent pending. Another business venture for me has been offering creativity workshops. People are very interested right now in creativity, but they aren't familiar with the term "expressive arts." It has been surprising to me that one of my business projects feeds the other. (Goslin-Jones, 2010, p. 94)

Fernandez (2012) conducted doctoral research at the European Graduate School, with eight individuals, ages ranging from 30 to 73, and identified ways in which expressive arts contributed to decision-making. She found that expressive arts sessions provided a process for participants to explore a continuum of ambiguous information and surface emotions and ideas that were unexplored. This led to new levels of awareness, clarity, and finally to decisive actions. Participants could also regulate emotions such as anxiety or apprehension that previously interfered with decision-making. Fernandez observed that expressive arts fostered emergence, flow, and progress that may have remained buried by using exclusively analytical methods for sense-making and decision-making.

Serifsoy (2012) conducted qualitative research at Saybrook University with eight organisational leaders who were involved in artistic processes outside of the workplace including film-making, music, painting, and gymnastics. Her study concluded that the leader's involvement in creative processes outside of the workplace also advanced their workplace creativity and leadership skills. The leaders experienced greater relational awareness, mindful engagement, creative imagination, and emotional vitality.

The risks and challenges of using expressive arts were discussed with business executives (Goslin-Jones, 2010). Barbara, a marketing executive, discussed the need for a safety valve when strong emotions emerge. She advised that in a business environment it is important to design the expressive arts session to meet both the needs of the business and the individual. Expressive arts tools provide greater access to your emotions, experiences, and offer clarity in difficult situations. This is an area worth further study. In a business environment, it's essential to appreciate these subtleties and design the expressive arts process to support the goals of the individual and the organisation.

Deanna, pharmacist/scientist, advised that an organisation should be committed to expressive arts and management should not introduce it to an organisation if it was going to be treated like another fad:

A risk in introducing this to companies is that it may be perceived as another fad. I have seen so many people not being sincere in corporate environments. Management will introduce a new process and say everything is going to be better. We're going to care about people and we're going to listen to people. I don't know how many times I've heard this and it is bogus and just a front and it's just not happening in reality. (Goslin-Jones, 2010, p. 102)

Layna, engineer, talked about the risk of discovering information that may disrupt one's self-image. However, she also noted that each person knows what is right and cannot be pushed into personal discovery and self-knowledge.

The sense of self may become dismantled. If a person fears there is a risk, there is likely to be a risk. It is not easy to be oneself and to discover so much about oneself. Some people might have risks that are more threatening, so they must hold on to their fake self and they cannot do expressive arts. The beauty of expressive arts is you cannot push someone to find a discovery about themselves that might harm or ruin them. (Goslin-Jones, p. 184)

Karolyn, research coordinator, discussed her concerns that some companies may not be a safe place for employees to experience expressive arts:

There may be a risk in using expressive arts when it is offered in some workplaces. When personal growth and development training comes into a work place, the focus may be more on productivity and the purpose of the training may be in the best interest of the company versus focusing on the individual's needs. The workplace may not be a safe space to make connections or to express oneself. It could be used more for the illusion of a "caring" employer or corporation. (Goslin-Jones, 2010, p. 103)

Maya, nurse, observed that there is a component of vulnerability, depth, and dimensions that may not neatly fit into a meeting agenda or schedule:

Whenever a person uses expressive arts, there is a component of vulnerability and shared responsibility—so in that way a risk is taken. Expressive arts involve moving beyond our comfort zone to feel, think, act, and experience the world in new ways. Using the arts in meetings and in workshops adds depth and

dimension to understanding. This can create an element of risk with timing—a person may run out of time; the meeting may need to end and the person may still feel exposed and vulnerable.

However, the question we really should be asking is ... “What is the risk of not using expressive arts?” If learning continues to be only in our head, there is at least 2/3 of our being that we are ignoring. There are other ways of knowing and ways of being and to have greater understanding person. (Goslin-Jones, 2010, p. 184)

Expressive arts processes are powerful and go deep. And deep across diverse enterprises. They are used for community-based action, conflict resolution, decision-making, grief work, innovation, personal growth/empowerment, stress reduction, product development, self-actualising creativity, team-building, and workplace transformation (Goslin-Jones, 2010, 2011, 2012c; Goslin-Jones & Herron, 2016a, b; Rogers, 2011; Serifsoy, 2012). Future research to further unfold mechanisms and transfer across situations will be important. Interesting, indeed, for those people who separate off arts into their own domain to see that expressive arts can help solve complex business problems (Goslin-Jones, 2010, p. 177).

Example Three: Coaching for Creative Living

Creative Living Coaching process (Goslin-Jones, 2012b; Goslin-Jones & Herron, 2016a, b), as per the next example, is another method to stimulate individuals’ creative potential and may be more suitable for some persons. Prior to leading the Creativity Studies programme at Saybrook University, Terri Goslin-Jones, PhD, brought a background including 17 years in Human Resources. She later resigned as Vice President of Human Resources to launch a leadership development consulting practice of her own with a business mission to “Discover the Wonder of People at Work” (<http://www.terrigoslin-jones.com/>). She began working with business leaders using expressive arts as a method to integrate creative emphases into one’s work and life.

This led to her doctoral studies and dissertation, *The Perceived Effects of Person-Centered Expressive Arts on One’s Work Experience* (Goslin-Jones, 2010), and furthered her passion to unleash creativity in the workplace (Goslin-Jones, 2010, 2011). She believes where work is meaningful and consistent with one’s values and ethics (Goslin-Jones, 2010, 2011, Moran et al., 2014, Richards, 2010, 2014), “work can become a sacred place where people are giving birth to their deepest passions and creative spirit” (Goslin-Jones, 2010).

As a workplace psychologist, Dr Goslin-Jones observed that many of her clients' ability to access their inner life was inhibited. They were unaware of their innermost creative potential. Her clients had a longing for creative expression, meaningful work, greater health and well-being, and finding ways to activate and use their creativity but they did not know how to achieve these desires (Goslin-Jones, 2012a, b, c); Goslin-Jones & Herron, 2016a). Dr Goslin-Jones developed a Creative Living Coaching process (2012a, b, 2016) to further identify and develop creativity with her clients.

The in-depth coaching process included four, three-and-a-half hours, expressive arts modules that explored some key personal and developmental themes:

1. Let your Life Speak: Who have I been?
2. Claiming My Life Story: Who am I now?
3. Authoring Your Next Chapter: Who am I becoming?
4. Launching your Next Chapter: How do I realise my potential?

All four modules in the Creative Living Coaching process use multi-modal expressive arts including meditation, movement, art, and writing that, ultimately, led to verbally communicating the clients' experience and insights (Goslin-Jones, 2012a, b) (Fig. 4.1).

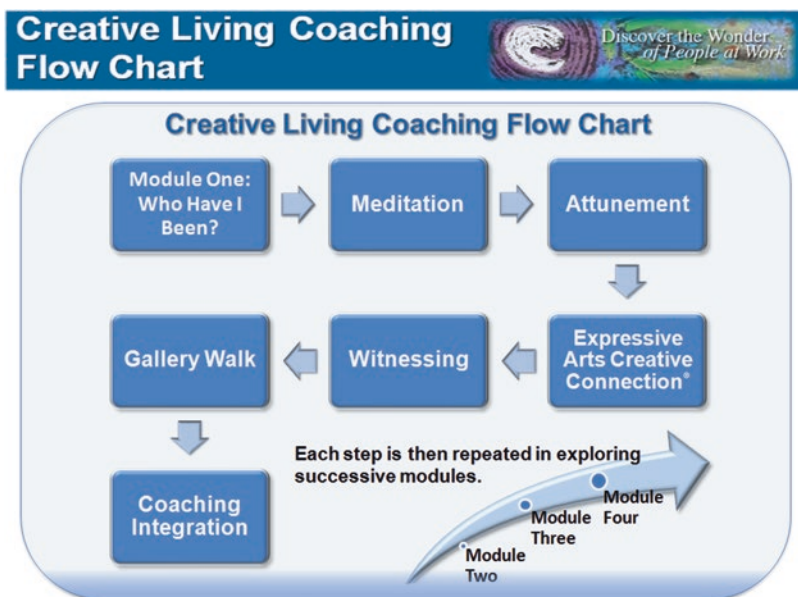


Fig. 4.1 Creative living flow chart. Source: Goslin-Jones (2012a, b)

Goslin-Jones' (2012a, b) Creative Living Coaching Process has been employed and studied in both a group format and in one-on-one coaching settings to investigate ways to lead a more creative and fulfilling life. The coaching process included the development of a personalised *Creative Living Plan* for growth, change, and personal renewal including the areas outlined in (Fig. 4.2)

Clients find this expressive arts coaching approach (Goslin-Jones, 2012a, b) can serve as a process to access greater inner awareness; this can lead to creative and innovative ways of responding and manoeuvring through one's personal and work life. For example, client's discovered:

Monika: I want to create a new snapshot of what I am good at. This will include identifying my talents and passions and a picture of my "best work". I am ready for something radically new. I want to identify the "sweet spot" between my talents and joy. I discovered I have lost my true centre about what I am good at. I am recycling work versus creating excitement. A question that emerged for me was "How do I reclaim myself? I am experiencing a paradox between "motherhood is my priority" and "I am hungry to have my life back". I need space, time, and discipline to focus on my

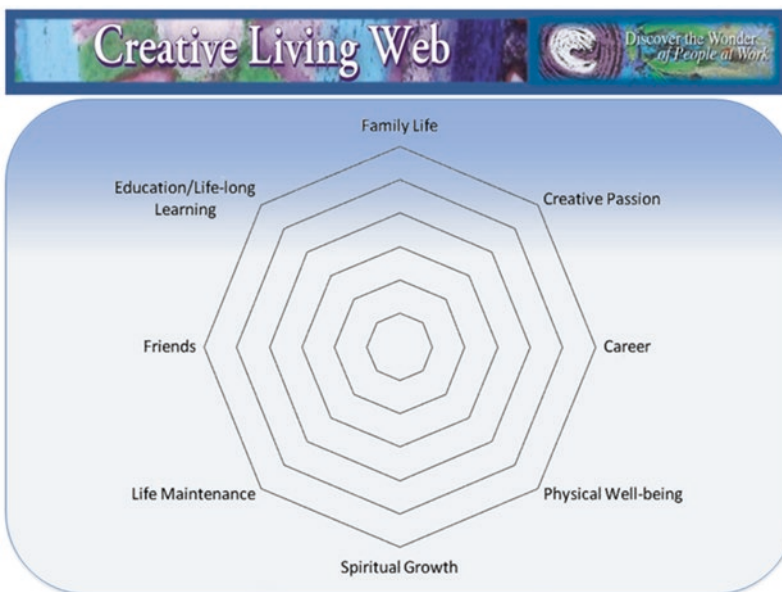


Fig. 4.2 The creative living web. Source: Goslin-Jones (2012a, b)

- Rebecca: Creative Living Plan. It was helpful to use movement, art and writing and then talk out loud about reclaiming myself. I noticed that when I am engaging in my artistic hobbies it's easier for me to be creative and improvisational at work. My creative endeavours include photography, music, singing and tennis. When I express myself in creative ways I experience carryover because I'm more in touch with my whole self or at least more of myself. For example, I've noticed that I have more energy when I've been working on a creative project. Expressing myself creatively gives me energy and spontaneously my mind starts thinking about my work projects, or research projects, in creative and proactive ways.
- Jessie: When I am engaged in an expressive arts process, I get into FLOW, lose my sense of time, and I feel refreshed and energized when it is over. Also, I have been offering more creative options at work. The expressive arts coaching process helps me to see the world through different eyes, to be more aware. I look at the world and communicate differently.

Additional feedback after clients completed the expressive arts coaching process included:

- Monika: Each coaching module activated my dream life through meditation, experiential exercise, art-making, and sharing with others.
- Jean: The Creative Living Coaching gave me time to open my mind to a world of possibilities.
- Amy: The experience was a portal that took me deep into myself.
- Susan: The process was energizing-even to the point of losing sleep because of excitement.

Expressive arts is a process used by Dr Goslin-Jones to expand creativity and to facilitate change and growth. Her clients have experienced enhanced abilities in communication, creativity, decision-making, empathy, intuition and problem-solving, and well-being. Although there is self-selection in participants that use expressive arts, the range of organisational participants is significant. The next example provides additional information about the impact of using expressive arts to strengthen relationships.

Example Four: Relational Creativity in Work and Life

Workplace coaching frequently involves relational creativity, which calls upon creativity in interpersonal engagement, risk-taking, and willingness to listen to new perspectives and to work with others to develop and implement changes. Qualities such as authenticity, attunement, congruence, empathy, openness, and presence are important (Maslow, 1968; Richards, 2007c; Rogers, 1959, 1961; Siegel, 2010, 2017). Coaches are hired to work with employees to strengthen communication, to develop empathy, to transform conflict, and to connect individuals and teams at greater levels of authenticity so they may become empowered to reach more of their potential as individuals and within a team environment. The following examples further explain the impact of using expressive arts to enhance relational creativity in work and life.

A heuristic study conducted by Warren (2008) used an in-depth interview process with 11 mid-life professional women, ages 35–54, and studied the effects of expressive arts to reduce anxiety and stress. Warren observed that mid-life professional women seldom felt they had the time to develop their creativity because of conflicting priorities for career advancement and raising a family. Emptiness, stress, and anxiety frequently emerged at mid-life which impacted work and personal lives. All 11 women found that expressive arts reduced anxiety and stress. In addition, engagement of expressive arts in mid-life contributed to self-growth and optimism. This study confirmed that the focus on creative process positively impacted participants in many ways including intra- and interpersonal relationships.

Composite archival data from groups in expressive arts workshops that Dr Goslin-Jones facilitated confirmed that expressive arts results in change and personal transformation and deeper relationships, as also described in Table 4.2: Results of PCEA on Work and Life (Goslin-Jones, 2010, p. 68, pp. 109–110).

Some of the areas discussed included stronger work relationships, the ability to explore and understand emotions, relationships, and group boundaries, and discover and reclaim unexpressed aspects of oneself.

For example,

Gabriel, a Human Resources leader, said that his work become more meaningful as he has learned to become more “whole” through creative expression. Gabriel discerned that expressive arts offered a vehicle to develop aspects of his creative potential that were dormant. After attending a week-long expressive arts workshop, he re-discovered his love of singing and performing. He auditioned

Table 4.2 Results of PCEA on Work and Life (pp. 109–110, Goslin-Jones, 2010). We include here issues of relationship that can make or break organisations or subgroups. Also, the multiple ways of knowing, including primitive and *preverbal* knowing (Richards, Beyond Piaget, Goslin-Jones) that can take us deeper into creative sources

| Theme | Subtheme |
|--|---|
| Brief description of the research participants' experience of the results of PCEA | Expressive arts experience as described in each theme |
| <i>Change and personal transformation</i> | <i>Personal growth</i> |
| Person-Centered Expressive Arts (PCEA) resulted in increased self-awareness that facilitated physical, emotional, and spiritual well-being and served as a catalyst for change and personal growth. | Artistic expression, body awareness, communication skills, compassion, conflict resolution, decision-making, empathy, intuition, listening, patience, being present or mindful, self-acceptance and inner awareness, spark creativity, problem-solving, risk-taking/reducing anxiety, and whole self-integration. |
| | <i>Healing and self-care</i> |
| | Eliminate allergies, develop body awareness, heal from grief, heal from the after-effects of an abortion, release anger, release conflict, release stress, develop a more expansive and healthy lifestyle |
| <i>Deeper and more creative relationships with self and others</i> | <i>Fostering a deeper relationship and a sense of belonging</i> |
| PCEA fostered deeper relationships and a sense of belonging. The expressive arts provided a process to explore emotions, relationships, and personal and group boundaries. | Strengthen work relationships, explore and understand emotions, relationships, and group boundaries, discover and reclaim unexpressed aspects of one's personality. |
| | <i>Being present: Experiencing flow, full engagement, and an all-consuming and timeless state</i> |
| | Being in a timeless state, time stands still and creativity flows, being present with each moment, paying close attention, having a simultaneous experience of focused and expansive attention. |
| | <i>Emergence of discovery, understanding and insights</i> |
| | Expands one's inner world, emergence of spontaneous insight and understanding, discovering brand new information about self, others, and solving complex problems. |
| <i>Bridge to preverbal experiences and to creativity</i> | <i>Bridge to accessing preverbal knowledge</i> |
| PCEA served as a bridge to access one's intuitive and creative capacity. It provided a pathway to the knowledge and wisdom that is said to reside in the unconscious or the collective consciousness of humankind. | Access preverbal information and new ways of knowing through movement, making art, using music, sound, writing, and engaging all the senses, using one's physical, cognitive, emotional, and intuitive abilities. |

(continued)

Table 4.2 (continued)

| Theme | Subtheme |
|--|--|
| Brief description of the research participants' experience of the results of PCEA | Expressive arts experience as described in each theme |
| <p><i>Creative expression expands one's spiritual awareness</i> PCEA invoked a deeper connection to one's life force, the sacred, or universal power. Unity and a higher state of consciousness were reported.</p> | <p><i>Bridge to creative process and product</i> There is a movement from left-brain thinking to more global and intuitive right-brain thinking, resulting in new ideas, behaviours, or the development of products. Participants used expressive arts to expand creative process, to develop a business strategy, to understand abstract problems, to coach executives, to develop business products and processes, and to expand innovation.</p> <p><i>Creative expression expands one's spiritual awareness</i> Access a higher state of consciousness that is positive, truthful, and full of possibilities; experience enhanced spirituality; connect to a universal power that provides insight; experience unity and oneness with others; experience an altered state that was spiritual.</p> |

for theatre productions and eventually started a band and frequently performed on weekends. Gabriel observed that as he developed his creativity he struggled who to tell. There was a period of time before he felt comfortable sharing this information with his colleagues.

Even though his talents and love for theatre and music were cultivated outside of the workplace, in time, he found that these experiences were a bridge to bringing more of his potential to his work. Eventually, he invited some people from his leadership team to attend his theatrical and singing events. Even though these experiences were separate from work, his leaders and business associates were supportive and interested in this part of his life. Gabriel said, "I started to realize that people want to hear my voice and I am becoming more of myself and I can be more of myself wherever I am".

Gabriel realized that his creative expression resulted in a ripple effect that benefited his leadership team and other employees in his workplace. He found that when he used his creativity in relationships, the relationship became more mature. (Goslin-Jones, 2008, p. 49)

As her clients accessed multi-faceted levels of creativity they also experienced a shift in relationships that fostered connections and a sense of belonging (Goslin-Jones 2010, 2012a, b). Research participants in expressive arts and

coaching contexts (Goslin-Jones, 2010, 2012a, b) identified enhanced abilities in communication, conflict resolution, creativity, decision-making, empathy, intuition, problem-solving, and the ability to develop stronger relationships. Stories were shared by participants that described their experiences of resolving conflicts with co-workers, integrating polarities in a marriage, understanding one's interior world that led to expressing authenticity, and learning to be present and empathetic:

Layna described an example of using expressive arts to defuse conflict at work:

I had a lot of problems with a coworker. I was so angry because she was letting me down and she was refusing to take responsibility for work. Yet, it was still important for me to keep the relationship. I went to my studio and I released my anger with painting, and after that I was fine. I was completely over it. I didn't want to destroy the relationship, so instead I created artwork to express the anger. Creating artwork is effective for releasing anger even with coworkers. It diffuses the emotional charge. (Goslin-Jones, 2010, p. 86)

Moss used expressive arts to improve the quality of her relationships with clients and family members. She discussed the benefits of using expressive arts to enhance the quality of a person's work and personal life:

I have learned that social workers, including myself, need expressive arts as a personal healing process. Expressive arts can help the social worker have a better quality of life as well as help the social worker be more effective with his or her client.

Healthcare professionals, like my husband who is a doctor, can benefit from expressive arts. Person-Centered Expressive Arts can help a professional person become more humane. Expressive arts can connect the scientific mind with the emotive parts. I have had some insights that I may be able to do some expressive arts retreats for healthcare professionals to help them feel more connected with their true self or inner self. (Goslin-Jones, 2010, p. 87)

Patrick talked about developing stronger relationships by using expressive arts:

I have shared expressive arts (colour chalk drawing) with over 20 people, and I found that it pleased both them and me immensely. After doing this with selected people at work, those people had a greatly expanded relationship with me; the experience enriched our relationship. As a result, I now have been pro-

viding an informal listening role for one coworker, once per week during lunch. I benefit from giving and being supportive, and the person gets to explore issues that are important to her. (Goslin-Jones, 2010, p. 89)

Serifsoy (2012) used expressive arts with a desire to discover how this field could advance leadership in the workplace. She observed that her personal training in expressive arts involved inspired states and she had a similar experience when using expressive arts processes in her leadership development work. She observed that expressive arts could shift a person's internal state towards attunement, authenticity, and empowerment. This transformative experience of greater self-awareness impacted relationships, and a person's presence was perceived by others as more authentic and compelling.

Conclusions

This chapter asks us to delve into our hidden capacities and to bring forth our unique perspectives in daily life and at work. This at times involves personal risk in going deep and acknowledging parts of one's experience that are often ignored.

Creativity can open us up. Awareness of one's own creative process can raise consciousness about subtleties that can lead to greater personal integration and health as well as more effective relationships with others. This chapter has suggested some creative ways, both in groups and in private coaching, which can be engaging, supportive, and relatively safe for many individuals. They can help us expand and integrate our own experience and apply this at work and in life settings. Not only is doing this of increasing interest today but so is some of the broader creativity that may result—and not just in the arts. We also suggested directions in qualitative research and ABR that could be added to other research methods to assist both in participant development and in the assessment of results. These can assist in going deep with the experience of individuals and groups, and in an emotional as well as intellectual, intuitive, and preverbal as well as logical and conceptual way, for an overall more holistic picture.

The “Four Ps of Creativity” can shift us from a focus on only creative *product* (what do we get “out of it”) to the larger context. It asks us what we are doing, who we are, what we are becoming, and how an environment can facilitate (or inhibit) this. This in turn may help us do more in our primary creative tasks. The “Three Is” within Wallas' heuristic for creative process, *incubation, intimation, and illumination* (the last one The Big Aha!), can sen-

sitise us even further to our creative depths, cues, and clues, and fuller use of our potential.

Happily, we may find, often, *that process here is also product* and that *we too, you and I, are* part of the creative result. We too are changing; we are the creation! New qualitative research methods can help us explore and develop these possibilities more fully.

Our four examples: Seeds of Creativity, Creative Process at Work, Coaching for Creative Living, and Relational Creativity show the breadth of applications while raising some new issues for the field. For instance, one discovers that finding creative insight can also ask of us who we are, how much we will risk, if we can be a little bizarre to welcome the new (which is not at all the same as issues of creativity and psychopathology), and invites us to consider if our mainstream ideas of “normal” are all that healthy (Richards, 2007a, 2010). It shows us our larger integration and range of experience, that diverse creative efforts have a lot in common, and that false dichotomies (e.g., science and arts; or expressive arts and a range of other activities in an organisational setting) can stunt our more holistic creative possibilities. Expressive arts are especially powerful here.

Looking at creative *person*, we see not only a new openness to experience but can find (potentially, if we make this a focus) greater awareness of and acceptance of each other. Relational creativity also can make *process* a desired product and our interconnections special. We move too from sole focus on individuals to dyads and groups. It is not “all about me” but often “about us.” We see as well that, as persons stimulating (or standing aside to allow) creativity in others—be they employees, clients, students, or offspring!—we can make a huge difference via environmental conditions and sometimes just by offering human listening, empathy, and support (Runco, 2004; Schwarz, 2015).

So far, we have assumed, by definition, the best is intended regarding ethical issues underlying “meaningful work” (Moran et al., 2014; Richards, 2014). However, a growing literature on malevolent creativity (Kaufman et al., 2008) is reminding us it is never so simple. We cannot always assume goals to be prosocial and motives the best. One can well argue, based on development paths of the creative *person*, and a range of related evidence (e.g., Maslow, 1968; Richards, 2014), that our fullest, most open, and unfettered creative development, as shown here, may advance our better nature, thereby helping world as well as self. This is “all else being equal.” But it never is.

Maslow warned us. In his private journals, Maslow (1982) saw the special self-actualising persons he studied as a cutting edge of humanity, “the growing tip” and a group that can “manage to flourish in a hundred or two hundred years ...” Yet, Maslow finally added to this, the caveat, “if we manage to

endure” (p. 168). Thus, it is important, always—and very much in these times of dissent around the world, plus technology and accelerating change—to keep the ethical issues front and centre.

Fortunately, the self-actualising person (Maslow, 1968, 1971) and self-actualising creator (Rhodes, 1990) are not only high-functioning, present, spontaneous individuals, by nature, unfolding a higher human potential but, as part of the picture, are concerned with *being values* and the human condition. Our research helps support such a direction. Yet further work is needed and specifically on these aspects about creativity.

It is our hope that we, across the institutions of the world, and working towards a greater good, can discover, develop, and share the subtleties and positive manifestations of who we are—and of who we can be—in unfolding the mysteries of the creative process.

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5

“Yeah, That’s What I Am Now”: Affordances, Action, and Creative Identity

Mary Kay Culpepper

Inking a pane of glass, the printmaker rolls the brayer and begins to describe how she came to feel creative. It did not happen when she was working as an interior designer or, paradoxically, as a cinematic artistic director, she says. Instead, her sense of her abilities coalesced when she began making images for herself.

“I suppose when I was working, I had one identity,” she explains. “When I stayed home to be with my children, that identity was kind of lost, and I struggled. I thought, as much as I like to be a mother, there is another identity in me that I don’t have. It took a while, but now that I’m creating my own prints, that’s my identity.”

Her story prompts a series of questions: What enables a person to create? Who helps? What hinders? What combination of supports and constraints conspire to burnish a person’s creative identity?

The social, cultural, and psychological forces that encourage and discourage creativity have been prey to varied explanations by discipline. Increasingly, however, disparate fields turn to affordance theory to explain how people negotiate the psychological, social, and cultural forces and situations they experience. Artificial intelligence, education, neuroscience, and economics have all incorporated affordance theory (Gibson, 1977, 1979) to explain human action (Letiche & Lissack, 2009; McGrenere & Ho, 2000; Withagen, de Poel, Araujo, & Pepping, 2012). More to the point, the theory is permeating the study of creativity (Culpepper, 2018; Glăveanu, 2012, 2013, 2017; Moeran, 2014).

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This chapter highlights the theory's precepts and scope, detailing its potential to explain creativity in a way that both accommodates and amplifies how people form creative identities. At a time when many adults feel cutoff from creativity in their lives (Adobe, 2012), businesses (Reynolds, 2015) and scholars (Amabile, 2017) suggest that creative people—even those who tinker in workshops and garden sheds—could spark needed innovation in the world. Affordance theory offers a lens for viewing how creative identity is formed and reformed.

The line between those who engage in making things on their own time and those who create for work is faint. Most creative pursuits have elements of making, and most items of material culture have elements of creation.

In discussing the relationship between affordances and creative identity, it is necessary to point out that making and creativity are not mutually dichotomous activities. They are not polar opposites but polar complements instead. One implies the other. Indeed, they are two sides of the same coin, and that coin could be considered the currency of the realm of creativity.

Concerning Affordances

Gibson (1977, 1979), a psychologist whose primary interest was in the ecology of visual perception, devised the term “affordance.” Drawing on the principles of valence, invitation, and demand that delineate Gestalt psychology (Gibson, 1982), the theory construes affordances as a way to describe otherwise value-neutral aspects of the environment that influence an organism's function.

Consequently, an affordance comprises those parts of the environment's physical properties that influence the organism's movement, feeding, and actions. The most important aspect of an affordance lies in what it offers the organism. One example Gibson (1977) suggests is a stool:

If an object that rests on the ground has a surface that is itself sufficiently rigid, level, flat, and extended, *and if this surface is raised approximately at the height of the knees of the human biped, then it affords sitting-on.* (p. 68; emphasis in original)

As this example indicates, affordances relate to us in multiple ways simultaneously. Water, for instance, can be a physical feature or a medium for cleaning, traveling, or wetting. Light can reveal the contours of the natural environment as well as obliterate its details.

Moreover, an affordance can be anything in an organism’s environment that spurs it to action, maintain Letiche and Lissack (2009). “Affordances act as attractors drawing humans into action ... The world acts, makes occur and initiates possibilities” (p. 61). Therefore, a person’s perception of an affordance is as vital as the affordance itself. Interactions between people and their environments—including those in the natural and human-made environments as well as with other people—further influence these perceptions.

Until the affordances are accordingly perceived, the actions they offer only exist in potential, their portent uncertain. Gibson (1977) pinpoints the uncertainty: “The animate object can give you caresses or blows, contact comfort or contact injury, reward or punishment, and it is not always easy to perceive which will be provided” (p. 77). Values and meanings can be directly detected, Gibson holds, and these perceptions in turn fuel an individual’s actions. Because these perceptions take place in the context of a person’s surroundings, Gibson argues that studies on affordances should incorporate an organism’s natural environment.

Affordance Theory Expanded

Although it began as a description of environmental perception, Gibson’s theory has been serially amended by other fields since his death in 1979. Indeed, in addition to the natural environment that Gibson described, the theory has since come also to describe the psychological, social, and cultural aspects that surround people.

Successive waves of researchers—frequently, those who specialize in human-computer interaction—have elaborated on affordance theory; many of their papers endeavor to attune real and potential action. As an example, McGrenere and Ho (2000) suggest that a person’s capabilities dictate the potential of an affordance, though the affordance exists regardless of those abilities. Indeed, though a person’s goals and needs change over time, they propose that the affordance does not.

Human movement scientists Withagen et al. (2012) further venture that the landscape itself has a beckoning character. They look to architecture and industrial design to suggest that affordances themselves invite agency, and they make three observations as to how affordances can encourage action. First, the agent can only leverage affordances if she or he perceives them. Second, because the beckoning can be ignored, the decision for action lies with the actor. Third, these actors do not necessarily need to make rational decisions about whether to act on an affordance; they can unreflectively react

to its invitation. It is, the authors assert, a case of the environment presenting the creative person with a summons to do something.

Helpfully for those studying what happens when people think of themselves as creative, ecological psychologists Rietveld and Kiverstein (2014) declare that a person filters the perception of their affordances through their existing knowledge. That is to say, a person's skills refract the affordances they perceive in their environment. Those perceptions are embedded in everyday life, lying in potential until they are encountered. A person's senses grow in experience every moment, and the resulting comprehension of any particular thought, emotion, or thing could also account for their creative self-identity: "By virtue of our many abilities, the landscape of affordances we inhabit as humans is very rich and resourceful" (p. 325).

Creativity and Affordances

Work explicitly tracing the implication of affordance theory is a relatively recent development in creativity study. Two researchers—one, Glăveanu (2012, 2013, 2017), a social psychologist, and the other, Moeran (2014), an organizational anthropologist—employ different vantage points to survey how affordances might explain how people perceive their environments as supporting or constraining their creative self-identities.

Glăveanu's Environmental Perspective

Glăveanu maintains that one of the limitations of affordances is that the creative actor does not necessarily perceive them (2012). In his socio-cultural model of an affordance theory for creativity, affordances represent action a person could take, while intentionality is the action she or he would, and normativity is the action she or he should take. Affordances confront norms and intentions, he stresses, which can limit the creativity exhibited by a person through a made object.

Glăveanu (2012) proposes a Venn diagram as a way of visualizing how environment, objectives, and cultural standards form the backdrop for an individual maker's action (p. 197). In this model, these three spheres intersect to represent what is ordinarily done in everyday action, "considering physical, personal, and socio-cultural constraints" (p. 196). The adjacent unperceived affordances are those that are not noticed by the maker and therefore unused,

while the nearby “uninvented” affordances are those not yet available to the maker because they have yet to be developed, and the close-at-hand unexploited ones are unused because of cultural imprimaturs. The representation is dynamic, Glăveanu contends, because the socio-cultural specter of creativity itself is dynamic. “As such, creativity is not ‘in’ the newly perceived, invented, or exploited affordances themselves, but ‘in’ the very acts of perception, invention, and utilization” (p. 199).

The model’s empirical foundation lies in Glăveanu’s mixed-methods research (2012, 2017) into the work of Romanian Easter egg decorators. Economic forces are challenging this folk-art tradition, he asserts, as practitioners are decorating and selling eggs for other holidays in a bid to make money throughout the year. In painting eggs with Santas and Christmas trees, such makers confront the constraints of tradition. Simultaneously, developments in the tools and materials for egg decoration are changing traditional ways of working. In subject and media, then, both conventional and disruptive practitioners find in affordances the means to identify ways of working, devise specific forms, and in the process redraw the idea of what egg decoration should be.

In so doing, Glăveanu contends, the boundaries of what is possible in a creative pursuit are recast. “What creativity offers the concept of affordances ... is a more dynamic, supple account of what we, as individuals and a species, can do in relation to our environment” (2013, p. 206). The iterative drafts of constant, creative change brought about by affordances shape a creator, he maintains, as well as her or his perception of the environment.

While the socio-cultural model of creative affordances is apparently relevant to the questions about the relationship between creative identity and affordances, it could be considered to characterize better the work of professionals than it does amateur creators. For example, at the beginning of a maker’s experience in a medium, many affordances are unperceived and seemingly uninvented, despite their prevalence in a field. The maker could do “what is usually done,” still feel creative in that context, and be recognized by his or her social network as such (Glăveanu, 2013, p. 197).

Gauntlett (2011) asserts the novelty of an individual’s context in his definition of everyday creativity, while Ingold (2010) maintains a similar stance in his consideration of people who feel creative working from kits, recipes, and other readymade instructions. Ultimately, Glăveanu’s model (2013) appears to offer a strict constructionist view of affordance theory.

Moeran's Circuits of Creative Affordances

Moeran, whose research (2014) superimposes affordance theory over the creative economic processes involved in producing Japanese fashion magazines, ad campaigns, pottery, and art exhibits, sketches an inclusive vista of the ways the theory depicts the life of a creative actor. His observations detail how affordances also help describe the ways both professional and amateur makers find their creativity constrained as well as enabled, and how the cumulative experience of encountering affordances imbues identity.

Drawing from Gibson (1977, 1979), Moeran (2014) also taps into Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field (1984, 1993) as well as descriptions of circuits of commerce by economist Zeliger (2011). Moeran claims that makers in various fields confront perceived techno-material, temporal, spatial, social, representational, and economic affordances of creativity. As do other affordance theorists, Moeran finds that the relationships that enmesh these affordances are dynamic and highlight the positioning, creative capital, and social conventions of the actors who live them. Furthermore, he maintains that their social and material practices generate culture as well as cultural protocols that can be made or broken. His circuits of affordances model maps the multifaceted connections between the aspects of the environment that both constrain and support the creative actor. In connecting, affordances can lead from possibility to action.

Techno-material Affordances

Moeran (2014) considers technical and material affordances implicit in understanding the rules of a particular domain. A writer, for example, must know the precepts of grammar and syntax; a photographer has to fathom how to compose, light, and focus a shot. The rules can be adapted—that is one opening for creative results—and the writer's text and the photographer's images are subject to the dynamics of production. The tools used in production afford the introduction of ever more tools as disciplines and potentials evolve. Moeran uses the development of digital publishing as an example:

Digital technology affords art directors, photographers, and cameramen new ways, and new conventions, of carrying out their work. It also affords the introduction of new materials, such as the use of flat liquid display screens in the work of video artists ... As well as constraining, materials, and technologies enable. Yet, in enabling, they also constrain. That is the explanatory power of affordance. (p. 41)

Ultimately, material affordances dictate the multilayered technical choices the maker must select. From this “ensemble of technical affordances,” Moeran (2014, p. 42) says, the creative actor assumes a social identity. In short, the materials make the maker.

Spatial Affordances

A person’s choice of materials and techniques affect the size of the outcome. Spatial affordances also come into play when the maker chooses a place to create. Regarding work, for example, a brick-and-mortar corner store affords altogether different parameters than a multinational, online-only enterprise.

Moeran (2014) suggests that the physical and digital locations of display and performance can have both practical and symbolic import. Audience size is often contingent on these sites. He cites the matter of *terroir* in the production of French wine. Farm-to-table movements in the US and UK likewise incorporate the old concept of how a particular natural environment influences the taste and authenticity of food. Even as they affect the work of chefs and the menus of restaurants, these movements also draw from the everyday creativity of home cooks and backyard gardeners (Schoenfeld, 2011).

Temporal Affordances

Time is a both constraining and enabling factor in making. In terms of print media, a handbill can be produced in minutes, a newspaper in a day, a magazine in a week, a book in months. With enough time, making any of those things is possible. Extenuating circumstances might also apply. Deadlines can influence the time spent thinking, allocating, and distributing as well as the actual production. Shortcuts may be taken, collaborators brought in, and the initial product might be altered to meet a narrow window of opportunity. In this way, Moeran says, that time “affords both style and content” (2014, p. 46).

More broadly, everything makers create is a part of the series that has come before it, both in the maker’s frame of reference and in the broader cultural sense. Time, then, bears upon the creativity that others see in a creative product. “In other words,” Moeran (2014) points out, “the affordance of time in the broader sense of historical continuity means that creative expression is not ‘created’ so much as ‘renewed’” (p. 47).

Representational Affordances

Given Moeran's (2014) stance on the primacy of context in creative expression, it follows that genre, form, and aesthetics constitute a class of related affordances. There is, in most modes of creative expression, a typical way of doing things. Recipes, how-to sites, and DIY videos all offer ready sources of information and confirmation for an amateur maker; with enough exposure, the maker internalizes the standards. The same is true of professionals who incorporate the strictures of the field in ways both subtle and powerful at work. Just as each maker carries a model of those standards in her or his head, each of these representational affordances carries constraints that in turn help define the products.

At the same time, however, representational affordances can be shoved, if not toppled outright if conditions are favorable, Moeran (2014) says. "Just how far borders can be pushed would seem to depend on the personality of the creator, the nature of the product, genre, or communicative style; and the social world of which they are a part ... The looser the aesthetic constraints, the easier it is to innovate, and vice versa" (p. 50).

Social Affordances

Important as time, materials, space, and format are, other people also matter to the creative person. They comprise the human networks that influence creativity: audiences, mentors, colleagues, and collaborators. In Moeran's view (2014), the "other" that features in all the systems theories of creativity—and that is central to Bourdieu's (1993) discussion of habitus and field—is perhaps the most significant affordance for a maker to negotiate.

In seeking equilibrium between the habitus and a particular field's rules, a person contends with others who can inhibit or enable the creative process. Social affordances can be interpersonal, organizational, or both. In the case of an amateur photographer, for example, friends or family might voice opinions about a piece entered in a juried show. The exhibition jury will render another judgment, as will the audience at the show and the critics attending the opening. Whether the photo appears in the exhibit, formal or informal social networks may persuade the photographer to produce similar work, pursue a new direction, or try another pursuit altogether. Such social affordances influence the form, style, and course of creative products as well as the creative identity of the people who make them.

Economic Affordances

When markets are booming, and personal accounts flush, Moeran (2014) says, businesses and individuals alike may find it easy to spend on classes, materials, and studio space. When a recession plods along, however, buying even necessary supplies might seem like an indulgence, or worse, a misappropriation of money.

While the availability of funds might seem to correlate with creative expression, Moeran stresses that is not necessarily the case. A robust budget does not ensure an innovative result. Lack of funds can spur radical adjustments in techno-material and representational affordances that yield new modes of expression.

Circuits of Affordances

These six affordances connect for the creative actor in multiple ways, Moeran (2014) contends. Consider those that the maker of an oak basket must pass through, around, or over to produce a new piece. First, he must go to the woods in the spring and find a straight oak to harvest when the sap is rising in the tree. He must use an ax, a mallet, a drawknife, and wedges to cut a log from the tree, strip the bark, and split it in half, and then quarters, then eighths. After that, he needs to take a pocketknife and narrow the splits to the right size for weaving, smoothing each one with increasingly finer grades of sandpaper. Then he soaks the splits in water, so they will be pliable enough to work. Only after those tasks can he begin forming the ribs, following a pattern his mentor taught him, one that became popular in the region many years ago.

Each selection in this series impinges on the circumstances and choices that follow. The choice of oak means that the basket maker must have access to land that grows suitable trees. He has to cut the tree at the optimum moment. Time, too, factors into the days he devotes to the basket. He must also have the means to buy and possess the tools and workspace. His choice of a traditional pattern and proficiency at weaving has some bearing on the techniques he uses, as well as in the worth of his basket in the marketplace. Moreover, making this particular basket links him to the cadre of oak basket makers in his circle.

In this example, no one affordance is more important than the other. Instead, each indelibly affects the other. Like the basket in question, affordances weave in a way that is specific to this maker's context. Regardless of

maker and medium, these connections—what Moeran calls “circuits of affordances” (2014, p. 35) fire like the circuits in the brain to plot the enabling and constraining conditions a person must confront in the process of becoming a creative actor. His model, a cross-hatched hexagon, simulates the relationships that emerge from the presence (or absence) of affordances. “Each affordance is entangled in the others to such an extent that the only way out of their enmeshment would seem to be to refer to them all by an overarching ... concept like ‘creativity’” (p. 59).

Moeran (2014) interprets a maker’s ongoing appraisals of affordances to mean that creative products descend from a succession of transitions that ultimately transform. The product is not the only result when someone makes something, however. Social relations and individual experience connect at specific points in time to establish and re-establish a person’s identity as a creative entity.

Because a person’s aggregated response to the combinations of affordances in the circuits builds over time, the implication is that the circuits of creativity transcend what might be termed “work.” One thought, one project, one job all build incrementally on each other, transforming the way we see ourselves and those around us.

From Affordance to Identity

A single episode of affordance circuits firing is not usually sufficient to fix the related psychological construct of creative identity, which happens when someone considers creativity central to her or his self-concept. Instead, as noted earlier, creative identity is built over time and indicates how much of a premium that person puts on creativity in thinking about him or herself.

Jaussi, Rendel, and Dionne (2007) describe its construction as a personal and contextual bricolage composed of memories and opportunities: “The importance of creativity to the self-definition in creative personal identity comes from one’s past experiences and formative opportunities to engage in creativity, either experienced alone or through relationships” (p. 248).

Because people continuously act to reaffirm their identities, Jaussi et al. (2007) consider creative personal identity (as they call it) malleable enough to fit into an array of situations and contexts. To that point, the social value ascribed to creativity is a suspected driver for an individual’s creative personal identity.

As with the theories of creative affordance, the recent identification of creative identity means it has few theoretical models (Hass, Katz-Buonincontro,

& Reiter-Palmon, 2016). Glăveanu and Tanggaard’s prismatic creative identity model (2014) stands out for its aptness in underscoring the relationship to creative affordance. The model represents a trajectory over time of the relationship between self, other, and creativity. In it, a person’s creative identity is negotiated by interactions with others, as well as society’s ongoing exchanges about creativity. One face of the model’s prism denotes creativity while the opposite face denotes self. The third face represents multiple interactions with others, gatekeepers and audiences alike. The segmented spine of the prism extends like an everlasting Toblerone chocolate bar, say Glăveanu and Tanggaard, as each section denotes societal discourses about creativity that occur through time.

Glăveanu and Tanggaard maintain that their model delineates how a creative person perceives him or herself in context to the greater world. However, they caution that the model centers on the concept that a person’s creative identity is one socio-cultural project among many. Identity is performed and reformed within a gamut of personal and social contexts, though “the project we are referring to here is a much more diffuse reality, a general direction the self takes in relation to his or her creative potential and expression, based also on communication with others” (2014, p. 15).

Glăveanu and Tanggaard (2014) substantiate the model with examples from interviews they conducted with well-known cultural creatives in Denmark, focus groups with Danish teachers, and interviews with folk-art egg decorators in Romania. From this fieldwork, Glăveanu and Tanggaard propose a typology of promoted, denied, and problematic creative identities that influence how someone thinks of themselves as a creator.

Intriguing as it is, this model too is a work in progress. It is missing the cultural aspects Ingold (2010) and Moeran (2014) emphasize and stops short of accounting for the approach a creative person takes in her or his work, the experience of making, and the role artifacts play in shaping creative identity. In other words, it could help explain how people form creative identities, but not necessarily what they do with them, and, for that reason, Glăveanu and Tanggaard call for fresh research based on their model (2014).

One caveat for such research is that creative identity could be a facet of personality rather than an independent quality. Some studies, however, attempt to tease out the differences. Findings from a large sample of Polish men and women (Karwowski, Lebuda, Wisniewska, & Gralewski, 2013) assert that personality factors such as extraversion and openness to experience positively relate to creative identity. For that study, the researchers devised the 11-item Short Scale of Creative Self; the measure asks participants to what degree they agree with statements such as “I think I am a creative person” and

“Ingenuity is a characteristic which is important to me” (p. 217). Confirmatory factor analysis suggested that self-rated creativity correlated with both creative self-efficacy and creative personal identity, though it seemed more closely linked to the latter. Similar later studies (Karwowski, 2012; Karwowski et al., 2018) indicated that creative identity is stable, though possibly prone to fluctuation through a person’s lifespan and creative experience.

Glăveanu and Tanggaard (2014) also note that “identities are less stable than personality traits” and that they can be “considered to be a ‘background’ element in creative production” (p. 13). The chief value, then, of measuring creative identity lies in affirming how a person feels about her or his state at the moment of inquiry, and how primed the “background” is for the ongoing process of negotiating creative affordances.

Affordances and Creative Identity: A New Approach

One way of shedding light on how affordances relate to creative identity is to find someone who already thinks of themselves as creative and ask them to articulate how they came to feel that way. Asking alone is not enough, though. It is also necessary to have the creative person make something as a part of the answer.

Compelling support for this line of thinking comes from Gauntlett (2007) and, before him, Schön (1992). Gauntlett conducted a series of studies that had participants construct metaphorical models of identity in sketching, collage, and Lego, while Schön’s research concentrated on the processes and insights architects use in designing buildings. Approaching the matter from two directions, both Gauntlett and Schön determined that making objects allows the maker time for a considered response. In turn, that reflection allows a maker to come closest to expressing what he or she really thinks.

A Creative Method

To that end, I looked to amateurs in the US and UK. My research involved adults ($n = 42$) of a variety of ages, ethnicities, and socioeconomic groups who described themselves as feeling creative when they made things that ranged from dinner to drones. In the interest of developing a broad pool, I recruited some potential participants from online maker forums, hobbyist newsletters,

and in-person community classes. Others were referred by people who had previously participated in the research.

For this project, they were asked to do the thing they felt creative doing, and while they did so, to think about when they first felt that way. After the making, they took an optional online questionnaire based on the Survey of Creative Identity (Karwowski, 2012; Karwowski, Lebuda, Wiśniewska, & Gralewski, 2013; Karwowski, Lebuda, & Wiśniewska, 2018) and participated in a one-on-one interview. This combined process, which I call *craft elicitation*, primed the participants’ memories of what it was like to first feel creative in their chosen media, often surprising them with the depth of clarity and detail they could recall.

Together, the qualitative and quantitative portions of this convergent parallel mixed-methods strategy (Creswell, 2014) formed a complete image of how creative identity and affordances interrelate. The 30 participants who completed their survey perhaps predictably identified as feeling somewhat to strongly creative. They all also somewhat strongly agreed with the statement, “My creativity is important to who I am,” as well as the claim that they trust their creative abilities.

Interview analyses (Culpepper, 2018) suggest that affordances color the participants’ experiences and that they readily perceive affordances in circuits, as Moeran (2014) describes. Perhaps more intriguingly, the participants expressed negotiating these circuits in ways that helped them build (and at times rebuild) creative identities, as Glăveanu and Tanggaard (2014) propose.

A Matter of Interrelating

Some of the most insightful comments observed how affordances occur in circuits, something the participants noted on their own. For example, an amateur novelist in the UK described the combination of spatial and social affordances at her neighborhood coffee shop. “If I don’t want to be distracted by a pile of washing, I’ll go down and sit there and write ... Even when you’re not actively seeking inspiration, you look around and you find humor in people’s interactions, or you see a particular sight, and you think, ‘Oh, well, I’ll use that.’”

The affordances of space, social networks, and time yielded similar results one evening for a UK poet: “I took the tube without even looking [at] where it was going ... I just observed people, and immediately a poem came to me, and I wrote. There was a girl who was very beautiful. I saw her in her green shawl, and I wrote immediately about that.”

A participant in the US relayed how affordances—or the lack of them—had a bearing on his estimation of his worth as a beginning painter. “For me, the biggest lack of affordance was time, and that was crippling ... I almost couldn’t get beyond it. I think that if there [had been] a money issue then I might have driven [myself] harder. I might’ve painted with a more deliberate approach. I can see where the lack of affordances really tests your grit or helps you develop your grit.”

Through affordances, the creative person’s sense of self strengthens in a variety of ways. A dancer in the UK described how her creativity was reinforced daily in the most unaffected actions: “For me, there’s this reward I get when I put [a dance] together or craft something, whether it’s tactile or how I organize my day or whatever ... It’s almost a little positive pat on the back: ‘Yeah, you’ve got this.’”

Meanwhile, some participants—such as a woodworker in the US—found their identities bolstered by the way their social networks view their intrinsic motivations. “Some good friends that I work with, they’ll just joke around, and they all call me the wood whisperer ... because I make the stuff, but they can just see how much I love it.”

That said, not all the participants found the creative process so rewarding. “At some level, I feel that there’s a frustration in I’ve not done all the things that I would have liked to have done,” said a participant from the UK whose hobby is playing jazz piano. “You know, I took on the job, and I took on the family, and I took on all those responsibilities ... Being a creative person is something that you can only do if you got the space and the freedom to do it.”

Affordances Aligning

The freedom to create, however, is where you find it. A participant in the US recalled going with her in-laws to the seaside not long after she had been laid off from her job. She remembered casting about for something new to do until the day things fell into place, and she decided she would make greeting cards. “I was standing in the outdoor shower at the beach, and I was looking at this knot of wood. The idea, ‘*Wood* you be mine?’ came into my head, and I started drawing it on a piece of paper when I got out of the shower. That turned into [my first] card.”

Perhaps understandably, some participants became philosophical after reflecting on their lives as creative actors. “I’m a doer,” said a weekend potter in the US. “I think pretty much anything, where I can let my mind focus on it and let everything else melt away, gives me satisfaction. If I can just let the

rest of the world go somewhere else for a little while, that’s what makes me happy.”

A man in the UK who felt most creative when he was with his young son was more sanguine: “The practice of something creative, what difference is that going to make? It’s not going to pay the bills; it’s not going to keep you your job, of course. However, if you have got the time, the process of doing it is like a kind of food. You feel what it is to be human. You grow.”

As the participants described their interactions with time, space, money, materials, social networks, and representation, it became evident that they perceived affordances in the process of making. Indeed, they sometimes described them in the circuits that Moeran (2014) outlined, and reiterated Gibson’s (1977) contention that their values are vague until they are encountered. As one participant, a quilter in the US, put it, “You never know how it’s going to go until you’re well into it.” It could be, then, that the “other” in the creative identity model (Glăveanu & Tanggaard, 2014) could be construed to be affordances, social and otherwise.

The action implicit in the pursuit of creativity brings affordances to light. Ultimately, how a person engages with the affordances in the work of making has a bearing on the reflexivity project of creative identity. Like the print-maker at the beginning of this chapter, all creators struggle with ideas and beliefs inherited from family and social networks, their senses of their abilities, and the internal inventories of resources available to them. Like her, they manage to varying degrees to reveal themselves to the world as creative beings.

Conclusion

Affordance theory offers a way of thinking about the limits and allowances a person necessarily confronts on the way to building a creative identity. In this chapter, the interactive and iterative processes between organism and environment first described by Gibson (1977, 1979) set the scene for a discussion of how affordance theory has been appropriated to explain human action beyond its initial role in visual perception. In the field of creativity research, Glăveanu’s theory of creative affordances (2012, 2013, 2017) suggests that environment, objectives, and cultural standards form the backdrop for individual action, possibly better detailing the process of eminent and professional creators. Meanwhile, Moeran’s circuit-based outline (2014) clarifies the types of affordances all creative people encounter. Additionally, the concept of affordances brings detail to the creative identity model of Glăveanu and Tanggaard (2014) and helps contextualize the lifelong project of building a creative identity.

The perception described in affordance theory is that of possibilities and relationships. Pursuing those relationships constitutes the action at the core of creativity. Because affordances are potentialities, the outcome of that action is never fully known until the maker processes it.

Building the narrative of creative self-identity can be a vital way for people to reflect on where affordances have led them, and at the same time perceive where the relationships they map may take them next. Simply put, affordances influence a person's creative practice as well as her or his sense of being a creator. The agency underscored by affordances and action could well promote or deny an individual's identity as a creative being. That possibility and the promise these relationships hold for understanding the work of the everyday creator are prime areas for continued research.

Further inquiry is vital, Amabile (2017) proposes, because people who successfully negotiate creative affordances on their own are the same ones whose creative identity and habits of thinking could power incremental positive change at work and beyond:

Evidence is mounting that such individuals can be responsible for important instances of creativity and innovation in the world: Open innovation, user innovation, and citizen innovation. Research into this phenomenon could do much to advance the study and practice of creativity. (p. 1)

Indeed, as Gauntlett (2018) explains, ordinary people who make things not only hold the potential for innovation but also perform as change agents in their contexts. By transforming their materials, their identities, and their social worlds, people can accumulate the capabilities to solve problems both big and small—at the workplace and well beyond.

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6

“Dropping Out and Working”: The Vocational Narratives of Creative Graduates

Scott Brook and Roberta Comunian

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the vocational narratives of creative graduates. While there has been much qualitative research on the experiences of creative workers in precarious employment as part of a critical response to Creative Industries policy making, there has been less attention to the performative aspect of the discourse of creatives considered as an investment in a particular kind of work identity, one that is redeemable beyond specifically creative activities. Given that the work identities of creatives are sustained less by employment arrangements than the socially recognized status of possessing a “cultural vocation” (Dubois, 2016; Brook, 2015), one that requires ongoing symbolic work in order to maintain visibility within a field of insecure employment prospects, then it is important to understand how such vocational identities are produced by creatives, and how they understand the relationship between creative skills and employment more broadly.

While our approach is anticipated by studies on the discursive “identity work” of creative workers (e.g. McRobbie, 2002; Taylor & Littleton, 2012) and the techniques for “organizing identity” studied in cultural economy (Du Gay, 2007),

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our focus on employability is partly normative. One of the effects of the masculinisation of higher education in countries like the UK and Australia over the last three decades has been an increased focus on “employability skills”, with a significant attempt to consider the needs of creative graduates in particular (Brook, 2016a). While vocational narratives are clearly crucial to the employability skills of creatives who are all too aware of the need to self-promote, our approach here is more descriptive. We take the term “narratives of employability” from Brown, Hesketh, and Williams’s (2004) critical sociology of the strategies of graduate job seekers seeking to distinguish themselves in the labour market for skilled work. Focusing on the graduate recruitment processes for professional positions in major international companies, Brown et al. use the notion of “personal capital” to refer to a range of personal skills, such as charisma and self-presentation, that are necessary supplements to cultural capital, where the latter is regarded as a set of institutionally certified capacities. “Personal capital” is displayed in the “narratives of employability” that are used to construct a coherent vocational identity across multiple forms of activity (both paid and unpaid), and which has value above-and-beyond past work experience and educational attainments (Brown et al., 2004, pp. 34–39). This proposition is based on Brown et al.’s observation of the declining ability of credentials to signal capacities (as opposed to screening applicants), and the increased need for competitive job seekers to demonstrate “an economy of experience” based on extracurricular activities (Brown et al., 2004, p. 36).

While we are sceptical that the notion of personal capital adds to cultural capital analysis (given that it is anticipated by Bourdieu’s notion of embodied cultural capital), such an approach nevertheless enables a sociologically nuanced account of the work identities creatives cultivate across a range of discursive contexts beyond the formal job interviewee. More importantly, it enables attention to the ways in which creative vocational narratives may be related to employment opportunities outside the creative sector. As discussed in our conclusion, attention to “embedded” creatives is an important development in creative labour studies (Hearn, Bridgstock, Goldsmith, & Rodgers, 2014), and our approach would support the argument that cultural vocations are one highly visible and increasingly valued narrative of employability. As such, it may address a puzzle that has bedevilled contemporary research on the creative economy: namely, the evidence of strong demand for cultural work identities, including student demand for university courses (Faggian, Comunian, Jewell, & Kelly, 2013) in which such identities are cultivated, in the context of low returns to creative workers and graduates.

“Narratives of employability” of course include the stories told by creative labour researchers themselves, no less than their interviewees.¹ In the context of interviews produced for academic research on creative labour, it is important to recognize that the research agendas of the former are crucial in establishing (but not thereby determining) a discursive context. The academic creative labour researcher provides the creative interviewee with a meaningful context in which to practise and project various narratives of the employable self. The following interviews were collected as part of two discrete research projects that took place in Australia and Britain. “Working the Field” was a three-year Australia Research Council (ARC)-funded project that investigated the ways in which writing and visual arts graduates developed cultural vocations in the first ten years after graduating. The study focused on the role of social networks and unpaid creative work in developing a socially recognized “vocation”, one that signalled employability skills even as it was not reducible to employment. The project² interviewed graduates in Melbourne, a UNESCO-recognized City of Literature, during 2016 and 2017, and we interpret the following narratives of two Melbourne-based writing graduates. The second project was conducted during 2013 as part of larger Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC)-funded research project (AH/J006807/1) entitled “Music Communities” that looked at the importance of social networks in the development of music and musicians’ careers and work. Part of the project investigated the views of recent music graduates in the UK and their network and career strategies.

Narratives of employability also include the policy context of the “creative industries” in which creative labour has emerged as an object of critical inquiry and sector promotion. It is for this reason that we commence with a background context to the research. We then turn to our interviewees³—young creative graduates in two celebrated “creative cities”, Melbourne and London—considering their own accounts of creative employability.

Background

The premise of the Creative Industries policy push was a proposition about the future of work in advanced, post-industrial societies. Although the evidence base for creative industries policy arguments have focused on the economic scale and growth of a specific set of “creative” industry sectors rather than the employment circumstances of creative workers, such evidence has always been part of a broader narrative about workforce planning; specifically, the transition to a services-based, knowledge-intensive, and technologically

networked society (Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2009). It is for this reason that creative industries policy making has always been vulnerable to political critique as simply a local manifestation of neo-liberal ideology: the promotion of a future “creative workforce” always being more prescriptive than descriptive, in so far as it was pitched in the genre of social forecasting than labour market analysis.

While the ideology critique of this discourse was effective in highlighting the articulation of creative industries policy with a range of macroeconomic theories of post-industrial adjustment (Garnham, 2005), and hence the inadequacy of this policy for a specifically *cultural* sector, the first evidence-based critiques came from qualitative and quantitative studies on the work experiences and labour market outcomes of those working in the UK’s cultural and creative industries (e.g. Comunian, Faggian, & Cher Li, 2010; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2013; McRobbie, 2002, 2004). Unsurprisingly, these studies showed the difficulties and prevalence of underemployment faced by those trying to survive by their creative skills—including insecure work arrangements, poor remuneration, multiple job holding, and routine skills mismatch and underutilization. Drawing on national graduate destination data from 2006/2007 collected by the UK Higher Educational Statistical Agency (HESA), Comunian et al. found that not only did graduates with creative industries-oriented degrees suffer a salary disadvantage in the general labour market, but that this disadvantage extended to the creative sector in which they earned almost 4000 pounds per year less than their colleagues with non-creative degrees (Comunian et al., 2010).

To some extent these findings were to be expected, given that cultural economists and sociologists have long studied the poor returns to artists (Menger, 1999), and indeed even accepted that there is no human capital argument for degrees in the creative arts (see Towse, 2001). According to Randel Filer’s seminal study, the best argument for university training in the arts is that the degree enables people to pursue careers *outside* the arts (Filer, 1990). More recently, Kate Oakley (2009) has considered the role of universities in shaping the attitude of artists towards work, considering whether the attitude towards “sacrificial labour” (i.e. accepting lower economic rewards and putting emphasis on gratification coming from their practice) is in fact an acquired framework that is embedded in their training.

Nevertheless, that the labour market situation of the newly graduated “creatives” as defined according to a far broader account of the creative sector—one that included commercially oriented sectors—might resemble the situation of “artists” (a somewhat boutique population studied by cultural economists) was sobering. And yet, as noted above, the argument for the

creative industries was not established on any account of the pecuniary returns to creatives but rather a more flexible discourse suited to the broader discursive terrain of the “new economy”; as such, it could appeal to both utopic and dystopic accounts of how the labour markets of advanced capitalist economies were changing. At times, it has mobilized a countercultural critique of work and education in order to recuperate precarity as a marker of a welcome generational shift in values, with young people and their educators increasingly liberating themselves from the (oppressive) Fordist model of work and school (for an Australian example, see McWilliam, 2008; and Bentley, 2012 for the UK). In such a context, graduate underemployment can always be recuperated as a progressive “lifestyle” decision. Indeed, much discussion of the future creative workforce can be understood as a symptom of the incorporation of the artistic critique of work into normative human resource management literature described by Boltanski and Chiapello (2005).

At other times, creative industries researchers have drawn on a dystopic narrative, citing the adaptability and economic resilience of creative artists as exemplary of the employability skills now required by all workers in order to survive in an increasingly insecure labour market where all workers must invest in their employability (Bridgstock, 2005). Such an account draws on the first response of human resource managers to the economic downturn in the US in the 1970s (such as Douglas Hall, 2004) and has found traction with cultural economists who suggest artists now “lead the way” in terms of adapting to a deteriorating labour market (Throsby, 2012; Brook, 2016b). Crucial here is a dawning realization that “new economy” assumptions about labour market demand for knowledge workers have themselves not born up well. A major study of US labour force statistics showed that demand for college educated labour has in fact steadily *decreased* since the 1980s (Goldin & Katz, 2007: Table 3.2, p. 101): that is, during the period in which the economic importance of knowledge has become widely accepted, labour market demand for knowledge workers has objectively shrunk. Such findings are supported by Phillip Brown, Anthony Hesketh, and Sara Williams’s warning to researchers that demand for “knowledge worked” is not the same as demand for “knowledge workers” (Brown et al., 2004).

It is in this context that the prevalence of creative work identities can be interpreted as responding to a general need for “vocational narratives”; narratives that demonstrate essentially professional work values of commitment, resourcefulness, self-awareness, and adaptability. In the next section, we report four case studies focusing in particular on two types of narratives: narratives of employability and narratives of risk management. In the first, we focus on the ways in which interviewees narrate the employable self via accounts of the

value of their knowledge, experience, and flexibility. In the second, we look at the ways in which interviewees describe strategies for mitigating the economic risks associated with creative work. While such narratives clearly evidence strategic practice, a premise of our approach is that the narrative is not simply a “report” but is itself a key manifestation of this practice—one that makes good use of the research interview as an opportunity to exercise professional skills. The following case studies were selected for the ways in which they clearly *exemplify* a range of narratives of employability through their explicit reference to values, habits, and interests that sustain a work identity. While the employment outcomes of the selected interviewees might be regarded as “successful” according to different sets of criteria—such as achieving fulltime work, working in a sector related to one’s studies, or being able to subsidize one’s creative practice through multiple job holding—they are not presented here as exemplary *outcomes*. Rather, our selection was guided by the demonstrated capacity of the interviewee to articulate a narrative about their work identity that balanced both paid employment and creative practice. As we discuss below, a conspicuous feature of our case studies is that they are highly articulate about perceived possibilities and constraints of the creative sector, including their own positions and future options, even as they project a highly agential and engaged work identity.

Case Study 1: “Why Would I Restrict Myself?”

Mary is a professional writer and musician aged 30, now based in Melbourne. She graduated in the late 2000s from a regional university with an arts degree and an advanced diploma in creative writing. After graduating, she volunteered with a street press magazine where she subsequently got a part-time job as an editor. She describes this transition from volunteering to paid employment as a seminal experience: “[B]ecause I was employed as a 21 year old in publishing already, it kind of set the scene then for always being really employable.”

At the time of the interview Mary was self-employed producing and editing copy for business clients and government organizations. She says she has more work than she can handle (“I have *too much* work!”) and boasts that “writing is a day job” that supports her other interests, such as poetry and music.

Mary is also a musician and song writer, performs in a band, and at the time of the interview had just been accepted into a masters in music therapy. She describes herself as a “multipotentialite”—a term she found on the

internet to describe artistic people like herself who have multiple interests and skills:

I think why would I restrict myself? If I have those interests across all of these areas, and they all weave together, they all draw on the same core creativity, communication skills, and project management skills.

She frequently refers to herself as someone who easily becomes bored (“I’m just interested in lots of different things and I get bored really quickly”). When she first moved to Melbourne she had a communications job at a large prestigious cultural organization but had difficulty settling into a role where she felt she didn’t have the time to finish projects:

I kept quitting and then going back. And yeah, I’d just worked for that many places that I felt that I had enough contacts to make it work.

It was after this experience that she began freelancing. She set up her own business with support from a government small business scheme available to social security recipients. In order to qualify for the scheme, Mary proudly proclaims she reduced her income by rejecting freelance work.

Mary is very conscious of the importance of socializing across a range of fields, an awareness that seems to have come from experiences working for a street magazine and performing in live venues (“I had all those contacts and I was clearly kind of active in the scene”). She attributes some of the success of her freelance work to the networking opportunities in a co-working space in Melbourne:

And networking not just with your own discipline, networking with all the creatives because you all need each other to get something done generally.

Case Study 2: “Dropping Out and Working”

Alex is a published poet aged 30 based in Melbourne. He graduated with an English degree from an elite university in Queensland. He set out with an interest in journalism but studied a significant amount of creative writing for his degree. He says he took almost ten years to finish his undergraduate degree, during which time he wrote for publications, played in bands, and worked in numerous entry-level hospitality and clerical jobs: “And so yeah, ended up sort of dropping out [of university] and working to be able to do that[.]”

He subsequently moved to Melbourne where he completed a masters in professional writing. He has since published poems in a number of literary magazines and been awarded several national literary prizes for his work. Since graduating he has generally had full-time jobs and now works part-time in a large government organization. When asked why he had always worked, when many other writers don't, he responds:

I guess it's part of sort of my upbringing, with parents with a relatively severe Protestant work ethic of "that's what you do and you don't get to play until you've done that". And I guess I've always conceived this stuff [poetry] as play, the creative side of things. [...] I also always grew up sort of learning about the history of the writers that I loved and what their stories were; and always sort of admired writers like Franz Kafka who had full time jobs and wrote and some were successful in their lifetime as writers as well. Some gave up the job, some didn't, but I've always just assumed that I would need to work full time.

Alex also notes that his interest in writing is non-commercial—"I'm not going to write anything that makes any money, that's not going to happen"—and that his sense of "duty" doesn't just relate to paid work but also extends to his literary practice:

I find it incredibly wasteful or feel incredibly disappointed in myself if I come home from work and spend a night watching TV without writing down an idea that might become something else. So, I don't know, it might be ego but just this general belief that these ideas that I have throughout a day that connect up in a way that seems appealing to me, must at some point be appealing to someone else; so therefore I have some sort of duty to get them out.

He has worked in call centres in several large organizations that he has found quite frustrating. He has, however, generally been able to renegotiate his position so as to move into senior roles that require higher skills levels and more interesting tasks. He has worked in his current job (part-time) in a large public organization for three years:

It was initially just answering the phones. Within a few weeks I realized I had no training resources so I said, "Can I write training resources for you?" and they said, "Can you do that?" and I said, "Sure, I've got a Masters in writing, just let me write something, I'll show you". And they did and that parlayed immediately almost into this role that I've been in now for about two and a bit years.

Alex describes his promotion as a result of both luck and the opportunity to present his literary knowledge to a new director:

And then I just was lucky that a new director came in. I had a good conversation with him. I think the conversation involved the history of the cemetery and some writers who are buried there. Frank Hardy is buried there and a few other Australian writers. And he went, “You seem like an interesting guy, what’s your story?” and I told him about my degree and he said, “Oh can you write policies?” and I went, “Yep”.

Alex is quite aware of the value of his vocational identity for employment opportunities within cultural management, and even refers to the value of his “cultural capital” as something he might “trade on”. When asked about his future work plans, he states:

[O]ne of my big goals would be to work doing the kind of work I do now [but] in an arts or cultural organization, and probably to get that role by leveraging my success as a writer. So to be able to trade on the cultural capital all that has [being a Poet] to get into a cultural organization.

Case Study 3: Safety Blankets

Sandra (24) is a recent graduate with a music degree from a prestigious UK university based in London. When interviewed she was performing, working as a music teacher, and organizing music events through a company she had founded during university. She was very clear that her choice of university—not only of degree—had an impact on the career possibilities after university:

[...] the perception is that if you go to a reputable university and you get a research degree, it is very academic and on paper you have a good degree and a good university and that will open doors.

This awareness of the value of the institution was supplemented by an account of the transferable skills that are developed in music studies, and their value relative to other areas of creative arts study:

Musicians are very good at working in a team, very motivated and disciplined [...] Our skills are more broadly applicable in life in most jobs. Musicians have to be very organized with time, and be very efficient with our time [...]

While dedicated to developing a music performance career, Sandra had a clear understanding of the importance of having a job as well as acting entrepreneurially within the field. Sandra has a very clear set of preferences in relation to these three activities, and a long-term strategy:

In my head, I would love to do more performing, number two is developing the company, and then teaching. At the moment, it is the other way around doing mostly teaching, secondly the company and thirdly gigging. So in the long term, I am trying to build the company so that the teaching can diminish [...]

The rejection of teaching as a long-term goal is partly based on a commitment to the autonomy and stimulation that comes with her primary creativity practice:

And if I wanted full time work teaching, I could get it, but I restrict myself to two days teaching because I find it not very stimulating and creatively stifling, so it would be quite hard [...]

Nevertheless, Sandra is also explicit about the economic basis of her preferences. While teaching work was clearly an economic support in the process of developing a performance career, Sandra acknowledged family as the most important “safety blanket” in terms of her ability to continue to be based in London and develop a performance career:

I am very blessed because my parents are Londoners and I live with them and I acknowledge that it is a financial safety blanket [...] So that enabled me to start being self-employed without immediately needing an income which is fairly unique. I know a lot of my colleagues went home for a period afterwards, but I had a bonus of being in London that was a real benefit [...]

Case Study 4: “I Do Not Have to Take the Gig to Eat and Pay the Bills”

At the time of the interview, Mark (24) was a recent graduate who moved to London after studying at a music conservatoire in central England with a specialization in Jazz and living in Birmingham for a while. In his account of his transition from study to work, he described a typical disconnect between his studies, his passion for music performance, and the labour market:

there was very little in my degree, whereby I could say "well, I have learned that ... how can I apply that to the real world?". I think it was very much I am learning about music and I am in my own little music bubble. And then suddenly you leave university and you find there isn't a job for a music graduate. You need to find what your strength is and what the jobs available are, because I did not have a clue really, of what I could do with my degree [...]

Nevertheless, Mark was successfully gigging while looking for work mostly within the cultural sector:

having put all the effort in, I was gigging regularly in several bands. There was enough work to sustain me throughout the summer, thankfully, which afforded me the opportunity to look for jobs. I had 75 job applications during the period, 65 of them were related to arts and music in one way or another, the other 10 I would have been a chief salesman, bar tender [...]

Mark was genuinely passionate about his performance and love for music, but after graduating he chose a career as events and venue manager:

it is a performance degree [...] focused on the music itself, but I always thought there should be also something else, a fall-back position, which I do not think lots of musician think about. Lots of them are solely focused on the music [...] it is risk management for my point of view. If the playing does not work out I need to think of something else.

Mark also considered the competition in the music sector and the fact that "everybody can get a music degree but not everyone can have a music degree with experience [...] I needed to make myself more attractive to a potential employer, it was a big eye opener". While he has opted for the safety blanket of stable employment in venue management, he states he has turned down better paid jobs outside the cultural sector. The work in venue management "was in a career, in direct relation with what I wanted to do [...] I could use the value of it to carry on".

Mark was very articulate about the strategic relation between cultural sector work and developing his performance career, with the former providing him with a level of economic security that supports a more autonomous relation to his emerging performance career:

I did not want to have to rely on the insecurity of not knowing where the next month's rent is coming from [...] so it was a conscious decision for me. Music is a passion, a hobby [...] For me I can still go out now and gig two, three times

a week. If I do not want to, or I cannot, I do not have to take the gig to eat and pay the bills [...]

However, he highlighted and mentioned career strategies and long-term trajectories and the need of job stability and long-term planning.

Mark was also able to articulate the disadvantages of his previous location, as well as its advantages in terms of encouraging a more proactive relation to career choices and making opportunities:

in London, where the industry is based, it is a lot London centred. There is a lot more opportunities if a record label sees you, an agency, they can pick you up from an early age and develop you. While there it is kind of isolated, you have to make things happen [...]

Mark highlights the quality of his networks, especially those developed during his studies, and his ability to continue mobilizing these for work opportunities:

I met other musician via the Jazz Society from other universities [...] Having made those contacts, I can now contact them for gigs, and through those networks you meet endless more [...] All of the musicians that I use now in gigs, there is some contact from having met someone at university. So you can almost trace it back, and a lot of venue owners and people who run events [...] I still use those contacts now.

Discussion

Clearly all four case studies exhibit complex and dynamic strategies for articulating study and work. While Mark has clearly taken on venue management work as key support for his vocation as a jazz performer, in Mary's case, such a "strategy" isn't quite so clear—her artistic pursuits were clearly not oriented towards success *as an artist*, supported as they were by freelance copywriting, and a career in music therapy appearing as a possible future. While Sandra has taken a common path in the early stages of music performance careers—music teaching in order to support herself while she builds a profile—Alex hopes to be able combine his experience of working in government organizations with his literary reputation in order to eventually achieve a job in arts management.

Our interest in these case studies is less in the particular pathways for writing and music graduates, than in the reflexive and agential "vocational self" that our interviewees project. These narratives balance a number of antinomies that are common in self-reports of creative career development in its early stages. We can identify three sets here. First, statements that testify to the integrity of one's vocation (calling) as a primary motivation are offset by statements that testify to flexibility and a pragmatic relation to the field. Second, statements on the importance of an autonomous relation to one's practice—the freedom to choose the conditions under which creative work occurs—are tempered by statements on the importance of highly instrumental and entrepreneurial strategies necessary to sustain such practice. And, third, statements that proclaim the key role of personal effort in making opportunities—through networks, strategies, and a disciplined work ethic—are matched with a keen awareness of the role of key advantages (universities, geographic locations, family financial support) in supporting a creative career.

Firstly, all four interviewees evidence a commitment to creativity as a vocation that transcends financial returns or concern for employability. These statements reference the dutiful nature of a personal artistic practice that must be maintained (Alex), passion for the activity (Mark), long-term preferences (Sandra), or the "core creativity" (Mary) that drives the interviewee. Mary's references to her "core" creative potential is interesting, as it suggests a vocational narrative that is not restricted to a specific practice or field (such as writing or music) but is always capable of moving on, where it shades into what is ultimately a highly flexible and pragmatic relation to the field. While Mary's pursuit of her creative potential is demonstrated in leaving a secure job she felt constrained by, it also manifests as a radical adaptability in the context of short-term freelance work. Similarly, Alex's dutiful relation to literary practice also manifests as an explicitly referenced work ethic that curiously *refuses* the classic bohemian refusal of work. Such a refusal has both artistic integrity and precedent—Alex's discussion of Franz Kafka's employment as an insurance assessor is related to an aesthetic theory of the importance of writers undertaking real work—as well as an entirely pragmatic appreciation of the transferable value of his experience in government employment to an arts management context in future.

Relatedly, in all four cases this vocational commitment was backed-up by economic relations that ensure a certain level of creative autonomy. For Mark, his decision to work in venue management is presented not only as a pragmatic form of risk management but also enabling his economic freedom to choose the conditions of his creative work—being able to say no to gigs. Similarly, Mary's decision to start her own freelance business is presented as

the key move that enables her to choose how she works, while her “day job” enables her to maintain artistic pursuits independently of any concern for their professional success. Similarly, Alex was very clear that his literary writing would not “make any money” and, therefore, his income generating activities would—for the time-being—have to be completely separate. Meanwhile, Sandra was candid about the fact that her entire early career strategy—currently reliant on a restricted amount of teaching which she ultimately hoped would be replaced with performance work—was itself subtended by the advantages of both family and geography (living at home in London).

In this, Sandra exemplifies an ethical self-awareness that publicly acknowledges the role of personal advantages in supporting a creative career. Whether it refers to privileged institutional positions—such as networks obtained through university (Mark) or creative work contexts, such as co-working spaces or venues (Mary)—the symbolic capital of being a graduate of a particular university (Sandra), or the cultural capital of a literary education for jobs upgrading (Alex), such statements testify to an awareness of advantage. Significantly, this awareness was not presented as a critique of privileges within the sector—although in other interviews this was present—but rather as a ground for a strategic awareness of opportunities that, ultimately, testify to the interviewee’s own efforts and capacities. While the advantages of geography, university, and family were clearly referenced, such references were ultimately part of a narrative of personal attributes and capacities, demonstrating a strong strategic field awareness and appreciation of the role of effort and a proactive disposition in generating opportunities.

Conclusion: Vocational Narratives and Embedded Creatives

In general, we can observe that vocational narratives appear to have a relationship to what has come to be known as “embedded” forms of creative work. This term is used variably to refer to those with creative occupations located outside the creative industries (such as music teachers in education) or those with creative skills and qualifications outside the creative sector (such as a writing graduate working in a government bureaucracy). Implicit to the notion of “embedded creatives” is a claim not so much for “transferrable skills”—a well-established object for education studies—so much as a claim for creatives as a particular caste of new workers whose existence is a harbinger for broader socio-cultural changes (Barbrook, 2006).⁴

While the notion of embedded creatives is to a certain extent a “fuzzy” object of study, in so far as it is hard to quantify the creative skills component in non-creative sectors (and especially when the term is used as a synonym for “innovation”), it is useful in so much as it presumes a recognized social type—*the* creative—that exists independently of specific employment. In short, to be “a creative” is to possess a *calling* (as Max Weber’s term for vocation) that testifies to both skills and values that transcend any immediate application in the labour market. Such a calling might manifest as a capacity to undertake supporting (non-creative) roles in an industry to which one is committed (such as venue management) as part of a portfolio of skills, or the ability to take one’s creativity outwards towards the general labour market.

Building on Ruth Bridgstock’s account of the artist as protean worker (2005), we might suggest that vocational narratives signal a protean form of human capital. Vocational narratives would be a strong way of signalling skills and capacities that, in their protean form as “personal capital”, can be re-articulated to a range of employment options both within and without the cultural sector. For example, in Mary’s case, it is clear that her employability—her capacity to impress clients and gain contracts—is directly related to her demonstrated capacity to work across a range of activities; from project management through copywriting to communicating with co-workers. And it is her highly visible vocational identity as a “multipotentialite” that signals this package of skills. While this vocation is supported by specific skill sets (networking, teamworking, multi-tasking, self-managing), these skills are rendered visible through the vocational self-narratives that are themselves the capstone capacities for gaining work.

This chapter has explored the notion of “vocational narratives” as a key aspect of creative work identities. In the case studies of creative graduates reported here, we have found that such narratives balance a set of common oppositions, including commitment/flexibility, autonomy/instrumentalism, and personal effort/constraints of social context. One implication of this focus—that we would like to highlight in conclusion—is that the interview relation cannot be simply regarded in positivist terms as a neutral source of qualitative data on the cultural sector. Rather than a neutral report on the creative graduate field, the interview is an occasion for a discursive presentation of the self that strives to “make sense” of individual graduate pathways, one which is to a certain extent cued by the critical purpose of researchers and the instrumental applications of such research in curriculum planning (as evidenced in plain language statements to interviewees). Such presentations rehearse and further cultivate skills in strategic field awareness and professional reflexivity in a manner that we suggest demonstrates exemplary career

management skills. We suggest that research on these narrative skills holds potential for understanding the pathways they reference, as well as the relation of creative labour studies to its object.

Notes

1. The social proximity between interviewer and interviewee in the field of creative labour studies is something of an “open secret” in the field, with many creative labour researchers working in university programmes that are themselves significant agents in the cultural sector, and which clearly have an interest in creative sector employment.
2. This research was supported by the Australia Research Council Discovery Project “Working the field: Creative graduates in Australia and China” (DP#150101477 2015–2017).
3. All the names of the interviewees have been changed to protect their anonymity.
4. This is clear when we consider the case for transferable skills has long been made in relation to numerous disciplines across the arts and sciences, such as the humanities, natural sciences, and mathematics, and that such an argument has never entailed any claim to such graduates being “embedded” representatives of a particular skill set (e.g. that historians, naturalists or mathematicians are “embedded” in the Public Service or Secondary School system).

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Part II

Putting Creativity to Work



7

Creativity and the Web of Life

Jonathan Milne

Introduction

This chapter outlines the approach of The Learning Connexion (TLC), a New Zealand-based school of creativity and art founded on the educational goal of using art-based work to experience creative processes that can be applied in any field. Since 1988, TLC has been reinventing itself to achieve an optimal blend of organizational and individual creativity. The relationship between TLC and government agencies involves an interplay between the convergent nature of official requirements and the complex, open-ended practice of creativity. The school has had to come to terms with the wide diversity of views on creativity, asking such questions as follows: What is it? Why does it matter? Is it possible to nurture creativity, both individually and collectively? What (if anything) constitutes the ethical essentials of creativity? The chapter presents ideas that may be seen as an ongoing challenge to integrate social, practical, economic, environmental and cultural dimensions of creativity.

Creativity and the Web of Life

Creativity connects with one of Fred Hoyle's more famous and contentious quotes. "The chance that higher life forms might have emerged ... is compa-

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L. Martin, N. Wilson (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Creativity at Work*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-77350-6_7

rable with the chance that a tornado sweeping through a junk-yard might assemble a Boeing 747 from the materials therein” (Hoyle, 1981, p. 105). Humans were the tornado and besides creating new mess in the junk-yard, they did assemble a Boeing 747. They were creative. How it all began remains a moot point but there’s no doubt that creativity is a core part of who we are. The important question is how we manage and develop our creativity.

Hoyle provided a clue when he said: “We are inescapably the result of a long heritage of learning, adaptation, mutation and evolution, the product of a history which predates our birth as a biological species and stretches back over many thousand millennia” (Hoyle, 1978, p. 15). Recent parts of that heritage include the invention of democracy, bureaucracy, capitalism and education. The creativity of nature, including the “invention” of humans, occurred without universities, money, prime ministers or government departments. Humans are part of nature and the evolving story: they are not in charge of it. Humans, in their brief tenure, remain part of the great web of creativity. Yet we know less about creativity than we think we know about atoms, protons and quarks. Perhaps we don’t “know” very much at all (see Fig. 7.1).

Biologist Edward O Wilson indicates our level of ignorance when he writes: “At least two-thirds of the species on Earth remain unknown and unnamed, and of the one-third known, fewer than one in a thousand have been subject to intensive biological research” (Wilson, 2016, p. 304). Assuming that evolu-

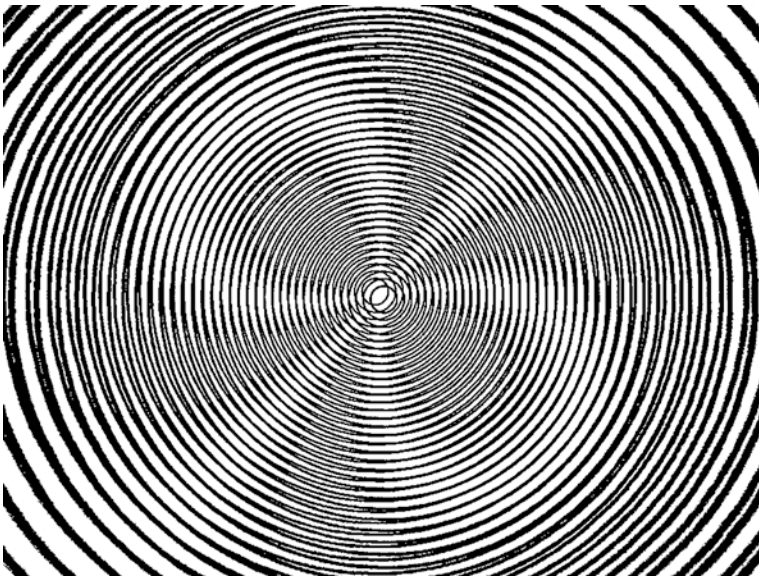


Fig. 7.1 Things are never what they seem ...

tion and creativity are closely related (if not the same), then we have to accept that we also have a limited understanding of creativity.

For me the story is personal. Somewhere in the murk of unknowing I founded a school of creativity and art. I owe the development of TLC to our students. They arrived with a desire to discover something *through* art. We found shared ground in our belief that education, money and politics were out of whack. Gradually, I realized that we needed to get past hubris and pay serious attention to the web of life.

The “connexion” (old spelling) in our school’s name was a happy accident. We wanted the letters “TLC” (yes, for tender loving care) and the companies’ registrar wouldn’t accept a set of initials. We had to submit ten alternative names and a bureaucrat chose The Learning Connexion. Despite being something of an anomaly, TLC has taught more than 6000 students since 1988 and continues to provide employment for about 60 staff. We don’t see creativity as a panacea. It has a patchy history that includes global warming, extinctions and post-truth politics. Whether humans are capable of establishing *sustainable* creativity remains to be seen. The challenges aren’t going to be solved by an arms race, Twitter or the production of mountains of clever junk being manufactured for sale in every country on our planet. We have to get past the sideshow of conflict and accept that there is a real war that we can’t win: the battle between humans and the Earth.

As a species, we are easily beguiled by novelty (not the same as creativity). Economist Ha-Joon Chang (2012, p. 31) provides perspective: “The washing machine has changed the world more than the internet has.”¹ He bundles the washing machine with “other household appliances” and argues that they enabled women to enter the labour market and virtually abolished professions like domestic service. Chang (ibid.) notes “In perceiving changes, we tend to regard the most recent ones as the most revolutionary.” Is the washing machine a good example of creativity? How does it compare with the Mona Lisa, the Large Hadron Collider and pharmaceutical companies? What is the purpose of creativity? Is it to help humans? Raise national income? Save the whales? Make profitable gadgets? Make art? Find clever new ways to catch mice? Help us to get along better with people and other life forms? Understand the nature/meaning of life, the universe and everything?

Such questions could be a routine part of education and start when kids are young. Schools in turn could pay much more attention to the old notion of “public good,” which partly translates to “sustainability.” They should also ask students what they think of education itself. A dialogue between students and other education stakeholders is a serious part of creativity. Among other things, it takes us to the question “Who owns education?” There is no owner-

ship in nature—there are responsibilities. Even though I legally own a school, I see myself as a caretaker rather than an owner. I don't believe in the "ownership" of schools any more than I believe in the ownership of the air.

The early TLC classes were focused mostly on drawing and painting although they were really about something else. For want of a better word, we called this extra dimension "creativity." We had no grand vision except to respond to the excitement of nurturing creativity. We survived (perilously) by being inventive, energetic and lucky. From the beginning, TLC was characterized by a mixture of structure and a willingness to adapt. If a student didn't like the plan, then we listened to what they had to say and then negotiated a personal "course" in parallel with the group as a whole. Everyone was encouraged to discover some basic skills and then branch out in directions that they chose for themselves. Unlike most academic classes, we had no idea of what "product" was going to emerge. We were engaging with a connected *process* that led to knowledge, products, risk-taking and confidence.

TLC's approach contrasted with the style of education that is dominated by employment outcomes and marketable skills. All too often, business and political leaders pay lip-service to creativity and want everything to remain steady and profitable even if it means getting buried deeper in junk. We do our best to find common ground with business, bureaucracy and education despite some painful stresses. The idea of a "school of creativity" sounds like an oxymoron, yet we believe that it is not only possible, it is fundamental to getting humanity back in harmony with the junk-yard. We are saying YES to both the junk and the Boeing 747.

Our YES comes with a set of provisions (the Care Rubric):

Look after yourself.

Look after others.

Look after the environment.

The "furniture" means "environment"—the whole "junk-yard" we call Planet Earth. Organizing for uncertain results isn't new. It's not so different from when people go fishing, something they've been doing for thousands of years. In our case, we're not only trying to catch something, we're creating it as well. This brings us into conflict with the reflex to control. How do you marry control and uncertainty? It's like the human version of marriage, only more so. We've discarded most of the conventional hierarchical management structure because it gets in the way of creativity. We've also grappled with deeply ingrained habits of obedience—the pattern of waiting to do as we're told. We constantly have to juggle with compliance requirements. We're say-

ing “Play safe and take risks.” We take people into areas of ambiguity so that they become used to responding in situations that don’t fit the rules.

When humans were hunter-gatherers, they often worked in teams and did a lot of dangerous things successfully. Possibly the development of agriculture and industry came at the price of greater conformity and we’ve reaped the gains without recognizing the hidden costs. Human history is full of occasions where safety and risk were combined. Sometimes, as in exploration, invention and conflict, the balance tips towards risk. At present—when humans are smashing the junk-yard—it is a luxury to pretend that new creativity is going to be comfortable.

What Might Creativity Do for Humans and Our Planet?

First, it contributes to a serious conversation about who we are. We live in an age of individualism and yet each of us is outnumbered ten to one by our own microbes. We have roughly ten trillion of our own cells and the rest—a hundred or so trillion—are hitch-hikers. Each of us is a collective, an ecosystem that needs good food, clean air and somewhere safe to rest. A business is also an ecosystem and needs to be nurtured in a healthy way. Part of collective health is the ability to work together. We’re not in command of our microbes but they can painfully remind us if we treat them badly.

Second, creativity can provide a sense of purpose that may benefit our well-being. As Teal Burrell says in an article in the *New Scientist*, “(a sense of purpose) helps prevent heart attack and stroke, staves off dementia, enables people to sleep better, have better sex and live longer” (2017, np).

Third, creativity should open our larger intelligence. Brains are useful, but they’re only part of the creative mix. If you try to create art or play tennis with your brain, you’ll quickly find its limitations. Fourth, our longevity as a species depends on a more intelligent development of creativity.

Big Picture Considerations

- Successful civilizations have always found ways to repeat what is already known. The resilience of civilizations depends on their ability to adapt to the unexpected.
- Science is one of our main tools for adaptation. Warfare often stimulates science, famously illustrated by the atomic bomb, development of radar

and breaking the Enigma Code in World War II. Unfortunately, military spending is big business (especially in the USA²) and far outstrips all other categories. Not many politicians talk about “peace spending.”

- Business and politics are biased towards short-term consequences. They have linked with science to accelerate extinctions, wars, pollution, depletion of resources, global warming and concentration of power (among other things).
- Science is not only a remarkable toolkit for discovery, it is also a successful method of predicting the future (especially in the short term). It should be celebrated as a great methodology rather than a dogma. There are endless valuable things enabled by science and there are also questions beyond scientific reach.
- Science can help by focusing research on a more viable understanding of long-term planning. Governments in turn ought to be setting different priorities for funding.

Practicalities and Assumptions

- Creativity exists in a zone of ambiguity. Science and logic have to be supporting players rather soloists. This is partly because humans in a democracy aren't especially scientific or logical and we have to consider some non-logical factors if we are to have a better chance of survival.
- Organizations must support processes that engage with the balance of the ecological web—a challenge to top-down ownership and control.
- As a species, we have a better understanding of how to suppress creativity than to nurture it. Schools and businesses built around control, obedience and excessive caution are unlikely to be creative. Ironically the massive development of social media appears to be generating “tribes” that primarily talk to themselves and reinforce preconceptions—another way to diminish creativity.
- The psychological ingredients of creativity require plenty of experience in ambiguous situations. This can be achieved in many different activities—the key is to strip away the intellectual safety of education built on problems for which we already have answers. Areas such as the arts, “making” and sport have potential to attract learners into challenges that require inventiveness with a lighter burden of numbers, formulas and other symbolic knowledge.
- Creativity depends on the ability to connect patterns and works best when individuals and teams are connected. The education concept of “STEAM”

(science, technology, engineering, *arts* and mathematics) is a beginning although I'd like to see it happening under the canopy of creativity.

- Individual motivation and lop-sided development might be better choices than standardized testing. All roads can lead to wisdom, provided we have schools capable of asking good questions, trusting students and maintaining three provisions of looking after self, others and environment.
- We must stay open to unexpected results rather than driving everything by short-term benefits. The emphasis on financial outcomes is too narrow.

The Zone of Ambiguity

There's a paradox when it comes to working out the relationship between logic/science and creativity. If creativity is logical then it should be a matter of doing the sums and presto, game over. This is not the way it happens. If you build something then science (via engineering) can give useful clues about whether it will endure—at least in human terms. On the other hand, science isn't so good at predicting the outcomes of complex processes such as the world economy, how your microbes will respond if you eat too many sticky buns or which footie team will win the championship in three years' time. In theory, these things aren't beyond the reach of science although their discovery would require colossal computing power and would take some of the fun out of being human. Science has its own rich field of creativity and fronts up to ambiguity. The “uncertainty principle” continues to live up to its name. Quantum entanglement³ is another challenge to everyday logic. So is the human brain. Despite all our scientific tools, our brains don't translate fully into digital language and scientific formulae. We're capable of forgetting names (almost instantly for some of us) and yet have a mental processing power of cosmic proportions.⁴ Sometimes mathematics leads the way by anticipating models that are later supported by physics. One such model is the “strange attractor.”⁵ We humans are “strange attractors” in the sense that we are constantly changing, maintain a steady identity and then transform into something radically different at death. A freeware programme, Chaoscope, uses 3D imagery and animation to give an impression of how complex these mathematical critters are.

Figure 7.2 shows four rotated slices of a 3D attractor. Imagine it as a 3D graph of particles that whizz around in a fairly stable pattern while their position can't be predicted for any specific moment. The same basic model is reproduced in Fig. 7.3 in two stages of animation. It is “everywhere” and at the same time has a pattern.



Fig. 7.2 Chaoscope



Fig. 7.3 Chaoscope—two stages of animation

Weather behaves in a similar way as the mathematical “chaos” images. These patterns are a pervasive aspect of everyday life. When translated into human experience, it’s as if we constantly act on the blur of the moment.

One of the differences between humans and other life forms is that we can portray chaos via mathematics although we don’t necessarily manage it better than trees or fleas. Other life forms operate in an intricately connected world that is a kind of singularity beyond the reach of logic. Maybe intuition is the

tool we have to use to navigate in a world where logic has limitations. Einstein is attributed with a comment that “The intuitive mind is a sacred gift and the rational mind is a faithful servant. We have created a society that honours the servant and has forgotten the gift.”⁶ Intuition and creativity are close relatives that don’t fit comfortably into linear categories. In the context of teaching, our TLC approach is to say yes to logic and yes to things that are either beyond logic or require practically unachievable amounts of computing to resolve.

Organization Beyond Logic

Orthodox businesses are like orthodox engineering. They are structures intended to deliver predictable results. Commands ripple out from the centre and, in calm conditions, they are fairly stable (see Fig. 7.4). A school of creativity isn’t immune from orthodoxy but it also has to say yes to the unstable ripples (see Fig. 7.5).

The simplest starting point looks like a paradox: we are individuals and we are connected to everything. This is how nature works and it doesn’t have a lot in common with the “command and control” hierarchical model (sometimes



Fig. 7.4 Ripples from a drop of water in a nearly flat pond

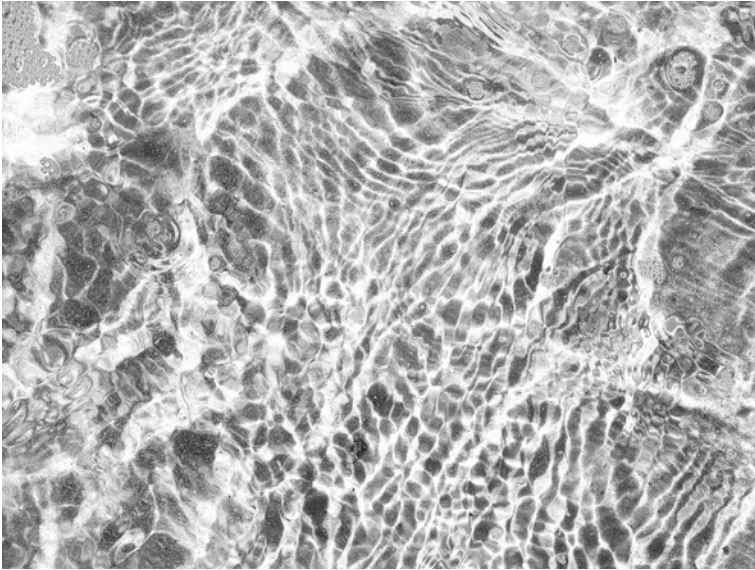


Fig. 7.5 Chaotic water at a beach

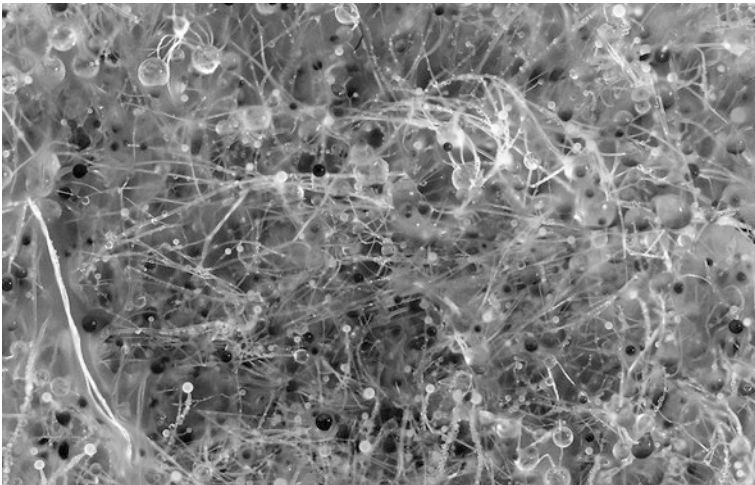


Fig. 7.6 Pin mould, simple and complex

the best alternative when creativity needs to be heavily constrained, such as emergencies, royal visits and travelling to America).

Moulds, fungi and mycelium have forms of connectedness that may have more in common with human intelligence than the computer analogy. The connections between ripples on water (see Figs. 7.5 and 7.6) provide

another non-hierarchical model. Is it possible that the hierarchical models of Aristotle and others set us on the wrong path for creativity?

Connected systems mostly function as networks that are more organic and complex than linear. They don't behave in ways that fit simplistic top-down thinking. The "war on terror" was more successful in generating terror than reducing it. "Standardized testing" in schools has a negative impact on education, culture and creativity even though it has spawned a big industry to help students pass tests. Creative thinking is pragmatic and flows from linear to complex (one of the lines in our Class Agreement is "Focus on what works"). Alexander Fleming was observant, curious and pragmatic when he stumbled into the discovery of penicillin. Eugene Semmer, a Russian veterinary pathologist, could have made the same discovery in the 1870s except he lacked Fleming's curiosity and failed to explore something odd that happened in his research. He embarked instead on a stringent hygiene programme and missed the fact that a mould was doing the job he had expected to achieve with chemicals.

An organization geared to foster creativity has to be intelligently unhygienic. It has to accept that important discoveries are often to be found in the junk that others have ignored.

It has to accept and celebrate non-conforming people who see the world differently. At TLC, we get to understand and appreciate our quirks and our strengths. Staff seem to cope easily with the fact that I have attributes that look obsessive-compulsive, introverted and eccentric. They appreciate that I do battle with bureaucrats, honour my promises, perform in front of crowds, write books, take squillions of photographs and find lost items. They know I'm tolerant of stropy behaviour as long as it fits our class agreement (Appendix 1).

Because TLC depends on tax-payer funding, we also have to be accountable. We do this by paying careful attention to what the government wants and highlighting the common ground. The biggest challenge is to do well in a marketplace that is overwhelmingly focused on money and not so concerned with other aspects of value (see Gleeson-White (2015) for a discussion of a wider range of values). Our response is to translate "money" into the bigger concept of "sustainability." Are there problems? Most definitely. At times we make wrong assumptions, fail to communicate clearly, get over-sensitive and struggle with bureaucrats who are required to evaluate us on nit-picking aspects of performance that probably add nothing to nits or any other life form. We contend with the disadvantages of neo-liberal economics and could always do better.

Does it work? Yes, although the learning never stops. We're not following a formula, we're constantly nurturing our network and balancing efficiency with resilience. It's much more like an ecological system than a machine. Our other

big challenge is to deal with the complexity of teaching creativity. The idea is to nurture each student according to their particular qualities and their real circumstances. We assume that a human tutor is better for this purpose than a programme of mechanical learning. Tutors have to be flexible, intelligent and engaging. They also have to be paid and should be recognized for skills that help to transform highly promising misfits into effective contributors to society.

Nurturing Creativity

Trust is the foundation of a creative school or business. Our staff and students have to learn how to trust themselves and each other. Our Class Agreement sets the tone. Trust is slow because it connects with deep survival instincts. It's like the old adage "Once bitten, twice shy" although in regard to creativity it can turn into "Once bitten, forever shy." We can only guess at the number of students who see TLC as a last chance to awaken qualities that have been suppressed by circumstances that triggered distrust. The clearest evidence comes via a well-being survey that we run from time to time. We ask two questions:

- *How to your rate your well-being at the time you began your study at TLC (on a five point scale)?*
- *How do you rate your well-being now?*

The results fluctuate between an improvement of 40% and 55% for on-site students. If creativity was a medicine, it would only be available on prescription. We're left with the question of how to assess (and fund research into) the social and personal value of the TLC approach to creativity. The early goal of TLC teaching is to explore three questions:

- *Who are you?*
- *What can you do?*
- *How can you connect?*

Much of the initial conversation is based around art action. The value of using art is that it side-steps platitudes: students (if they trust you) come forward with undiluted honesty.

If a motivation clashes with the Care Rubric (above) we have to look deeper. For example, we worked with group of high school boys who had been in strife for "tagging." We offered them a programme on graffiti and within a short time they launched into an inspired new approach to art and design.

Their tagging stopped and they discovered rules for breaking the rules. The message is to find ways to use energy constructively. The sky doesn't fall if we treat students as individuals rather than forces that need to be brought under control. Once students make a choice, they have to develop discipline to enable the freedom.

The discipline of creativity can be tough. In my pre-TLC days, I had to deal with marketing so that I could follow my motivation to make art. I went door-to-door in Wellington selling prints that I'd made. It was nerve-wracking although some modest success led me into the poster industry. Posters went through a short boom period that involved pulling prints day after day in an atmosphere of nasty solvents. The factory phase eventually led—many years later—to the beginning of TLC. I discovered that dogged persistence is a necessary element of creativity. For some of our students, “art” turns out to be both the means and the end—they find a way to earn a sustainable income. For others, the programme results in turning their lives and work into a form of art. In recent times, we've changed our descriptors so that they can be applied in any field rather than being anchored in art. We talk in terms of process, materials, operations and outcomes rather than paint and pictures. We're concerned to connect with creativity across the whole spectrum of education.

Speaking of connections—do the waves in rough weather at Houghton Bay in Wellington (see Fig. 7.7) have anything in common with the turbulence of stock market fluctuations (white line)—or is the similarity only a coincidence?

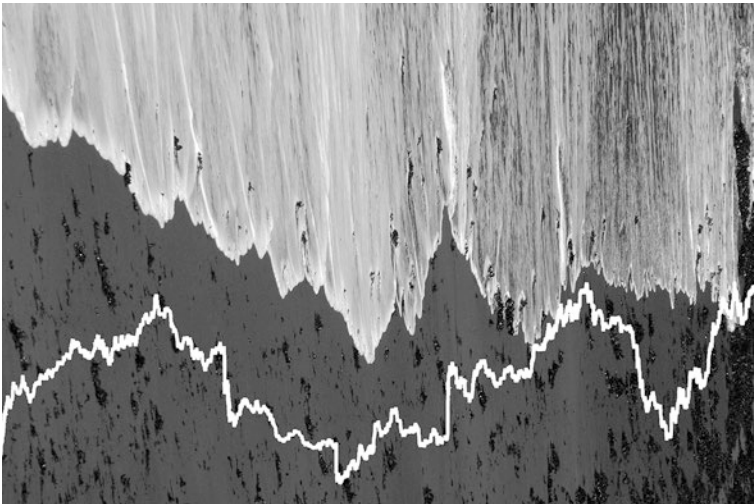


Fig. 7.7 Waves in rough weather

We emphasize body learning at least as much as brain learning. There's a dimension to creativity that must be discovered by doing rather than (or in addition to) smart conventional thinking. For us, the practice is the theory. We set out to be responsive rather than strictly democratic. If students voted for square wheels on our vehicles, we would pay attention and encourage research rather than follow the whim.⁷ The crossover between the arts and sciences needs to be explicit if students are to get a good grasp of what is happening. For example, pointillism⁸ in art related to the science of colour printing. Photoshop takes me back to my experience with posters because it involves a great deal of layering, another transferrable skill. Art-making provides good models for non-art situations. The chaos patterns of blobs of Indian ink on wet paper (Fig. 7.8) have things in common with the turbulence of weather. I wonder how this would work as an organization chart—fluid, connected, complex, and maybe how human interaction usually happens.

A major creativity skill is to apply a range of “operations” to a given material or situation. The list is open-ended and there are numerous examples (described as “verbing”) in my book, *GO! The art of change* (Milne, 2008). For example:

Layer—break—expand—multiply—reduce—fold—wrap—combine—
detach—colour—confuse—hide—burn—distort—compare—imagine—
press—re-assemble—copy—suspend—dissolve—count—redefine—repel—
attract—test—question ... and so on.



Fig. 7.8 Indian ink on wet paper

The artist Richard Serra did much the same thing⁹ although I wasn't aware of his lists at the time *GO!* was published. Students are encouraged to ask, "What is the operation in this particular work?" If they get stuck in their creative practice, they can delve into a repertoire of operations and try different things. A researcher can follow the same path. For example, both Fleming and Semmer were "testing" although it was Fleming who had the wit to question what was operating in an unexpected result.

By using art processes for "operations," students are able to explore a vast range of possibilities cheaply, easily and safely. They gradually build a set of tools that will help them to think more flexibly/creatively in whatever field they choose.

Within the field of education, there are parallel examples in which people have shared similar goals to TLC. For example, Michele and Robert Root-Bernstein deliver a framework in their 2001 book *Sparks of genius*. The Root-Bernsteins relate to skills such as observing, imaging, abstracting, modelling and playing—all of which may be applied in any area of creativity. Their work is a vital contribution to the practical business of teaching creativity (see Appendix 2 for some additional authors and readings we find inspiring). Robert Root-Bernstein drafted a proposal to research how TLC teaching affected STEM students in the way they think about and perform their disciplinary activities. The research would require cooperation from an institution teaching STEM students and so far we haven't found a partner.

Psychological Aspects of Creativity

The TLC experience overwhelmingly indicates that there is more to creativity than mental gymnastics. Creativity is experiential and emotional as well as cerebral. It's useful to consider the differences between a computer and a human. Computers are good at following rules and can do enormous calculations at great speed. They can also mimic human behaviour and learn how to play sophisticated games like chess and poker at a high level. Computers are useful for 3D modelling and engineering. Given a set of parameters (e.g. size, strength, essential elements), computers can model options to build equipment. When linked with robots, they can design and build physical structures in circumstances that would be extremely difficult for humans. Humans are a long way ahead in areas that require art, risk-taking, love, intuition or trust—perhaps because these things involve too many unpredictable factors to be translated into algorithms.

The most credible aspect of computer development is to augment human intelligence. Weather forecasts combine computerized eyes in the sky that feed information into software that models likely outcomes that give good

short-term predictions. The accuracy of the technology falters beyond five days although this is sufficient for humans to prepare for exceptional weather.

The development of cochlear implants¹⁰ illustrates another strength of the human–machine combination. Human brains can learn how to unscramble the noise delivered by the implant and gradually establish a new way of hearing. Possibly all new learning involves brain growth although there are some questions as to what is happening. Has the brain created new networks, new neurons or both? Does creative learning change our brains?

Another question is whether entrenched habits inhibit brain growth. Does passive viewing of digital information contribute to brain inertia? The TLC experience is that stimulus through “doing” often leads to greater vitality and growth whereas passive behaviour does the opposite. There are clues in the world of professional sport. Sherylle Calder, a South African vision expert, believes that there has been a decline in skill levels of elite competitors and says, “We develop skills by climbing trees, walking on walls and falling off and learning all those visual motor skills which people aren’t doing any more” (RadioNZ, 2017.)

Human history began with our natural attributes (team work, adaptability, stamina and so on) and evolved with the development of tools. We’ve reached the stage where a 10-year-old may be the ideal advisor if we have a problem with a phone or a computer. Possibly the same 10-year-old knows next to nothing about the origin of neatly packaged food products in a supermarket (Picot, 2013). The packaging itself is mostly a recent invention, as are supermarkets themselves. We could move into a long debate about the differences between the realities of supermarket and hunter-gatherer foragers. We need both old and new skills although there’s a danger that the fantasy world of digital screens and product packaging may fatally disconnect us from the world that is essential to life.

Connecting Patterns

Education tends to diminish learning into endless chunks that disguise the fact that everything is happening at once.¹¹ Our subjective view of time is linear and naturally it looks as though things happen sequentially. Therefore, we teach according to a recipe that says “one plus one equals two.” The recipe is wrong except in the rarefied atmosphere of basic arithmetic. In nature, everything is different, like identical twins. Students who create paintings notice that a single brush stroke changes everything. It isn’t the same as adding a brick to a wall—every relationship between every element of the work is different. A bigger drama occurs when a new baby arrives in a family—all the “bricks” have to adapt and they’re no longer the same.

$$Z \rightleftharpoons Z^2 + c$$

Fig. 7.9 The Mandelbrot set

“Complex numbers” are like adding a baby. The Mandelbrot set (Fig. 7.9) illustrates how this works.

The double harpoon symbol indicates a two-way flow rather than the static “=” sign. There’s still equality although the value of Z is continuously changing and will head to zero or infinity.¹² Possibly prehistoric humans had a better grasp of this mystery because they weren’t confused by twenty-first-century high school mathematics. We can see the patterns of complexity in clouds, coastlines, forests, ecology and the night sky. One of Mandelbrot’s great contributions is that he enabled us to see it all happening in beautiful computer imagery. He found a way to illustrate in mathematics something that Heraclitus (535–475 BC) understood—you can’t step in the same river twice. A perverse aspect of education is that it has been preoccupied with the abstract simplicity of $1 + 1 = 2$ instead of paying attention to deep connectedness. Hunter-gatherers knew whether they had caught one rabbit or two but their survival depended mostly on understanding something about complexity. In particular, they had to know a lot about animal behaviour and food chains that operate in complex patterns.

The formal mathematics of complexity is probably inaccessible to beginners but experiential learning takes us a long way towards a useful understanding. Humans are geared to engage with complexity. When complex calculations are required, novices can work in tandem with mathematicians and engineers to find a way to a sustainable future.

Another twist to complexity is self-similarity. If we treat nature as the encyclopaedia of creativity, you’ll find that most of the important clues are in plain sight. William Blake may have been on to something when he said “To see the world in a grain of sand, and to see heaven in a wild flower, hold infinity in the palm of your hands, and eternity in an hour.”

He was saying that everything echoes everything. Daoist philosophers said something similar about 2600 years ago: the sage can know the whole world without leaving his room.¹³ Many years ago, two of my brothers incidentally demonstrated Daoist thinking when they arrived at a locked mountain hut. They were hungry after a long trek and knew that there would be a stash of food somewhere. Mark treated the place like a crime scene and did a rigorous search. Neil sat down and did nothing until he eventually stood up and went straight to the hidden food. Sometimes contemplating a pattern is the best action.

We do something a little different with our students. In their third year of tertiary study, we invite them to choose a material and then spend three months getting to know it. We're working parallel to Blake's idea. Take a material and have a conversation: play, ponder, explore and discover how it relates to you and your world. How might this approach benefit STEM learning? Most likely some of the STEM learners will become more flexible and curious—like Fleming. They might find that odd-ball artists are useful colleagues. Len Lye, one of New Zealand's most remarkable artists, left a legacy of engineering challenges that continue to captivate enthusiasts who can link the art with robust technical knowledge. Part of Lye's interest was in creating asymmetrical "machines" that wove light, sound and movement into mesmerizing patterns (see Fig. 7.10). Building these ideas required engineers to set aside the rule book of orthodox design and come up with ideas that moved closer to the behaviour of trees.

Steve Jobs appreciated that empathetic designers could make computers more friendly to non-geeks and this was a key element in building the Apple fortune.



Fig. 7.10 Len Lye's Water whirler, Wellington waterfront

Where to From Here?

I've lost count of the number of times students have told us "TLC saved my life." Really they save their own lives and TLC provides useful tools and support. Many teachers throughout history have set out to do something similar and it is a feature of what we call "civilization."

We encourage people to reframe the way in which they see the world. Small positive changes grow into something bigger. To some extent, creative change can be stimulated through schools and other organizations. There's a need to learn more about how it happens and the obvious thing is to study some examples. As with individuals, schools and governments need to consider some reframing. What is sustainable? What works? What are the consequences of our actions? In the movie "The Dark Knight," the Joker makes a point that could apply to much of humanity: "Do I really look like a guy with a plan? You know what I am? I'm a dog chasing cars. I wouldn't know what to do with one if I caught it!"

Aldous Huxley touched on an alternative strategy when he said: "It's a little embarrassing that after 45 years of research & study, the best advice I can give people is to be a little kinder to each other." How do we reconcile the impetuous madness of the Joker with the wisdom of Huxley? I'd like to see schools encouraging discussion of the works of practitioners who move beyond short-term utility and offer their own special insights into the way the world works. Most of all I want a better balance between "digital" and "doing." Experiential learning can bring us face to face with puzzles that are beyond digital reach.

And spare a thought for Fred Hoyle. Besides his tornado in the rubbish dump he said "Space isn't remote at all. It's only an hour's drive away if your car could go straight upwards." For an astronomer that's a good line, but we don't need a car to get there. Space is who we are. The atoms of our bodies are just as empty as outer space. We are stranger than strangers. It's time to go beyond our preconceptions. Look to the mystery we call creativity, relax and embrace the strangeness.

Appendix 1

TLC Class Agreement

1. Look after yourself. Look after others. Look after our environment.
2. Treat yourself with kindness and generosity. Take breaks as you need them. If you're getting stale, do something different. If you need support in any way, please ask.

3. Work with commitment and trust, even where things don't make sense or feel uncomfortable. Be aware that frustration always plays a part in good learning.
4. Be supportive.
5. If a problem arises, tell someone who can take action (and suggest a solution). If you don't communicate, it's your responsibility.
6. Focus on what works. Ask for what you WANT. Use your energy constructively. Avoid blame and justification.
7. Recognize that if you stay safe, nothing will ever change (learning demands risks and mistakes—view each mistake as a gift that will teach you something if you choose to own it and which will return if you reject it).
8. Work with patience, persistence and playfulness. Acknowledge that the only difference between success and failure is quitting. If you intend to quit, do it before the course starts!
9. If you feel you're not coping at any stage, tell the tutor. Sometimes it's hard to tell if people are having difficulty and you should decide for yourself whether you need special help. Difficulties often signal that something useful is brewing!
10. *Participate!* The more you give, the more you will receive.
11. Be punctual.
12. Help to keep the studios clean and tidy!

Our preferred method of dealing with issues is Appreciative Inquiry. This is an extension of item 6 above. Everyone in a wider group is invited to say what they want in regard to the issue.

[NB—staff and students also receive a guide about working with AI.]

Appendix 2

Additional Authors and Books Informing Aspects of The Learning Connexion's Practice and Theory

- Al-Khalili, J., & McFadden, J. (2014). *Life on the edge: The coming of age of quantum biology*. London: Black Swan.
- Ball, P. (2013). *Curiosity*. London: Vintage.
- Bohm, D. (2010). *Science, order, and creativity*. Abingdon: Routledge.
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- Cham, J., & Whiteson, D. (2017). *We have no idea: A guide to the unknown universe*. London: John Murray.

- Chang, H.-J. (2014). *Economics: The user's guide*. London: Penguin Books.
- Czerski, H. (2016). *Storm in a teacup: The physics of everyday life*. London: Black Swan.
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- Elwes, R. (2013). *Maths in 100 key breakthroughs*. London: Quercus.
- Marcal, K. (2006). *Who cooked Adam Smith's dinner*. New York: Pegasus.
- McDonald, M. (2016). *Elwyn Richardson and the early world of creative education in New Zealand*. Wellington: NZCER Press.
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- Robinson, K. (2015). *Creative schools*. London: Allen Lane.
- Wilson Milne, A. (2017). *Two wings to fly*. Wellington: Steele Roberts.
- Wohlleben, P. (2015). *The hidden life of trees*. Georgia: Greystone.

Notes

1. "The data are not easy to come by, but a mid-1940s study by the US Rural Electrification Authority reports that, with the introduction of the electric washing machine and electric iron, the time required for washing a 38-lb load of laundry was reduced by a factor of nearly 6 (from 4 hours to 41 minutes) and the time taken to iron it by a factor of more than 2.5 (from 4.5 hours to 1.75 hours). Piped water has meant that women do not have to spend hours fetching water (for which, according to the United Nations Development Programme, up to two hours per day are spent in some developing countries). Vacuum cleaners have enabled us to clean our houses more thoroughly in a fraction of the time that was needed in the old days, when we had to do it with broom and rags" (Chang, 2012, p. 31).
2. See <https://www.nationalpriorities.org/campaigns/military-spending-united-states/>, which projected that military spending would account for 54% of all federal discretionary spending, a total of US\$598.5 billion, in 2015.
3. *Quantum entanglement* is a physical phenomenon that occurs when pairs or groups of particles are generated or interact in ways such that the quantum state of each particle cannot be described independently of the others. This is even when the particles are separated by a large distance (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quantum_entanglement).
4. See <https://www.quora.com/When-compared-to-a-computer-CPU-is-human-brain-single-core-or-multi-core> for online discussion of this subject.

5. In maths, an *attractor* is a set of numerical values towards which a system tends to evolve, for a wide variety of starting conditions of the system (see Boeing, 2016).
6. The attribution of this phrase to Einstein is contested; see <https://quoteinvestigator.com/2013/09/18/intuitive-mind/> for discussion of the source(s).
7. There are real applications for square wheels although not on our bus (see, e.g., Peterson, 2004).
8. *Pointillism* is a technique of [painting](#) in which small, distinct dots of colour are applied in patterns to form an image—see <http://www.artcyclopedia.com/history/pointillism.html> for a list of pointillist painters.
9. See Delehanty (n.d.) for further discussion.
10. A cochlear implant is a surgically implanted electronic device that provides a sense of sound to a person who is profoundly deaf or severely hard of hearing in both ears—see Science Daily (2013) for further discussion.
11. Ray Cummings', 1922 science fiction novel *The girl in the golden atom* includes the line "'Time' he said 'is what keeps everything from happening at once.'" Elsewhere, John Archibold Wheeler, a later collaborator of Albert Einstein, said "We live on an island surrounded by a sea of ignorance. As our island of knowledge grows, so does the shore of our ignorance" (Scientific American, 1992, p. 267).
12. See Cagley's (2006) paper, "When good numbers go bad," a title that could fit nicely with an introduction to complex numbers.
13. More details at: <http://www.sacred-texts.com/tao/salt/salt06.htm>.

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8

Creativity and the Visual Arts

Peter Adsett and Mary Alice Lee

Introduction

This chapter reflects upon an experimental art class—dubbed “the master-class” in a tongue-in-cheek way—which was conducted between 2003 and 2005 by the present writers, a painter and an art historian, who were its co-founders.

The authors were initially teaching colleagues in the early 1990s at the School of Art, Northern Territory University, sharing a special interest in Aboriginal painting, which, in turn, resulted in a different approach to abstract art of the twentieth century. Mary Alice Lee’s attendance at Yve-Alain Bois’ classes in the USA was also influential. Peter Adsett, meanwhile, is an artist of note in both Australia and New Zealand who has sought to find common ground between his own practice as an abstract painter and that of Aboriginal painters with whom he has sensitively collaborated on several occasions.

The impetus for the masterclass lay in a critical position *vis-à-vis* contemporary art strongly advocated by both teachers. In 2004, in the midst of their enterprise, a book was published that was intended to become a standard text for students of art for the following decades, co-authored by four of the most respected art historian/critics of recent times. A round-table discussion of the

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“predicament of contemporary art” completes the tome and is summarized by Benjamin Buchloh thus:

[beginning in] the eighties, artistic production was subsumed into the larger practice of the culture industry, where it now functions as commodity production, investment portfolio, and entertainment. (Foster, Krauss, Bois, & Buchloh, 2004, p. 673)¹

We felt that this state of affairs (what Yve-Alain Bois called “a dire diagnostic”) had produced a corresponding crisis in art schools in Australasian universities and colleges and that the models of art presented in exhibition spaces were indeed market driven, reducing art to mere spectacle and entertainment. A way out of this impasse lay in ideas developed during a decade of collaboration, beginning in the Northern Territory, and culminating in Wellington, New Zealand, at a non-government art school called the Learning Connexion. In essence, we aimed to swim against the current and restore the importance of *medium*.

In this post-Greenbergian age of installation and intermedia work, the term *medium* has become anathema, associated with that critic’s insistence that the various divisions of modern art (painting, sculpture, etc.) retreat to their proper domains and focus on the search for their own essence. Rosalind Krauss, a present-day champion of *medium*, is, however, careful to distinguish her concept from that of Greenberg, choosing the term *technical* medium in order to avoid the implications of *physical* medium. This permitted her to see the diverse practices of Bruce Nauman, Ed Ruscha, William Kentridge, and James Coleman as new mediums, even as each of them always *specified* his technical apparatus in the work, be it film, drawing, or liquids. In several recent texts, Krauss borrowed from Stanley Cavell’s idea of “automatism,” which refers to the rules by which the “practitioners of a given discipline gain the freedom to improvise” (Cavell’s example was music). The discovery of the conventions or rules of a new “technical support” is tantamount to inventing a medium, wrote Krauss.² We believe that this has to be the highest form, or possibly, the only form of creativity in the visual arts, and we aimed for students to achieve it in their own practice.

Before coming to the detail of the masterclass, however, we offer a few preliminary remarks about the concept of “creativity” in our field.

We understand that the dictionary definition of the verb “to create” is, on the one hand, to make, produce, or cause to come into existence, and, on the other hand, to be engaged in creative work, manifesting intelligence, imagination, originality of thought, even inspiration. The latter meaning is that

usually associated with the making of art, and it carries an inherent problem: it tends to elevate creation to the realm of the sublime (the Creator, or the Muses), which can lead to a focus on the genius of the producer rather than the thing produced. The result is a displacement of value away from the work, away from its place in history, towards the originality and inventiveness of a creator, an individual who stands somehow outside history. If the meaning of a work of art is seen to reside outside the object and is divorced from its relationship to the history of art, it is, to say the least, immeasurably impoverished. A well-known example of this is the *cherchez-la-femme* tendency, wherein viewers will rush to identify a female image in a Picasso painting with one of his mistresses, resulting in art criticism that is little more than salacious biography. Such writing fails to deal with the innovatory formal elements of that painter's work, such as his struggle to accommodate the discoveries of his cubist experiments with a return to representation. Art history abounds in this kind of biographical interpretation, which is of little use to the student of painting.

In our art discourse, therefore, the word is best supplemented by terms that return focus to the art object, words such as “work,” or “process.” Indeed, emphasis in the phrase “work of art” must be on *work*, returning us always to the making of art. Ultimately, the viewer's analysis of meaning will be directed to how formal elements operate in the work.

Our definition of creativity hinges on the special attention that an artist pays to the materials and processes of a work in its formative stages, attention which will then be acknowledged by the viewer in reading the finished work. When this happens, a work is *operating*. Furthermore, the meaning of a work of art will be grasped as conveyed by, and intrinsic to, the real, physical object, and not imported from without, from an a priori idea.

When we say that meaning must emerge from form, it will be apparent that our premises originate in structuralism. Following on from those writers who understood the historical link between modernism and semiotics, we rejected the notion of the transparency of art to a referent, be it image or concept, and saw artworks as first and foremost material objects having their own language that was “charged with signification.”³

Background to the Programme

Our establishment of the masterclass was enabled by the generous administrators of the Learning Connexion. They invested confidence in us by employing both, and allocating a large, well-lit space on the top floor of what had been a

nineteenth-century convent school. In so doing, the school took quite a risk, since the programme we proposed was untested, and had little in common with classes taught elsewhere on the premises. For one thing, the standard we set was on a par with post-graduate study.

The introductory year accepted around ten, mostly mature-aged students, from diverse educational and employment backgrounds. A previous art degree was desirable, but not required, as what we were asking our students to undertake would run counter to most of their learning experience in visual art thus far.

Putting our heads together, we drew up plans for teaching an advanced course, enhanced by the example of Peter Adsett's own practice, and the teaching experience of both instructors. We stress that none of our principal sources (including the writings of Yve-Alain Bois and Rosalind Krauss—themselves frequent collaborators) were pedagogical in intent. Those authors would have been very surprised to see their ideas put into the service of studio practice. Our extrapolation derived from what we saw as critically relevant to contemporary art practice in their books and articles, most particularly the catalogue for the 1996 exhibition *L'Informe, mode d'emploi* (also known as *Formless, a user's guide*) mounted at the Centre Georges Pompidou, in Paris. The attraction of this group of essays was essentially their re-examination of key modernist works through the lens of the "formless" as presented by the Surrealist writer Georges Bataille.

In their revision of canonical modernist practices, Krauss and Bois presented many examples that ran counter to the formulae found in the accounts of positivist/idealist American critics from the mid-twentieth century. A new interpretation, via operations of the *formless*, of works by Jackson Pollock, Richard Serra, Cy Twombly, Ed Ruscha, Mike Kelly, Lygia Clark, Cindy Sherman, and many others, was liberating both for us, and, as it transpired, for students. It provided a way out of the metaphysical "form versus content" argument that had beset interpretation for decades, by replacing those concepts with the notion of "operation" ultimately derived from Bataille. As Bois wrote:

it is a matter of locating certain operations that brush modernism against the grain, and of doing so without countering modernism's formal certainties by means of the more reassuring and naïve certainties of meaning. On the contrary, these operations split off from modernism, insulting the very opposition of form and content—which is itself formal, arising as it does from binary logic—declaring it null and void. (Bois & Krauss, 1997, p. 16)

The idea that meaning can only arise from images, and its corollary that nonfigurative art therefore has no meaning, stifles any possibility of reinvention of the conventions (the original principles) of art. And this goes to the heart of our concept of creativity. We realized that for invention to occur, the parameters for practice needed to change. The four operations of the formless by which the Pompidou exhibition was organized—horizontality, pulse, entropy, and base materialism—each served to *undo* form, directing the viewer to materials, processes, and the place of formation.

Methodology

At the outset, we decided that there would be no prioritizing of theory over practice, or vice versa. In saying this, our aim was to counter, principally, two negative, interrelated methodologies, which have long been central in advanced-level art curricula. The first, which we can call the model of representation, results in art that is a representation, or copy, of either a thing, or an idea, existing prior to and outside the work.

It is assumed that one attends art school to learn skills, principally drawing, sufficient to receive (or express) the artist's idea. Such art merely illustrates an idea, which is to say that the art object itself takes second place to a preconception. We witness the result of this in the proliferation of pastiche in installation and mixed-media art today. Such art is devoid of the kind of invention that stems from a critical approach to principles and favours multiple forms of representation. One could call much of it quite literally illustration, taking us a long way from the "threshold" that Bois identified as the "epistemological moment ... where thought and invention take place" (Bois, 1990, p. 250).

As a corollary of the representational model, abstract art has ceased to be understood. It is still widely assumed, for example, that it is a mask for images of the natural world, or for ideas in, say, scientific thought. Readings of certain early twentieth-century abstract painting as a form of visual geometry, or of the mythic fourth dimension, are prime examples of this, notwithstanding the writings of the artists themselves, who adamantly rejected all forms of illusionism. But it is also made untenable by examples over the last hundred years in which elements, ostensibly from nature, appear, only to be deconstructed. The mature paintings of the New Zealand artist, Gordon Walters, for instance, are composed almost entirely of a simplified Maori "koru." But Walters' sole aim was to prevent this ubiquitous motif ever consolidating into an image. Through an exquisitely balanced scheme of repetition of opposites

(black and white or blue and white), he created an *operative continuum*, never permitting the kind of stasis that would constitute final recognition and subsequent naming. In this way, he simultaneously commented on art and politics, without having to stoop to a diatribe.

If current teaching methods in mainstream institutions have proved unable to acknowledge the radical critique that representative art underwent over the course of the twentieth century, they result in an emptying of signification from the site of the work itself, often to popular discourse in other fields. And this brings us to the second methodology we aimed to counter, namely, the misuse of sources belonging to the theoretical literature of philosophy, politics, psychology, or sociology. By misuse we mean the demotion of revolutionary ideas to mere fashion and their illustration to the point where art becomes, in effect, a political manifesto, something to put on a billboard.

There is also a widespread tendency for artists to take shelter in personal biography. Lacking any other language to speak about their work (since structuralism is mistaken as Greenbergian “formalism” and thus taboo), artists confuse meaning with their intentions, falling back on autobiographical narrative. Whilst we encouraged students to bring all their experiences to the making of art, we never confused those with the subject of that art.

As we have acknowledged, art is a language in its own right, one that can be learnt, so that its practitioners become proficient, keen to experiment, and able to develop a recognizable personal inflection. Part of this process means engaging with the history of art, particularly of the last century, in order to understand the way individual artists have manipulated their common language, and in so doing, taken their place in history. Since any response to history is two way, inferring an active response, studio practice will throw new light on earlier texts (artworks as well as books) every bit as much as the study of works by Serra or Emily Kngwarreye or Caravaggio will reveal something hitherto unrecognized in one’s own practice.

The understanding that all art mediums have their own language allows art theory to return whence it belongs, not to the texts from other fields, but inside the practice itself. Verbal articulation of the practice, through extended and penetrating critique, builds a body of knowledge, which becomes, in effect, theory. By this definition, art theory is a body of knowledge that weaves back and forth between historic examples and individual practice. Ultimately, it allows an artist to recognize the conventions in which he or she works, simultaneously acknowledging them in history, even as the artist bends and transforms those conventions to create new ones.

The Masterclass in Action

The course was built on a laboratory, or research model, where responses were investigated, tested, and articulated. The results were constantly subjected to reflection and response. We set out not to answer a question or prove an existing theory but rather the opposite—to arrive at a problematic requiring a response in work. And thus, work was understood to be, in and of itself, theoretical.

Commensurate with this aim, we expected that students would observe theory growing out of practice and avoid illustrating ideas. We explained our teaching strategy would be to cross the floor into each other's space, both literally and figuratively. That is to say, we would explain a particular topic or instruction in terms of our own specialty, illustrating one with the other. Finally, we aimed to be as democratic as possible, notwithstanding the installation of rules.

When a topic for the week was set, the rules for the practice were simultaneously established. The point of this, always emphasized, was that freedom is meaningful only if it comes from within a set of rules, or boundaries. In the example we give below (horizontality), students would become aware of the difference between working in an upright position and the supine position required when working on the floor. The position of the body affects how one approaches materials, makes one aware that gravity and expansion play a part: liquids, for instance, will behave very differently, pooling rather than performing a vertical run-off. Loose materials, such as sand, will evade "form," becoming entropic. Above all, the horizontal engagement with materials changes focus from their destiny as shape, to analysis of their properties and behaviour.

The topic of "horizontality" confronted the challenge presented by the *Formless* guide. Bataille's concept was really a lowering, aimed to counter sublimation, symbolized by the verticality of the gaze and the moral and physical erectness of human beings. Bataille saw this expressed most of all in architecture. Lowering to the ground, the axis of creatures dominated by other senses, precludes the horizon and perspective and thus the distance required for contemplation. A horizontal attitude to making art focuses, instead, on the immediacy of materials. Our first instruction, therefore, was to work horizontally, which is to say, doing away with easels or upright supports.

This topic would become the focus of studio work and seminar discussion during the following weeks. For students to understand how meaning can reside in the axis of production itself requires a huge conceptual shift, as does

the idea that meaning would not be located in the uniqueness of personalities. Not wishing to underestimate this, we set an initial task that involved the entire group (swelled by curious students from other classes) working together on the floor. By way of analogy, we described the way Australian Aboriginal women sat in the sand, surrounding large-scale canvasses, to paint *as a group*.

The students were to begin by taking an observant walk outdoors—regarded as an important part of the exercise in its own right—collecting materials along the way. Back in the studio, these materials were to be assembled flat on the wood floor in a collaborative process. As work progressed, it became evident that the ego had to be suppressed in favour of decisions arrived at by consensus, and with a view to creating interesting juxtapositions that had nothing to do with “picture making.” The two instructors left the room in order for students to come to their own understanding of the process.

One of the students remembered this task in a letter to the authors:

you guys did return to the room when it became obvious that we were placing whole materials down that we'd gathered from the coast, leaves etc. When you gave the added instruction to remove any obvious symbolism, it all changed! As a group, we became aware that when we removed any obvious symbolism present in the materials, an action was required. We were tearing, crushing, cutting and so on, which immediately exposed the properties and qualities of those materials. Their placement on the ground became both a place and a rhythmic response. Starting from all sides of the predetermined, marked floor space [a rough circle], it became clear there was no top or bottom, no horizon line. The work simply evolved, with the initial “edge” of the space guiding the work into existence. There came a recognition and acknowledgement that this was a work that could not have been made on the vertical axis. Each material was now present as the residue of a process. Having no horizon line awoke in us a realization that here was a work that had no connection to how we “see” as upright human beings. Every aspect of it that reinforced horizontality meant we were not representing. This was powerful for us all as it allowed a practical insight into Aboriginal art, where land was presented but not represented. The significance of the horizontal matrix became apparent. (Letter from John Cornish, tutor at the Learning Connexion, to the authors, April 2017)

Returning to their own workspaces, students then began to investigate the principle of horizontality individually, bearing in mind that whilst the work would later be placed upright, it would yet retain as part of its meaning the exploration of the horizontal process.

During this activity, students were occasionally interrupted, brought together to engage in a work singled out for discussion. The purpose was to make everyone aware of the process, and, above all, to learn to articulate this

new knowledge. These group sessions often lasted some time, as questions would be raised and mulled over by the work examined. Indeed, the method of delivery of the course throughout was that of a *conversation*, each response being accorded due attention and respect. In each instance, students were encouraged to link their responses to underlying principles (hence our use of the term “critique” for these sessions). It was important that focus be concentrated on the discussion of ideas rather than personalities. Different arguments would be pursued, often becoming intense, but always returning to the work itself for verification. Once confidence was gained, sessions became engaging, feisty, and frequently humorous.

The immediate result of the group critiques was that both the practitioner and the observer returned to careful consideration of the practice, responding in a way that more closely reflected the initial set task.

By week’s end, the level of critique was expanded to take place in front of a temporary exhibition of all work, completed or not. Each student was asked, in turn, to articulate the operation of their artwork, supported by commentary and questions from both lecturers and fellow students. Initially, when work was elevated to the wall, or displayed upright for viewing, time was given over to *looking*, to an immersion in the art that might be understood as the visual equivalent of Roland Barthes’ “pleasure of the text.”

In recent writings, the art historian T. J. Clark has extolled the rewards of sustained attention, that is, the pleasure and astonishment that works will offer “if you give them half a chance.” In a conversation with Kathryn Tuma, he proposed that “visual images carry within them the possibility of genuine difficulty, genuine depth and resistance” (Clark & Tuma, 2006, np). His argument was framed as a repudiation of what he saw as the constant bombardment of visual images, which, to his mind, are not intended to be looked at closely. Although Clark’s focus was a pair of baroque paintings by Poussin, we understand that the point holds equally for non-representational art. Too often, abstract art is dismissed as having no meaning (no “content”) since there is no obvious referent. But as the early abstract painters reminded us, the referent sought by viewers of representational art is external to the work and thus irrelevant. Piet Mondrian, for example, having arrived at an abstract language, forged a career working through permutations of the simplest binary structure (line and colour rectangle), discovering the task, to achieve equilibrium, a formidably demanding and complex one.

The necessity to look critically and articulate what one was seeing was stressed in the masterclass until it became habitual. This way, students learnt to discriminate between what was actually there and what they might be tempted to impose on the work (e.g. seeing a phantom image in an abstract

work). Every observer of art has a need to sublimate, to discover an image, even when lines and colours do not perform figuratively. Our students were encouraged to ask what those colours and lines are actually doing, and if not representing, then what?

The question asked when confronting a work of art was always “how is it operating?” (and, of course, sometimes “*is it operating?*”). Yve-Alain Bois said of operation that it is “neither a theme, nor a substance, nor a concept” (Bois & Krauss, 1997, p. 15). And, as we have said, operation displaces both form and content. So with this question we meant: did the work reward sustained attention with the revelation of its making? Did meaning arise from the deployment of materials? In essence, looking at the operation of a work is like being immersed in a folding back, or suspension of time, during which we are permitted to witness the creative process.

The group approach resulted in students learning from one another and developing a formalist, that is, structuralist language. Everyone appreciated how different their works were, not merely in choice of material and process, but in how successfully they had responded to the topic. And, of course, they were alive to the fact of the enterprise becoming an extension of their own lived experience.

The *Formless guide* was by no means the only inspiration for the course. There were other strategies in play that undermined concepts of uprightness and “good form” in the last century. We spent time on the *oeuvre* of Marcel Duchamp, for example, an avant-garde figure whose impact on art was far reaching—and continues to this day. The humour of Duchamp manifests in his Readymades, together with the important principle of the removal of authorial presence—described by him as “visual indifference”—together with the absence of good or bad taste, proved stimulating, as witnessed by Katherine’s pink shears and bicycle seat (Figs. 8.1 and 8.2). The former involved the tight wrapping of a pair of steel shears with pink felt and lace, the sections stitched in red along the cutting edges of the implement. This work produced much mirth in the class, everyone contributing to the unwrapping of its operation. The New Zealand sheep industry connection was immediately appreciated, together with the clothing of the shears in wool. The deliberately feminine fabrics by no means softened the menacing quality of the form beneath. The biggest counterpoint lay precisely here: that the outline shape, blushing in pink, was that of a female torso with legs, an image completely at odds with the male-gendered function of the tool. Katherine’s joke is seemingly endless when one contemplates the scissoring movement of shears. The bicycle seat, covered in pink felt, operates on the viewer in a similar way, juxtaposing an evocative shape with incongruous materials. Such



Fig. 8.1 Untitled: Material: felt, lace, cotton, shears (Katherine Ivory). Image by: Ben Lee, Artist: Katherine Ivory

works go well beyond the scope of Duchamp in their reliance upon the choice of materials and the processes to which they are submitted.

Perry was another student whose practice included free-standing objects that offer a critique of the sculptural tradition, slipping away from identification as such (Fig. 8.3). Working from both the “horizontal” and “base material” instructions, he began by pouring black, red, and white paint onto a plastic surface. Once dried, each acrylic strip was carefully peeled off and stacked, one atop the other, to create a tricolour pile of black, white, and red. The stack was then rolled up, flattened, and cut to reveal the horizontal stratification of pigment. The residue of this process was skewered into place, the result a colour satay stick of alternating black, white, and red. When displayed vertically, the work necessarily partook in an axial shift, making a viewer aware of each stage of the horizontal process. This is a piece that literally cuts through both painting and sculpture.



Fig. 8.2 Untitled: Material: felt, cotton, bicycle seat (Katherine Ivory). Image by: Felix Adsett, Artist: Katherine Ivory



Fig. 8.3 Untitled: Material: paint (Perry Scott). Image by: Felix Adsett, Artist: Perry Scott

Meanwhile, the students who were primarily painters explored their materials and processes to the utmost. Since they were going to use a great deal of paint in unusual ways, exploring its ingredients and properties, we encouraged them to source it at local tip shops, where one could find leftover tins of house paint. One student spilled a hideous dark yellow-green liquid acrylic onto a plastic sheet on the floor, allowing it to dry before stitching the raw edges of a ragged gash together with pink silk ribbon, a little work that perfectly manifested the process of its making. Another used a broom with great gusto to apply acrylics onto an old segment of found carpet. When she came to work on canvas, this same student developed a technique of laying paint horizontally, resulting in wonderful patchworks of colour that later expanded to the scale of architecture when she painted the exterior walls of the art school.

Paint was not the only liquid material used. Fascinated by its properties when transforming from liquid to solid, one student poured latex into a china tea set, discovering that the interior mould of a teacup, when extracted, acquired a truly lowered configuration, even as it retained the outlines of concavity.

It was important to engage students early on in a demonstration of the principle of reciprocation between practice and theory. Richard Serra's verb list, composed in the 1960s when he began working with molten and cast lead, proved fruitful for this. For example, borrowing the verb "to tear" from the list, students engaged in tearing materials such as various weights of paper. Two outcomes clearly demonstrated how practice became theoretical. Gravity was seen to be operating where the residue of torn pieces formed a mound on the floor, different materials acquiring different formations depending on weight, size, and so on. A variant of this process saw students tearing from the four corners of a piece of paper of ever-decreasing size. The subsequent critique focused on the former as producing an object (a mound), whereas in the latter, process and material are suspended, visibly caught in the present ongoing tense of the verb ("tearing"). This recursive action, suspended in the work, creates a new convention. That is to say, the process is not seen as discovering a technique for making something but instead reveals an operation in real time. It opens the students' creative practices to a methodology of testing and experimenting, pushing materials and processes to the limit, often producing surprising results. Such an experiment would culminate in a discussion of Serra's *Tearing Lead from 1.00 to 1.47* of 1968, a work in which time is suspended along with the material and the process.⁴

Gill responded to the active tense of a verb in her wall hangings (Fig. 8.4). In these pieces, she brought to bear her interest in textiles and sewing, choos-

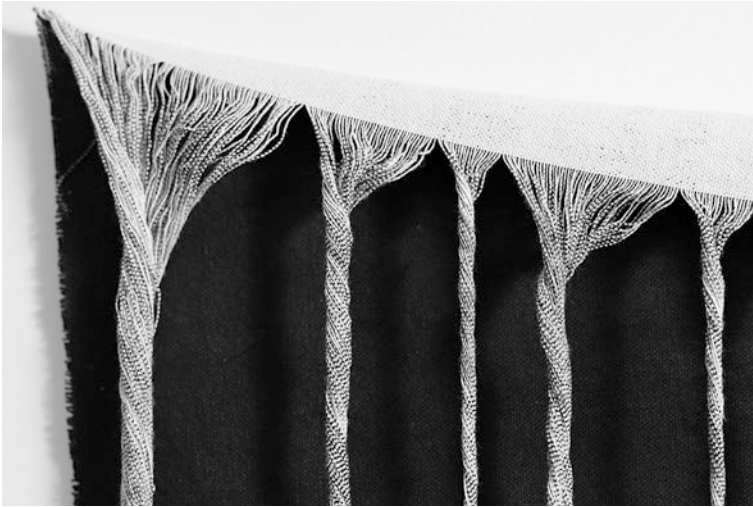


Fig. 8.4 Fray work: Material: acrylic paint, canvas (Gillian Newland). Image by: Richard Abbott Photography, Artist: Gillian Newland

ing to “deconstruct” a *tessura* (literally, the painted canvas support) by laying it out flat and removing the horizontal threads until only the vertical ones remained in the lower section of the sheet. She saw the process as “fraying,” anticipating that this action would be read in the finished work, as indeed it was.

When it was hung on a wall “like a painting,” the process that the materials had undergone was instantly observable, even as gravity opened the inert square and its dangling strings to a variety of readings. These interpretations were not limitless or random, however, always returning to meanings intrinsic to the object. The kinds of capes and skirts woven from stripped leaves and feathers, worn by women in dancing and ceremony were obvious associations in the Pacific context. It was significant that although Gill’s personal pastime of sewing was relevant to this artwork, and the art could be seen as an extension of it, the personal element did not become the focus of discussion. Rather, it revolved around the idea of deconstructing the canvas support, how one became aware of its exposed structural principle.

Nearly every week rounded off with a group discussion, or seminar, focusing on a relevant text. This enabled students to enter the critical discourse underwriting the class, to find a context for their work, that is, to make links with history, and understand their own inflection within that tradition. The text supporting the “tearing” experiment was Rosalind Krauss’ essay “Richard

Serra: Sculpture,” in which she explains the recursive element of the thrown and torn lead pieces (Foster & Hughes, 2000 pp. 99ff.).

Creativity in the “masterclass” resided in the nature of the play, the manipulation of conventions. Gill reflected on that period of her study, saying,

what I remember from that time is lots of doubt, and feeling that it wasn't necessarily art, but enjoying being able to play in this way. I remember it being scientific for me—and it still is—in terms of the “what will happen if” factor. I take a very systematic approach, just changing one variable at a time normally. ... For me, the joy comes in pursuing something without knowing what the end result will be. It's a licence to play and create something that becomes self-sustaining. (Letter from Gill Newland to the authors, April 2017)

Gill, Katherine and Perry were aware that their actions were those of every other painter or sculptor from time immemorial but were unique in being deployed in *this instance* and *by this practitioner*. The moment of creativity is experienced in the pure present tense of making. This awareness is enriched by knowledge, which comes equally from study and from repetitive experience. Practice in the studio is fundamentally the training of the eye-hand nexus and its relationship to the whole body through repetition. It heightens sensitivity to manipulations at the microlevel, and recognition of a successful moment, which is felt almost as a bodily pulse. There are no mistakes in this methodology, only decisions, tests, stages in an exploration.

The fact of the work being a process demanding a response allowed for a different concept of meaning. The artwork was no longer a sign representing something but a shifting, dynamic operation that engaged and surprised a viewer. It did not matter, for example, that occasionally the practice had no finished object. Indeed, the process could be suspended so that the operation of the work could open out into the space of the viewer.

During the week concentrating on horizontality, a variety of texts were introduced. One was Leo Steinberg's *Other criteria*, the seminal essay, published in 1972, in which he identified the moment of postmodernism in Robert Rauschenburg's “flat-bed picture plane.” Rauschenburg's combines were certainly horizontal but did not involve the kind of lowering espoused by Bataille. On another occasion, we read a pair of essays on Jackson Pollock that exposed students to divergent analyses of his painting process, one seeing images in his flung skeins of paint, the other demonstrating Pollock's relentless efforts to destroy spatial illusion.

Such essays always set a challenge to undergraduate students (ours no exception), but by dint of careful translation of terms, the picking apart of

sentences, the testing of ideas against the evidence of the artworks themselves, difficulty was eased, and eventually students arrived at an appreciation of the strengths of different theoretical positions. Connections would be made to the current work in the studio, and the language for critique would be enriched in these conversations.

Additionally, we would study closely the painting of the Australian Central Desert artist, Emily Kame Kngwarreye, whose marks indexed the horizontal matrix of her canvas, together with the supine position and motion of her body, swaying in time with her song. This approach not only enriched the appreciation of Kngwarreye's art but opened up a vitally important realm of art that is normally opaque to viewers: that of Aboriginal art generally. It is a common assumption in Australia, aided and abetted by gallery curators, that Aboriginal painting is representational, a map of place, sacred to certain kinship groups, and thus not accessible to the uninitiated, who must stand before it dumb and non-comprehending. A close study of the materials used on board and canvas in the central desert, together with the universally adopted horizontal position of artist and materials, the absence of a right way up, the rhythmic dotting and stippling, stimulated awareness of the sophisticated colour and markings of different groups. In this way, a discussion could take place about Aboriginal art and the concrete aspects that our students shared with it, without straying into intangibles like the spiritual realm.

And so, week by week, hitherto unseen creativity was observed in the studio, as students looked into materials and processes for meaning, reclaiming their methodology as meaningful. It became clear that practice and articulation enabled the student to acknowledge what was operating, to understand how it related to (played with) historic conventions, and ultimately could lead to the invention of new conventions.

Each end of term produced an exhibition mounted by the students themselves, using spaces in hallways and studios throughout the old convent that housed the school. There would be an opening to which all students and staff would be invited, together with family and friends. It was clear to everyone who attended those first showings that something unique had been achieved.

Since those early days of the masterclass, many former students are still making art, whilst a number have been accepted in national art awards. In 2016, Gill was nominated for the Parkin Drawing prize, receiving a merit award. Other students have gone ahead to further post-graduate studies and become tutors and teachers of visual art and creativity in a variety of educational settings. The majority are still engaged in visual art practice.

The course still is taught today, not at post-graduate level as in the first years but as an advanced diploma. The Learning Connexion has moved to a new

location, north of Wellington. Peter Adsett still has charge of the advanced diploma, assisted by other staff members, including ex-students of the masterclass.

The uniqueness of the original course was that it was invented by, and collaboratively taught by a practising artist and an art historian. Their combining of fields that are normally not interrelated (and are often at cross purposes) created a rigorous and dynamic teaching programme, delivered at a challenging level.⁵ The outcome was the creation of a highly experimental learning environment, capable of involving all mediums and disciplines. In terms of the context for this chapter, the focus on materials and processes, its role in ensuring the recursivity of the medium, returned creativity to its rightful place, that moment when a student connects with the operation in their practice. In short, the experience of renewed creativity can be said to be both an understanding of methodology (now become habitual), and a Eureka moment, felt at a visceral level.

Notes

1. Buchloh then refers to the writings of Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and Guy Debord as seeming to “historicize the last fifty years of artistic production [demonstrating] how the autonomous spaces of cultural representation—spaces of subversion, resistance, critique, utopian aspiration—are gradually eroded, assimilated, or simply annihilated.” The Adorno/Horkheimer text he referred to was *The dialectic of enlightenment*, 1947, whilst that of Debord was *The society of the spectacle*, 1967.
2. Krauss explored medium in a series of texts dating from the late 1990s, including *A voyage to the North Sea* (2000), New York, Thames & Hudson (this was previously a lecture on Marcel Broodthaers), *Perpetual inventory* (2010), Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, and *Under blue cup* (2011), Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press.
3. The seminal writings on this subject are by Rosalind Krauss and Yve-Alain Bois. See *Picasso and Braque: A symposium* (1992), New York, Museum of Modern Art, and also the prefaces written by Bois and Krauss in *Art since 1900, modernism, antimodernism, postmodernism* (2004).
4. This work is illustrated in Bois and Krauss (1997), pp. 210–211.
5. The exchanging of roles that occurred during the teaching of the masterclass has since continued, Peter Adsett writing a PhD at Canberra School of Art, Australian National University, while Mary Alice Lee undertook a course in printmaking at the School of Art, University of Tasmania.

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9

Social-Creativity-in-Practice: The Theory *Is* the Practice

Alice Wilson Milne

Introduction

This chapter explores creativity in practice. It provides an insight into the world views of those tasked with developing creativity within a New Zealand-based school for creativity and art, The Learning Connexion (TLC). The school's practice and principles offer creativity scholars a unique insight into an incredible context where people work tirelessly to develop the creativity of all those who enrol in the school (see also Jonathan Milne's Chap. 7). Their mantra, "the practice *is* the theory," has deep theoretical significance. It goes to the heart of creativity theory and raises questions such as how do we account for the intangible practice-based elements of creativity within our work? This reminds us of the importance of "lived experiences" of those learning to develop their creativity and demonstrates how the principles employed within this school have significance beyond the development of artistic creative talent.

Identifying creativity as the most complex of all mental functions, Bloom's revised taxonomy 2001 acknowledges "creating" as the pinnacle of higher-order thinking with the capacity to integrate all other cognitive operations into one coherent whole and combine them in a new way (Wilson Milne, 2017). If creativity is, in part, the transforming of original ideas into creative and practical applications, with the social characteristics of a living organism,

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the propositions put forward by TLC, New Zealand school for Creativity, appear to be a good fit with social creativity. Indeed, TLC has delivered a programme of study in creativity and art for 30 years and serves, therefore, as an example of “social-creativity-in-practice.”

Social-Creativity-in-Practice

TLC’s maxim “the practice *is* the theory” draws together *doing* and *thinking* in a relationship of mutual and beneficial feedback, similar to systems found throughout nature. Jonathan Milne, TLC’s founder and managing director notes, “creativity connects with values, and the values we (TLC) hold have grown from three assumptions: everything is connected—the planet Earth is an ecosystem (including us), and is part of the gigantic, infinitely complex ecosystem called the universe (Milne, 2008).” The deep interconnectedness that Milne writes about pervades TLC’s organization, management, pedagogy, and the way the school engages with students. Individual creativity in this context shares implications of social creativity.

At TLC, we introduce new students to analogues in the first week of their study. (An analogue can also be a set of marks relating to a particular idea or theme.) New students soon discover how these quick drawings or doodles can guide them towards their intrinsic motivation or give them feedback on what is important for their particular learning pathway. Once they recognize their “core driver,” students are more aware of which direction they will take in TLC’s programme. The confidence gained from this process confirms students’ actions and adds authenticity to their work. Analogues are like *mini creative ecosystems*, drawing together and interconnecting many different aspects of an individual’s epistemology in a visual descriptor that crosses language barriers, links concerns, stimulates creative thinking, and opens a window into other people’s world views (see Fig. 9.1).

Similar to the way growth patterns occur in nature, new students arriving at TLC are often poised at a tipping point, a pivotal step between growth and stagnation (see Fig. 9.2).

Following discussions centred on their subjective analogue work, students consider the fragility or strength of their present position and share this with others for further feedback.

Examining our subjective world view can be quite a revelation, and we can review it, like checking a compass, by revisiting the analogue process at any time. Feedback is essential if we want to stimulate a response: “So what made you study biology?” brings a reply, “I’ve always loved seeing how different

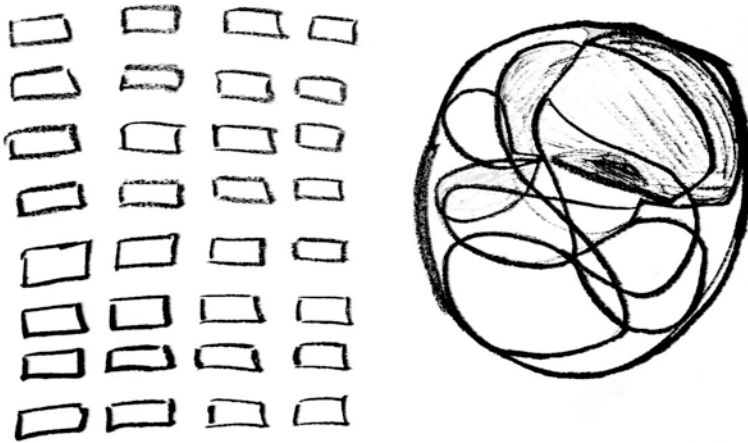


Fig. 9.1 An analogue

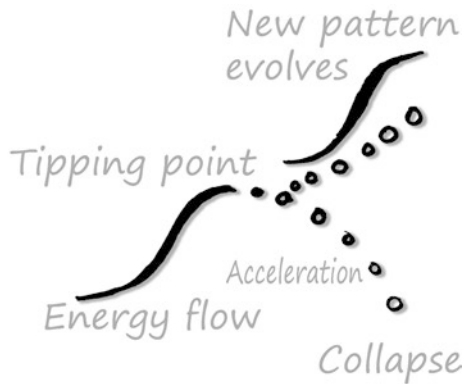


Fig. 9.2 Growth patterns

animals get on with each other.” This sets the next stimulus in motion: “Well, what brought you to TLC?” and the cycle continues, in a process that reveals whether “where I am now” fits with “what I want to be doing,” and projects into the future with thoughts of “where I would like to be.”

We decided to test our analogue and practice methodology off campus, out there in the world. Over a six-month period we squeezed in, alongside our everyday work, 16 one-day TLC “Art of Innovation” workshops around New Zealand’s North and South islands (and presented four introductory workshops elsewhere). Creativity workshops, connecting with others in a group for one day of shared creativity, demand high levels of empathy, stamina, dedication, tolerance, and commitment to personal values.

In spite of being limited to one day, many attendees (previously unknown to each other) were able to initiate group-inspired creativity-to-innovation projects within this time frame. We were amazed at their capacity for creativity, the speed with which they could interact, decide on a central theme of concern, assemble a plan of action, and then work out how to develop a design for this.

Many of their projects had a community focus. Attendees were concerned with changes to be made to local social services, wanting to extend educational facilities, exploring new ways to manage and revitalize the devastation of earthquake-ruined buildings, and in one town, creating a blueprint for what resulted in a major tourist film attraction. By the end of only one day, some of these projects were ready for discussion with local Council. (Revisiting these venues in 2016, we saw for ourselves some of the practical and sustainable outcomes that had been achieved in these workshops.)

Social creativity supports individual creativity development, engaging people in ways that provide conditions similar to shared family-learning experiences. As individuals become aware of how their contributions have agency, and are able to shift group thinking, this acceptance of alternative ways of thinking invites more ideas to come forward. Group affirmation encourages people to share a wider range of proposals than would have been possible for any one individual to manage on their own.

Similar processes as those seen in “Art of Innovation” workshops were operating with a group of on-site TLC students in 2017, as they planned to set up a pop-up market in Upper Hutt, a nearby town. Their early meetings set out the project and opened up ideas as they identified and prioritized what needed to be organized. Then they coordinated their creative skills: making artefacts, planning and designing how best to orchestrate and support the needs of a week-long market. Project outcomes illustrated the group’s growing confidence in dealing with the public. Following negotiations with the landlord, they rented an empty shop space, coordinated their work schedules, and took responsibility for the venue, managing the advertising and marketing needed to promote their work. Their expertise gained respect from buyers, drew attention to their creativity, brought them in touch with new contacts, and, as a bonus, they were offered other venues for future markets.

Each member of the group gained transferable foundation skills of business basics and a practical understanding of professional standards (of value for their future careers). In the writing of their artist statements, interacting with local reporters, designing and printing advertisements, evaluating their products for pricing, and recording all their processes, each of them had successfully completed the requirements of a TLC programme segment known as “small starts.”

It takes grit to front up to bureaucracy and the public, and courage to put your wares out for sale for public critique and possible rejection. Through relying on each other and having a shared commitment to the project, the students developed confidence in working as a group, and ably demonstrated how they could integrate social, educational, creative, organizational, and business acumen, all-in-one “package.” The experience would have had a transformational effect on each one of them. (Two from this group volunteered to help organize and participate in another TLC experimental workshop at WOMAD in Taranaki in March 2017.)

Individual and social creativity combine what are divergent and convergent thinking processes. While considering both explicit and tacit variables in changing conditions broadens our options, it also teaches us how to take calculated risks and encourages us to act independently or in community, and to initiate or instigate change in social, economic, political, educational, and other human-designed systems. Improving our decision-making skills in changing conditions is a lifelong challenge—one that has implications in many aspects of our lives.

Life is complicated. As we know all too well in New Zealand, earthquakes and other natural disasters suddenly occur without any obvious warning, and with no one else to turn to, circumstances insist that we respond. We need creative thinking to discover how best to lower the risks and ride the wobbles. Managing emergency situations speeds up our ideation fluency and increases our ability to sift through options, informing the way we gauge the conditions and giving us the flexibility, courage, and confidence to act in the moment.

Personal development comes from activating open-ended processes of creativity and being awake to the malleability and neural capacity of our brains. By accustoming ourselves to life’s instabilities on a local scale, we build up a tolerance for dealing with bigger uncertainties and find ourselves better prepared to engage with major issues (such as involvement with global issues). Creativity therefore expands our consciousness and provides us with aptitudes to improve the welfare of society.

Asking the public for yes or no answers to complex issues or multifaceted problems ignores the nuance and debate afforded by social creativity. Without the intervention of creativity’s processes in the arts, science, commerce, politics, social, and academic arenas, we would be at a stalemate, forever stuck, overwhelmed by climate change, war, population growth, pollution, and starvation throughout the world. Instead, should we realign ourselves with our intrinsic motivation (personal strengths), and act on what this reveals (recognizing our authentic life patterns), we would be more confident to work with creativity’s potential to resolve the difficult problems of our times.

Conditions that Foster Creativity in Our Practice

TLC's organizational processes match tenets of social creativity. While we might admire the bravery of the "lone ranger" from afar, most human beings, and for many reasons, prefer to live in community. Working and socializing with and alongside others provides us with conditions and opportunities that endorse social creativity (and this happens at TLC). We note how *ecological communities* sustain themselves and afford human existence, and observe how nature interacts and collaborates with planet Earth. These same systems support the interconnected conditions that foster creativity. If we are to work well together in our communities, we will need to work with similar interconnecting conditions.

At TLC, we all sign the Class Agreement, summarized in, "Take care of yourself, take care of others, and take care of the furniture (look after the environment)" (2008). In signing the Agreement, we accept responsibility for ourselves and our actions, and acknowledge that it is our responsibility to ask for help when we need it.

Over the years, as an organization and school, TLC shifted from a hierarchical shape towards more egalitarian (and human-centred) systems, in management, organization, and education. We wanted to align ourselves more closely with what Jonathan Milne described as "broad patterns of behaviour which are materially and spiritually beneficial and happen to coincide with the requirements of sustainable creativity" (Milne, 2008) (Fig. 9.3).

In 2009, TLC's physical and external shift from its Wellington campus to our refurbished campus at Taita, Hutt Valley, reflected an internal review taking place at the same time. All of us contributed to and were involved in TLC's change management plan (Wilson Milne, 2017). We were designing the future parameters of our school and assisting in bringing this into being. Working alongside each other (to develop TLC's organization and business model), we experienced the principle of simultaneity (noting how everything happens at once, like nature in springtime) and became less concerned by the artificiality of a step-by-step orientation. We came to rely on mental constructions from our own experience and were informed by ideas from social constructionism (see Jonassen, 1991). We practised collaborative processes like *Appreciative Inquiry (AI)*¹ (see Bushe, 2013; Watkins & Mohr, 2001), to find new ways to discuss and resolve problems, and working with reflective inquiry, we clarified what we meant by social justice. Deepening our understanding of these ideas and trialling new systems, we translated (and transformed) a working vision into a living reality, developing and interconnecting through an



Fig. 9.3 TLC's location (Property of TLC Educational Trust, reprinted with permission)

evolving and creative pattern of group-shared governance (Wilson Milne, 2017).

Establishing more democratic principles, we wanted TLC to become an organization where staff and faculty were valued in the same way that we already valued our students. Our contributions elevated the place of creativity in business, school, and pedagogy. Reflecting on what we meant by *sustainable creativity* added a *whole of life* aspect to how students approached their study and how we delivered our programme. All of us, TLC staff, faculty, and students, continue to be encouraged to look for learning opportunities everywhere, throughout our lives, and to demonstrate an understanding of community involvement through collaborative practice. Creativity is TLC's core purpose, as a school, an organization, and as a business.

Our framework of organizational structures and interactive patterns of behaviour are sensitive to what might be original, novel, eclectic, or innovative, and they connect with the school's ongoing well-being. Aligning with nature, we discover at times what are naturally occurring synchronous (happening at the same time) and symbiotic (interdependent) implications, emerging from within our practice. We consider TLC's drive for new qualifications, the renaissance of our IT systems, our acquiring of more specialist

staff, and the integration of contemporary marketing processes, all to be facets of a *zeit geist* where we are playing our part in the world's renewed interest in creativity.

Staying abreast of what is happening at any one time requires dedicated record-keeping and for many of us this is not a preferred task. (We like action, making it happen, being awake to the moment, and seeing where this might lead us ...) In 2009, we built TLC's first digital Learning Management System to manage the ever-increasing documentation required of us by government and other agencies, to engage more closely with student interactions and process, and to provide evidence of good management and business practice. Creative IT technological innovation has provided us with an interface between creativity and bureaucracy. We can feed government's hunger for measurement, results and audit requirements, record interactions between distance learners and their tutors, and store the multitude of necessary information needed to run an organization, school, and business. TLC's robust and effective IT system is constantly evolving, providing us with a wonderfully secure platform on which we can all dance.

Strategic thinking presides over the school's development. It is a complex task to manage *plant, profit, and people* in ways that are able to meet today's and future needs, or to choose the right pathway between what might be overly static, or verging on the chaotic (behind the scenes, there is a constant adjustment going on to hold the balance between efficiency and resilience, a vital principle for all sustainable systems) (Wilson Milne, 2017). Turbulent times erupt in every direction, and from around the world, affecting all facets of our school's existence. At times, it is as if we were a small dinghy, sailing over the horizon, trying our best to keep afloat in uncertain waters.

TLC's overall good health is a reflection on how well we manage creativity and maintain the patterns of an integrated community. The provocation for social creativity to interact with society is shared by individually driven creativity processes (and both have the potential for innovation). To revisit what drives us (stimulus), and to reframe our feedback (response), in contemporary circumstances, assists us in preventing the past from hindering future initiatives. We acknowledge as a school for creativity that there are many and different intelligences available to us. We respect visual, aural, and spatial awarenesses, and other sensitivities, or preferred affinities (including two- and three-dimensional thinking), any of which may hold the key to the world's future.

On one occasion, we asked our staff and faculty to position themselves as to how they best understood the world, asking whether they connected more strongly with a *visual, aural, or kinaesthetic* perspective (see Fig. 9.4). The

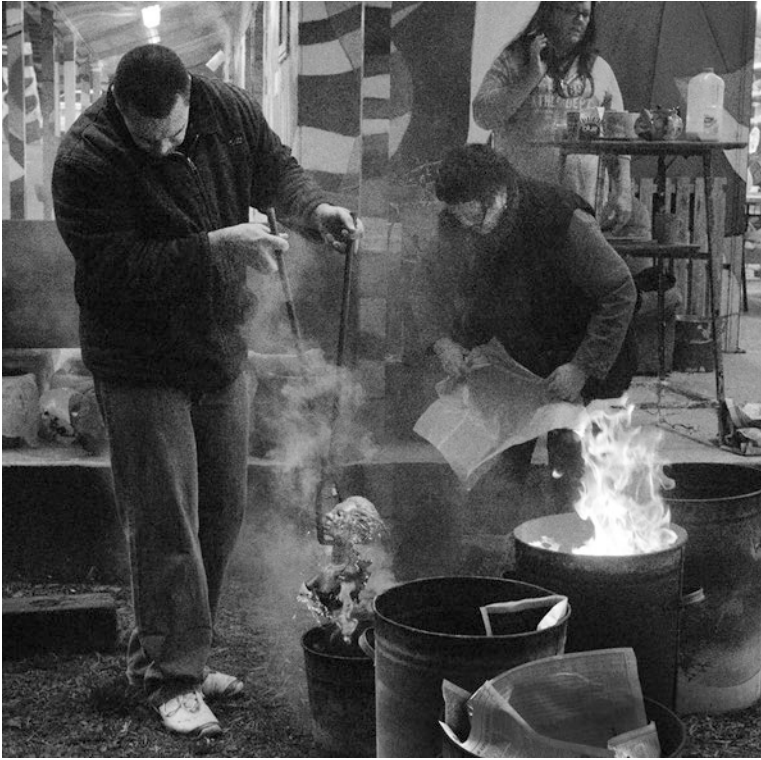


Fig. 9.4 Kinaesthetic, visual, and cognitive thinking in night-time raku firing (reprinted with permission from Jonathan Milne, on behalf of TLC Educational Trust)

kinaesthetic section turned out to be the biggest group (arguing noisily that they could equally have been in the visual group). The *visual* group was a close match to the kinaesthetic numbers, leaving behind only a few people in the *aural* section. The exercise taught us that we needed to improve the way we presented information if we were to make it more accessible for everyone, and this encouraged us in the development of our digital and audiovisual technology (to support distance delivery to students anywhere in the world). Staff, students, and faculty have an impact on TLC's ongoing and ever-emerging design, and being conversant with all TLC developments heightens the coherency of what we do and how we do it.

Similar to all businesses, TLC balances its fiscal policy with what is possible and probable while scanning our present and future needs, which is always a challenge. We operate with relation to two charitable trusts, and our more socially minded viewpoint is not always an easy fit with mainstream businesses or government reference points. For TLC's stability, creativity's purpose

is to investigate and find different or new directions, while adjusting to the imposition of changing external rules and regulations. We manage this by holding to our declared system of values and focusing on the school's growth and development.

The Heart of Creativity

Jonathan Milne's "Creative Spiral" is at the base of our pedagogy, TLC's approach to creativity, and it has an underpinning influence on all our management and organization systems. As Milne wrote, "The process of feedback is at the heart of creativity. You take something, do something to it, and then respond to the result ... It's how we learn, how we grow and how things evolve" (Milne, 2008). Milne added, "Its strength lies in the way it mirrors nature, which is at the very core of creativity itself" (Milne, 2008) (Fig. 9.5).

As we identify, extend, and explore each of the Creative Spiral's different stages of *Idea—Action—Feedback—Review—Evolve*, we see that each step is inclusive of implicit and explicit processes (implied or actual implications) and is a platform for subjective and objective evaluations (offering both a personal and a "structured" viewpoint). These repeating, evolving, never-ending, and non-limiting phases are all facets of creativity in action.

The Creative Spiral affords the expansion of creative thinking *and* the interconnecting evolution of ideas. Subsequently, growth and development (relating to nature's stimulus and response), are the foundation of *experiential learning* (an integral part of TLC's approach to creativity). When stimulus (*an*

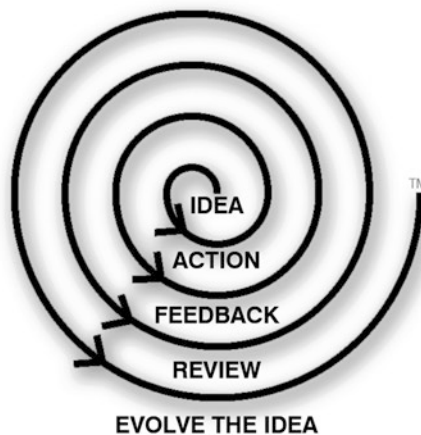


Fig. 9.5 Creative Spiral

idea) and response (*acting on the idea*) is followed by consideration and reflection on what has happened (*review*), there is the potential for growth (*evolve*).

The Creative Spiral's sequence of steps demands that we slow down, examine our processes, and track our thinking patterns as we go through each stage. At TLC, we talk to students about their journey. It is only when the phases undertaken in their work are fully understood (how they experimented, explored, and discovered a result, and then reviewed and evolved their ideas) that we can clarify with them how, why, and what was actually happening, in the process.

TLC's pedagogical model is a positive way of engaging with teaching, learning, and understanding, and it begins with experiential learning. In this model, the student-material relationship is sensitive, the student-tutor relationship is one of equality, and the acquiring and practice of knowledge, as we work with our chosen tools and materials, becomes one of mutual respect. TLC's approach to teaching and learning reflects nature's non-hierarchical systems of growth and development and offers an ecumenical platform for all avenues of inquiry.

Concern for Creativity

How can the positivity of social creativity exist in a society that is accelerating its own destruction? Neo-liberal economics undermine our intellectual, physical, cultural and economic values, capabilities, and integrity, destroying what is central to academia and education; leaving little room at the top, and few incentives to explore beyond what is already known.

A broader scale of evaluation might have more relevance (and counter the inference that the majority of our students lack competency). The present high cost to students, branded with success or failure (win or lose), brings with it tensions that can easily lead to manipulated outcomes. Like caged mice on treadmills, saving to repay their study fees, we prepare the next generation for jobs and careers that are unlikely to exist. Possibly in part due to this unreality, creativity has lately become THE thing (and is fast being turned into yet another commodity). However, when TLC sent out invitations to all NZ universities and tertiary institutions in 2015, to join us for TLC's International NZ Creativity Conference, we received few replies and no commitment to attend.

The conference was magnificent (see www.tlc.ac.nz for content). Many of the world's creativity giants presented papers, established connections, explored the conference theme of *Crossing Boundaries*, and helped birth "The

New Zealand Creativity Institute,” a container for the development of creativity ideas and publications, and a forum for international discussion.

Early in 2017, fortunately there was some good news for creativity in New Zealand. New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) accepted TLC’s request to offer a set of programmes for a New Zealand national qualification in Creativity. This was a positive response to Jonathan Milne’s and TLC’s, farsighted 30 years research focus into the teaching of creativity, as an educational and academic body of knowledge. TLC has documented how a practice-based and process-led study of Creativity heightens investigation, experimentation, inquiry, research, and innovation in this field, and demonstrated, identified, catalogued, and articulated what we understand of originality, novelty, quality, value, *and* most importantly, how this supports what scientist Sir Peter Gluckman called, “Talent of mind” (2011) (a powerful phrase that we have purloined).

TLC’s contemporary approach to creativity (and education) generates research through experiential learning; identifies the difference between linear and non-linear educational approaches; collaborates with other disciplines; articulates the advantages of objective, empirical, and experiential research; evaluates aspects of convergent and deductive thinking; clarifies what we mean by values; and provides conditions for how to separate tacit and explicit modules of learning.

Reflections and Considerations

TLC’s phrase: *the practice is the theory* provides a valid platform for action research and accepts that in the end there can be no ultimate way of knowing. We work with standards of accountability, fair evaluation, and moderation, and systems that challenge us to improve on what we do. However, we are uncomfortable with prescribed measurements (designed for formal academic structures) and prefer processes that are sympathetic to the purpose of the study in question (fitting the circumstances, not the prescription). Assumptions to do with the superiority of “excellence,” time-bound structures, and clunky feedback forms, are at odds with the way ideas and experiments break through barriers to re-form, reconnect, and sometimes soar beyond our dreams (and at other times, might fail).

Creativity is confronting. Ideas abound and then inadequate technical skills or lack of knowledge concerning the material we are working with, sets us back. These and other handicaps can stimulate the learning of new skills and lure us on to further research. As seen in the Creative Spiral, where ideas

are on the move, while resolution and outcomes continue to be important, the real value of study lies in process (another reason why fixed data cannot fairly assess a programme of creativity).

Qualitative assessment is not difficult. We are concerned with considerations and reflection, why these ideas (not others) were selected, what processes were recorded, and how were they reviewed? Further questions ask were any conclusions reached and how and why, and what happened next? (In other words, how did the work evolve?) TLC's qualitative assessment shifts the focus away from the student, to examine process, and from this position we can share in a feedback discussion that minimizes hierarchy and personal anxiety. Recognizing that no two students are the same, we find manufactured feedback structures can undervalue the variety found in creative and individual expression.

We prefer critical thinking to include the discussion of valid mistakes and wrong directions; questions asking why this particular line of inquiry was pursued, and how and why did other processes meet with a dead end? We ask for evidence of trial and error, why and how these materials were chosen and how were their capabilities demonstrated? What new research or skill development was encountered and where will this investigation lead to? Unconstrained by finite outcomes we can ask, where is the analysis of what happened before this stage, and what were the clues indicating the direction ahead? Did you anticipate this outcome, and how does this fit with your intrinsic motivation?

Qualitative assessment is a lively dialogue of questions and answers, and the drama of investigation is included as a record of the work. Through processes like these, the learner becomes responsible for how they learn, how they communicate this, and how they will develop their inquiry. In qualitative-driven evaluation, the accuracy of language, technical terms, and esoteric language are of secondary purpose to the inquiry process itself.

Assessing process has a universality about it. While intrinsic motivation fuels TLC students' progression (recall the value of working with analogues), similar and generic questions can be asked about how and why research was taken, what ideas and reviews were discussed, and how this enquiry could be further developed (following the Creative Spiral). In this process of individual and social creativity, each thread makes up the whole of the weave to become parts of the same cloth. When one student's thinking connects with their cohort's thinking, this bears the influence of the group's collective knowledge (in the same way that an artist's painting includes a history of influences behind the work).

A Perspective on TLC

TLC's creativity programme affords others to participate in its development, and the school and organization has long been of interest to creativity thinkers, writers, practitioners, and entrepreneurs, from around the world. TLC is cared for by a shared sense of distributed intelligence giving each of us a level of ownership that helps maintain all aspects of the school, business, organization, and campus life. AI, as a positive form of critique, provides a safe platform from which student, faculty, and staff can articulate their individual or group position. It is a rigorous process that has a connection to the Creative Spiral (Wilson Milne, 2017).

TLC's not-for-profit principles align with the integrity that is anchored in the school. Right from the start, Milne did not agree with the idea of reaping profit from education and TLC's many scholarships allow more students to avail themselves of creativity's higher-order thinking capabilities than could otherwise have happened.

TLC's creativity programme moved beyond its core delivery practice into a variety of forms tailored for specific groups with different needs. To date, the school has developed a visually oriented programme for the deaf, provided integrated courses for impaired students in shared studios, delivered a business development programme, presented training courses for several organizations and service groups, and continues to offer a restricted programme for students in prison (who meet the stringent requirements of their circumstances). TLC also offers children's and holiday programmes, and caters for the needs of other social groups as required. Creative learning is a health-giving experience, and TLC students self-reported well-being survey results have shown a steady rise over the years. Creative practice is an integral part of well-being, and individual welfare is an important feature of our programme.

Democratic processes prevail at TLC. We work fairly, do what we can to establish equality, and our rules and regulations are open for discussion and available for all to see. Our conflict management systems are effective, clearly understood, and most issues are managed in house.

We are all intimately concerned with the school's welfare. For one day, four times each year, the whole company meets to update ourselves, discuss and address matters of relevance, and receive training. We talk about concerns and often vote on the outcomes, giving preference to the most popular recommendations.

Effective communication at TLC concerns each of us. Distance delivery students communicate through our IT Learning Management System, and student connections with TLC are strong. Our alumni respond to requests for

surveys and interact regularly with one another. On-site student groups help organize whatever has been agreed to and this includes taking responsibility for our four all-of-school exhibitions each year. Reflecting on how we make, do, and learn teaches us concern for the materials we use, their functionality, and how they operate. After all, in process learning, it is usually the nature and properties of the material that will define the limits of our investigation.

Individual inquiry into our world is not separate from us, and with everything happening simultaneously, systems can never keep abreast with where the bow is breaking the wave. Studio practice may merge with governance and academic practice on occasion, and office space is not strictly defined for any one purpose. We walk through and around meetings held in what is more like a main working studio, and on four days a year, all of us move to the mixed media studio, which then becomes a staff meeting space (with artefacts hanging off walls and filling the shelves around us). We like it that way. Ultimately, creativity is a metaphor for how we manage TLC. Creativity (and life) is eclectic, and at TLC, any of us can visit a studio and chat to students about their work, become aware of new perspectives, and engage with what is actually happening there, on the day.

Our low-hierarchical engagement is mirrored in how we approach material and is reflected in the way tutors and students are on an equal footing and the way our networks support the resilience of this practice. When ideas are flying around from one area to another, they cannot be individually owned or tied down to one prescriptive approach or measure. This explains why ambiguity and uncertainty are so pivotal to creativity's explorations.

Are there better ways to manage how we engage with the discovery of new knowledge, and could wider consideration be given to what we mean by process and assessment? From TLC's perspective, we would also ask why do we separate education and creativity? What is the reason to have academic disciplines separated by boundaries? How can we all share in the expertise of learning? Would it be wiser for all learning to begin with creativity, and to reshape the more formal structures into which we can never fit?

If measurement was the only way to accurately assess creativity students' work, its terms and conditions would need to be accurate in all details, and even if this was possible, what would we be measuring? How, for instance, would we separate the physical, cognitive, affective, and sensate properties of phenomenology in the work?

We propose that formal assessment or measurement is seldom equal or fair, and dissecting creativity, as if it were an insect, into separate parts would only add to confusion. Would we agree that ideas are directed to the brain via the senses—or would reference to the senses be disallowed? Could such queries

lead academic and education discussion to a crossroads, or end tied up like the ouroboros, the serpent that eats its own tail?

Experience comes from all aspects of life. The intellect includes *all* sensual, emotional, critical, physical, and affective responses, and these can be included alongside the structure of materialistic issues, through discussion. However, experience is learning and learning is experience, and problems and solutions are an integral part of, not separate, from this. While prescriptive systems may direct how we discover new ways to understand what learning is about, they open up a discussion about who is validating this power ... and why, and what is its purpose? What and where are the boundaries, and who decides what to keep in and what to keep out?

Is it possible for creativity, social creativity, and creative practice to identify with and validate the sustainable processes such as we see operating in the natural world, or to combine these to form a revolutionary approach, a new way of thinking and learning, about business, society, systems, academia, and science—and everything? Yes, we think it is.

Notes

1. Appreciative Inquiry (AI) is a model of organization development that seeks to engage stakeholders in self-determined change.

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10

Exploring Creative Research Methodologies in the Humanities

Toby Young

An increased focus on creativity and innovation has pervaded higher education institutions and policy in recent years, with Jeremy Heaton noting that creativity is now essential to compete for “funding, people and reputation” in the research sector (Heaton, 2005, p. 254). Many universities have successfully developed information material, training opportunities, and creativity hubs in order to “demystify” and support those staff looking to engage with creative research practices. However, some older universities have less prominent focuses on creative work beyond the specific group of departments (typically arts subjects) that are already active in creative research and teaching.

This chapter looks at how creativity (and, implicitly, creative labour) can be put to work in humanities research more broadly, considering some of the advantages, implications, and barriers that creative approaches can offer the work of a humanities researcher in order to provide reflection and advice for those seeking to put “creativity to work” in their research context. In many ways, exploring creative methods in humanities is a well-trodden path. However, there is all too often disengagement between theory (and policy) on the one hand and practice on the other hand. In order to try and negotiate this disconnect, this chapter offers a practical, rather than theoretical, view, exploring the well-discussed theory “at work” in a real-world context.

Central to this chapter is a detailed case study of the new Oxford Centre for Creative Research (OCCR), offering a reflexive account of the issues that were

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faced in both setting up such a centre and providing the adequate training and support to our colleagues in the centre's early days. This account is in no way a conclusive definitive guide to the setting up of a similar centre but rather addresses many of the issues facing researchers in engaging with creativity ranging from the theoretical and technical to the institutional and political, in order to present both a practical model to others wishing to engage in such an endeavour, as well as consider some broader considerations about the nature of creative work in research institutions.

Context

With its disparate system of colleges, faculties, and divisions, the University of Oxford faces a significant challenge when connecting up like-minded staff. With that in mind, the university developed The Oxford Research Centre in the Humanities (TORCH) in 2013 to foster interdisciplinary collaboration amongst humanities researchers, helping to develop academic, industry, and performing arts collaborations. Following and adapting some of the paradigms set up by its older counterpart, the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities (CRASSH) in Cambridge, TORCH has proved to be a hugely successful addition to the university, instigating numerous dynamic and attractive research projects, whilst at the same time removing the institutional barriers which in the past may have frustrated burgeoning knowledge exchange and public engagement activities.

However, whilst a “trans-disciplinary knowledge environment has a greater capacity to inform creative work” (Johnston & Ridley, 2007, p. 35) than a disciplinary one, such an environment in itself is not sufficient to encourage the creative thinking required of university researchers. As Jackson & Shaw (2006, p. 5) note, whilst academic staff commonly recognize the value of creativity in student learning, they are often reluctant to take on the extra work that is perceived as necessary for applying creative processes to their own research. I noted that, informally, lecturers often relay an anecdotal view along the lines of “there’s always so much pressure to show creativity, but really my research is niche and traditional—and I’m fine with that! In reality I have no idea how to bring creativity into my research.”

In order to stimulate creative research amongst the existing Oxford community, it was clear that there was a need for a central hub that could provide the resources and support that colleagues needed in order to develop more creative approaches to their existing research practices. Together with a small group of like-minded academics, I began to envisage what such a space might

look like and the validity of such a space in the context of existing provision. After taking into consideration the requirements and desires expressed by our colleagues, we set out to create a new academic centre with the aim of both elucidating and celebrating creativity as a tool for research and public engagement in the humanities.

Whilst the Oxford system with its mixed subject staff common rooms seems to perfectly facilitate this sort of cross-subject creativity, the importance of engaging with contrasting and sometimes antagonistic ideas and material in order to encourage creativity is not always obvious to researchers. Creativity is so often enhanced through collaboration and the recognition of difference (Sawyer, 2007), and whilst difference, provocation, and appropriation occur regularly in the context of academia (through conferences, colloquia, peer review, review articles, etc.), these typically fall into disciplinary boundaries. Helping researchers to engage with the potential creative stimulus available in the diverse research community around them was considered crucial, therefore, as was encouraging the openness to actively identify and seek possible linkages with their colleagues. It was also important to show that creative collaboration can take numerous forms, from research projects to researcher-practitioner collaboration, and so on (see John-Steiner, 2000, pp. 46–55).

Our main aim in creating the centre was to provide a space for researchers to explore the discourse on creative research, as well as creating and presenting their own nontraditional and artistic responses to research interests in their work. Part of the challenge of this new project was demonstrating creativity as a meaningful addition to the researchers' existing methodological toolkits, in addition to showing how creative elements might help strengthen existing projects and funding bids. By creating a space that explicitly valued creativity, we hoped to allay some of the worries colleagues had from their perceptions of creative research, such as being led towards producing careless or unrigorous work, which was, for many of our participants, a significant barrier to their adoption of creative research into their work. A major part of this process was to facilitate researchers to recognize and articulate their experience and understanding of creativity, so that they might better understand its relevance to their own work.

Engaging the Research Community

This led to the centre's first university event; a round-table discussion looking to define "creativity" and "creative research", and help contextualize broad ideas of innovation and reflection within existing university life. In a diverse

research community such as Oxford, it is important to promote anything even tangentially creative to help open a dialogue with researchers and help them engage with creativity at their own pace. Finding the panel's answers (roughly, creativity can be many things; it depends on how it is packaged!) made many of the participants initially anxious, but after an in-depth discussion on some of the ways in which creativity can be clearly and persuasively seen in certain projects, attendees became increasingly excited and inspired. Using best practice models alongside more active training models subsequently became a strong component of the centre's rubric.

To enable researchers to feel comfortable to explore these issues, it was evident that the project needed to have a real and meaningful significance for all of the centre's potential users, namely all research-active academics across the University's humanities division. Numerous conversations with this group of researchers (the centre's primary stakeholders) confirmed that it was of paramount importance that the centre was to be positioned at the forefront of contemporary research in order to maintain a position of academic respect and precision, as well as attract a continuing supply of submissions from high-profile thinkers. This stress on the importance of getting community validation echoes the well-known ideas of Csíkszentmihályi that:

Whether an idea or product is creative or not does not depend on its own qualities, but on the effect it is able to produce in others who are exposed to it. Therefore it follows that creativity is a phenomenon that is constructed through an interaction between producer and audience ... [c]reativity is not the product of single individuals, but of social systems making judgments about individual products. (Csíkszentmihályi, 1997, p. 314)

In order to establish this peer review, we felt it was important to gain the support of a group of prestigious academics in these humanities to sit on our advisory board, many of whom already incorporated creative research into their own work. This board helped practically throughout the centre's inception, as well as supporting the more engaged and active researchers amongst us through informal mentoring; an asset which we found to be one of the best resources in fostering creative thinking.

In addition to supporting the instigation of new creative research, the centre had aspirations to promote such work to a broader non-academic audience through further events, both in the university and on a national scale, to showcase research that incorporates creative practice in its methodology. In doing this, it was important for us to broaden the way academic work was presented to a public audience, as well as giving a platform to that broadening

already taking place within the university. These events/performances and related media coverage would help to not only disseminate research but also further the knowledge exchange in the community. Some of these events include:

- Three lunchtime talks at the Oxford Said Business School as part of their existing “Engaging with the Humanities” programme. These talks explored themes in creativity in business, examining the role of creative arts in enriching brand identity. They were presented in lecture-recital formats and delivered by researchers and artists David Barnes (visual art and industrial practice), Donna Kurtz (cultural heritage and creative curation), and Toby Young (songwriting and philosophy).
- A staging session for researchers in the modern languages faculty whose work deals with the performative aspect of literature and drama. This session focused specifically on how to incorporate live staging into research to explore issues of perception and phenomenology.
- Together with the Tavistock and Portman Centre, a specialist mental health trust in London, the centre hosted a day-long symposium, art show, and concert exploring the relationships between mental illness and the creative process.
- To launch the new show of Somerville College’s artist in residence, Patrice Moor, the OCCR curated an interdisciplinary event exploring the theme of “body portraiture” (inspired by Patrice’s set of hand portraits), involving musical and poetic portraits alongside talks about the physicality of portraiture from Oriana Walker, a researcher in the philosophy of science.

Terminology

As Gibson (2005) notes, there are many often confusing and contradictory discourses around creativity, which extend to the culture of creative research. This lack of clarity around definition—and indeed evaluation—of creativity proved initially problematic both to the practicalities of setting up the centre and encouraging our colleagues to become involved. Many colleagues were, quite rightly, wary of our attempts to differentiate creative research from their existing activities and echoed Frayling’s (1993, p. 4) concerns that “research is a practice, writing is practice, doing science is practice, doing design is practice, making art is a practice ... [isn’t] all research a ‘creative practice?’” Fundamentally, we agree with this notion, but it was evident in these conversations that the researchers making such claims often had no concept of *how*

their research was creative and whether the creative elements could be enhanced, developed, or replicated. By acknowledging and engaging with the creative nature of this work—particularly in light of the abundant literature on creativity—and opening up these tacit assumptions for conversation, the centre hoped to offer tools for these researchers to better hone their processes and outputs: something we explored more thoroughly in our training provision.

One possible method of conducting creative research is practice-based research: that is, an investigation conducted to gain new knowledge partly by means of practice and the outcomes of that practice, as opposed to practice-led work where the research leads primarily to new understandings about the mode of practice, which may or may not also be practice-based (Dogantan-Dack, 2015; Gauntlett, 2007; Smith & Dean, 2009). Many researchers were sceptical of this term, suggesting that practice-based research implied for them only artistic outputs, with any accompanying verbal material denigrated to becoming “accompanying documentation” rather than intrinsic. In addition, in spite of the strong theoretical grounding in this area, it was evident that colloquially the terms “practice-based” and “practice-led” were often used interchangeably, leading to a mixed feeling that both of these research methods were for artists only, and therefore removed outside the purview of non-practitioner researchers.

We also became aware talking to researchers that there are multiple differences in the use of these terms in individual subject areas. For instance, in the visual arts, practice-based research emphasize the creative process, with the artefact playing a vital part in the new understandings about this process’ engagement with core research questions (Kroll & Harper, 2012), whereas in health research, the same term might be used to describe a clinical trial or the evaluation and revision of certain healthcare protocols, policies, and procedures, and where the implementation of a new intervention or policy is key (Barrett & Bolt, 2010).

It is clear then, from both the literature and our anecdotal conversations, that the term “creative research” does not represent a single concept with a shared meaning; indeed to instil the prerequisite playfulness (Craft, 2003), we found that celebrating some of the diverse meanings was very positive for engaging the largest group of researchers we could. The term creative research became extremely useful as something which included a blend of both traditional outputs obtained through creative processes (discussed in more detail later) and practice-based outputs undertaken by researchers in their own idiosyncratic way, without the onus to fit their work into an existing terminological frame.

However, we did feel it was important to separate this, albeit broad, concept of creative research from arts-based research (sometimes known as “creative research methods”). This typically refers to participatory research, where participants are invited to express themselves in nontraditional ways, using “the making of artistic expressions ... as a primary way of expression their experiences” (Knowles & Cole, 2008, p. 29), though again, there are numerous subtly conflicting discourses around this term. This set of approaches is typically grounded in subject-orientated work in the social sciences, demonstrated in the successful Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC)-funded “Creative Research Methods project” co-organized by researchers at Birmingham City University and the University of Westminster. As this sort of qualitative work was outside the remit of many of the humanities scholars we were trying to engage with (perhaps with the exception of anthropologists), it did not seem prudent to include it in our activities. However, we made sure to highlight the aims and distinctions of these methods and offered one-to-one training for interested researchers who wished to explore them further in their own work.

Resources and Training

One of the major difficulties in propagating our ideas to colleagues was to overcome the researchers’ worry of maintaining an appropriate level of critical interrogation and rigour in their work. For some disciplines like English, music, archaeology, anthropology, and (perhaps surprisingly) classics, creative approaches to research—typically through practice-based work—were seen as commonplace, or at least part of the recognized toolkit of a researcher. In others, however, notably areas like politics, philosophy, and law, there was a major dissonance between conventional methodological approaches and the activities we were suggesting.

To try and bridge some of these gaps, it was important for these researchers to understand how the creative work we were promoting would enhance their research. It is a common aphorism that interdisciplinarity is often let down by lack of knowledge of the “other’s” methods, and being wary of this, we focused on promoting the benefits of creative dissemination so as not to appear to be “treading on anyone’s toes”. The format we initially opted for was the small-scale training workshop—favoured by other avenues of research skills training for Oxford academics—to act as a pilot programme and a space to test our ideas. From an open call around the humanities departments, nine researchers signed up for the first group of three of these training sessions, ranging from

doctoral students to an associate professor. It is perhaps unsurprising that these workshops were taken up by mostly postgraduate and early career researchers, keen to distinguish themselves in an already-crowded market. Whilst we encouraged researchers with pre-existing creative or artistic interests, we also welcomed those who were inexperienced with artistic methods but open to using them. Sessions were held in a large arts studio space, offering a flexible environment that provided a “blank canvas” of inspiration and could easily hold both full group and breakout sessions for more detailed individual work.

Triggs (2006) points towards a need for the contextualization of the challenges facing researchers when adapting such creative research to their own fields, so we decided to arrange the training programme to echo the established research methods courses which researchers were typically familiar with. These courses present a mixture of theoretical context (e.g. epistemology), general skills (e.g. academic writing, presentation skills), and subject-specific training. This format shaped our choice of topics over the initial three-session course, focusing in turn on creative processes, theoretical grounding—specifically focusing on how to validate and justify these creative approaches—and alternative methods of presentation (i.e. non-written dissemination).

As an early career researcher myself—and therefore more junior than several of the participants—I was very aware that my role in these sessions was as facilitator rather than teacher. The model discussed below relied on both my skills in this regard and the ability to work closely with participants in the small group context. Pedagogical theory helped me to find focus and objectivity in the designing and delivery of a training course that would have the “low floors, high ceilings and wide walls” (Gauntlett, 2008, p. 46) needed to inspire creative thinking. Feedback was taken from researchers verbally at the end of each session, and then in a written evaluation form at the end of the course.

Session 1: Research Methodologies and the Creative Process

The first training session opened with a discussion of both the relevance of this model to the researchers and—perhaps most importantly—what sort of creativity they hope to achieve. The creative process can be seen to have two possible outcomes: the first being complete innovation (or H-creativity), where something entirely new is created which does not already exist in the world; the second, conceptual blending (also known as P-creativity or the

“theory of bisociation”), where materials that do not “fit” together normally are combined in order to create new meanings and discover unimagined connections (see Koestler, 1964). At a research level, conceptual blending is perhaps a more desirable outcome than innovation: to paraphrase Kant, you can create original nonsense relatively easily, whereas discovering and presenting interesting new connections presents a far better demonstration of research skill, knowledge acquisition, and intellectual rigour. We therefore started exploring how material can be reformed in this way by asking researchers to work with a colleague from the group whose work lay in a contrasting field to discuss the commonalities of their research. Researchers found it easy to negotiate this common ground and then due to their innate curiosity naturally developed this into new connections and ideas.

Next, we looked at various ways of considering the creative process, starting with Wallas’ (1926) influential four-stage model:

- Stage 1: Preparation
 - Finding appropriate materials
 - Explore existing rules/methods of reasoning
- Stage 2: Incubation
 - “Letting go”
 - Interruptions start subconscious thought process.
- Stage 3: Illumination
 - “Eureka” moment
 - Materials move from subconscious to conscious
- Stage 4: Verification (or critical analysis)
 - Ideas are critiques and packaged in the best way for consumption
 - Artwork is formed to enable most effective communication.

The broad shape of Wallas’ model has proved fundamental to thinking about creativity, and its linearity forms the basis of nearly every other model or theoretical tool; for instance, those by cognitive scientist Margaret Boden (2003, 2010), psychologist Csíkszentmihályi (1997), and anthropologists Hallam and Ingold (2007). All of these models hold a similar sense of process to the Wallas’ model, whereby material is collected (or derived), explored, and produced into a creative object. These models all function in a similar way, based on the premise that creativity is a mode of thinking, which brings together diverse and random material into a cohesive work. When discussing

Wallas' model, researchers were quick to notice considerable similarities with the research process, namely starting with an idea, working through it, and packaging it up in the appropriate way for dissemination. They were, however, less used to considering the importance of an incubation period in their work, often stressing that there's no time to let thoughts ferment under the strains of institutional teaching and research goals. Several of the researchers noted that this approach is more methodical than they were expecting a creative process to be and were surprised at the foundation of such a formal framework. As Wallas (1926) notes, the best use of the preparation stage for the learner is to "voluntarily or habitually follow out rules as to the order in which he shall direct his attention to successive elements" (p. 71). Dividing up the creative product into these two options proved useful to the researchers, who remarked that they thought the institutional rhetoric expected complete innovation, but they felt happier and more confident exploring conceptual blending.

Whilst some of the researchers were initially a bit sceptical of the efficacy of this model, many reported notable improvements in the (self-defined) creative content of their work when they, for example, spent extra time playing with their children. The work of National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) scientist Robert Lang provided a useful best practice example. Lang is a physicist and mathematician who used origami as an escape from the pressures of his research work. However, in the process, he realized that he often found solutions to mathematical problems subconsciously through this origami and later explored the real-world applications of origami to engineering problems, such as creating a "flat-pack" lunar exploration device. In return, his scientific approach has helped enable him to extend his origami practice, through use of technology and advanced geometry. This case study emphasizes the importance of play in all its forms and clearly appealed to many of the course participants.

Later, in the session, we also considered the importance of ambiguity in creative work. Whilst ambiguity is typically valued in the arts for its richness of interpretive possibility, research practices typically value the clarity of quantifiable outcomes (Hargreaves, 2008, pp. 228–229). Risk-taking, however, is often discussed in the literature as a mode of thinking rather than a specific process (Groth & Peters, 1999, pp. 180–182; Furedi, 2006), which this discussion intended to explore. It was important that the researchers understood that creativity is a complex and messy process (Sternberg & Kaufman, 1999) by developing a willingness to engage in "successful failure".

Groth and Peters (1999) suggest that a key barrier to creativity is fear, typically of the unknown, of ridicule and of failure. With researchers having

invested a great deal of time, money, and effort in their academic careers, encouraging them to create calculated failure like this could be seen as daunting or even threatening (Hargreaves, 2008, p. 230). However, whilst foreign to many of the session's attendees, exercises that are designed to fail are crucial to breaking past this anxiety, and by doing them in a group situation like this one, a strong and supportive feeling of community spirit is typically formed. In addition, these exercises often reveal the most unusual and unpredictable results (Johnson, 2010), as well as developing the sort of flexibility required of creative researchers.

The session concluded by looking at how to apply incubation and ambiguity to existing research methodologies and methods in order to show that risk-taking does not have to preclude engagement with more rigorous research approaches. Gaut and Kieran (2014) suggest that creativity flourishes with imitation and rule following, noting that "rule-orientated" methodologies provide useful templates to frame the more unpredictable creative activities, which in turn help to ground these activities in a real-world setting.

Session 2: Theoretical Context

Our second session on theoretical context was perhaps the most familiar ground for the researchers. Its purpose was to provide a space to consider the ontological and epistemological contexts and consequences of these creative approaches to knowledge around like-minded colleagues. Extending the earlier discussion of rigour, this session addressed the value of non-verbal forms of expression in engaging with complex academic discourse through the written word. It also highlighted a tacit assumption shared by a few members of the group over the primacy of the written word in fully comprehending the object of inquiry.

In addition to suggesting ways to frame creative knowledge work, this session offered some more practical advice for justifying this work in the researchers' day-to-day professional lives, for example, in writing research bids or applications for internal funding. We began by looking at platforms that support and promote creative research in numerous forms (such as fiction, poetry, visual, and auditory media) including journals *The Still Point*, *Dovetail*, and *OAR* (*The Oxford Artistic and Practice Based Research Platform*), focusing specifically on the sort of content they are soliciting and how to approach them. All three are interdisciplinary projects aimed particularly at early career and doctoral researchers in the humanities and demonstrate the broadening interest in creative research amongst the academic community at the moment. We

also looked at how to frame and promote creative research to more mainstream publishing bodies, taking the example of cultural theorist Nick Sousanis, whose doctoral thesis *Unflattening* was written entirely in the form of a comic book, becoming the first visual monograph ever to be published by Harvard University Press.

We then discussed how these approaches might be incorporated into research bids—particularly looking at AHRC and Leverhulme grants, as two organizations which have actively solicited creative research—as well as the possibility of submitting practice-based work as part of the REF (Research Excellence Framework). Whilst many of the researchers were wary of this, creative researcher practices (particularly practice-based research) have received increased attention from funding and assessment bodies, as the implications of this work become more widely understood. A particularly useful discussion was had around the relationship between creative outputs and pathways to impact, with researchers noting that creative outputs—if organized effectively—can offer huge scope for engaging both academic stakeholders and the broader public with research outputs.

Session 3: Practical Applications

The final training session looked at some of the practical skills needed to be able to extend the theory from our initial sessions into practice (Schön, 1974). Art and design education puts emphasis on strategies of learning by doing, through free-form, hypothetical, embodied, and playful activity-based learning (Snodgrass & Coyne, 2006), and we wanted to imbue the initial task with an element of this playful immediacy. Inspired by Baudelaire's (1846) notion that “the best response to a painting might be a sonnet or an elegy” (p. 32), we began by looking at the notion of artistic responses. Taking a short, evocative poem by Emily Dickinson as a provocation, we asked the researchers to make a simple series of marks on some blank paper; marks which could take any form, including a literal drawing, some written contemplation in poetry or prose, a spontaneous utterance, or a careful critical reflection. Many of the researchers were surprised how natural this sort of creative response was to them, and after the initial block such a challenge naturally presents, they reported feeling able to express themselves clearly and concisely.

For the rest of this session, we focused on developing this creative immediacy into a more considered piece of work. Most of the researchers who signed up to these sessions had a certain level of proficiency with an art form (including poetry, music, dance, painting, sculpture, and photography) and

with these, I focused on adapting my comments and materials to help them engage with this media—typically hobbies—for academic purposes. For those who did not have any specific proficiency in these areas, fiction writing proved a useful starting point as a creative form that was similar to their existing skills in academic writing, though of course there were additional barriers put in place by the fact that this was their first attempt at engaging with this medium.

First, I asked researchers to write down an idea from their recent research, ranging from the politics of Silk Road trade routes through to Medieval Italian poetry, before spending the rest of the session working individually with each of them to support and facilitate the expression of this idea through their preferred creative medium. Whilst initially daunted by the challenge, every single one of the researchers engaged positively and proactively with the task. This echoes Knight and Yorke's (2003, p. 88) findings that—contrary to pedagogic thought in the last century—rather than being prescriptive in teaching specific techniques for the student to copy, it is more effective to teach the critical skills required to let the student discover their own best practice and means of expression.

A significant problem that the researchers faced was judging what they deemed to be creative. With a training to be sensitive to plagiarism—of both content and ideas—many sought a desire to be coached in the production of original artefacts (echoing Austerlitz, 2007), which they realized was also associated with the pressures of innovation that pervade academia. In order to address this tacit assumption, the session sought to equip researchers with the required tools—and indeed confidence—to evaluate both the individual merits of their creative work and its effectiveness in conveying the concepts and ideas they wished to communicate. Throughout the training sessions, we looked to elements of art school learning practices in order to accomplish this; a key model being the collaborative and group-based feedback of the art school critique.

Prescriptive assessment criteria often seem to “fit particularly awkwardly with creative work which is inevitably about outcomes that cannot be predicted in advance” (Fryer, 2010, p. 549). As such, feedback is crucial in the development of the learner's approach to their work. Ramsden (1992) finds the nature of teacher-led feedback problematic, especially if the assessment—in this case informal and formative—becomes the sole responsibility of the teacher. If feedback becomes a one-way transmission process, the teacher becomes solely responsible for transmitting feedback to students. Teaching and learning between peers is inevitably different from teacher and researcher, as the researchers are less likely to be overwhelmed by one another's knowledge and expertise (Slavin, 1995).

These concerns are particularly relevant in the highly personal work of creative practices. One model of feedback in a creative discipline that engages well with this criticism is the art school critique, referred to as a crit. Crits are an important and complex pedagogic tool in arts education, whereby an artist will show one of their works to a group of teachers and fellow students at a designated time, often alongside other artists' works. They will instigate feedback, often on specific aspects of the work, and as such it is fundamentally a learner-led process of assessment.

Mers (2013) charts the key elements of the crit as being:

- The artist may choose to give an introduction to the work that is on display, including mention of motivation, inspiration, and the work's genesis.
- The artist may ask to receive feedback on specific elements or may request a cold reading of the objects at hand, in which case no introduction is presented.
- Often, stated intentions and observed results are compared by the visitor(s).
- Suggestions may be offered for alternate approaches, both intellectual and material.
- Practice and results are situated in relation to historical and contemporary art world contexts, often in reference to the specific areas of expertise represented by visitors.

Central to this is the reflexive evaluation process that this discussion fosters. The systemic self-discovery that emerges from a shared interest by the group in an artist and their work helps the artist to see the work in a more objective light. To best facilitate this, the art and design lecturers must aim to assess student artwork in relation to student intention, what they are trying to "do", and how they are doing it (Cannatella, 2001). This proved particularly effective in the training sessions, as in addition to the process of self-discovery it facilitated, the crit method offered researchers a safe space to explore collective risk-taking outside their comfort zone. Feedback from researchers also highlighted how it helped to enable a feeling of community around the creative tasks, which may hopefully lead to the establishment of a wider community of creatively engaged researchers.

The crit's success lies in the way it enables new directions at an earlier stage of the process by making feedback less personal, and also the framework it gives assessors to offer rigorous and constructive feedback which directly relates to the researchers' intentions. Another method we incorporated into sessions in order to better engage with the learners' intentions was a series of reflexive-writing tasks. Creative subjects are inherently rhizomatic in their knowledge:

there is no single correct end result or way to get there (Cross, 1984). However, every creative individual has a rigorous process that needs to be developed through structured educational outcomes in order to enable them to see the creative potential in their work, engage with the ambiguity of the creative process, and reflect on their relevance to a typical research situation.

Reflexivity

In their article “What makes great pedagogy”, Husbands and Pearce (2012) describe the most important facet of effective teaching as giving “serious consideration to pupil voice” (p. 86); yet often it is assumed that researchers of doctoral level and above have the prerequisite skills to convey their voice. When engaging with new approaches like this, it is easy for learners to become overwhelmed by the new “language” they were working with, and consequently we found it important to “clear the playing field” by factoring in active opportunities to engage the student voice. This also helps reinforce to researchers that self-expression—also termed “authenticity” in the literature—is important, specifically the ability to create work which shows a personal understanding of any pre-existing material, whilst simultaneously holding a critical distance to that material (Amabile, 1996, pp. 72–75).

Reflexive-writing tasks (designed to emulate autoethnographic journal entries) offered the researchers space to express their personal views, as well as providing a platform to think through their ideas in a way which would encourage more developed reflexivity than verbal discussion might, using the journal as any mix of documentation, rationale, justification, position statement, and critique of their work. The activity is designed to accomplish certain tasks in furthering student work (as set out in *ibid.*):

- Students should describe and help to clearly perceive the various material, tactile, visual, auditory, and other qualities of works that are presented.
- Students are expected to aid the student in clarifying the methods and processes of art making that she or he employs and the implications that those processes have for reading the work.
- Students help discern and contextualize the motivation for making these particular works/types of art, mobilizing the student’s broader interests and contexts, both personal and intellectual.
- Students may be expected to help determine the quality of work/assess the promise that a student shows, also as part of advancement and/or graduation requirements.

By the third session, the researchers had begun to use these opportunities well and expressed positive feedback about the task's efficacy at channelling new thoughts and helping researchers to engage better in their creative processes. It also helped me to know the researchers' thoughts and goals better, which in turn led to a more effective process of feedback. Knowing the student in a creative situation lets you understand their work in a far deeper and more holistic way; understanding not only the processes that went into the work (rather than just the end piece) but also their influences and goals. As Orr (2007) notes:

When artwork is being assessed in the studio the lecturers in my studies privileged the assessment views of lecturers who had worked most closely with the students whose artwork was being marked ... [For] art and design lecturers, the work and the student are entangled. The assessment approaches adopted reflect their interest in the individual students and their particular learning trajectories.

This was echoed in the feedback comments of a postdoctoral researcher, who said:

It was very useful for me to return to the journal during the session, in order to better understand my own thoughts and process. I also really liked having the space to reflect on aesthetic issues away from training space, and have a structured way to format it. It was really stimulating, and helped me get the most out of all my new discoveries from the training sessions. My concern would be that it is quite a time-consuming process, and I'm not particularly confident that I would practically be able to emulate it amongst my other (rather substantial) research and teaching commitments.

These practical issues of time management are understandable in the current research environment. However, other researchers were more comfortable treating these reflexive exercises as a flexible tool to use once or twice during the creative process rather than a formal "straightjacket".

Further Opportunities

After the training sessions, we wanted to create a follow-up opportunity for researchers who wished to further explore some of the ideas and techniques from our sessions in a "real-world" context. I had recently been employed to curate an event for King's College, Cambridge (October 2015), combining

elements of research and artistic response to celebrate 500 years of the college's iconic chapel. I organized the chance for two researchers to have a space in the chapel to present visual or performed artwork, as part of the evening. Five of the researchers applied, and after consultation with the event's organizers at King's, two of the most promising were selected to showcase their projects at this event.

The first of these works was a poem entitled *Coming Into Senses* by Jen Thorp, a postdoctoral writer and scholar of Australian Literature. Taking inspiration from Neil MacGregor's seminal monograph "A History of the World in 100 Objects", this piece used the image of a woman reminiscing about her ex-boyfriends as a metaphor for our obsession with capturing, collecting, and repainting the past. It also helped unwrap the distinctly human fascination we have with collections, offering some suggestions of how we might engage with the powerful memories held in such spaces. The second work was a piece of mixed media visual art entitled *A Collection for King's College Chapel (500th Anniversary)* by artist and historian Rob Good. This work provided a meditation on the passage of time and our obsession with taxonomy and collection as methods of engaging with the past. It consisted of two cabinets standing on a plinth, in the form of an altarpiece on top of an altar. The front cabinet appeared empty and pristine at first glance, but on closer inspection, contained dates (between 1446 and 1515) cut from history books, suggesting the calm and controlled march of history and the inevitability of progress. The back cabinet contained the remaining uncontrolled mass of sprawling text from the same books, threatening to escape from the cabinet representing the remains of history in the form of unprocessed fact. Around the base, four candles suggested a vigil, inviting observers to pause and reflect on their own attempts to weave narratives out of past events. Both of these works were received extremely well by the event's attendees, and I was deeply impressed by the skill and thoughtfulness with which these researchers engaged in the process.

Conclusion

Whilst it will take longer to fully assess and measure the impact of this new centre and its aims, we have received much positive informal feedback, and plan to develop and tailor our work to fit even closer to researcher needs and expectations. One unexpected outcome of the process was realizing how important best practice examples and events are for researchers, which we continue to foster in addition to the core-training programme, in order to gradually expand the centre's core community of academics.

In attempting to create this new framework for research, however, we became gradually aware of the concern that “in attempting to give visibility to the processes of research and practice that we don’t simply fetishize process ... [and] construct heroic narratives of doing research” (Hutchens, 2016). It was also important to encourage “bottom up” creativity, where creative activity is encouraged at a ground-roots level without being mediated by attempts to institutionalize it from above. This is in part to negate the dangers of “possessive individualism”—where an individual is conceived as the sole proprietor of their skills—instead fostering a collaborative and inclusive creative community (Florida, 2002). This is particularly dangerous in academia, where objective conditions typically force knowledge workers to look out for themselves first rather than engaging with the intersubjective nature of their labour.

Artists and knowledge creators share the common distinction that, unlike an industrial worker, they typically work under their own direction and are in total control of their work because of its inherent meaningfulness. The meaningfulness of creative research will be at the core of a future academic age where innovation will trump knowledge (Reid et al., 2010). In this post-industrial and post-information age, 13 years after the significant Cox review of Creativity in Business, the creative knowledge worker is gradually being placed at the forefront of society. Within the uncertain future environment of academia, researchers—particularly those in the humanities—will constantly have to justify and defend their intellectual and economic value, and creative research centres or hubs like this one will surely play an important part in offering academics some of the tools and skills needed to be able to achieve this. In promoting creative research, we are all in this together.

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11

Sharing or Integration: Rethinking the Localization of Co-working Spaces in Shanghai

Weiyi Wu

Introduction

Despite being the epoch for epistemological concern, one fact is simple and clear: co-working spaces (CWSs) are shared offices. Within a chain brand, spaces and facilities are shared among its tenants/members who may have heterogeneous backgrounds (Buksh & Davidson, 2013; Spinuzzi, 2012). This is an obvious reason why co-working is regarded as an innovation in contrast to traditional offices. However, it is not sufficient to explain what distinguishes CWSs from incubators and third places like parks and cafés. On the other hand, the number of co-workers is increasing, which suggests that CWSs have more attractive features than free access. A review of existing literature shows that knowledge exchange is often highlighted as a crucial factor by scholars who claim that co-working should be analysed and understood in the context of knowledge economy.¹

Because the knowledge economy relies greatly on intellectual capabilities than on physical inputs or natural resources, knowledge work is more flexible than traditional ways of working (Powell & Snellman, 2004). Due to its significance in contemporary urban economy and lifestyles, knowledge work is believed to be a major reason behind the shift in workplace management and operations. Unlike structured cubicles and standardized production lines,

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new workplaces—in this case, CWSs are designed to be transparent, open, playful and with identity in accordance with the mobile, multilocal, distributed and virtual way of working (van Meel & Vos, 2001).

Why Sharing?

A review of social economic transformations indicates that the emergence of co-working and the prevalence of knowledge work are correlated. But how is knowledge exchanged and shared in CWSs? To avoid tendentious inquiry, it is better to start from a neutral investigation of co-workers' behaviour and intention: why would they work together? This general question could be converted into two specific ones: (1) what are the expected benefits of co-working, compared to working alone and (2) what are the actual arrangements, conditions and process that guarantee these benefits?

A general perception is that flexible knowledge workers tend to work alone. Why would they give up personal space, freedom and autonomy? For supporters of co-working, the answer is community:

Independent professionals and those with workplace flexibility work better together than they do alone. CWSs are about community-building and sustainability. Participants agree to uphold the values set forth by the movement's founders, as well as interact and share with one another. (Coworking.com²)

Collaboration, openness, community, accessibility and sustainability are listed as values to which co-workers should be committed. Openness, accessibility and sustainability are explicit as they are related to physical characteristics of CWSs, but how to understand the importance of collaboration and community?

First of all, technological innovations today are fundamentally based upon open source and interconnectivity. There is a general trend towards distributed, interorganizational and collaborative knowledge work (Spinuzzi, 2012). Hence, the significance of openness, collaboration, interaction and community has been strengthened (Buksh & Davidson, 2013; Parrino, 2015). Therefore, it is plausible to assume that the knowledge economy generates and also requires collaboration and community in work which constitute core values of co-working and further determines physical and functional characteristics of CWSs.

Second, there has been an increasing interest in social aspects of industrial creativity and innovation. Economists and sociologists realize that technological reforms not only take place in laboratories but also are facilitated by and implemented in specific social environments. Theoretical and empirical studies have been carried out to examine the correlation between networking

and creativity. In terms of the nature of creativity, the individualism-collectivism dichotomy is criticized as an inappropriate framework. Empirical evidence proves that the opposition is oversimplified and further demonstrates that individualism and collectivism both influence idea generation and idea implementation but in different ways (Yao, Wang, Dang, & Wang, 2012). For innovation process, network analysis has recently been widely adopted to explain the flow of ideas, information and skills. For example, different network structures are carefully compared to reveal their different impacts on innovation output and diffusion (Abrahamson & Rosenkopf, 1997; Steen, Macaulay, & Kastelle, 2011).

Descriptive Definitions

Therefore, the knowledge economy has played a pivotal role in the origin and formation of co-working. Sociologically informed creativity and innovation research, namely findings about organizational and network effects, also reveal that collaboration and community are two key elements of a CWS in terms of its core values, structure and operation. Just as Kojo and Nenonen have summarized:

[C]o-working spaces are aligned in general workplace transition, where the social aspects of the work are taken into account much more than in the past. These characteristics emphasize in especially the collaborative nature of co-working spaces both in functional and spatial solutions. (Kojo & Nenonen, 2016)

Based on the earlier discussion of knowledge exchange, community and creativity, two descriptive definitions of co-working and CWSs can be proposed. First, co-working could be regarded as naturally associated with the emergence of the knowledge economy. People locate themselves in the same working environment where they collaborate, network and gradually form a community in which knowledge exchange is facilitated and strengthened, leading to the acceleration of participants' creativity and productivity. In this case, a CWS is an environment or a platform, of which the nature is to be defined and achieved by its members, that is, the actors of knowledge exchange and community building. Or to put it in another way, a CWS' function is to facilitate and support members' networking, collaboration and knowledge exchange. Second, in terms of network—the key element that links knowledge exchange, collaboration and community, a crucial fact is that the initiation and growth of a network hinges on engineered processes (Dhanaraj & Parkhe, 2006). This means

that a network requires a triggering entity that performs a leadership role in constructing and consolidating the network as well as an entrepreneurial role in coordinating members' resources and actions to create and extract value from the network. Value is key to understanding CWSs because these "spaces" are fundamentally commercial organizations which possess both the intention and ability to capture profits generated by innovation in the network. In this case, a CWS is a leading actor, but this leadership is subtle (Orton & Weik, 1990) because the hierarchical structure is dissolving and ineffective in the context of technological innovation and knowledge economy.

The difference between the two definitions is obvious. However, it is not the target of this research to argue whether network formation is an emergent process or an engineered process. Instead, the researcher proposes a metaphorical way of describing CWSs either as platforms facilitating and supporting members' networking or as triggering entities constructing and operating the network. This descriptive definition was applied as a reference during the fieldwork of this study. It enables the researcher to observe specific ideas and actual practice of co-working in Shanghai from a comprehensive and inclusive standpoint. Preliminary findings then support further discussion about the issue of localization and variation, which inspires the analysis of particularities and conundrums faced by local co-working companies.

Research Design

Research Context: Localization and Variation of Co-working

A 2012 survey³ shows that CWSs in two representative regions: the United States and the EU have quite distinct characteristics. For example: co-working is basically an urban phenomenon in Europe, with 54% CWSs located in densely populated metropolises (only one-third in the United States) and 70% co-workers found in big cities (only half in the United States). This global survey also made qualitative comparisons. For instance, European spaces tend to be interconnected more intensely than those in the US; European co-workers favour the flexible working time, while in the United States, community and belongingness is ranked in the first place. Those distinctions suggest that the global spread of co-working is inevitably a process of localization and variation. The distinction between CWSs in the EU and those in the US is more nuanced than their differences with CWSs in China. Therefore, by investigating representative co-working companies in Shanghai, this research seeks to contribute to a

more comprehensive and deeper understanding of this pervasive workplace transition which itself is transforming as it is spreading around the globe.

According to news reports on the mainstream media, co-working entered mainland China around 2015. Since then, CWSs of a few chain brands have quickly spread all over Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Shenzhen—the so-called first-tier cities. The trend soon extended to tier two and tier three cities as the big brands are actively expanding. For the convenience of data collection and analysis, the research scope is narrowed down to Beijing and Shanghai. Eventually, Shanghai is chosen as the main research site on account of the following consideration. In Beijing, central policies and financial support for stimulating the knowledge economy are implemented promptly, which are often accompanied with supporting measures issued by local governments. As a result, a big market share has already been taken by well-developed incubators and industrial parks that have advantages in price and resources. In Shanghai, the development of CWSs is a relatively natural process because the impact of institutional arrangement is less salient.

Two forms of CWSs are identified to provide a reference for investigating specific ideas and actual practice of co-working in Shanghai. As elaborated in the former sections, their functions or in a metaphorical sense—their roles could be generalized as the facilitator and the orchestrator. Comparing to normative definitions, these metaphorical descriptions provide the researcher with a more neutral and encompassing approach to examining the localization and variation. In this way, particularities and conundrums of CWSs in Shanghai are identified to provide materials for a more fundamental inquiry of the nature and process of networking. In terms of specific motivations and behaviours of networking, Chinese co-workers are different from American and European ones. They also vary from one CWS to another according to specific conditions and atmosphere created by different brands.

These special features challenge the stereotypes which too often are associated with established co-working companies in the west. Focusing on these specificities, this study seeks to inspire more in-depth research on the localization of CWSs, thereby inspiring innovative understanding and operation of co-working in different circumstances.

Methodology and Data

This research aims to investigate the localization and variation of co-working in Shanghai, thereby informing a further analysis of the relevant particularities and conundrums. In this case, hermeneutic interpretation is adopted

because of its appropriateness for this research purpose. According to the relevant ontological and epistemological assumptions, truth is not the result of a series of programmed comparisons and falsifications. Rather, it constantly reveals itself throughout the ongoing research process. Therefore, the qualitative approach is applied to depict a holistic picture based on different informants' viewpoints and to yield context-specific findings that are open to further interpretations (Creswell, 1998).

In-depth interviews are carried out in Shanghai with managers from different CWS brands. Five major local co-working brands are chosen because of their reputation in the industry and their respective characteristics. Although the American brand WeWork is not included in the fieldwork, this titan is frequently mentioned by each interviewee as a benchmark and main competitor. Senior executives of those influential local brands are key informants because their observation from the managerial level would constitute a comprehensive view of different CWSs in Shanghai. Moreover, their strategies and concerns also reflect the particularities and conundrums of the industry in general. In addition to interview, websites and brochures of local brands are also used as important second-hand materials.

Co-working has just become a business buzzword in China. Through this preliminary study, the researcher hopes to attract more attentions to explore its implications for the analysis of changing behaviours and mentality of working. Therefore, data from five in-depth interviews are analysed to identify important themes and questions for future research. In those unstructured interviews, key informants are encouraged to talk voluntarily and freely about their understandings and attitudes. Thematic analysis (Maanen, 1998) is adopted to deal with those fuzzy, incomplete and emerging ideas.

Discussion: Particularities and Conundrums

Five Pieces of the Jigsaw: A General Induction

After being introduced to China, co-working as an innovative workplace practice has demonstrated a remarkable crowding-in effect in the office market. Local brands and numerous CWSs sprung up with heavy investment from real estate and financial industries. Evidence is found in four of the five samples chosen for this research.⁴ Chairman of URWORK⁵ worked many years as a senior executive for different real estate companies, including China Vanke Co., Ltd. The two chief stockholders of WEPLUS⁶ are a real estate group and a private equity. The other two brands: MIXPACE⁷ and CREATOR⁸

also rely heavily on property and financial capitals but only differ slightly in terms of their respective focus on historical building retrofitting (MIXPACE) and integrated development of cultural and creative parks (CREATOR).

Based on a general induction, a few particularities of Chinese CWSs could be summarized: (1) because the majority of local brands are closely associated with traditional sectors, co-working in China is still an ambiguous concept; (2) for the same reason, the hardware of a CWS, that is, physical qualities such as the size and location matter crucially in competition, whereas the effect of operation is less salient; (3) since scale effect is a main pursuit of most local brands, the scramble for premium properties and central locations will continue to be intense.

In early 2016, WeWork opened its first space at Shanghai by collaborating with the DoBe Group,⁹ a Chinese enterprise that has a prominent position in cultural and creative industries, especially in developing and operating creative office parks. This cautious but crucial move has reshaped the chaotic market into a bipolar structure, which means that in the long run local brands would have to pinpoint their positions to survive the upcoming market segmentation and integration. The five local companies chosen in this research are characterized for their respective strengths and potentialities. During the interview process, common topics emerged. After preliminary processing, a few key themes are highlighted for further analysis. Discussion in the following sections demonstrates that interviewees' various notions and attitudes actually reflect the divergence between those brands with regard to profit model, market positioning, core values as well as the essence of co-working. These personal and institutional disparities reify the issue of localization and variation. Thus, by viewing them from a macro angle, the researcher hopes to ponder on particularities and conundrums of CWSs in Shanghai and inspire future research of co-working as a concept and as a practice.

Co-working: Integrated or Sharing?

In China, co-working is perceived as a novel and basically American way of working by the general public. As a new catchword, co-working is often mixed with existing concepts like serviced office, incubator and hackerspace. Interestingly, translation also reflects this confusion: *lianhe* (联合integrated) is the accepted term frequently used in business news and research papers, whereas *gongxinag* (共享sharing) only appears sporadically. The nuanced difference between “integration” and “together” (co-) suggests that co-working is localized at least in conceptual sense. In practice, focus on togetherness is

associated with an interaction-orientated approach that enables sharing and communication and further generates a sense of community. Contrarily, emphasis on integration leads to a resource-oriented approach that pursues interconnectivity and resources distribution as the core competence of a CWS in comparison with traditional and serviced offices.

Interviewee B¹⁰ described their role this way: “We integrate over 1000 tenants located separately in 20 spaces of our company. Based on investigations of their business and demand, we could integrate their resources, just like the support crew.” In interviewee C’s opinion, other than attracting tenants with a low rent, a CWS must offer extra value, a vital part of which is business matchmaking. Business interconnectivity through integration is often advertised to potential customers as a main selling point. It is necessary to point out that integration is not only an extra service but also a new model of management, both of which are stressed by executives as advantages of CWSs in the office market. Interviewee A explained his understanding of “lianhe (integrated)” and summarized his statement with interesting rhetorical questions:

I think, for a chain brand, “integrated working place” applies to all of its spaces. When I purchase your service, it means that I am entitled to use all spaces and auxiliary facilities at the membership price. How could a CWS distinguish itself from any company that specializes in space design? What is the point of running a chain brand?

Their notions of integration suggest that co-working companies in Shanghai seek to offer a package solution to meet various demands for spaces, facilities and business networking. One inherent problem of the package solution is that operators have to play paradoxical roles because customers’ requirements could be overlapping and sometimes conflicting. Interviewee D worked as brand manager and community manager for different brands. This experienced administrator summarized the dilemma faced by most companies:

We all struggle to figure out whether a CWS should be networking-oriented or service oriented. This hasn’t, perhaps would never, be clarified (laugh). The two demands are conflicting. If you cut down your services and concentrate on network building ... for long time, my job is to bring in third-party services. As those services increase, the necessity of us as a platform gets weaker and weaker. Eventually, there is no need for a platform because people could make contacts by themselves.

Interviewee D believed that conceptual changes are fundamental and necessary before any business innovation or institutional transformation could be made to solve that dilemma. Managerial personnel are conservative, which

partly explains why the interaction-orientated approach seems to be incompatible with the Chinese market:

The staff has to start co-working first. That was my understanding. But actually I find CWSs here are operated in an old-fashioned way. The staff churn rate is pretty high because they see their jobs as no difference to normal office administration. Space design is not thoughtful about interactions. One good thing about WeWork is that through design, they already set up topics for interaction.

On the other hand, tenants choose CWSs not for interaction, not because they are start-ups or freelancers, but are driven by other motives. Most CWSs in Shanghai are located in Grade A office buildings at central areas. Typical tenants are experienced entrepreneurs, established small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) and big companies, simply because the rent already set up a natural barrier. In interviewee D's view, big companies "don't pay attention to 'integrated work' but just see 'work'; their mindset is simple: I pay so you should provide the services." Another untold but common motivation is vanity. Interestingly, users' "ranking" of different co-working brands manifests the bipolar structure of the local market.

I heard many people talking about circles: fancy and exclusive places could lead you into a higher circle. In my view, typical coworkers go to WeWork. It is like a threshold, a sort of accreditation. Naked HUB is a like a pidgin version. But you just spontaneously presume that teams and companies in naked HUB are superior to those in industrial parks. It satisfies your vanity. Plus, its facilities are not bad.

Thus, judging from the general understanding of co-working, it seems that operators in Shanghai and customers are not ready for the interaction-orientated approach. Apart from the above-mentioned mentality, mindset and habit, structural reasons are more sophisticated and perhaps more fundamental. Unlike American and European cases, co-working in China is a heavy investment industry. Therefore, the management of each brand has to expand and achieve a certain scale. Before that, it is not their position to select clients.

In other words, the localized concept ("lianhe," integrated) and conservative approach (resource-oriented approach) are profoundly influenced by the internal structure of the industry and the macroeconomy. As a matter of fact, the growth of CWSs in China is boosted by the national strategy of "encouraging people to do business creatively and drive innovation (推动大众创业、万众创新)." Local practitioners, conservative or radical, often find themselves in an awkward position between traditional offices and incubators, which result in the conundrum of market positioning.

Competing Brands: Survival or Positioning?

Because local practitioners have to attract and keep as many tenants as possible, co-working is often advertised as a one-package solution that satisfies diverse expectations and requirements. Consequently, the general identity of local CWSs is hybrid and vague. In Shanghai, a randomly picked CWS would probably meet this profile: a designed office space equipped with quality facilities and capacious public areas and characterized by the functionality of networking and incubation.

Interviewee A argued that it was simply impossible for any brand to specify its market positioning because the majority of them were targeting the same group of customers, that is, branches of big companies and successful SME teams. This product manager believes that in order to firstly survive this fierce competition, their strategy is to strengthen cooperation with the retail business and to export management service to big groups that need to outsource their office issues, including site selection, space design, tenancy management, daily operation of spaces and facilities. With regard to competition, interviewee B's strategy is more macroscopic and abstract:

Our vision is to go beyond the physical limit and construct a synthesis of office, residential and leisure spaces. Our company has experience and expertise in developing creative industry parks, which fits the government's urban renewal plan. From now on, new blocks and centres will emerge in different districts of Shanghai city, so our scheme is to cooperate with the government and to undertake more renovation projects.

Interviewee E's company also aims at the same piece of cake—urban redevelopment. In the last three decades, as this historical metropolis has undergone drastic changes, complex problems of the urban space have accumulated, awaiting for careful renovation and upgrading. Interviewee E criticized commercial operation as being shortsighted and incapable of balancing business value and social value. More specifically, to wedge in that particular market, excellent design is emphasized as their core competitiveness:

What we focus on is the living space during the daytime. Every day, 9/10 of the 24 hours are spent in offices or similar environments. We should devote most of our time and energy to design that office space. It's as simple as that. Space is the container of life. We ought to design the container in a proper way to enrich the content. As a result, people could allocate more time on things to be done and on others they deal or encounter within that space.

In terms of the overall office market, interviewee C argued that although incubators and hackerspaces had the price advantage, they were not strong rivals. “With such a high cost, we have to optimize our products to secure the market share. It depends not on the original cost but on the perfect form of the final product, which is not easy to identify and realize (laugh). To stand out, firstly you have to survive fierce competition.” Ironically, competitors are whom you could refer to while navigating your position in the market. Sometimes, the competitor you pick may determine where you would end in. This is the way interviewee E defined the company’s vision of development:

For now, we hope to seize the third place in the co-working business. We plan to replace the other two gradually. In China, I don’t think any foreign brand could triumph over Chinese ones, not in any industry. Our advantages are obvious. We are a Chinese company run by Chinese but we are also very international. We understand new concepts, the mentality and the culture here. WeWork and naked HUB could not compete with us in terms of the sensitivity to social events or the rapport with clients. I know our strength and I believe it will become more evident over time.

Here, interviewee E is reasonable with regard to the necessity and significance of time. As money gradually withdraws from this industry and perhaps with more international brands following in the footsteps of WeWork, the following years may witness a process of market segmentation that eventually would lead to the differentiation of co-working brands.

Core Business: Service or Design?

Currently, market segmentation has not started in Shanghai. Most CWSs have not the intention or vision of specifying their core business, as long as the one-package solution is still the general practice. A few leading operators, for instance, the five interviewees’ companies, have long-term projections which are expressed in their understanding of customers and would be realized through an already ongoing differentiation of operation.

Interviewee B reckoned that the company would maintain its stable market share of comprehensive development of cultural and creative blocks based on their expertise and reputation in urban renovation projects. Three of the other four interviewees highlighted the significance of service but interpreted it from their unique perspectives. Interviewee C perceived service as the gene that they inherited from their parent group. He claimed that it was the relaxing and homey atmosphere that differentiated them from other CWSs.

Contrarily, interviewee D criticized the obsession with service, suggesting this was a main reason why both operators and tenants were accustomed to traditional office settings and habits. Essential attributes of co-working—sharing, interaction and community would hardly sprout in a space run by outdated management idea. No matter how similar a physical environment looks to a “standard” CWS, it could never be co-working in its proper sense.

Interviewee A’s opinion of service represents a pragmatic attitude. He is a believer of customer’s choice: “People come here for the service, not for regulation. No one would pay thousands per month for someone to set up rules. I don’t think operators could play the role of administrator. Service provider would be a more appropriate description.” More importantly, service is not the trivial logistic support but should be a reasonable and effective combination of products that the co-working company offers to its customers.

We could sell different services to medium and large enterprises, e.g. tenancy management, community operation and space design. Because service is very light—it doesn’t take much human and material resources. For instance, space customization covers from the consultancy of site selection, design, procurement, construction supervision, tenancy management until the end of the tenancy. Basically, the enterprise could outsource everything related to office issues to us. Normally it is the operator who set the rules. For customized spaces however, everything is based on the client’s requirements, not our assumptions of them.

In contrast to the dominance of service, interviewee E’s persistence in design seems to be quite brave and ambitious. As a relatively newly established co-working company, they have made great effort in examining, researching and improving parameters and other architectural details of their spaces.

According to interviewee E’s information, based on meticulous design, they managed to reduce the area of each workstation from 7/8 to 5.5 m², without causing any inconvenience or uncomfortable feeling. Each space is equipped with a café, a roadshow hall and a seminar room. To keep those spacious public areas and enhance the efficiency of space utilization, meetings are moved out of individual meeting rooms to the café and other open areas. In addition, they offer their venues to event organizers with a low rent or even for free, thereby maintaining a good usage rate. Interviewee E highlighted design as the core competitiveness of their brand, not only because of the positive application effect but also because they were more fundamentally based on a unique design philosophy:

For functionally homogenized products, the additional value comes from design. Because CWSs often have similar locations, the premium of a certain space depends on its aesthetic and functional properties, both of which are closely related to design. Design is an essential element to spaces. A space without design is an incomplete product.

Interestingly, although space is defined to be a desirable product, interviewee E didn't see their design philosophy as user oriented. This is because practically it is hard to gather users' requirements before they could actually feel and use the "product." What designers could do is to consider inversely for the final users because even if they indeed benefit from the well-designed product, they may not realize those details and ideas behind them. The specific methodology is in accordance with this design philosophy:

We observe users' behaviours and habits and also listen to their feedback. Our experience gradually builds up during that process. When users feel less and less of your product, actually your design is getting better and better. Because everything is natural and smooth. My wish is that one day users will find it more comfortable and convenient to stay in our spaces than at home. That means they have developed a dependence upon our spaces.

Be it service or design, any company's core business has to be realized through daily operation. In interviewee E's opinion, the advantage of their brand is the application of design thinking to daily operation: "We've started to design their own operation manual to gradually establish a management system. The purpose is to build a standardized, flexible and efficient service system which offers user-friendly services with its systematized tools." In this sense, design and service are not an either-or option for operators; rather, they converge at the key thing, space: "Eventually, what CWSs ought to develop is the capability of understanding, transforming and operating the space."

Profit Source: Rent or Property?

The general view of co-working has changed since it was firstly introduced to China as a new office concept and practice. Just as interviewee A frankly stated: "For the public, the difference between hackerspaces, incubators and CWSs used to be quite ambiguous but it is getting clearer. Co-working is a commercial operation, therefore it must follow business rules." In other words, these companies need to make profit, no matter what their core business is.

The three issues: market positioning, core business and profit source are fundamentally correlated. Because the majority of CWSs in Shanghai are providing similar products and services to the same group of target customers, their sources of profit are almost identical. More specifically, they charge tenants for their access (may be graded) to the space, facilities and services. As heavy-asset companies, the profitability is unsatisfactory, which forces them to look for other sources of income. First of all, CWSs would try different ways to fully exploit values of the space. For instance, interviewee C admitted that they would receive rental or shared revenue by leasing their spaces to other companies or event organizers. Another common practice is to get actively involved in commercial activities. This solution is consistent with the business strategy that interviewee A and interviewee B both identify with. Interviewee B explained that once user loyalty was built up, the company would start operating an electronic mall on which artists and designers residing in their spaces could present their products and potential customers—other tenants are able to trace the designers/makers. For the company, their profit is realized based on tenants' mutual trust built through the daily operation.

Interviewee D and interviewee E acknowledge that revenues largely come from the appreciation of properties, but their attitudes are contrary. Interviewee D criticized that with the support from real estate capitals, most local CWSs made profit easily by simply playing the role of sub-lessors. In contrast, interviewee E believed that sub-leasing was definitely not the optimal choice:

This place is about 100,000 RMB per square metre, and the total value is 400 million. My yearly rental is about 2 million. If I take one third of the appreciation, once the asset rises from 400 to 500 million, I would receive 30 million automatically. How long does it take for me to earn that 30 million if I only charge the 2 million yearly rental? So the logic of this game is quite simple: through our reconstruction and operation, the service is upgraded; therefore, users are willing to pay a higher rent. Consequently, the asset value is increased, in which way the economic value of our reconstruction and operation is also realized.

Obviously, the share from the asset appreciation is the company's core source of profit. Interviewee E further clarified that in the future they hope to function like an asset management company. This necessarily requires the capability of operating financial products. Therefore, interviewee E believed that it would become a common practice to cooperate with fund companies to guarantee that properties would stay in trading.

Community: Space–Activity–Network

Among all the topics that emerged during the interviews, community is special fundamentally because it is a node where other problems meet and converge. Interviewees' narrations demonstrate a consensus that community is a key feature of CWSs that distinguish them from traditional offices. However, their specific notions and strategies of community building and operation still differ greatly on physical, behavioural and functional dimensions.

Firstly, with regard to the physical space, interviewees have contradictory evaluations. As was discussed in earlier sections, interviewee D criticized the design of most local CWSs because in her view the space and facilities were not arranged to encourage or facilitate interaction. According to her, WeWork is a positive example because certain things and scenes that might stimulate socializing behaviours such as casual chatting have been given thorough consideration during the stage of space design. For interviewee A and interviewee E, however, frequency and efficiency of utilization is the primary concern in terms of space design. Specifically, interviewee A emphasized convenient accessibility to all their spaces so that tenants could use public areas for different purposes (partying, meeting, etc.) with flexible time, location and billing options. As a strong supporter of engineering thinking, interviewee E believed that a good design could enhance utilization and usability of the space. He also stressed that the operation team was responsible for keeping the stage, that is, the spacious public area rotating by continuously filling in suitable activities. This leads the discussion of community from its physical conditions to the behavioural dimension: activity.

Space is rigid but activity is flexible. This means that activity is not only more crucial but also more complicated with regard to developing and maintaining a community. In fact, interviewees' disagreements are especially obvious in terms of how to organize what kind of activities to facilitate interaction and to create a sense of community.

Interviewee C explained that they had routines such as “Lunch and Learn,” which were casual occasions they organized for old and new members to get to know each other and share information and expertise. He mentioned that members were encouraged to organize events by themselves as well, in which way they could form mutual connections voluntarily. Interviewee B told the researcher that activities were planned and provided according to the unique identity of each space. For the space where the interview took place, all kinds of art exhibitions were often held because that space was customized for tenants from art and creative industries. In interviewee A's perspective, salons and

forums introduced from outside are stiff activities if tenants don't really need them. Therefore, they would ask for their particular requirements and then provide them with appropriate activities. He emphasized a principle of event organization: "It is vital to remember our activities are not intended to educate people but to facilitate communication and resonance between two equal subjects." Interviewee E was very proud of the high utilization of their public areas. Like interviewee A, he also believed that operators should carefully select activities:

Activities should be carefully planned and organized. You must combine activities of different contents and themes, control the intensity, rhythm and length of time. The activity team should work like editors. Their task is to find activity organizers. When you have enough suppliers, you can do the exchange. For instance, a free venue could exchange for lots of good contents. The ideal scenario is: when our place becomes a well-known venue for activities, it will become a go to place.

Functionality is a more fundamental factor that determines the former two dimensions. In other words, why would tenants interact and network during certain activities at certain spaces, but not others? What are their motivations? What are their concerns?

It took interviewee B's company a long time to figure out how to connect their members with communities from outside, and how to develop communities within the space. Initially they cooperated with a professional team, which brought in different communities to connect with tenants of the space by organizing thematic workshops. The advantage of this approach is that with the active atmosphere and connections built through those activities, communities would gradually emerge amongst tenants themselves. Interviewee B believed that once communities were formed, tenants would take the initiative to organize activities that suit their purposes, and CWS operators need to play only the role of a facilitator:

If a tenant has an idea of organizing an activity, we will help to improve the plan and realize it. No matter which place he/she is based in, there are actually more than 20 spaces to play with. Yes. I think our job is to amplify the influence of one site or one person, and then accomplish the goal by devoting time, energy and money. That is what our brand is doing.

The above narration shows interviewee B's optimism about tenants' motivation and the actual result of community building. However, a real conundrum is: no brand ever claimed to have found any formulae of community building,

even though standardization of operation is crucial for achieving the scale effect that CWS brands all target for. The difficulty lies precisely in the nature of socializing in the business setting. Just like interviewee E pointed out: “Adults definitely have the sense of distance during social interaction. In commercial communities, barriers exist naturally.” Therefore, interviewee E argued that it was unnecessary to worry excessively about community construction simply because “A co-working space is not a university dormitory.” To add to his argument, interviewee E explained a more fundamental reason:

Social interaction is necessary. Community is necessary. Just like making a car, you must also make tires and saddles, etc. But eventually, you cannot say that your job is to make leather saddles. I agree that community is necessary but our core business is space construction. Community and social interaction are extra values but not the main value.

As is discussed earlier, most users of CWSs in Shanghai attach great importance to business connections and resource integration. Therefore, interconnectivity is often advertised as a main selling point of CWSs. However, interconnectivity as such is more like a consequence of structural factors, that is, the integration of resources of all spaces within the same brand. As a result, companies like WeWork and naked HUB would attract more quality customers, thereby further stabilizing their advantageous status in the market. What is described here concerns the pragmatic understanding of community and the related instrumental way of socializing, both of which are characterized for the pursuit of immediate commercial effects and the neglect of sharing and interaction processes.

Conclusion: Co-working Equals Socializing?

Deviation or Localization

Since the establishment of the first CWS in the United States, co-working has been regarded as an innovative office practice that facilitates sharing and socializing. The core competitiveness of CWSs lies in the exchange and cooperation platform formed by entrepreneurs and freelancers from various backgrounds. In other words, people choose to be co-workers based on the expected agglomeration effect of CWSs. Ideally, a CWS is a matured community in which cooperation across companies and industries are generated through exchange of resources, information and expertise.

The profile of CWSs in Shanghai seems to be a far cry from the ideal case, judging from the particularities and conundrums analysed earlier. Local CWSs are more like well-designed containers of which facilities and services are exquisite, but the soul—community—is lacking or underdeveloped. In the United States and the EU, typical co-workers are start-ups, SMEs and freelancers in the software industry or art and creative sectors. Contrarily, as a stable source of rent, tenants from traditional industries are generally welcomed by most CWS operators in Shanghai because at present survival is prior to market positioning. Generally, CWSs that facilitate community building would develop on condition of the robustness, if not the dominance, of the knowledge economy. In China, the development of CWSs are largely driven by real estate and financial capitals. Therefore, most local brands adopt the resource-oriented approach in accordance with the conventional business model.

But, if CWSs in Shanghai are treated not simply as a deviation but as an example of localization, what can be learned? In this regard, the specific profile of CWSs in Shanghai could be a relevant case for rethinking the essence of co-working—socializing in the business context.

Difficulties and Limitation of Business Socializing

In modern society, keeping a sense of propriety in socializing is a normal etiquette. Moreover, it is reasonable for anyone to stay wary and vigilant in a business environment. The propriety becomes a psychological barrier to socializing in the circumstance of co-working. Hence in a business setting, it requires great sincerity and delicate techniques to “hit” the softness of each individual. Just like interviewee A summarized: “it is almost impossible to plan and implement a networking activity while at the same time doing all in an inadvertent manner.” Natural socializing is casual, the outcome of which is contingent. This explains why replication of successful cases normally wouldn’t do. The difficulty of standardization is precisely the dilemma faced by CWS operators.

Apart from these practical difficulties, socializing in the business context has its fundamental limitation, which too often is overlooked. For instance, it is believed or advertised that business cooperation could be generated through casual chatting in the prosocial atmosphere of CWSs. In reality, the efficacy of un-utilitarian social interaction is rather limited. This is because interpersonal communication often generates small circles, which would become exclusive as the rapport grows stronger.

To summarize, it is unpractical or even impossible to combine natural socializing and commercial purposes, especially if scale effect is the pursuit of CWSs operators. As a comparison, virtual interaction is much simpler. Tenants could

use social apps and other platforms developed by operators for information exchange and problem-solving. Usually, things put on posters are in rigid demand; questions will be noticed and responded by operators or other tenants. This contrast inspires the researcher to reconsider the essence and functionality of community. Yes, community building is necessary and crucial. Like interviewee A pointed out: “Community is a major factor that would determine the result of differentiation. It is fundamentally associated with the identity of a CWS brand.” A probing question would be: how to build and operate a community? But, shouldn't we firstly ask a reflexive and perhaps more primary question? What kind of community? Do we have to copy the American model?

So far, no conclusion could be drawn because co-working as a new workplace practice is still transforming as it is spreading across the world. Nonetheless, it is certain that localization will be a main direction for future research. Interviewees' narrations actually indicate their awareness of localization. For example, Interviewee E described the strategy of community building and operation, which could be viewed as an alternative to stereotypes that had been established and associated with western co-working brands.

A community manager must be curious about companies and members in the space, because that curiosity would turn into a driving force of the community. But this sets high requirements for people holding this position, so we hope that community operation could rely more on systematized methods and that the whole process could be controlled at a macro level. Specific techniques and tools could be taught to the staff for the purpose of effective and efficient interaction with space members. In a word, we do not look for people who are naturally good at socializing. Rather, we train responsible staff to be qualified community managers.

The above description of the systematized approach suggests an emphasis on efficiency and control, which is a common understanding of community operation shared by local operators. This is a major distinction between local and western co-working companies. In fact, the difference in community construction and operation echoes the division of two types of CWSs: (1) a CWS that is an environment or a platform, of which the nature is to be defined and achieved by its members—actors of knowledge exchange and community building, and (2) a CWS that is a leading actor but this leadership is subtle because the hierarchical structure is dissolving and ineffective in the context of technological innovation and knowledge economy. Since local users of CWSs have the particular requirement of business interconnectivity through resource integration, it is natural and reasonable for operators to play a more active role. As the particularities and conundrums of CWSs are identified in this

preliminary study, future research could take this pragmatic standpoint as a reference while investigating localization of CWS in other cities and areas. After all, as CWS is a for-profit practice, it has to follow business rules. Even in this open and sharing ambience, business cooperation does not just emerge but has to be cultivated and planned.

For a long time in the industrial age, workplaces were generally perceived as the site where the act of working took place. While the nature of working is gradually transforming, conventional workplaces are also iterating. By comparing serviced office, incubator and third spaces with CWS, researchers highlight three interrelated characteristics: knowledge sharing, community and collaboration as core competitiveness of co-working. Further development of CWSs not only spread the trend of co-working but also generated its diversification. As is shown in this research, the contrast between sharing and integration questions the romanticized view of community as a natural accumulation of knowledge workers or more broadly, mobile workers. In this way, it has emphasized the importance of revisiting the origin of co-working: the relationship between work and workplace. In this sense, simple generalization of the American model could be criticized for its ignorance of the other side of that correlation: workplace innovation would also remould the nature of working. In the context of CWSs in Shanghai, this refers to the triggering and organizing role played by CWSs' operators. A relevant question for future research is: how to define their work? If their job is to plan and cultivate business cooperation through community building, could it be considered as a new form of creative work, even if there is no knowledge production involved? Another issue relates to the physical aspect of CWSs. Although openness and accessibility are regarded as general characteristics of CWSs, little is known about how office design has fundamentally changed our working habits without us really noticing it. In this sense, more empirical studies would bridge the gap between the study of creative work and workplace research.

Notes

1. Some other researchers attribute the co-working phenomenon to global recession and in particular to the transition in the property supply sector. In this research, economical concerns are regarded as peripheral conditions rather than constituting the essence or core values of co-working because they are inadequate to differentiate CWSs from merely shared offices or more economical options such as third places.
2. <http://blog.coworking.com/about/> (accessed September 26, 2017).

3. The 2nd Global Coworking Survey is carried on and presented online by Coworking.com: <http://www.deskmag.com/en/coworking-spaces-in-the-us-and-the-eu-a-comparison-498> (accessed on August 15, 2017).
4. The only exception is naked HUB (裸心社: <https://www.nakedhub.com/zh-cn/>) which is a subsidiary of the naked Group, a giant in luxury hotel and resort industry.
5. URWORK (优客工场): <https://www.urwork.cn/>
6. WEPLUS: <https://www.weplus.com/>
7. MIXPACE (米域): <http://www.mixpace.com/index.php/Home/index/index.html>
8. CREATOR (创邑): <http://www.creator.com.cn/>
9. DoBe Group (德必集团): <http://www.dobechina.com/>
10. To keep the anonymity of interviewees and their companies, individuals' names are coded as A, B, C, D and E, and they are not associated with the brand's name.

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12

Enhancing Creativity Through Workspace Design

Louise Suckley and John Nicholson

Introduction

Creativity and innovation have been discussed in the context of differing spatial dimensions: national, regional; from the perspective of localized clusters of innovation within places; and at the dimension of face-to-face contact (physical co-proximity). Creativity within an organizational context can be greatly influenced by the characteristics of the physical environment in which each stage of the creativity process is undertaken, whether this is providing the personal, private space for individual contemplation or working with others for elaboration and evaluation (facilitating physical co-proximity). The design and layout of the space in which this work is undertaken can be a key enabler or constraint of creative working and therefore creativity itself. Rather oddly, in an increasingly micro-level focus on space in the creativity and innovation literature, the most micro-level dimension (office space) has not been thoroughly examined through a synthesis between the facilities management literature and the innovation and creativity literature. The most micro-level physical space or environment for knowledge work is most often in the form of an office that is furnished with desks, chairs (workstations), and meeting

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rooms. Though the design and the allocation of this space can vary across organizations, for the purpose of this chapter, this most fundamental definition of the physical space will be referred to as ‘workspace’.

The Hawthorne experiments in the 1930s (1940) were one of the first studies to identify the role of the workspace on creativity, innovation, and work performance, and have since been studied in a range of fields including environmental psychology, ergonomics, architecture, sociology, and human resource management. Organizations are increasingly regarding their workspace as a core element of their innovation strategy. For high-tech companies, this is clearly evident when seeing images of the offices at Google or Facebook or watching the film *The Internship* to see the use they make of the physical environment to support creativity such as using chalet lifts for meeting spaces and providing bean bags and hammocks for individual work—using unusual design to stimulate creative thinking and dialogue.

Organizations also create and use spaces specifically designed for innovation known as ‘Innovation Laboratories’, defined by Lewis and Moultrie as ‘dedicated facilities for encouraging creative behaviours and supporting innovative projects’ (2005). These began in the early 1980s, with the first being developed by the US company, MG Taylor, with their Navigation Centres. These were collaborative workspaces designed to encourage organizational communication and learning through flexible environments with movable furniture, write-on surfaces, and multimedia tools for group working. More recently, Innovation Laboratories have been used increasingly as a strategic response to challenges in the area of organizational capability development and learning (Oksanen & Ståhle, 2013; Smeds, 1997). But also used widely by government offices such as UK Department of Trade & Industry, MaRSSolutions Lab, Nesta, and GovLab for improving understanding in areas of food, health, technology, work, and learning and more general future centres; as well as those used in private sector companies in the areas of retail (e.g. Lowes), manufacturing, finance, and consultancy firms (e.g. Deloitte).

For organizations that are not in the high-tech industry or constructing dedicated facilities for innovation, one of the greatest debates around creativity and innovation is how to design the office layout and in particular whether this should be ‘open plan’ or ‘closed private’ offices, or a dialectic combination of the two layouts. Open plan has been defined by Van der Voordt (2004) as being workspaces that house 13 work stations; and cellular or shared offices as 3–12 workstations, making anything less than 3 classed as single, private offices.

Often, the decision on the office layout is made by facilities managers and is largely influenced by making the most quantitatively ‘efficient’ use of the

space. Open plan tends to win favour because of the tangible economic benefits such as higher occupant density, increased net usable area, and the ease with which reconfiguration can be made if necessary (Duffy & Powell, 1997). There is so much more to the design of the workspace, however, than just space efficiency. The layout of the workspace also has a significant influence on the way that people use the space as well as being a signal of organizational culture, both of which have implications for creativity. Hence, there is a significant efficiency-effectiveness dichotomy in the design of the workspace that may often prejudice efficiency over effectiveness.

Within this chapter, we begin with an examination of the purpose of the office to bring people together to creatively interact (rather than merely be physically co-proximate) and how office designs have changed over recent decades. We then move on to consider the nature of today's knowledge workers which workspace is designed for and examine their changing needs. We then move on to consider approaches that have been advanced about workspace design and individual creativity to support privacy and concentration as well as colour and lighting. We also discuss the issue of spatial fixity and fluidity by considering boundaries between spaces and the spanning of those boundaries by individual agents. Following this, the ways in which collaboration can be supported through the workspace is then examined in terms of the location of individuals in the office and their proximity. Finally, consideration is given to the ways in which the balance between privacy and collaboration can be achieved through the workspace, in providing a range of working environments and encouraging movement through the office.

The Development of Offices

The development of the modern office emerged alongside the rise of the industrial age due to the need for clerical factory work. Frank Lloyd Wright's 1903 Larkin Building is often cited as an archetype of this era (Sundstrom & Altman, 1989), with workers seated in row after row and supervisors gazing down upon them from a panopticon (pan-opticon) in order to maintain a high degree of control. Within this workspace, the main aim of design was to ensure that the workers performed the tasks they were assigned in the most accurate and efficient manner, and locating the supervisor with a high degree of visibility was a design focus. The advancement of construction technology and an economic revival after the Second World War enabled the construction of taller office buildings, bringing with it a more generous workspace. Demands from managers and supervisors for individual offices created the

office as a symbol of status as those seen in Snow's (2000) *Corridors of Power*. The size of the office and the furniture that it could accommodate symbolized managerial status, with the more senior managers having space not only for a sizeable desk but also for a meeting table, coffee table, and easy chairs. The influence on workspace design at this time was for bureaucratic and egotistical space. The rise of professionals in the post-war era, with the increase in commerce, also increased the demand for individual as opposed to shared offices. There was a need for functional space that allowed concentration and independence for these workers. Creativity and creative space was not even a consideration.

In the 1960s, the *Burolandschaft* or *landscaped* office was introduced as an alternative to private or *cellular* office layouts. This incorporated an irregular arrangement of desks across an open plan space with displaced lines of furniture and promoted an increased openness and equality as well as a freer flow of information (Sundstrom & Altman, 1989). The popularity of this layout spread across Europe and North America in the 1960s and 1970s, supported by the design of flexible furniture (see Propst and the Action Office). However, this office layout did not fit well with a traditional managerialist hierarchical culture, and with the rise of energy costs, the fashion returned to cellular offices (Price, 2008). Not all of the old designs of cellular offices were embraced, however; solid walls were frequently replaced with glass walls which allowed for auditory privacy but maintained the visual connectivity such as that identified by Van der Voordt (2004) in the development of the 'combi-office' in Scandinavia.

Manifestations of the combi-office design tend to dominate today's office environment, where there are private cellular offices (that are not always glazed) alongside open plan working and are complemented with a range of informal and formal meeting spaces. The working practices that accompany the office layout design can be explicitly stated through the allocation of dedicated workspace, bookable meeting rooms, specified break times, or alternatively the design can give rise to an implicit understanding of what the workspace can be used for. In order for the right message to be communicated to occupants, organizations need to have a clear understanding about how they want their employees to work; whether they want a high degree of interaction, or more individual-focused work; and which groups of employees do they want to interact. For instance, is there a value in inter-functional and inter-departmental interaction, or is the value of interaction only evident between cognitively proximate individuals, say within the same functional area? Are the day-to-day tasks of some workers mostly bureaucratic rather than creative and therefore the design of their workspace as creative, value

neutral or potentially even value destructive? The design of the workspace and the location of individuals/teams within the space can play a key role in achieving the desired balance of interaction and privacy, which are key components of the creativity process.

Designing Workspace for Knowledge Workers

Many of those that occupy today's offices can be classified as 'knowledge workers', where there is a need for individuals to apply theoretical knowledge that involves learning as opposed to repeating formulae or scripts (Greene & Myerson, 2011). This learning tends to be around solving complex problems such as coming up with new products or services, addressing supply chain issues, or streamlining production—and so key to this is the generation and realization of ideas (Hennessey & Amabile, 2010; Wuchty, Jones, & Uzzi, 2007). The process of creativity is now widely accepted to be a combination of individual concentration and intuition, and collaboration with others (Amabile, Conti, Coon, Lazenby, & Herron, 1996; Boden, 1992; Csikszentmihalyi, 2007). Workers need time on their own to prepare and define their ideas, research the plausibility of ideas, and elaborate their thoughts, but they also need time with others to discover ideas, validate them, and evaluate their original thoughts. All of this takes place through a non-linear, reiterative, and messy progression (Amabile et al., 1996; Haner, 2005; van de Ven, Polley, Garud, & Venkataraman, 2007), and so to support this, the workspace and its accepted use should encourage free-flowing movement and flexibility.

However, not all knowledge workers are the same in the work that they undertake, and so it is not appropriate to adopt a generic approach to the design of the workspace to support individual and collaborative work. Greene and Myerson (2011) identified four 'character types' of knowledge workers based on their degree of mobility in, around, and outside of the office environment. The first type of knowledge worker is the *Anchor* who is the typical sedentary office worker that can be found reliably at their desk in the office on a daily basis. Most of their tasks are desk based and movement around the office is minimal (apart from the use of functional spaces such as meeting rooms or kitchens). Due to their inevitable physical co-presence, they can be considered to be a hub in the office environment and are a key source of information, though they like to organize their day with set times for formal and informal collaboration, individual work, and social activity. The second type of knowledge worker is the *Connector* who spends half of their time at their

desk and the other half around the office building: at colleagues' desks, in meeting rooms, or in informal meeting spaces such as kitchens or cafes. Their interaction is largely internally focused, depending on contact with people from different departments across the organization. They have a need to be able to take their work with them when collaborating with others, using technology to support this. This character (agent) type performs a boundary-spanning role between different functions.

It is pertinent here to briefly mention the role of boundaries when we move from a discussion of *workspace* to the plural, *workspaces*. Hsiao, Tsai, and Lee suggest that:

A 'boundary' is a demarcation, or a sphere of activities, that marks the limits of an area, which may include knowledge, tasks, as well as hierarchical, physical, geographical, social, cognitive, relational, cultural, temporal/spatial, divisional, occupational, and disciplinary boundaries. (2011)

We can also speak of the boundary-spanning actor as an agent in space and time. One utopian perspective would be that all levels of an organization interact with all others all the time—known as a multi-level collective bridge (Zhao & Anand, 2013). However, utilizing boundary agents are a more utilitarian way of identifying which aspects of knowledge need combining and, indeed, which knowledgeable agents need to interact to further creativity. A connector largely fills this role internally between functions, mitigating the need for more complex and eclectic knowledge-sharing exercises.

A third element in the taxonomy is the *Gatherer* who may span boundaries between organizations as well as within. They bring knowledge, information, and connections back to the office during their working week. Around half of their week is spent at clients' offices, or other neutral locations, travelling regionally, and the other half of their week is spent in the office. In this sense, the Gatherer must make an optimal judgement of what length of time to spend in different spaces in order to further creativity. For this type of knowledge worker, the office is a place where they can distil and disseminate the information, business, and new relationships that they have gathered. In these sense, the office is their recipient space. They need space that will allow them to concentrate on processing and reviewing information but also allow them to collaborate with relevant colleagues inside their recipient space. Their requirements are only for half of the week, so they are often not provided with a specific desk of their own; instead, they work on a shared desk or hot desk.

The final type of knowledge worker is the *Navigator* who relies mainly on relationships away from the office, working for the organization at arm's

length, such as a contractor, consultant, or nomad salesperson. They come into the office on a few occasions throughout the month for meetings and require a desk where they can set up their laptop and begin working immediately. During their day in the office, they need to be allowed to concentrate but also collaborate with others to disseminate the progress that they are making. Most importantly, they need to be made to feel part of the organization, given the ideas and external knowledge that they can bring is so valuable and undertaken in a relatively short space of time. The Navigators have significant knowledge of external conditions, but if not properly integrated into the workspace, their knowledge can remain privately embedded and not disseminated within the organization. The design of the workspace to maximize their interaction, potentially serendipitous interaction while physically proximate, is a key design consideration.

Each of these types of knowledge workers has different requirements from the workspace, not only in terms of dedicated desk space and ergonomically designed furniture but space where they can concentrate as well as space to collaborate. They must also consider which other spaces they must interact and boundaries they must cross. This research demonstrates the need for the office environment to offer more choice to occupants in terms of the tools and spaces that are available and the power to be able to use them as and when needed.

Achieving the right balance from the physical space for concentration and collaboration for the different types of knowledge workers, offering that choice and variety, as well as nurturing the desired implicit understanding of how to use the workspace, can be a complex process for organizations. We now look at some of the key workspace variables that have been suggested to influence individual, intra-personal creativity and those for collaborative, inter-personal creativity and then consider how to strike the right balance for the complexity that is the creativity process.

Workspace and Individual Creativity

There are periods within the development of ideas where individuals need to be alone with their creativity for private thought and contemplation, such as thinking through their idea, undertaking background research, or for developing the idea for validation. The workspace in which this takes place can support and enhance this stage of creativity, from the colours that are used, accessibility to natural light, as well as the levels of privacy that are offered—both visual and auditory. In the design of a service environment, Slåtten,

Mehmetoglu, Svensson, and Sværi (2009) have suggested three components to design: first, ambience (sound, light, and scent); second, the flow of interaction within the space; and third, the physical design of the tangible elements within the space. We propose that these factors are equally pertinent to workspace design. The use of specific colours in wall decoration has been examined in experimental studies for their influence on the creativity of workers undertaking specific creative task performance. Ceylan, Dul, and Aytac (2008) found that calming colours (e.g. green, blue, or blue violet) provided a relaxing experience which was valuable for creativity; and McCoy and Evans (2002) found more vibrant colours (e.g. yellow, pink, red, or orange) to be sources of inspiration. Access to natural light has also been considered as an influential factor on the creativity process, in terms of the benefits of sunlight entering into the work environment (Ceylan et al., 2008), the quantity of light that individuals are exposed to (Knez, 1995), and the value of having visual access to natural environments (e.g. trees, plants) from the work environment (McCoy & Evans, 2002; Stone & Irvine, 1994).

Privacy in the work environment is also an important element that influences intra-personal creativity. Visual privacy can not only provide the worker with a reduced level of distraction which will enhance concentration, but it also reduces the likelihood of being interrupted by others who are not aware of their presence. Visual privacy can be provided in the work environment through walls that create a cellular office or partitions of varying heights that can be attached to desks. A number of studies have been undertaken that support the perception that partitions create a sense of privacy and are positively related to environmental satisfaction that is beneficial to creativity (Desor, 1972; Sundstrom & Altman, 1989). Greene and Myerson (2011) also discussed the benefits of permeable boundaries such as curtains or screens that can be moved and adjusted to provide privacy and quiet as well. The physical boundaries not only create the visual privacy but also the auditory privacy that allows individuals to concentrate on their own thoughts or have private conversations.

The inter-personal distance between individual workers and the proximity of workstations to others is a further area of study in understanding the influence of the physical environment on creativity. A study of the face-to-face communication patterns of research engineers undertaken by Allen (1984) and Allen and Henn (2006) are frequently cited examples—concluding that knowledge workers are most likely to interact with colleagues in their immediate vicinity, with this interaction declining rapidly after 30 metres. To increase the likelihood of face-to-face communication and collaboration, therefore, workers should be located in relatively close proximity. They also

found that communication was influenced by ‘perceived’ distance, so if workers are separated by a staircase or corridor space but are still less than 30 metres apart, then their likelihood for communication is reduced. Therefore, in designing workspaces for individual concentration, perceived distance should be considered with the inclusion of corridors, which still then allows for the most efficient use of space.

So far, we have considered the individual being located on their own, in a private, quiet, naturally lit room (or partitioned area) located remotely from other workstations. An alternative perspective to this approach is Social Interference Theory, introduced by Evans, Johansson, and Carrere (1994) that suggests that the more ‘dense’ an environment, the lower the chance of collaboration. This is because the more noise that there is in an environment, the greater the ability of individuals to block this out and concentrate harder on the task at hand. Adopting this viewpoint would mean that workstations are best being located in close proximity to allow for individuals to concentrate, and the need for individual private spaces is unnecessary.

Workspace and Collaborative Creativity

Creativity also requires individuals to collaborate with others, to spark ideas, sound out thoughts, and discuss the implementation of ideas as innovations. The value of workspace for supporting and stimulating the collaboration of workers has been widely accepted (Becker, 2004; Duffy & Powell, 1997; Laing, 2006). Most of the research in the field of creativity and the physical workspace considers the office layout and the extent to which it can facilitate interaction either across the workstation to others in close proximity or to encourage movement across the floor space.

Inter-personal communication is core to collaborative creativity, and a study undertaken by Boutellier, Ullman, Schreiber, and Naef (2008) found that office layout influenced the frequency, duration, and interval of this vital creativity component. Boutellier and colleagues studied the interactions of managers who undertook broadly similar work activities within the same organizational culture in an R&D firm, but different office layouts formed the basis on this investigation. One group occupied individual cellular offices with access to an open informal shared space, and the other group occupied an allocated workstation in an open plan layout with access to meeting and support spaces. They found that managers occupying the open plan layout communicated three times more often than those in the private offices, and this communication tended to be for shorter periods of time (three minutes

on average, compared to nine minutes by the other managers). They also found that these managers went for longer periods of time without any communication, compared to those in the private offices. This would suggest that being in an open plan work setting not only encourages communication that is relatively concise, but it also enables occupants to undertake concentrated work when communication is limited.

Locating individuals in the groups in which they work will enhance the opportunity for communication due to their proximity. They can overhear colleagues' conversations which they can help with or could serendipitously spark ideas and thoughts. Indeed, it is possible to speak of planned serendipity as a design idea (Eagle, 2004). Appel-Meulenbroek (2010) found that physical 'co-presence' was the most important factor on knowledge sharing since people in close proximity tend to interact more, and it is easier to provide 'unquestioned' help. This can be beneficial, but can also establish a degree of territoriality, where workers feel that they 'own' the tangible aspects of specific location (e.g. desks, chairs, printers, kitchen facilities) as well as the intangible elements (e.g. an idea, conversation). Sundstrom and Altman (1989) identified the notion of 'boundary territoriality' where the physical environment occupied by a group governs the way that the group works, the flow of information and resources into the group as well as out. Demarcating the group in this way leads to the sense of protecting the group members and the work that they produce, which establishes strong support for the ideas that are produced.

However, this can give a somewhat blinkered view, given that there is little outside stimulation offering different perspectives which are a key element of creativity and the development of innovations. This approach is akin to Granovetter's theory (1983) on the strength of weak ties. When there are strong connections between a small number of individuals, they begin to think in the same way, and the development of novel ideas becomes limited. It is much better for creativity and innovation for less frequent and weaker connections to be made with a larger number of individuals, since there is access to a much greater number of perspectives, resources, and stimulations. The boundary-spanning role (i.e. the Gatherer or the Connector) is a key element in bridging structural holes between spaces (Burt, 1992) or alternatively to generate relationships outside of the group. It could mean relocating individuals on a timely basis, locating individuals with people that they don't directly work with, or encouraging movement away from the group.

Hua, Loftness, Heerwagen, and Powell (2010) undertook a study with 308 occupants of 27 different workplaces in the US to explore the relationship between the spatial characteristics of the workspace and the perceived support

they offered for collaborations between the occupants. They considered the size of the individual workstation, the level of enclosure (based on the height of the desk partitions), the inter-personal distance between the co-workers, the density of the workspace (number of workers within 25 feet), and whether the workstation had a door (open cubicle or closed office). They also considered the distance from each workstation to the nearest shared spaces such as meeting spaces (formal and informal), printing/copy areas, and kitchen areas. Analysis of the self-assessment questionnaires provided about the collaborative nature of the workspace showed that meeting rooms and workstations were best located in close proximity in order for the shared spaces to be perceived as supporting collaboration, though these rooms require 'good acoustic isolation to prevent them from becoming distraction sources' (Hua et al., 2010, p. 820). Meeting rooms were found to be best located either at the corners of the floor space or at the centre to create the shortest distance. They found that printing/copy facilities were most effective for supporting perceived collaboration when located as a 'service hub' rather than being scattered across the floor space, which were instead considered to be more of a distraction. With regard to the kitchen/coffee areas, they could be located at a greater distance from the workstations and still be perceived to support collaboration and were not considered to be a source of distraction as was the case for the printing/copy facilities. This study shows the value of movement in the design of the workspace and using facilities as a means to encourage informal interaction and chance conversations between colleagues but to also relocate noise-distracting activities away from workstations where concentration is required.

Hillier and Hanson (1984) developed the methodology of Space Syntax Analysis (SSA) as a means to understand the physical spaces that can enhance or inhibit social interaction, based upon a number of spatial elements. One of the elements included in this analysis is the visual connectivity of the space which identifies the spaces that are easiest to find and so are the space where social interaction is most likely to take place. Open plan workspaces that have limited physical barriers have a high level of visual connectivity in comparison to cellular offices that have an abundance of physical, visual blockers. The application of SSA to a workspace floor plan can highlight areas which are 'hot spots' for visual connectivity, and the design of the workspace should capitalize on the opportunities that they create for social interaction. This can be done through the location of a 'service hub' to encourage collaboration or serendipitous interaction, or the location of key boundary-spanning actors that would benefit most from the social interaction (see Suckley & Dobson, 2014; Wineman, Hwang, Kabo, Owen-Smith, & Davis, 2014).

Striking the Balance

Traditionally, workspaces have focused on one particular layout (e.g. cellular offices or open plan) with a 'one-size-fits-all' approach. This has been primarily driven by the need to make the best or most efficient use of the space, uniformity to demonstrate equality, or even a lack of imagination. Any variations have tended to be where the workstation has been used as a symbol of status, based on the size of the office and the quality or size of the furniture provided. It is now increasingly recognized that this approach does not work as people have different working styles, either because of their personal preferences or because of the nature of their work. Because of these differences, their requirements from the workspace are also different, as shown in the four typologies of knowledge workers (Greene & Myerson, 2011). Instead, work environments need to offer a range of options, providing both spaces for individual work to allow for concentration and privacy, and spaces for collaboration.

Workspaces should include spaces that allow individuals to undertake tasks that require focus and privacy at their own desks through the use of physical barriers such as partitions, planting, or glass walls to reduce visibility in order to minimize opportunities for interruptions or distractions. When there is a need to collaborate, there should be meeting spaces that can be booked for planned meetings but also spaces for informal meetings that are unplanned.

Parkin, Austin, Pinder, Baguley, and Allenby (2011) researched the effectiveness of two layouts of academic workspaces that were designed to balance the need for collaboration and concentration. In the first layout, academics were allocated a desk in an open/shared office, but they also had other spaces available to them around the workspace such as individual cellular offices for use when more private, concentrated work was being undertaken; 'small pods' for use in noise-generating activities such as phone calls; as well as meeting rooms and a kitchen. In the second layout, occupants were allocated desks in individual offices that opened out onto an open space that included a range of breakout areas, kitchen facilities, print/photocopier 'hubs', additional storage, and a meeting room with access provided to additional shared/social workspaces. The views of the occupants of the two office layouts starkly contrasted in terms of the space and noise levels, privacy, visual disruption, and the accessibility of the spaces. Those in the first layout, with their 'default' location being in the open/shared office, were much less satisfied with their workspace to undertake concentrated and creative work than those with the 'default' individual office. Although alternative spaces were available for them to use,

they tended not to take their concentrated work to the supplementary spaces because of the perceived inconvenience and how this relocation might be viewed by their colleagues. This result suggests that it is important to not only provide the required range of workspaces but also to develop a culture that embraces the flexibility that they offer.

One way to do this is to design the physical workspace in a way as to encourage movement in workers, whether this is people moving from their individual offices or from an allocated desk in an open/shared office. Movement has been linked extensively with creativity (Gondola & Tuckman, 1985; Netz, Tomer, Axelrad, Argov, & Inbar, 2007; Oppezzo & Schwartz, 2014) not only in the physiological impact that it has on blood levels and chemicals changes but also with regard to mood enhancement and the diversity in the surroundings that are encountered during this movement (Bar, 2009; Rethorst, Wipfli, & Landers, 2009). Oppezzo and Schwartz (2014) undertook a series of experiments to measure the effect of movement on creativity using the Guilford's Alternative Uses test (1960) to measure divergent thinking and the Compound Remote Association test (Bowden & Jung-Beeman, 2003) to test for convergent thinking. Participants were asked either to sit or walk at a self-selected rate, with this movement performed on either a treadmill, around an indoor, or around an outdoor environment. They found that those participants that undertook some form of movement were substantially more creative in their thinking than those that stayed seated. The ideas that were formed during the experiments where the participants were moving were much more free flowing and novel, than those that were seated. Whether this is due to the physiological effects of activity or the external environmental stimulations, both were beneficial. Given that this is a relatively easy-to-implement strategy, movement should be encouraged in the workplace.

Peponis et al. (2007) outline two different models of workspace design that enable communication between workers and the exchange of information. Using the 'flow model', the workspace is most effectively designed around the flow of information and locating individuals that are required to communicate in close proximity. This model is supported by the work outlined earlier by Allen (1984) around perceived distance at which face-to-face communication declines. However, this approach does not account for individuals that regularly work with a wide range of different colleagues who cannot all be located in close proximity. The alternative model proposed by Peponis et al. is the 'serendipitous model' in which the workspace is designed to facilitate chance interactions between different workers and informal interaction. The provision of communal activity zones such as kitchens or print facilities and

communal eating spaces are used in the 'serendipitous model' to facilitate the opportunity for chance interactions. These zones can be considered to be similar to the notion of 'actants' introduced by Latour (2005) to describe inanimate objects that have the power to play an intermediary role in interaction. Based on his experience of town planning in New York, Gladwell (2000) took a view on what can be considered to be 'actants' in the form of communal areas, such as parks or laundries in a shared building. He suggested that such places should be placed in the most central location so they can draw from the most disparate parts.

Research undertaken by Dobson and Suckley (2015) explored the effectiveness of having such a centrally located kitchen area on the levels of interaction within a case study organization. They found that although the 'hub' kitchen had been designed to facilitate the interaction of the teams that surrounded the space, and it did draw many of the social actors together on occasions, it largely acted as a visual and auditory barrier that divided the organization due to the relative size of the workspace. The kitchen was in fact too big for the space. Using SSA (Hillier & Hanson, 1984), Dobson and Suckley calculated that the kitchen would have been more effective as an actant, had the office space been twice the size. Shared spaces, therefore, can be an effective source for drawing a wide range of people together to meet and interact, but their success at such communal focal points relies on a number of key parameters including their location and their size. Fayard and Weeks (2007) examined this further in their development of the concept of the 'water-cooler' effect, identifying five key influences on the success of an actant:

- **Accessibility:** The space must be easily accessible and be located where signs of occupancy can clearly be visually assessed, so that availability is easily known.
- **Proximity:** Spaces are more likely to be used if they are close by to the workspace occupants so having a range of communal focal points throughout the workspace will meet the need for proximity.
- **Privacy:** There should be a sense of perceived visual and auditory privacy for both informal and formal meeting spaces to be successful to allow workers to control the boundaries of their conversation.
- **Legitimacy:** Workers must feel there is a valid reason for being in the space where informal interaction could take place, or that it is generally socially accepted within the organization to interact in the space.
- **Functionality:** The quality of the equipment provided, furniture style and layout, as well as services and environmental conditions (air quality, temperature control, light) all influence the success of the meeting space.

All of these elements, therefore, need to be considered for the actants to have the desired effect of drawing people together to interact formally, informally, planned, and unplanned.

A final element to consider around encouraging movement through workspace design was introduced by Knight and Baer (2014) who have explored the effect of non-sedentary workspace on group performance in knowledge-related tasks. Work configurations that encourage standing rather than sitting are suggested to not only have a positive physiological effect on health by promoting increased activity movement levels but also promote affiliation through collective sense-making as well as decrease group territoriality and feelings of possessiveness of an object, that is, a desk, chair, or workstation. In their study on undergraduates, Knight and Baer found an increased level of group arousal when performing a creative group task in a room without seating, as well as a lower level of idea territoriality, than those in a room with seating. They conclude that the physical space did not determine the group performance, but rather by altering the space, it changes how people choose to interact with one another. Encouraging movement around the workspace to use formal and informal shared spaces as well as facilitate movement once the destination is reached is supportive of the development of new ideas and has interesting implications for workspace design.

Conclusion

As shown throughout this chapter, there are many elements to consider when using the physical office environment as a facilitator for creativity, which makes getting this right a most complex task. At the beginning of their consideration of the physical workspace, organizations should be clear about the purpose of the work environment with regard to the corporate image that it portrays, the people that they want to bring together, and the outputs that they expect to achieve. Following this, the nature of the occupant, their role, and preferred way of working needs to be taken into consideration as well as the knowledge that they bring to the organization and how this can be shared to best effect. The work environment should then be designed to provide a range of workspaces to support concentration, collaboration, inspiration, and dissemination.

Spaces for concentration need to be free from distraction, using colours, lighting, partitions, and furniture that support the development of ideas and access to the information and facilities required. For collaborative working, spaces for both formal and informal meetings should be provided that have

different degrees of auditory and visible privacy, and are easily accessible for planned and unplanned meetings. The design of shared spaces, such as kitchens, printers, water coolers, and photocopiers, also requires careful consideration in their location, size, and accessibility in order for them to have the desired effect as an 'actant'.

Alongside the design of the physical space, consideration also needs to be given to the location of employees within the workspace, particularly with regard to whether individuals should be co-proximate to their teams or mixed together, or if located together which teams should be located next to each other, as well as where they should be located in relation to the shared spaces, concentrated spaces, and collaborative spaces. The issue of boundaries and boundary spanning are important design characteristics here.

Accompanying all of the physical design elements are also the development of a supportive culture for employees to use the space as intended. Where employees are encouraged to work from an office if they require concentration or privacy, without offending those around them; or being encouraged to walk to another team to have a conversation rather than making an internal phone call; and not be frowned upon to spend time in the kitchen talking to members of another team. Getting the right balance between the physical space and cultural support will make a significant contribution to the facilitation of new ideas within an organization to help them achieve their innovation potential.

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13

The Darkness in Janusian Thinking: Considering the Relationship Between Creativity in the Workplace and Employee Well-Being

Michael Mustafa and Hazel Melanie Ramos

Introduction

Organizations are increasingly finding themselves in turbulent and dynamic environments characterized by heightened competition and unpredictable technological change (Miles, Snow, Fjeldstad, Miles, & Lettl, 2010; Morris, Webb, & Franklin, 2011). Consequently, existing approaches to competing in such environments are becoming obsolete. As a result, organizations are increasingly becoming reliant on their employees' ability to continually innovate and be creative as an important means to adapt to the unique environment they are facing. Thus, considerable importance and value are placed by organizations in the way their employees identify alternative ways to solving problems and how they use their creative knowledge (Shalley & Gilson, 2004). By increasing their ability to respond to unforeseen challenges and proactively developing new capabilities, employees' creativity is being seen by scholars and managers as a means through which organizations can gain competitive advantages (Agars, Kaufman, & Locke, 2008; Zhou & Hoever, 2014).

Centred on the notions of idea generation and ideation, various scholars have regarded employee creativity as a critical antecedent and “the first stage in the innovation process” (West, 2002, p. 356). Yet recent discussions in the literature have suggested that “idea generation by employees in the focal organization is

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not a prerequisite for innovation and can be generated by people outside the focal organization” (Anderson, Potočnik, & Zhou, 2014, p. 1299). This suggests that innovation and creativity in the workplace may not be identical constructs. In this chapter, we focus on the creativity stage of the innovative processes. Because of its importance to organizations, research on employee creativity in the workplace has typically focused on a range of personal and environmental factors that either facilitate or constrain such behaviours (Anderson et al., 2014; Hammond, Neff, Farr, Schwall, & Zhao, 2011). Yet, despite increasing calls for action, there continues to be only limited progress in understanding the outcomes associated with employee creativity (Anderson et al., 2014; Gilson, 2008; Shalley & Zhou, 2008).

Particularly lacking are considerations of how employees’ creativity can affect their well-being. Employee well-being refers to the presence of optimal psychological functioning (Deci & Ryan, 2008). While employee well-being has received significant attention among scholars of human resource management and organizational psychology, the creativity literature has paid surprisingly little attention to employee well-being. Some studies have suggested that employee creativity can improve their well-being by influencing employees’ affect (Amabile, Barsade, Mueller, & Staw, 2005; Rasulzada & Dackert, 2009). In contrast, a small number of studies have also suggested that there is dark side to creativity in the workplace (James, Clark, & Cropanzano, 1999), which can lead to mental or affective disorders (McCraw, Parker, Fletcher, & Friend, 2013; Ramey & Weisberg, 2004), thus reducing employee well-being. The objective of this chapter is therefore to develop a conceptual framework for understanding the relationship between employee creativity and their well-being. Specifically, we focus on how employee creativity can negatively affect their well-being.

Employee Creativity in Organizations

For organizations to successfully adapt and proactively act upon emergent opportunities in their environment, they need to encourage the proactive behaviours of their employees that promote firm-level entrepreneurship (Ireland, Hitt, & Sirmon, 2003; Miles et al., 2010; Morris et al., 2011). Consequently, scholarly interest in the phenomenon of employee creativity as a means of raising firm-level innovativeness has been increasing over the past three decades. Employee creativity has been referred to as the generation of both novel and useful ideas (Zhou, 1998; Zhou & Shalley, 2003) and is thus often conceived of as the “fuzzy front end” (Koen et al., 2002) of innovation,

which can be considered as successful implementation of creative ideas within an organization. Employee creativity represents a variety of complex behaviours and actions such as social, intellectual, and emotional competencies. This view of employee creativity has two important features. First, it views creativity as a subjective construct, socially bound by historical time and place (Amabile, 1983). Thus, what may be perceived as novel within a domain is likely to vary as a function of what already exists in that domain, and hence perceptions of usefulness are also likely to vary within a given domain at a given time (George, 2007). Second, creativity can be considered as value free in that any creative ideas may be useful for attaining either an evil aim or a morally good aim, and a fully implemented innovation could do harm or good or both (Amabile & Pratt, 2016; George, 2007).

Various approaches from disciplines such as social psychology (Amabile, 1983), cognitive psychology (Finke, Ward, & Smith, 1992), and personality theory (Barron & Harrington, 1981) have been used to understand employee creativity. Besides having the necessary knowledge and skills, employee creativity also requires a certain degree of intrinsic motivation on behalf of the individual as well as certain level of internal drive and resilience that pushes employees to persevere in the face of challenges inherent in organizational settings such as bureaucracy and a lack of communication (Georgsdottir & Getz, 2004; Shalley & Gilson, 2004). Numerous individual and contextual factors that enable or constrain employee creativity have been identified in the literature (Hammond et al., 2011; Woods, Mustafa, Anderson, & Sayer, 2018). Individuals' factors such as intrinsic motivation (Amabile, 1983), creative personality (Oldham & Cummings, 1996), learning goal orientation (Gong, Huang, & Farh, 2009), openness to experience (McCrae, 1987), creative self-efficacy (Tierney & Farmer, 2002), and affect and mood (Amabile et al., 2005; George & Zhou, 2002) have been identified as fostering employee creativity. With regard to the organizational context, factors such as transformational leadership (Gong et al., 2009; Shin & Zhou, 2003), positive, leader-member exchange (Tierney, Farmer, & Graen, 1999), supervisor expectations (Tierney & Farmer, 2004) autonomy (Liu, Chen, & Yao, 2011), the presence of creative role models (Zhou, 2003), team-level cognitive diversity (Shin, Kim, Lee, & Bian, 2012), and team knowledge management processes (Sung & Choi, 2012) have also been identified as fostering employee creativity.

However, there has been only limited progress in understanding the personal outcomes associated with employee creativity in the workplace. Specifically, relatively few studies have examined the links between employee creativity and their well-being in the workplace (Gilson, 2008). The overwhelming majority of research tends to view employees' creativity as a win-win:

not only do organizations that promote employee creativity benefit in terms of effectiveness but also the very employees report greater job satisfaction and psychological well-being (Mustafa, Martin, & Hughes, 2016). This is because creativity creates new challenges for workers, as well as opportunities for personal and professional growth (Amabile, 1996). In addition to this, researchers have often associated creativity with the experience of positive energizing emotions such as enthusiasm, optimism, and happiness (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999). Creative employees are also said to be more engaged in their roles and are likely to find greater meaning in their work (Tavares, 2016). However, being creative in their jobs can also have negative consequences on employees' well-being as well.

Scholarship into the creative process has identified two key dimensions of creative thinking—divergent thinking and cognitive flexibility (Spiro & Jehng, 1990). Divergent thinking refers to the ability to go beyond traditional mindsets and think outside the box, while cognitive flexibility signifies the ability of individuals to adapt to their mindset depending on changing scenarios and events (Gino & Ariely, 2012). During the creative processes, it is not uncommon for creative individuals to break rules and question the status quo. In fact, it is something that is expected of them. James et al. (1999) criticized the lack of appreciation for the negative aspects of creativity. They mentioned that many tend to ignore that creative thinking comes at a price and that a great deal of creative effort is accomplished at a negative cost. While it can be argued that the good outweighs the bad, it leaves a bigger question of who ultimately bears the costs and why? Recognizing the dark side does not negate the advantages of creative thinking nor does it aim to discredit the value of creativity. In the following sections, we describe how creativity can have negative consequences on employees' well-being.

Employee Un-well-being and Creativity

Given the dynamic work requirements and role demands of employees in today's dynamic operating environments, organizations are becoming increasingly cognizant of the physical and mental well-being of their employees. Protecting the well-being of employees from the risks and demands of their jobs is in the best interest of the organizations. Broadly, employee well-being has been approached from two different perspectives. One focuses on work-related well-being as being something positive (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001). Accordingly, this group of studies views employee well-being at work

as an enduring, positive and fulfilling affective-cognitive state (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004). Recently, the concept of work engagement has emerged as a popular way of conceptualizing positive employee well-being (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004). Characterized by vigour, dedication, and absorption towards one's work and job (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004), engaged employees are more cooperative, motivated, and more likely to display pro-organizational attitudes and behaviours such as reduced turnover intentions and absenteeism (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004). Broadly, such attitudes and behaviours can contribute the effective functioning of the organization.

In contrast, a negative un-well-being perspective has also been explored. For such scholars, employee un-well-being at work is typically associated with work-related stress and/or burnout. Work-related stress has been defined as a situation where work is both burdensome and produces little rewards (Cox, 1993; Leka, Griffiths, & Cox, 2003). Kivimäki, Vahtera, Elovainio, Virtanen, and Siegrist (2007) have argued that in such contexts, the term reward takes on a very broad meaning. As such, rewards do not necessarily refer to monetary rewards per se but can also include such things as prestige in the organization, opportunities to grow and develop in the organization, as well as general fairness of the work community. When stress is prolonged and becomes increasingly burdensome to the individual employee, it can lead to stress and ultimately burnout. Defined as "a syndrome of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and reduced sense of personal accomplishment" (p. 347), burnout is a special risk for individuals who work with others and roles require significant cognitive abilities (Leiter, Maslach, & Frame, 2015). When employees experience burnout, they can become increasingly emotional and physically exhausted; they may also develop a cynical attitude to work and experience a decline in professional efficacy (Maslach et al., 2001).

According to the UK Health and Safety Executive report on work-related stress and burnout, poor employee well-being (i.e. stress) has accounted for 37% of all work-related illnesses in the UK in 2015–2016. This is equivalent to about 11.7 million work days lost or 23.9 days lost per case (UK HSE, 2016). The negative effects of poor employee well-being (i.e. burnout) are far reaching and affect not only productivity at work but also the quality of service that employees provide. It can also affect the creative employees' co-workers well-being and productivity as well. Both work-related stress and burnout are thought to occur in situations where there are high demands on work, and the employee has access to few personal and/organizational resources necessary to buffer their high work demands (Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner, & Schaufeli, 2001).

Although a certain level of stress and pressure can drive employees to excel, stress and burnout resulting from long-term demands at work are bound to negatively influence employee well-being (Amabile, Hadley, & Kramer, 2002). Jobs of the twenty-first century, and especially those in the service sectors, increasingly require employees to display personal initiative, develop specific social capital, and specialized knowledge and to be creative (Frese & Fay, 2001; Landy & Conte, 2016). Consequently, creativity is recognized as a central requirement of contemporary work and something that is expected of all employees across at all organizational levels, and thus represents a specific job demand. Creative work and behaviour are not linear in nature but are instead highly complex and emotional (West, 2002). Moreover, creative activities are often in direct competition with employees' regular and routinized activities in the workplace (Kanter, 1988). Janssen, Van de Vliert, and West (2004) have further suggested that the process of generating unique and novel ideas is likely to load employees with extra tasks, for example, acquiring resources and acting politically, and thus may be highly demanding in nature. Such requirement of behaving creatively can thus be both stressful and physically and emotionally exhausting for an employee (Janssen et al., 2004).

Creative work is also highly emotional in nature. Amabile et al. (2005) conducted a seminal study on the relationship between subjective well-being and creativity. They found that positive well-being is a direct consequence of creativity. Thus, creativity and emotions are naturally intertwined, creativity can be fuelled by emotions and also be a producer of emotions as researchers have long argued that the attributes of creativity (idea generation, imagination, experimentation, and flexibility) bring about a plethora of emotions that could lead to positive and negative well-being (Munt & Hargreaves, 2009). Hence the natural synergy between the two cannot be undermined. In the following section, we consider some of the ways through which creativity may negatively affect employee well-being.

Depletion of Personal Resources

Support from an employee's organization, co-workers, and their supervisors (Shin & Zhou, 2003) alone may not be a sufficient condition to encourage and sustain their creative endeavours. In fact, in recognizing employee creativity as complex behaviour (Nemiro, 2002), one also must recognize that it requires social, intellectual, and emotional competencies and resources in order to be carried out successfully. Additionally, given that creativity process may involve numerous setbacks, if employees want to succeed in their creative

endeavours, they also need significant personal resources (Bakker & Xanthopoulou, 2013). Scholars have described personal resources as specific characteristics that form an individual's self-beliefs in their ability to control and impact upon the environment (Hobfoll, Johnson, Ennis, & Jackson, 2003). Thus, an employee's personal resources are expected to increase their potential to respond to the work environment in a proactive manner, regardless of the organizational and occupational context (Mäkikangas, Feldt, Kinnunen, & Mauno, 2013). Personal resources such as optimism, resilience, and self-efficacy (Gawke, Gorgievski, & Bakker, 2017) may be particularly relevant to those employees involved in creative work. Optimism reflects a broad sense of positivity and is related to an individual's positive inclination towards life. Optimistic individuals approach difficulties with fervour and determination (Snyder et al., 1991). It has been shown to help individuals cope with frustrating work, particularly those in environments that have high job demands (Forbes, 2005). Resilience on the other hand echoes an individual's ability to adapt to difficulties and changes, especially during dynamic and turbulent times (Block & Kremen, 1996). It reflects the ability to recover from difficulties and the ability to remain "tough" even when times are hard (Luthar, 2006). Finally, self-efficacy is associated with one's belief in one's ability to succeed in a situation (Bandura, 1977). Whereas optimism and resilience represent broad judgements, self-efficacy reflects a capacity judgement made in a specific arena. It is positively related to an employee's creative performance at work (Tierney & Farmer, 2002).

A key feature of personal resources is that they are relatively malleable psychological constructs which are open for development. Gawke et al. (2017) argued that when individuals engage in innovative and creative endeavours, they are likely to experience personal growth because of increased personal resources. According to Bandura (1977), a central element in the achievement of self-efficacy and optimism is the achievement of goals which relate to the experience of success. For example, when employees engage in creative work and successfully conceptualize the idea to fruition, they become more optimistic and self-efficacious and are more likely to expect that they can be successful in future endeavours as well. Scholars have also suggested that creativity fuels a gains spiral whereby creativity fuels positive affects which in turn fuels proactivity and further creativity (Strauss & Parker, 2014) as well as optimism, happiness, and increased feelings of self-worth (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999). Salanova Soria and Schaufeli (2004) argued that the positive experiences lead to the development of more prosocial behaviours.

However, these personal resources are also subject to experience, and one cannot discount that creative endeavours are not without costs. Drawing

upon the conservation of resources theory (Hobfoll, 1989), creative endeavours require energy and resources (Grant & Ashford, 2008), and the more resources one uses, the more strain it can cause to the employee. Creativity is underpinned by the notion of thinking outside the box to generate new ideas, seeking support for these ideas, and moving the ideas forward towards a tangible product or initiative. In many ways, we can argue that engaging in creative work necessitates complex problem-solving skills and increased investment in resources (Janssen et al., 2004). This increase in workload could lead to the depletion of personal resources and increase employee stress (Bolino, Valcea, & Harvey, 2010). It may also detract employees from other critical tasks that they must perform as part of their role in the organization.

Additionally, the creative activities of employee may also be met with considerable uncertainty and resistance from other employees. Thus, employees who engage in creative behaviours may end up developing a fear of failure and rejection (Groth & Peters, 1999). Such feelings can ultimately end up eroding an employee's resilience and optimism regarding their creative efforts. In the long term, such erosion in their personal resources can lead employees to be disengaged from their work and ultimately experience exhaustion and stress (Demerouti et al., 2001). Although engaging in creativity may increase personal resources in the form of optimism and self-efficacy, it can also deplete other resources because of the increased job demand. In line with the Conservation of Resources theory, when creative employees feel that their personal resources have depleted, they are more likely to experience other work-related strains, resulting in increased anxiety, stress, and eventually burnout.

Alienation and Conflict with Co-workers and Supervisors

In the workplace, well-being can be maintained by having good social support structures from one's co-workers and supervisors. These help the employee cope with the stress associated with workload and other job demands. Because the workplace functions as a social institution, peer acceptance and recognition can serve as an important factor to promoting well-being. While it can be easy to deal with collective achievements at work, individual achievements can be at times considered socially unacceptable (Goncalo & Staw, 2006). Although creativity at work can lead to significant benefits such as pay increases, enhanced promotion opportunities, and the development of personal resources, it can also have undesired social consequences, such as social alienation and being ostracized (Janssen et al., 2004). Social alienation and

ostracism has been considered as harmful and is commonly associated with reduced affective commitment, job satisfaction, career motivation, work effort, and work-to-family enrichment (Chiaburu, Diaz, & De Vos, 2013; Tummers & Den Dulk, 2013).

When employees are socially alienated or ostracized in the workplace, they are more likely to view themselves as separate from their fellow co-workers, supervisors, and even clients/customers. They may also lack a common social and cognitive framework to effectively interact with such individuals in the workplace. Prior research has suggested that socially alienated and ostracized employees typically view their work only as a means of satisfying extrinsic rather than intrinsic needs (Chiaburu et al., 2013). Moreover, when employees begin to view their creative efforts as meaningless, this can lead ultimately to frustration and disengagement from their work. Creative individuals are also often characterized as having a strong sense of self-efficacy, optimism, divergent thinking, behavioural devotion, and change orientation (Edl, Benedek, Papousek, Weiss, & Fink, 2014). They are also known to rock the boat by interrupting organizational procedures and practices and fostering competition between different interest groups. While such characteristics may be necessary to generate novel and useful product, ideas, or solutions and to push through with them (George, 2007; Zhou & George, 2001), the process of doing so and the individual achievements arising from it are likely to place creative employees in conflict with their social environment. There are several ways which creative employees can alienate and ostracize themselves from their social and work environments.

According to Kirton (1976), creative employees often “break with the past and accepted theory” (p. 623) because of their strong cognitive control which allows them to remain highly task focused by suppressing irrelevant information (Edl et al., 2014). This may nevertheless lead creative employees to be insensitive towards co-workers or team members, thereby threatening group cohesion and cooperation. In fact, prior research has shown creative employees to be more disruptive in their behaviours and to be more arrogant towards fellow co-workers and supervisors. Not surprisingly, such actions by creative employees may run the risk of creating unnecessary and destructive interpersonal conflicts with co-workers and supervisors.

Creative employees with strong personal initiative and change orientation may also cause further conflicts and social alienation, especially with their supervisors, as such individuals may tend to resist changes and directives from above (Anderson, De Dreu, & Nijstad, 2004). New ideas upset predictability, which are often equated with fairness or goodness in the workplace. Moreover, as creative

employees may place higher priority on achieving their personal goals over collective and group goals (Oyserman, Coon, & Kimmelmeier, 2002), they will be more likely to push to make the necessary changes happen in order to fulfil their creative needs. While such actions may benefit organizations as a whole, supervisors of creative employees may view their creativity as a specific risk and cost, which they might not want to be held responsible for (Janssen et al., 2004). Accordingly, creative employees may constitute a specific threat to their supervisors, which can lead to an eroding of the employee-supervisor relationship, and/or their authority. Similarly, by engaging in creativity behaviour, employees might also engage in dishonest behaviours (Gino & Ariely, 2012) and deviate from the accepted group and organizational norms. Co-workers and supervisors may view such behaviours of creative employees as lacking a collectivist spirit and immoral in nature (McGinn & Milkman, 2013) and thus may choose to disassociate with such employees and not provide creative employees with support or resources to carry out their creative activities (Furst & Cable, 2008). Broadly, such activities may lead creative employees to gradually develop a sense of estrangement and alienation from fellow co-workers and supervisors. In the long term, such alienation and ostracizing can lead to loneliness, personal frustration, and reduced overall well-being (Siegrist, 2016).

Job Stress and Grief

Not all creative endeavours succeed. For new and novel ideas to turn into successful innovations in organizations, they need to gain management's approval as well as support. However, every time an employee chooses to step outside the box, they do so by taking on some degree of risk and with risks come uncertainty. Grief is a reaction triggered by the loss of something of value (Archer, 2001). It is a natural reaction to the loss of something such as death, divorce, and loss of a job. Although the death of a creative idea is by no means comparable to the death of a loved one, the loss is likely similar (Archer, 2001). This is because according to bereavement literature, the extent of one's negative reactions to loss is dependent on one's appraisal of the event (Folkman & Lazarus, 1985). The bigger the appraisal of the loss, then the more negative will be the emotional response (Scheck & Kinicki, 2000). Negative emotions associated with grief include sadness and depression (Archer, 2001) as well as anxiety and anger.

Creative employees know that generating ideas and translating them into tangible products is long and often arduous process. Creative endeavours, like most innovative projects, are essentially experiments with uncertain outcomes (McGrath, 1999). Failure may come in various forms ranging from failed ideas

to lack of resources and inability to gain management support. For example, an idea may be deemed too small to warrant new investments in technology, the new idea may not be in line with the organizations' strategic vision, or competitors may have erected barriers that make it very difficult to enter the market. According to Royer (2003), when the proponents of the project have strong and passionate attachments towards the project, the setbacks are often felt as emotional blows. Similarly, creativity is demanding in both physical and mental aspects, which usually evoke substantial cognitive and psychological stress. Yet an organization may often under-reward the investments made through a creative process (Janssen, 2004). Such negative emotions generated by failure and non-recognition of creativity can hamper the learning process (Shepherd & Kuratko, 2009). The ability to learn from one's failed endeavours is central to the success of future innovative projects (Shepherd & Kuratko, 2009), and learning from failure involves the ability to regulate these negative emotions. This ability is dependent on various personal factors such as the individual's grief orientation, personality, and self-efficacy. Employees who employ a "loss orientation" towards grief are more likely to focus on the failure, which leads to further escalation of the grief (Nolen-Hoeksema, McBride, & Larson, 1997).

Being creative also exposes such employees to increased criticism and negative feedback. Receiving negative feedback can hinder the development and even reduce self-efficacy which could bring about negative emotions such as worry, frustration, and depression (Cangiano & Parker, 2016). These experiences are linked to their perception of fairness and justice in the organization. In his study among line managers, Janssen (2004) found that perceived fairness mitigated the negative effects of "demanding innovative behaviours" on stress. When employees feel that their efforts are not valued, they are more likely to experience negative affect (Janssen, 2004), making them more prone to feelings of demotivation, grief, and even emotional exhaustion. Collectively, such features can negatively impact an employee's emotional well-being. Figure 13.1 presents a conceptual model of the ideas developed earlier.

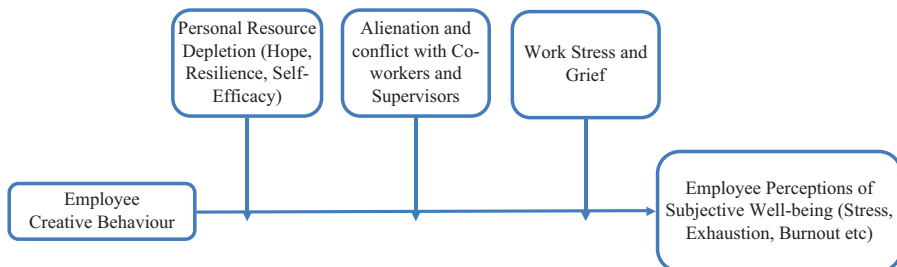


Fig. 13.1 Conceptual model

Practical Implications

Several practical implications emerge from our discussion of how employee creativity can negatively influence their well-being in the workplace. First, managers and organizations alike need to recognize the potential positive effects of employee creativity on well-being. For instance, employees' creativity can serve as an important mechanism through which they can build their self-esteem, optimism, and ultimately their self-worth (Fay & Sonnentag, 2012). Yet doing so, employee creativity can increase their career satisfaction (Kim, Hon, & Crant, 2009) and enhance their perception of being valuable to the organization (Stamper & Masterson, 2002). However, managers and organizations must also be cognizant of the fact that employee creativity may come about in complex ways. To make creativity "work", employees must be willing to take charge of situations and go the extra mile to make things happen. Such efforts, however, can add further physical and cognitive demands to employees on top of their core duties (Bolino et al., 2010). To cope with such situations, employees may draw on their personal resources, which may ultimately weaken their abilities to cope with further demanding situations.

For employees to perform successfully in their creative roles and positively contribute to their organization's effectiveness, they need to be able to manage and build on their own personal resource. Hence, to prevent role stressors from arising and causing strain, managers and organizations can provide structural and psychological support to creative employees. For instance, managers and organizations can provide regular training and development to develop creative employees' skills and abilities to better be able to manage their positive psychological states (e.g. optimism, resilience, etc.) and stress in the workplace (Ozer & Benet-Martínez, 2006). Some examples include allowing creative employees to have scheduled downtime or arranging job rotation within the organization. Doing so can to some degree reduce the physical and cognitive demands associated with creative work and give creative employees the opportunity to psychologically "re-charge". Such approaches can be further complemented with stress management interventions, debriefing, and peer support programmes that increase the awareness of the possible adverse health effects associated with creativity. Additionally, supportive work superiors and colleagues have been shown to reduce excessive work demands and increase well-being (Danna & Griffin, 1999). In this regard, promoting greater awareness on the importance of sharing the responsibility of creative work with immediate line supervisors or other colleagues can help reduce the role demands associated with creative behaviour.

Second, managers and organizations must also realize that despite their unique attributes, creative employees may only comprise a small portion of their entire workforce. Prior research has shown creative individuals to possess unique genetic polymorphisms, which differentiates them from the normal population (Kéri, 2009). Besides possessing the typical attributes of creativity such as divergent thinking and flexibility (Guilford, 1950), creative employees are also known to display artistic moodiness, nonconformism, hostile impulsivity, and an excitable (“up-and-down”) personality (Mohan & Tiwana, 1987; Tierney & Farmer, 2011). The principle of homophily suggests that people tend to associate with those who are most similar to them on critical social dimensions (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954). However, in the workplace, creative employees may stand out from other employees and colleagues because of their unique attributes as well as their behaviours. Hence, colleagues of creative employees may find it difficult to work with such individuals, and thus may seek to minimize their interactions with them. Moreover, if creative employees feel that they are being constrained in achieving their ambitions, they may withdraw from their social connections and engage in unethical or malevolent behaviours in order to achieve their goals. Such actions can challenge established organizational and group norms and may lead to interpersonal conflicts with management and fellow colleagues and ultimately alienation.

Such outcomes can not only be detrimental to the individuals involved, but it also can reduce organizational effectiveness and functioning. In preventing such outcomes, managers and organizations can consider implementing measures that increase the opportunities for employees to interact with each other and establish strong connections between them to exchange ideas within organizations. For example, managers can provide support for the development of relationships within the organization’s boundaries via informal meetings, creating virtual teams which can enhance the scope and diversity of social capital, and help reduce instance of interpersonal conflict.

It is also essential for managers and organizations to acknowledge that few novel ideas are actually adopted and implemented by organizations (Baer, 2012). More importantly, many creative ideas and innovations are fraught with pitfalls, such as cost overruns and/or resistance from management and colleagues. This can lead to early termination or even failure of innovative ideas at times. Because of the significant investments in time and personal resources by creative employees towards actualizing their creative ideas, rejection of novel ideas and/or project failures can have devastating psychological and emotional implications for such employees (Royer, 2003). In trying to minimize such situations, managers need to acknowledge the potentially pivotal role of feedback in determining the well-being outcomes of employee creativity. How feedback is provided to employees engaged in creative work has the

potential to considerably influence the outcomes of creative behaviour, by either enhancing or reducing creative employees' sense of psychological safety (Shalley & Gilson, 2004). For example, when managers fail to recognize or provide overly critical assessment of employees' creative efforts, this may trigger a conservation of resources mechanism, stress, and ultimately lead to frustration or embarrassment. This in turn may discourage further attempts to be creative and may lead to the employee disengaging from their work and the organization. Consequently, managers should consider feedback that is praiseworthy in nature and that focuses on behaviours of creative employees rather than the outcomes of their behaviour. Ideally, such praiseworthy feedback should focus on raising creative employees' need for competence, autonomy, and relatedness, as these are key motivators to be creative in the workplace.

Finally, managers and organizations should indeed strive to create organizational conditions which encourage self-directed and discretionary behaviours such as creativity. This can be done in several ways. One way is to provide structures and process so that creative employees' novel ideas can be evaluated in transparent and fair manner by the management. This can go some way in reducing the negative emotional outcomes associated with rejected proposals of ideas. Furthermore, management needs to be cognizant of the types of evaluation and recognition practices they put in place for employees' creative efforts. For instance, having performance evaluation systems which formally assess frequency and valence of creative effort may give the impression to employees that is "expected" from this. This can have negative consequences for creative employees, as it can place undue pressure and stress for them.

Future Directions for Research

This chapter sought to understand how employee creativity in the workplace can negatively impact their well-being. Although under-researched, such an issue is becoming increasingly important to understand for both academics and practitioners, given the changing nature of work in the twenty-first century. The discussion and points raised in this chapter provide an obvious starting point for future research in better understanding this topic. First, from a methodological viewpoint, future research looking at the outcomes of employee creativity from a well-being perspective remains highly conceptual and lacking in empirical evidence. In particular, we advocate the use of both explorative qualitative and longitudinal research to explore the mechanisms through which employee creativity may undermine their well-being.

Second, theoretically, future research should aim to reveal the role of emotions in relation to employee creativity and well-being. Emotions are quintessential to

human experience and influence one's thoughts but also their actions. How emotions are experienced and displayed at work can strongly influence the extent to which employees experience stress and burnout (Zapf, 2002). The concept of emotional labour provides a unique means to understand how emotions are experienced and displayed at work and their impact on employee well-being (Salovey & Mayer, 1990). Throughout creative endeavours, employees have to deal with fellow colleagues and supervisors. In order to maintain healthy functioning relationships with such individuals and avoid conflict, creative employees may need to regulate their emotions. However, little is currently known regarding how creativity can deplete an employee's regulatory resources. Hence, future research may wish to examine how emotional labour strategies of creative employees may mediate the relationship between their creative behaviour and their well-being.

Finally, it is worth to further investigate into the conditions under which employee creativity can negatively influence their well-being. Much of the discussion in this chapter has focused on factors in the employees' work or organizational context that may negatively affect the relationship between their creativity and well-being. However, employees may be part of multiple social environments, for example, their work, team, family, or community. Therefore, it would be worth investigating the impact of factors external to the employees' work/organizational context. For example, employee creativity is taking place in an ever-changing and increasingly globalized environment. One characteristic of such environments is that job security is becoming the exception rather than the norm for many employees (Guillén, 2001). Thus, a lack of job security may create extrinsic incentives for employees to be creative at work in order to impress management and to meet performance requirements. Such situations can well place additional burden on employees, increasing stressors associated with their role. Hence, we urge future researchers to consider how changes in labour and employment conditions and in particular employee-employer relationships may affect the relationship between their creativity and their well-being. Similarly, future research may wish to examine how work-life conflicts and in particular negative spillovers from the home environment to the work environment can also impact the relationship between employee creativity and their well-being.

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14

Creativity: Transformation of Adversity

Alia Weston and J. Miguel Imas

Introduction

In this chapter, we explore creativity as the transformation of adversity by communities that live at the margins of our society. By marginality, we mean the kind of social purgatories described by Wacquant (2007) that define communities who are primarily poor and territorially displaced from mainstream society (Imas, 2015). Although these communities are typically associated with favela or slums in less-industrialized contexts, we do find them in (post) industrial societies (Wacquant, 2008). Adverse conditions imply a fluid, crisis-driven uncertainty and high-risk environment that is faced on a daily basis by marginalized communities. These conditions are emergent, ongoing, and operate outside the dominant economic system under very informal and improvised socio-economic structures. Such conditions can be seen to make these communities more resilient, as they constantly seek to innovate and find ways upon which to re-invent themselves in order to survive. Pavlidis (2009) defines these practices as “adversity capital,” the kind of precarious practices that empower individuals to recreate their productivity and meaningfulness in

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their own terms. De Certeau (1984) identifies these practices as the everyday “tactics” that marginalized communities employ to sustain their lives.

Ideas on adversity capital and everyday (creative) tactics of the marginalized invite us to re-think ideas on creativity and expand our understanding beyond the classical confines of psychology, art, and organization. In work contexts, creativity is often defined as “the ability to produce work that is both novel (i.e. original, unexpected) and appropriate (i.e. useful, adaptive concerning task constraints)” (Sternberg & Lubart, 1999, p. 3). It has also been linked to resilience and improvisation (Fischer & Amabile, 2009; King, 1997; Richards, 2007). We do not follow mainstream definitions such as this, because they reflect a relatively stable idea of society and social change, and do not fully account for the practices of marginalized people who exist in ongoing hardship as a way of life. Our focus is on understanding how marginalized communities fluidly produce and reproduce their distinctive ways of surviving and, in this way, engage creatively. This work is important because it contributes to our understanding of the ways that marginalized people build creative agency and resilience in the face of ongoing adversity. Equally, it gives us greater appreciation of the ways that those who are marginalized organize to sustain their livelihoods, when they have no choice over their everyday challenges, and the substantial contribution they make to economic productivity. Creative agency, after all, can emerge in the most unlikely of places by people who are normally discounted as being creative.

The chapter is structured as follows. We first develop our conceptual perspective of creativity in adversity and explain how creativity unfolds in contexts of ongoing survival. We comment on the ways that people in different marginalized societies across the world practice survival tactics and gain agency through working in the informal economy. Following this, we present our field research to illustrate how people engage in creative survival tactics. We recount narratives from marginalized workers in Zimbabwe that demonstrate how they creatively overcame adversity during the devastating socio-economic crisis that engulfed the country in the 2000–2009 decade. The chapter concludes by emphasizing the significance and implications of this research, both for those involved and for our wider understanding of “creativity at work.”

From Adversity to an Economy of Creative Survival

In the following section, we unpack our underlying conceptual perspective. We explain our notion of adversity and how this can be seen as a form of capital. Following this, we describe how people build creative capital in contexts of adversity, engaging in creative survival tactics to subvert, or transform, their

everyday challenges. Finally, we elaborate on the ways that people undertake informal work as a form of creative survival, noting that these practices may become so pervasive that they constitute an alternative economy based on creative survival.

Building Creative Capital in Adversity

The notion of adversity brings to mind positive psychology and resilience. For example, in the context of healthcare, resilience has been described as a process of rebounding from adversity (Hunter, 2001, p. 172). In this work, we do not take this position, and instead we refer to adversity as the ongoing hardship, or way of life, that is experienced by marginalized/precarious communities. From this perspective, marginality characterizes disenfranchised individuals and communities who live and work in disorder, at the fringes of society (Wacquant, 2007), while precarity reflects the sense of dispossession and vulnerability that they experience in every sense (Butler, 2004, 2012). Adversity may be experienced through a lack of employment, education, healthcare, or any other vital social services and is often an interrelated combination of these experiences (Davidson, Bunting, & Webb, 2012). Equally, the prolonged nature of everyday hardship makes this a radically different experience in comparison to stable societies (Vigh, 2010, p. 155). From this perspective, we define organization as the way in which disenfranchised people organize themselves within their ongoing context and experience of adversity in a manner that enables them to carve out an informal living despite having minimal opportunities (Imas & Weston, 2012). In doing so, we acknowledge the often-disregarded economic productivity of the disenfranchised (cf. Imas, Wilson, & Weston, 2012).

Within this frame of adversity, the concept of “adversity capital” offers a way to think about how those involved gain agency and make a living despite hardship. Pavlidis (2009) positions adversity as a form of capital that can be used by marginalized people for their own empowerment and transformation within precarious social conditions. She argues that people can use their life experiences as “assets,” and that adverse experiences may be used advantageously to organize oneself through a risky social terrain. Drawing on this concept in the context of precarious work, Walsh (2016, p. 90) suggests that adversity capital enables marginalized people to actively confront precarity and navigate their economic hardships. As we have suggested elsewhere (Imas & Weston, 2016), people/communities are highly creative and transformative in the ways that they go about surviving in

precarious conditions. We see adversity as a kind of creative capital that enables marginalized people to organize themselves through hardship, wherein they use their adverse conditions to their advantage. Although we position adversity here as “advantageous,” we wish to caution against a romanticized view of adversity. It is not our intention to glamorize survival as unquestioningly vibrant and optimistic nor do we wish to perpetuate stereotypes of the “carefree, cheerful pauper” that negate people’s suffering (Dezeuze, 2006, p. 6). However, we do wish to share the view that adversity is not necessarily hopeless and that it can be overcome (Eggerman & Panter-Brick, 2010; Kleist & Jansen, 2016).

Adversity has been connected with creative resilience in the context of community healthcare and therapy. For instance, Hunter (2001) suggests that resilience may involve adversity being viewed as a challenge that can be overcome through being creatively courageous. Metzl and Morrell (2008) position creative thinking as a trait that can enhance the ability to be resilient in adversity, with the aim of attaining increased life satisfaction and reduced clinical stress. In a parallel line of scholarship, Richards (2007) (also contributing to this volume) denotes “everyday creativity” as the ability to be resilient in everyday (mundane) situations such as fixing a home or raising a child. It involves the ability to improvise and adapt to the challenges of life in a way that is beneficial to mental health. From an organizational perspective, authors have also explored how people engage in creative improvisation with limited resources when faced by emergent crises. For instance, Fischer and Amabile (2009) cite Weick’s (1993) work on the Mann Gulch crisis, where firefighters survived a devastating forest fire by improvising in unexpected ways beyond the limits of their training. Similarly, King (1997) documented the creative problem-solving of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) team when the Apollo 13 space mission was faced with unexpected, life-threatening mechanical failure.

These classical ideas on creativity have merit, but we argue that they are, nonetheless, limited in scope. Creativity may be expressed in the face of adversity or life-threatening events, but these instances are relatively short lived within an otherwise relatively stable social context. This does not account for the engagement of marginalized people who exist in ongoing hardship as a way of life, when there is no option to bounce back from adversity. Instead, we position creativity as the way that marginalized people derive creative capital in ongoing adversity in a way that enables them to use their adverse conditions to their advantage and organize themselves through ongoing hardship as productive members of society.

Creative Survival Tactics

Vigh's (2008, 2010) work on chronic conflict in Guinea Bissau alerts us to the social conditions of survival in ongoing crisis. He studied the ways that urban youth navigated civil war in the late 1990s and how they found possibility through their experiences. We see this as an entry point for understanding the social context from which creative engagements of the marginalized emerge in adverse conditions that are relentless. According to Vigh (2008), in contexts of chronic crisis, instability becomes the stable dimension, to the extent that it becomes the normal context from which people interpret their lives. This normalized context allows the possibility for action, but it is always foregrounded by an uneasy attentiveness to the uncertain social forces presented by crisis. Similar to the view of adversity capital, crisis becomes a context that enables action where one is always attuned, ready to navigate whatever possibilities arise, despite continual challenges. In Guinea Bissau, the ability to engage in "social navigation" is expressed through the Creole term *dubriagem*. It signifies that even within adverse conditions, there exists a space of possibility that one's life chances can be improved. In this space, *dubriagem* embodies the ability to actualize opportunities in an ongoing manner, and take advantage of adverse situations when faced with very few options, with the aim of moving towards better possible futures (Vigh, 2010).

This ability to actualize opportunities is not isolated to Guinea Bissau, of course. Parallel forms of engagement have been identified in a range of social contexts that are typified by ongoing conditions of adversity, social marginality, and crisis. All of these forms of engagement evoke a similar kind of flexible navigation through adverse social conditions and the ability to actualize opportunity through advantageously manipulating an unfavourable social system to one's advantage, when it is a matter of survival. For instance, the Brazilian term *jeitinho* (Barbosa, 1995; Duarte, 2006) and the Soviet concept of *blat* (Ledeneva, 1998; Rehn & Taalas, 2004) depict bending the rules and the advantageous use of social networks to work around a social system that offers few options. While the Hindi term *jugaad* from India (Radjou et al., 2012; see also Chris Bilton's chapter in this volume) and *se débrouiller* from former French colonies like Cameroon (Neuwirth, 2011; Waage, 2002) are both used to express the ingenuity of marginalized people who innovate to solve everyday challenges with very few resources. Similarly, *Jeito* in Brazil (a corresponding concept to *jeitinho*) (Scheper-Hughes, 1992), the ChiShona, *kukiya-kiya*¹ in Zimbabwe (Jones, 2010), and the Mexican *valemadrismo* (Alyss cited in Dezeuze, 2006, p. 6) epitomize the everyday survival tactics

that the marginalized use to get by and cleverly exploit whatever resources are at hand, as a way to turn hardship into an advantage. Jones (2010) provides an illustration of these everyday survival tactics by demonstrating how disenfranchised worker, Tapiwa, made artful deals to overcome ongoing economic hardship. Tapiwa worked at the Zimbabwe National Water Authority but was unable to feed himself for even a week with his salary, so he engaged in *kukiya-kiya* tactics to make ends meet alongside his job. While watching a card game in the marketplace, he noticed a man selling plumbing tools for an uncharacteristically low price. Tapiwa was not a plumber but knew enough to navigate his way through a deal, and deftly actualized this opportunity into a sizeable profit, by buying and reselling the tools in a single day through his networks. In this way, Tapiwa used survival tactics to manipulate the unfavourable situation to his advantage.

The notion of “tactics” can be traced back to Michel de Certeau (1984) who explored the subversive engagements of Kabyle (Algerian) migrants in France (Mitchell, 2007; Napolitano & Pratten, 2007). In his work, de Certeau distinguished between tactics and strategies. A strategy is enacted by those who are powerful through a calculated exertion of will, while tactics are the everyday practices employed by those who do not have control over the forces that shape their lives. A person employing tactics, or *bricoleur*, creates a space in which they subvert the dominant forces and use what is constraining them to their own advantage. They do so through a subtle and cunning manipulation of opportunities that arise at any given time. He suggests that this involves “being in-between” or “plural” in a state of readiness waiting for possibilities to arise, as well as the art of (re)using what one already has at hand. While de Certeau does not refer to this as a theory of creativity per se, he does suggest that these everyday tactics involve a certain degree of creativity.

Drawing on de Certeau, we see “creative survival tactics” as typically being engaged by the poor and marginalized who navigate conditions of adversity. This involves the ability to navigate challenging conditions and actualize opportunities in an ongoing manner (Vigh, 2010) that reframes adversity so that it is seen as an advantageous form of capital (Pavlidis, 2009; Walsh, 2016). It epitomizes a way of taking advantage of opportunities despite adversity as a way to survive in hardship by exploiting whatever resources are at hand (Jones, 2010; Scheper-Hughes, 1992). Equally, survival tactics reflect the capacity of disenfranchised communities to creatively subvert oppressive forces through everyday practices of resistance, and in some cases, this is expressed as a capacity for collective resistance and transformation (Imas & Weston, 2016). In other words, we argue that creativity is the ability of marginalized people to continually transform ongoing conditions of adversity by

using adversity as a form of social capital. The normalization of crisis allows a space from which opportunities can be actualized. In taking advantage of these opportunities, they tactically subvert their everyday challenges and use them as a catalyst for ongoing survival and transformation, despite the adverse conditions they face.

The ability to engage in creative tactics of survival is both a mindset and a habituation. The person engaged in tactics takes on an embodied, know-how, or way of being attuned to actualizing opportunities despite continual challenges (Scheper-Hughes, 1992; Vigh, 2008). At the same time it is also a habituation because the relentless conditions of ongoing adversity make it the (only) way of moving forward (Jones, 2010; Vigh, 2008). These are not chance interactions but intentional, artful deals, rich in agency that lead to pragmatic, critical solutions. Eventually, because it is necessary, it becomes a socially accepted form of engagement and people become socialized to behave in this way (Jones, 2010). As a consequence, survival tactics are not always seen as respectable engagements, since they involve trickery or the cunning manipulation of resources. But these (unsavoury) actions are always viewed within the immediate context wherein the rules are merely suspended since an opportunity is vital for continued survival (Jones, 2010; Scheper-Hughes, 1992).

The Economy of Creative Survival

In this section, we extend our ideas by exploring the ways that marginalized people productively sustain themselves through engaging in informal work practices, to creatively overcome their challenging conditions. We suggest that new patterns of behaviour emerge based on the cultural acceptance that adversity can be creatively overcome. Taking this a step further, we argue that these informal work practices may become so pervasive that they constitute an alternative economy based on creative survival.

The informal economy is defined as income-generating activities of the urban labour force that fall outside of the formal (dominant) labour market, or economy (Hart, 1970, 1973). The informal economy is a diverse sector of work which people engage in for many different reasons (Leonard, 2000). Over time the concept has gained prominence because of the recognition of the substantial number of people who engage in this way worldwide (Chen, 2007). In most cases, people engage in informal work because they are excluded from the formal (dominant) economy (Williams, 2010). The most visible type of informal work is street vending, but the majority of people

work in small workshops or are self-employed home workers (Thomas, 1992). In industrialized countries, people tend to engage in informal work as a way to evade formal regulations (Leonard, 2000), whilst, in less-industrialized countries, survival is the major reason why disenfranchised people engage in informal work (Gërkhani, 2004; Hussmanns, 2005; Imas & Weston, 2012). For instance, in Africa, it is often due to the collapse of the State since it cannot provide adequate security or employment for workers (Hansen & Vaa, 2004). New ideas on the informal economy emphasize the agency of informal workers, even those who are working on the basis of survival. For instance, Manfred Max-Neef's "barefoot economics" (Imas et al., 2012; Max-Neef, 1995, 2005) contends that informal activities redistribute agency to the marginalized as they become more recognized.

Some authors have attributed this shift to a creative agency wherein the informal economy is a space that aids survival within the most challenging social contexts (Konings & Foeken, 2006; Mawowa & Matongo, 2010; Pieterse, 2005; de Soto, 1989). A related idea is necessity entrepreneurship which recognizes the agency of informal entrepreneurs who survive in conditions of scarcity. Faced by economic scarcity and exclusion from society, entrepreneurs in Nigeria and Spain were empowered by a "survivalist culture" which drove them to create informal employment for themselves (Garcia-Lorenzo, Sell-Trujillo, & Donnelly, 2014; Mambula & Sawyer, 2004). In another line of thinking, researchers have also noted how disenfranchised people construct agency by using arts-based/creative practices to subvert organizational forms that have become redundant in precarious conditions. This agency is based on everyday forms of micro-resistance that enables people to transform their precarious conditions of unemployment, thus creating alternative forms of (informal) employment for themselves (Jackson, 2012; Kosmala & Imas, 2016). For instance, Vaz and Seldin (2016) have demonstrated the creative resistance of the marginalized favela community in the Maré Complex of Brazil, who subversively repurposed a factory into an alternative space of cultural employment. Similarly, in our own concept of organsparkZ (Imas & Weston, 2016), we highlighted how the *Fabricás Recuperadas* (occupied factories) movement resisted the imposed realities of the Argentine economic crisis, by transforming derelict factories into art galleries and theatres, as a way to create alternative forms of employment and social emancipation.

The idea of the informal economy as a widespread system of alternative exchange is now commonplace (Chen, 2007). As informal exchange becomes a space for opportunity and subversion, it forms new patterns of economic interaction which may develop into an alternative economy. This

is exemplified by the shift in socio-economic patterns that underpinned the development of the *blat* economy in the former Soviet Union, which was based on an alternative system of favours (Ledeneva, 1998; Rehn & Taalas, 2004). By extension, we argue that informal practices based on creative survival can also become so pervasive that they constitute new patterns of behaviour, in themselves, and thus create a distinct kind of alternative creative economy. This view is held by Neuwirth (2011) who distinguished this as the ingenuity economy. He maintains that this is a worldwide alternative economy based entirely on the resourcefulness of those surviving in adverse conditions. This is mirrored by Jones (2010) who explains that the national economy of Zimbabwe became defined as an informal, *kukiya-kiya* economy because survival tactics became the predominant form of exchange in the country. In particular, the prolific growth in the informal economy over the 2000–2009 decade was underpinned by a shift in people's attitudes towards adversity and the widespread cultural acceptance, across the country, that adversity could be overcome.

Narratives of Creativity in Adversity

In order to exemplify our perspective on creativity in adversity, we have included a collection of narratives that illustrate the ways that people creatively overcame challenges in the informal economy during the unceasing socio-economic crisis in Zimbabwe. We chose a narrative method since the oral storytelling tradition is a culturally valued form of communication in Zimbabwe (Vambe, 2001, 2004), and collected our data in Harare over intermittent periods, in 2008–2009, at the height of the economic inflation before the Zimbabwe dollar was phased out. We took an unstructured, improvised (Imas & Weston, 2012) approach to collecting narratives from informal workers and followed an approach to ethics that respected local engagement (Narayan, 1993; Onyango-Ouma, 2006; Weston & Imas, 2018). The data collection was led by Alia who was born and raised in Zimbabwe and has an understanding of the local context and contemporary culture as a home researcher. We received verbal consent from our storytellers and anonymized narratives when this was requested. It is necessary to, reflexively, acknowledge that narratives were collected in English, the colonial language. This is a limitation since it may compromise local expression. However, English is widely spoken by many Zimbabweans as one of the official languages. Before presenting our data, we briefly outline an overview of the informal economy in Zimbabwe to situate it within a historical and social context. Following this, we bring the creative

activities to life by recounting first-hand narratives of five informal workers.² These demonstrate how people in Zimbabwe transformed their conditions of ongoing crisis by engaging in creative survival tactics.

The informal economy in Zimbabwe has existed since colonization when the country was formerly known as Rhodesia. During colonial rule, overwhelming poverty pushed people to participate in, amongst other things, beer-brewing, market gardening, and local bartering (Phimister, 1988; Yoshikuni, 2006). Economic growth looked promising after independence in the 1980s, but it did not last long (Hammar & Raftopoulos, 2003). By the 1990s, the economy had deteriorated significantly. Again, poverty pushed people to the informal sector, and the urban poor set up backyard businesses and flea market stalls in high-density areas. By the end of the 1990s, informal work accounted for almost 60% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) (Mlambo, 2008) and it continued to grow due to a lack of formal work (Kamete, 2004). The informal economy took on an entirely different form in the 2000s as the economy declined into uncontrollable hyperinflation and precipitated an ongoing period of crippling socio-economic crisis across the country (Hammar & Raftopoulos, 2003).

Adverse impacts included a deterioration of healthcare, education, and public services such as water and electricity. Across the country, everyday living focused on survival, and people began dealing in the informal economy in an attempt to gain access to services and commodities that were otherwise unavailable (Richardson, 2004). During this period, the informal economy became the most meaningful way for everyone to make a living (Mawowa & Matongo, 2010). Driven by survival, people's acceptance of informal work changed and, as time went on, it became a legitimate way of working for nearly everyone in the country (Jones, 2010). Informal work became so extensive that it formed the dominant economy in the country (Schneider, Buehn, & Montenegro, 2010).

Finding Agency in the Informal Economy

In this section, we explore how the context of work evolved during the ongoing crisis. We do so by commenting on the growth of the informal economy in Zimbabwe in the 2000–2009 decade. The informal economy offered a space of agential freedom for people during the harsh socio-economic conditions they were experiencing in the country. We illustrate this growth by highlighting narratives from Adam and Tawanda at the peak of the crisis in 2008–2009 when the hyperinflation was at its highest. Adam is

an independent businessman, while Tawanda works for an organization that provides a vital public utility. Together their narratives highlight how informal work offered a more productive way for people to make a living than the formal economy.

Within the general surge of informal activities across the country, Adam owns a business that is no longer productive. He is stuck between the ongoing hyperinflation and government-mandated price controls. He narrates how his business has deteriorated. *“it’s a big mistake that we are in with the grocery business because it’s really sensitive ... it’s curtailed by price controls. It doesn’t pay us. [...] over the last 1 year we have lost over 95% of our capital. How do we cope? We don’t cope.”* He also emphasizes that the changes have affected not only his business but the entire industry: *“Had you come here June last year, you wouldn’t have been able to walk through this place it was so full. But 13 months, 14 months later, it’s empty, completely empty. And it’s compounded throughout the trade. Go to OK’s, go to TM [Supermarket], you will get the shock of your life.”*

Adam continues to explain how economic activities have shifted to the informal economy and lists the assortment of goods found there, that he can no longer sell in his store: *“About 500m circumference from us you have got guys who are selling cokes and cigarettes. We can’t sell them because we are selling at the factory price, plus a small mark-up. But they are selling at half the price [...] they are making money. There are no two ways about that. But they are selling a hell of a lot.”* [And] *“if you stand outside for 5 minutes, you will see how many women walk up and down with soap—a green bar. But the hub of the green bar is about 100 metres from here. Before 8 o’clock in the morning, they come from the bus station, from the railway station and they come and they set up [outside].”* His narrative depicts how vendors are starkly engaging in marginal street activities. This illustrates Richardson’s (2004) point that the informal economy became a way to access commodities and services that are no longer available in the formal economy.

Although he firmly states that he does not engage in dealing, Adam goes on to reveal that one has to be a “dealer” to make ends meet: *“Unless you are a dealer, you are not going to make money in this country. You have got to be dealing or be doing something underhanded to make ends meet.”* This suggestion that some of these activities are not entirely respectable reflects the view that sometimes informal activities involve the cunning manipulation of resources. But, as highlighted, these actions are viewed as acceptable, given the immediate context of survival (Jones, 2010; Scheper-Hughes, 1992).

Tawanda’s views resonate with Adam’s perspective about the significant shift to informal work. He recounts how the formal economy does not

support people's livelihoods and suggests that it's more rewarding for people to engage in informal trade than to find formal employment. As a point of illustration, he explains that: *"even for the lower level employees, sometimes, it's not worth it coming to work ... if you are not careful, depending on how much you pay them ... you might find that it is more profitable for them to sit by the road side selling a crate of tomatoes."* Tawanda and Adam's views support the argument that people were pushed to subvert the formal economy in order to survive the harsh socio-economic conditions. Instead, they sustained their livelihoods by engaging in informal activities which became the predominant form of exchange in the country (Jones, 2010; Schneider et al., 2010). But more than this being mere survival, we emphasize the agency that people gained in the informal economy as these activities came to the fore and became more recognized (Max-Neef, 1995, 2005). We show in the next two sections, how this agency is based on a creative capacity for survival (Mawowa & Matongo, 2010; Musoni, 2010; Parsons, 2007) constituting an alternative economy based on creative survival.

Actualizing Opportunity in Ongoing Adversity

In this section, we highlight the social experience of people who exist in ongoing adversity. In particular, we illustrate how they normalize and reframe crisis so that it becomes a context for actualizing opportunities. Here, we highlight the narratives from Rudo and Matthew. Rudo has many roles, she works as a secretary in an office and has a number of side businesses, and Matthew works in the agricultural sector. The narratives in this section illustrate how crisis becomes a context for action, wherein people gain agency to actualize opportunities as they reframe their ongoing challenges. Although we do not specifically address the notion of creativity, we see these engagements here as an integral part of the process.

Rudo tells her story at her office where she works as a secretary. She talks in a matter-of-fact way about the crisis and the effects that it is having on society: *"things have really changed" ... "you hear nearly everyone is complaining. Daily things that you really come across ... shortage of food, basic commodities ... you are trying to think: where am I going to get this? Where am I going to get this? You know? It's a problem for everyone ... it's like a crisis for everyone."* The way Rudo talks indicate that she is not surprised by what is taking place. She expresses a heightened awareness of the ongoing crisis by referring to the continually harsh dynamics, and the impact the adverse conditions are having on everyone.

Rudo continues her narrative. In a contradictory manner, while talking about the harsh realities of crisis, she also conveys her excitement for all of the informal activities she engages in during her “spare” time around her secretarial job. She explains *“here I work as an admin secretary assisting with any admin work or secretarial work. In my spare time I sell Tupperware, and I also sell Jean Guthrie. [...] this I do in my spare time to increase my salary.”* She continues to explain that she has to take action and find alternative work: *“I get my salary, and it’s not enough. I might need a lot of things, and with the kind of economy that we have, if you just sit around, you know, nothing will work out for you. So, at the end of the day you have to do this and that, [and] get something to sell.”* Although Rudo appears powerless to prevent the crisis and is struggling in her formal place of employment, she also demonstrates great agency and associated excitement to find other alternative opportunities for work. Her engagement reflects Vigh’s (2008) perspective on the ongoing crisis. As Rudo becomes accustomed to the ongoing crisis, she is able to reframe her challenges and find alternative opportunities to sustain herself despite the continual hardships.

An example offered by Rudo illustrates her ability to realize new opportunities. As already highlighted, she is constantly on the lookout for new sales opportunities and is ready to take action when one comes along. She illustrates this by explaining a new business opportunity: *“she asked me if I could help her with the sugar selling. [...] she gets it here and there and, whenever she has got stock, she phones me ... and now because I have got networks it’s a bit easier. [...] They are very important, because at the end of the day, whenever you have something you also communicate it with those same people.”* Rudo’s narrative demonstrates how she leverages new opportunities that come along. She already has two side jobs selling commodities, so when her relative approaches her with a third opportunity, she is able to actualize it and make it real by using the informal networks she already has. This reflects the ability to use what she has to turn her hardship into an advantage (Alyss cited in Dezeuze, 2006; Jones, 2010; Scheper-Hughes, 1992) and tells a similar story to Tapiwa’s plumbing deal as documented earlier through the work of Jones (2010).

This approach of constantly being open to opportunities is also expressed by Matthew. He discusses his business in the agricultural sector and expresses that the only way to survive is to always be on the lookout for opportunities, no matter what: *“We are always looking into new things.” ... “it’s just looking around, every week, every day, just looking around.”* However, he comments, in a similar way to Rudo, that successful survival involves more than just looking for opportunities, but actualizing them and making them real. He does so by

talking about the concept of “making a plan”: “*Whatever problem comes, we just make a plan. The thing is you can’t lose an opportunity, you can’t say agh no I will just wait until tomorrow. Then it just won’t happen. You will lose so much when you are making that decision.*” This notion of “making a plan” exemplifies what Vigh (2010) refers to as the embodied ability to actualize opportunities in an ongoing manner and take advantage of an adverse situation when faced with very few options, moving towards better possible futures. In his work, Vigh was referring to the Guinea Bissauan term *dubiagem*, while in Zimbabwe the ChiShona *kukiya-kiya* survival tactics are the equivalent to the English term “making a plan” (Jones, 2010).

Creating Work Through Creative Survival Tactics

In this section, we illustrate exactly how creative action occurs in the context of survival. Here, we highlight how people engage in creative survival tactics to subvert and transform their everyday conditions of adversity and illustrate how this process of subversion occurs in the context of informal work. We share a narrative from one informal worker, Dexter, a marginalized entrepreneur who set up an entertainment business on the side walk. We demonstrate how, despite his marginality, Dexter actualizes creative capital from his experience of ongoing adversity, as a way to transform his adverse conditions and organize himself as a productive member of society.

Dexter has set up his informal business on the busy sidewalk, a stark contrast to the empty supermarket nearby. He is a self-taught artist with a keen ability to transform materials around him, and he works in the street, engaging with his “Global Village,” a 2-metre-long sculpture. His sculpture depicts miniature people from all over the world and each figure moves mechanically when a series of levers is turned. Dexter explains that the situation in the country has led to him losing his job as a tree cutter, but he did not let this hold him back. Instead, he created his sculpture because he was born to be an artist and that would bring people together. He recounts how this happened: “*before, I just did tree cutting to remove trees from dangerous places. I went for that for 7 years, [but] I knew that I was just injected into art from my youth ...*” ... “*God made me valuable in this global village ... he meant for me to work on this art and teach the world.*” ... “*so, I don’t know how God made it like this that now I can check that my life has changed to that motion that I can totally live out of that [he points to the sculpture] that I can just live out of art that is trying to take all the people and help them live together.*” Dexter uses his main sculpture to attract passers-by, and he also creates small

ones to sell. By continually (re)crafting his sculpture, he reframes his lack of employment and actualizes opportunity through his artistic abilities. In this way, he expresses creative survival tactics, using adversity as a form of creative capital: he transforms his challenging conditions and creates a living for himself with his sculpture. He creatively transforms his challenges in two ways. First, by using worthless materials discarded in the street, and second by subverting the sidewalk for alternative organizational purposes.

Dexter explains that his sculpture is made entirely of discarded materials that he found lying around in the street because this was all he found to work with. He uses a diverse range of materials, from scraps of old carpet and canvas, magnetic tape from obsolete cassette players, rubber from old tyres, to fallen grass and twigs. He explains how he brings these to life as intricate characters, and comments on who the main characters are: *“a baboon eating a maize cob up a tree after stealing from the maize field—that is Mutoko. [...] Whilst this guy from Chishawashe is bringing up water from the well ... You watch over here, there is a silver bucket coming out here ... here you are, the bucket is out! That’s Chishawashe ...”*. In this example, we show how Dexter faces adverse conditions because he lacks employment and resources. However, following Pavlidis (2009), he transforms his adverse conditions into capital. This is not so much because of his artistic expression per se, but through survival tactics involving him being able to see beyond the worthlessness of the discarded materials at hand and use them to his advantage (de Certeau, 1984). We see this as a form of creative capital used for survival whereby he transforms his precarious conditions and (artistically) uses the worthless materials he finds around him to his advantage (Imas & Weston, 2016). He transforms what he can find (bricolage) into alternative forms, creating informal employment for himself.

We have suggested that Dexter expresses creative survival tactics through his ability to subvert the sidewalk to his advantage. He fluidly reframes his role taking on whichever one enables him to actualize the space to his advantage as he works to make a living. For instance, by usurping the busy street corner with his artistry Dexter attracts a group of spectators. *“I’m going to show you my sculpture ...”* he calls out to the group and they draw closer, and he captivates them with his storytelling abilities. In this story, we see that Dexter lacks a space of employment so he transforms his adverse conditions into capital (Pavlidis, 2009) and re-purposes the space for his own needs. Once again, similar to the making of his sculpture, his actions reflect the re-purposing of space for alternative forms of (cultural) employment as he seeks to survive and overcome his state of marginalization (Imas & Weston, 2016; Vaz & Seldin, 2016).

Dexter is captivating as he showcases his sculpture. He is also deft in reframing his role as an entrepreneur. He invites the audience to donate money to

upkeep the sculpture, explaining that he wishes to improve the sculpture so that he can continue showcasing his artistic vision: “*so if you can help me, with the cash ... then the visions can come out and I can show the world what is good in my heart.*” In doing so, he generates an income as a barefoot entrepreneur (Imas et al., 2012). However, Dexter does more than simply make a living, he uses creative survival tactics to overcome his position of marginalization and make a productive contribution to society. Equally, he transforms his lack of employment into capital by subverting the sidewalk for his informal (cultural) employment, and by tactically transforming spectators into customers.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, we have argued that in contexts of survival, creativity is the potential to continually resist and transform ongoing conditions of adversity. Previous work has already documented that people are able to overcome adversity in ways that either creatively/artistically defy their precarious conditions and marginality. Here, we have gone further to explain how marginalized people creatively organize to sustain themselves despite their adverse conditions. We have illustrated our perspective by sharing the narratives of five informal workers: Adam, Tawanda, Matthew, Rudo, and Dexter, as they navigated ongoing conditions of socio-economic crisis in Zimbabwe. Collectively, their narratives highlight a number of points about creative survival in adversity. First, that in contexts of ongoing adversity crisis becomes a context for action. People gain agency by reframing their ongoing challenges, which, in turn, enables them to, not only, recognize but actualize opportunities. In Zimbabwe people expressed this ability to actualize opportunities despite ongoing crisis as “making a plan” or *kukiya-kiya* tactics of survival.

We argue that creativity is the ability of marginalized people to continually engage in tactics of survival by using adversity as a form of capital. Using creative survival tactics enables the normalization of crisis and offers a space from which opportunities can be actualized. Through the actualization of opportunities, those who are marginalized are able to subvert their everyday challenges and use them as a catalyst for ongoing survival and transformation, despite their ongoing conditions of adversity. As we have noted already, the engagements of our informal workers may not appear, on first sight, to be especially creative. However, when placed within the context of their ongoing survival and hardship, we see that their ability to creatively transform these conditions is remarkable. In taking this position, we go beyond classical perspectives of creativity and make an important contribution about the ways that marginalized people

apply creativity to sustain their livelihoods in the face of ongoing adversity. Creative agency, after all, can emerge in the most unlikely of contexts by people who are normally discounted as being creative and not recognized as contributing to economic productivity.

Through this work, we have also highlighted that in situations of survival informal work is a more productive, and creative, space of economic engagement. Equally, we argue that these informal practices constituted an alternative economy based on creative survival. It is an entirely different focus to understand how people creatively engage in work when it is a matter of survival, and they have no choice over their everyday challenges. We recognize that this means that laws and social boundaries sometimes become blurred but want to emphasize that this is always framed within an immediate context of survival. We are not advocating that creativity should break the law, since this would be highly problematic in a functional society. But we do wish to show a more nuanced understanding of people's experience in ongoing adversity. Our aim is to engender more appreciation of the ways that people organize to sustain their livelihoods when they exist in deeply challenging conditions and acknowledge the contribution that their marginal practices make to the economic productivity of society.

Although this work is highly contextual and relevant to Zimbabwe, we see our insights as relevant to other contexts of marginality. As we have found, survival tactics are not limited to the Zimbabwean concept of *Kukiya-kiya*, and there are many social contexts across the globe where similar notions are expressed. All of these evoke parallel forms of engagement that reflect the advantageous manipulation of an unfavourable social system to one's advantage, when there are no other options. Equally as Wacquant (2008) reminds us, conditions of marginality are also experienced by people in (post) industrial societies. Through our work, we, accordingly, offer a framework that recognizes the creative agency of those who exist in ongoing conditions of adversity at the margins of any parts of society.

Notes

1. This concept applies throughout the country—not only in the Shona lexicon as *kukiya-kiya* but also in Ndebele as *ukusanganisa/ukudoba-doba* and in English as “make a plan” (Jones, 2010).
2. We are grateful to the five respondents who took part in our research. Of the names referenced, Adam, Tawanda, Rudo, and Matthew are pseudonyms. Dexter is a well-known local character, and he was happy for his name to be used in this research.

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Part III

Working in the Creative Economy



15

“Hopeful Work” and the Creative Economy

David Wright

Introduction

This chapter considers what might be described as “actually existing creativity” as it is revealed through scholarship on work in the creative industries. The processes and practices of cultural, creative, and artistic production have, as the chapter illustrates, long been a subject of academic curiosity. This interest has been given particular impetus by the policy developments of the last three to four decades in the countries of the Global North. Here, “creativity” and, by extension, creative forms of labour have been identified as strategically significant solutions to the perceived problems of contemporary economic life—to the extent that the economy itself has been nominated as “creative”. The place of *work* in these developments has been, as Banks and Hesmondhalgh (2009) identify, rather ambiguous. The policy imaginary has largely revolved around the idea that creativity, as a synonym for innovation and led by the creative industries themselves, has unleashed much-needed dynamism into sluggish post-industrial economies. However, the kinds of jobs created in these economies and their ability to underpin and sustain the lives of the workers engaged with them have been the subject of much debate, as the creative economy has also come to depend on and stand for a precarious and exclusionary labour market.

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The promotion of the creative industries as drivers of economic growth and urban regeneration is now a well-established strategic policy priority building from the influential insights of Florida (2002) and the accompanying valorization of the “creative class” as a broad and expanding category of contemporary worker. Accompanying these developments has been a policy-inspired process of definition and measurement conceived to gauge the contribution of the creative economy to the broader economy. In the UK, this strategy involves distinctions between creative occupations, the creative industries, and the creative economy (DCMS, 2016). Jobs in this latter category include all those which take place within what are labelled as the creative industries including those that might not be designated as “creative” themselves (e.g. an accountant in an advertising agency) combined with those jobs which might be “creative” but might be taking place in other industries (e.g. a marketing executive in an accountancy firm). The general tendency of this form of classification, and the choices of which industries to include or not as *creative*, is to over-inflate the overall figure. The inclusion of “IT, software, and computer services” as the single largest such category demonstrates this. As Andrew Ross remarks, the discovery of the relative value of the creative sector when strategically summed in this way was something of a godsend to the incoming UK Labour government in 1997. “Unlike Bevan’s coal and fish or Thatcher’s North Sea Oil, creativity was a renewable resource, mostly untapped: every citizen had some of it, the cost of extraction was minimal and it would never run out” (Ross, 2009, p. 25). It is a formulation that has proven to be especially resilient, and by 2014, the British Department of Culture, Media, and Sport was able to report that “total creative” employment in the UK amounted to some 2.8 million jobs, meaning that some 8.8% of jobs in the UK were dependent on the creative economy. For all the political utility, especially among cultural policymakers themselves, of being able to make this kind of claim, such a figure gives a good indication of the extent to which creative labour has moved in recent decades from the relative margins to the strategic centre of economic life.

With this shift as its starting point, this chapter proceeds with a summary of the terms of the debates within research on creative work. These debates are summarized in relation to various claims and counterclaims about what creative work is imagined to be and what researchers have found to be its reality. Emerging from these debates is a conception of creative work as a kind of work with distinctive characteristics—and these are explored in subsequent sections. First through elaboration on the role of “hope” in creative work, drawing on both nineteenth-century conceptions of hopeful work (Morris, 1888), especially associated with artistic and creative forms of production,

and their transformation into twenty-first-century “hope labour” (Kuehn & Corrigan, 2013) in the context of highly competitive and unstable markets for labour in the digital economy. This forms the basis for a conclusion which tries to identify and preserve in the aspiration for creative work, for all the challenges that researchers have established in relation to it, a kernel of alternative rationalities which might form the basis for escape from the expediency of contemporary strategic economic and cultural policymaking and for re-emphasizing the place of creativity in debates about “good” work.

Creative Work in Context

The contemporary interest in creative work as it underpins the rhetoric of the creative economy is preceded by a more established scholarly concern with the mysteries of *artistic* production and their relation to other forms of production or, more prosaically, with the differences between artistic work and other forms of work. One powerful recurring theme of discussion in this area is whether artistic work can really be thought of as work at all. Marx contended that the development of industrial capitalism led to a break between the forms of work needed to sustain oneself (e.g. to provide for food and shelter) and the creative activity related to the forms of work associated with an essential human “species-being” (Marx, 1973). In this light, the forms of creative expression associated with artistic production can easily be understood as the opposite to, or even as the antidote to the forms of work organization which dominated in the industrial age. One powerful story that underpins the very emergence of the creative economy itself in the late twentieth century, as elaborated by Ross (2009), is its relation to a more general *revolt against work* from both organized labour and from abiding critical scholarship in management in which the monotonous drudgery of the Fordist workplace, whether it was the large-scale factories or the bureaucracies of the mid-twentieth century, was increasingly imagined as, depending on one’s position, de-humanizing and/or unproductive. Creative, artistic labour, by contrast, with its promise of self-expression became, in this story, an element of a new spirit of late twentieth-century capitalism and a potential harbinger of new work ethics (Banks, 2007; Heelas, 2002). The “artist” came to embody this revolt. Subsequent research has revealed that this promise remains unfulfilled in the early twenty-first century, but specific scholarship on creative labour has also helped shed some light on its mysteries, through focused attention on questions of *definition* and through empirical reflection on the *experience* of creative workers.

Perhaps the most established empirical tradition explicitly concerned with creative labour emerges from work in what has been termed the “production of culture perspective” on cultural work emerging from US sociology in the 1970s. Taking empirical or historical analysis of the processes of cultural production as its starting point, this work had a broader ambition to apply insights into processes of change associated with the philosophy of science to questions of cultural production (Peterson, 1976; Peterson & Anand, 2004). Among its many contributions, this tradition of work was concerned with demystifying creative production and decentring the role of the individual artist and their characteristics or traits. Instead, it emphasized the extent to which artistic work emerges from collective and collaborative forms of endeavour and from social, technological, and regulatory influences (Coser, Kadushun, & Powell, 1982; White & White, 1993). This is achieved through focus on the various institutional and organizational contexts—Howard Becker’s *Artworlds* (2008)—from which cultural products emerge and the forms of *work* performed in them. Important here is attention to the designation of the process of artistic production as artistic or creative or not. As Becker describes it,

Artworlds typically devote considerable attention to trying to decide what is and isn’t art, what is and isn’t their kind of art, and who is and isn’t an artist; by observing how an art world makes those distinctions rather than trying to make them ourselves we can understand much of what goes on in that world. (Becker, 2008, p. 36)

This is an important move in understanding creative work. In shedding light on the more diffuse and dispersed processes of creativity, this insight—and other cognate work in the sociological tradition such as Bourdieu on the field of cultural production (Bourdieu, 1993) and with the concept of the cultural intermediary (Bourdieu, 1984)—opens up a space in which there is a logic to the expansive definition of work in the creative economy that is so attractive to policymakers. It also, though, obscures what is actually distinctive about creative work—including the significance of the aesthetic and symbolic—and collapses important distinctions between different types of work within the creative industries themselves and between these industries and others.

This problem of definition is considered by the work of Pierre-Michel Menger (1999, 2014) which has done much to elaborate and clarify the distinctiveness of creative work by focusing on artistic labour markets. These are based on a re-imagination of labour not as a disutility, cost, or sacrifice to be endured but as a “vector of individual accomplishment” (Menger, 2014, p. 8).

A primary characteristic of such markets is *uncertainty* and therefore rational economic agents seeking to minimize uncertainty should avoid or be wary of such work. Instead, for Menger (1999), and for other recent reviews exploring this phenomenon (Lingo & Tepper, 2013; Oakley, 2009), a persistent characteristic of the market for artistic labour is *over-supply* of aspirant workers. We reflect on some reasons for this later, but for Menger, uncertainty is both a result of this over-supply and a precondition of work in this sector. Uncertainty in creative work is contrasted with the routine and predictable outcomes of non-creative labour. It is, in other words, for those attracted to work in this sector, uncertainty that makes it *attractive*. Over-supply creates, at the same time, the kinds of increased levels of employment heralded as indicative of the success of the creative economy, such as those quoted above, and increased levels of unemployment, underemployment, unpaid work, as well as the kinds of strategic multi-jobbing required to first gain a foothold in and then generate a sustainable career within that economy.

This reflects, for Menger, another paradox of this labour market. On the one hand, there are low formal barriers to entry. Anyone can refer to themselves as an artist and there is no clear system of licensing or shared standards of professional quality in artistic labour markets, save those rather ephemeral and complex ones which emerge from either being promoted and certified by critics or resonating with the tastes of the public. On the other hand, success in artistic labour markets depends on extensive specialist training in order to refine essential techniques—the much vaunted 10,000 hours of practice (Sennett, 2008)—even though this training is not rewarded, as it tended to be in other organizations in the recent past—with a long-term relationship with an employer. While some forms of creative work (e.g. work in a symphony orchestra) hold the potential for this kind of relationship, for the most part, artistic work, even if conducted by highly skilled workers, tends to be characterized by project-based, short-term arrangements with a number of different employers, including, through the high frequency of the phenomenon of multi-jobbing, work in non-creative or artistic roles which are taken to support or supplement the artistic activity itself. This reflects both the over-supply of creative workers and the general uncertainty of cultural production, in either its commercial or publicly funded guises, such that firms and organizations within this sector are disinclined to take risks beyond investment in short-term projects or in proven performers. In this way, the attraction of creative work in providing autonomous, non-routine routes to personal fulfilment and expression is undermined by the reality of insecurity and low, even non-existent wages. Individuals who might be willing to take and endure risk meet organizations who need to be risk averse to survive. Menger again

observes that creative workers tend to receive significantly lower levels of pay than professionals in other industries with equivalent levels of training and that the artistic labour market is defined by significant wage inequality.

Both the high levels of risk and the low levels of pay seen in these labour markets imply alternative reasons for engaging in creative work. Menger identifies notions of vocation or calling as providing such a rationale, such that doing a job that one loves provides a kind of compensation for the lack of material reward. The ability to endure such conditions, though, might not be equally spread in a population. Menger concentrates in particular on the relationship between certain types of creative careers and the life course. With age and financial and caring responsibilities, it might be that workers in this labour market become less able or willing to endure riskiness as they get older, making them exit the market completely or move into areas providing more stability (e.g. from performing to teaching). Such pressures, together with the bulimic modes of working evident in the creative industries, have been identified as central to the gendered patterning of the creative workforce (Conor, Gill, & Taylor, 2015). Recent empirical research into the acting profession in the UK has identified how social class also structures success in this labour market (Friedman, O'Brien, & Laurison, 2017). The challenges of the creative labour market are more easily met by workers with the ability to draw on networks established through the experience of training, for example, to enable access to a broader range of employment opportunities. Going to the "right" university or academy helps provide these networks. Access to the financial resources, through family or spousal sources, to sustain oneself "between" jobs also allows the passion or vocation to forge a life in the creative industries to be more readily realized over a longer term.

These tendencies for labour markets in the creative industries to be precarious and exclusionary trouble the optimistic conception of creative work as an antidote to work. Analysts from the autonomous Marxist tradition have been especially attentive to and influential in debates about creative work and see in this precariousness potential for new forms of work organization. The symbolic economy depends on an increasing army of symbolic workers that extends beyond the traditional bourgeoisie—the "mass intellectuality" (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 132) Lazzarato describes. Thus, as highly educated, energetic, and creative young people find themselves condemned to the low-paid and insecure forms of work that have historically been assumed to be the lot of subordinate classes, precarity creates the conditions for new forms of solidarity and new bases for campaigns for secure and fulfilling forms of work (Gill and Pratt (2008) review and critique the contribution of this tradition of thought to understanding creative labour). At the same time, it seems as likely

for creative workers to be “new model workers” (Ross, 2009, p. 19), with elective affinities between the kinds of characteristics required for success in the art world—risk taking, resilience, an acceptance of short-term contracts or project work—being more general characteristics of any competitive, flexible, and entrepreneurial contemporary labour market—regardless of any specific expertise or skill in aesthetic or symbolic forms of production itself. McRobbie (2016), goes so far as to suggest that the creative industries provide a model for a “post-welfare” form of work in which workers entering these fields are expected—and increasingly expect themselves—to survive without the forms of support (through state or trades unions) available to the workers of the recent past. For all the apparent distinctiveness of the creative economy, its workers can be imagined as exemplifying a context in which the spread of entrepreneurialism and “get up and go” amongst an individualized workforce absolves the state from its responsibilities in managing economic prosperity, or at least of making the provision of good work a policy imperative. Such a position—and the ongoing supply of aspiring workers attracted to work in this realm of the economy—raises significant questions about the future of work in these industries and the motivations for work within them. The next section considers this through reflecting on perspectives which, despite the difficulties and challenges outlined earlier, sees in creative work the possibility of alternative rationalities.

From “Hopeful Work” to “Hope Labour”

As the earlier discussion has illustrated, two recurring themes in scholarship about creative work are its *difference* from other types of work and, relatedly, whether its characteristics make it qualitatively better, that is, more fulfilling, than other types of work. “Creativity” has been claimed for more general business or management practices—and incorporated into associated policy narratives—as a synonym for innovation. As Ross speculates, though, “However co-opted by management fads, the underlying desire for stimulating work in decent circumstances persists as a goal for nearly any employee. Could some of those hopes be realized through the elevation of creativity to a genuinely progressive industrial policy, one that is rooted in public health rather than private profit?” (Ross, 2009, p. 23) Hesmondhalgh and Baker’s (2011) analysis of work in the three contemporary cultural industries lays out precisely what is at stake in this question in the context of debates about what constitutes “good” and “bad” work. The former includes reasonable, fair levels of pay, autonomy, convivial social relations at work, and the opportunity for

self-realization. These things are together related to the possibility of making products which are “good”, either in and of themselves (i.e. aesthetically good) or contributing to some sense of the common good. Characteristics of the latter include poor wages, overwork, and high levels of risk, and, by contrast, engagement in the production of things which are of low quality and do not contribute to broader social well-being. Both kinds of work are at play in the cultural industries they describe but, importantly for Hesmondhalgh and Baker, the promise of the former kind of work is more than just gloss obscuring the harsh reality of the latter. As anyone who has attempted to teach aspirant creative workers about what scholarship on the cultural workplace has revealed about its complexities and challenges can attest, knowing the risks rarely dampens the enthusiasm for work in these sectors. How then to account for this continuing attraction? One concept, with a long-standing relation to questions of creative production, might help explain this: hope.

Before exploring its relevance to the discussion of creative labour, it is worth pausing to reflect on the ambivalent place of hope in critical scholarship. Research and theory in the critical tradition seeks to reveal the “hidden” machinations of power “behind the curtain” of apparently solid phenomena. We can see elements of this tradition in some of the phenomena explored by researchers into creative work, such as the myth of the individual creative genius, or the romanticization of creative work or the incorporation of creativity into the strategic goals of capital or the state. In this tradition, as Bennett (2011, 2015) has described, hope can be readily dismissed as a kind of naivety, lacking credible intellectual seriousness, and the important job of the analyst is to point out what we have missed or how we have been tricked. Bennett indicates this conception might be related to the grand failures of the optimism of the Enlightenment. In figures like Adorno and the Frankfurt School and their discussion of the apparently compromised scope of aesthetic production in the context of “the culture industries” (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1944), creative labour is at the very heart of this scholarly pessimism. In understanding the empirical experience of creative labour, though, as important as grand hopes for progress, are the forms of “little optimism” (Tiger in Bennett, 2011) which mediate everyday life. These are the forms of optimism which encourage people to work hard in the belief that their contribution might be rewarded or to plan for the future in romantic or family life. There are significant interrelations between grand scale hopes and these more personal versions. Here, there are resonances with Lauren Berlant’s paradoxical conception of the “cruel optimism” (Berlant, 2011) which characterizes life in the advanced economies of the Global North. For Berlant, visions of the good life remain essential to provide rationales for everyday activities even though

the chances of disappointment or failure are high and known to be so. Having hope allows us to survive in conditions which seem to militate against it. Optimism is a survival strategy.

Hope, at both its macro and micro levels, is at play in debates about the creative economy. We might detect the hope of a gambler's punt in the identification of the creative industries by national and local policymakers as the solution to the regeneration of the post-industrial city. In relation to creative work itself, we might also detect hope in the army of young people who, as McRobbie describes, "cling on with more determination than ever to making a living in these alley-way micro-economies" (McRobbie, 2016, p. 34). For McRobbie, such forms of work represent "a line of flight"—they are mechanisms of escape including from the kinds of work opportunities of the recent past. Young people are fleeing from the perceived drudgery of "the rat race", of the "organizational" work ethics of their parents' generation and instead embracing forms of work which at least contain the possibility of self-fulfilment or the pursuit of enthusiasms and the expression of passion. These kinds of choices, then, represent something of a radical refusal of other kinds of work: a motivation perhaps felt especially by the children of working-class parents able to access an expanded higher education system and invest work with some kind of promise of a better more fulfilled life than "just" getting by and progressing up a career ladder. Such notions of the grinding and unrelenting nature of factory or office life are as powerful in the contemporary imagination of work as any residue of a work ethic. Where McRobbie perhaps punctures this optimism is with the recognition that this attitude to work might also play into the hands of contemporary capitalism as the concern with self-fulfilment also contains the possibility of self-*exploitation*. There might still be a disciplinary commitment to fulfilling one's potential and "making it" that maintains a resonance for aspirational creative workers—but these young people are also demanding that work should be *fun*. In the unfolding experience of these demands, there might be more optimism than realism as the inequalities and iniquities of these forms of work become established, but it represents an emancipatory ideal.

There is a longer history of reflection on the relations between creative work and "good work". It can be found most clearly in the account of William Morris, founder of the arts and crafts movement which, with its preoccupations with the place of the aesthetic in shaping everyday life and work, perhaps provides a useful comparative analogy with the concerns of the contemporary economy. Morris' account takes us to the heart of the modern conception of work under industrial capitalism and shares many of the anxieties of theorists of the industrial revolution, such as Marx or, earlier, Adam

Smith, who saw in the transformations of this period, particularly those wrought by factory work, the spectre of de-humanization and alienation. Morris' influential essay (1888) distinguishes between *Useful Work* and *Useless Toil*, with most forms of work under conditions of industrial capitalism coming under the latter category—work which does not allow for the possibility of any kind of meaningful engagement or creative expression. It is a contrast which, for all the transformations in the contemporary workplace, and the gains of a century or more of organized labour struggles, still resonates. The anthropologist David Graeber (2013) makes similar distinctions in his account of the proliferation of professional, administrative, and management positions which continue to fill the gap between the promise of reduced work in late, technological capitalism and the reality of *overwork* for many.

For Morris, hopeful work contained three key elements. First, hope of *rest*—a recognition, during work, that working time is not infinite and that time not working “must be longer than is merely necessary for us to recover the strength that we have expended in working” (Morris, 1888, p. 3). This form of hope goes to the heart of distinctions between work and not work and the place of creativity within it. The bulimic work patterns—long hours of intensive, pressured activity punctuated by prolonged periods of underemployment—which have come to dominate accounts of the creative industries, might mirror the imagined manic creativity of an artist or writer in which completing the artistic *work* drowns out other aspects of life including those forms of work which are needed to materially provide for oneself. For the artist, such ways of working might be freely entered into, even welcomed and embraced, but they cannot be the basis for sustainable forms of good work without an accompanying understanding that they are not permanent. Second, there is hope of *product*. The organization of work could be oriented towards minimizing the feelings of alienation from the things that were being made that predominated in the factory. “It remains”, Morris suggests, “for us to look to it that what we do really produce something, and not nothing, or at least nothing that we want or are allowed to use” (Morris, 1888, p. 3). Morris is clear that nature will not provide our material needs, and so some work is *necessary*, but the products of human labour should contribute something concrete to human nourishment. This links to the final element of hopeful work—the hope of some *pleasure* in work. For Morris, “nature will not be finally conquered till our work becomes a part of the pleasure of our lives” (Morris, 1888, p. 13), and the “hope of pleasure in our daily creative skill” (Morris, 1888, p. 4) contributes to this.

Hopeful work describes an idealized form of work in the late nineteenth century in the context of the ongoing decline of craft as a social institution

and its almost total replacement with machine-based, mass forms of production. There are elements of nostalgia in this vision, but the concept also includes utopian aspirations about what work might be in the future. The revival of the craft economy in the twenty-first century also suggests a place for this orientation to work in the present. As Luckmann describes, the re-emergence of craft work cannot be unproblematically celebrated—it reflects both the over-supply of creative workers and a re-individualization of risk in a post-welfare working landscape. It also, though, reflects as she describes it, “an active strategy of taking back the economy, largely on the part of women” (Luckman, 2015, p. 130). Craft, with its notions of immersion, self-management, care, and discipline in relation to the acquisition of skills, represents one element of an alternative politics of creative work (Banks, 2007) in which the self is affirmed rather than negated through the experience of the workplace. In Hughes’ account of Birmingham craft jewellery designers, for example, makers place more value on the correct completion of the task, even spending time that might be considered irrational on perfecting designs, than on material reward. This privileging of the aesthetic over the economic is fundamental to what she describes as “hopeful economies” (Hughes, 2013). Such commitments are not just evidence of exploitation in precarious labour markets—they insulate cultural workers from their effects. They make the labour market livable and tolerable.

Keuhn and Corrigan’s concept of “hope labour” (2013) perhaps suggests how far from this ideal the contemporary creative workplace has fallen in the labour market of the twenty-first century. This concept emerges from the analysis of bloggers and online reviewers working at the coalface of the contemporary digital economy (itself often conceptualized as a synonym for the creative economy). Here, workers work *in hope*—more often than not because they are working for free—providing content for various digital platforms but hoping that their work will be recognized and rewarded in the future. Hope labour represents “un- or under compensated work carried out in the present, often for experience or exposure, in the hope that future employment opportunities may follow” (Kuehn & Corrigan, 2013, p. 10). This is the hope of the prosumer, encouraged by the participatory rhetoric of contemporary modes of cultural production and taking advantage of the lower barriers to entry enabled by new technologies and changing organizational frameworks in the cultural industries to try out a career as a writer or journalist. Kuehn and Corrigan are keen not to dismiss these workers as mystified by or blind to the relations of this workplace. It is a form of labour which “functions because it is largely not experienced as exploitation or alienation” (Kuehn & Corrigan, 2013, p. 12). Moreover, the instrumental aim to add value to oneself in a competitive labour

market is, in their study, a secondary motivation for these proto-workers. Participation in these practices is understood as driven first by the “intrinsic pleasures of productive processes” (Kuehn & Corrigan, 2013, p. 10).

In this light, their work connects with the insights of Terranova on “free labour” and the recognition that the digital economy, at least in its emergence was, in part, a *gift* economy to which participants willingly donated their creative energies without the expectation of material reward. Such technologies might even have gained their appeal through the promise of *escape* from work—as an extension of the kinds of creative forms of “experimentation” unleashed by late twentieth-century consumerism. “In the over-developed countries”, she suggests, “the end of the factory has spelled out the obsolescence of the old working class, but it has also produced generations of workers who have been repeatedly addressed as active consumers of meaningful commodities” (Terranova, 2013, p. 37). That labour is done for free is one element of this but as significant is the promise of freedom *from* labour implied by the active and enthusiastic participation in “the communities of social production” (Kuehn & Corrigan, 2013, p. 10) which web 2.0 technologies have developed.

There are ambiguities here, not least in the ways in which these forms of participation are harvested and monetized by platforms. Hope Labourers ultimately, “undermine the very labour market they aspire to enter by continually supplying it with individuals who are willing to work for nothing” (Kuehn & Corrigan, 2013, p. 20). At the same time, these platforms and practices create a powerful sense of possibility—a sense of empowerment, that “you can do it too” which is not insignificant in the imaginary of creative work. The question is perhaps whether the contemporary organization of creative work allows these kinds of hope to be sustained or whether, as these forms of unpaid work become seen as a necessary prerequisite for any kind of sustainable career in these industries, this is the very definition of cruel optimism. At the very least, if, as the policymakers of the mid-1990s believed, creativity was a renewable resource, then these platforms and the appetite for engagement with them seem to indicate one mechanism through which it has been successfully harnessed.

Conclusion: Keeping Hope Alive

Critical analysts of the workplace and the creative economy might see in the journey from “hopeful work” to “hope labour” evidence of the inevitable onward march of capital incorporating long-standing aspirations for more

equitable and fulfilling forms of work into ever more nuanced and sophisticated modes of exploitation. This is perhaps the compelling implication of the critique of the rebranding of creativity as a “perversion” of radical political demands for cultural democracy or a “semantic re-coding” of creativity as a synonym for entrepreneurship or innovation in business in ways which suit the strategic economic goals of policymakers (Raunig, Ray, & Wuggenig, 2011, p. 1). Notwithstanding this kind of incorporation, it remains the case that a key attraction of creative work for the still enthusiastic army of young people attracted to pursue work in the arts, cultural industries, and associated fields is precisely that it is *not* definitively shaped by these goals. Instead, such work remains associated with other forms of rationality, with aesthetic forms of self-expression, with pleasure and passion.

Scholarship on creative work remains framed by the distinction between its similarity to and distinction from other kinds of work. This has been most effective in de-privileging the sacred role of the artist in the production of culture and recognizing that art emerges from collective processes as much as individual geniuses. On the one hand, this democratizes creativity and gives momentum to claims that it is not an innate and exclusive property of special people but a trait which can be cultivated and expressed as part of a vision of the good life. On the other hand, such a discovery, and the broadening out of definitions of what “counts” as creative work also opened up the space in which the diffuse definitions of work evident in the expedient inflationary measurement of the creative economy have thrived, allowing jobs which are neither good nor fulfilling to be designated as creative. The “mysteries” of creativity in work remain somewhat opaque here, but the practices of those engaged in the creative economy—their ability and willingness to “tough it out”—are transferable to the more general world of post-Fordist, post-industrial, post-organized labour work, now increasingly re-imagined as “creative” itself. Intriguingly researchers, such as those referred to earlier, who have looked at the actual experience of creative work, even in conditions which might appear to be fundamentally exploitative and precarious, seem to identify and emphasize the survival of more hopeful elements of this work too. Focusing on and cultivating what is hoped for might be a productive basis for understanding creative work as a model for other work.

Research into the creative labour market continues to affirm that access to creative work is uneven, mirroring broader divisions in society. The contemporary craftworkers in Hughes’ hopeful economies are able to draw down financial support from other types of work and from spouses in other jobs or professions. Even access to the time and technology to engage in the kinds of hope labour evident in the digital economy are, despite the inclusive rhetoric

of web 2.0 technologies, not equally accessible to all. Morris' hopeful work, and the characteristics associated with it, provides a useful lens through which to examine the limitations of the contemporary imaginary of creativity and work in general. Debates about rest, product, and pleasure have the potential to remind us of quite fundamental questions about what work is and what it is for, at a time when these things might be once again in flux.

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16

Creativity as Development: Discourse, Ideology, and Practice

Jonathan Vickery

Introduction

Creativity is now an established policy concept for International Development. The terms “creative economy”, “creative cities”, “creative industries”, “creative hubs”, and “clusters and incubators” are all well known and routinely used by the many UN agencies tasked with development and to the numerous INGOs who carry out much of their work. Since the Australian government’s “Creative Nation” strategy of 1994 and the UK government’s “creative industries” since 1998, there have appeared creative designations the world over—Creative Berlin, Creative Lebanon, Singapore Creative City of Design, and numerous other branded indications that “creativity” is now a widely accepted instrument of urban and economic (not just cultural or artistic) development.

Design, communications, leisure, and entertainment-based industries existed well before “creativity” policies, of course. Creativity has allowed for their integration (at least, as an act of policy imagination rather than an actual economic integration). What the policy imaginary of creativity has amounted to is, on the one hand, a profoundly disintegrated research landscape with a heavy interest in creative “industries” (Cho, Liu, & Ho, 2018) and, on the other hand, an approach to development framed by a somewhat more generalistic and hegemonic global ideology on culture, the arts, and development (Garner, 2016; Stupples, 2014). This “ideology” is specific to an age in which

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the neoliberal global economy has established an unprecedented degree of certitude and political consensus across the world on how we develop a prosperous society. Creativity has become a powerful signifier around which a rhetoric of dynamic trade, growth, and opportunity has evolved. It often appears like a meta-theory of economic development—albeit a meta-theory based on a jumble of circulated observations, half-baked theories, and new political aspirations for brand recognition and wealth creation.

The global ideology of creativity can be paraphrased as follows: creativity is an essential human capacity for new ideas, solutions, and improvement, and internal to all modern spheres of life (culture, society, technology, and engineering). When concentrated in specialized arts and crafts, and subject to the processes of industrialization, extraordinary “creative industries” emerge. These industries are extraordinary essentially because the value they generate is manifold and not merely economic (commercial or profit-based): for their value is as much intrinsic to the experience and process of creative labour as it is to the product or service generated. Creative industries therefore possess the power to affect profound benefits to the labourer and so to the social context in which they work and live, and therefore to defy what are generally understood as the laws of the market or the general economy (that all value must be realized as exchange and financial transaction). For example, the creative industries require few material resources for expansion and growth and indeed can grow in adverse financial conditions. They have the power to command unusual levels of commitment and subjective investments in their labour. Indeed, creative workers labour harder for longer, in part as creative industries offer a gateway to valuable social and cultural networks. Creative activities find optimum conditions of growth in network formation, and in close proximity to each other (clustering), and large inner cities provide the most advantageous nexus of such social conditions of growth. Cities are therefore the new hubs of creativity, and the most advanced kinds of social and economic growth in the global economy. Moreover, the global economy offers the most optimum conditions of growth for all other forms of commercial, industrial, and innovation-based activity.

In many of its iterations, the ideology of creativity synthesizes a credible range of theories on new supply and value chains, brand value, retail and global economy, urban development, and the economics of agglomeration of small firms. Altogether it coheres with broader understandings on the industrial development of the West (reindustrialization since the 1970s), its increased competitive advantage through innovation and the “knowledge economy”, and changes in the patterns and methods of labour. Added to this are the panoply of repeated observations on how the places of industrial devel-

opment and knowledge economy are more often than not places of culture and the arts; moreover, how the casualization of employment, rise in university education, and liberalization in the social order has generated a new environment for industry. The most effective framework for bundling all this together is, arguably, the Creative Economy.

The Creative Economy denotes the production of the organizations, industries, professions, policies, and labour associated with creativity, one of the most influential diagrams of which is the UNCTAD Classification of Creative Industries. It featured in the first chapter of the groundbreaking Creative Economy Report 2008 (hereafter CER, 2008; CER, 2010; CER, 2013), a UN publication that evolved and which we consider in the section “[Introduction](#)”. The diagram is paradoxical, in two senses: the CER 2008s early sections assert that the Creative Economy comprises the creative industries (e.g. p. 18), yet it is a mystery what specific structural dynamics or relations (the arrows) pertain between each distinct creative sector (indeed, if they really are distinct economic “sectors” at all). Secondly, it is surely the case that “industries”, like the performing arts or the visual arts or new media, are not actual “industries” in the economics sense, or at least, have not necessarily been industrialized; they often use the very same creative processes, ideas, and skills, as traditional or non-industrial arts, and indeed remain conduits of values that predate the industrial revolution altogether. Indeed, if “industry” is used at all, it could only represent an aggregated production of a generic category of incorporated organizations, abstracted from all the historical, cultural, and social phenomenon that have made them what they are. Pop music, for example, is undoubtedly one of the world’s most profitable industries (and which could stretch across many of the discrete industries in the UNCTAD diagram), yet in the countries represented by its market leaders—the UK and US—music is less an industry product than a product of the youth subcultures and their social dynamics in specific places. This, of course, is changing, if the example of South Korea’s industrialization of pop music (or corporate production is perhaps more accurate a description) is indicative of future global development. Nonetheless, it seems clear, that categorizing “creative” activity according to historic genres provokes more questions than it resolves (Fig. 16.1).

In terms of methodology, this chapter aims for a critical summary of the discourses of culture and development and creative economy and, in its approach, it will cut across Clammer’s social theory-grounded approach to development strategies (2012, 2015) and the thematic policy interests of De Beukelaer, Pyykkönen, and Singh (2015). While there remains a relative dearth of research on UNESCO’s intellectual development (from Huxley’s

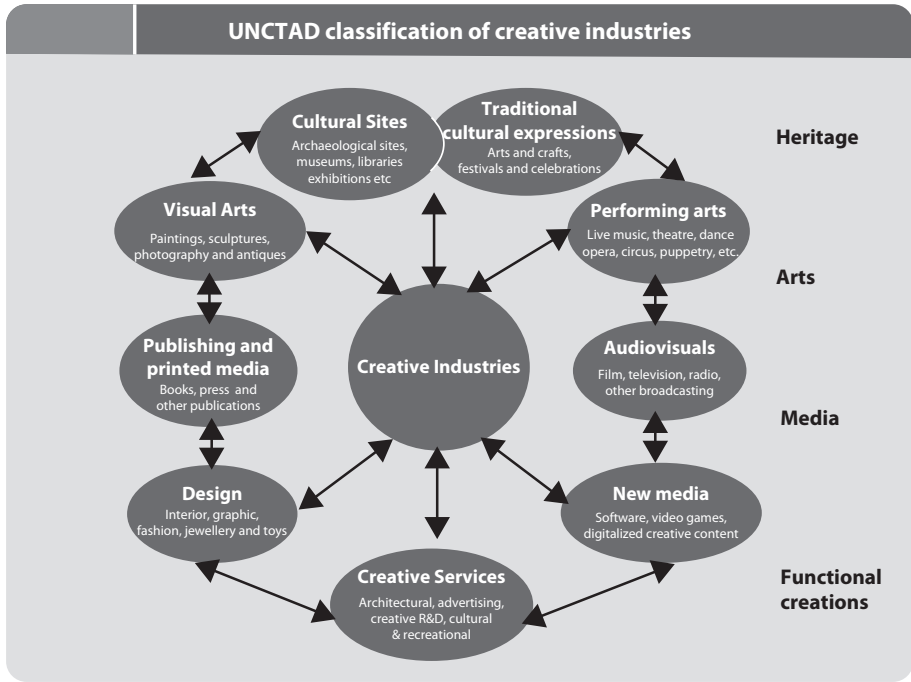


Fig. 16.1 Classification of creative industries (Source: UNCTAD, 2010). (Reprinted with permission from UNCTAD: Creative Economy Report 2010, ISBN 978-0-9816619-0-2)

famous explication of UNESCO’s “philosophy” to J. P. Singh’s more recent and crucial institutional overview: Singh, 2011; Huxley, 2010), the last few years have witnessed a broad range of policy reports and highly useful historical summaries (Maraña, 2010, UNESCO, 2013, 2015a, 2015b; UNESCO & UNDP, 2013; see also Schech & Haggis, 2000; and Jolly, Emmerij, Ghai, & Lapeyre, 2004, particularly Chap. 8).

Creativity as a Global Policy Concept

In March 2007, the UN *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* entered into force, with over 30 member states supporting an international treatise on culture, creativity, and global economic development. The Convention had initially been agreed and published by its author, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation), in 2005, and had its intellectual origins in the 2001 UNESCO *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*. It also had a political origin in a formal request by a group of member states for more research on the technical

and legal aspects of a potential standard-setting instrument on such cultural diversity. Between the intellectual aspirations of an adventurous Declaration (which was driven by a call for cultural pluralism through a radically expanded creative agency of people, civil society groups, and development organizations) and the deliberations of member states (motivated by their need for bureaucratic monitoring, budget management, and politically expedient cultural policies), the 2005 Convention was born. It remains a central UNESCO-managed convention, arguably the most significant cultural policy document in the world, supported by a productive International Fund for Cultural Diversity (IFCD), an international network of technical advisors, stakeholders, and supporters, and an ongoing range of artistic and cultural projects. In the terms of the Convention, “‘Cultural expressions’ are those expressions that result from the creativity of individuals, groups and societies, and that have cultural content”, and in the context of international funding for development, creativity must be supported (UNESCO, 2005), and protected against the perceived impacts of economic globalization—homogenization, market domination of Western cultural goods, and reduced participation in cultural production in smaller (or developing) countries.

However, the 2005 Convention revealed a significant fault line in a discourse on culture, creativity, and economic development. Between the intellectual aspirations of the 2001 Declaration and the need for a new international treatise on global cultural policy and management, there arguably transpired an ideological shift. Where development had been previously framed by an increasing need for a radical pluralist approach to democracy (and where cultural policy were an increasingly effective means of democratization), something that had been evolving in UNESCO circles since the 1960s, was decisively re-framed by the perceived economic challenges of global markets (barriers to trade and production). And while the 2005 Convention still celebrated the diversity of “culture” and “expressions” worldwide, and necessitated the support of gender equality, minority, and indigenous rights, its parameters were Articles 8–11 of the Declaration—on the production, distribution, and consumption of “cultural goods and services” generated by “creative work”. The nexus of culture and economic development—creativity—was increasingly re-contextualized using terminology derived from the neoliberal revival of neoclassical economics principally promoting the aspirations of international trade through free markets.

The emerging global economy was not a new priority: The UNESCO-established World Commission on Culture and Development published its first *World Culture Report* in 1998, subtitled *Culture, Creativity and Markets* (World Commission for Culture and Development and UNESCO, 1998).

While the World Culture Report was itself explicit in its critique of the then “free-market” approach to global economy, arguing for economic justice in international trade relations and the access of developing countries to primary markets, the role of markets themselves, and the new processes of the industrialization of culture (through branding, consumer retail, mass media, and internet) remained insistent as it was theoretically perplexing. Altogether the World Culture Report left the relationships between culture as identity, as heritage, as way of life, and as group expression (the traditional cultural policy concerns) somewhat open-ended. Where the new creative industries (and not cultural policies per se) were being positioned as the new guarantors of cultural development, and where such creative industries were heavily dependent on culture for their creative inspiration, source of ideas, patterns, and designs, and the wealth of materials not assigned to Intellectual Property ownership, what “rights” did culture and the arts possess to protect themselves? Or was culture a common resource, to be used up and commercialized (for profit) as is the “right” of commercial firms (and commercial firms are the core of Creative Economy, if the regular industrial measures are used).

From the late 1960s, a growing intergovernmental dialogue convened by UNESCO had anticipated many of these issues, arguing not for a King Canute-like opposition to the tide of economic globalization but a radical increase in our understanding of democracy through culture and international cooperation. It advanced a policy triangulation of culture, development, and the creative industries—particularly in relation to the agency of creative labour (the collective workers) in social contexts of labour. Article 2 of the 2001 Declaration continued to bear witness to this past dialogue: it had asserted that it is “creative capacities that sustain public life” (Article 2), “creative diversity requires the full implementation of cultural rights” (Article 5), and that an open process of public policy-making is the only way to construct the conditions for this state of affairs (UNESCO, 2001). Culture was understood as an arena where the deepest held human values, place-based ways of life, identities, and artistic expressions, were politicized and open to contestation in an international public sphere of policy debate. UNESCO was not cast as unquestioned leader but more of convenor of the new global cultural public sphere, and who respected and worked to protect all cultures and yet invited (obligated) all cultures to devise a facility for international cooperation, communication, and critical engagement through political consensus in managing the forces of the new global economy. Yet, the 2005 Convention, an outstanding achievement that it is, bears reference only to the “complementarity” of culture and economy and not the intrinsic inter-reliance of society and economy on culture (cultural as the very basis of economic life, values,

motivation, and facility for productivity, and creativity as a process by which workers become active social and political agents, as well as economic agents).

The interconnection between culture and economy was a pressing issue during the years the Convention was being drafted and circulated. In 2004, a Multi-Agency Informal Dialogue Group on Creative Industries was set up by the Secretary-General of UNCTAD (UN Conference on Trade and Development), signalling how UNESCO was potentially losing its exclusive role in framing culture and the arts for global development. Creative Industries in global development policy was now significant, and creativity must be studied and become an object of policy. A subsequent range of conferences, reports, and inter-agency dialogue, where the new discourse of creative economy involved the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (via its Special Unit for South-South Cooperation), WIPO (World Intellectual Property Organization), as well as a wide range of influential academic advisors (Andy Pratt, David Throsby, among others), heralded a period of somewhat triumphalist aspiration. For as the 2008 report proclaimed, “the creative industries are among the most dynamic emerging sectors in world trade. Over the period 2000–2005, trade in creative goods and services increased at an unprecedented average annual rate of 8.7 per cent. World exports of creative products were valued at \$424.4 billion in 2005” (UNCTAD, 2008, p. iv).

The first UNCTAD Creative Economy Report (2008), later updated and expanded to become the Creative Economy Report 2010, was a landmark document and hugely detailed and almost defying summary. Both the reports were less mere “reports” than major policy statements, in a new front in policy research that covered definitional and theoretical work on creative economy, the analysis and measurement of production and outputs (from IP, distribution to value chains), policy evaluation, international trade (exports and imports), and with all the force of policy advocacy. UNCTAD succeeded in defining creativity as a credible (useful) term in economics, drawing on already established national policy terms from the UK and Australia where “creativity” now more than an industrial term but a politically charged euphemism for fast, attractive, easily consumable, aesthetically appealing goods and services with “cultural” (symbolically meaningful) content.

The relation between UNCTADs Creative Economy reports (and UNCTAD’s continued creative economy data production) and the 2005 UN Convention remains complementary, and both are used by policy-makers throughout the world. The UNCTAD reports pioneered research, methodology, and data dissemination on creative goods and services, emphasizing the function of the “creative worker” within national and potential international trade; the Convention provides (as an international treatise and legal

instrument) the framework for ensuring that the creative worker is enabled to operate in this way. While in ordinary parlance, the term “creative” might well signify the individual, artistic, “intensely subjective” (West, 1997, p. 2) or whose enigmatic semantics emerge from the mysterious, prelinguistic or epiphenomenal realm of the human psyche, and is so a term that always “defies precise definition” and is “infinite” (Torrance, 1988, p. 43). For politicians and those involved in decision-making for cities, regions, and countries, the “creative” is now a globally accepted policy term for economic development—with a range of agencies and consultancies generating data as policy-useful evidence for its direct economic function in commercial production, and the conversion of creative processes into monetized productions, marketable data, technical knowledge and skills, and commercial transaction.

The Creative Economy reports consolidated a process, which since the 1990s has been re-framing national culture and artistic production (the arts, heritage, crafts, and even design-based activities like fashion and architecture) within frameworks of economic growth but without abandoning an ethically compelling concern for poverty alleviation and sustainable growth. However, in terms of the politics of global development discourse, “cultural development” was effectively displaced by “creative economy” as a universal marker for potential transformative agency. That is, where culture once promised the activation of vital human powers of aspiration, imagination, and communication in the transformative reconstruction of human society, it is now the creative economy, albeit in a more realistic, pragmatic, economic, or industrialized form—as a synergy of clustered cultural industries—that has defined the stronger argument on its effective deployment in the demands of a global economy. Moreover, unlike “culture” and its practices, an economic recontextualization of the creative process more effectively abstracted a cognitive component and generated categories that allow us to recognize and measure knowledge itself as a product and legally circumscribed entity. Industrialized creativity is “a set of knowledge-based activities that produce tangible goods and intangible intellectual or artistic services with creative content, economic value and market objectives” (a definition first promoted by the UNCTAD Creative Economy and Industries Programme in 2005, 2008, p. 4), and thus where Intellectual Property is a major component.

That a policy framework for culture could be co-joined to Intellectual Property was an achievement for many. “IP”, since the 1970s, had been identified by WIPO (established in 1967) as a growing source of economic growth, and was the reason why, despite deindustrialization and recession, the West remained dominant in world markets. The Creative Economy reports did not favour or promote the commercialization or marketization of culture; they

were equally concerned with the value and integrity of culture as emerging from the social life and institutions of ethnic groups. However, they tacitly accept the grand narrative of economic globalization, whereby, our future social and cultural development depends on our reconfiguring of our cultural interests within the orbit of the forces of globalized economic production and international trade. By default, the interests of a Creative Economy-defined cultural realm inevitably favoured the educated, professional, knowledge, and technology-based industrial development, and where the social dynamics of creative labour, employment, and sustainability were taken for granted.

The huge policy achievement of UNCTAD's first framework for Creative Economy was in part that the "production and distribution of goods and services that use creativity and intellectual capital as primary inputs" is now globally recognized (the success of the film, communications, and design-based industries, hardly require an argument) (UNCTAD, 2008, p. iv). And politically, the recognition of creativity as a policy term is no small thing. Policy only emerges when ideas and concepts attain to a status of legitimacy for a range of political agencies; these ideas and concepts become policy objects when they are viable as a basis of strategy and action, framing legal protections and the allocation of resources. UNCTAD and their consistent production of economic trade data have been responsible for convincing many other economic agencies of the power of creativity. Even its admittedly fragmentary empirical data of 2010 nonetheless underpinned what became an internationally successful argument, that the creative economy was beginning to dominate world economic developments whether we like it or not. The message to political leaders was—you had better catch up and adapt your policy frameworks accordingly. The price of not doing so, is to exacerbate the situation the initial Creative Economy Report 2008 observed: "In Africa, for instance, despite the abundance of creative talents ... [t]he continent's share in global trade of creative products remains marginal at less than 1 per cent of world exports" (ibid., 2008, p. iv). The Global South had already been positioned as "consumer" and the Global North as "producer", with the unequal and enforced restrictions that this uneven relation entailed.

After the collapse of communism 1989–1992, few predicted the speed at which Western (largely US) cultural products would travel (and within a decade, dominate) not only international trade but many areas of national cultural life in many developing countries. It was during this period that certain business practices, financial priorities, axiomatic principles of organization, and management (such as the role of strategy), formed a set of incontestable notions on the way economic production and markets were configured and behaved. The new norms of economic production were essentially set by US

American corporate business enterprise practice, strategic management, and its profit or market-orientated value system, but here emerged an irony. The corporate market-orientated value system denigrated all the intrinsic features of the creative industries—the small-scale, the owner-manager, personalized service, bespoke solutions, individualized, or maverick leadership; a high reliance on routine yet unpredictable creativity; a market sensitivity and often vulnerability; a chronic lack of capital or stakeholder investment, a limited market reach, a local or culturally particular character; in-kind collaborative or communal labour; and the list could go on. Many of these were characteristics of a local artisanal economy of a previous age. And while some creative industries could appear “corporate” in scope and capacity—the film industry or pop music—on closer inspection, even they relied on long value chains involving small providers and maverick production methods.

Yet—and here was the irony—what the corporate market-orientated value system would denigrate as weak was celebrated as inimitable, distinctive, and uniquely effective in their power to generate value. Indeed, it was these distinctive and unique aspects that reminded us of the cultural and artistic origins of the creative industries—in themselves antithetical to the kinds of corporate management-driven organizations that were dominating or recognized creative leaders of the new global economy. And there were further ironies: the small-scale, individualized aspects of the creative industries were lauded for their social benefits. To paraphrase the first section of the Creative Economy Report 2010, the creative industries perform the following:

- Embrace economic, cultural and social aspects, usefully interacting with technology, intellectual property and tourism objectives.
- Evolve as a set of knowledge-based economic activities, with a development dimension and cross-cutting linkages at macro and micro levels to the overall economy.
- Foster income-generation, job creation and export earnings while promoting social inclusion, cultural diversity and human development.
- Offer feasible development options, calling for innovative, multidisciplinary policy responses and inter-ministerial action. (CER, 2008, 9–10 and *passim*)

While these observations are credible, the actual internal relations between “the creative” and development (social, culture and economic) remained so embedded in economic processes of production, organizations, and markets (and the opaque relations between them), that they could only be assumed to be true. Many of the social benefits listed tended to be “externalities” and not

the actual products or services of the Creative Economy. Moreover, the terminology used to valorize the unique aspects of the Creative Economy are routine terms taken from neoclassical economics and theories of the market economy, and which themselves do not explain the specificity of creativity as an economic phenomenon. The primary context of both Creative Economy Reports was Development Economics but where the specificity of Development Economics itself was supplanted by new Western notions of growth and enterprise. Consequently, as indicated in this diagram by Creative Economy pioneer Edna Dos Santos Duisenberg, there exist obvious development dimensions around the Creative Economy, but these can only appear as quite separate, and floating (Fig. 16.2):

The context of this diagram in 2006—which, like all the diagrams of the Creative Economy reports, provided seminal visual reference points for policy discourse—was the UN’s strategic development framework of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which lasted from 2000 to 2015 (United Nations, 2000). It was during the latter years of the MDGs, when it was becoming clear that the UN’s development effort was not entirely successful, that new policy thinking emerged. A new alliance of UNCTAD and

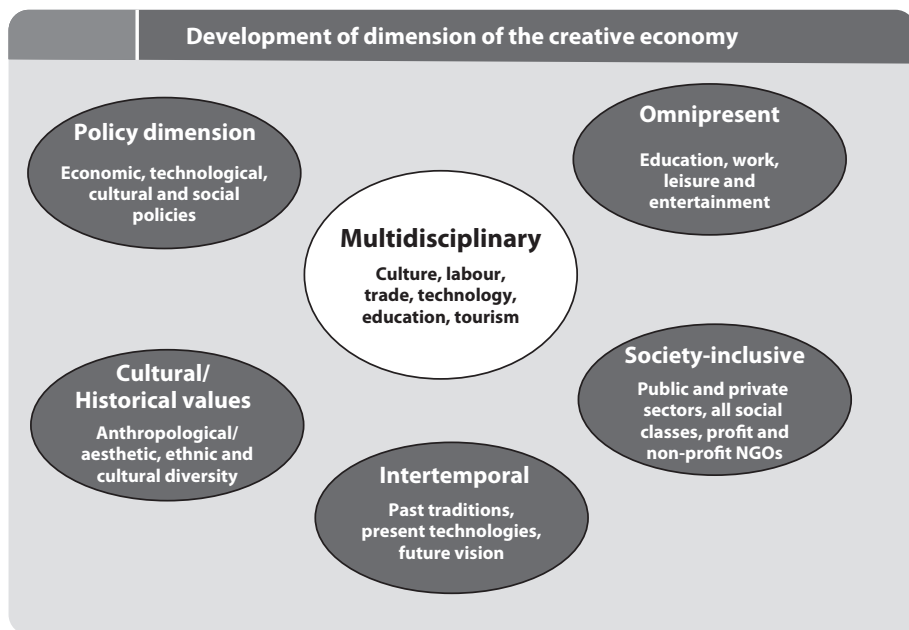


Fig. 16.2 Development dimension of the creative economy (Source: UNCTAD, 2010). (Reprinted with permission from UNCTAD: Creative Economy Report 2010, ISBN 978-0-9816619-0-2)

UNESCO, including a larger range of scholars and INGOs, made possible the Creative Economy Report 2013 (subtitled, “Special Edition: widening local development pathways”). While presenting a “supplementary” comment to the continual data and policy briefings now generated by UNCTAD (increasingly invested in Creative Economy as a dimension of global trade flows), the CER 2013 provides a corrective, somewhat redirecting of a development discourse trajectory back to the period considered in the section “[Creativity as a Global Policy Concept](#)”. The Introduction states:

creativity and culture are processes or attributes that are intimately bound up in the imagining and generation of new ideas, products or ways of interpreting the world. All these have monetary and non-monetary benefits that can be recognized as instrumental to human development. Transformational change is thus understood within a broader framework of human development and is recognized as a process that enhances the effective freedom of the people to pursue whatever they have reason to value. (p. 16)

The report throughout is peppered with statements aimed at the ambiguities in the theoretical relation between culture and economy—ambiguities internal to the previous two reports, and exploited by the increasing “neoliberal” tendency of the UN member states. For this neoliberal tendency, Creative Economy was simply the mechanisms of general (consumer, retail, and service-oriented) economy, suitably liberalized and oriented to export trade and foreign direct investment (FDI), applied to the common, often free or at least cheap, cultural resources of any given social group or place. Culture was a new frontier of yet-to-be-exploited economic resource—and the creative agency of under-exploited social groups (young people, women, artists, artisans, low-skilled but literate office workers) could be maximized with minimal investment. It was to this context that the CER 2013 responded: “Business as usual cannot be an option and transformative change is needed ... Continuation along previously trodden economic growth pathways will exacerbate inequalities, social tensions and pressures on the world’s resources and natural environment” (UNESCO & UNDO, 2013, p. 154). The CER 2013 also foregrounds as a matter of contention (first articulated in the 2008 report)—the highly creative developing countries who have little access to global trade. This was not simply because of the competitive character of the global market but “the way in which policy ideas about the potential of creativity previously elaborated in the developed world” has been deployed; rather, they “can be fruitfully and critically adapted to local aspirations, assets, constraints and energies” (*ibid.*, p. 20).

A new “pathway” or “path dependency” approach, involved locating the social, material, and place-based conditions for creative production in a way that was economically productive but also “inclusive, equitable and sustainable” (ibid., p. 154). This “people-centred development” entailed a new conceptualization of creative agency, which emerges “organically” from communities and places and “cannot be easily ‘invented’ into industries” (ibid., p. 158). The CER 2013 warned that a creative economy framework is only relative to “particularities of geography and history” (p. 26). Moreover, neoclassical understandings of “economy” as linear and empirically self-evident processes of labour-production-distribution-consumption can misrepresent the complexity or hybrid features of creative labour in various cultural contexts. The arts do not merely produce market-ready art products (if at all) but are social processes of transmitting knowledge, inherited skills, exercising trust or locally mediated authority in representing the symbolic dimension of life or of a people’s identity. Supply chains could also be value chains, but also communal processes of deliberation, collaboration and validation. “Authenticity” was a crucial dimension of creative production in many tradition-based cultures, yet difficult to convey or monetize for a market. “Heritage” as a policy concept has attempted to undertake this role, but it is also struggling to define an interface between the local ecosystem and a visitor economy that at once facilitates yet threatens it. The CER 2013 thus calls for “a fresh analytical approach to help local policymakers bridge the existing evidence gap and rethink how a flourishing local creative economy could help improve the everyday lives of people” (p. 17).

While the CER 2013 also articulated new dilemmas for policy theory and application, three significant criteria emerged as a way of defining an ethically driven creative agency for development—an economy for creativity, not just for market-oriented creative industries. These can be defined as follows: place-based development; inclusive dialogue-centred participation; and a recognition that each separate cultural practice generates its own distinctive creative processes. These criteria, it can be observed, were internal to an earlier discourse on cultural development, to which we now turn.

Development Discourse and the Emergence of Creativity

The Constitution of UNESCO, signed in London on 16 November 1945, famously begins, “That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed”; for the “common

cause” of war has been “ignorance of each other’s ways and lives” (UNESCO, 1945, *Preamble*). Essentially, the Constitution remains a visionary framework of international cultural relations, which foregrounded the need for collaborative (if unspecified) cultural projects. In these early seminal statements, the meaning of the term “culture” is assumed to be transparent, and assumed not only to be distinct and separate from the social, economic, and political spheres of life but whose activities span the depths of individual subjectivity (“the minds of men”) and potential for new forms of international “intellectual and moral solidarity”. After the devastation of World War Two, culture became a privileged vehicle for collective aspirations: it had the facility to articulate “democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect” of all, while maintain “full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge” (UNESCO, 1945, *Preamble* and Article 1).

The contemporaneous Charter of the United Nations (1945), however, did not attribute great weight to culture: it is only mentioned in Article 1, clause 3, with the stated aim “To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character” (United Nations, 1945). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), (December 1948), was primarily concerned with life, liberty, property, and mobility, where culture was technically marginal. It was only with the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), adopted in December 1966, that “culture” became a legally defensible policy concept (United Nations, 2003), if a little lacking in detail. While many UN member states took some time to sign up to the ICESCR (China did not sign until March 2001), it was arguably the first attempt to phrase a consensus-based concept of culture, and framed it in terms of an active political advocacy of rights, equalities, and interconnected with the concept of freedom and self-determination. So, intrinsic to culture is the ability to “freely pursue ... cultural development” (Article 1). The ICESCR stated the right to the “enjoyment” of culture (Article 3), requiring “technical and vocational guidance and training programmes, policies and techniques” to achieve this (Article 6).

Article 15 echoes the UDHR and asserts the right to “take part in cultural life”, but along with “the freedom indispensable for scientific research and creative activity” (where creative here is a euphemism for cultural, yet significant in its use in a legal context). The decade of the 1960s was significant for the growing intellectual debates within an expanding UNESCO orbit of conferences and research. A landmark series of studies in cultural policy was initiated at the Fifteenth UNESCO conference in 1968, following a research

symposium in Monaco the year before, resulting in the document *Cultural policy: a preliminary study* (UNESCO, 1969). Its significance was not its impact on policy so much as the “field-building” of a new region of discourse where ideas and practices of culture, politics, and development were positioned in dialogue with other UN-level agencies and their member states. For the first time, member states were lobbied and instructed on how culture should be positioned in relation to government and international affairs, not just heritage and national patrimony in the arts. While not entirely successful in this, UNESCO nonetheless set out a credible role for cultural policy within the spectrum of a modern government’s public policies, and asked “What are the most effective procedures for assisting artistic creation?”, and asserted that “the basic problem to be solved is how to secure the freedom of the creative artist, while at the same time giving him the place he should have in economic and social life” (UNESCO, 1969, p. 18).

From the UNESCO debates of the 1960s emerged a recognition of two axiomatic conditions for creative activity (albeit where “creative” remained a euphemism for art or design-based activities of production). These were: social liberty for an individual who is both distinct and different in occupation, and his recognition as an economic agent in civil society. A full discourse analysis could trace these two concerns as they became conceptual themes throughout the complex course of UNESCO deliberations from the late 1960s to the 1990s. In what follows below, we can only register the intellectual advances emerging from the first intergovernmental conferences on cultural policies—starting with Venice in September 1970.

Venice, following comparable high-level conferences convened by UNESCO in Mexico City in July 1982 and in Stockholm in March 1998, generated widespread intellectual interest at the time and produced substantial transcripts and reports, all of which remain significant. At Venice, representatives of 86 member states focused on the public administration of cultural institutions and assets, but around which was woven a surprisingly broad-based discussion on the social and political conditions of cultural production. Attended by British cultural studies pioneer Richard Hoggart (soon to be UNESCO Assistant Director-General), the Conference asserted culture as internal to the “total” development of nation states (where international cooperation on culture was becoming internal to the concept of development). The post-conference report (featuring a paraphrase of deliberations, transcripts of speeches, and 24 resolutions) asserted that the methods of cultural policies should be “no different from those of general development policy” (UNESCO, 1970, p. 9), acknowledging the role of technology and mass media as internal to cultural life, where in a policy context culture should not

be defined as just “consumption or the preservation of the past, but, basically a shared experience and participation in a creative process” (ibid., Clause 38: p. 11). Culture was internal to society and hence must also be to “general governmental and social policy” (Clause 40: 11). There were two other prescient critical principles that emerged at the Venice conference worth emphasizing: cultural policies themselves could be “creative” (Clause 28: 11) and cultural facilities are not simply buildings for cultural activity but actively serve to “create a new public” (Clause 38: 11).

The first World Conference on Cultural Policies—acronym MONDIACULT—took place in Mexico City between 26 July and 6 August 1982 and produced what was the first “global” statement on culture (called, The Mexico City Declaration). Attended by a huge number of member state delegates but also a range of other political entities, from the African National Congress to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the general report on the conference speeches and deliberations are still an extraordinary read (UNESCO, 1982a). For the first time in any high-level policy-related document, the terms “creative” and “creativity” are used throughout, and where “creative worker” could operate in many different fields, engaging in “creative inspiration”, “a creative mind”, “creative purpose”, and “creative work”. In its definitional sense, the term “creativity” was used in a way that made more sense a few years later when French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s work inspired the term “intermediary” to identify the broad spectrum of roles, people, and skills required for cultural production (Bourdieu, 1984). Creativity was not necessarily the work of an individual artist or designer, but endemic to a production process, which was often collaborative.

The Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies (and supporting documents) was assertive in its support of cultural autonomy against “cultural domination” (perceived as a continued colonial rule in the world through culture). It is often quoted in the same spirit as the 1945 UN Constitution, affirming axiomatic anthropological truths about culture being “the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group” (UNESCO, 1982b, *Preamble*), albeit where anthropology becomes politics when faced with the need for freedom of recognition and social expressions of identity.

The Mexico City Declaration’s section “Artistic and Intellectual Creation and Art Education”, features a strong demand for “the encouragement of activities that will stimulate public awareness of the social importance of art and intellectual creation” (Principle 29). Cultural policies are framed as the means by which civic rights and citizenship are fully understood, and by which a more holistic liberation and recognition are sought in the interna-

tional as well as domestic arena. The Declaration also coined the phrase “humanize development” (Principle 11), presaging the later Human Development of Amartya Sen and Mahbub Ul Haq (UNDP, 2004). The Mexico conference was not the place for strategy-building so much as agenda setting, where policy meant politics and politicization: it asserted the “democratization of culture” (Principle 21), of culture as a potential force for anti-elitism as much as anti-colonialism and anti-militarism; cultural policy was a means for freedom of opinion and expression, and social equality. Number 50 of the Declaration’s 54 principles states “The Conference reaffirms that educational and cultural factors are essential in efforts to establish a new international economic order” (UNESCO, 1982b).

The policy radicalism of Mexico and its vision of a “new international economic order” was, in hindsight, tempered by the strategy-oriented intergovernmental conference held in Stockholm in 1998. Entitled “Cultural Policies for Development” it featured a huge delegation of 2500, and using an innovative conference format, it deliberated on new policy topics like the role of business enterprise in culture, cultural pluralism, the role of “place” as culture, children and culture, and the cultural politics of immigration (UNESCO, 1998a). At Stockholm, UNESCO’s leadership in international intellectual debate was in many ways affirmed, and where the surviving substantial 111 page report issued four months later made an emphatic and repetitive use of the term “creative” (in terms of creative people, creative ability, creative societies, creative freedom, creative imagination, a desire to “think creatively”, along with the new concept “creative industries”). The particular conference session “Creativity and Cultural Industries” was, predictably perhaps, chaired by a UK representative (the ill-fated Labour minister, Mark Fisher), and is worth quoting: “The Chairman pointed out that the present dynamism in the arts in the United Kingdom, even after several years of cuts in government funding, would tend to show that there is no direct relationship between public support [funding] and creativity.” Added to which: “In response, one participant remarked that this argument is often used by Governments to escape their responsibilities” (UNESCO, 1998a, p. 32). Indeed, co-Chair, Rex Nettleford from Jamaica, pointed out the inherent “tension between creativity, which is by definition ‘subversive’, and the State, which is preoccupied by Order” (ibid., p. 32).

Nettleford also asserted that, in the context of global social and political instability, “creativity” should be used by individuals and communities to “reconstruct” the ways they live together (ibid., p. 32). Nettleford seemed to be echoing some of the more radical aspects of the Draft Action Plan (which had been prepared for the conference), which envisaged the use of creativity

in social action, conflict resolution, and political intervention in the cause of freedom of expression (UNESCO, 1998b). Of the Draft Action Plan's five objectives (each with a proposed "line of action"), two concerned creativity—in the context of "sustainable development" and "cultural industries". Indeed, if the objective on sustainable development (Objective 3: "Foster cultural creativity as a cornerstone of sustainable development") was articulated as a theory, creativity is defined in a truly groundbreaking way. The objective's designated lines of action, point by point, asserted that creativity be central to individuals, communities, knowledge, rights and equalities, institutions, and governmental authority. It defined creativity essentially as the practice of a critical-cultural agency, whereby the material conditions of social freedom are actualized through cultural production, that is, culture can be instrumental in a broader political project: "Governments need to provide the conditions in which artists, cultural entrepreneurs and citizens may think, act and work creatively" (UNESCO, 1998b, p. 24).

First proposed at Mexico 1982, and with UN backing, UNESCO launched the World Decade for Cultural Development (1988–1997), orchestrating international debate, seminars, conferences, training programmes, information and research promotions, cultural cooperation and sponsored cultural projects (World Commission for Culture and Development and UNESCO, 1998). While this decade did not in itself generate the political advances previously hoped, it was the period in which "culture as development" became embedded in the UN's policy imagination (UNESCO, 1994). It was now a subfield of the growing UN discourse on global development but also—stimulated by the pivotal 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro—for promoting the new project of "sustainability".

The World Decade was defined by its prior published Plan of Action (1987) and extended the Mexico City Declaration that culture "includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (UNESCO, 1987, *Preamble*). Politically, the Action Plan aimed for an international dialogue, which, stated UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, would in turn "invent development forms". And creativity itself, curiously echoing European avant-garde art, would generate societal transformation through new modes of thought and models of practice, transposing art to everyday life, and shifting our understanding of pragmatic issues in industrial or environmental challenges (*ibid.*, p. 29). The Action Plan further insisted that creativity could contribute to all fields of policy (education, communication, science, and technology), and become as visible in "mass" art and media as the fine arts, and "creative workers" should play a greater participation in the "development of the natural environment and in the design of physical living conditions"

(*ibid.*, 96 and 97: section (ii), p. 29). Significantly, some of the most assertive statements on creativity were found in the section on “participation”, contributing to a public life of active self-expression, knowledge, values, and evolving lifestyles.

Reflecting on the World Decade, Maria Paola Goncalves stated that “Creativity is thus the product of participation by populations who wish to involve themselves in their own ‘modernization’ process through innovative inputs combining internal and external inputs. It may therefore be concluded that it constitutes a vital component of any ‘development’ strategy or project” (Goncalves, 1998, p. 44). In 1995, the newly established World Commission on Culture and Development published its first report, “Our Creative Diversity”. It remains a critical document in the annals of cultural policy, particularly as it comes after the collapse of the bipolar communist-capitalist world order (UNESCO, 1995). Our Creative Diversity aimed to set the parameters of an explicit “International Agenda” in cultural policy and global development, articulating the rising worldwide demand for more rights and freedoms, civil society participation in governance, and democracy in cultural provision. Moreover, the phrase “creative diversity” was a euphemism derived from the growing interest in “biodiversity” and the new environmental agenda generated by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987 and their report (known as the Brundtland Report, where sustainability as a concept was first promoted).

“Our Creative Diversity” was the most advanced conceptualization of global cultural policy, incorporating the intergovernmental conferences, and arguably providing UNESCO with the expansive frame of reference it uses today. Culture is not merely the arts or creative processes of artistic production: culture is a creative dynamo of social participation, an instrument in the promotion of human rights, a means of gender empowerment, a global media of communication, an approach to nature and the environment, to minorities and immigrants, and even global governance through its inherent capacity to create trans-societal solidarity. The report claimed for culture a central role in defining a new “global ethics” of coexistence and governance. Cultural policy was also a critical heuristic with which to explore, clarify, and critique “key world issues” (UNESCO, 1995, p. 289). The report’s central activist aim was to proclaim in explicit terms the failure of economics-based development and establish the terms “cultural diversity” and “cultural pluralism” as twin axiomatic terms for a global cultural policy that would become the primary critical frame for the evaluation of contemporary social life in a global economy. “Cultural diversity” as a concept maintained that difference is the creative dynamic of all cultural production and expression, and “cultural pluralism” is the mode of governance appropriate to diversity; recognition and participation

are essential conditions. The report's third chapter, "Creativity and empowerment", understands that in forging an "open and pluralistic" society, creativity will be central to democratization (UNESCO, 1995).

"Our Creative Diversity" arguably articulates, more than any other document, the intellectual trajectory of UNESCO from its 1945 Constitution to the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity in 2001 (and the rise of creative economy). In this section, I have, by way of paraphrase, indicated how the historical discourse of cultural development was, prior to 2005, rich and intellectually evolving by way of intergovernmental conferences and international cultural relations. Understanding creativity became a way of investigating the social and material conditions of intellectual as much as artistic labour—and these were always specific to specific places and local contexts. Creativity articulates a form of human agency that is at once as collective as it is individual and possesses the power to generate new models of coexistence. And understanding the relation between creative human agency and culture requires participation and collaboration. In short, creativity can never be reduced to a set of employment skills.

The Creative Production of Development

In this section, we will consider three practical examples of development work, each of which are connected only by the way they exemplify this above multidimensional notion of creativity, which had emerged (and declined) within UNESCO's "culture and development" policy discourse. Each example, in very different ways, articulates creative agency as individual and collective organization, fundamentally participatory and place-based (engaged in the complex of society and environment). The first case is an arts development organization called Nanzikambe (Malawi), the second is a cultural Centre called Stanica (Slovakia), and the third a peacebuilding agency International Alert (London based). Each short overview is informed by leading figures from each organization who have each participated in the organizations founding or historical evolution. The purpose of these examples is to assert how—outside the orbit of a Creative Economy dominated discourse—a "developmental creativity" is continuing and mutating in compelling forms.

Nazikambe Arts

Nanzikambe Arts, based in Malawi's capital city of Blantyre, is primarily engaged in the arts production of theatre and performance, for local, national, and international audiences. While theatre production and drama are their

core competencies, they also extend to visual arts, street arts, and music. As a development NGO in one of Africa's smallest countries, they have obtained funding and strategic input from a range of international agencies (from the Royal Norwegian Embassy to entrepreneurial British development workers like Melissa Eveleigh, an interview with whom informs this section). One of Nanzikambe's original aims, which often appeared as a strap-line on publicity, is "making sense of the world through the arts": this indicates the centrality of both individual learning and group knowledge (and the often fraught relation between them) to their creative approach. Given the precarious venture of using the arts in sub-Saharan African development work, they sought and obtained official recognition as the Nanzikambe Arts Development Organization, and since 2003 have cooperated with central government development strategy in the key thematic areas of health, good governance, malaria prevention, HIV and AIDS prevention, maternal health, and climate change. Employing 15–20 core staff at any one time, Nanzikambe involves over a hundred part-time workers and even more volunteers, and as an organization provide a rare hub for contemporary arts and development debate in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. *Theatre-making* is at the heart of their artistic mission, often involving productions in specific communities constructed around themes emerging from interaction with that community.

Melissa Eveleigh, a co-founder and development worker, explained how Nanzikambe had evolved as an organization, albeit in an "uncertain" way given their "context-dependent" environment (Interview with Melissa Eveleigh, 2017). The "context" was the persistent range of stakeholders "who had to be satisfied, brought on board, be satisfied, or "give us the nod", and so on; and as for the funding: Nanzikambe, from the beginning, had to demonstrate the value of its work in concrete terms, "which is very hard in the socially complex and custom-based, village or tribe-structured environment". Rather than comply with any one development funder's agenda, however, Nanzikambe maintained a strong working ethos. This was articulated for Eveleigh as "a yes and ... what if? Let's explore". She continued, "every situation was a discovery ... we continually asked ourselves: how do we improvise with performance and participatory arts here [in this particular place and situation], and respond to real needs?" Their creative process was equally not formed by adopting a particular "development theatre" template: "every project was specific to the group being addressed". This was the case, whether it involved working with street kids, with para-legals helping inmates in prisons, or engagement with HIV-AIDS sufferers through workshops and communities, or a range of other contexts.

“Our approach was spontaneous, responsive and unrestricted.” From a nucleus of committed artists and from a small project-based organization, Nazikambe forged a range of competencies, not through professional expertise alone but participation and social engagement. “We used Theatre for Development (TfD) and Theatre of the Oppressed—but *not as templates*.” For instance, she explained, Nazikambe took the typical TfD binary model of “oppressor/oppressed” and “fleshed it out in terms of the real complexity of the social situation”. This was despite the power of consensus that might be generated from the old binaries. This particular “oppressor/oppressed” binary, which underpins so much of the ethical substrate of development policy (identifying the dispossessed, the poor, the victim, etc.), “is actually not practically that useful”. Nazikambe’s work with domestic violence or risk factors for HIV, for example, required in the event a much more socio-culturally complex and nuanced understanding of the situation’s “many layers, levers, interpersonal interactions, social customs, traditions, group behaviors, authority and hierarchies, formal and informal, medical access, transport ... all kinds of conditions are involved in these situations”. The politically charged binaries, such as “oppressor/oppressed”, appear to offer a sense of justice but is not necessarily indicative of an actual source of the oppression or equally the actual outcomes of oppression and their social manifestations. “Oppression does not often just point to one person or a group, which is why we also engage leaders and decision-makers, and work at policy level.”

“In a city with few open public cultural spaces, the Nanzikambe Arts Performance Space was a very new concept, being inclusive and open for any touring performer (in a continent where touring is difficult)”. Nanzikambe operated with what they call an “Activator Network”, which is a range of semi-employed arts managers, producers, and activists numbering over 150 over 20 districts in and around the capital Blantyre. Activators are trained in TfD techniques, story development, social research, interactive performance and education, community mobilization, and specific technical knowledge. They individually negotiate projects and events with communities but also ensure that Nanzikambe can communicate and respond to their social concerns in terms of a dialogue with the community. Their “Tiyeni Methodology” is self-consciously “interactive”, where “Tiyeni” in the national Chichewa language signifies a “working together”. It emerges as a strategic approach to development, expressed strategically in their refusal to enter any given locale or community and impose pre-formulated, generic messages—particularly on communities who are facing specific problems with large issues.

Activators work collaboratively by setting up small social action groups in each community, using “local knowledge” as much as any development data for creating the relevant artistic content for the of drama and performance to be specific to that community. This approach regularly evolved into a programme of community activities culminating in larger scale performances. While reaching a population of 16 million people, Malawi is economically small and Nanzikambe now finds itself being identified as playing a national role in social and cultural development—and inevitably under some obligation to deliver on capacity building for the city’s cultural sector, as well as for government development agendas. Often operating outside the city, in a largely rural country and subsistence farming, Nanzikambe has notably responded to one of the worst African cases of HIV/AIDS and consequent infected or orphaned children, combined with pre-modern customs and consequent fears. This did not take a formal didactic approach to medical knowledge, but with, as Eveleigh conveyed, an emphasis on “creating situations of communication and expression”, where “the local people we gather for our activity or project discover for themselves what they need to know and how they need to use that knowledge”. Many of their techniques are story-based, where an activator or actor will integrate factual information with an evolving narrative directly relating to the communal environmental conditions of that place. Roles within the dramatic narrative “enact a process of collective deliberation and then decision-making”: the creativity is primarily invested in this process, of “transformation through art”.

Stanica Cultural Centre

Stanica is an interdisciplinary cultural centre, self-identifying on its website as “creative, educative and critical” (see also Ilic, 2015). It emerged from a building it restored and reconstructed from 2003 to 2005—the old railway station of the Žilina-Zaricie train station, which is still operational. The railway station location provides an appropriate metaphor, of a place as a living metaphor: as their old website stated, “We continue the story of a small train station, where people stop as they’re passing by, to share news and experiences from their travels.” As creative producers, Stanica defined their organization as tri-dimensional—as an independent arts venue, an artistic laboratory, and a collective of cultural activists. Founded by NGO Truc sphérique in 1998 in Žilina (which remains the legal personality of the cultural centre) and initially financed by an EU cultural fund, Stanica opened in 2003 and by 2005 was a notable public facility with a developing gallery, workshop, artists residency

space, a cafe, a waiting-room, and a multifunctional presentation venue for theatre, dance, concerts, discussions, and screenings. In 2010, they began using the exterior space around the building now used as a garden, park, summer stage, and a children's playground, and have now extended to two other locations—an experimental theatre venue “S2” (an alternative construction of beer crates and straw bales, built under nearby road bridge in 2009) and the Neolog synagogue in Žilina (restored and used as an arts and event space since May 2017).

The NGO Truc sphérique hold to a principle—that contemporary arts and culture generate “means of creativity development, personal growth and discovering new forms of communication”. This, in turn, creates “new visions” of social life—beyond the visions of the social order generated in the political or economic sphere. There is an emphasis on young creatives (most of the workers and volunteers in Stanica are in their 20s or early 30s), and also youth mobility, empowering, and providing access to networks on regional, national, and international levels. In 2000, a “Creative Centre Ateliér” was initiated, with children between 6 and 14 years given workshops to facilitate creative skills in a range of arts, from ceramic, to puppets, animation, and painting.

Stanica centre workers are self-defined as a “collective” not because they all have the same contractual rights or interests (as would a cooperative) but on the basis of their individual (if not personal) sense of commitment. As founder-director Marek Adamov explained: Stanica comprises circles of interconnected “5–6 core-core, 15 core, around 50 volunteers—no elections, no hierarchies, annual discussion meeting, an open strategy but not official” (Interview with Marek Adamov, 2017). He describes its unusual dynamic as “relational—people just know what it's about, as its based on values and its how we live”. New members arrive, but “it takes about a year for them to become embedded in the social relations of the place ... the unwritten nature of rules and strategies”. Adamov explains: “We are not averse to arts management models—but we don't use one. In terms of work, “I have not done anything else ... this is a life vocation ... and the Centre is a collective of friends.” Stanica “makes a space for first of all for us, and then for others”. And the space grows, changes, or develops, as the group does, in dialogue and in relation to everything outside of itself. This is a dynamic, and at times, personal set of relationships: that's in part, because in the city of Žilina there is “almost no artists” and no cultural sector of creative milieu on which to draw.

In 2013, Stanica published a statement entitled *The DIY Guide: creating a cultural centre* (Stanica Cultural Centre, 2013), which articulated a succinct philosophy of action. The “DIY” dimension of the centre is formed by two social conditions: (i) the specialization and bureaucracy of creativity in social

or public space—who, for example, is allowed to design and build a facility, under what permissions and with what qualifications or planning laws. A creative project involving improvised and collaborative building will as a matter of course find itself in confrontation with the authorities. (ii) The lack of economic resource allotted for culture—the perpetual lack of funds for experimental or new forms of creativity. As *The DIY Guide* explained, Stanica’s two pronged response to this is to engage in intellectual collaboration with an architect willing to work within their philosophy (usually pro bono); and to engage in collective recycling, of ideas as much as materials, where costs are minimized as creativity becomes a dynamic of locating, understanding material possibility, reconstructing, and transforming the function of something. We “re-build, re-think, re-make” (p. 4). And this “re-” philosophy, explains Abramov, is not only a matter of arts-based activities but extends to the space and resources—where every space or piece of equipment (the sound system) can be hired, lent, or reused daily for something else (events, schools, markets, or other social activities).

The Stanica facility is defined as “live architecture”, where, as the Guide asserts, space emerges from a triangulation of collaboration with the centre, the architects, and the users. Abramov observed: “How can a cultural centre be a response to change? We began as an arts centre, but we now become more of a community centre—we will accept travelling cinema or children and young people, and now we have a rising second generation in our team ... children who did workshops here are now adults doing exhibitions.” With no guaranteed public funding, he exclaims, a willingness to “work in substandard conditions” is essential, and Stanica prioritizes the kind of people who are “inventors and investors”—they invent new ideas and are willing to invest time and energy into its realization. Creativity emerges primarily from “the choice of venue”: renovation, design, building, management, programming, negotiations with authorities, legal, and financial management.

In terms of organization, “We are not always democratic.” There is no formal council or Board “with seating and voting”. Rather, there is “argument and people doing their own thing ... and convincing others that it is worth doing”. They are a collective but do not look for “common decisions” or consensus. An example is that “no one decided to build the second building—I started to build it, and people started to join in”. Abramov explains this in terms of an “open schedule” approach, where if one of the team wants to schedule something “they just book it in”—unless they specifically want to discuss it. He explains that “it’s important to have this freedom—freedom not to manage things ... management consumes valuable time, and it usually means trying to control other people: it’s a waste of time”.

Creativity is intrinsic to the operational dimensions of the Centre but not assumed to be all artistic or all exciting; but it's always stimulating: "If you don't have money, you have to be creative—many of our designs are motivated by lack of money: no budget, just place and people." And, Abramov asks, "What is Creativity?"; "it's nothing special—but to wake up every day and go to work, with a big group of people with similar values. This is more about responsibility than creativity—it's not a project but a place, and demands a long time commitment." Likewise, the question of value, of evaluation or formal quality assessment, so internal to Development work, is not actually that relevant in this context: "We are successful if we still like it; if we still have people for whom can work, and with so many new ideas, if we don't have to find another job."

For at Stanica, "every day something new is happening, and every day we have routine in looking after the building, but at the same time we feel there is no routine ... that is our experience. And that is the achievement."

International Alert

International Alert is a "peacebuilding" organization based in London. Working in over 25 countries, it contributes to conflict management of diverse kinds, and to worldwide information dissemination on conflict or and peacebuilding approaches to Development (Interview with Phil Vernon, 2017). The development activities of "peace" extend to facilitating community relations, crime and violence, gender equality, the management and distribution of natural resources, and to climate change. This is in addition to the more predictable and established political problems in citizen-state relations, such as negotiating minority rights and the development of more inclusive societies.

Phil Vernon, Director of Programmes, joined Alert in 2004 at a time in which the organization had pioneered "peacebuilding" as a form of Development. And yet, he asks, "what do we mean by peace? At the time, it still had not been fully defined in the organization." Alert currently has around 300 staff around the world, with managers in each country who liaise with the head office in London; they operate on a direct reporting basis. Yet, Vernon describes the organization as having created "something of a think tank intellectual ethos", where ideas about how to *do peacebuilding* "need to be tailored to the specificities of each context", thus creativity is not only encouraged but necessary, and consists of "an open dialogue, particularly with people in the field, which is continuous". He continues, this is not merely a "liberal attitude or value set", but as "most of our funding is project-financing obtained by the

teams on the ground—and not centrally distributed by Headquarters—each project is based on a tailored framework for its own context, and on the creative ingenuity of those involved—staff and partners”.

For Vernon, “creativity definitely exists”, but it is “very much tied to the ideas, and thus emerges from a combination of dialogue and the acute pressure of trying to raise funds and achieve difficult outcomes in conflict situations. So stress is a useful contributor to innovation!”

Following the initial construction of the organization’s identity (as a “peacebuilding” organization), they evolved a strong critical orientation to the discourse of International Development and Humanitarian Aid in which they were situated, particularly in common understandings of governance. Development organizations in any area, for Vernon, can all too easily build up “a heavy management hierarchy: because of the constant demands for compliance, reporting, investigations, finance and taxation, donor negotiation and political accountability, and so on”. It all naturally generates bureaucracy and a consequent risk-averse management of development work, which craves predictability. In fact “most funding is precisely predicated on outcomes being predictable, something we dispute”. Creativity is not a term Vernon necessarily uses or hears regularly in the organization, but, on reflection, “it’s an appropriate term”. It is appropriate for what is routinely understood as the project-based improvisation and continual extemporization required in unstable, prohibitive and politically problematic situations. IA, for Vernon, promotes a freedom of “pragmatic spontaneity” among its project workers; they have a latitude of decision-making powers over the local design and implementation of a project, albeit within an agreed peacebuilding framework of values.

Alert’s thinking is “to see where creativity emerges”. For Vernon, “we begin by asking, what happens to development when we ‘add peace’: For when we add peace, the economy looks like this ... When we add peace, then safety and security look like this ... When we add peace, justice and access to the law look like this ... and so on.” In all, given the relatively nebulous character of “peace”, development work in this area “requires an initial act of imagination”. But it is imagination informed by a data-grounded and empirical knowledge of a particular place, states Vernon. “We need also to begin assessing what the gap is between the normative idea of peace, justice, and power, and the actuality of people’s lives encountered by the project team ... and assess that gap, and then work practically to close that gap.” This requires the kind of collaborative thinking that can define a pathway, then “strengthening that pathway, removing or negotiating obstacles, assessing distance and time-sensitive factors”.

Vernon's influential publication "Working with the Grain to Change the Grain" (Baksh & Vernon, 2010) is in part a critique of the UN's MDGs, and in part, a statement of peacebuilding methodology. It builds on Alert's Programing Framework and their organizational peacebuilding methodology (International Alert, 2010). Based around identifying how interventions can "work within the power dynamics of the political economy, while promoting changes to it" (Baksh & Vernon, 2010, p. 5), it is, as Vernon notes, "based on a 'positive peace', not simply an absence of conflict". For "our idea of peace comes with values (a belief in progress, fairness, respect and openness), which are critical to developing and building a civil society".

He continues, "Another key premise of ours, is that Development [itself] creates conflict." When power holders are threatened by the changes that development may bring, if they see this as a zero-sum game, blockages arise. For "even as we make development progress in any society, we need also to forge the processes to create peace". Vernon explains how this involves an organizational epistemology—a means of collective thought. "We work with a picture of a valley or a plain, in which our vision of peace is visible on the other side, and we have to chart a route towards that visible peace, based on an assessment of where the main opportunities are (i.e. the existing pathways we can help improve) and where the obstacles are that we might need to help find a way past, or perhaps try to remove." For "it's an assessment of the gap between the normative idea and the actuality (which would be defined in partnership with partners on the ground, such as Rwanda)". For example, he explains, every organization has its "tool kit" of development strategies. And "development projects can give a country or place a lot of things ... but if the conditions of peace are not there, it can all dissolve". In the words of "Working with the Grain", development needs to be reconceived as "a local, endogenous process while the role of international agencies is to promote, catalyse and nudge change, based on a sophisticated understanding of the political economy" (p. 6).

In Rwanda, Alert had to manage the complex situation of "post-conflict but without peace", and find ways of helping build the conditions for peace. This, they identified, was most productively (and necessarily) found in economic relations (or social relations based around shared economic interests in enterprise and employment). "This included de-mobbed soldiers and prisoners, women, young people (with little knowledge of the genocide except the rampant myths circulating) ... they came together and we have seen situations in which people who were previously enemies now collaborate on business activities." Vernon explained that the effectiveness of this was that it broadened the scope of the conversations from simply "need to become friends or engage in the problematic task of emotional reconciliation", to include

practical livelihoods-orientated initiatives. It was pragmatic civil alliances that formed the stable conditions for reconciliation”, “a social dynamic on a trajectory towards a more peaceful society”.

A counter example would be in the Philippines, where some enterprise and business alliances are part of a cancerous cycle of corrupt opportunism and may undermine progress towards peace. “A particular economy ... which on the surface might seem OK ... can underpin an informal economy of violence, illegal smuggling, land transactions, drugs and weapons trading.” Vernon asserted the need to achieve a critical understanding of a given political economy—and also the “shadow economy” (Friedrich Schneider’s now infamous term) that it conceals. This, he asserts, is critical “to ensuring the sustainability of peace agreements between government and rebel groups”. And how do Alert obtain access to that form of intelligence? “Through our research and dialogue with those involved, we try to understand how the vertical rebellions of citizens against the state interact with horizontal conflicts between clans, gangs, identity groups or factions. Vertical rebellions often mask horizontal conflict, which thus comes to the fore when the government reaches peace agreements with rebellions.” For these are “the kinds of dynamic political environments we are dealing with”. In thinking of the creative process, therefore, “creativity is people on the ground—coming up with practical ideas on how to implement the overall peacebuilding framework and relate, incentivize and motivate participants and partner organizations, and the alliances that can help resolve conflict”.

For International Alert’s management, this means continually framing innovative ways of trying out ideas—framing ideas, testing ideas of change, then sharing those with others. Advocacy and outreach is used as a vehicle for this, gauging the responses and attitudes within government and civil society, economic actors in a particular place, and using this to help identify pathways to peace. There is an inherent curiosity to this process: “it all needs to be taken in a spirit of curiosity: peace is an approach to dealing with ‘wicked problems’ and remaining constantly aware of emerging options and pathways”.

Vernon concludes by noting that the problem with many “social change-oriented development approaches” is that they are driven by funding requirements, which create a tendency towards a logic of “problem-solution”, that is, predicting solutions to today’s problems, and using a “linear” problem analysis, (and “where a solution follows from the analysis”). Alert has to accommodate this, of course, as they do the demands of funders, but ours is a vision-based approach to peacebuilding—for example, we imagine, with our Rwandese colleagues, how Rwanda will be in five years’ time with our peacebuilding approach: not just better but with more pathways and more people empowered to becoming better.

Conclusion

The combination of the three cases above—Nanzikambe (Malawi), Stanica (Slovakia), and International Alert (London)—does not exemplify a common approach to creativity. Rather, they exemplify a diversity of approaches all outside the normative principles of the now dominant policy framework of Creative Economy. They all, moreover, exemplify a critical approach to existing templates of development, and with a central focus on their own endogenous growth as organizations they have all generated creative approaches to development in three interrelated areas. These areas were identified in the second section of this chapter as the multidimensional and original UNESCO Culture and Development discourse—where an ethically driven development agenda was characterized by place-based engagement, inclusive dialogue-centred citizen participation, and a recognition of the separate realms of cultural practice. On this latter point, a recognition of the separate realms of cultural practice not only admits that “culture” is a realm that, while conceptually nebulous, can cultivate forms of social autonomy (e.g. individuality and self-expression); and moreover, cultural creativity often exceeds our ability to manage or control it. For UNESCO’s Culture and Development discourse, creative agency as a means of development will involve (and evolve) place-specific forms of self-determination and political engagement—radical democracy, participation, and public culture.

However, as the first half of this chapter explained, the current dominant formulation of creativity (as a veritable global ideology of economic growth) is co-dependent on a set of economic norms, where strategic management, business viability, and trade in the global economy are not just aspirational for some creative industries but of normative value for creative life *per se*. Indeed, creative workers in developing societies, as the Creative Economy Report 2013 was at pains to point out, find themselves subject to a global regime of development governed by a wholly abstract conception of “economy” and where non-monetary forms of value were only ever supplementary. In time, the lack of intellectual continuity with the historic UNESCO discourse of cultural development—its intergovernmental discourse of combative and pluralistic international intellectual cooperation—opened an ideological chasm. Within this chasm, all understanding of culture as providing the conditions for radical democratic agency through a creative social and public life, was truncated. Currently, it can be argued, intellectual advances in our understanding of creativity are more driven through development practice and not through policy at all (still less, UN-level policy). Contemporary research in development creativity should consider the possibility of a “creative production of development” on the ground.

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Interviews

- Interview with Marek Adamov (video conference), 29th March, 2017: 5pm–6:30pm
- Interview with Melissa Eveleigh (video conference), Friday 30th March, 2017: 4:30–5:15pm
- Interview with Phil Vernon (video conference), Friday 17th March, 2017: 11am–12pm.



17

Women Entrepreneurs in Saudi Arabia: Creative Responses to Gendered Opportunities

Deema Sonbol

Introduction

Women entrepreneurship had been neglected by both academic scholars and by the mass media (Carter & Marlow, 2007, p. 11). Entrepreneurship was largely conceptualized as a male activity (Brush, 1992), and described as “created by men, for men and applied to men” (Carter & Marlow, 2007, p. 11). Indeed, most of the literature on women and entrepreneurship did not address the consequences of adapting entrepreneurship frameworks, which were developed via analyses of men’s lives, on females (Carter & Marlow, 2007). Yet, women’s entry into entrepreneurial activity is evidently related to economic growth. The National Foundation of Women Business Owners claims that there is a positive link between the inclination of women’s participation in entrepreneurship and gross domestic product (GDP) (Avolio & Radović-Marković, 2013).

Such claims are also recognized by the Saudi Arabian regulatory environment and has manifested in policies that aim to foster female entrepreneurship. Nevertheless, women entrepreneurs in Saudi Arabia are embedded within a society imbued with religious and conventional norms that valorizes the male figure as the main “breadwinner” and the leader of the family. Women’s roles have tended to depend on gender biases and the sexual division of labour, which confine them to the domestic realm to bear and raise children, as society

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expects, whilst men ubiquitously dominate most sectors of the economy. However, new policy initiatives and a contemporary shift in attitudes has led to women's engagement in entrepreneurship, which is gradually increasing, and such inclinations depict a form of dissidence to conventional gender-role biases as well as a radical shift in engrained sociocultural perceptions. Saudi women are beginning to realize their entrepreneurial potential but have to navigate a plethora of barriers in order to do so and this means women remain underrepresented and continue to lack the necessary resources to freely engage with entrepreneurial opportunities. Through exploring the barriers that women entrepreneurs face, it is possible to use this as a framework to help identify the creative strategies employed by women to navigate their entrepreneurial environment. The development of these strategies is argued to be a form of creativity and therefore sketching out a framework for exploring them is crucial for extending our understanding of the creativity of female entrepreneurs.

Entrepreneurship and Creativity

Creativity, within an entrepreneurial context, has been deemed as the generation of practical and novel ideas regarding products, services, process, procedures, and work mechanisms by an individual or a small group working together (Amabile, 1996). Drawing upon Oldham and Cummings (1996), Coelho, Augusto, and Lages (2011) assert that both novelty and usefulness are integral ingredients for an idea to be deemed as creative. *Novelty*, in this regard, is when an idea enables the recombination of existing resources or the development of new ones (Coelho et al., 2011 p. 32). *Usefulness* refers to the tacit or explicit value that ideas provide to an organization, either in the short or long term (Shalley, Zhou, & Oldham, 2004). Such definition can infer that the outcome is more significant than the thinking process per se. Rather than considering the extent to which the mental processing through which an idea is engendered is creative, certain individuals are more inclined to judge the extent to which an idea as a final product is creative. However, there is a growing recognition that creativity need not be classified as requiring a product to be produced and recognized in order to exist (Martin & Wilson, 2017). Indeed, within entrepreneurship, creativity can manifest in many forms (e.g. new marketing strategy, new work processes, new management tools) and has already been conceptualized beyond the traditional notions of a "product" encapsulated within the new business or service itself. This wider conception of creativity enables exploration of how the responses of women entrepreneurs to the structural barriers they face can be considered as a type of

creativity, especially as overcoming these barriers very often requires new ways of thinking and organizing.

Indeed, creativity has been referred to as the “soul of entrepreneurship” (Morris & Kuratko, 2002, p. 104). Entrepreneurship can also be designated as “creative” as it requires performing things that are not generally performed in ordinary course of business routines. The ability to create a vision for a new venture encompasses more than what entrepreneurs do (Mole & Ram, 2012, p. 4), as it also constitutes the circumstances that facilitate the starting of a business for entrepreneurs. Seeing these opportunities to create and build new ventures, when others see chaos and confusion (Cuervo, Ribeiro, & Roig, 2007), reveals its creative nature. Entrepreneurship encapsulates new venture-creation through four vital dimensions: individual, environment, organizations; and processes, which are aided by collaborative networks in education, institutions, and government (Kuratko & Hodgetts, 1992, p. 27). A common misperception regards entrepreneurship as merely constituting either innovation or invention. Through bypassing this folkloric notion, a contemporary understanding of entrepreneurship suggests that it also covers the interaction between the environment, the venture, and the entrepreneur (Kuratko & Hodgetts, 1992, p. 8): in this case, the environment in which Saudi female entrepreneurs and their firms are embedded.

Entrepreneurs exhibiting high levels of creativity are argued to be engaged in generating radical changes and contributions (Zhou, 2014) to either the business itself, the business sector or to the economy. Conversely, those possessing lower levels of creativity normally alter, modify or reconfigure existing ideas or coalesce unrelated ideas or artefacts in a useful, novel manner. An entrepreneur with creative capabilities is able to further ameliorate them through either training or work experience (Zhou, 2014; Zhou & Shalley, 2003). A guiding force for entrepreneurs’ creativity has been put forward as one’s vision. It is the fabric of the future and a depiction of the creative mind (Nyström, 1993). Creativity is, hence, more than just a “good idea”: it is the development of the idea through extended thinking, experience, research, and work (Kuratko & Hodgetts, 1992). Indeed, creativity in entrepreneurship goes beyond merely engendering new business ideas; it involves the discovery, creation, assessment, exploration, and exploitation of business opportunities (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000). Whether within new ventures or existing ones, creativity is an inevitable constituent of the entrepreneurial function. This chapter, then, identifies how creativity is encapsulated in women’s thinking and reflexive abilities, exploitation of current information on entrepreneurship and in their everyday experiences.

Creative entrepreneurs have the capacity to both create and exploit new business opportunities through active and purposeful experiential learning and experimentation (Nyström, 1993). Creativity, in this sense, is regarded as the balanced intellectual converging and unfolding of experience. By being creative, entrepreneurs excel in handling the complex tendencies immanent in the entrepreneurial act. This could be achieved through acquiring new knowledge or forging new relationships or merely focusing on existing technologies and networks. Therefore, they can be concerned with exploiting and opening up technological, organizational, and marketing possibilities, and, most imperatively, to excel in balancing all these activities (Nyström, 1993). Indeed, the key to success for an entrepreneur is to amalgamate creative thinking and imagination with logical and systematic processes (Kuratko & Hodgetts, 1992).

Entrepreneurship as a creative process encompasses the assessment of opportunities and the tenacity to achieve, under contextual barriers, the creation of new value from knowledge (Hindle, 2010). It is also a set of actions that takes purposive individuals from an initial point of identifying an opportunity to an end point in which measurable value is achieved. This process constitutes three intertwined domains of activity: the personal, the strategic, and the tactical, and each domain is conceived as requiring an entrepreneur to espouse distinctive capacities. This theorization of entrepreneurship as a creative process that entails engendering value from either knowledge or experiences informs this chapter to highlight that female entrepreneurs (potential or existing) are able to extract the meaning of their personal and psychological processes and to add value through the ways in which they navigate the patriarchal barriers and redefine their positionality in the economic realm.

Within the context of Saudi Arabia, with the existing cultural and structural barriers to women entrepreneurs in mind, a question remains over whether this conception of creativity means Saudi Arabian women experience the enactment of their creativity in the same way as their male counterparts. Women entrepreneurs in Saudi Arabia incur more barriers than men due to a patriarchal system. In order to navigate through this structure, they need to employ creative strategies and invest more energy to succeed as businesswomen. Women's creative approaches can hence be deemed divergent to their male counterparts given the different nature and type of barriers faced. Such circumstances can either be detrimental, serving as a competitive disadvantage, or empowering as it enables women to create strategies to navigate extant barriers. It remains, however, unclear what types of strategies women create to navigate the sociocultural and institutional barriers to enter into the entrepreneurial process, and the ways in which they employ such creative strategies is under theorized.

Factors Affecting Creativity in the Entrepreneurial Process

Despite the recognition of creativity's crucial role in the entrepreneurial process, a more comprehensive understanding of how creativity is either improved or impeded is required. Drawing upon the Capabilities Approach can enable a better understanding of how the extant barriers to female entrepreneurs in Saudi Arabia are hindering their creative capabilities. It is also helpful to consider the distinction between opportunities and capabilities and how differences in the amount of creative work required for women entrepreneurs to be successful in this context can arise.

Entrepreneurial opportunities are not considered synonymous with possibilities (Martin & Wilson, 2015). Possibilities may constitute opportunities; however, opportunities require an interplay between structural possibilities and agential actions. They are, more specifically, combinations of possibilities that need specifying (Martin & Wilson, 2015). It can be, for instance, hypothetically plausible that the majority of women in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) have the possibility to become entrepreneurs, but the opportunity to become one does not exist equally for all, as other possibilities need to be in place for such opportunities to be seized. That is, opportunities "require a combination of possibilities to come together, through chance, through individual action, and through the actions of others, into a favourable situation" (Martin & Wilson, 2015, p. 162). Having entrepreneurial capability was therefore argued by Martin and Wilson (2015) to be one's freedom to develop entrepreneurial opportunities within their context. This freedom, however, is contingent on a set of other capabilities that stem from structure-agency interactions. Such inextricable enmeshment enables a better understanding of the ways in which endogenous and exogenous factors affect female's entrepreneurial capabilities. Drawing upon the Capabilities Approach (Nussbaum, 2011), Martin and Wilson (2015) argued that although one can have the capability "to do or be many things" (p. 160), the freedom to actualize these capabilities is not always available. The authors posited that a certain society, although is efficacious in developing its citizens' internal capabilities, may not provide individuals the opportunity to transform their capabilities into actions. For example, the Saudi regulatory environment may provide women with adequate education and training in business, that is, they can develop their internal capabilities as potential businesswomen; however, it also contains policies such as the male guardianship law that can hinder opportunities to run or grow a business.

Martin and Wilson (2015) identify two types of capabilities: internal and combined capabilities and argue they enable classification of the possibilities required for the freedom to develop an entrepreneurial opportunity in one's environment (Martin & Wilson, 2015). Whilst *internal capabilities* are the dynamic states of individuals that reside within them, for instance, the psychology and perceptions of an entrepreneur, *combined capabilities* refer to the "totality of the opportunities [one] has for choice and action in [one's] specific, political, social, and economic situation" (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 21). Martin and Wilson (2015) also identified three exogenous capabilities (the possibility to combine resources, to enact market exchange, and to generate profit or value) alongside four endogenous capabilities (reflexivity, creativity, performativity, and intent) in order to enable assessment of the minimum necessary conditions for the development of entrepreneurial opportunities. These capabilities serve as a useful framework to understand the unique barriers to female entrepreneurship in KSA. Identifying these conditions enables the subsequent identification of the creative strategies being used or espoused by women to navigate these and enact their entrepreneurial identities and practices.

To enable understanding of the factors impacting creativity, an interactional approach in which *personal* and *contextual* factors are taken into account (Oldham & Cummings, 1996; Woodman, Sawyer, & Griffin, 1993; Zhou & Shalley, 2003) is proposed. Personal factors can include a range of characteristics such as interests, intuition, attraction to complexity, aesthetic sensitivity, self-confidence, and ambiguity tolerance, which relate positively to measures of creative performance across a wide range of domains (Barron & Harrington, 1981; Gough, 1979; Martindale, 1989; Oldham & Cummings, 1996). Contextual factors are argued to include "the combination of all implicit and explicit circumstances that impact the situation of a process can be termed the context in which a business process is embedded" (Rosemann, Recker, & Flender, 2008). These contextual factors can be either exogenous (economy, politics, technology, etc.) or endogenous, such as corporate culture, management system (Kronsbein, Meiser, & Leyer, 2014). Other conditions affecting creativity are access to markets (Kirzner, 1985; Schumpeter, 1934; Shane, 2003), finances (Bruno & Tyebjee, 1982), and management (in the form of human and organizational capital) (Aldrich, 1999).

Brush, De Bruin, and Welter's (2009) "5M" framework (market, money, management, meso/macro environment, and "motherhood") illustrates the integral building blocks of business viability. By incorporating the meso/macro environment and "motherhood", the authors argue that there are

factors beyond the market, such as the household context, cultural norms, and institutional regulations, which have crucial implications upon understanding the genesis of challenges incurred by women entrepreneurs. Motherhood was adopted as a metaphor (Brush et al., 2009) to capture those domestic or household influences that have significant impacts upon women's entrepreneurial endeavours. In the same vein, gender differences, evident in the labour market, can also be explained through investigating the characteristics of a household (Dimova, Gang, & Landon-Lane, 2006): the roles within the family and the relationship between them. Thus, the unequal distribution of power within a domestic sphere can manifest into women's sociocultural position. This research has extended into understanding how social positionality, referred to as the space at the intersection of structure and agency (Dy, Marlow, & Martin, 2016), affects resource allocation, and for those in marginal positions, can be fundamental to establishing an entrepreneurial venture (Dy et al., 2016).

The above arguments suggest the circumstances within the private realm can influence the cultural norms and thus women's social position. However, it is important to recognize that the unequal distribution of power relations is simultaneously constructed and reinforced by both the household and the social structure. Regardless of the genesis of such inequality, the current "reality" is of relevance as women entrepreneurs are those who incur the hurdles. The main argument to emphasize is that delving into the domestic and social realm can unmask the ways in which gender-role expectations (and biases) can influence women's entrepreneurial opportunities; therefore, further research is needed to mitigate the sociocultural barriers associated with establishing a business venture.

Other factors that can impact creative abilities are the macro and meso environment, which encompass elements such as sociocultural norms and expectations from each gender (Brush et al., 2009). Specifically, the macro environment entails national regulations and policies in addition to cultural and economic influences. It influences gender socialization and can permeate an array of decision-making contexts (Brush et al., 2009). It can, therefore, be deemed an exogenous influence that women entrepreneurs have little control over. The meso environment, on the other hand, constitutes regional support services and policies, organizational initiatives, and industries (Dopfer, Foster, & Potts, 2004; Pitelis, 2005). It generally concerns the intermediate institutions (between the macro environment and micro level) that encompass business associations and occupational networks. Business networking activities in addition to social capital play a fundamental role in female entrepreneurs'

access to financial resources (Carter, Brush, Gatewood, Greene, & Hart, 2003; Shaw, Lam, Carter, & Wilson, 2006). Bringing the insights of the 5M model (Brush et al., 2009) with the contextual and personal factors (Amabile, 2012; Oldham & Cummings, 1996; Woodman et al., 1993; Zhou & Shalley, 2003) that have been identified as influencing the creative process, and the internal and combined capabilities (Martin & Wilson, 2015), it becomes possible to integrate these theoretical models to frame and unveil the context-specific barriers to female entrepreneurs in Saudi Arabia.

Barriers to Female Entrepreneurship in Saudi Arabia

Sociocultural Barriers

Women can incur obstacles which make becoming an entrepreneur a challenge (Dechant & Lamky, 2005; Hutchings, Metcalfe, & Cooper, 2010; Le Renard, 2008; Mazawi, 2002). Although many of these barriers are shared by both male and female entrepreneurs, women incur additional obstacles due to their embeddedness in discriminatory sociocultural contexts, encapsulating conventional and stereotypical norms, which are, in turn, reinforced in policies and the legal structure. Gender-roles, derived from social values, expectations, and attitudes, can serve as hindrances to female entrepreneurs as they ascribe women with a constructed essentialist conceptualization of femininity and womanhood that influence their roles in society as caregivers, mothers, wives, and so on. The latter can have negative implications upon their aspirations and entrepreneurial endeavours as these social norms compromise women's entrepreneurial expectations and opportunity identification (Brush et al., 2009).

Social values and norms within KSA underpin highly conservative attitudes towards women. Women are ascribed with traditional feminine-typed roles associated with the domestic sphere, as mothers and wives. That is, women in KSA are to enact their roles as the main caregiver in the family, and such "values" are held by the majority of Saudis. Such social conditions and ideologies impact Saudi women's aspirations to entrepreneurial positions (Clarke, 2007). Some traditional families remain intransigent in their opposition to a female member becoming an entrepreneur due to conventional attitudes and perceptions with regards to women's activities and participation in the social or public arena (Calvert & Al-Shetaiwi, 2002; Minkus-McKenna, 2009).

Regulatory Barriers

From an institutional lens, governmental or legal requirements act as barriers to women entrepreneurs to fully realize their potential as businesswomen. Women in Saudi Arabia are subjected to *male guardianship* laws that are characterized by differential treatments that can be discriminatory in areas such as marriage, divorce, or personal issues. The male guardianship law declares that all females must have a male guardian; a father, brother, or husband, known as a *mahram* who makes crucial decisions for them. This law has been extended to further restrict women's mobility both within and outside KSA. The driving ban inside the country and the need for a male guardian's consent for international travel disadvantage them. Less privileged women may incur financial burdens to acquire a driver or private taxis. Women can therefore be precluded from significant regional, national, and international business opportunities. These can also stifle their aspirations to engage in entrepreneurial ventures.

There are also crucial areas where government-led policies are inadequate to support female entrepreneurship in Saudi Arabia despite their effort to enhance women's economic activity. Namely, there does not exist a clear targeted policy to adhere to women's participation in the entrepreneurial sector. Business licensing policy is another obstacle incurred by Saudi women when starting a business as they tend to lack access to reliable information about how to start a business, which in turn fosters uncertainty among female entrepreneurs and affects their confidence (Lavelle & Al Sheikh, 2013). Although ladies' sections within government institutions were established, these sections were deemed ineffective (Lavelle & Al Sheikh, 2013), and hence women entrepreneurs have restricted access to governmental services and have to rely on a male relative to finish important paperwork in the "main" sections of the government entity, which is specified for men.

A further legal requirement also requires women to hire or appoint a male manager to run their businesses especially for public-facing businesses. A *wakeel*, a legal male representative, is also required when starting a business (Lavelle & Al Sheikh, 2013). Despite the lift of the *wakeel* policy by the Ministry of Commerce in 2004, the enforcement of such policy change has not been effective throughout all government sectors, and women entrepreneurs thus still have to meet with this policy. Restricting licensing options is another fundamental barrier. Business activities prevalent among women are often not in the official list of licensed categories. Such regulatory uncertainties can mean that applying for a business licence can deter potential female entrepreneurs in

the country. Many women, accordingly, go about forging unlicensed businesses that are obscured from the formal economy. There is also a lack of support from governmental policies with regards to the growing needs of businesswomen for support services and infrastructure such as childcare and transportation (Lavelle & Al Sheikh, 2013).

Educational/Institutional Barriers

The above delineated sociocultural factors such as cultural and religious tenets are reified into policies such as institutionalizing sex segregation (Dechant & Lamky, 2005; Le Renard, 2008; Mazawi, 2002) (both at school and in the workplace). Such segregation of educational or work facilities can impede women's learning and experience opportunities (Mtango, 2004, p. 55). With respect to education, rather than preparing females for their role as active contributors to the Saudi economy, there still remains the focus on ubiquitous and conventional discourses that stress the female's role as mothers or wives. The curriculum in some educational institutions still relies upon orthodox contents and ways of teaching as memorizing. Such a system can fail to foster young Saudi women's entrepreneurial skills and competencies. Aspiring female entrepreneurs may consequently start with disadvantages due to the lack of access to education that is pertinent to developing their business and entrepreneurial skills and careers.

Organizational Initiatives

A lack of female access to knowledge pertinent to entrepreneurship, in addition to the lack of training from business organizations, may result in women's lack of understanding of how to run businesses. Another challenge facing women entrepreneurs is the process of integrating technology innovation into their businesses. There are, conversely many initiatives provided by the public and private sector to help women with their entrepreneurial ventures, yet women tend to lack the awareness about the significance of the initiatives or their relevance to their business needs. Consequently, they can miss out on seizing such opportunities to advance their businesses. Women in KSA are also observed to lack the networking opportunities to find experts with experience due to experts' reluctance to work with women who are unknown in the business field. This is expressed by Barringer and Ireland (2011) who stressed that new ventures are more likely to fail due to the liabilities of newness that

highlight that new firms often fade as individuals involved cannot adjust fast enough to their new roles, and also due to the firm's lack of track records of success.

Economic/Financial Barriers

Female entrepreneurs in KSA incur gender-specific challenges in terms of access to finance and obtaining capital (Alsuwaigh, 1989; Alturki & Braswell, 2010; Eid, 2005; Mtango, 2004). One example for the latter is the existence of gender biases held by individuals who are in position to provide financial support (Carter & Cannon, 1992). These complexities arise due to the sectors in which women entrepreneurs are mostly embedded: they are mostly found in feminine-typed, low-growth sectors such as retail and service lines of businesses (Andersson, Raihan, Rivera, Sulaiman, & Tandon, 2007; Menzies, Diochon, & Gasse, 2004; OECD, 2004; Robb & Coleman, 2010; Verheul & Thurik, 2001). Financing, regulatory, and technical factors are identified as the main hurdles for women entrepreneurs in KSA but the inability to obtain funds due to the reluctance of agencies to provide it for women's ventures is crucial. Women in Saudi Arabia have difficulties in raising funds for their businesses as they are likely to be unknown and untested because of the effects of their domestic positions. Therefore, women tend to use their own or family funds (Andersson et al., 2007).

Saudi Female Labour Market and New Venture Participation

Women in Saudi Arabia represent an untapped potential to the Saudi economy. Only 1.9 million of its 13.1 million women are engaged in the work force, which represents a labour force participation rate of 20.2 per cent compared with 77.8 per cent for men (Ministry of Labour and Social Development, 2016). This low rate of women labour force participation depicts the country as having the largest gender imbalance in terms of the workforce participation. When women seek employment, they are hindered by high unemployment rates in addition to low participation. The overall unemployment rate in Saudi Arabia is 56 per cent (including expats) but it is 11.5 per cent for Saudi nationals. For Saudi women, the unemployment rate accounted to 32.8 per cent in 2015. Factors affecting women's labour participation include conventional

workspaces that are not designed to accommodate women. That is, companies must invest in separate work spaces for women, which not all can afford. Also, some jobs that require direct interaction with men are considered inappropriate within the sociocultural milieu and therefore influence participation. Transportation and a lack of child day-care also play a crucial role in hindering women's participation in the labour market (Ministry of Labour and Social Development, 2016).

Based upon the populations of male and females in KSA, the female entrepreneurial activity rate (TEA) is 9.7 per cent while men's account for 12.9 per cent. That is, men are more involved in entrepreneurial activity although women are rapidly closing the gender gap since 2009 (GEM, 2016). Hence, using the TEA rates as a basis: 61.4 per cent are male entrepreneurs and 38.6 per cent are female entrepreneurs. The latter rates encompass both new and nascent activity; taking into consideration that women constitute a higher proportion of the nascent entrepreneurs than men. Senior entrepreneurs (aged between 50 and 64) were rated at 5.2 per cent in 2016; men accounted to 82.7 per cent and women 17.3 per cent. According to the GEM (2016), women in Saudi Arabia are more likely to perceive the country as more competitive and more favourable towards entrepreneurship as a career choice than men.

Gender Inequalities in Starting-Up an Entrepreneurial Venture

Saudi Arabia is ranked 147 among 190 economies in terms of ease of starting a business (World Bank, 2017), such rankings are essential for assessing how easy it can be for an entrepreneur to start a business in Saudi Arabia. According to the World Bank's *Doing Business* report (2017), to start a business in KSA, requires 15 days, 12 procedures (legal and bureaucratic), and 4.1 per cent of income per capita for men. For women, business formation requires 18 days, 15 procedures, and similarly 4.1 per cent of income capita. Although women have to go through a similar procedure as men, they are nevertheless required to obtain the National ID card that is specific to women: a Saudi female has to be identified by one of her male family members (father, brother, husband, or son) when obtaining an ID. That is, the National ID details of the male family member have to be mentioned in her application for the National ID. Women also have to obtain their husbands' (or another male relative's) permission to leave the house or get a driver to take her to the registry (World Bank, 2017).

Personal/Internal Barriers

As seen previously, “motherhood” was espoused by Brush et al. (2009) as a metaphor for the family context and the role a woman has within it and how it impacts her entrepreneurial endeavours. This can have two consequences. First, the household role undermines women’s, who are also mothers, capability to become entrepreneurs, due to the need to allocate time to both the public and domestic sphere. Second, motherhood can encapsulate the woman entrepreneur’s persona. That is, a woman’s social reality can be influenced by their conceptions of motherhood and these can constrain the possibility for a multiplicity of enmeshed “realities” or identities that can influence her entrepreneurial venture. This process of *internalization* through making sense of womanhood or femininity, and their socialization and institutionalization within gendered sociocultural processes can lead to the gendered constraining of their agency. Sociocultural norms can have negative and subtle implications for the perception of self and self-efficacy, especially with regard to a sense of identity and self-worth. However, their internalized dispositions can also be accepted by many women as “natural” due to the endemic essentialist notions of womanhood that render their position as child-bearers in the domestic realm. The ways in which Saudi females are institutionalized, to rely on a male figure for her decisions, are, then, extrapolated on female entrepreneurs. Such institutionalization is argued to be internalized to such an extent that women can lack autonomy. This can have the effect of decreasing self-sufficiency, self-reliance, and personal initiative. It is also posited that women entrepreneurs’ self-esteem can be affected as they experience feelings of frustration or self-blame at their lack of autonomy (Lavelle & Al Sheikh, 2013). This analysis suggests a gap needs to be closed between their attributes, competencies, and capacities as female entrepreneurs.

Creative Strategies for Women Entrepreneurs: A Conceptual Framework for Future Research

Since female entrepreneurs incur different types of barriers than men, the employment of creative strategies to navigate through these is crucial. Enabling the identification of the types of barriers serves as a frame to unveil the types of creativity forged by women entrepreneurs and the manner by which they are utilized. It can also be plausible to subsequently categorize the types of creativity women adopt with corresponding types of barriers as possible solutions.

These creative strategies are, however, still obscured and this can have the implication of designating them as nebulous.

By focusing on female entrepreneurs, and in Saudi Arabia in particular, those who are deemed in marginal positions due to their social positionality, it is being established that creative potential is widely distributed (Baer & Kaufman, 2006; Runco & Richards, 1998; Sternberg, Grigorenko, & Singer, 2004) and thus the mythology of the creative eccentric genius is being overlooked. Creativity is a universal human quality and a capacity that is extrapolated into the plurality of our interests (philosophical, artistic, scientific, etc.) (Martin & Wilson, 2017); we are all creative. Creativity permeates every aspect of human life and “it is not a special ‘faculty’ but an aspect of human intelligence in general” (Boden, 2005, p. 1). Creativity can, then, be grounded in women’s everyday experiences and capabilities such as conceptualizations, memory, reflexivity, and so on and any potential or current woman entrepreneur can therefore be deemed creative in varying degrees. However, due to women’s social positionality, this creativity can remain underutilized. In aiming to reveal the types of creative strategies women adopt, exploring extant types of creativity is vital to serve the paper’s purpose.

Psychological creativity (P-creativity) refers to engendering a surprising and valuable idea that is new to the person who came up with it (Boden, 2005). *Historical creativity* (H-creativity) is a form of P-creativity as it involves generating new ideas that no individual has come up with, it has risen for the first time in human history (Boden, 2005). Other types of creativity were identified. *Combinational*, which refers to the unfamiliar ways of combining familiar ideas; *exploratory* indicates the engendering of novel ideas by exploring conceptual spaces, which are structures of thinking styles; and *transformative* creativity encompasses the transformation of the conceptual space in order to generate new types of ideas (Boden, 2005). “Little-c” creativity focuses on everyday activities that involve “non-experts” participating in them (Richards, Kinney, Benet, & Merzel, 1988). This notion underlines the significant role creativity plays in everyday life (Richards, 2007) and underscores how identifying creativity in everyday contexts such as schools (Beghetto & Plucker, 2006), work (Agars, Baer, & Kaufman, 2005; Agars, Kaufman, & Locke, 2008; Bakker, Boersma, & Oreel, 2006), and the domestic and public sphere (Baer & Kaufman, 2006; Copley, 2006) is vital.

These everyday activities are associated with Layperson’s theory of creativity that emphasize imagination, freedom, unconventionality, and inquisitiveness (Sternberg, 1985). Amabile’s (1996) Componential Model of Creativity can be grounded in the “little-c” as she focuses on everyday creativity such as domain-relevant skills, creativity-relevant skills, and task motivation. The

creative-pertinent skills refer to personal factors that are linked to creativity such as self-discipline, taking risks, and tolerance to ambiguity. “Mini-c” (Beghetto & Kaufman, 2007) creativity was categorized to include the creativity immanent in the learning process. Mini-c was conceptualized as the new and personal ways in which meaningful interpretations of experiences occur. Its focus is on the dynamic interpretive process that constructs people’s identities and personal knowledge within a certain sociocultural context. This conceptualization is associated with “personal creativity” (Runco, 1996, 2004), “individual creativity” (Niu & Sternberg, 2006), and developmental notions of creativity (Beghetto & Plucker, 2006; Cohen, 1989; Sawyer et al., 2003; Vygotsky, 2004).

Through adopting notions such as little-c and mini-c creativity, potential and existing female entrepreneurs in Saudi Arabia can be recognized as utilizing creative potentials derived from their everyday experiences such as reflexivity and learning to compensate for the lack of access to resources or experience in the entrepreneurial realm. Established female entrepreneurs who are already embedded in the entrepreneurship creative process and who navigated their way through entry barriers must have deployed their creative capabilities to forge strategies to navigate these barriers. They can be in a state of reconstructing their entrepreneurial identities to overcome hurdles that are existent within their entrepreneurial environment. Potential female entrepreneurs can also be constructing initial entrepreneurial identities to bridge their way from the patriarchal context and conventional conceptualizations of womanhood to enter the entrepreneurship creative process. It is, nevertheless, uncertain what these construction processes are and the ways in which they are forged and used are under conceptualized.

Before using their creative capabilities, women need the intent to identify entrepreneurial opportunities and navigate structural barriers in order to pursue entrepreneurship. Their intentions and motivations can depend upon how they internalize their positions and creative capabilities to fulfil their goal. Their internalizations can be impacted by the ways in which women are positioned and institutionalized in Saudi society: to remain within the domestic realm and enact their roles as mothers, wives, and caregivers. These socialization processes unveil the pervasiveness of biological and gender essentialist notions that justify the existing socioeconomic inequalities between both sexes. Such notions rationalize male ascendancy and the patriarchal system in Saudi Arabia and are designated as inventible and “natural” due to inherit biological sex differences rather than deeming them as social constructs. These culturally embedded perspectives or “lenses” on gender are internalized by individuals (Bem, 1993), and consequently, can incline Saudi females to construct both

their personal and entrepreneurial identities based upon them. This tendency to essentialize women based upon biological underlying foundations results in promoting descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes (Meyer & Gelman, 2016).

This can be cogent in Saudi Arabia where cultural stereotypes dictate the “essence” and position of women in society and forge quintessential and typified conceptions and illustrations of the Saudi woman in both public and private spheres. The Saudi Arabian woman is deemed the homemaker, the caregiver, the wife, the mother, and so on that should abide by the social norms and values such as surrendering her autonomy to the male member of the family. At least such depiction can be deduced from, and are manifested in, legal policies such as the male guardianship law, which can reinforce existing inequalities that are then extrapolated to other aspects of social life. This lack of autonomy or freedom can be construed by women in ways that affect their perceptions and positions within both the domestic and exogenous realm, and most importantly, impacts their self-perceptions and self-worth. That is, how women are essentialized or categorized do not merely guide female entrepreneurs in their judgements of others but also guide them as to how to behave and perceive themselves. Essentialist discourses in KSA consequently lead to the reinforcement of a set of tenets (such as the normality of women’s disposition in the domestic realm) that coerce women to adhere to gender norms, and in return, can impact their career choices and aspirations to pursue entrepreneurial ventures.

These ubiquitous essentialist discourses can be found in Saudi educational institutions and thus, females learn and can grow up amenable to such gender demarcations as natural and their position in society as caregivers as a given fact. Their professional experiences can also vary considerably due to job segregation, which is perpetuated by ascribing typical feminine and masculine traits to certain roles and work responsibilities (Joyce & Walker, 2015). Essentialist notions in particular revolving around the conception of “women” allots them certain specialisms and job responsibilities that are apt to their “nature”. Saudi women hence dominate or focus on certain occupations in health and educational sectors. These can manifest not merely in the construction of gendered division of labour but also in the formation of professional networks through the assignment of certain individuals based upon presumed female and male characteristics. Women, then, can assume that it is at their free will that they are engaging in “feminine-typed” careers. The latter can have prominent consequences upon their entrepreneurial career “choices” and how they view themselves as female entrepreneurs.

Drawing on extant cultural-essentialist notions enables this chapter to unveil the ways in which men and women differ due to socialization processes,

and that women are not equal to men in patriarchal terms (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998). Due to early childhood experiences, men become autonomous whilst women are deemed immanently relational. That is, the characteristics of relatedness in women and individuality in men persist throughout the years as a consequence of universal cultural experiences. In other words, many theories argue for cultural determinism of essential qualities in both men and women due to these early experiences in infancy and childhood (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998). The implications of these socialization processes on female entrepreneurs' identities can posit that there does not exist room for women to forge their own experiences since these are predominantly sculpted by society. In other words, women's entrepreneurial experiences are already embedded within a predetermined social setting. However, women's realization of their entrepreneurial potential infers that their constructed identities and strategies are enabling them to navigate through the structural barriers.

Women's intention to employ creative strategies and pursue entrepreneurial ventures can be argued to stem from their everyday reflexive capabilities of these socialization and institutionalization processes, which in turn can disrupt such processes. Hence, this enables the reassessment of their self-worth and position in society. Females' conceptions about womanhood are accordingly changing and being enacted upon as manifested in their lifestyles and career choices. One's reflexivity is posited as a constituent of the minimum endogenous condition (Martin & Wilson, 2015) to freely embark on an entrepreneur venture, and these changes in conception are creative acts, crucial to their entrepreneurial endeavours. Without such reflexivity and creativity, an entrepreneur would not be able to locate or develop entrepreneurial opportunities (Martin & Wilson, 2015). Women in KSA; nevertheless, can still lack the necessary knowledge and training to pursue entrepreneurial careers, and yet they are embarking on an entrepreneurial venture. Their reflexive and creative abilities can be argued to depend not upon prior knowledge rather on novel ways of perceiving and performing entrepreneurship that enables them to navigate existing barriers. Their creativity is therefore vital until such time as the playing field becomes levelled.

This inner dialogue, to create new entrepreneurial identities and roles, despite current conventional values, is therefore an important focus for any researcher considering the future of creativity within entrepreneurial contexts. Merely choosing to work as a Saudi woman is in itself an autonomous reflexive and creative act, one which challenges endemic discourses of "womanhood" and "motherhood". Saudi women who are both mothers and entrepreneurs are ones that should be heightened as they are reconstructing and redefining the notion of motherhood, especially in a nationally conservative context.

However, I argue that it is not the conception of motherhood per se but the manner by which women internalize “motherhood” that endows them with the capability to perform entrepreneurship in novel and valuable ways. The context of the household and the existence of the family can add a layer of personality in women’s businesses as they operate within a known zone. Female entrepreneurs can defy the odds by deploring essentialist notions of their identities and hence rebel against these forms of discourses through the ways they lead their ventures. That is, they create new conceptions of a “Saudi woman” and/or a “Saudi mother” by navigating their way to dislodge idealistic notions of them. In so doing, they negotiate with men, travel across and outside the country, appear in public platforms, obtain education and undertake training, and so on. Fundamentally, they aim to elide and potentially wane social barriers through reconceptualizing their identities and create new modes of performing entrepreneurship in ways that fit these conceptualizations.

Entrepreneurship in this context can also be deemed as a platform to enable new conceptions of womanhood and motherhood as it extracts both concepts from common and conventional contexts into new ways of enacting them. That is, women’s internalizations can be projected upon the ways they understand and perform entrepreneurship through being risk-takers, confident, autonomous, and so on, and thus create new understandings and ascriptions of what a “woman” means in Saudi Arabia. In other words, the performativity of entrepreneurship itself can also redefine womanhood and motherhood as it provides them with new meanings and characteristics. In turn, the new modes of understanding both womanhood and entrepreneurship can enable them to engage in different mental processes and thus create new strategies to perform their entrepreneurial identities across the delineated barriers.

It is, therefore, women’s creative and reflective agency, and the ways in which they reflect upon and resist patriarchal prescriptions concerning their roles and common conceptions of womanhood that can enable them to work towards creating a voice for themselves in the public arena and in the economic context in particular, and this form of creativity is both under conceptualized and lacking in empirical investigation. Understanding how female entrepreneurs in KSA utilize their creativity to help construct new identities for conceiving of womanhood and entrepreneurship (and their interplay) and how their strategies help to navigate the seemingly intractable barriers can help place Saudi woman and mothers on the entrepreneurial map, and serve as important contributors to our understanding of entrepreneurial creativity.

Drawing on the insights presented by this chapter, women’s daily experiences and activities can inform the ways in which they conceptualize themselves and entrepreneurship as both a concept and practice. Experimenting

with novel ways of combining their everyday realities and existing information on entrepreneurship to pursue their business endeavours can inform the ways in which they conceive both womanhood and entrepreneurship. Such new constructions can create their entrepreneurial learning experiences, which can consequently inform the manner through which they navigate barriers to entrepreneurship. This identity construction can be deemed a form of creative emancipation that enables women to freely engage and pursue entrepreneurship as a career in a patriarchal structure, and this construction can also enable them to transform their society. In other words, to succeed as a business owner within patriarchal economic systems, women have to construct identities to navigate the sociocultural barriers, and that processes of identity construction is, per se, creative and transformative as it enables women to perform entrepreneurship in novel ways. More research is therefore needed to make the types of creativity and its employment intelligible as in doing so, it can empower other potential female entrepreneurs to understand the process and navigate existing barriers.

Conclusion and Implications

In delineating the extant barriers to female entrepreneurship in Saudi Arabia, the ways in which women navigate these structural barriers have been identified as creative acts that can enable them to realize their entrepreneurial capabilities. The manner by which women entrepreneurs in KSA perform and interpret their reality and create new perceptions of motherhood, or womanhood in general, and resist conventional discourses, can have important implications upon how they enact their business identities. This analysis identifies that radical changes with respect to women's social positionality in Saudi society, which can be attributed to the interplay of structural and agential conditions, are beginning to take hold. However, there remain fundamentalist and conventional attitudes regarding women's participation in the public realm, which in turn impede both their entrepreneurial capabilities and opportunities.

This chapter can serve as a frame to future research focusing on female entrepreneurs' creativity whilst embedded in a conservative context. The types of creative strategies espoused by women to overcome these structural barriers should be further researched and conceptualized. Revealing these types of creativity at work has been argued to be essential to the emancipation of women within patriarchal societies. This chapter also contributes to the literature that argues for a wider conception of creativity that does not valorize the heroic, eccentric creative/entrepreneur who is deemed innately adept

to pursue entrepreneurial ventures. It has also been demonstrated that creativity encapsulates more than the production of an idea or innovation. Such reconceptualizations of creativity, entrepreneurship, womanhood, motherhood, and so on can alter current expectations and transform the ways in which creativity can enable emancipatory action.

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18

The Meta-poetics of Creative Labour in the University

Penny Newell

Introduction

The forthcoming chapter harmonizes an understanding of poetry with observations about creative work-life in “the university”—an institution framed and critiqued by the likes of Giroux, Collini, Nussbaum, and Gill, according to terms antithetical to poetry: accountability, measurability, and productivity. Encapsulating the university through this diagnostic, critics Henry A. Giroux in the United States and Stefan Collini in the UK have argued that higher education is increasingly characterized by a “form of radical depoliticization, one that kills the radical imagination” (Harper, 2014, np). The attempt to frame poetry as otherwise, as a site for the antithetical that gives form to the radical, has come from Giroux, and from the likes of Alain Badiou who, in *The Age of Poets*, defines poetry as an *operation* that moves in a diagonal to incise established thought with nonthought (Badiou, 2014). Superficially, this chimes with Giroux, who has proffered that “what [Audre Lorde] ascribes to poetry can also be attributed to higher education—a genuine higher education”, referring his reader to a passage from *Sister Outsider*, where Lorde suggests that “Poetry is the way we help give name to the nameless so it can be thought” (Giroux, 2013, np; Lorde, 1984, p. 38; see also Smith, 2011 on the elision of poetry and education). Giroux means to suggest that what happens in universities helps to give name to the nameless, the defamed, and abased, giving voice to the silenced.

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What Giroux and Lorde are describing here is almost exactly the inverse of what Badiou speaks about in his philosophy of poetry. For Badiou, the poem is a categorical event of “nonthought”, and it is this quality of unthinking thought that leads to the poet’s banishment from Plato’s *Republic* (Badiou, 2014). In Badiou’s case, the simultaneous abasement and praise of “nonthought” work in tandem with his vague appeal to poetry as “democratic”, indicating a contrary way of conceptualizing poetry’s purpose in the world to Lorde. For Lorde writes her way out of the nameless around which “democracy” exists. As a black lesbian, this is the “nameless” of lived disposability, the abjecthood of identity to which Lorde defiantly gave voice in her work. For Badiou, on the other hand, the “unnameable” is an alluring event that “surpasses in power whatever the sensible is capable of”, fabricated, mystified, contemplated, and meditated upon from the secure footing of the sensible (Badiou, 2014, p. 47). That is, Badiou writes namelessness into the nameless only as an event beyond the nameable, and rather than desiring that unnameable be helped into the light of utterance desires the primitive abhorrence of the unnameable beyond sensing.

This tension between Badiou and Lorde denotes the relationship between poetry and the university, wherein the latter is making use of the former as a sort of nexus of desire and as *modus operandi* of work. This chapter is about that relationship between desire and utility. I have sought first to understand some objections, both explicit and implicit, to universities as spaces where creative thought is engineered and practised with implications for the structuring of social thought. As a rejoinder to this broader diagnostic of the university as an “ideas factory”, I analyse abstract language in operation in UK higher education institutions (UK-HEIs), namely innovate, explore, and impact. Reflecting upon how creative thought is practised in universities, through terms such as “innovation”, sets the stakes for the subsequent theorization of the meta-poetics of creative labour, wherein I excerpt and build on Marxian theories about labour processes as creative and about the role of raw materials in the production of surplus value. The relationship between desire and utility is one of internalized subordination, serving to mystify and codify creative labour as accountable, measurable, and productive.

The Ideas Factory

For Giroux, the end of the radical imagination signals the end of the public intellectual, and with that, the stunted hope that universities might challenge and reimagine society (Giroux, 2014). For Collini, creativity is tied into this

delimitation of the university. Creativity is paradoxically nullified by the enforcement of imaginative free play, as a guarantee of good academic work, such that universities structurally attack creativity by encoding it into work through a disciplinary regime that states: “be creative or I’ll beat the hell out of you” (Collini, 2012, p. 136). That is, for writers such as Giroux and Collini, creativity emblemizes progressive imaginaries potentially generated through critical thought and increasingly suppressed by university structures of accountability, measurability, and productivity. With students as customers and academics as factory workers, Giroux and Collini are joined by the likes of Rosalind Gill, Martha C. Nussbaum, and J. M. Coetzee, who collectively lament the deflation of creative imaginative spaces for critical thought and progressive possibilities due to the implementation of rigid systems of measurability that foreclose the form, order, and substance of the output of academic writers (Coetzee, 2013; Gill, 2009; Nussbaum, 2010).

These systems of measurability take various forms and extend across all dimensions of the university. With the emergence of standardized national assessment rubrics, such as the Research Excellence Framework (REF), universities are audited, monitored, and securitized, serving to engineer academic output in keeping with specific controls on radical thought. It was with these performance measures in mind that Michael Power, as early as 1994, remarked on the “audit explosion” in university working environments, an informatic turn in bureaucratic cultures of the twentieth century that has more recently provoked Stephen J. Ball to deride the “cultures of accountability” pervasive across education (Ball, 2003; Power, 1994). Building on societal controls formalized through education in the nineteenth century, the measurability of academic work extends the bureaucratic protocols of the mid-twentieth century, through the project of liquid modernity, into an ethico-aesthetic of academic and educational work-life.

With these critical iterations of the same argument establishing a clear community of self-reflexive lament within university outputs, a further school of writers are working to stylistically counteract the “be creative or I’ll beat you” mantra. Hence, in the minor key of stylistic resistance, we find writers in whom the attempt to resist measures of immeasurability manifests as an assault upon given notions and norms of creativity, often manifest as a procedure towards the illegible, the thorny, contradictory, chaotic, messy, or the unruly, as modes of immeasurability seeking to exceed the foreclosures of academic thought. I think here of the likes of Jodie Bellamy, Judith Revel, Barbara Cassin, Ronald Judy, Etienne Balibar, and other such writers hailed as experimental, post-autonomic, or even “heretically Marxist”, in whom and for whom written works respond to the economization of creativity by

proceeding through a creative non-procedure, thereby failing and revising the programme of immeasurability from within—a sort of refusal to work. Collective displacement of the authorial function retains its tone of resistance, with Tiqqun proclaiming “the refusal of any kind of mediation” (Tiqqun, 2011, p. 9). Distribution can be another style of resisting the mediating structures of higher education, though not all “open access” texts inhabit the antagonistic space created by Fred Moten and Stefano Harney (Moten & Harney, 2013). Rosalind Gill, in her work on the psychosocial cultures that shape academic labour, uses an overly mechanistic style of writing, as if exposing the mechanics of her article through subheadings such as “Introduction”, “Situating the experiences”, and “Conclusion” (Gill, 2009). Gill refuses upholding the fallacy of any aesthetic claim she might have on the creation of her work, as if openly redefining creativity as the mechanistic system of measurability that it is futile to confront.

Stylistic resistance exposes the demands on creative labour made by the ideas factory of the university. From here, it becomes apparent that creativity is an internalized and internally defined operator of the university as a mechanism of social control. I would add that this, as with the aforementioned resistance movement, serves to highlight inherited structures of performance measurability. Yet stylistic resistance does so through meta-critically commenting upon the jointly imposed/top-down and self-determining/self-organized paradox of this particular model of work (Banks, 2007). Hence, these writers tend to follow Luc Boltanski and Ève Chiapello, in their work upon aesthetics and the projective city of late capitalism, and Pierre Dardot and Christian Laval, in their work upon self-fashioning and neo-liberal subjectivity (Berry, 2015; Boltanski & Chiapello, 2007; Dardot & Laval, 2013; Gielen, 2009). Stylistic resistance seeks to reveal the way in which writing is securitized through abstract modes of creativity. Stylistic resistance seeks to expose how these abstract structures of work demand from subjects that which will never be returned.

Whether or not we buy the idea that style is a form of intervention, it is perturbing to think of universities gaining intellectual or social capital through a writer who experiments with immeasurability in their work. Surely, time used to do this immeasurable work is always going to be time overworked, time in excess. Surely writing, for the writer seeking to displace the measurability of their labour through nuanced procedures, is always going to be writing beyond. This mode of writing is beyond your workload, a case of filling work-time with more than it possesses, more than you can hope to reap as sustenance. Yet, of openness, of dialogue, of insecurity, of precarious states of being, of dislocated disciplinary digressions, of interstitial workloads and

“deterritorialized” thought: are not all these familiar demands of university life suggested by the imposition of immeasurability as the new measure of work, wherein style is simply one way in which writing is transforming and decaying conventions of field, discipline, and language, as part of the general shift towards vacant signifiers such as “interdisciplinary”, “innovation”, and “impact”?

Reflecting on this possibility, I get the sense of an inside and outside of creativity; that working in opposition to the inside means working against an ideology of creativity, and hence working against modes of creativity resembling the business and management rhetoric of *blue-sky thinking*, hewn from its economic-etymological roots and transposed into a structure of cognitive labour (Hayward, 2012). However, only in the briefest of instances does writing qualify as outside, as useless expenditure, before becoming consumed once more into the interior of creativity through an endlessly captivated “logic of interest” (Panagia, 2009, 2011). Within this dialogue between outside and inside, what Giroux calls the radical imagination, and what we might otherwise call the new measure of work, is not imposed as a top-down structure, but must be constantly worked upon by the academic. Within this revisionist procedure, the immeasurable makes itself constantly interior to yet beyond writing. Excessive creativity becomes and fulfils the excess that defines its status as usefully creative. Hence, it is in this excess of creative production, interior to yet external to one’s work, where we can locate the foci of surplus value, subtending even the so-called radical imagination.

The Language of Managerialism in the University

I am going to work with three key operators of creativity: “Innovate”, “Explore”, and “Impact”. Each of these terms exists interior to writing as a form of labour that is measured on or by its immeasurability. That is, in line with the assessment of work as self-organized work, writing is subordinated to terms that are defined in and through that creative labour.

i. Innovate

In 2007, the *New Directions for Higher Education* journal ran a special issue on “Managing for Innovation”, edited by Theodore Glickman and Susan White. In the opening article of this issue, Julie Furst-Bowe and Ron Bauer define innovation as the manifestation of “the new” and as an instance of “the

meaningful” (Furst-Bowe & Bauer, 2007). Furst-Bowe and Bauer’s working definition of innovation refers to the Malcolm Baldrige criteria for business innovation and performance, established in 1987 in North America as an Improvement Act of Public Law 100–107, and named after Malcolm Baldrige, Secretary of Commerce during the Reagan administration. Furst-Bowe and Bauer were amongst other writers, working in the field of education around the early 2000s, theorizing the implementation of the Baldrige model of innovation in HEIs following the transition from the Quality Award to the Baldrige Performance Excellence Program, with a new emphasis on education—signalled by the receipt of the award by the University of Wisconsin-Stout—and the generalized application of the Baldrige model at several US universities (Badri et al., 2006; Ruben, Russ, Smulowitz, & Connaughton, 2007). The history of this award helps to unpack the language of “the new” and “the meaningful”. Baldrige originally developed the criteria for performance excellence to generate competitiveness and encourage productivity on the factory floor. Clause four of the Public Act reads:

4. improved management understanding of the factory floor, worker involvement in quality, and greater emphasis on statistical process control can lead to dramatic improvements in the cost and quality of manufactured products. (Hertz, 2001)

Baldrige’s criteria responded to the competitive markets inbuilt within globalization, with a view to codifying quality through numerically processing qualitative productivity. The sort of competitiveness that this encourages leads to the hazy discourse of the new and the meaningful, as making competitive products becomes about straying far enough from norms to qualify something as “new” but not far enough to render it meaningless within those operating norms.

It would be reductive to attempt to isolate a single moment when these codified practices entered university rhetoric. I pulled the above citation of Public Law 100–107 from the 2001 *Education Criteria for Performance Excellence*, which references the Baldrige framework for factory management as a resource and criteria in educational excellence. This integration of business and management rhetoric into university systems facilitated the corporatization of universities, resituating knowledge as knowledge production under Reagan in North America and under Thatcher in the UK (Roggero, 2011). It is now thoroughly instated in these two contexts in the codification of knowledge as knowledge production through systems of measurability such as the Baldrige Excellence Framework and the REF, which assure quality by keeping at their heart a discourse of the new and the, nonetheless, meaningful.

The emphasis on cross-disciplinarity provides one key to this paradoxical rubric of the new and the meaningful. Cross-disciplinarity is an iteration of creativity as innovation, and it implies not the radical occupation of the interval between fields but the dislocation of a researcher whose work can at any given moment be meaningfully situated within the fields it is precariously poised between. Hence, the idea of meaningfulness is essential to the capacity of innovation clauses or terms of contract, within academic writing and work, for generating the surplus value that can be capitalized upon within circuits of knowledge production. “Meaningful” is a word that is working to subtend a whole spectrum of academic writing, spanning from the complicit through the resistant, to the radical imagination, to the corporate model of the university. It is the vagueness of meaningfulness that permits this labour qualifier to secure this positioning of the university as an ideas factory. Were meaningfulness not written into the rhetoric of innovation, were it genuinely positioned through an explicit agenda of social change, then it might be the case that we could envisage innovation as “meaningfulness” as extending the radical educational movements of the 1970s, such as the emergence of anti-disciplinary, non-hierarchical, decentralized schools in the UK, led by John Ord and Bill Murphy of the Scotland Road Free School in Liverpool or, specific to the context of higher education, to those 1970s’ experiments summarized by Gerald Grant and David Riesman in *The Perpetual Dream: Reform and Experiment in the American College* (1978). Nonetheless, the excesses that define cognitive work as experimental are so easily located back on the graph of meaningful innovation; it appears that any creative critical thought that proceeds with an agenda of actioning immeasurability tends rather towards establishing yet another code of practices that enrich the culture of creativity.

ii. Explore

The idea that a piece of writing itinerantly wanders or “Explores”, is a mode of attention suggesting the essential paradox of measures of immeasurability (as if work is not work), placing writing firmly within a Taylorist and Fordist model of mass production (Bauman, 2000; Hardt & Negri, 2000). In 1988, Robert Quinn and Kim Cameron co-edited the work *Paradox and Transformation: Toward a Theory of Change in Organization and Management*. This work expresses a key co-ordinate of a generalized move towards “exploring” rather than “arguing”, as it contains a series of chapters ironically framed as “more thoughtful explorations than well-developed or refined expositions” (Quinn & Cameron, 1988, xv). This idea of writing as exploration rather

than refinement creates a division between the two, allowing for the possibility of explorations that do not simultaneously refine, but rather, wander for the sake of wandering. James March, writing in 1991, set out the terms for this itinerant mode of attention (though he frames his formulae as a way of understanding an “adaptive process”), outlining a paradox of exploration and exploitation:

Exploration includes things captured by terms such as search, variation, risk taking, experimentation, play, flexibility, discovery, innovation. Exploitation includes such things as refinement, choice, production, efficiency, selection, implementation, execution. Adaptive systems that engage in exploration to the exclusion of exploitation are likely to find that they suffer the costs of experimentation without gaining many of its benefits. They exhibit too many undeveloped new ideas and too little distinctive competence. Conversely, systems that engage in exploitation to the exclusion of exploration are likely to find themselves trapped in suboptimal stable equilibria. As a result, maintaining an appropriate balance between exploration and exploitation is a primary factor in system survival and prosperity. (March, 1991, p. 71)

The success of an adaptive system is down to its capacity to explore and refine, or to play with new forms while implementing old ones. March’s allusion to adaptive computational networks through his language of the “system” is jointly veiled and naturalized through the semantics of “survival” and “prosperity”. This reveals how the idea of “exploration” is working to mask the productivity of the system, by allowing that system in sum to refer to an idea of ecological reciprocity or even of proactive co-dependence, or what March goes on to term “evolutionary models of organizational forms and technologies” where exploration and exploitation are framed “in terms of balancing the twin processes of variation and selection” (March, 1991, p. 72).

The cemented status of the academic writer and researcher as one such adaptive system is disclosed in their quality as an organizational form, or as a piece of technology. The writer is caught between the twin poles of exploiting their cognitive capital and “exploring” new ideas. From this position, to “explore” is to put work into a Barthesian *jouissance* of linguistic free play. Polarized in this way, deconstruction, rupturing, tearing, and bifurcating, make sense only in relation to their counterparts: exploit, implement, execute, do. While the writer must embody the adaptive system, they are torn between the two reciprocally defined proactive poles of exploration and exploitation. The university achieves meaning only through codifying practices into this reproductive language of variation and selection. Whenever researchers, fields, and institutions “explore” ideas, this excess of labour

facilitates the competitive marketization of bodies of knowledge through their input into knowledge production. To “explore” an idea is to occupy the region of cognitive excess essential to the adaptive system the university alternately proceeds towards.

iii. Impact

Newer to university discourse is the idea of research “impact”, described on the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) website, as outlining the “benefits [of research to] the economy, society, culture, policy, health, the environment and quality of life—both within the UK and overseas”. Impact was introduced into UK higher education as part of the 2014 REF submission demands upon universities, with impact defined as “an *effect on, change or benefit to* the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment or quality of life, beyond academia [my emphases]”. Attempting to express the centrality of “tangibility” for the REF definition of impact, the HEFCE have collaborated with a leading UK-HEI to use geotagging to literalize the so-called tangible effects of universities: on these impact diagrammatics, lines extend from universities to locations where a tangible effect was registered in an impact submission.

Reading the HEFCE blog, it transpires that this visualization tool not only expresses the geographical impact of universities but filters its content through an economic theory of “stock and flow”, as a direct response to the George Osbourne & Sajid Javid, 2015 Summer Budget, Productivity Plan, where they suggest that raising productivity:

In today’s economy [that] is not simply a matter of increasing the stock of machines, equipment and essential physical infrastructure but also, crucially, the development of human and intellectual capital. (Frost, 2015; Osbourne & Javid, 2015)

Osbourne and Javid allude to the embodiment of capital, ironically figuring this through the body-mind dualism of a split economy of “human” and “intellects”. The disassociation of “intellectual” from “human” capital, and the rerouting of both through a “stock of machines”, implies that, while the physical human body can be affected, impacted, or exploited, the nonphysical intellect is endlessly liquidated into a stream or flow.

Intellectual capital is measurable only by its tangible effect; measurable only upon the instant it becomes immanent to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment, or quality of life. Impact

liquidates creative processes of academic work into information flows that are measurable only upon their entry into the interior closures and foreclosures of measurability. Ultimately, “tangibility” has been allocated this unitary and unifying role: it has been hewn from economic-etymological foundations as a standard. “Impact” discloses tangibility as a base unit of creativity, as stock of intellectual capital, and as flows of liquid creativity. Nothing about impact demands that we critique these closures—merely that labour flows in and crystallizes around an already-disclosed, yet vague, hazy, and intangible, structure of meaning.

Meta-poetics and Marx’s Theory of Labour Value

Gerald Raunig has argued towards the morphological qualities of cultural and creative capital, suggesting that capital endlessly corrects the performance measures to which knowledge factories and industries of creativity must adhere (Raunig, 2013). Opened to this morphological process of value creation, words such as “Impact”, “Innovation”, and “Exploration” have been disassociated from meaning to the point of abstraction. Within Raunig’s framework, this process of disassociation is merely the beginning point of a longer, endlessly frustrating, and labour-inducing dynamic of modulating away from sense and thereby demanding more meaning-making cognitive labour from the academic.

We do not know what the terms mean to which we are subservient, and so a large substance of our creative labour is dedicated to the task of determining the determining structures of our work.

Academic work is creatively engineering the parameters of its own exploitation. The framework that I have been using to refer to this self-defining axis of creativity is meta-poetics, a literary trope that parallels with Marx’s theories of labour value (Marx’s own relationship with poetry, which he abandoned in 1837, could be considered in this vein—see Marx and Engels (1975, pp. 10–21); Sutherland (2015)). Meta-poetics are elements of a poem that reflect, from within, the potentiality of meaning that that poem can promise to realize. Meta-poetics are elements of a poem that set the interior terms of its effective external existence. Meta-poetics thus confer value upon the poem as a creative object.

The two passages of relevance, from Marx’s *Capital*, are where he defines the human stamp of the creator, by way of which Marx defines the labour-process *as* creative process, and where he describes the transformation of raw material in the production of surplus value. Initially:

We presuppose labour in a form that stamps it as exclusively human. A spider conducts operations that resemble those of a weaver, and a bee puts to shame many an architect in the construction of her cells. But what distinguishes the worst architect from the best of bees is this, that the architect raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality. [...] He not only effects a change of form in the material on which he works, but he also realises a purpose of his own that gives the law to his *modus operandi*, and to which he must subordinate his will. (Marx, 2013, pp. 120–121)

What qualifies the labour of the human architect as human and as creative is not the nature of product but the “wilful” procedure that defines the mode of production. This speaks to existing paradigms of meta-poetics, as what qualifies the poem as poem, is not any external category of poetic objecthood but a notion of human volition projected into the poetic object through its perception as self-reflexive. The poem’s sense of self is integral to its meta-poetic meaning-making process. Within the rubric of meta-poetry, will is embedded in the poetic object as the form’s capacity to reflect and self-define its qualities.

In the case of university work, this wilful quality of creative labour is both reflected and subverted in the imposition of terms such as “innovation”. While the writer must possess the volition to create a product, the pre-imagined objecthood or “structure”, to use Marx’s term, of this product, is ultimately foreclosed by the terms that give it meaning. The meta-poetics of creative labour in the university thus shape objects of academic labour into being, through interiorized terms of subordination. These terminological operators of creativity oscillate between the interior and exterior of the labour-process, rendering endless the self-defining task of writing.

It is not just the sense of academic production that is tied to these terms, but the self that wills those products into being. A later passage from Marx is elucidatory in this vein:

Raw material forms the substance of the product, but only after it has changed its form. Hence raw material and auxiliary substances lose the characteristic form with which they are clothed on entering the labour-process. It is otherwise with instruments of labour. Tools, machines, workshops, and vessels, are of use in the labour-process, only so long as they retain their original shape and are ready each morning to renew the process with their shape unchanged. (Marx, 2013, p. 141)

The will of the academic operates under etymologically vacant signifiers such as “impact” and “innovation”. Their creative labour hence exists to give name

to the nameless terms of their own subordination. The raw materials of these terms exist in such a state of abstraction, they are rendered unaffected by this labour, and where tools might renew their usefulness, this material renews its namelessness, its status of nought that must be thought through the poem. Hewn from their etymological roots, the raw materials, forming the substance of the product, modulate between the exterior and the interior of work, as the modulating quantity that produces the will of work. Creative labour hence gives semantic content to cunningly empty signifiers that are managed so as to shift their boundaries away from efforts to fill them with meaning, ensuring rigid yet transmutating orders to which the poet, writer, or creative must subordinate their will.

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19

Creativity and the Law

Tanya Aplin

Introduction

Intellectual property law is a sphere of legal regulation concerned with the protection of manifestations of intangible or mental labour or, in other words, creativity. In fact, it is more accurate to say that we have intellectual property *laws* because regulation is divided into categories—the core areas being copyright, patent, trade mark, and design laws—depending on what is the object of protection—a work, invention, sign, or design. What is required to obtain protection differs between these intellectual property laws, along with how much protection is granted.

This chapter focuses on two types of intellectual property laws—copyright and patent—and the ways in which intangible or intellectual labour is regulated by them. Copyright law is an obvious choice because of its perceived role as a tool for stimulating or rewarding creativity in the cultural or aesthetic sphere. Patent law is associated with technological innovation and, it too, is frequently viewed as crucial to incentivizing and rewarding creativity, this time in the scientific or industrial sphere.

For either copyright or patent protection to arise, thresholds of intangible labour or creativity must be met. *Originality* is the relevant benchmark in copyright law, while for patent law it is *novelty* and *inventiveness*. These are legal terms of art which are defined according to legal tests and which, in turn,

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have different legal consequences. As such, these terms do not always map easily onto popular or community-generated understandings of creativity.¹ The focus of this chapter is on articulating the legal tests of originality (for copyright) and novelty and inventiveness (for patent law) and how these operate within the legal framework to define what and who has rights in their creativity. This discussion is also situated within a wider literature that acknowledges the dissonance between the law and creative practice.

Copyright Law and Creativity

Originality as a Requirement for Protection

It is a well-established principle that copyright protection extends to *original* literary and artistic works,² where the notion of “literary and artistic works” is broadly understood to include a range of aesthetic creations, including (but not limited to) books, plays, songs, films, music, choreography, drawings, paintings, photographs, and sculpture (*Berne Convention 1886*, Art. 2).³ Originality is thus the touchstone for copyright protection and a legal term of art. Even so, legislatures and courts have struggled to agree on a uniform understanding of originality, and we have seen different tests emerging from multiple jurisdictions. The work must *originate* from the author and, as well, show the “author’s own intellectual creation” in the European Union (EU) (*Infopaq International v Danske Dagblades Forening*, 2009), the “imprint of the author’s personality” in France, “personal intellectual creation” in Germany (*Copyright Act of 9 September 1965*, Art. 2(2) [Germany]), a “minimal level of creativity” in the United States (*Feist Publications v Rural Telephone*, 1991), “labour, skill and judgment” in the United Kingdom (*Sawkins v Hyperion Records*, 2005), or “skill and judgment” in Canada (*CCH Canadian Ltd v Law Society of Upper Canada*, 2004).

The EU, French, and German legal tests of originality have a greater explicit focus on the term “creativity”. For literary works, this is judged through “the choice, sequence, and combination” of words and the way in which “the subject is presented and the linguistic expression” (*Infopaq*, 2009, paras 44–45). For all types of works, the presence of “free and creative choices” that are not technically constrained is key to “stamping” the work with the requisite “personal touch”. Thus, in the case of a portrait photograph, originality was demonstrated through creative choices relating to background, the subject’s pose and lighting, the framing, angle of view, and developing techniques (*Painer v Standard VerlagsGmbH*, 2011, paras 91–92). In relation to more technical

works, such as databases, it will be a struggle to satisfy the originality criterion where the database creation is “dictated by technical considerations, rules or constraints which leave no room for creative freedom” (*Football Dataco v Yahoo! UK Ltd*, 2012, para 39).

In the United States, copyright law has shifted away from an approach where the presence of industrious effort or investment sufficed to show originality to one where a “minimal level of creativity” must be shown (*Feist*, 1991). The switch in approach occurred because of a concern that simply rewarding effort might lead to a monopoly in facts or ideas (*Feist*, 1991, para 1292). Likewise, in Canada, the Supreme Court decided to drop the emphasis on “labour” in the originality test and instead focus on “skill and judgment” (*CCH Canadian*, 2004). This was because a standard oriented around labour or effort was seen as too relaxed which, in turn, would prejudice the public interest in “maximizing the production and dissemination of intellectual works” (*CCH Canadian*, 2004, para 24). The court defined skill as “the use of one’s knowledge, developed aptitude or practised ability in producing the work” and judgement as “the use of one’s capacity for discernment or ability to form an opinion or evaluation by comparing different possible options in producing the work” (*CCH Canadian*, 2004, para 16). Exercise of skill and judgement was said to “necessarily involve intellectual effort” and could not be so trivial as to constitute “a purely mechanical exercise” (*CCH Canadian*, 2004, para 16). In the United Kingdom, the traditional formulation of originality has required “labour, skill and judgment”, although there have been instances where protection has resulted from mainly effort or investment (*Football League v Littlewoods Pools*, 1959). The UK approach, however, should now operate consistently with the EU test of “author’s own intellectual creation” (*SAS Institute Inc v World Programming Ltd*, 2013, para 37) and will continue to do so for some time, even after the United Kingdom’s departure from the EU.

What accounts for these different legal formulations of originality? A legal test that assesses originality according to an express reference to creativity and creative choices reflects a conception of the work as an extension or embodiment of the author’s personality. In other words, the very threshold for protection is premised on a notion of an individual author pouring his or her creativity into the resulting work. Various commentators have challenged this romantic view of authorship as outdated and inaccurate (Woodmansee & Jaszi, 1994). By contrast, an originality test judged according to the effort or resource that is invested in producing the work focuses on ensuring that the activity is incentivized in the first place. In other words, legal intervention, in the form of copyright protection, is considered necessary for stimulating the

“market” for creativity. Numerous scholars have contested the assumption that copyright operates as the primary motivation for creative activity. Cohen (2007, p. 1154), for example, argues against an “inflated notion of copyright’s role in stimulating creativity” and instead calls for a decentred account of artistic and intellectual creativity, grounded in social and cultural theory, which acknowledges multiple contributing factors (p. 1177). Meanwhile, Silbey (2015), who conducted qualitative research with artists and innovators to interrogate their “creation impulses”, describes how intellectual property law is absent from most creators’ accounts and instead notions of serendipity, intrinsic forces, play, and the need to solve problems feature as motivations to create. There are also several case studies about creative communities, such as comedians (Oliar & Sprigman, 2009), chefs (Fauchart & von Hippel, 2008), graffiti artists (Iljadica, 2016), and “small-town” artists (Murray, 2014), which demonstrate the multiple, complex factors that animate creativity and query the centrality of copyright law to this process. Further, psychological research points to the importance of intrinsic motivations for creativity (as opposed to extrinsic motivations, such as obtaining copyright protection) (Mandel, 2011).

Do the divergent legal formulations of originality lead to different legal outcomes? The answer is generally not, largely because all of these standards are relatively low ones to meet (Rahmatian, 2013, pp. 344–355). However, there are instances where an emphasis on creativity instead of investment (of money or time) will likely affect whether copyright protection arises. For example, databases or compilations that are the result of substantial investment and which are comprehensive in nature will struggle to satisfy a “minimal level of creativity” or “author’s own intellectual creation” originality test but will probably satisfy a “sweat of the brow” or “labour, skill and judgment” test (Ginsburg, 1992, p. 338). Similarly, technically accurate photographic reproductions of artistic works (such as those undertaken by museums and galleries) or serendipitous amateur photographs taken of newsworthy activities by “citizen journalists” (Pantti & Andén-Papadopoulos, 2011, p. 13) may fail to demonstrate “creative choices” but be likely to demonstrate the presence of skill or labour.

Interestingly, the failure to meet an originality threshold that is defined by the presence of “creativity” or “creative choices” does not necessarily mean that, in practice, no protection arises. More specifically, what can occur is that a community behaves *as if* works are copyright protected even though they may not satisfy the relevant originality test according to a strict legal interpretation. Here, it is useful to consider the position of amateur or non-professional

images taken by “citizen journalists”, which are increasingly used by media organizations in their news reporting. Amateur images are seen as technically poor as compared with those taken by professional photojournalists (Mortensen & Keshelashvili, 2013, p. 153; Pantti & Bakker, 2009, p. 482); however, they are viewed as more authentic and intimate because of their unconstructedness, unconventional framing, mobility, and embodied collectivity (Pantti, 2013, pp. 201–218). The qualities that make such images more authentic and intimate are also the features that make establishing originality, in a copyright sense, problematic. A spontaneous photograph, taken with little regard to framing, lighting, or the subjects featured, and which does not undergo any post-creation editing or other processing, would seem to lack the types of creative choices that are required by EU, UK, and US copyright law to establish originality. Yet, media organizations frequently behave as if such images do attract copyright, as is evidenced by their practice of seeking wide-ranging, non-exclusive licences from those who submit images,⁴ when in fact this is probably unnecessary. This situation arises, in part, because copyright is *not* granted via a system of registration⁵ but vests automatically when the requirements for protection—in particular, originality—are satisfied. The absence of a registration system means that creators and users regularly make assumptions about whether the copyright requirements are met, and these assumptions tend to hold because of either lack of knowledge about the precise nature of the legal requirements, risk-averse behaviour, or the developed practices of certain communities.⁶ It is usually when disputes regarding the use of a work arise that the issue of originality is forensically tested and ruled upon by a court.⁷

Originality and Authorship: Determining Rights

Aside from determining whether a work attracts copyright protection, originality is important in helping to determine who the *author* of a work is. Authorship, in turn, determines *who* can first exercise rights in relation to the work and the length of protection. The rights granted by copyright include the ability to control acts of economic exploitation, such as reproduction, adaptation, distribution, performance, and communication to the public. As well, there are so-called moral rights which include the right to be attributed as author and to preserve the integrity of the work. As for the length of protection, this is generally calculated as a fixed term (either 50 years or 70 years depending on the jurisdiction) measured from the end of the calendar year in which the author dies.⁸

The legal rules on *who* may constitute an author tend to be clear, yet dissonance can emerge between authorship in the copyright sense and authorship as recognized by creative communities. Robinson (2014) discusses an example of this in the context of Dafen, China, where replica paintings of European Old Masters and modernist paintings have been produced for several decades. Some of these replicas are not copies of pre-existing works but rather are done in the style of previous famous artists, such as Van Gogh. The paintings are sold under the name of the Dafen artist. These paintings are likely “original” and their creators “authors” in the copyright sense because the “artist’s hand is visible in the work” (Robinson, 2014, p. 164), that is, creative choices have been made and/or skill and labour have been used in producing their content. Yet, from the point of view of Western art historians, these style replicas are not considered original (in an artistic sense), nor are their creators considered as artists, because the works are seen as lacking an original intellectual impulse or idea. As Robinson (2014, p. 168) describes: “the markers of copyright that have been used to describe originality in the IP context—sweat of the brow, labor, point of origination, inspiration, skill, and judgment—are challenged, ignored, and occasionally overturned in numerous examples from the art world”.

Copyright law also seeks to grapple with situations where there are multiple contributors or creators. Most copyright laws recognize collaborative creativity, in the form of joint authorship (as in the United Kingdom), joint works (as in the United States), or collaborative works (as in France) and, in turn, the existence of joint or co-authors. The precise legal requirements that must be satisfied differ, as do the legal consequences that flow from this. A basic requirement for anyone claiming to be a joint or co-author is that their input meets the originality threshold. This is a way of limiting spurious claims to co-authorship. Thus, a director that suggested changes to dialogue in a play and made performance suggestions was rejected as a joint author, due to lack of originality in their contributions (*Brighton v Jones*, 2005, para 56). Likewise, incidental suggestions, ideas about presentation of the play, and minor bits of dialogue did not qualify as meeting the originality threshold required for joint or co-authorship (*Childress v Taylor*, 1991). While contributions must be original, they do not have to be equal in nature. Thus, contribution of the introductory bars of a musical work, repeated at various points, has sufficed for joint authorship in the entire musical work (*Beckingham v Hodgens*, 2003).

Another requirement is either one of collaboration, that is, jointly labouring according to a common design (as in the United Kingdom) (*Cala Homes (South) v Alfred McAlphine Homes East*, 1995, p. 835) or an intention to be a joint author (as in the United States) (*Childress v Taylor*, 1991). An intention

requirement is stricter than collaboration because it requires pointing to objective evidence of whether the putative joint authors regarded themselves as such. The stricter approach is said to be justified by avoiding spurious claims of joint authorship, and objective evidence of intention can include how a work was “billed”. Finally, the contribution of a putative co-author may be required to be integrated within the work (i.e. not distinct or separate), as in the United Kingdom, or it may be interdependent and separable (as in France and the United States) (*CDPA 1988*, s. 10 [UK], *Copyright Act 1976*, s. 101 [US], *IP Code 1992*, Art. L113-2 [France]).

As mentioned, there may be different legal consequences to joint or co-authorship. In France, joint authors must exercise their rights by agreement and, where they fail to agree, can have this resolved by the courts. It is also possible for a joint author separately to exploit his/her own personal contribution, provided this does not prejudice the exploitation of the common work (*IP Code 1992*, Art. L113-3 [France]). In the United Kingdom each co-author will be a co-owner of any economic rights in the work and exploitation of the work can only occur if *all* joint owners agree (*Robin Ray v Classic FM*, 1988). In the United States, the authors of a joint work are co-owners of copyright in the work (*Copyright Act 1976*, s.201(2) [USA]). Each co-owner has the right to use or license the work, provided they account to their other co-owners for any profits earned thereby (*Thomsen v Larsen*, 1998). However, they must seek consent from other co-owners if they are seeking to grant an exclusive licence (*Davis v Blige*, 2005).

The copyright rules dealing with collaborative creativity, with their focus on original contributions from each author, and the existence of an intention to act as joint authors (in the United States) have been criticized by legal commentators as still being rooted in individualistic, romantic notions of authorship which ignore important, other contributions to the creative process. Sawyer (2011) argues, for example, that this approach marginalizes the role of editors, agents, and other intermediaries that are crucial to the externalization and execution of creativity. In his view, this is because of copyright law’s focus on the ideation stage.

A different observation about the copyright rules on joint authorship emerges from Robinson (2014), who impliedly suggests their impotence in the face of community-defined notions of authorship. Here, she discusses the “Western” art studio and how many famous artists (such as Jeff Koons and Damien Hirst) have very little interaction with the finished artistic work, which is in fact produced by the many assistants that are employed by them. An application of the legal rules should lead to those assistants being recognized as co-authors in a copyright sense. Nevertheless, the work is still attributed to the

famous artist and sold under his name, while the contributions of those in the studio are rendered invisible. This, argues Robinson (2014, p. 174), is in keeping with a narrative of “the individual artist genius”, whose contribution to the idea, as opposed to the material, is privileged.

Employees

In situations where an *employee* creates a work and provides the requisite originality, the question arises whether the employer has any rights over the work. Here, there are, broadly speaking, three different legal models for reconciling the interests of employer and employee.

The first model, represented by France, respects the importance of authorship over and above any economic interests of the employer. According to this model, authors retain their economic and moral rights regardless of their status as an employee and the circumstances in which the work is created (*IP Code 1992*, Art. L111-1 [France]). There is an express exception, however, to this strict rule in relation to software, where the economic rights in software and its documentation created by an employee in the execution of their duties are deemed the property of the employer (*IP Code 1992*, Art. L113-9 [France]). The existence of this exception may be explained by the perception that software is functional in nature and so less likely to be creative and prioritizing the economic interests of software-producing companies.

Under the French model, it is open to employer and employee to negotiate for a transfer of economic rights in a work to the employer. That said, there have been instances of courts implying into the employment agreement a pre-assignment of the author’s rights in any work created during employment to the employer. This approach has been heavily criticized and is inconsistent with the spirit of the general rule that rights remain with the author, unless expressly transferred. Finally, there is the possibility that employees may contribute to the creation of a “collective work”, that is, a work which is created at the initiative of a natural or legal person, disclosed under this person’s name and in which the individual contributions of authors are merged without it being possible to attribute to each author a separate right in the work as created (*IP Code 1992*, Art. L113-2 [France]). In such circumstances, the collective work is the property of the natural or legal person under whose name it has been disclosed, which in this case could be the employer (*IP Code 1992*, Art. L113-5 [France]).

The second model, represented by the United Kingdom, recognizes the employee as the author of a work created during employment but vests the

economic rights in that work in the employer (*CDPA 1988*, s.11 [UK]). The moral rights—of attribution and the right of integrity—remain with the employee as author, although their exercise is restricted, particularly vis-à-vis their employer (*CDPA 1988*, s.79(3) [UK]). This model maintains some respect for the employee as author but recognizes the economic interests of the employer in having invested in the creation of work and the employer's need to exploit the fruits of this investment unencumbered. It is possible for a contrary agreement to be reached between employer and employee about who owns the economic rights, but the reality is that most employees will be in a poor bargaining position.

The third model, typified by the United States, is the most employer friendly since it deems works prepared by an employee within the scope of his or her employment as “works made for hire” and, in turn, the employer is deemed the *author*—not simply the owner—of such works (*Copyright Act 1976*, s.201(b) [US]). While the rationale for the works made for hire rule is similar to that in the United Kingdom (prioritizing the economic interests of the employer), the solution entirely denies the creative input of employees since they will not be in a position to exercise either economic *or* moral rights. Similar to the UK model, it is possible for a contrary agreement to be reached between employer and employee, but the uneven bargaining positions means that, in reality, such renegotiation of the default position is unlikely.

Under both the second (United Kingdom) and third (United States) models, it is important to note that the default rules about authorship and ownership arise where the work is created by an *employee in the course of his or her employment*. This means that employment status needs to be shown, along with the work having been created as part of one's employment. In an environment where labour is becoming increasingly casualized—with the existence of casual- and fixed-term “employment”—these requirements may be harder to establish. As well, such shifts in the labour market undermine the rationale for the default rule in the first place since the employer is no longer providing an appropriate reward to employees through their working terms and conditions or investing the same level of resource that is needed to ensure creation of such works.

It makes sense also briefly to mention the position where an author or creator is *not* an employee but instead is commissioned or hired specifically to create a work (e.g. a photographer for a particular event or a musician who arranges a composition). Here, there are, broadly speaking, two models. In the first model (such as in France and the United Kingdom), rights in commissioned works remain with the person who creates them (i.e. the author), and the commissioning party must negotiate either a transfer of copyright or

a licence to use the work.⁹ In the second model, which is seen in the United States, certain types of commissioned works are treated as “works made for hire” and the commissioning party is treated as the author and, as such, the owner of the work (*Copyright Act 1976*, s.101, s.201(b) [US]). Even in this second model, the parties must agree that the contribution is a work made for hire, so there is scope for negotiation between the commissioning party and the author (i.e. creator of the work). Again, it is worth emphasizing that increased casualization of the labour market places under strain the legal distinction between employee-created works and works commissioned from an independent contractor.

Originality and the Scope of Protection

As mentioned earlier, a copyright owner has the right to control acts of economic exploitation of the work, including its reproduction. Originality has a role to play here also, in determining whether partial copying of a work constitutes an infringement. An example will help illustrate this notion. Person A writes a newspaper article, which is protected by copyright as an original literary work. Person B comes along and, for the purposes of providing a news monitoring service, reproduces 11 word excerpts from the article. Is this copying prohibited? In this situation, courts (especially in the EU) will ask whether the part of the work that is copied reflects originality and, if so, reproduction of that part will amount to an infringement of copyright in the entire work (*Infopaq*, 2009, *NLA v Meltwater*, 2011, paras 23–29). The upshot is that copying small amounts of a work may be prohibited. This use of originality to determine infringement is problematic because it collapses the policy questions relating to infringement into a single, rather simplified test and expands the scope of protection given to owners (Bently & Sherman, 2014, pp. 205–206). In terms of the impact of this approach, it is probably too early to say. However, one might reasonably speculate that such a legal test will generate risk-minimization strategies from users, including avoiding the use of the work or seeking copyright permission from owners. This is either because of the uncertainty caused by the test (how to determine whether a small excerpt is in fact original?) or because it is assumed that copying such small excerpts will be infringing. Indeed, we have seen this happen with digital music sampling where there is a well-established market for licensing samples despite plausible arguments that the sampling activity is not necessarily infringing (McLeod & Dicola, 2011).

Another way in which originality may be relevant to copyright infringement is where the person copying a work herself changes it in some way, that is, adds her own originality to create a new work. An example of this is where A composes a song and B creates a parody of the song, significantly altering the lyrics and copying some of the musical elements (*Campbell*, 1994). In some jurisdictions, such as the United States, B's actions may be justified as "fair use" of A's work and thus does not infringe (*Copyright Act 1976*, s.107 [US]). A significant factor in determining fair use is whether B has engaged in what is called *transformative* use. This has been described as adding "something new, with a further purpose or different character, altering the first [work] with new expression, meaning, or message" (*Campbell*, 1994, para 1171). According to the US Supreme Court, "the more transformative the new work, the less will be the significance of other factors, like commercialism, that may weigh against a finding of fair use" (*Campbell*, 1994, para 1171). In other words, there seems to be a thread connecting the legal notions of originality and transformative use, which in turn can trigger a "fair use" defence to claims of infringement. Fan fiction is an area of creativity where, for the most part, publishers and copyright owners do not instigate infringement actions. This is because there is a general belief that this activity amounts to "harmless homage" (Greenberg, 2014, p. 95). However, as Tushnet (1997) describes, (non-commercial) fan fiction writers can legitimately rely on the "fair use" defence because of their transformative activities—reconfiguring characters, developing plots, or authoring entirely new narratives.

Patent Law and Creativity

Requirements of Novelty and Inventive Step

We turn now to consider how patent law deals with intellectual labour in the realm of innovation. Patent law grants monopoly rights in *inventions* which are *new (or novel)* and *inventive*.¹⁰ The orthodox justifications for bestowing these property rights are that they act as incentives for inventiveness, the investment underpinning such activity, and the dissemination of technical knowledge (Machlup & Penrose, 1950). However, as empirical research has shown, there are "varied and subtle reasons for using the patent system" which do not always align with these traditional "incentive" rationales (Graham, Merges, Samuelson, & Sichelman, 2009, p. 1255). Patents are registered rights, meaning they must be applied for (usually) via a State institution,¹¹ such as the UK Intellectual Property Office or the US Patent and Trade Mark Office, and are examined by

specialists with relevant technological expertise to ensure they meet the requirements for protection. Inventions may encompass all manner of innovations, including those in the mechanical, chemical, engineering, biotechnology, pharmaceutical, and information technology fields. It is fair to say, however, that many of the core principles of patent law emerged during the nineteenth century and the Industrial Revolution; therefore, some commentators have queried the ability of patent law to accommodate twentieth- and twenty-first-century technological developments (Seymore, 2011). Importantly, discoveries, scientific theories, ideas, raw data, and aesthetic creations are not the province of patent law.¹² Rather, patent law relates to innovations with concrete technical utility or application. A person applying for a patent must show that several key requirements are met. Of these, novelty and inventiveness are central and both go towards establishing whether the invention deserves protection.

Novelty is judged against the “prior art”, that is, the body of knowledge that presently exists and which is made available to the public (*European Patent Convention 2000*, Art. 52). The key date for measuring the newness of the invention against the prior art is the priority date, which usually is the date the patent application is filed.¹³ The legal test asks whether the invention *already* forms part of the prior art. It is an exacting standard in so far as the prior art usually encompasses what has been made available worldwide before the priority date. The rationale for this requirement is ensuring that technical knowledge is in fact being added to what currently exists and that monopolies are not granted over existing knowledge that would inhibit activities currently being undertaken. For example, if pharmaceutical X for treating depression is already on the market, it would be counterproductive and unduly rewarding to allow B to obtain a patent for the same pharmaceutical. However, where it is discovered that pharmaceutical X is useful in treating a different illness, then this new type of application could qualify as novel.

In assessing the novelty of an invention, the focus is on the invention itself (classified broadly as a product or a process) and whether it has been previously disclosed before the priority date. There is no attention paid to the type or quality of intellectual labour that has gone into creating the invention. Rather, the test is an objective one of assessing whether the invention is, in quantitative terms, contributing new, useful knowledge to society. It is at the next stage—inventive step—that the quality of the inventive contribution is examined and assessed.

The requirement of inventive step or non-obviousness asks whether the invention is obvious to a person skilled in the art having regard to the prior art (*European Patent Convention 2000*, Art. 56). Thus, the existing body of knowledge against which novelty is judged is also relevant here. However, the

focus is on whether what is added to the prior art is simply an obvious extension of existing knowledge or something more innovative. The rationale behind this requirement is to ensure that genuine, meritorious innovation is incentivized or rewarded. As mentioned, inventiveness is judged from the perspective of “a person skilled in the art”. This is a hypothetical legal construct, which is meant to offer an objective perspective on whether an invention deserves protection. As such, the skilled person is not an expert or a real worker in the field, but instead is a fictitious person deemed to have basic knowledge of the relevant technical field (called the “common general knowledge”) and to be aware of the prior art. Questions of inventiveness are invariably fact dependent and, as such, this is one of the most contested legal issues in patent applications and patent litigation, and difficult to predict. Even so, this does not seem to have negatively impacted on the number of patents filed each year.¹⁴

One of the ways in which patent law has sought to accommodate technological developments and loosen itself from its nineteenth-century roots is in how it constructs the “person skilled in the art” for the purposes of evaluating inventiveness. In recognition of the complexity of many scientific advances and the necessity for collaborative research to produce them, patent law now recognizes that the “skilled person” in fact may be a team of researchers, working across different fields, rather than a single, individual working in one field. However, the test of inventive step is a uniform one that does not differentiate between different types of inventive activity. As Mandel (2011) explains, psychological research indicates that, broadly speaking, one can point to problem-finding creativity (identifying a new problem) and problem-solving creativity (solving an identified problem). Each type draws on different cognitive processes—“more abstract thought processes” for problem-finding and “more analytical cognitive function” for problem-solving (Mandel, 2011, p. 2005). Yet, the non-obviousness requirement in patent law treats these different types of creativity identically, when it may be preferable to tailor incentives depending on what, as a society, we wish to encourage. In this vein, Mandel (2011) also sees a connection between the requirement of inventiveness, which acknowledges and rewards a particularly significant qualitative advance, and the intrinsic motivations of an individual.

Who Is an Inventor?

The inventor is key because this person generally is granted the patent and, as such, will be the patent *owner*. In turn, the patent owner has the right commercially to exploit the invention (such as through making, using, selling, or

importing the patented product or a product resulting from a patented process) and to prevent others from doing so, unless their permission is granted. Thus, it is important to be able to identify the inventor or, where relevant, joint inventors. As mentioned earlier, collaborative—as opposed to individual—research is the cornerstone of many technological advances. Patent law recognizes this through the concept of joint inventorship. However, the legal principles of joint inventorship arguably still hark back to a notion of inventiveness that is individualistic. Patent law starts by identifying the inventive concept underpinning the invention, that is, “the heart” of the invention. One then looks to see *who* was responsible for the inventive concept. Simply providing advice or other routine assistance will not usually suffice to make someone a joint inventor—there must be a contribution to the inventive concept. A short example will illustrate this approach. A patent existed for a method of controlling pests involving the use of magnetic particles that stuck to the legs of insects. Previously, a method for controlling pests which involved the use of electrostatic talcum powder stuck to the legs of insects had been disclosed in the prior art. The downside of this approach, however, was that the talcum powder lost its stickiness over time and became ineffective. Thus, the inventive concept in the patented invention was substituting electrostatic talcum powder with magnetic particles, which were more effective. The person responsible for making this key suggestion was identified as the inventor and the person who carried out routine trials to implement the suggestion was not recognized as a joint inventor (*University of Southampton's Applications*, 2006).

Employee Inventors

As mentioned earlier, the inventor/s will usually be the owner/s of the patent and, as such, have the right exclusively to exploit the invention. But where the inventor is an employee, the position regarding ownership becomes complicated and the issue is whether the employer should instead be regarded as the owner. This issue is resolved differently depending on the jurisdiction. It is possible, however, to identify three broad approaches.

The first approach (adopted in Japan and Germany) is one that favours the inventor because ownership vests with the employee regardless of whether the invention was created as part of his or her duties. However, in situations where the invention was created as part of the employee's duties, pre-assignments of ownership of such inventions can occur via agreement. In other words, there can be a term in the employment agreement that stipulates ownership of

inventions created as part of the employee's duties (so-called service inventions) will be transferred to the employer. Importantly, however, where this occurs, an employee will be entitled to receive reasonable remuneration (*Patent Law 1959*, s. 35(3) [Japan] and German Employees' Invention Law 1957). Reasonable remuneration may be determined via agreement between employer or employee (as in Japan) or else via statutory guidelines (as in Germany) (Stallberg, 2017). As such, remuneration for patented inventions (beyond an employee's salary) is regularly received by employees in these jurisdictions.

The second approach (adopted in the United Kingdom) is where ownership of the patent vests in the employer where the invention has been created as part of the employee's duties (*Patents Act 1977*, s.39 [UK]). Any inventions created by an employee that do not fall within these rules belong to the employee, and this cannot be overridden by agreement (*Patents Act 1977*, s.42(2) [UK]). In other words, an employer cannot seek to use the employment agreement to obtain an automatic transfer of ownership of inventions created *outside* the scope of an employee's duties. An employee may subsequently, however, choose to transfer rights in the patented invention to their employer. In addition, for those inventions that have been created as part of the employee's duties, ownership of which has vested in the employer, there is a statutory right to compensation where the invention or patent has been of outstanding benefit to the employer, and it is just to award compensation to the employee. Also, for inventions created outside the employee's duties and owned by the employee, but subsequently transferred to the employer, the employee may be entitled to compensation where the payment received by the employee was inadequate, given the benefit derived by the employer and it is just to award compensation to the employee (*Patents Act 1977*, s.40 [UK]). If compensation is awarded, it is calculated to reflect a fair share of the benefit derived by the employer (*Patents Act 1977*, s.41 [UK]). However, it is important to note there have been very few successful claims by employees for compensation based on these UK provisions.¹⁵

The third approach is that which exists in the United States (Hovell, 1983; Merges, 1999). This is where ownership of employee-created inventions is left entirely to negotiation between the employer and employee. As such, employers routinely require their employees, via the employment contract, to pre-assign ownership to future inventions. In this situation, there is no right to remuneration, but rather the employer may grant bonuses or provide other rewards. In the unlikely event that the employment contract did not pre-assign ownership of future inventions, the default rule is that where an employee has been hired to invent, the employer owns the patented invention. But where an

employee creates an invention related to her duties or uses her employer's resources, the default rule is that ownership is split. In all other cases, the employee owns the invention.

Thus, we see a continuum of approaches to patented inventions that are created by employees. At one end of the spectrum is Japan and Germany, which focuses on rewarding employees for their inventive activity, beyond what they might receive as part of their normal employee benefits. This approach respects the inventive efforts that have been made by the inventor, despite their status as employee. At the other end of the spectrum is the United States, which allows employers, invariably in better bargaining positions, to obtain an advance transfer of ownership of patented inventions created by their employees. Any rewards to employees for these patented inventions will be discretionary on the part of the employer. This approach really focuses on the employer as the person who has provided the underpinning investment for the inventive activity and their economic interests in exploiting the invention. In the middle is the UK approach whereby the employer owns inventions created by employees in the course of their duties but, in extraordinary situations where the patented invention has been of outstanding benefit to the employer, awards fair compensation to employees. This approach is seeking to reach a compromise between the economic interests of the employer and fairness to the employee, given their inventive contribution. What is not clear is which of these approaches is more effective in incentivizing creative or inventive activity on the part of employees. In this respect, more empirical data on how employed inventors create and the impact (if any) of the patent law framework would be welcome.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we have seen that copyright and patent law characterizes mental or intangible labour in different ways. Patent law looks for novel and inventive contributions in relation to technical innovations, whereas copyright law looks for originality in relation to aesthetic works, which may be demonstrated through creative choices, the exercise of skill and judgement, or the investment of labour, depending on the country in which protection is sought. Importantly, an objective stance is taken to the assessment of novelty and inventive step in patent law, by utilizing the perspective of a hypothetical person skilled in the art. Whereas, copyright law generally seeks to assess originality subjectively, according to the intangible labour the author has contributed. Patent law also requires novelty and inventive step to be shown before any exclusive rights are granted. Whereas, copyright law, as an unregistered

right, assumes that the originality requirement is satisfied unless it is challenged in a dispute between the owner and a third party. A key issue for both systems of regulating intangible labour relates to the position of employee authors and employee inventors. We see variations in whether the act of authorship or inventiveness justifies rewards to the employee or whether, in fact, the employer, as the economic sponsor of these activities, is entitled to claim copyright or patent ownership. With the employment relationship becoming increasingly blurred in our shifting economic landscape, this is an area that will undoubtedly need to be revisited in future, particularly in relation to copyright law.

While the clarity and coherence of these intellectual property frameworks is important, the connection between law and practice is not as linear or directly causal as intellectual property lawyers might like to think. Understanding the copyright and patent frameworks is crucial to appreciating the legal entitlements that arise in the context of creative or inventive activity. But what must not be overlooked by intellectual property scholarship is the variety of methodologies that can provide insightful descriptive tools for understanding intellectual property practices, which in turn might have normative influence on how we construct the law.

Notes

1. For example, see Robinson (2014) who discusses the shifting meanings of “originality” in Western and Chinese art communities and how they diverge from legal understandings of “originality”.
2. See, for example, *Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works 1886* (as revised, 1971) Art. 2; *Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988*, s.1 (UK); *Copyright Act 1976*, s.102(a) (US); *Copyright Act 1968*, s.32 (Aus.); *Intellectual Property Code 1992*, Art. L112-4 (France).
3. Occasionally there have been disputes about what falls within the boundaries of “literary and artistic works”, such as perfumes (*Bsiri-Barbir v Haarmann & Reimer* [2006] ECDR 28 (French Cour de Cassation) but contrast the result in the Netherlands in *Kecofa v Lancome* [2006] ECDR 26 (Dutch Supreme Court)), football games (*Football Association Premier League Ltd v QC Leisure and Karen Murphy v Media Protection Services* (Joined Cases C-403/08 and C-429/08) [2011] ECR I-09083, [96]–[99] (European Court of Justice)), and costumes (*Lucasfilm v Ainsworth* [2011] UKSC 39; [2012] 1 AC 208 (UK Supreme Court)).
4. For example, see <https://witness.theguardian.com/terms> and section 6 on “User content”.

5. While, historically, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a person did have to register their copyright, in the twentieth century this formality was abandoned and, as a matter of international copyright law, is prohibited: see *Berne Convention*, Art. 5(2).
6. On this latter point, it is interesting to see how the legal profession behaves in relation to the legal documents that it produces (see Piper, 2014).
7. For example, see *Sawkins v Hyperion Records* [2005] RPC 32 (English Court of Appeal) where the claimant created musical scores heavily based on the musical works of an earlier baroque composer, in which copyright had expired. It was only when the claimant brought infringement proceedings against users of the score (i.e. the defendant) that the issue of whether the claimant had created *original* musical works was raised.
8. Berne Convention, Art. 7, requires life of the author plus 50 years as a minimum standard, but the United States and EU require life of the author plus 70 years.
9. Although where this is a failure to negotiate an express transfer or licence, courts can occasionally step in to imply such arrangements: see *Griggs Group Ltd v Evans* [2005] FSR 31 (English Court of Appeal).
10. See Agreement on *Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights 1994*, Art 27: “patents shall be available for any inventions, whether products or processes, in all fields of technology, provided that they are new, involve an inventive step and are capable of industrial application”.
11. It is possible to apply via regional institutions, such as the European Patent Office.
12. For example, see European Patent Convention 2000, Art 52.
13. It can be a different, earlier date, where a patent application has been filed 12 months earlier in a country that is a member of the Paris Convention.
14. For example, the number of international patent filings made using the Patent Cooperation Treaty has grown significantly over the past 20 years and continues to do so: see http://www.wipo.int/edocs/pubdocs/en/wipo_pub_901_2016.pdf.
15. An example of a successful claim was *Kelly and Chiu v GE Healthcare Ltd* [2009] EHW 181 (Pat), [2009] RPC 12 (English High Court).

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20

Entrepreneurship and Creativity Education in China: Reflections from an Experience-Based Approach to an Introductory Module in Entrepreneurship

Tori Y. Huang and Felix Arndt

Introduction

Modern China is one of the most entrepreneurial countries in the world (Global Entrepreneurship Research Association, 2017). While China is associated with high-tech companies such as Alibaba, Tencent, and Baidu, it is equally known for its shopping and service culture that may better fit the category of “necessity” entrepreneurship. Together with these observations, China’s many state-owned enterprises are known to provide lifelong employment, and its school education is known for achieving excellence in standardized tests rather than creative problem-solving. However, local university capacity has risen drastically in the last decade, and many Chinese go abroad for their studies. Hence, the above stereotypes have become increasingly outdated.

In this chapter, we share our reflections on teaching entrepreneurship and creativity in China. We describe some of the techniques and exercises that we used to foster students’ creativity within an introductory undergraduate module in entrepreneurship, *Entrepreneurship and Business*—typically students’

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first point of contact with the field of entrepreneurship as well as creativity methodology and creative processes.

Our experiences are based in a unique setting. At the University of Nottingham Ningbo, the majority of undergraduate students, coming out of the Chinese education system, have not been encouraged throughout their education experience to be creative. In many cases, their creativity was suppressed. Behaviours that are typically encouraged in creative processes (e.g. open sharing of ideas and debates) constitute punishable behaviours in this context.

The module *Entrepreneurship and Business* provides a rare platform for introducing students to experiential learning to set an open, creative, and assumption-critical atmosphere from the very beginning of their undergraduate studies. Individual and group exercises are designed to challenge common assumptions students hold, putting process before outcome, and in a constructive way pushing them to experience and learn from failure. Students are encouraged to expand their comfort zone, reflect, and share their successes as well as failures. This participative process is incentivized by the innovative assessment design, where the allocation of marks no longer depends on performances in a competition-prone and outcome-oriented (i.e. false dichotomy) educational setting. Drawing from our observations and reflections, we discuss the challenge of entrepreneurship and creativity education, as well as its implications for the next generation of creative workforce in China.

The Context

In the University of Nottingham undergraduate curriculum across the UK, Malaysia, and China campuses, this module is compulsory for business students of all specializations. As it often serves as students' first point of contact with the field of entrepreneurship as well as creativity methodology and creative processes, several elements of this module are designed to provide often entrepreneurship- and business-inexperienced students with new experiences. These experiences are then used for reflective learning exercises. Having entrepreneurship as a compulsory first-year module makes the University of Nottingham cutting edge in entrepreneurship education. The frontier is further shifted in the Chinese setting, where entrepreneurship is a relatively new topic in business education. In addition, our approach of motivating students to think entrepreneurial is challenging traditional business school education.

First, building on the insights of Souitaris, Zerbinati, and Al-Laham (2007), the module was designed to inspire and stimulate interest in entrepreneurship, to build motivation for creative and explorative activities, and to foster actions. Through practical exercises and reflective discussions, the module develops an

understanding of the characteristics of entrepreneurial individuals and processes. Simultaneously, it encourages students to make decisions and take actions under uncertainty. Moreover, students were put into situations where they faced challenges that often lie outside their prior experiences and existing ways of thinking. Second, we used a mixture of lectures, seminars, and projects to incorporate a diverse set of anticipated learning outcomes throughout the classes and assessments. Third, we guided the learning process for the entire module by using one coordinated, holistic framework that helps facilitate the learning process that is highly tool-based in nature. We took an approach that starts with applying a tool and deriving insights from the process of using the tool. Thereafter, we put the discussion into the overarching framework that is used throughout the module. In this way, students had a clear view on the tools utilized in the module, its strengths and weaknesses, and experiential knowledge of applying these tools without theoretical priming. Theory was used a priori to provide an overarching framework and post hoc to reflect on the outcomes from applying the tools. With this approach, the boundary conditions and limitations as well as the implications of tools and theories have an experiential foundation that facilitates students' learning.

Notably, this module was designed in a Chinese context in which the elements of action, critical analysis, and reflection have traditionally been less pronounced in their academic training. Setting the tone for a more Western style education in the Sino-British context of this university has much meaning for students' successes in their advanced studies of business and management. In the following, we outline the different components of the *Entrepreneurship and Business* module, how they were taught and assessed, and the challenges during the implementation. Drawing from our experiences and student feedback, we provide an analysis of causes and solutions, and their implications to teaching entrepreneurship and creativity in this unique context. We then embark on a general discussion about China's current status as a world leading technological innovator, the past trajectory and cultural underpinning behind this newly minted status, and its next generation of creative workforce.

The Entrepreneurship and Business Module

Framework

The use of an overarching framework was necessary to bring the different elements of the module together. We chose Tina Seelig's (2015) *Insight out: Get ideas out of your head and into the world* as the core text and use the Invention Cycle proposed in this book as a guiding framework throughout the module.

This is not a conventional academic textbook but a practitioner book targeting a wide audience of would-be innovators including students. Given the action- and motivation-oriented purposes of this module, we found this book to be particularly suitable, easy to digest, and inspirational for students. According to Seelig (2015),

- *Imagination is envisioning things that do not exist.*
- *Creativity is applying imagination to address a challenge.*
- *Innovation is applying creativity to generate unique solutions.*
- *Entrepreneurship is applying innovation, scaling unique ideas, by inspiring others' imagination.*

All contents and activities of the module including lectures and projects were planned in a sequence based on the four stages of the Invention Cycle.

Experiential Project

Early in the semester, we introduced one of the two major tasks for students. Following Seelig's (2014, 2015) approach, we asked students to design and run a venture for two hours and maximize its profits (or alternative social value that they would have to define) within these two hours. The venture needed to be run with minimal capital (30RMB, approximately £3.50 per team). No other funds could be used and no risks beyond the initial capital were allowed. The preparation of this project could take as long as the students wished. We asked students to think outside of the box but remain within legal boundaries. The only requirement was to complete the project at the time of the presentation, about two weeks from the time it was announced. Presentations were restricted to three slides and five minutes including Q&A. Next to the idea and implementation, students were asked to reflect on their experience in terms of their business model, teamwork, profit generation potential, operational learning experience, and challenges that they had to overcome. The wide choices of project included clever arbitrage of near-expiration shop coupons that eventually brought in a considerable amount of profit, as well as socially oriented projects that offered entertainment to school children that brought in minimal profit. In their presentations, students were asked to discuss the limitations of their business models and the ethical implications. We provided detailed feedback to all students regarding the ambitions, challenges, and learning outcomes of the project. In addition, we used examples from this project subsequently throughout the module. Continuous reflections on their experiences in relation to theories helped students internalize the knowledge.

Problem-Solving with Ingenuity

The second major part of the module was to guide students through the ingenuity process, a three-step method for creative problem-solving (Kirkham, Mosey, & Binks, 2009). Creative thinking techniques and tools (e.g. brainstorming, six hats) are applied in each step of this process. Following the method—Define, Discover, Determine—we introduced each step in lectures and paired them with a number of tools to facilitate the group work. The ingenuity process is then implemented in a series of four seminars where students were mentored through stages of problem definition, solution generation, and solution selection. In the last seminar, they developed a business concept from the final solution they have chosen which they subsequently pitched in a two-minute video.

Assessment

This module was designed as a continuous experiential learning experience with assessment points incentivizing continuous engagement with the different tasks. Support for the articulation, codification, sharing, and internalization of these experiences is given through lectures. Accordingly, the componential assessment during the semester focused on the active and thorough reflection of experiences and was complemented by an exam at the end of the semester that requires clear understanding of core concepts and vocabulary used in entrepreneurship.

The first assessment was a presentation consisting of three slides that explains the purpose of the two-hour venture, its implementation and outcomes, and reflection on all aspects of the venturing process including the counterfactual questions such as how would students have done it differently if given another chance. The evaluation takes into account the profit of the venture, the presentation skills, and most important of all, the depth and width of the reflection. The second assessment took place within the ingenuity process. After each seminar, students were required to write 1–2 pages reflecting on the group process and learning experiences during the seminar. While the reflection papers were not graded per se, the submission of the reflection paper was mandatory. The overall outcome and process were then evaluated by grading (1) the pitch and (2) the group work through peer-evaluation when the ingenuity process concluded.

In the first seminar, we asked students to define a problem “essential to Chinese youth of their generation.” We then asked each seminar class (consisting of 15–20 groups) to vote for one problem that the entire class will solve

over the remaining weeks. The problem definition with the most votes was selected. Some examples of problem definition included sleep deprivation and over-emphasis placed on standardized marks in school education. Despite our emphasis and explanation of the importance of a well-formulated problem, we observed that students did not take the problem formulation and voting process seriously and most groups voted for their own problem definition. The outcome was that the selected problems were not necessarily the most clearly defined or most suitable for the given task. In addition, when students realized the results of the voting procedure, they tried to intervene and initiate a new vote. The least preferred problem statement (i.e. with the fewest votes) became the topic for a short essay in which students were required to develop a business idea for the “worst” problem definition—as voted by themselves. Here, it is important to note that the voting was not showing much foresight in terms of choosing a problem definition with a broad spectrum of potential solutions for the project such that the essay—even though positioned as the “worst” problem—was a much more hands-on task. For students, overcoming their bias towards the solution and finding a useful perspective on a topic that was framed as difficult, has shown to have a major impact on many students as to how they perceived the task, their openness for new perspectives, and finding a previously neglected solution space. Finally, the one-hour exam consisted of an essay about the relationship of core constructs of the Invention Cycle.

Reflections on Teaching Creativity and Entrepreneurship

Kolb’s Experiential Learning Cycle

Experiential learning is a process where “experience is translated into concepts, which in turn are used as guides in the choice of new experiences” (Kolb, 1976, p. 21). Specifically, an experiential learning cycle involves concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization, and active experimentation (Kolb, 1976). In this module, students underwent an experiential learning cycle where concrete experiences were gained through conducting the venture project, reflective observation was encouraged and facilitated by presentations and essays, abstract conceptualization was guided by debrief sessions and lectures, new concepts developed were then applied and experimented with in the ingenuity project. Through this approach, we

aimed to instil the concept of a learning community where students see each other, as well as the lecturers and project mentors, as co-learners and hoped that it would serve as the undertone throughout the semester. More importantly, compared to a conventional “single-loop” learning process reinforced by standardized testing, we introduced a “double-loop” learning process where learning is self-initiated, experience informs the development of theories, and new experience is used to testing one’s own theory. We believe this approach is sustainable beyond university education and is key to creativity and entrepreneurship. It echoes Kolb’s (1976, p. 26) assertion that an important goal beyond learning a particular area of knowledge is to learn about one’s own strengths and weaknesses as a learner, that is, learning *how to learn* from experience.

Encourage Learning from Failure

A key motive behind the module design was to remove the taboo of failure deeply embedded in students’ mindsets, developed from a long trajectory of high-intensity peer competitions solely focused in achieving high scores in standardized tests. We sought to redefine failure—which used to be clearly indicated by a low test score—by delinking standardized measurement (e.g. the financial performance of the venture project) with performance and shifting the focus to reflections and experience sharing. We tried to convey a new message that university is a safe environment to experiment and potentially fail because learning is the most important aim. By redefining failure and removing the punishment for failure, we encouraged experimentation—one that would inform future practices of creativity and entrepreneurship.

Reflection and Feedback

Central to both the venture project and the ingenuity project was the reflection on learning at each step on the way. For the former, the presentations were focused on the takeaways for future tasks rather than on operational issues from the performed task. For the latter, students were required to write a 1–2 page reflective essay on their experiences and learning from each stage of the ingenuity process. When giving feedback, we focused not on evaluation (i.e. how well they did) but rather on analysing the reasoning behind the choices made and the internal and external factors considered. In other words, we focused more on the process rather than the outcome, more on the implications rather than

the consequences. We also highlighted the controllable and the uncontrollable, asking students to acknowledge their roles in the decision process. With this approach we aim to help students develop a predisposition to make decisions and take actions under a high level of uncertainty, which is one of the most important aims of entrepreneurship education.

China as Unique Context for Creativity, Innovation, and Entrepreneurship

China's status as a world leader of technological innovation is very recent and still doubted by many. Ranked 43rd in the National Innovation Capacity Index (Porter & Stern, 2002) and 36th in the Global Creativity Index (Florida, 2007), China has not been considered a strong contender in the realm of creativity and innovation until recently. Indeed, its past success as the world's factory that churned out large quantity of low-quality goods relying on workers on minimum wage does not help us understand this newly minted status. Continuous problems with a lack of protection for intellectual property, abundance of counterfeits, and piracy also leave a long-lasting impression that goes against the common conception of creativity. Yet, we are seeing technology companies such as Alibaba, Tencent, Xiaomi, and Huawei, continuously bringing successful products and services to domestic and international markets, being praised not for their low price but for their innovative products. We are also observing, within the country, the highest adoption rate of mobile technology across all ages. China is years ahead in critical areas such as mobile technology and p2p services compared to Europe and North America (Mozur, 2016). Didi Chuxing's latest acquisition of Uber China and their establishment of an innovation centre in Silicon Valley once again brought China's innovative capabilities beyond its already impressive financial strengths into questions.

From our observations, there is no doubt that pragmatism makes China creative. Problem-solving-oriented thinking drive makes choices as well as consumer choices. Jack Ma openly stated many times that Alibaba was founded to solve problems for small sellers in rural China who had no access to the market. The prominence of economic and social problems and the pursuit of new and better solutions to the problems is a key driving force of China's innovative activities. While most Chinese still find a hard time embracing failure in the Silicon Valley fashion, many have taken on the idea of collective learning and societal wealth creation and how they potentially justify the inpouring of large amount of venture funding.

China's Future Creative Workforce

China's future lies in promoting innovation throughout industry sectors. This insight is not new, and China's leaders have formulated goals in the 13th five-year plan that clearly formulates the need for China to become an innovation leader. In many industries, we see increasingly fierce competition tackling the long-standing monopolies of the technology-leading "Mittelstand" (Logue, Jarvis, Clegg, & Hermens, 2015).

Creativity is already a key driver of China's economy. Just to name a few examples, China's Tsinghua University has recently taken over as the world leading technology institution from MIT. Much of the world's fashion comes out of China. The Michelin Guide has expanded its boundaries and found world-class kitchens in mainland China. However, to continue growing, China needs a broader basis in their creative workforce. Wisely, China does not copy the creativity concept from the West, but is well aware of the cultural boundaries of how creativity can be stimulated. China's vision is a large creative workforce that equally seeks knowledge from outside the country that they can localize (e.g. the campus of the University of Nottingham), acquire knowledge in the original setting (e.g. the acquisition of degrees abroad), and pursue local initiatives (e.g. Tsinghua University) to foster creativity, innovation, and entrepreneurship.

Education is a key driver for value creating creativity. Hence, China has significantly increased its number of university graduates and capacity of universities over the last years. Our experience in the context of entrepreneurship education in China is just one example that shows how important entrepreneurship education is becoming in higher education. The University of Nottingham in China belongs to the Tier 1 universities in China and the students are known for being bilingual and ambicultural in their approach (Arndt & Ashkanasy, 2015). Raising entrepreneurial intentions is not only a driver for stimulating new ventures and their growth, it is also a key driver for change in the many large state-owned enterprises that are the fundament of China's economy and that will benefit most from a broader creative workforce.

China's business culture has, is, and will go through further changes. While job security is still engraved in the minds of many Chinese students as a primary goal of their university education, privately owned companies have already adopted very different practices from traditional business practices. The new workforce seeks self-fulfilment in their jobs, and organizations that employ aim to fulfil this need. Educated with counterparts from all over the world, the work-life expectations of China's new generation are increasingly global. Outdated system and practices lose their attractiveness and competitiveness. At the same time, research has shown that people with living-abroad

experiences can more readily “think outside of the box” (i.e. beyond the obvious problem framing and solutions) and have a wider and richer experience repertoire to draw from and therefore are more creative (Maddux, Adam, & Galinsky, 2013). These individuals constitute China’s new workforce that expects a stimulating work environment, cares for work-life balance, demands an internationally competitive pay, is well travelled and adapted to an international work environment. Companies will need to adapt their organizational culture and internal design if they want to attract talent and be successful in the long-run internationally.

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21

“Essential—Passion for Music”: Affirming, Critiquing, and Practising Passionate Work in Creative Industries

Toby Bennett

Browsing through each bullet point on the “preferred candidate will demonstrate...” list, I reflect on my experience. A qualification; some event promotion; office work: I consider how to pare these down into basic elements that display a technical, social and personal prowess in the field of music administration. What are the requisite “transferable skills”? Word processing and spreadsheet management. “Meeting deadlines”. “Professionalism”. “Interpersonal skills and relationship development”. “Creative thinking”, “initiative”, “passion for music”...? I wonder, uncomfortably, what is meant by this. Music is my passion, of course—but this music? I’ve never even heard of most of their artists. Do I have the right passion?

Author’s reflection: applying for a job at a major record label, November 2007

Introduction

In 2007, I had completed an eclectic undergraduate degree in music and was on the hunt for work. I was conservatoire trained in classical piano performance although most of my energy was consumed in producing electronic music in a small home studio, DJing at and promoting club nights, or otherwise playing weddings and community festivals as part of a Brazilian samba *batería*. If my spare time was spent making, listening to, reading, and talking about music, it had become clear to me that neither teaching, nor producing,

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nor performing would be my route to career sustainability. Through an office recruitment agency I had secured some temporary work in local government—but music remained my love, as well as the source of any expertise I had to offer: I had the certificate to prove it! I felt the urge to make it (in some way I couldn't quite articulate) my vocation. And so it was that I found myself applying for jobs I hadn't previously considered but for which I nonetheless felt qualified: orchestra fixer, festival planner, indie label production coordinator, talent management, audiobook publishing assistant, licensing administrator. In each interview, I was nonplussed to discover that my degree counted for very little: rather, what was being excavated was my ability to perform a blend of bureaucratic spirit with a passion for music.

For those working, or seeking work, in music the notion that a passion for music is obligatory is ubiquitous: simple common sense. According to recruitment literature, marketing communications, and, crucially, to workers themselves, passion is the “essential” quality that binds together an array of careers and projects. This insight was reached over the course of five years' work and subsequently four years of research on the corporate music industry world in which I ended up employed. If it verges on the banal, then two points render it more interesting. First, the ubiquity of passion discourse is set against a backdrop in which recorded music companies, emerging from a period of economic crisis, have become more formal and professionalized. In line with broader policy-led “creative industry” imperatives, they have sought to attract and strategically deploy specific skills and talents. Second, this appears to be the case not just for so-called creatives in the music industry but also for the “non-creative” colleagues like myself: administrators, legal executives, systems operators, finance assistants, supply chain managers, and technical and support workers of all stripes. In other words, “passion” is a pre-requisite even for those in the more apparently rational(ized) ends of this creative workforce.

This chapter considers such passion in enthusiastic orientations to work within creative worlds: work that is motivated by an intense attachment to and sustained expertise in the product of work and its conditions of production. Passionate work is thus not to be conflated with creative work, nor with similar critical concepts like emotional or affective labour, even if much overlap exists. Drawing on Luc Boltanski's pragmatic sociology of critique and justification, the chapter argues that the chief contribution of the passionate lens is rather to train our sights on normative questions: of *why* such work is undertaken, rather than *what* work, or *how*. Embedded in research on cultural and creative industries, and a longer history of political economy, the contemporary recorded music sector is presented as a passionate industry in transformation. If passion is often co-opted for promotional ends, I ask how workers

appeal to passion to justify their positions and, more importantly, both criticize and defend their industry at a time when it is seen to be under attack. Interviews with workers act as a springboard to explore three possible interpretive approaches: affirmative, critical, and pragmatic. Some concluding comments suggest theoretical flexibility is needed to keep “passion” open to future inquiry—particularly regarding inequalities in creative work.

The Problem(s) of Passion

Passion or PR?

What is usually called “the music industry” is an economic construct first and foremost, a piece of hotly contested commercial and policy rhetoric (Williamson & Cloonan, 2007), often merely a “public relations tactic” (Sterne, 2014, p. 51).¹ Nonetheless, it is also a *cultural* construct, produced, stabilized, and altered in partnership with the intense relationships individuals and groups form with particular musical subjects, objects, practices, and spaces (Negus, 1995). The tension between the cultural and the economic, passion and PR (or the co-optation of the former by the latter) has intensified with the growth of marketing and corporate communications functions—but especially so at a time of “digital disruption”, when the success of new business models and commercial strategies require institutions to establish cultural legitimacy. In a discussion of the performance of musical passion, Long and Barber (2015, p. 143) complain that “the advertisement of emotional investment in the business of music informs ideas of reliability and integrity, even at corporate level”: the latter, they contest—in contrast with the work of songwriters—is self-promotional “rhetoric”.

Major labels have long used institutional aesthetics as a device for attracting musicians, conjuring an image of a natural home for creative types through corporate culture (Negus, 1999, ch. 3) and today’s major label headquarters continue to be lavished in gold discs, music memorabilia, and impressive design features. If the online world fosters the challenge of increased uncertainty, it also affords opportunities for more visible performances of authentic passion. Websites splash photographs of the more spectacular interiors, while the visuals are accompanied by written and video testimonies from workers, sharing listening recommendations and fashion tips, alongside companies’ active, personable social media accounts. The internal world of these companies has become more visibly curated for external audiences: customers and the public, potential signings and clients but also (my focus here) those navigating the industry’s labour market.

With particular regard to the latter, given their role as cultural intermediaries, “diversity” is increasingly seen as crucial by music institutions on the grounds that a diverse workforce is required to meet the needs of a diverse field of consumption. As such, persistent inequalities and exclusions have been identified and targeted by corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives as part of a broader “business case for diversity” (e.g. UK Music, *n.d.*).² Insofar as these promotional narratives and CSR commitments form part of companies’ self-presentation, we can view them as a form of the emotive “happy talk” Sara Ahmed (2012, p. 10) finds to be common in diversity initiatives—“a way of telling a happy story of the institution that is at once a story of the institution as happy”. Here, such stories become “passion talk”: blending diversity with passion to present connotations of cultural vibrancy, associated with a positive institutional aesthetic and ethic (or brand) that becomes a resource for both marketing and Human Resources (HR) departments (c.f. Ahmed, 2012, pp. 52–53). Of course, the positivity of passion papers over a certain friction. That the music industry should be associated with fame and glamour, alongside a culture of licentious excess and hedonism, is a source of moral concern as well as enduring appeal: a dark side to creative work instituting a tension that structures the field.

My argument in this chapter is that we need to move beyond a simplistic dichotomy between genuine, authentic creative passion and the inauthentic manipulations of commercial rhetoric, which does not necessarily speak to the experience of those working in the interstices of complex economic realities. I focus on (not necessarily creative) work within creative industries to push at its contradictions. Empty “passion talk” is indeed common but this does not exhaust the qualitative experiences of these worlds. We need closer readings of passionate work among the assorted groups, networks, industries, and institutions that make up what Georgina Born calls “musical capitalism”: taking, that is, an “anti-essentialist” view of the economic system as open and dynamic, rather than closed and “monolithic” and asking how this system is mediated by music in various ways that produce “specific properties and potentialities linked to music’s socio-material qualities” (Born, 2013, p. 51).³ Put simply, for workers under musical capitalism, “music matters”: it matters in the sense that its generalized circulation through societies does not simply provide pleasant aesthetic wallpaper for routine drudgery (in the drearily caricatured, pseudo-Adornian critique of industrial culture) but contributes, in myriad ways, to making lives sensuous, communal, and meaningful (Hesmondhalgh, 2013). It is this which motivates and sustains creative industry workers as much as (or more than) high wages or predictable work patterns, even if experiences will differ according to material-organizational

context. These principles inform my subsequent argument that passion orients the subjects and objects of creative work to one another, forging attachments between personal experiences and broader social and economic worlds.

Passion, Creative Work, Political Economy

The proliferation of critical research on work in relation to mediated cultural forms has seen a growing concern with the value placed on individual passion (see Hermes, 2015; Hill & Hermes, 2016). The aesthetics and ethics of work-as-play (or “Do What You Love”) associated with creative entrepreneurial figures like Apple’s Steve Jobs perhaps make this most stark (Gregg, 2011, pp. 169–174). In a less singular manner, passion is diagnosed as a defining feature of cultural industries (Arvidsson, Malossi, & Naro, 2010; Gill & Pratt, 2008; McRobbie, 2016; Petersson McIntyre, 2014), as well as the knowledge and service sectors of “new” economies, including digital work (Duffy, 2017; Gandini, 2016; Himanen, 2001; Thrift, 2001) and higher education (HE) (Cannizzo, 2018; Hey & Leathwood, 2009). Outside these still rarefied professional fields, critical sociologists have explored how workplace management regimes in less passion-driven contexts also seek to align and regulate individual and institutional identities—from the demands placed on call-centre workers to show personality, to CSR initiatives in the ethical organization (Alvesson & Wilmott, 2002; Callaghan & Thompson, 2002; Costas & Kärreman, 2013; Fleming & Sturdy, 2009; Kenny, 2010). Broadly, this sets the terrain for studies of creative work, in the context of which Gill and Pratt note as “one of the most consistent findings”:

that it is experienced by most who are involved with it as profoundly satisfying and intensely pleasurable (at least some of the time). A vocabulary of love is repeatedly evinced in such studies... Research speaks of deep attachment, affective bindings, and to the idea of self-expression and self-actualization through work. (Gill & Pratt, 2008, p. 15)

Registering the genuine pleasures of what they name “passionate work”, they also note its sacrificial ethos, whereby material rewards are foregone for the opportunity to “live the dream”, as well as the resistance that such pleasures appear to erect to criticism of these less savoury aspects.

Focusing on case studies of fashion production, McRobbie (2016) has developed one of the more overarching critiques, viewing a discourse of passion as instrumental in the formation of new economic subjects with horizons shaped by austere and neoliberal political agendas. Drawing on Foucault

(and those in his wake, e.g. Donzelot, 1991), her account posits a “creativity dispositif”: a discursive regime in which “the idea of work corresponding to one’s inner dreams or childhood fantasies . . . banishes, to some separate realm entirely, the idea of organized labour”; disciplining labour to embrace self-enterprise, a passion for one’s work is “inherently individualistic and conservative” (McRobbie, 2016, p. 107). Although less totalizing in their claims than McRobbie, Arvidsson et al. (2010, pp. 305–307) also find fashion workers to consider “the production of value and the production of subjectivity” coextensive, drawing great satisfaction from the “identity value” of “belonging to a particular creative scene, with the accompanying consumer-based lifestyle: a ‘common world’ made up of parties, intense socialization among colleagues, the occasional ‘celebrity moment’, common consumption interests and a common lifestyle” (even if their “monetary value” leaves much to be desired).

If a lexicon of passion has gained critical currency, it covers similar ground to other terms that also trace the entanglement of the personal and the professional. How does an emphasis on “passion” push beyond the “emotional labour” of providing “service with a smile” (Hochschild, 2003); the “affective labour” involved in the need to convince, reassure, and persuade others (Hardt, 1999); or the “identity work” of cultivating, defining, and understanding oneself in largely professional terms (Leidner, 2006)? Certainly, a productive conceptual dialogue can (or should) be formed but, while these largely descriptive sociological terms train attention on *how* certain forms of work are performed, I want to suggest that the distinctive contribution of passion is to highlight *why*. That is, in a more moral-philosophical mode, it seeks (partial) explanation for individuals’ motivations to participate in a particular economic system—in so doing, moving away from a (neoclassical) economic concept of “incentives” and towards a sense of enthusiasm, in and of itself. Thus, putting passion at the heart of contemporary work—valorizing it not just as a source of income but of pleasure (Donzelot, 1991; Nixon and Crewe, 2004)—binds it to much longer theoretical traditions.

The term’s theological overtones, indicating a labour of suffering (Hermes, 2015, p. 112), carry through to Romantic conceptions of artistic genius and expressive individuality (Luhmann, 1986). Corner (2016) sees a “contested relationship” between passion and reason running through this tradition to present-day media and political discourse, wherein the *affirmations* of individual pleasure and romantic attachment that reject progressive rationalization are later *criticized* for inspiring the emotional manipulations of consumer capitalism. Less deterministic accounts, he notes, recognize how passion complements and informs, rather than opposes, deliberative reasoning (c.f. Hall, 2007).

Indeed, others have viewed the success of liberal capitalism as a political project to be a matter of taming both the abstraction of reason and the unruliness of the “passions” (Hirschman, 1997; c.f. Weber, 2001): that is, putting passion to work. If early political economy recognized the entwinement of structural management with felt experience, even as a problem to solve, contemporary economic disciplines’ appeal to individual rationality and ever-greater abstraction is in line with post-Enlightenment societal development (Milonakis & Fine, 2009). Here, the unpredictability of “animal spirits” (John Maynard Keynes) or “irrational exuberance” (Alan Greenspan) are regrettable aberrations—even if, more recently, this has been encountered as a different, hidden logic, to be revealed by the complementary science of behavioural psychology (Akerlof & Shiller, 2009).

The “turn to passion” then, is better considered a “return”, signalling theoretically “the renewed combination of political economy and media and cultural studies” (Hermes, 2015, p. 112). To study the passion in creative work is to set out to explain enthusiastic motivations for work in such terms: not just to ask *what* is being done but also *why*. Do individuals willingly come into alignment with a broader economic project through the cynical seduction and manipulation of PR rhetoric? Because of work’s capacity to satisfy immediate self-interest? In its ability to couple private pleasures to a collective good? Or otherwise? To speak of “passion” is to be concerned with *normative* judgements over what constitutes good and bad work; it is thereby understood here as the entwinement of moral with emotional or affective dispositions towards an object or activity. In cultural and creative contexts in particular (more so perhaps than elsewhere), the *specificity* of passionate work is central. Creative workers are working in, on, and for different symbolic and aesthetic objects and contexts—fashion, music, fine art, television, software design, or whatever—that have particular qualities generating particular attachments (Born, 2010; Hennion, 2015; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). That researchers should endeavour to recognize these qualities and attachments is then an ethical matter of “doing justice” to creative work (Banks, 2017).

Methodological Approach

The chapter’s second section explores these questions within the specific context of the commercial music industry. First, I recast the recorded music sector’s recent history of digital “crisis” as a struggle for cultural legitimacy, as well as one of innovation and economic reproduction. Then, more substantively, I discuss work that is not primarily cultural or creative in character, but

which is nonetheless characterized as “passionate”, in terms of an ethical orientation to this creative-industrial world. This draws on empirical research that followed and built on my own career but here highlights those of three interviewees: Graham, an educator heading a vocational music industry HE programme; Alan, a communications executive for a major record label; and Ian, a trade journalist.⁴ The normative dimension of passionate work renders it amenable to the approach found in Luc Boltanski’s sociology of critique, justification, and evaluation (Boltanski, 2011; Boltanski & Thévenot, 1999), as well as fellow travellers associated with so-called French pragmatism, concerned with the way in which people take account of their actions. In this light, economic transformation is assumed to be warranted by internal and external criticisms (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005), while music industry workers are assumed to have situated judgement, being reflexively aware of relations of domination (sometimes painfully so). In Boltanski and Thévenot’s (2006) epistemologically pluralist framework, people legitimate and value one another within competing (coherent, if implicit) moral regimes—“domestic”, “civil”, “market”, “industrial”, and so on—wherein “passion” is mostly located within an artistic and quasi-theological regime of “inspiration”. In line with its evolving conceptual history, I explore the terrain of *passionate work* through three contrasting theoretical and political frameworks, each provoked by a different interviewee’s passionate defence of their industry.⁵

In what I will call the *affirmative* approach, primarily representing the positivism of neoclassical economics and positive psychology, passion is a way of understanding individuals’ behaviour as motivated by self-interest. A more social-constructivist *critical* approach (here tied to an emphasis within Marxist cultural studies on analysing media representations) opposes the way in which affirmative discourses of passion distort social relations lying beneath the surface. Seeking an alternative to both—one which problematizes a view of passion as either the agency of deliberate choice or as passivity in the face of manipulation—a *pragmatic* approach deals instead with the practice of attachments (here to the production of music commodities) as a form of lay expertise. Bringing actors’ justifications into dialogue with more formal theoretical texts (assuming some continuity between the two), I do not suggest that the former consciously draw on the latter, but rather that interviewees’ arguments “are clarified and formalized” by the academic works, providing “general grammars of the political bond”, but which nevertheless may indeed be found “in the core of a large number of ordinary institutions and social devices” (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1999, p. 366).⁶ This is particularly the case where passion comes into contact with professional pedagogy—in the critical

thinking of a humanities education, the positive psychology of HR training, or the rudimentary economics in a management handbook—institutions or devices that couple theory to practice, furnishing resources for articulating, understanding, and justifying one’s position.

Music: A Passion Industry

Disruption and Legitimation in Recorded Music Industries

A common narrative that circulates through popular, journalistic, and insider accounts of industrial disruption goes as follows. The 1990s saw the flourishing of popular music’s commercial cynicism, characterized by the forced reformatting of consumers’ music collections, from analogue (tape and vinyl) to digital (CDs). The corporate conglomeration of mergers, acquisitions, and takeovers concentrated catalogue ownership in fewer hands—a “big six” “major” record labels at the start of the decade had become a “big four” by its end. This “golden era”, during which the industry “enjoyed about fifteen years of steady growth”, was a manufactured boom that heightened the sense of “significant break” which followed (Leyshon, 2014, p. 80). In former A&R man John Niven’s (2009) fictional account, it was an industry filled with chancers, sociopaths, fat cats, and dinosaurs: greed, exploitation, and complacency filled the air, as in the last days of Rome. After the technological shock of Napster and associated services, the industry—and especially the majors, too institutionalized and bulky to adapt swiftly—received well-deserved retribution from “informed consumers”, who became a “dangerous variable to an industry largely based on bullshit” (Barfe, 2006, np).

In this narrative then, the “crisis of reproduction” faced by the recorded music sector (Leyshon, 2014) is accompanied by a “crisis of legitimation” (Habermas, 1975): its decline of *value*, that is, was foreshadowed by a decline of *values*, which registered in depleted positive sentiment towards the industry. Setting this more firmly against the real effects of digital crisis in the political economy of contemporary musical capitalism, an era of “disruptive innovation” fostered a permanent climate of uncertainty and innovation-led austerity, sanctioning multiple waves of restructuring and redundancy. Those with full-time jobs, in receipt of employment benefits (such as holiday, sick pay, and maternity leave) of which creative freelancers might only dream, feel this threat as pervasive. Furthermore, these non-creative workers justify redundancies in economic terms (the digital crisis demands austerity measures) but also culturally: the requirement for a young, flexible,

and perpetually renewable workforce, highly literate with the habits and trends of *popular culture*; and a highly competitive *business culture*, where one must be (seen to be) passionate in order to keep one's job. In major corporations, the performance of passion is systematized (and aestheticized), for example, in annual appraisals that earmark "Hot Pinks" (high-value individuals) to be "managed up", while "Reds" (poor performers) are to be "managed out" of the company altogether (Colbourne, 2011, pp. 215–216).

The moral narrative of transformation continues apace, although a certain stability has been regained. One globally significant strategy involved transforming traditional A&R expertise—spotting the "x factor" in the raw unpolished talent—into the global *X Factor* brand, whereby this unmeasurable and unnameable metric became a central economic resource for the corporate end of the sector at the precise time that the market value of recordings was dramatically crashing (Wall, 2013). A broader requalification of musical capitalism continues to incorporate and extend the ability of both producers and consumers to align an emotional and financial investment in music: crowdfunding platforms have, for instance, become a key means of "leveraging affect", alongside an array of other techniques promoting "the harnessing of fans to the interests of capitalism" in the broader "experience economy" (Leyshon, Thrift, Crewe, French, & Webb, 2016, p. 251). At highest levels, the glee associated with the story of the industry's decline forms the backdrop to a subsequent creative industries policy discourse, reasserting the moral worth of copyright regimes in protecting creators. Industry's "anti-piracy" appeals stopped being linked to tumbling profits and punitive measures and began to emphasize, in a more instructional manner, how sustainable careers are built on authentic connections and just rewards, "educating" fans that piracy undercuts their ability to forge meaningful relationships with the artists they love (Edwards, Klein, Lee, Moss, & Philip, 2015).

The institutional performance of passion was seen in the high-profile acquisition of one failing major label—EMI Group—by an even larger one—Universal Music Group, owned by the French media conglomerate Vivendi. The former, custodians of the famed Abbey Road Studios alongside much of the UK's rock royalty, had been entangled in its own authenticity narrative: having been bought first by private equity investors Terra Firma, then the Citigroup bank, before being sold off to the highest bidder, subject to European competition law. The "great British music company", so the popular rendition goes, had been subjected to attempts by financial "suits" to strip assets, increase efficiencies and return the company to profitability, creating uproar and disbelief across the music industry (Southall, 2009, p. 1). Vivendi's purchase could then be celebrated by the Rolling Stones' Mick Jagger for "the fact that EMI will once

again be owned by people who really do have music in their blood” (quoted in Lindvall, 2011). And he should know: the Rolling Stones had switched contracts and moved their catalogue from EMI to Universal a few years previous.

Whether the trials experienced by corporations in the 2000s have presaged a “new spirit” (à la Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005) of musical capitalism—and whether it does indeed shape authentic, harmonious relations between the interests of creators, audiences, and business, or constitutes yet more insidious manipulation—remains unclear. Certainly they attest to the idea that support for its continued public and political legitimacy has been sought by binding commercial structures more intimately with the emotional and ethical concerns of “the passions”. But, as in Long and Barber’s (2015) appraisal, there appears a priori a chasm between the emotion, intensity, and expressive performativity of passion (as mediated through the creative work of songwriting) and the deployment of such qualities in relation to corporate machinations. Acknowledging this industry’s complex entanglement of art and commerce, they suggest that the former, in the process of making music for money, use passion as a means of navigating different modes of valuation: between deeply felt emotions, audience expectations, and market conventions. The latter—as in the wheeling out of Jagger, another “great British music” icon, to legitimate corporate takeover—might be seen as yet more cynical PR spin.

A disenchanting record-buying public is one problem; a disenchanting workforce is yet another. Strikingly, however, the narrative of commercial cynicism echoes those given by insiders themselves—often fans turned entrepreneurs and custodians, who tell stories to make sense of their own position and assert their legitimacy to participate (Wheeldon, 2014)—while the tellingly embodied and sanguine metaphor of people with “music in their blood” is not (or not just) “rhetoric”. In multi-modal fashion, employees also “feel” this: visually, aurally, architecturally, digitally; in themselves, their colleagues, and the objects that surround them. The feeling of passionate work is channelled, legitimated, and reproduced by companies through the figure of the worker—who is not just an employee but the *ideal consumer*—hailed by their deep love of music. It is to such accounts in the face of present-day anxieties over the nature of creative work that I now turn.

Graham’s Passionate Affirmation

The last Creative & Cultural Skills report, where it looked at employment in the music industry, came to the conclusion that there are an awful lot of people in the music industry who are, in a sense, academically overqualified for the jobs that they were doing. But then my retort to that was “has no one ever heard of

Maslow's hierarchy of needs?" You know, the reason I came into music when all my friends were going and working in computing is because I wanted to work in something I really believed in passionately.... They wanna work at something they're really passionate about and that's what drives so much of the engagement. (Graham)

Graham is an educator with a long background in artist and rights management. He now works on a UK undergraduate degree programme equipping students with academic and vocational skills appropriate to music industry careers. The policy report to which he refers was produced by the creative sector skills council and had highlighted a perceived "skills gap" in this regard, as well as identifying some aspects of the industry that help to replicate persistent inequalities (CC Skills, 2011). If the rapid growth of vocational music business programmes provides opportunities to address persistent skills shortages and diversity issues, it has equally caused anxieties for the sector (Bennett, 2015)—with, for example, seasoned A&R executives recoiling from the concept of a "Graduate Training Scheme" that paints music as "just another career option" for young people who do not have to prove their talent, entrepreneurship, or creative spark (Wardle, 2008). In response, Graham feels a need to defend his students (and in turn his own institution) against the views of the industry representatives surveyed by the policy body, turning to the primacy of passion, over material rewards, as an incentive for work. We get a sense of this in Graham's contrasting image of "working in computing" as a comparable but rather more dispassionate career option that apparently does not require the belief and the sacrifice of music work.⁷

The explicit reference to Abraham Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs—in which fulfilling and creative "self-actualization" is understood as the highest need that must be satisfied after physiological and psychological security has been achieved—is worth dwelling on. Hinting at the way in which theoretical models move through creative contexts, presenting discursive scripts to justify action, it grounds Graham's affirmation of passion in a philosophical anthropology aligned with "positive" humanist psychological traditions. Elsewhere, the notion of "flow" has been used to understand the intense states of absorption, where mind and body work in unison and "time flies" unnoticed, that characterize much creative and sporting activity (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996)—sometimes described as "being in the zone" (Banks, 2014). The appeal to passionate states of activity as optimal for individual creative production, while the social is viewed as a constraint, is characteristic of this tradition (Brouillette, 2013). It forms the academic orthodoxy grounding much HR policy and training, emphasizing employees as emotional beings who respond

more effectively and efficiently through consent than coercion (Hollway, 1991; Illouz, 2008); there are further resonances with the normative appeals to “passion” in popular and managerial literatures which routinely draw on psychological models (Brouillette, 2013). The need for workers to feel self-determining and able to achieve such states—to transcend the everyday and be “the best version of yourself”—is understood to be intrinsically worthwhile and vital to performance, obliging managers to “influence the level of creativity in their organizations by establishing work environments that support passion for the work” (Amabile & Fisher, 2009, p. 481). In affirmative models of passionate work, the causal link is simple: happy workers are productive workers.

The alignment of workers with industry is evident in a pamphlet aimed at aspiring professionals, titled *Everything you need to know, to get a job in music*, produced by Universal Music Group in collaboration with the trade publication Music Week (UMG and Music Week, n.d.). Given that demand for music industry jobs massively outstrips supply, this joint venture would historically have been an unusual intervention—although consistent with a “turn to passion” in an expanding market for career guides, advocating that applicants develop a bullet-proof commitment to self-fulfilment in the face of unstable labour markets (Hong, 2015). Inside its artfully decorated pages, the pamphlet, and particularly an interview with Universal’s Director of HR, purports to offer insider insight, giving applicants the key to success—but, ultimately, it equivocates.

There honestly isn’t a typical background—other than our passion for music. Our people are innovative, creative and driven. (UMG and Music Week, n.d., np)

Major label employees are framed as diverse and idiosyncratic, united only by their passion. The denial of a “typical background” has egalitarian overtones, emphasizing that passion and creativity prevail over any other judgement. Implicitly, it reframes popular perceptions of the music industry away from the historical image of an “old boys’ club”, which is consistent with an increased institutional and sectoral emphasis on improving “equality and diversity”. Much like “talent”, the “passion for music” is presented as an inbuilt natural resource—a credential for those without qualifications and a signal for those without connections—in a discourse of meritocratic worth that seeks a “level playing field” (Banks, 2017, ch. 4; Littler, 2013).

Herein lies the link to existing economic models of human behaviour in terms of the rational negotiation of incentives and preferences. Graham’s depiction of how he and his students had made career choices based on passion is a

normative one of maximizing personal utility. In this utilitarian view of creative work, there is a transactional relationship between motivations and rewards: *employees* are in demand where they are highly motivated; *employers* are in demand where the work is fulfilling (Caves, 2000). With this model in place, there is little need to explicitly theorize passion, other than as “opportunity cost”: by the sacrifices people are willing to make, and prices to pay, in order to satisfy their preferences. One account explains the existential difficulties of passionate work in terms of “a variety of non-monetary compensating factors working to affect the relative desirability of work within the creative sector such that precarity might actually be a dimension against which other terms of compensation are traded” (Potts & Shehadeh, 2014, p. 47). That is, “intrinsic” and “extrinsic” motivations are negotiated to deliver the most happiness to both sides and achieve market equilibrium (Frey & Osterloh, 2002). The dynamic and distributed nature of markets and prices appear here as the best methods for valuing and allocating the distribution of happiness (Davies, 2015). The worker is not sated by being “kept happy” (as some more totalizing critical theories might have it), but through the passionate *pursuit* of happiness. Nonetheless, the objects and conditions of motivation in creative contexts are not easily rationalized or rendered consistent and predictable; the cultural specificity of decision-making in artistic labour markets, based on passionate attachments to creative products and processes, is complex and rarely accorded much significance by economists (Towse, 2006).

Alan’s Critique of “Passion”

I think with things like X Factor and Simon Cowell, there’s possibly a false image that’s projected around music. So, you look at the average man [*sic*] in [the company] and you go, “right, he’s a really big music fan, and there’s a guy in a Cure t-shirt, and there’s a guy that puts a club night on”, you know, it’s about a wider love of music, that’s beyond just these people’s day jobs. For a lot of people it’s a lot more than just a job, it’s a lifestyle for a lot of people. And being able to remind the outside world of that, that it’s about a passion for music and that’s what brings us all together, throws off the image of being a big, scary, corporate place. . . . I love what I do because—It—I love music. And actually now, you know, looking back on three years, there’s—I feel quite protective about the industry. (Alan)

As a Communications executive with (at the time of interview) a three-year tenure at a major record label, Alan is positioned at the PR nexus of the corporate music industry that forms the object of so much critique. At the end

of a wide-ranging conversation, given the majors’ historically negative associations by external observers, he felt moved to justify and defend his career choice. But, as Alan attempts to articulate “the point of working in music”, as he put it, his speech becomes disjointed, restarting, and working over the same formulation. With much less confidence than he had previously projected, he rapidly slips between three affective bonds: love for his job; love of music as a cultural object; protectiveness towards the music industry. These subtle semantic shifts suggest a negotiation between multiple allegiances, or at least a less precise set of feelings than Graham imparts, and it is this slippage which I particularly wish to highlight and explore here.

Alan reported being equally inspired and frustrated by the aesthetic romanticism of his fine arts degree. Accordingly, like Graham, he is keen to emphasize how workers routinely self-identify, first and foremost, as genuine music fans—yet he also knows first-hand the brand value this holds for the company: indeed, this is what he is paid for! Perhaps, then, his role in Communications as a company representative presents an unresolved anxiety, disrupting his own “communication”, as he attempts to avoid wooden “passion talk”. Institutions persist because they present official, quasi-objective certainty in worlds of unstable meaning, yet must do so through embodiment in subjective spokespersons—what Boltanski (2011, pp. 84–87) calls a “hermeneutic contradiction”. Recognizing this double bind (but wishing to avoid misrepresenting himself, his colleagues, and his industry), Alan populates the apparently faceless and monolithic company with equally real, embodied people: other passionate fans. Meanwhile, his critique (and his uncertainty) rests on a discomfort towards the “false image” present in popular media representations of a glamorous and superficial industry, associated in his mind with “things like *X Factor* and Simon Cowell”.

Competitive “reality TV” shows like *X Factor* have provided a common contemporary object of passion critique, linking culture, politics, and spectacle. Such shows, critics argue, offer a normative model for governing one’s life by explicitly marshalling passion as part of a theatrical performance (Couldry, 2008; Wood & Skeggs, 2011)—that is, they are marked by the divergence between front-stage appearance from backstage reality. Critics consider *X Factor* to have an alluring appeal partly for its apparent uncovering of the back-room industrial processes of music industry talent-selection; partly for its meritocratic promise to open up participation to the everyday “masses”; and partly for the incorporation and narration of their lived experiences and emotive “journeys” on-screen—all of which worked to provide richly resonant “strategies for negotiating contemporary economic conditions” (Stahl, 2004, p. 227). If *X Factor* is indicative here, then *The Apprentice*,

in which entrepreneurs aggressively compete to win the mentorship of a successful boss figure, is arguably paradigmatic. The expression and performance of passion is a crucial measure of the extent to which *Apprentice* candidates have internalized business values. Being passionate, note Couldry and Littler (2011, p. 270), “captures the excessive (and therefore in principle unlimited) commitment to the employer’s needs and values, performative evidence of which the successful employee is required to provide, that is, act out, at all times”. Passionate work is, in this sense, emotional labour—but:

ratcheted up and channelled through the individualization demanded by the chaotic neoliberal cultures of the 2000s. The inevitable gap between unceasing demand and the finite resources that each worker has to supply must be filled, notionally, by something—“passion”. (Couldry & Littler, 2011, p. 270)

Music workers like Alan were also sharply critical of the *X Factor*, not for its neoliberal complicity but for misrepresenting, first, the transformation for mass consumption of “talent” into “success” and, second, *working with and for* talent without acknowledging the complex characteristics of labour behind the scenes. “Mainstream” music industries are sustained (structurally and culturally) by notions of fame and celebrity: that is, by pop stars “embodying the glamor and intensity of the pop experience” which is “at least as complementary to the commercialization of music as it is contradictory” (Marshall, 2013, p. 578). Alan and colleagues typically objected to the shameless misuse of terms like “passion” to refer to the mediated glamour, spectacle, and selling of pop. Those concerned with cultural authenticity tended to lament it perpetuating an impression of commercial cynicism and exploitation: while respectful of Cowell’s business nous, and to some extent acknowledging the success of the format in stimulating the music market during the crucial Christmas season, it was typically at odds with their own musical tastes and did not put enough distance between music and the corporate “suit”. Even among those who embraced the popular mainstream, however, the show’s sensational aspects were thought to obscure the deep commitments and complex banalities of their work. If it is important to recognize the investment of the worker-as-fan in the cultural commodities that surround them, the spectacular nature of pop stardom contrasts with the everyday nature of much of the work—organizing, filing, securing agreements, product meetings—especially its administrative banalities: spreadsheets, software systems, lengthy email chains, profit and loss statements, schedules, and so on. Beyond simple indignation towards the viewing public’s misrecognition of industry insiders, many (more senior) workers expressed frustration with

what they saw as an "X Factor generation": young, aspiring music professionals who identified too closely with the perceived values of the show, seeking to be "spotted" and turned into an overnight success, without first paying their dues. In a different register, one digital marketer denounced job applicants that she considered attracted by the industry "bling" of spectacle, access to gigs, backstage passes, and other perks.

The critical mindset emphasizes the more complicated realities beneath the glamorous image of celebrity and excess as inevitably disappointing. For Arvidsson et al. (2010, p. 305), passion signifies less *what one does* at work, than *who one is*: "a matter of identity, rather than practice". These authors understand creative workers' passionate self-understanding in terms of "the ability to belong, or imagine themselves as belonging in the future, to a particular scene and lifestyle (even if vicariously lived), which their job gives them". For such reasons, orthodox notions of creative work as desirable and glamorous come under criticism for preying upon young professionals' dreams, fantasies, and aspirations (c.f. Duffy, 2017). The latter are "seduced by the promise of wealth and fame deeply embedded in creative industry discourse" and "encouraged to imagine themselves as the 'star' at the centre of their own unfolding occupational drama" (Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2009, p. 418). The "glamour" of spectacle acts as the obverse face of "passion" here. New entrants are accused by critics and music professionals of being distracted and manipulated by the imagery and rhetoric of celebrity sparkle. It is difficult, however, not to be struck by the dismissive tone in some of these accounts which, in presenting a normative account of what positive passionate work "should" look like, strip workers of their reflexive agency to a great extent.

Ian's Passionate Practice

My argument here is that the affirmative and critical positions on passion (self-motivation or manipulative rhetoric) do not do adequate justice to why people persist in participating in creative work. Indeed, these divergent readings share two common absences. First, neither assign any particular content to passionate work. Second, both assume passion to be an internal, intrinsic property of human actors: it simply is there, being enabled, constrained or harnessed in some way. From the Boltanskian perspective, individuals are stripped of reflexive agency. French pragmatism prefers to theorize with and through, rather than in advance of, empirical work; nonetheless, if it has a political philosophy then it is grounded in the conviction that economic interests are not simply about the progress of rational calculation but their

mutually constitutive entwinement with “the passions”.⁸ Antoine Hennion (2007, 2015) has perhaps been foremost in relating his account of how individuals become passionately attached to objects in creative endeavours, developing their “passion for music”. His position is articulated neatly by Ian, a journalist who, after a short-lived academic career, now writes about the workings of the UK music industry for trade press. Although his institutional trajectory is the reverse of Graham’s (academy-industry), he is equally bound up with the construction and communication of specialist knowledge. Here he depicts a younger version of himself as a music fan, naturally foreshadowing his current position:

You would read sleeve notes and you would know about, you would know that Atlantic [Records] were in Rockefeller Plaza in New York without having been there. You would know that this *meant something*, this, this resonated—and then you read about [Atlantic founder] Ahmet Ertegun and you learn about the history of Atlantic, and then ... how that model, kind of, then applied. So I think you should, kind of, always have that, be able to make those connections, but you’ve gotta have that, kind of, thirst for the knowledge otherwise ... otherwise I’d just get really desperately bored.... *All* I’m paid to do, is to read about the music industry, speak to people about the music industry, and write about the music industry. That’s *all* I do.... Within academia, you’ll have a particular subject ... you go in *very* intensely and it’s very passionate up to a point—and then you move on to the next thing. Whereas, I dunno, I’m just the, the, the kind of, childhood sweetheart. You’re always kind of there and yeah you can nag at them and whatever else. And kind of, they wind you up and they kind of annoy you like no other. But you’re constantly there, you can’t... There’s a kind of emotional dependency, just because you’re so interested in it. (Ian)

It is possible to read this extract both with an affirmative view of passion as positive internal motivating force *and* with a critique of the empty passion talk of identity-attracting discourse in mind. Again, passion communicates what a participant “should” look like: a fan with a “thirst for knowledge”, insatiable curiosity, a *libido sciendi*. This professional boundary-work (Gieryn, 1983) locates the origins of Ian’s career in music in a past moment of impassioned consumption. The repeated impersonal pronoun “you” positions him not as a unique individual but one amongst an imagined community of similarly engaged listeners. Situating expertise in a discursive performance of identity thus sets normative expectations for inclusion in his field: he did not *choose* music, he was always this way—as anyone seeking success should be.

For Hennion (2007) passion involves reflexive work on one’s attachments. If critical approaches seek the hidden forces behind an appearance of natural

spontaneity and to which individuals themselves are apparently blind, a pragmatic approach explores how individuals are aware of, cope with, and negotiate such forces: how they develop a lay expertise. The paradigmatic passionate figure, he suggests, is the amateur enthusiast—with “amateur” understood not as “unprofessional”, absent of skill, but more etymologically “someone who loves”. As with Alan, the object of Ian’s attachment and identification slips—or rather, it is strewn with “connections”—between the music on an album, the details on its packaging, and into the processes of its commodification. It is a site of learning, through which expertise is developed. Ian conjures an image of himself listening intently, on headphones perhaps, while poring over packaging ephemera. He experiences these logistical traces aesthetically: evidence not simply of a banal manufacturing process but of a *cultural* industrial practice, one which also (in an apt metaphor) “resonates”. This company’s building appears as a place populated by individuals, with histories, from whom lessons might still be learned—and so on... Passionate workers are thus “turned towards their object in a *perplexed* mode ... on the lookout for what it does to them, attentive to traces of what it does to others” (Hennion, 2007, p. 104). The recorded music commodity acts as a boundary-crossing object for them. It does not arrive sealed-off, inert, to be “consumed” absent-mindedly, but as a created object to be disassembled and reconstructed. It has its own agency, drawing listeners into a richly semiotic and affective world that offers a point of articulation *between* production and consumption.

If at times passion suggests the immersion of “flow” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996), pragmatists emphasize that it moves beyond an emotional state. For François Cooren (2010, p. 59), the latter “tends to be short-lived and sudden, while a passion tends to refer to a state, condition, disposition that somehow endures, lasts, persists, lives on”; equally, passionate intensity is not simply about active intentional choice, since the impassioned individual “is moved, led, animated by her passion, a passion to which she cannot resist”. And so, Ian cautions against confusing the sustained long-term relationship of his “emotional dependency” with the superficial romances of the academic (i.e. his former self—and me). The value of his expertise emerges from being situated in a life-long practice of commitment, a relationship with ups and down, rather than by achieving dispassionate distance. In an earlier paper, Gomart and Hennion (1999) compared the amateur love of music to the love of drugs: arguing that both involve the *practice* of cultural taste—involving tactics and techniques of selecting and arranging—and the emergence of “addictive” attachments to objects.⁹ Like McRobbie and others, they consider passion a matter of performance but, rather than the constraining and disciplining version of Foucault she calls on, more positively, they stress the positive, generative

aspects of the “dispositif” through which passion operates. Passion is neither “the subject’s instrumental mastery of things, nor her mechanical determination by things” but rather “*the abandonment of forces to objects and the suspension of the self*” (Gomart & Hennion, 1999, p. 227, emphasis in original). To be passionate, then, involves conceiving of agency as an act of submission or giving oneself over to an object or other. Rather than self-mastery and autonomy, this is the action of being acted upon: of engaging in *being animated by* something else.

Discussion

The value of a pragmatic approach to critique and justification attunes us to the heightened need for institutions in the “creative economy” to attain legitimacy amongst their occupants. In this we are alerted to the shifting conceptual modalities at play when passion is called on to explain the energetic enthusiasm of putting creativity to work—for this is what workers themselves do. An affirmative stance emphasizes self-interest in work: individuals trade internal enthusiasms against the external motives of material gain in pursuit of activities that enable them to climb multiple levels of satisfaction, from basic sustenance to the higher pleasures of more transcendent cultural forms. The critical stance is suspicious of “passion talk”: a discourse deployed to sell certain economic projects, and the modes of work that accompany and enable them, while obscuring the more complex and often harsher realities in which some are more encouraged or enabled to participate than others. Yet these two approaches are complementary. Both depend on a reductive, even “essentialist”, view of passion: the one reduced to the realization of an internal human force; the other to the manipulative forces of capitalist structures. Pragmatists view passion as a more subtle, dynamic, and emergent quality, reducible neither to individuals’ active decision-making processes, nor their passive submission to manipulative forces. In this way, it makes little sense to speak of passion in the abstract or as an eternal quality. Rather, passion is attached to objects and circumstances—a passion *for* music—and as such may emerge, endure, fade, even become addictive in accordance with the conditions in which it is practised. Passion is not opposed to “rationality”, according to this perspective; rather, it equips people with embodied expertise and furnishes them with reasons to act (or justify their actions). Thus passion is bound to the (“amateur”) practices and identifications of particular people situated in particular contexts—demonstrated when they move between different creative contexts to describe, confirm, and defend their attachments in different ways—whether learning, playing, listening to, discussing, or working in music.

Concluding Comments

If creativity and passion are often thought to be indissociably paired, at work the two are frequently misaligned. Instead, the chapter suggests conceiving of passionate work as an orientation towards creative activity. With affective and ethical characteristics, to study passionate work is to ask why individuals (seek to or continue to) participate in creative worlds. I return therefore to the chapter's opening reflections on my own recruitment process into creative industry administrative work. It now seems to me that recruiters' common demand for a "passion for music" encodes certain expectations, even of non-creative workers—that they be oriented and sensitive to norms of creativity; that they are curious about its production processes and motivated to pursue their curiosity, developing a focused expertise in their subject matter; that they do so in concert with a like-minded community—and such expectations seem entirely understandable, even laudable. But in these final comments, I wish to reclaim something of a critical mood and to retain a place for structural questions. For I also noted a confusion over how to perform *my* passion for music—and subsequent discovery that educational qualifications were not the way to do so. From my perspective (and contra Ian), university had been about deepening, extending, and complicating my relationship with music, generating other attachments, rather than merely instrumentalizing, rationalizing, or correcting a naïve romanticism. Dismayingly, this was not recognized as valuable. It therefore seems to me that critics' distinction between the *pragmatics* of passion and the manner through which this practice is *displayed* and *registered* is well-warranted, for it is the latter which would appear to render some opinions and behaviours legitimate and not others.

Of course, beyond initial disenchantment, my own passion *was* ultimately deemed acceptable: I got the job; to an extent, I was able to adhere to normative industry expectations. But the experience signals how others may be excluded on similar grounds. It is clear in this chapter that questions of identity are at the heart of how passion becomes a site of contest: over how creative endeavours such as music are valued (c.f. Frith, 1996), but equally how people are judged appropriate to participate in such endeavours. If passion articulates intersections between production and consumption, it is a fertile site to explore how the reproduction of inequalities is co-mediated by both (Oakley & O'Brien, 2016). In this I would wish to emphasize individuals' practices and justifications, resisting pitting essentialist notions of "true creative passion" against PR-esque "passion talk". I argue these move together and too quickly: for instance, in the premise and the critique of *X Factor* (a recurring theme in the chapter), a genuinely emotive performance enables the manipulation of

audiences. These readings motivate, as in Sara Ahmed's (2014, pp. 9–10) diagnosis, a dualist emotional politics: an “inside out” perspective, in which passion is the affirmation of our inner creative selves (we “let it out”), and an “outside in” perspective, where passion blinds and manipulates us (we are “taken in”).

In workplaces and labour markets, whilst wary of calls to “express” ourselves, equally we should be sceptical that individuals are merely seduced and deluded by such calls. We may certainly question the need to promote, aestheticize, and romanticize work in worlds that are marked by profound inequity, exclusion, precarity and even (“passionate”) violence (Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Gill & Pratt, 2008): where, indeed, to speak of “seduction” may not be merely metaphorical. But at this discursive level, such denunciations bring a rich set of semantics: “bling” being the term popularized through hip hop culture to capture the “sound” of gleaming jewellery, for instance (Huq, 2006, p. 115); while “Reality TV” is a common signifier of a massified underclass (Biressi & Nunn, 2005; Wood & Skeggs, 2011). Persistent gendered, raced, and classed caricatures of lurk in the background even of passion's ostensible critics. Drawing parallels between job-seeking, conspicuous consumption, and the postmodern performance of a marketable identity in turn conveys undertones of superficiality and “bad taste”. How such connotations are marshalled and navigated in creative labour markets requires further research. At a further turn, they are mediated through generational anxieties associated with workforce renewal. Importantly, although based in experience, interviewees directed critiques not towards particular individuals but to a generic (younger) cohort of workers: that is, insiders express “distaste” towards new or aspiring workers who, they believe, cannot see past (or though) the industry's glamorous image.

I have highlighted some ways in which particular imaginaries around creative passion are troublingly deemed “essential” to demarcate boundaries of legitimate participation—but these perspectives are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive. In particular, there has not been adequate space here to explore the gendering of passion (e.g. as “girlishness”, “hysteria”, or aggression) or the insinuations of sex, class, and race in denigrating or romanticizing passion: arguing that economic interests tame the “base instincts” (Hirschman, 1997); or how popular music authenticities have been tied to “primitive” forms of life, “innocent ... uncorrupted ... close to a human ‘essence’” (Frith, 1996, p. 127).¹⁰ Associations between immersion, intensity, and transgressive excess have only been hinted at. Studies of passionate creative work that are more attentive to the role of particular emotions (beyond

the positive psychology and sociology of attachments invoked here), through psycho-social theories or in relation to affect, intimacy, and embodiment (e.g. Ahmed, 2014; de Boise, 2015; Gregg, 2011; Illouz, 2007) might sensitize more overarching inquiries into the causal mechanisms and material-organizational structures of "good work" (e.g. Banks, 2017; Sayer, 2011). Pragmatically, these can be brought into productive dialogue with individuals' reflexive defences of a particular working disposition: for instance, coding passionate ambition in material frameworks—during the recruitment process and in governing employment contracts—relating them to pervasive anxieties over the capacity to gain work, in league with both cultural and business justifications. In this way, we might critically map how "passion" (alongside cognate terms like "experience" or "talent") works in specific ways to communicate and sustain certain forms of participation and expertise within unstable creative worlds.

Acknowledgements This chapter is based on presentations given at two conferences: *Media and Passion* (Lund University, March 2013) and the "Passionate Work" stream of the *London Conference in Critical Thought* (Birkbeck, University of London, June 2016). I am grateful to the hosts and participants at both for the opportunity and for spurring further reflections. Warm thanks go to Rachel O'Neill and Sara De Benedictis, as well as this volume's editors, for their thoughtful comments on an early draft and suggestions for further reading.

Notes

1. "The music industry" is a normative designation that does not necessarily reflect the unevenly distributed plurality of economic forms it covers: this chapter's examples stem from the commercial recorded music industry, which Williamson and Cloonan (2007) note is often misleadingly taken to stand in for the broader "music industries". Nonetheless, the singular designation conveys workers' own sense of participating in a shared imagined community (see note three).
2. Cultural labour market inequalities remain (Oakley & O'Brien, 2016) and a number of surveys point to statistical imbalances across gender and ethnicity in music, particularly amongst older workers and more senior roles (e.g. CC Skills, 2011). "Passion", with its associated lexicon of fiery intensity, commitment, resilience, and even aggression, is hardly innocent in reproducing such inequalities discursively, particularly in relation to gender.
3. With the term "musical capitalism", Born (2013) signals the deep imbrication of culture with the social-institutional spheres in which it is produced and

reproduced—equally present for other (non-capitalist) forms of economic organization, such as public subsidy, patronage, or small-scale market exchange. Resonating with this chapter’s argument, she seeks to avoid deterministic portrayals of musical practice: as wholly swallowed up and exploited by capitalism as a monolithic force; or, alternatively, one in which music’s generative creativity somehow necessarily resists, escapes, or prefigures such a force. Instead, she argues for the need to empirically trace specific material mediations of (a passion for) music in close-knit social practices, and larger imagined communities, identity formations, and institutions (c.f. Born, 2011, p. 378).

4. Interviewees’ names are changed and roles approximated to preserve anonymity. The study involved 23 interviews between 2013 and 2015 with individuals, predominantly in non-creative roles, working in or around the three “majors”: Sony Music, Universal Music, Warner Music. This was informed by an (auto-)ethnographic inquiry into my own career “in the field”: 2007–2012 (pre-research), as a full-time employee at a London major record label; and 2013, as a “temp” worker in participant-observer mode. A large textual corpus of popular and managerial books, online trade commentary, and policy grey literature were also surveyed during this period—relevant here insofar as they perform an intermediary role between theory and practice, as well as informing the account in the next section.
5. The three conceptual frames owe something to Corner (2016).
6. Inevitably, the extracts suggest rather purer positions than is evidently the case. My analyses try to represent interviewees faithfully: I assume they mean what they say and situate their words in different professional histories; but, as complex and contradictory subjects, clearly they do not merely parrot the philosophical positions I ascribe to them.
7. Although see Himanen’s (2001) notion of a “hacker ethic” for an argument, also grounded in Maslow’s hierarchy, that software programming is equally passionate.
8. See the grounding of the *New spirit of capitalism* in Hirschman’s *The passions and the interests* (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005, pp. 9–10); or Latour and Épinay’s (2009, pp. 1–3) will to replace Marx’s *Capital* with Gabriel Tarde’s *Science of passionate interests*.
9. If the coupling of “users” and “addicts” of music and drugs seems a rather glib analogy, note that the connection is often made explicit in popular music discourse (e.g. Napier-Bell, 2002)—deployed to highlight a culture of excess, abandon, transgression, and so on—and typically to load an argument with moral weight: that is, either to endorse or condemn (the) popular music (industry). Pragmatically, such associations suggest many paths to follow; regrettably, there is no space to explore them here.
10. Although see McRobbie (2016, pp. 107–110) on “girlish enthusiasm” and note two.

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22

Entrepreneurship in Music and the Goldilocks Principle: “Highway to Hell” or “Together Forever”?

Nick Wilson

Introduction

Entrepreneurship and *creativity at work* are closely connected. Scrutinized from the perspective of a cultural context such as that of music, the extent of entrepreneurship considered desirable is a matter of heated debate. For some, entrepreneurship is a dirty word and should have no place at all in doing art; for others (including an increasing number of music conservatoires and colleges), it is being heralded as the way forward. Which is it to be? Well, according to the Goldilocks Principle, there *ought to be* an amount of entrepreneurship in music that is ... “just right!” Common sense might suggest this is somewhere between artistic autonomy and economic reality. In this chapter, I’ll be following Goldilocks in the search for the fabled just right! relationship between entrepreneurship and music. In bringing attention to the “slow-burning crisis” that characterizes music-making as an archetypical practice of creativity at work in an increasingly marketized neoliberal society, I propose a détournement of entrepreneurship, whereby the way we “do” music in society is defined by creative citizenship and the collective ideal of self-actualization through mutuality (*Together Forever*¹) rather than the market or money (*Highway to Hell*²). Whether we like it or not, music *is* subject to the forces of capitalist production, but equally, it is *not* merely a commodity, and it should be treated accordingly:

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Once upon a time, there was a little girl named Goldilocks. One day, she went for a walk in the forest. After not long, she came upon a house. She knocked at the front door and, when no one answered, she walked straight in. At the table in the kitchen, there were three bowls of porridge. Goldilocks was hungry. She tasted the porridge from the first bowl. “This porridge is too hot!” she exclaimed. So, she tasted the porridge from the second bowl. “This porridge is too cold,” she said. So, she tasted the last bowl of porridge. “Ah, this porridge is just right!” she said happily, and she ate it all up.

So, what amount of entrepreneurship in music is ... “just right!”? This is far from being merely an academic question; the answer has very real implications for music students studying at music colleges and universities, the staff who teach and work there, professional musicians, the music industry, and, of course, to audiences of music the world over. A reasonable starting point would be to suggest that at least until we live in anything approaching a post-neoliberal world, the “ah ... just right!” amount is to be found somewhere *between* artistic autonomy and economic reality. In the actually existing world (if not in our utopian dreams), we recognize the need to juggle competing demands and work with compromise on a daily basis. In music, as in other areas of life, we regularly confront the need to balance what we would “like” to do, all other things being equal, with what we “can” do, given the (economic) realities of the world. For the music profession, however, I suggest that the “somewhere between” usually leans more to one side than the other: there is what amounts to an asymmetric relation where the profession holds on to the idea of autonomy, whilst tolerating economic reality as something to be put up with (at best). As we’ll see in a moment, this comes to define the way that the profession actually operates. But for now, let’s begin by looking at artistic autonomy and economic reality in more detail.

Artistic Autonomy Versus Economic Reality

A dictionary definition of *autonomy* indicates it concerns freedom from external control or influence. This is a strong drive for everyone—but seemingly of particular importance in the arts. The German idealist philosopher Immanuel Kant’s views on the autonomy of art and aesthetic judgement loom large over the topic, as indeed they do over many aspects of art (see Kant, 1987; also Hamilton, 2007 for helpful discussion in the context of music). But we need to exercise some caution lest we confuse what Kant was particularly concerned with (a conception of art as autonomous and free, and thus able to create beauty), with other more modern notions of artistic autonomy. Kant’s focus

on “disinterest” and “purposiveness without purpose” relate to matters of aesthetic judgement, and what later accrued the title of “art for art’s sake” (*l’art pour l’art*). But discussion of artistic autonomy versus economic reality brings to bear some further relations, which are socio-cultural and economic in nature.

Up until the late eighteenth century, the reality for musicians was *limited* autonomy at best. Composers and musicians were reliant on patronage from church, court and the aristocracy. With the ascendancy of bourgeois culture art began to lose its direct function in society; musicians were “freed” to produce music that embodied their own values. This didn’t happen overnight. For example, Mozart struggled to break away from the system of low status in-house subservience to Royal courts in favour of the position of freelance self-employment; this was, after all, before a viable market alternative had arisen (see Norbert Elias, 1993; also DeNora 1995 on Beethoven’s “threshold” moment).

In discussing this societal-level autonomy, it is helpful to distinguish between a number of different stages or ratchets of freedom and solidarity (following Norrie, 2010). For arguably what was going on at this time was a period of cultural emancipation—in the sense of being freed from a constraint. According to this ladder of freedom, *autonomy* denotes a level one rung higher than *emancipation*, where those involved, having been “freed”, are in turn free to choose a course of action. A higher level still would be the achievement of *well-being*—understood as a fulfilled need. Yet a higher level still would see the freedom enjoyed by everyone—this is human *flourishing*. My drawing attention to this hierarchy is in part to highlight the sense in which much discussion of autonomy in the context of cultural production is perhaps better positioned in terms of emancipation but also to introduce the direct link I make in this chapter between “entrepreneurship in music” and the higher (and collective) ideal of human flourishing.

The key figure to have influenced writing about artistic autonomy in the twentieth century is that of Theodor Adorno. Adorno, along with his fellow critical theorists Marx and Benjamin were most concerned about the alienating influence of the market. They looked to artistic autonomy as representing “a weapon of resistance” to the market’s processes of commodification (Harrington, 2004, p. 116). This, of course, remains a highly attractive idea today. Crucially, however, for Adorno, the art of modernity is *both* necessarily autonomous *and* commodified (i.e. we cannot get away from artistic autonomy *and* economic reality). Whilst working in opposition, Adorno held that they both needed each other, in a particular dialectical relation (Adorno, 1973).

To better understand how this (negative) dialectic is played out in practice, it is helpful to reference Pierre Bourdieu's writing on the "field of cultural production" (1993), where, amongst much else, he discusses the "disavowal of the economic" and the ideology of the "charismatic creator". For Bourdieu, it is not just that the optimum position between artistic autonomy and economic reality is skewed in one direction (in favour of artistic autonomy), but that the economic reality, which everyone knows is underpinning the workings of the market for art, is denied. For example, "success" in the cultural realm is not necessarily achieved by selling a lot of products (indeed this may well be looked down on as indicative of poorer quality). Furthermore, and crucially, the very functioning of this particular market for art, and its success, is dependent upon this disavowal. A particular feature that sustains this position is the ideology of the charismatic creator. As I argue in the course of this chapter, it is an ideology that runs particularly deep, not just characterizing the market for music but implicating how we "do" music education.

Economic Reality and Entrepreneurship

Pinning down exactly what we mean by "economic reality" is more difficult than it first appears. As we have already seen the field of cultural production disavows the economic; so, whilst music practitioners and professionals might talk readily enough of the art market and the music industry, they are much less likely to openly embrace discourses of the economic. Yet, for the majority of people living in advanced Western economies, it is capitalism, that is, the relentless accumulation of capital, or what David Harvey describes as "money ... sent in search of more money" (2011, p. 40), which wields almost total influence over just what music gets produced, how it is produced, and indeed the language we use to describe and justify this process.

The capitalist mode of economic production is based on market exchange and certain groups in society owning the means of production. Truth be told, I doubt whether most musicians are actually against either of these practices per se, providing there are sufficient checks and balances to ensure it doesn't get out of hand. But, of course, this is precisely where the difficulty lies. For under the expansive ideology of neoliberalism, this faith in a system of market relations is maintained not simply on the basis of being the most "efficient"—guaranteeing economic growth, income distribution, and technological progress—but because it is the "only game in town". According to the *Handbook of Neoliberalism*, "Most scholars tend to agree that neoliberalism is broadly defined as the extension of competitive markets into all areas of life, including

the economy, politics, and society” (Springer, Birch, & MacLeavy, 2016, p. 2). Under neoliberalism, competition—in the form of the enterprise—is extended “to *all* forms of conduct” (Burchell, 1993, p. 275) and even encompasses subjectivity itself (McNay, 2009). In implementing “free market policies”, the role of the state is minimized and individual responsibility maximized; but what are the consequences in respect of our scaling the ladder of human freedom—from emancipation, autonomy, well-being, and, finally, through to collective flourishing?

For the purposes of this chapter’s Goldilocks’ project, it is important to emphasize how the ideology of neoliberalism reinforces a sense of competition as the defining characteristic of human relations. To most people, this competition (centrally played out in the market) feels as natural a force as gravity or atmospheric pressure. Our democratic choices—and therefore our relative autonomy—are defined and best exercised through acts of buying and selling, which we are “free” to do via the market. But what this overlooks are the very real power relations that determine *who* actually gets to produce and consume—who are the buyers and sellers—who is (relatively) autonomous (Mark Banks’s (2017) exploration of “creative justice”, examining issues of inequality and injustice in the cultural workplace, is particularly pertinent here).

So far, I have introduced a number of central economic terms—the “market”, “capitalism”, “neoliberalism”—but what about “entrepreneurship”? Entrepreneurship, surely, is to be ranked alongside these other terms in its economic significance? To the extent this is true, the idea of *any* “entrepreneurship in music” is already too much for many working in the arts (see Moore, 2016); and yet, there are repeated industry-level calls for artists, musicians, and indeed the cultural and creative industries in general to be *more* entrepreneurial; according to this perspective, there is not *enough* entrepreneurship in music.

So, what should our take on the relationship between economic reality and entrepreneurship be? My answer to this question is first to urge some care over just what we mean when we use the word “entrepreneurship”. It is very plain, and indeed widely documented within entrepreneurship literature, that people mean quite different things when using the term. Some examples will help. At one extreme, I suggest, is the rather too easy conflation of “entrepreneurial” with “neoliberal”, which characterizes the Foucauldian view on “entrepreneurial subjectivities” (and what he terms “the enterprise of the self”). Many writers in this tradition view the neoliberal self as an entrepreneurial subject (Brown, 2003; Foucault, 2008; Rose, 1992; Scharff, 2016).

Christina Scharff’s (2016) recent study of female classical musicians, for example, takes the view that public discourses have positioned young women and cultural workers as “twice positioned” ... “entrepreneurial subjects par excellence” (Scharff, 2016, pp. 109–110). Scharff describes how young female

classical musicians, as entrepreneurial subjects, relate to themselves as if they were a business; they are constantly active but lack time; they actively embrace risks, manage difficulties, and, where necessary, hide injuries (Scharff, 2016, p. 108; see also Michael Mustafa and Hazel Melanie Ramos' Chap. 13 in this volume for a related discussion of human "un-well-being"). There is a high level of self-critique, which results in self-doubt and anxiety; there is also a culture of blaming "others". To be very clear, I *share* Scharff's concerns and wholly welcome their being brought to attention. However, my worry is that they should *necessarily* be considered as symptomatic of the behaviours required to fulfil the social process of "entrepreneurship".

At another extreme, entrepreneurship is taken as new venture creation (see Gartner, 1985). Now I believe that the kinds of issues associated with the "entrepreneurial subjectivity" highlighted above are prevalent in this context of setting up new businesses too; but, again, I am bound to question their necessity as distinct from the contingent conditions under which such processes are carried out. Elsewhere, prevailing definitions of entrepreneurship concern (1) how innovation is introduced into the market (Schumpeter, 1934), (2) how competition is introduced in the market (Kirzner, 1973), (3) the process of opportunity identification and exploitation (Shane, 2003), and (4) a particular context of human creativity (Stokes & Wilson, 2017). Clearly some of these definitions are more neoliberal than others; but in all these cases, entrepreneurship might be thought of, first and foremost, as offering a solution to a problem. Whilst welcoming the kinds of issues and problems raised by Scharff and others, my question remains whether or not these are fair, and indeed helpful, to pin on entrepreneurship; or, rather, should we see these problems as stemming from neoliberalism's insidious and incessant need to accumulate capital?

Although Bilton (2006) has suggested that *all* artists are cultural entrepreneurs—drawing particular attention to the way in which these days artists "vindicated and supported in the discourse of the cultural industries and cultural policy are those who recognise their work's potential as a commercial commodity" (Bilton, 2006, p. 6; see also Oakley, 2014), the reality must surely be that most musicians are brought up so as *not* to think of themselves as entrepreneurs. Weatherston, for example, notes that staff and students in a university music department show a "natural disinclination to be seen as entrepreneurs" (Weatherston, 2009, p. 52). Even though, as Dawn Bennett (2008) stresses, performing music is only one practice the professional classical musician must be proficient in, when it comes to explaining the entrepreneurial role of musicians, it would seem a stark choice remains between "Freedom (Play)" and "Trade (Pay)" (Shiner, 2001). Either we continue to follow the deeply idealized and romanticized view of the artist as being above and beyond

the quotidian reality of work (leaving “trade” to the managers, agents, producers, and record company executives), or we rethink the professional musician in terms of the more holistic conception of the “artisan”, where “the old union of facility and inspiration, genius and rule, innovation and imitation, freedom and service” (Shiner, 2001, p. 115) is put back together. This, of course, has particular resonance too for thinking more broadly about “creativity at work”—where all too easily the designation “at work” might be seen as fundamentally at odds with the exhortation to be creative (a contradiction in terms).

Rethinking Entrepreneurship in Music

I have so far argued that as much as there is good reason to be cautious of “entrepreneurship in music”—particularly in regard to any “romanticization of its motivations and practices” (Moore, 2016, p. 46)—we must be careful not to conflate a loose understanding of the prevailing neoliberal economic reality with entrepreneurship per se. I have also suggested that entrepreneurship (variously understood) *can* offer solutions to problems (experienced at various different scales—micro, meso, and macro). As such, there is scope for “thinking differently” about entrepreneurship—and it is in this spirit of problem-solving that I introduce three provocations:

- (1) Music *is* facing a slow-burning crisis.
- (2) Those working in the “music world” must bear responsibility.
- (3) “Entrepreneurship in music” *can* offer a solution.

Rather than limit my enquiry to the role of entrepreneurship for the music profession, including today’s up-and-coming music students, I make my pitch at a wider societal level. Though I draw principally on evidence relating to the UK, my analysis is relevant across many countries of the world and not just those with highly developed economies. I discuss matters relating to music industry policy, the production and consumption of music, and music education. To begin, my first provocation is that we are facing a slow-burning crisis with respect to music.

Music’s Slow-Burning Crisis

More people than ever before have access to more music at affordable prices; more people are able to “do” music, making use of equipment and digital technology that previous generations could not have dreamt of. Our technology-enabled world provides huge benefits, in music as elsewhere. In

this respect, my reference to a “crisis” might bring to mind Charles Rosen’s famous observation that “the death of classical music is perhaps its oldest living tradition” (Rosen, 2000, p. 295). However, the way we do music today *is* curtailed by social structures and institutions that we barely notice (if at all). Furthermore, crises are typically diagnosed *after* the event, not before. So, in this section I introduce a range of concerns and challenges, which collectively constitute what I consider to be a “slow-burning crisis”.

A recent online article for the BBC led with the headline “Music ‘could face extinction’ in secondary schools” (9 March 2017). The report describes music being squeezed out of the curriculum in favour of other subjects (music was compulsory in 84% of secondary schools in 2012–2013 but had reduced to 62% by 2016–2017). Sadly, the argument presented is one that has been aired for at least the last two decades (e.g. see Sir Ken Robinson’s *All Our Futures* report from 1999). The slow-burning crisis facing music begins with young children. Music education is all too often available *only* for those that wish to take it seriously enough to develop a career. This entrenches the divide between the amateur and the professional. Rather than regarding music as a universal human good, it becomes something specialist to be studied only by a small minority. The tendency towards professionalization runs deep and has both good and bad implications in respect of “creativity at work”. Of course, as audience members and a listening public, we want musicians to perform to the highest standards, but do we also want to see the *de facto* separation of musical production as a professionalized activity from a much broader engagement with music at many levels of ability and interest?

The notion of excellence is deeply rooted in cultural policy discourse and ideology. For example, in the UK, Arts Council England’s “Goal 1” states “We want to use our investment and expertise to encourage and support artistic and cultural excellence across the country”.³ Excellence is here prescribed in terms of “the height of ambition, talent and skill”. On the one hand, who would deny the goal of supporting really great music rather than the mediocre? Difficult resourcing decisions have to be made somehow. But, on the other hand, who decides what is “great”? Moreover, what is the wider impact of a culture of excellence on those that don’t come up to its high standards (one thinks, e.g. of the many adults who have long since “given up”, often referring to their past musical activities in terms of “failure”)?

The development of cultural studies as a new academic discipline in the 1960s opened many eyes to the vital need to rethink who (“high” and “popular”) culture belongs to, and who actually gets to participate in it. In recent years, issues of gender, class, and ethnicity as areas of structural inequality in music have increasingly been brought under the spotlight (see Banks, 2017; Brook, O’Brien, & Taylor, 2018; Bull, 2018; Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Littler,

2017; Ross, 1998; Scharff, 2016). Some practices *have* changed (e.g. blind auditions for orchestra members). However, the personnel working across music—including performing musicians, composers, managers, and leaders—remains dominated by white, middle-class men.

As we have already seen, various commentators (e.g. Layton, 2013; Saleci, 2010) have argued that the neoliberal incitement to manage one’s self as enterprise “cuts across gendered, racialised and classed power dynamics”, and “raises questions about ‘psychosocial effects of neoliberalism’” (Scharff, 2016, p. 109). The psychosocial, or as Butler (1997) refers to it, the “psychic”, concerns the sense in which social norms—especially those associated with power and subjection are internalized. Butler argues “...to the extent that norms operate as psychic phenomena, restricting and producing desire, they also govern the formation of the subject and circumscribe the domain of a liveable sociality” (Butler, 1997, p. 21). We must surely have real concerns about the nature of the “liveable sociality” that characterizes the music profession. According to Scharff’s research, at least, it would seem that the balance between artistic autonomy and economic reality is tipping too far in one direction.

A dominant critical discourse associated with “creativity at work” is that of precarity (see Gill & Pratt, 2008; Standing, 2014). From unpaid internships, exploitative neoliberal or entrepreneurial subjectivities, through to lack of security and the low-paid gig economy—the occupational hazards of working in music appear increasingly stacked against even the most talented few. The truth is, this does not put off the many aspiring young musicians who put themselves through advanced training and education. Despite chronic over-supply, there is always the dream of “making it” which drives the dedicated onwards (see Bull, 2018). The field of cultural production is also a field of dreams—and some dreams really do come true, which, it seems, is enough.

The ageing demographic of the audience for classical music has been a talking point for generations. Over and above what is going on in the educational sector (in respect to investment in teaching and time in the curriculum), if only older people are attending concerts and buying classical music recordings, then fewer and fewer children and young people are being exposed to classical music through live performances and recordings. It is all the more likely that those who will go on to work in the profession are themselves from musical families, or at least from backgrounds where music is a particular feature of home life. This creates a vicious cycle that excludes.

Finally, we need to understand all of the above from the perspective of how key decisions on resourcing, programming, and related aspects of support are actually made. The current thrust of cultural policy in the UK, at least, is summed up in the Arts Council’s mission of “great art and culture for everyone”, or what

has been labelled the “democratization of culture” (see Evrard (1997) for background discussion). The Arts Council’s £ 37 m programme Creative People and Places speaks to this agenda, proactively seeking to address “cold spots” throughout the country where “great” art and culture is not otherwise available. However, to its critics, this “deficit model” (Belfiore, 2012; Stevenson, 2013) policy continues to keep the inherent hierarchy of “excellence” that plays a role in the cycle of exclusion already referred to. Rather than calling for the “democratization of culture” we need “cultural democracy”. This is an altogether different approach—one characterized by a form of cultural autonomy (cultural capability) for *everyone*, and which moves the debate beyond a deficit model—that is, targeting only those cold spots where inequalities are seen to be rife (see Wilson, Gross, & Bull, 2017). We also need an approach to policymaking that is, as Bell and Oakley (2015) remind us, formed through the involvement of a wide range of stakeholders, not just the few.

The “Music World” Must Bear Collective Responsibility

Individually, these issues might be held to constitute very real challenges for those working in music but not a crisis per se. But my argument is that the whole, in this case, does indeed constitute more than the sum of the parts. For these are symptoms of a wider problem—and one that the “music world” (see Becker, 2008 on “art worlds”) needs to embrace together. In my view, we cannot simply blame “economic reality” and get on with business as usual. Doing this amounts to a There Is No Alternative (TINA) compromise formation (see Bhaskar, 1993), whereby a truth in practice is combined with a falsity in theory. The truth in practice is that the music world holds that economic reality is the problem, and we can do nothing about it; the falsity in theory is that economic reality is the problem, and we can do nothing about it.

So what then *can* be done? And how might it be the case that entrepreneurship—given the issues highlighted thus far—could be at all helpful in moving forward? The answer, I suggest, is in the form of a “détournement” of entrepreneurship (and specifically entrepreneurial education) in music.

A Détournement of Entrepreneurship in Music (Education)

If individualism and competition are the dominant prevailing (and problematic) features of neoliberalism, impacting all areas of our life, including our music-making, then it is these very features that need to be re-addressed

through a *détournement* (rerouting; hijacking) of entrepreneurship in music. The term “*détournement*” refers to a technique developed in the 1950s by the [Letterist International](#), and later adapted by Guy DeBord and the Situationists (see DeBord, 2006). For them, it was a method of propaganda. Elsewhere, it has been defined as “turning expressions of the capitalist system and its [media culture](#) against itself” (Holt, 2010, p. 252), and it is in this sense that I am using it. In short, my intention is to turn what entrepreneurship is really good at, against itself.

What is being argued here is that we could in fact adopt entrepreneurship reflexively (turning back on itself), as a means of moving up the ladder of freedom introduced earlier: *emancipating* ourselves from the neoliberal stronghold, enabling freedom of choice (*autonomy*), freeing ourselves to fulfil our primary needs—here understood in terms of music as human goods (*well-being*), and ultimately achieving a shared form of human *flourishing*.

But, the question remains, especially within an educational context—what exactly is entrepreneurship (education) really good at? Just what is entrepreneurial education good for? Given the kneejerk reaction to blame economic reality, the answer for many in the music world might be “nothing!” But, I suggest, we can usefully point to three areas (amongst others), where entrepreneurial education is potentially beneficial. These are in respect of (1) holding open the space for creativity, (2) (re-)organization of resources, and (3) arbitrage (creative citizenship).

Holding Open the Space for Creativity

I have argued elsewhere (Wilson & Martin, 2015) that entrepreneurship can usefully be thought of as a particular case or context of human creativity. It’s not just that entrepreneurship happens to entail creativity (it might be argued, after all, that *all* human actions do to some extent—see Joas, 1996); rather, the practice of doing entrepreneurship depends centrally upon human creativity. Going further, might we not usefully think of entrepreneurship as nothing other than the successful realization of a creative project? Be that as it may, I want to suggest that the way entrepreneurship has been talked about, and chiefly, taught in higher education, has had a very significant bearing on the degree to which this connection with creativity has been played out in practice. Entrepreneurial education, since the late 1990s across Europe and the USA, has been tailored to explicitly creating spaces for creativity, and then holding these spaces “open”, at the very time (ironically) that such creative spaces across other key areas of education, including the arts and humanities, and education have been increasingly “closed down”.

By way of example, consider a standard focus of entrepreneurial education, which might begin with discussion of entrepreneurial personality traits. The “Big Five” (see Stokes & Wilson, 2017) are (1) need for autonomy, (2) need for achievement, (3) locus of control, (4) risk-taking, and (5) self-efficacy. Regardless of whether or not these particular traits are important, either normatively or descriptively, for practising entrepreneurship (though I think they are), the point that I am making here is to draw attention to the discursive space in which they are (at least) raised and considered. Questions of autonomy, achievement, of internal or external control, risk-taking, and self-belief are, one might suggest, of genuine importance for undertaking all sorts of agential projects, not just entrepreneurial ones. More specifically, I want to argue that they are clearly closely related to ventures involving high levels of creativity (at work), notably in the context of art and education.

My reference to “holding a space open” is significant here. Many commentators writing about creativity draw attention to this central aspect of the creative process. To the extent that we can’t possibly know what the outcome of creativity is before the event, it is then logically necessary to maintain a discursive and practical space where *ex nihilo* novelty might emerge. I suggest that musicians know this to be true; a performance cannot succeed if it is over-worked or rationalized, for example. There always has to be a space for the creativity of the performance to give forth (“*poiesis*” in Heideggerian terms). The irony I am drawing attention to, however, is that whilst the culture of entrepreneurship (education) has explicitly recognized this, and provided the practical conditions accordingly, the arts and education have been less able to do so, arguably being overtaken by the neoliberalism that now dominates so much of the fields of higher education and arts practice.

The argument being presented here swims against the current tide of critical commentary relating to entrepreneurship training in music; as such, it will certainly have its detractors. Some will consider my position on entrepreneurship to overlook what David Harvey terms the “manufacture of consent”, that is, “the rhetorical and discursive means by which individuals are persuaded to acquiesce to and embrace neoliberal policies and programs” (in Moore, 2016, p. 34). Andrea Moore argues that musical entrepreneurship training “codifies and normalizes the radical growth of temporary and or unstable labor conditions”, and that “despite being couched in rhetoric suggestive of progressive ideals, this training does not resist, but rather valorizes the particular precariousness of musical labor” (Moore, 2016, pp. 34–35). Elsewhere, Angela McRobbie (2016) warns of succumbing to what she describes, after Foucault, as the “creativity dispositif” (see also David Wright (Chap. 16) and Toby Bennett (Chap. 22) in this volume). According to this reading, the use of the

word “creativity” takes on an ideological form. Attention is drawn to a set of capacities or skills that professionals need to participate in the labour market, but which (unwittingly) reinforce a precarious form of governmentality where buying into self-entrepreneurship becomes the only means of achieving success. Whilst (again) I agree with many of the concerns raised by these and other authors, my worry is that we, too easily, throw out the practice “baby” with the ideological “bathwater”. My approach calls for great care in attributing cause. Given the level of baggage that now comes attached to the word “entrepreneurship” in a cultural context (see Oakley, 2014), we need to be particularly aware of what people actually do—and in this respect, my approach is firmly framed in terms of “the primacy of practice” (see Archer, 1995; Lawson, 1997; also Bhaskar, 1978, 1979). As such, the job of asking probing questions about creativity “at work”, becomes all the more vital.

Enabling Pragmatic Idealism

A second area where entrepreneurship has the potential, at least, for doing a really good job is in terms of what I define as pragmatic idealism. This requires the pragmatic mindset to simply get stuff done. The specialist organization of tasks (Becker & Murphy, 1992; see also Casson, 1982) and what has been described in term of the (re-)organization of resources, are central to entrepreneurship in this respect. Entrepreneurs are good at making new and valuable things happen. This requires spotting opportunities, taking risks, networking, leveraging resources, and creativity (Stokes & Wilson, 2017). The array of resources required for this to happen can be particularly varied in the arts sector (Caves, 2000; Townley, Beech, & McKinlay, 2009 on the “motley crew”). But returning once more to the central relationship between artistic autonomy and economic reality it is worth making a connection here with what Christopher Small (1998) calls “Musicking”. It is all too easy not just to draw attention to the division of labour within music but to reinforce the misguided and unfortunate “labour of division” that takes place between the “charismatic and creative” musicians, and the “extrinsically motivated” (Frey, 2003) managers.

A simple mind game reminds us to be cautious. Imagine a world without any system of management in the arts (be that capitalist, neoliberal, or otherwise). Where, when, and how would we be able to share the music between ourselves? Whilst this is not an argument for maintaining the capitalist system over any other, it is, surely, a reminder that musicking and indeed culture more broadly, requires a level of organization and management; indeed, one

might suggest that culture is partly constituted by such a role, which entrepreneurs, as specialists in making “new” and “valuable” things happen, are particularly good at.

It is important to stress here that “being pragmatic” does not necessarily equate with either having no vision, or giving it up in favour of “economic reality”. Indeed, it is precisely the ability to hold on to both the pragmatic and the idealism that marks out the successful entrepreneur in this context (see Wilson, 2014 for a more detailed discussion relating to the much-disputed term “authenticity”, which highlights the human capacity to reconcile the apparently irreconcilable).

Arbitrage: Between Artistic Autonomy and Economic Reality?

My third example of where entrepreneurship is clearly valuable, and one which builds on what has just been discussed, is in respect of one of its earliest meanings in the economics literature—namely the entrepreneur as literally someone who “takes between or goes between” (from the French *entrepreneur*). This sense of the “middle-man” or “intermediary” has been more formally labelled in terms of “arbitrage”. Kirzner (1973), for example, conceives of the entrepreneur recognizing and acting upon market opportunities as an “arbitrageur”.

Clearly, this conception of entrepreneurship is especially relevant for this chapter’s focus on the relationship *between* artistic autonomy and economic reality. But we find it, too, in the increasingly widespread reference to the entrepreneur in a social context. One might think of the entrepreneur (as arbitrageur) negotiating the between-space between the economic and the social. This quotation from Bill Drayton, founder of the social enterprise Ashoka, is particularly telling in this respect:

Whenever society is stuck or has an opportunity to seize a new opportunity, it needs an entrepreneur to see the opportunity and then to turn that vision into a realistic idea and then a reality and then, indeed, the new pattern all across society. We need such entrepreneurial leadership at least as much in education and human rights as we do in communications and hotels. This is the work of social entrepreneurs. (In Abu-Saifan, 2012, p. 22)

To the extent that I have argued that music is “stuck”, we can indeed look to entrepreneurship to help us move things forward. Entrepreneurship is about spotting opportunities; another way of framing this is to suggest that

entrepreneurship is about solving problems. I have set out a range of problems which face music; in now arguing for entrepreneurship to help us deal with these, my focus is on a *détournement* that breaks the cycle of relentless competition and individualism associated with neoliberalism (and in so much that this means “entrepreneurial subjectivity” then yes, that too).

Rethinking Entrepreneurship, Competition, and Creativity

I am buoyed up in the belief that such a *détournement* can be hugely productive through my particular involvement with a recent research project focusing on the relationship between creativity and culture (Wilson et al., 2017). Framed around the “Get Creative” campaign⁴ (launched by the BBC and a consortium of arts organizations in the UK), this research has introduced a new vision of cultural democracy around the promotion of “cultural capabilities”, that is, the substantive freedom to co-create versions of culture. Building on Amartya Sen’s (1999) and Martha Nussbaum’s (2011) Human Development and Capabilities Approach, and their foundational question—“What are people able to do and be that they have reason to value?”, it is suggested that everyone should have the opportunity to co-create versions of culture (including music—see Hesmondhalgh (2013) on “why music matters”). Crucially, this research emphasizes the particular role of intermediaries, here called “creative citizens” (and “pillar organizations”) which play a vital role in making such opportunities happen, not just for themselves but for others too. As such, the problems of individualism and competition are transcended. But to what extent can we make a link between such creative citizens and entrepreneurs?

In their 2009 article “Learning as an entrepreneurial process”, Daniel Hjorth and Bengt Johannisson paraphrase Schumpeter to propose that “entrepreneurship means initiating social processes of actualisation, energised by desire to compete and create” (Hjorth & Johannisson, 2009, p. 61). They go on to suggest that entrepreneurship education “faces the challenge of becoming-knowledgeable of such processes as well as generating hands-on experiences of such processes for further reflection” (ibid.). Whilst arguing the case for creativity might be uncontroversial, in what sense might we best understand this process of competition, without falling back into individualism? How might we move towards a goal of self-actualization through mutuality rather than through the market or money?

The answer, I suggest, is to return to the relational nature of “doing” music; for the way in which musicians “compete” (rather than take part in competitions) is revealing of the etymology of the word that has a collective motivation at its heart. Originally, “competition” (to which the words *concert* and *concerto*

are related) is concerned with “striving *with*” (alongside another) rather than “striving *against*”. So, creative citizens are doing what is required to *actualize new and valuable social spaces, energized through a desire to create and compete* for the benefit of themselves *and* others (striving with). What I am arguing for here is a conception of entrepreneurship that is creative, collective, and competitive—albeit in this otherwise “lost” sense of working *with* rather than against. Another way of saying this is to argue for a “relational”, one might say, more “humanized” conception of entrepreneurship. My position here finds some important theoretical underpinning in the recent work on the “relational subject” by Pierpaolo Donati and Margaret Archer (2015). These authors powerfully remind us that the relations between human beings cannot be reduced to mere “transactions” between individuals but rather have emergent powers of their own; furthermore, it is in the warmth, caring, and commitment of the human relation that relational goods and social integration are forthcoming.

Concluding Words

As much as I have framed this chapter with a fairytale, I believe the implications of what are discussed here for creativity at work are very real in practice. At the very least, they should encourage us to ask the question: What should we expect from our professionals of tomorrow? Is it enough, for example, to aim “to develop knowledge that will enhance the education of musicians on a high artistic level, qualified for an international and competitive profession in a rapidly changing music environment”.⁵ There are a lot of good reasons for framing discussion of entrepreneurship in music in terms of individual students’ careers and what we can be doing to enable more success. But I hope to have indicated that there is a vital bigger picture, where an overtly relational (and re-humanized) form of entrepreneurship has a more fundamental role to play.

Gary Beckman (2011) in his review of teaching entrepreneurship in the arts warns against entrepreneurial education focusing on professional development, advocating “creat[ing] value in society with their art” (p. 183). For Beckman, having a business card, securing a performance, showing your art in a gallery, or writing a resume is not entrepreneurship but professional development. He says: “I believe that arts students who engage in entrepreneurship education must understand how to create value in society with their art” (p. 181). We can all no doubt agree with this (even if we won’t agree exactly on *what* is valuable), but I hope to have suggested that one approach to doing this is by supporting the development of not just individual entrepreneurial careers but preparing the ground for skilled and embedded creative citizens.

In conclusion, then, let me propose an amended aim for music higher education institutions—to develop knowledge that will enhance the education of

musicians *as entrepreneurial creative citizens* on a high artistic level, qualified *both* for an international and competitive profession in a rapidly changing music environment, *and enabling shared cultural possibilities for themselves and for others*.

But what of Goldilocks—what is the end of the story for her? The inimitable author Roald Dahl penned his own version of the story in his series of *Revolting Rhymes* (1983), which sees Goldilocks getting her comeuppance—she is eaten up by the bears (N.B. in something of an irony here, I had intended to quote Dahl’s alternative ending but was unable to secure the worldwide copyright permissions for doing so). In the spirit of Dahl’s alternative version, I suggest a rather more upbeat and constructive ending (or is it a new beginning?) for “entrepreneurship in music”. Of course, for this approach to have any real and positive impact, there will need to be a new openness to understand the motivations and interests of the “other”; this, most certainly, will require *creativity at work*:

...In the book as you will know,
Our long-haired girl is keen to go
Far from where those three bears dwell,
She scarpers down “Highway to Hell”.
Was this the end for our luckless lass,
Or has she got a bit more sass?
Well, truth be told, Young Goldie turned,
For *striving with* the Bears she’d learned.
Determined now to make things better,
To the Bears she penned this creative letter:
‘Now’s time for me to make amends.
Such scrummy porridge, my dear friends,
Deserves to be a shared endeavour,
Which we’ll enjoy “Together Forever”’.

Acknowledgements I am grateful to the organizers and participants of the “International Entrepreneurship in Music” conference held at the Norwegian Academy of Music, Oslo, April 27–28, 2017, where these ideas were first raised and discussed.

Notes

1. *Together Forever*, performed by Rick Astley, reached no. 1 in the USA in 1988.
2. *Highway to Hell*, by AC/DC, was released as an album and single in 1979.
3. <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/our-mission-and-strategy/goal-1-excellence>, accessed 5 April 2017.
4. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/3P7n390cZc3VBpn7cPn0F5T/about-get-creative>, accessed 5 July 2017.

5. This *indicative* example was taken from the Centre of Excellence in Music Performance Education (CEMPE), Norwegian Academy of Music, website (CEMPE hosted the International Entrepreneurship in Music conference, where ideas for this chapter were first presented).

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Part IV

Making Creativity Work



23

Valuable Creativity: Rediscovering Purpose

Chris Bilton

Introduction

Picking up on the editors' theme of "creativity for what?", this chapter addresses ethical and practical questions regarding the value and purpose of creativity. In pursuit of novelty and change, such questions are sometimes deferred or even ignored. The result is that "creativity" can be associated with destructive outcomes, for both individuals and organizations. Taking as its starting point Levitt's seminal article "Creativity is not enough" (Levitt, 1963), this chapter argues that pursuit of change and innovation as ends in themselves forces organizations pre-emptively to abandon valuable processes, products, markets—and *people*—in pursuit of novelty. For individuals, too, a relentless emphasis on innovation and change has negative consequences, leading to anxiety and dysfunction. The chapter begins by defining the "creativity problem" in relation to a "creativity continuum", describing an equilibrium between that which is "new" and that which is "valuable". In Western culture, that balance has often tilted towards "novelty without value"—a pursuit of difference and disruption as ends in themselves—with damaging consequences for individuals, for organizations and for social and cultural life. Furthermore, such an unbalanced approach fails to meet the basic criteria for creativity.

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L. Martin, N. Wilson (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Creativity at Work*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-77350-6_23

The second part of the chapter aims to identify alternatives to this approach, looking first to the practice of *jugaad* in India, as well as “agile” and “lean” business processes and “design thinking”. In different ways, these models propose a more adaptive model of creativity, where product-led, individually inspired innovation is tempered by collective purposes and values, and where creativity and change are offset by continuity and “uncreativity”—a personal and organizational ballast which questions the value and necessity of new ideas. This balance has long been recognized in creativity theory (where creativity must be “fit for purpose”) and in artistic practice (where many artists are sceptical of creative “flow” and must combine the raw creative insight with craft, continuity and adaptability). This argument connects with the overall themes of the handbook, in particular the need for models of creativity to address ideals of sustainability.

The Creativity Problem

As the assumption that “creativity” is a universally positive force that gathers momentum, some critical voices are suggesting that “more creativity” might not always be desirable. A recent collection exploring the “ethics of creativity” draws attention to some of the downsides (Moran, 2014, pp. 1–2): too much choice, too much change, too many new products and ideas crowding for attention. We seem to have reached “peak stuff” (Gwyther, 2017)—how many more software updates do we really need, how quickly will our new phones become obsolete? Creativity can appear wasteful, resulting in a proliferation of initiatives and products which we do not (really) need (Leadbeater, 2014, p. 48). Creativity pursued as an end in itself, disconnected from any ethical purpose, has a “dark side” (Cropley et al., 2010). Novel ideas, from Oppenheimer’s Manhattan Project to financial derivatives and tobacco advertising, may also produce malign consequences.

We may be reverting to a more sceptical attitude to creativity, encapsulated by Levitt’s shrewd assertion 50 years ago that “Creativity is not enough” (Levitt, 1963). This is exacerbated by concerns about global sustainability and the relentless march of technological and economic “progress”, perhaps towards self-destruction. Does this mean that creativity has become part of the problem rather than the solution? In the workplace, the creativity problem is manifest in two dimensions. For organizations, pursuit of novelty may, as Levitt noted, not be in the longer term interests of the organization or its customers. Valuable ideas (and people) are discarded in favour of the “next big thing”. As Christensen argued, “disruptive” innovation can drag an organization out

of shape, forcing it to abandon existing technologies and confusing its existing customers (Christensen, 1997). In highly unpredictable environments there is value in continuity; in such a context, creativity increases risk and escalates competition, resulting in “unintended sources of harm to both the innovator and the bystanders” (Jasper, 2010, p. 92).

Another dimension of the creativity problem is more personal and emotional. The pressure to innovate results in a high pressure, neurotic environment where individuals are perpetually dissatisfied with their own work (Zhou and George, 2001). Averill and Lunley describe how “excesses in the pursuit of novelty” can lead to neurotic behaviour and a failure to meet the criteria for creativity “by misconstruing the beliefs and rules that make emotional concepts meaningful” (Averill & Nunley, 2010, pp. 269–270). Goncalo, Vincent and Audia (2010) describe creative individuals becoming locked into patterns of “innovative” behaviour as they attempt to recapture past successes with ever diminishing returns. The correlation between creativity and mental illness (Gabora & Holmes 2010; Simonton, 2010) and dysfunction (Freud, 1985) is echoed in the jokey slogan of the 1980s office, “you don’t have to be crazy to work here, but it helps”.

At heart, the creativity problem is rooted in a fundamental paradox at the core of our definition of creativity as “novelty plus value”. These two criteria, that which is new and surprising, alongside that which is fit for purpose in a given time and place, are always to some extent in conflict. Creativity seeks to balance these apparently contradictory properties. The “bisociation” which characterizes creative thinking, the linking together of two apparently contradictory frames of reference, requires a “tolerance for contradictions” (Barron, 1958) and a yoking together also of apparently contradictory modes of thought (Koestler, 1976). At the meta-level, bisociation also applies to creativity as a concept—it holds together two apparently contradictory characteristics of novelty and value.

Figure 23.1 visualizes the creativity continuum, showing the two dimensions of novelty and value as overlapping but also conflicting tendencies in creativity. A pursuit of novelty squeezes out value at one end of the continuum; concern with value marginalizes novel ideas at the other. Creative products need to find a balance between that which is new and that which is



Fig. 23.1 Creativity continuum—novelty versus value

valuable, but their optimal position on the continuum will depend upon the context in which they are to be applied or used. This balance can be traced across three dimensions of creativity: products, people and processes. At the extreme end of novelty without value are products and services which serve no appreciable purpose. Crucially, the purpose or value of a product must be understood within an appropriate context; in a commercial operation, a product which is valued by only the inventor, not by its potential users, fails the value test. Creativity in this scenario is essentially product-led, individualistic and relies on an internal process rather than a collective system.

A fictional example captures these extremes on the creative continuum. In the BBC comedy *I'm Alan Partridge*, Alan is a presenter recently sacked by the BBC, brainstorming a sequence of unlikely TV formats which might win back his old job. At the extreme of "novelty without value or purpose", he proposes "Monkey Tennis", his tone of quiet desperation suggesting that even he recognizes the utter pointlessness of his idea. At the other end of the creativity continuum are products which are entirely serviceable, but lack any distinctive, original features. One of Alan's later suggestions, *Around the world with Alan driving on the left in a bullnose Morris* pastiches an existing, successful BBC TV series, *Around the world in 80 days*, presented by Michael Palin. Again the context defines what is perceived as absence of novelty, and something which is new to the individual may not be new to the world. In a commercial market, a product which is too similar to existing competitors is not only unlikely to win Alan a new contract, it fails to meet one of two criteria for "creativity".

Turning from products to people, it seems that ideas which tilt too far towards novelty without value are more likely to be associated with an isolated individual (like Alan Partridge, alone in his hotel room), working without external consultation or connection to the social milieu. In commercial language, such ideas are both "product led" and based on the internal logic of their inventor rather than responding to any external interest or need. Conversely, ideas which are valuable without novelty are more likely to be market driven, mimicking existing consumer preferences; consequently they lack individuality or personality, as if "designed by committee".

In terms of process, novelty without value is associated with the spark of ideation, the moment of "breakthrough thinking" before the resulting proposition has been applied and evaluated. In Graham Wallas' formulation of the creative process, novelty is born in the solitary ruminations of "incubation" and the flash of "illumination", without reference to the more outwardly directed processes of "preparation" and "evaluation" which precede and follow it. Alan subscribes to the myth of individual genius, even though the viewer

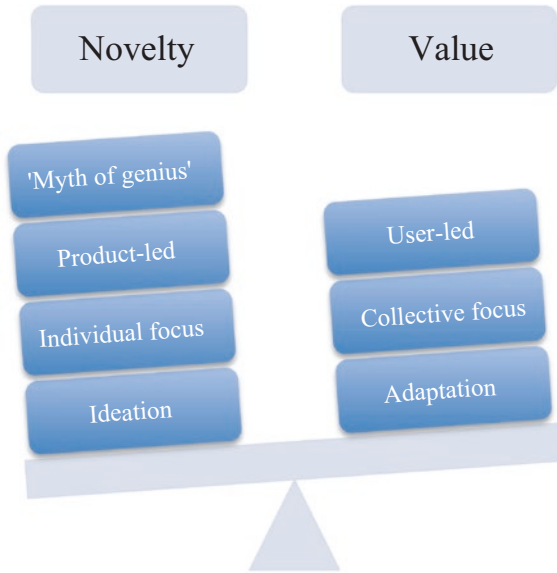


Fig. 23.2 Tilting towards novelty—Western models of creativity (aka “the myth of genius”)

recognizes his inability to live up to the role. So he “brainstorms” into a portable voice recorder, mimicking the model of free-flowing idea generation to which he desperately aspires.

As illustrated in Fig. 23.2, these three tendencies—product-orientation, individualism and specialization—are reinforced by Western cultural assumptions about creativity. These assumptions, summarized by Weisberg (1986) as the “myth of genius” are reflected in both cultural policy and management. In the UK, cultural policy towards the creative industries prioritizes individual talent and skill over collective systems and identifies creativity with the origination of intellectual property, rather than the adaptation, reconfiguring and sampling of existing ideas (DCMS, 1998). Even the designation of specific “creative” industries seems consistent with a mindset which seeks to divide and limit rather than embracing the richer and more complex reality of “bisociative” creativity. Whereas “cultural” industries appeared to connect creativity into a system of values and a shared culture, “creative” industries are cut loose into a discourse about “individual, creativity, skill and talent” (ibid.; see also Bilton, 2016).

This same separation of “novelty” in relation to creative products, people and processes is manifest also in the creative industries themselves. The separation of “creative” roles reflects a knowledge-based industry where work is highly individualized and specialized; but it also reflects some careless assumptions about the nature of creative processes and people. Management structures in UK advertising industries have until recently assigned “creativity” to a particular

department or division, even to named individuals. In the wider creative economy, the R&D division, the product development team, the specialist developers of new technologies are labelled as creative, thereby consigning everyone else to an implicit status of “uncreativity”. Ironically, to overcome this tendency to “mere novelty”, the innovators may need to seek out “uncreative” colleagues—these uncreative ones must question, filter, manage, apply and sustainably develop the raw ideas of the creative few. Meanwhile the most lucrative sectors of the creative industries have long been associated with the branding, packaging and delivering of creative content, not with ideation and product development. In other words, the underlying reality of collaboration, networking, value chains and shared practices in the creative industries does not square with the rhetoric of individual talent and ideation.

To summarize, the creativity continuum highlights the need to balance different outcomes of “novelty” and “value” in order to achieve creative outcomes; this in turn requires a combination of inputs, both in terms of thinking styles (Gabora & Holmes, 2010, pp. 286–289) and people (Cummings et al., 2015). This bisociative complexity of creativity is widely acknowledged in the creativity literature (Amabile, 1998; Boden, 1994; Sawyer, 2006) but often overlooked in management practice. When one-half of the equation is neglected, the creativity continuum is unbalanced. Creativity then gives way to formulaic repetition or “mere novelty”. In Western culture, social, political and economic forces threaten to tip the balance of creativity towards creative individuals rather than creative systems, towards product development rather than consumer value, towards short-term commercial priorities rather than longer-term strategic and ethical considerations. The result is “novelty without value”. This in turn is damaging both to individuals and to organizations (Bilton, 2015).

There are of course cases of “value without novelty”—where a profitable formula is favoured over a risky innovation, for example, in market-driven film sequels or reversioning of media content in secondary formats (games based on films based on comics or vice versa). These might be profitable in the short-term, but a lack of original content means they are less likely to survive. Nevertheless, in a Western culture where individualism and originality are highly esteemed, stereotypical perceptions of creativity tilt the other way, towards “novelty without value”.

Trying to restore equilibrium of the creativity continuum, it may be necessary to reintroduce some of the elements which have been neglected in the rush to novelty. For example, “uncreative” individuals might play an important role in rebalancing creative teams by introducing critical questions and by filtering, adapting and applying raw ideas. It may be necessary to tilt the value chain towards users and adapters at the point of consumption and away from innovators at the point of origination and ideation, acknowledging that this is

where “value” is often created. It may be necessary to refocus on the purpose and value of creative ideas and projects rather than their novelty. Meeting this challenge would allow not only a healthier, more balanced creativity for individuals and organizations, it might also address some of the ethical concerns of “too much creativity” and “peak stuff” for the wellbeing of the planet.

The Creative Alternative: “Jugaad”

Alternatives to the individualized model of innovation and product development have emphasized a less deliberate, more improvised process, resulting in outcomes which are “good enough” rather than setting out to shift the paradigm. Examples include the Indian concept of *jugaad*, “frugal innovation” and “lean” or “agile” approaches to engineering or technology projects (see also Weston and Imas, Chap. 15, in this volume). The emphasis is on working through problems as they arise and adapting to changing circumstances, instead of following a planned process of product development and product testing. These alternative models of creativity are oriented towards the other end of the value chain, where value is revealed through uses and applications, rather than towards a laboratory-style process designed to build innovative products which will then be exported into the world (Sundbo & Sørensen, 2014). To summarize, I shall refer to this alternative approach as “value-based innovation”—a reversal of the “novelty-based innovation” shown in Fig. 23.2. “Value-based innovation” (Fig. 23.3) describes an emphasis on

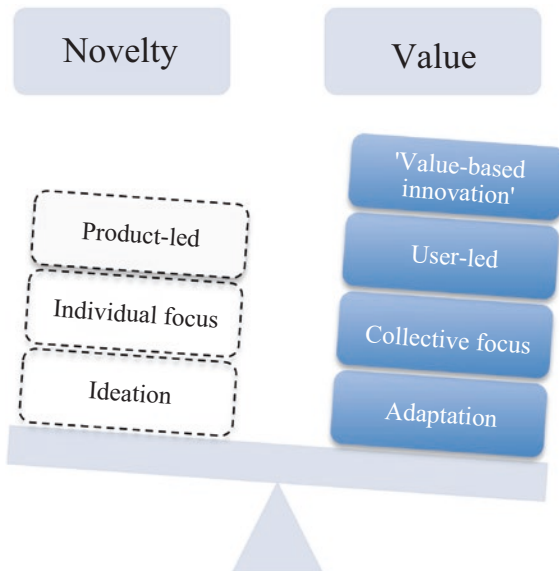


Fig. 23.3 Correcting the balance: creativity and “value-based innovation”

value as well as novelty, a basis in shared cultural values rather than individual talents and not least an attempt to achieve “value for money”, by using the resources at hand to solve an immediate problem rather than an often expensive innovation process designed to “disrupt” an existing paradigm. From a strategy perspective, the approach is “emergent” and improvised rather than “deliberate” (Mintzberg and Waters, 1985).

This more ad hoc, emergent approach to innovation is often a consequence of resource or budgetary constraints, especially in developing countries; *jugaad* evolved out of necessity in Indian communities where local people substituted ingenuity for a lack of material resources, and similar practices have evolved in Kenya (*jua kali*) and in parts of China. *Jugaad* translates roughly as an “improvised fix using simple means”, and in practice may involve repurposing existing technologies or adapting traditional materials which are cheap and freely available in the absence of sophisticated and expensive components. In their book *Jugaad Innovation*, Radjou and Prabhu (2012) give the example of the “Mitticool”, a fridge made of clay which uses the condensation and evaporation of water in the upper chamber to cool the contents of the lower chamber. The “fridge” is in essence a clay pot, inspired by a newspaper caption describing a broken clay pot as a “poor man’s fridge”.

This points to a second principle of *jugaad*. As well as conforming to resource constraints, improvisation is often inspired by the needs and practices of users, rather than the intentions of producers. At root the creativity of *jugaad* builds on the everyday, adaptive ingenuity of ordinary users and consumers, working from the bottom of the pyramid by using local people and resources, rather than starting with the special insight of an inventor or creator directed from above or outside the localized context. Above all, *jugaad* emphasizes flexibility and adaptation (Ajith & Goyal, 2016; Prabhu & Jain, 2015).

Jugaad has been taken up by Western companies, including Pepsico and Procter and Gamble, and by Western policy think tanks such as NESTA, whose concept of “frugal innovation” explicitly draws on *jugaad* (Bound & Thornton, 2012; see also Leadbeater, 2014, pp. 51–52). In India too, the meaning of *jugaad* has been extended beyond local ingenuity to describe the activities of large manufacturing companies, such as the Tata automobile company and their “world’s cheapest family car”, the Tata Nano (Prahalad & Mashelkar, 2010). Other Western media outlets such as Business Insider and Financial Times have also featured stories on *jugaad* as a source of inspiration for Western entrepreneurs, noting the rapid growth of the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China). Popularising *jugaad* as a source of “break-through innovation” (as in the subtitle of Radjou and Prabhu’s book) and

integrating its principles into mainstream production by Western business and major corporations may have the opposite effect of neutering its subversive, improvisatory spirit and its principles of “good enough” quality and user ingenuity.

Quick fixes might also overlook issues of customer safety or environmental sustainability. The Hindu word *jugaad* contains an implication of criminality, a sometime unethical approach to problem-solving in which the ends justify the means and where rules and conventions can be bypassed (Ajith & Goyal, 2016, p. 6). There may be cases where *jugaad* is not fit for purpose—we might not expect or desire ad hoc improvisation to feature in aeronautical engineering or pharmaceuticals. Like any model of creativity, *jugaad* does not offer a universal solution, simply a process which fits with a particular environment and set of needs. However, when viewed in the context of poor, rural areas of India, *jugaad* describes the use of resourceful thinking to counteract an absence of material resources; in relation to “sustainable creativity”, *jugaad* does not increase the environmental costs of product-led innovation, it responds to an environment where the cost of product-led innovation is already out of reach.

In contemporary Western culture, *jugaad* might translate as “hack”—taking an existing device or technology and tweaking some of its components to serve a new purpose. “Hacking”, with its culture of short-cuts, improvisation and repurposing, is at the core of the “agile” model of software development introduced over the last decade in many Western technology companies. The practice of “agile” software development, like *jugaad*, uses an improvisatory, ad hoc process born out of necessity. Rather than following predetermined plans to the point of no return, “agile” software developers adapt to problems as they occur and recalibrate plans and objectives in response to a continually changing reality. Daily meetings of project participants (sometimes including clients or users) allow an adaptive approach to project management, whilst working within strict time and budgetary constraints. These constraints inform and reconfigure the project objectives, reversing the strategic approach to product innovation where fixed objectives determine the allocation of budgets, time and human resources. As with *jugaad*, parallel processing of different tasks by small teams allows greater flexibility, efficiency and speed than the highly planned, sequential approach used by R&D departments in large companies.

“Lean” manufacturing translates the “agile” approach into project management more widely. The emphasis is on “frugal” resources, and as with “agile”, the aim is to fail fast and fail cheap, adapting rapidly to changes in the production process rather than attempting to plan too far in advance. Applied to

everything from car manufacture to road building, “lean” echoes the just in time, adaptive mindset of *jugaad*. Lean manufacturing can be traced back to Toyota, a Japanese car company with limited resources attempting to compete with the big Western companies like Ford and General Motors. Toyota pioneered “just in time” production methods and small-batch production, working with small teams to respond quickly to changes in production needs and consumer demand—the opposite of the mass manufacturing model.

However, lean manufacturing misses some elements of *jugaad*, notably the emphasis on localization and “bottom-up” innovation. Some principles of *jugaad*—frugality (adapting existing resources and technologies), flexibility (parallel processing rather than top-down planning and linear production methods) and inclusivity (working with consumers to respond to their needs and lifestyles)—have been partially adopted by companies in the West, especially in the technology sector. But there have been differences, notably an attempt to streamline and standardize the more ad hoc, improvisatory qualities of *jugaad*, perhaps because localization and bottom-up innovation do not fit easily with modern industrial processes and business models. Toyota’s lean manufacturing may pursue low cost, elimination of waste, emphasis on people over process, flexibility—but there is not much scope for “good enough”, improvised solutions, nor is Toyota placing the local needs and resources of its users ahead of proprietary expertise. In their *Harvard Business Review* article, Prahalad and Mashelkar prefer the term “Ghandian innovation” to *jugaad*, arguing that “the term ‘jugaad’ has the connotation of compromising on quality” (Pralhad & Mashelkar, 2010, p. 134). The changes in terminology signify a reversion to more familiar Western business practices; the authors identify three models of Ghandian innovation, “disrupting business models”, “modifying organizational capabilities” and “creating or sourcing new capabilities” (Pralhad & Mashelkar, 2010, p. 135). The rhetoric, together with the case studies used, reverts to a more conventional pursuit of business expansion, increased profits and “disruptive” change.

From a different direction, “design thinking” can be seen as an attempt to rebalance the Western emphasis on individual creativity and product-led innovation with greater respect for their value and purpose. At root, design thinking is an attempt to reconnect R&D and product development with an understanding of future consumer needs. As Verganti argues, “design-led innovation” is not a case of limiting possibilities by asking designers to give customers what they want (or rather what the market researcher believes customers want, based on current behaviour and needs). Rather it is an imaginative search for “radical innovation of meanings” (Verganti, 2009, p. 21), based on future possibilities. Design-led innovation “shines a spotlight on the

cultural dimension of products and consumption” (Verganti, 2009, p. 38). Such an approach has the potential to bridge the gap between product-led and customer-led innovation. A similar logic characterizes the service innovation lab model proposed by Sundbo and Sørensen (2014); as with *jugaad*, the service lab engages users in the innovation process, and is consumer driven rather than product based.

Yet Verganti emphasizes that designers are still in the business of “proposing” innovations, not following customers; they remain the experts, and the pressure is on the firm and its people to take the lead on innovation. *Jugaad* is perhaps a more radical reordering of conventional pathways to creativity. By starting with purposes and outcomes then working backwards, by prioritizing outcomes and applications over creative ideation, *jugaad* reverses the familiar linear models of creativity, from Wallas’ four stage model of “preparation-incubation-illumination-verification” to Osborn’s brainstorming model in which the free flow of ideas takes precedence over evaluation and filtering. As with lean manufacturing, the principles of *jugaad* are only partially present, reframed within a paradigm of deliberate strategy and a linear, progressive framework from ideation to application.

At root, *jugaad*’s improvisatory emphasis on making do with “just good enough” quality and working with the resources available at the given time and place places creativity firmly in the immediate social and cultural context of users. This emphasis on collective culture and social circumstance challenges Western conventions of top-down planning and individual brilliance. In terms of the creativity continuum in Fig. 23.1, *jugaad* ensures that value and purpose are not relegated in the pursuit of “mere novelty”. Consequently, *jugaad* addresses many of the ethical concerns over misappropriation or misapplication of creative ideas highlighted at the start of this chapter.

Crafting Creativity

Relocating creativity in a shared social purpose carries implications for policy and education. *Jugaad*’s emphasis on useful adaptations of existing objects and resources requires a different kind of intelligence, described by Matthew Crawford as “situated” knowledge (Crawford, 2009, pp. 161–164).

Crawford describes the work of motorcycle maintenance or “speed shops” as rooted in a notion of “thinking as doing” rather than “abstract knowledge”. Crawford’s own double life, working as a “knowledge worker” in an information company whilst moonlighting as a motorcycle mechanic, allowed him to observe these different systems of knowledge first-hand. Crawford found his

work as a mechanic intrinsically satisfying because the results were immediate and apparent; broadening from his own experience, he considers how tradesmen and mechanics are part of a “community of use” where producers and users interact, and a carpenter can see the door that he made being used. This self-fulfilment is contrasted with the alienated labour of the white-collar knowledge worker.

Crawford further argues that “working with your hands” rather than with your brain is intellectually satisfying, because it demands a heuristic intelligence, a “know-how” based on long experience and experimentation, rather than a “know-what” of abstract knowledge and rules. Considering the “problem-finding” work of the auto-mechanic, Crawford cites Frank Levy’s claim that “creativity is knowing what to do when the rules run out” (Levy, 2006, cited in Crawford, 2009, p. 35). Such an intelligence fits with a view of creativity as “a by-product of mastery of the sort that is cultivated through long practice” (Crawford, 2009, p. 51), the antithesis of the individualistic, free-floating “creativity” attributed to Richard Florida’s creative class. By associating creativity with individualism, unconventionality and freedom (Crawford describes Florida’s ideology of freedom as “freedomism”), the rhetoric of creativity offers an illusion of self-fulfilment and freedom through creative work:

The simulacrum of independent thought and action that goes by the name of “creativity” trips easily off the tongues of spokespeople for the corporate counterculture, and if we’re not paying attention such usage might influence our career plans. The term invokes our powerful tendency to narcissism, and in doing so greases the skids into work that is not what we hoped.’ (Crawford, 2009, pp. 51–52)

Crawford belongs in a line of thought which runs back through Richard Sennett to William Morris, and which identifies the importance of craft in intrinsically satisfying work (Sennett, 2008; Banks, 2010). Like Morris, Crawford laments “the separation of thinking from doing” in twentieth-century labour (Crawford, 2009, pp. 37–38); like Sennett, he takes pride in the independence of craft, based on an understanding of the chain of decisions and knowledge which lie behind everyday objects and their production (Crawford, 2009, pp. 17–21). Within this tradition of craft and creative labour, Crawford’s distinctive contribution is to focus on the intelligence which lies behind “the mechanical arts”. He argues that “fixing” things (whether hacking a resource in the manner of *jugaad* or fixing a motorcycle) is a “stochastic” process, meaning that it requires an adaptive approach to “fix things that are variable, complex, and

not of our own making, and therefore not fully knowable” (Crawford, 2009, pp. 81–82). This in turn requires a “cognitive and moral” attentiveness to the problem in hand, rather than a narcissistic assertion of one’s own creativity (Crawford, 2009, p. 82).

To achieve this adaptive mindset requires first the acquisition of knowledge and experience in a particular domain. Second, it requires a deep engagement with the object or problem in hand. Robert Weisberg, on the basis of nearly 30 years of studying the psychology of creativity, argues that “creative thinking is ordinary thinking plus expertise” (Weisberg, 2010, pp. 245–246). Domain-specific expertise, like “craft”, comes from experience and practice, not from abstract knowledge. Creative thinking builds from this base of expertise incrementally, proceeding “through small steps ... rather than great leaps” (Weisberg, 2010, p. 248). The “attentiveness” described by Crawford fits also with Weisberg’s emphasis on domain-specific expertise—the artistic and scientific breakthroughs analysed by Weisberg arise from an immersion in a specific field, not from “divergent” thinking outside the box.

This type of thinking will require new forms of education. Weisberg goes on to argue that if his notion of “ordinary thinking” is correct, educators should avoid stratifying and separating education, dividing up “creative” and “noncreative” skills. “Stochastic” or “heuristic” creativity grows out of ordinary everyday problems; it is not exterior to them. Helping children to acquire practical skills and ensuring that mechanical and “practical” disciplines are recognized as inherently “creative” will be more productive than isolating specialist creative thinkers and creative thinking skills in the curriculum. This holistic, cross-curricular approach to creativity was advocated in a report commissioned by the UK government on creativity and skills (NACCCE, 1999). The report’s recommendations were not taken forward and “creative education” in schools instead gravitated back to the more familiar Western model of individual excellence, specialization and ideation (Neelands & Choe, 2010).

The other implication of this approach to creative thinking is the opposite of the “alienated labour” which those writing in the “craft” tradition (Banks, Sennett, Crawford, William Morris in this section) associate with contemporary capitalism. The separation and specialization of tasks in hierarchical systems of production prevent the worker from any profound engagement with the outcomes of their work. Instead of being able to validate their work by observing its practical implementation, industrial workers, including those working in the “creative” industries, are cut off from the uses and applications of their labour. By contrast, the crafts worker described by Morris or Sennett, the mechanic or plumber described by Crawford, and the adaptive creators of

jugaad are part of a “community of use” in which producers and users are connected, through the object of their work or through physical proximity. The creative solutions of *jugaad* are localized and specific, not globalized and generic. This suggests the need to devolve creative problem-solving to localized communities who understand a shared social and cultural context, rather than deferring to a footloose global creative class.

Conclusion: Recovering Multiple Creativities

This chapter has criticized a rhetoric of creativity which prioritizes novelty over value and purpose. This is manifest in an emphasis on individual talent over collective processes, on creative ideation over adaptation and application of creative outcomes and on specialized “creative” disciplines, departments and businesses, summarized by Weisberg as “the myth of genius”. This rhetoric is associated with a dominant paradigm in commercial enterprise which pursues breakthrough thinking or “blue sky”/“blue ocean” innovation and seeks to achieve this through a deliberate, top-down strategy.

The risk here is first that creativity divorced from purpose can be diverted into ethically and morally questionable outcomes. Second, the pressure to innovate can lead organizations to discard people, products and processes prematurely in the search for the “next big thing”. Discarding “uncreative” intermediaries through “restructuring” or “business process reengineering” is not only painful for those who are removed from the organization or team, it also overlooks their often important, less-overt role in facilitating, filtering or adapting creative ideas initiated by their more overtly “creative” colleagues. Finally, the emphasis on rapid obsolescence and reinvention carries larger ecological and social consequences for sustainability as we approach “peak stuff”—an overload of options, data, commodities and upgrades which are eating up resources (both natural and human) and hijacking consumer attention in the name of “creativity” and choice (Schwartz, 2005).

For individuals, the consequence of novelty without value is firstly a psychological pressure to “think different”, with all of the potential for social dysfunction, neurosis and narcissism this entails. As Crawford suggests, the myth of effortless, effervescent genius can entice creative workers into badly paid and unfulfilling jobs, trading this off against the promise of future freedom. The more laborious, deliberate reality of creative work is what connects creativity to value and “fitness for purpose”. “Novelty without value” distorts the priorities of creative work, but it also cuts the individual off from any objective sense of self-worth. Without “the pride of accomplishment”,

Crawford argues that individuals become more dependent on approval, more risk-averse, less self-assured (Crawford, 2009, pp. 155–160).

In advocating a different approach to creativity, this chapter builds on existing socio-cultural and “systems” models of creativity (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988; Sawyer, 2006). As Weisberg (2010) observes, creativity depends upon “non-creative” or “uncreative” skills and ordinary thinking. Innovators need adapters (Kirton, 2001). Creativity is not confined to the point of origination, it can be identified along the value chain, as “market innovation” (Bilton & Cummings, 2010, pp. 75–77) or as social process of co-creation with users (Gauntlett, 2011). This in turn opens up other definitions and models of creativity, less producer driven and less individualized. *Jugaad* starts from the other end of the creative process, beginning with adaptation and application and working backwards to reinvent or adapt existing resources.

The models of creativity referred to earlier are very different from the individualistic, specialized and product-led model of creativity and innovation which is associated with both Western cultural assumptions (described by Weisberg (1986) as “the myth of genius”) and with commercial business assumptions about growth, change and innovation. By starting with the social context and working backwards, creative thinking is reoriented towards a specific social purpose. This places emphasis on the social value of the innovation rather than its relative novelty, yet nevertheless as the examples in this chapter demonstrate, “value-based” innovation can still be highly inventive. Resource constraints and localized adaptations are shown to increase creativity, not discourage it.

Prioritizing a specific social outcome over “disruptive” novelty, this approach to creativity addresses some of the ethical conundra introduced at the start of the chapter. The value of a creative idea is always relative to a specific social context. Reconnecting creativity to value means rediscovering a shared, social purpose. Considering the creative continuum from novelty to value, something that is “creative enough” to solve that social purpose is preferred to an elegant, clever idea which “disrupts” or “challenges” the status quo.

Thinking about creativity in terms of social value also means broadening our understanding of what it means to be creative, beyond the notion of individual talent. Domain-specific expertise and knowledge of the social context become equally important. This has implications for education and the value we place upon different types of knowledge; as Crawford suggests, a heuristic, problem-solving approach is needed, but also a willingness to adapt and work within an area of domain-specific expertise. *Jugaad* in particular further implies a decentralization of creative work, prioritizing local knowledge and experience—the antithesis of the free-floating individualism of a globalized creative class.

“Valuable creativity” or “value-based innovation” encourage us to work within the boundaries of a specific social purpose and within situated constraints on time and resources, whether these are deliberately designed (as in “lean” or “agile” processes) or circumstantially imposed (as in *jugaad*). It might mean rediscovering and repurposing the “last big thing” rather than searching for the “next big thing” and accepting “good enough” creativity rather than always trying to shatter or disrupt existing paradigms. The competitive pressure to be new and different is not always in our best interests and the gains of “blue ocean” or “blue sky” thinking may be short-lived as well as carrying a heavy cost for individuals, organizations and society as a whole. This chapter raises more questions for future research than answers. But if we want a sustainable, ethical model of creativity, then local patterns of knowledge and experience may be the best place to start.

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24

Creativity Off the Clock: Re-conceptualizing Creative Careers

Jonathan Gross

Introduction

This chapter is about how people shape their lives through creative activity. A career is the way in which we make a living and reproduce our material being. But the etymology of “career” indicates its wider implications: it is a “road” or “course.” In thinking about *creative* careers, in particular, there is a growing literature addressing the conditions of labour within the creative industries, much of which addresses issues of precarity and/or inequality. The present volume makes a significant contribution to thinking more broadly about creativity at work, including in workplaces outside the creative industries. This chapter seeks to take a step further, by examining creative careers “off the clock”—people developing paths through life via creative activities outside of remunerated employment. Creative careers of this kind are, for some people, already an important part of their lives. But this has received little recognition, and doing so would have significant implications for cultural policy and practice. The chapter suggests that these “pathways” require much greater attention than they have received from researchers, educators, arts organizations, and policymakers, and that more explicit and strategic support could be given to enabling people to choose to develop a creative career off the clock, in parallel to other paths they take through life.

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The chapter makes a conceptual contribution to two neighbouring fields of inquiry that are currently insufficiently connected: creative labour and cultural participation. It begins with a discussion of these two literatures. The idea of a career is shown to be prominent in recent studies of creative labour but overly restricted in its application, whilst the research on cultural participation has yet to address the idea of the creative career, despite the implications of Finnegan's challenge to the amateur/professional dichotomy in *The Hidden Musicians: Music Making in an English Town* (1989). A discussion is then made of fieldwork conducted with participants at the Love Arts festival, as part of "Approaching cultural value as a complex system: experiencing the arts and articulating the city in Leeds" (Murray, Blakemore, Graham, Gross, & Walmsley, 2014), research funded under the AHRC's Cultural Value project (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016). Examining in detail the cultural lives of participants at Love Arts, a festival with a specific focus on mental health and well-being, the findings from this research have wider implications for understanding how people give form and value to their lives through pathways of creative activity outside of formal work.

The chapter concludes by summarizing the conceptual contribution being made: proposing the need to expand the application of the idea of a "creative career" beyond remunerated activity and discussing the implications this may have for cultural practice and policy. Recognizing and supporting creative careers off the clock has the potential to open new possibilities for expanding the cultural agency of individuals and groups, across the life course. In doing so, it would make a significant contribution to addressing the current limitations of UK cultural policy's "deficit model" of cultural participation (Jancovich & Bianchini, 2013; Miles & Sullivan, 2012; Stevenson, 2013).

The Creative Industries and the Value of Creative Labour

The creative industries have become a major object of policy and research attention since the 1990s. The rising prominence of the creative industries has been a phenomenon across a range of industrialized and post-industrial economies, with the UK a leading example of a government identifying the creative industries as a key area for growth with the potential to transform the economy as a whole (Hewison, 2014). In response, in part, to the rising and problematic prominence of the creative industries as a recognized and privileged sector of the economy, there is now a substantial body of research

regarding the nature and value of work within the creative industries. A question this literature raises, but to which only limited and provisional answers have been given, is whether creative labour is “good” work?

In a widely cited article, Banks and Hesmondhalgh (2009) observed that the flurry of New Labour policy documents heralding the creative industries had strikingly little to say about creative work itself; whilst, in a similar vein, McGuigan (2010) highlighted that researchers had not gone far enough in studying the conditions and experiences of cultural work. Since that time, the academic literature on creative labour has grown apace.

Much of this work has highlighted issues of precarity, a theme which “has attracted the attention of researchers worldwide” (Hennekam & Bennett, 2017, p. 70). Central to discussions of precarity are analyses of the ways in which workers within the creative industries are required to take on personalized risk, to develop flexibility, to constantly network and cultivate attitudes of optimism and opportunity-seeking in the development of their careers. These behaviours and traits are often related to discourses of entrepreneurship, whether critically (McRobbie, 2016) or in celebration (Gompertz, 2015).

Closely connected to discussions of precarity, a prominent strand within creative labour studies is research concerned with creative education and how students are being prepared (or not) for creative careers (Ashton, 2015; Carey, 2015; Hennekam & Bennett, 2017; Noonan, 2015). Some of this research intersects with the politics of regional inequality. In the UK, London continues to dominate the creative economy, and this looms large in the aspirations of young people seeking to make a career in the creative industries. Whatever the promise of technology to broaden access to creative work, place still matters—not least, in accessing communities of practice. Heralding the “death of distance” is premature, and sharply political questions attend the vernacular spaces of creativity (Edensor, Leslie, Millington, & Rantisi, 2010; Gibson, 2011) that may be overlooked or left aside in discourses of the creative city and the creative class (Florida, 2002).

Throughout these discussions of creative labour are issues of *ambivalence*—made more explicit in some research than others. This ambivalence can be of at least three kinds. First, the portfolio career, typical of work within the creative industries, may be attractive for its freedom and flexibility, but problematic for the insecurity and self-exploitation it encourages (Carey, 2015; Morgan, Wood, & Nelligan, 2013). Second, there is a growing body of research addressing the claims that the creative industries are meritocratic. Whilst creativity may be a universal human capacity (Martin & Wilson,

2014), there may be important respects in which making a living in the creative industries is not equally available to everyone (O'Brien & Oakley, 2015; O'Brien, Laurison, Miles, & Friedman, 2016), and these inequalities within the creative industries potentially play a role in reproducing and entrenching wider social inequalities. Thirdly, whilst creative labour may be symptomatic of (and contribute to) the neo-liberalization of all parts of the economy (McRobbie, 2016), creative jobs promise work that is meaningful and enjoyable.

One of the reasons that Banks and Hesmondhalgh argue that studying creative work is important, is because they see that it still holds out the possibility for kinds of activity that have a particular capacity to contribute to human flourishing:

creative labour has such great potential as “good work”, because of its orientation, at least in principle, towards the production of goods that are often primarily aimed at pleasing, informing and enlightening audiences, and in some cases to the goals of social justice and equity. In this respect, the production of art, culture and knowledge can be understood to offer spheres of relative autonomy from markets, from state power and from religious imperatives. The autonomy of these spheres is never absolute; under present conditions, they are constantly under threat from processes of commodification and exploitation. Nevertheless, in our view, the goal of freedom contained within the concept of autonomy continues to be a deeply compromised concept that no normatively oriented social theory can do without. (2009, p. 419)

Building on Banks and Hesmondhalgh's position here, part of what the current chapter is proposing is that there is much more to be understood about how forms of cultural work enable human flourishing; including, in particular, those ways of giving form and value to life that take place through creative activity outside of paid work. This chapter thereby contributes to discussions of the ethical aspects of cultural work by drawing attention to the projects of self, and self-in-relation, that take place through creative careers off the clock. Such projects throw a distinctive light on the respects in which cultural work has the potential to be a mode of self-actualization and flourishing, whilst also being entangled in webs of inequality and exploitation. The chapter does not suppress the ambivalence of the role of creative labour within post-industrial economies. Instead, by offering an expanded account of where creative careers take place, it provides a new perspective on this ambivalence, from which new approaches to enabling cultural freedom (Wilson & Gross, 2017a) may be developed.

Creative Careers

The idea of a career has undergone a major transformation over recent decades. This is summarized by Sullivan's distinction between the "traditional" and the "boundaryless" career. For Sullivan, writing within the field of management studies, emerging patterns of working life constitute a "distinctively different phenomenon from the traditional career models that have long dominated our research" (1999, p. 459) (Table 24.1).

Whether we use the language of "boundaryless," "protean" (Sullivan, 1999), or "portfolio," the nature of careers profoundly changed during the latter part of the twentieth century, no longer focused on hierarchical progression via promotion and salary increase within a relatively stable environment (Sullivan, 1999). Partly in response to large structural changes in Western economies, small businesses and sole-trading proliferated, accompanied by discourses of entrepreneurship that not only framed new approaches to innovation and growth but to the organization of careers (Burns, 2007).

Whilst the terminology of boundaryless careers continues to be used in management research (Casper & Storz, 2017), the metaphor of the portfolio career is now much more prevalent within creative labour studies; and it's worth considering that the boundaryless career is an oxymoron. Careers are characterized precisely by constituting a path or course. To the extent that a career exists, it constitutes a form or structure. Nevertheless, Ashton (2015, p. 389) describes the typically irregular nature of pathways in the creative industries:

Creative work is characterized by portfolio working, in which individuals are involved in "multiple work and/or development activities simultaneously" (Pollard, 2013, p. 54) and, as such, there exists a multiplicity of career pathways

Table 24.1 Comparison of traditional and boundaryless careers (Sullivan, 1999)

| | Traditional | Boundaryless |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Employment relationship | Job security for loyalty | Employability for performance and flexibility |
| Boundaries | One or two firms | Multiple firms |
| Skills | Firm specific | Transferable |
| Success measured by | Pay, promotion, status | Psychologically meaningful work |
| Responsibility for career management | Organization | Individual |
| Training | Formal programmes | On-the-job |
| Milestones | Age related | Learning related |

and trajectories. Conditions of portfolio working and “multiple job-holding” (Throsby & Zednik, 2011) are increasingly the norm within creative career and labour markets, and present a challenge for those hoping to secure creative occupations as a first choice and identify and follow defined career pathways and progression.

These widely noted features of the creative industries mean that government attempts to measure the creative workforce face conceptual and practical challenges. One conceptual scheme, offered in response to the complexity of observing where creative labour is happening, has been developed by the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the Creative Industries and Innovation. The Creative Trident model posits three types of creative employment:

Specialist—artists, professionals or creative individuals working in the creative industries.

Embedded—artists, professionals or creative individuals in creative roles “embedded” in industries not defined as creative.

Support—staff in the creative industries providing management, secretarial, administrative and accountancy back-up. (Cited in Ashton, 2015, p. 390)

Notwithstanding attempts such as this to provide greater clarity, the definitional boundaries of the creative industries—and creative jobs—remain contested. McGuigan makes an important further distinction between creative labour and cultural work:

All human labour is potentially creative labour [...]. Certain kinds of work seem to provide greater opportunity for creative labour than others, however, most notably cultural work. Not all work produces objects that are first and foremost cultural in the precise analytical sense that they are about meaning [...]. All products of human labour are meaningful but most products are not manufactured primarily for their meaning-making properties. Most products are made principally for rather more instrumental reasons, such as nourishment, clothing, shelter, transport and so forth. The labour involved may be more or less creative in the sense of combining conception and execution. Cultural work, however, is indeed a special kind of creative labour in that it is first and foremost about communicating meaning and very often also about identification and pleasure. And, the motivation for engaging in cultural work is quite likely to be some expectation of favourable opportunity for connecting conception and execution, the accomplishment of something like non-alienated work. (2010, p. 326)

For McGuigan, this distinction is “especially important today because of a recent elision between “cultural” and “creative” that is especially problematic for cultural analysis and cultural policy studies since it tends to obscure the object of enquiry, for instance, confusing and perhaps obliterating differences between artistic and business practices” (2010, p. 326). Attempts to define and measure the creative jobs within the economy, or demarcate the creative industries, are beset by technical difficulties. But what McGuigan helps clarify is that part of the difficulty of arriving at agreed definitions, here, is that the process of making these distinctions is inseparable from deeply political judgements of value: not least, judgements regarding the range of human capacities, exertions, and creations that should (and should not) be subject to commodification and “free-market” exchange.

By proposing that creative careers exist along a continuum from those that involve full-time remunerated activity to those that are voluntary, this chapter is building on a normative account of *cultural democracy* characterized by “cultural capability” for all, the substantive freedom to give form and value to experience (Wilson & Gross, 2017a, 2017b; Wilson, Gross, & Bull, 2017). As will be apparent in what follows, by “creative careers” and the “creative activities” through which they are built, I am here referring specifically to *cultural creativity* (see Wilson et al., 2017) rather than the broader span of creativity involved in medicine, technology, and other domains within which labour, however creative it may be, is not primarily “about meaning” in McGuigan’s sense.

Whilst, then, there is a growing body of research regarding careers within the creative industries—including contestation of when a job is or is not “creative”—what has not yet been undertaken is investigation of the ways in which the conditions enabling and constraining creative careers operate outside of remunerated employment. A further step needs to be taken by investigating the creative career as a subset of *cultural opportunity* rather than as only a subset of possible careers.

Cultural Participation

How cultural opportunity is conceptualized requires urgent attention (Wilson & Gross, 2017a; Wilson, Gross, & Bull, 2017). In recent years, there has been a growing academic critique of the prevailing approach to cultural policy in the UK, including its implicit understanding of what cultural opportunity consists of. According to what critics call the “deficit model,” public investment is made in professional arts organizations and focus is then placed on diversifying “access”

to those organizations, with the implication that those people who do not take part in some sense “should” be doing so. This approach, particularly associated with New Labour, but with a long pre-history, is “part of a process of discrimination, marking out and marginalising those people and places that [do] not associate themselves with established culture as passive, isolated and in need of (remedial) attention” (Miles & Gibson, 2016, p. 151). In contrast to this prevailing supply-side approach to cultural policy, researchers are currently exploring possibilities for cultural policies that explicitly focus on the demand-side approach (Holden, 2015, 2016; Wilson & Gross, 2017a; Wilson, Gross, & Bull, 2017).

Understanding Everyday Participation (UEP), based at the University of Manchester, has provided a sustained study of cultural participation beyond the bounds of publicly funded arts organizations. UEP starts from a critique of the deficit model, and is premised on the proposition that there is, at present, an “orthodoxy of approach to cultural engagement which is based on a narrow definition (and understanding) of participation, one that focuses on a limited set of cultural forms, activities and associated cultural institutions but which, in the process, obscures the significance of other forms of cultural participation which are situated locally in the everyday realm” (Miles & Gibson, 2016, p. 151).

Part of the context for UEP is a tradition—and recent revival—of interest in the everyday (Ebrey, 2016), including the work of key figures in the development of cultural studies, such as Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggart, and E.P. Thompson. Ebrey describes, for example, how Thompson’s classic, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 1963, provides an account of the dynamic relationship between modes of labour and modes of cultural practice. In this context, Ebrey stresses the need to study the temporalities of present-day work, explaining that “The everyday concentrates on the lived experience of the quotidian, which, if made the subject of both research and policy development could represent a democratic turn in the cultural politics of everyday life” (2016, p. 163). The argument being made in the present chapter, that the idea of the creative career needs to be expanded to include creative careers off the clock, builds on Ebrey’s position here, and on the wider reformulations of cultural participation that a renewed interest in the everyday enables.

A further intervention UEP makes concerns the methods and methodologies by which cultural participation is studied. Methods and methodology are “central to the issue of cultural participation because they simultaneously help define both what it is and how much of it there can be” (Miles & Gibson, 2016, p. 152). UEP proposes combining methods in ways that may provide new framings of cultural participation. The argument offered in the present chapter adopts a similar position, as methods building on sociological and

anthropological traditions—particularly interviews employing life history or biographical approaches (see Dearn, Gross, Price, & Pitts, 2017), as well as ethnography and “deep hanging out” (Walmsley, 2016)—have the potential to deepen understanding of the embeddedness of cultural participation within everyday life, and, in particular, the ways in which cultural participation (cultural work, on or off the clock) is often the stuff and structure of life.

Methods of this kind show that cultural participation is a continuum rather than a set of dichotomies: producer/consumer, professional/amateur. Finnegan’s work in Milton Keynes, *The hidden musicians* (2007 [1989]), provides important evidence that sharp distinctions between amateurs and professionals—either on the grounds of “quality” or of remuneration—are hard to sustain. Digital technologies (Gauntlett, 2011) and fan cultures (Beauregard, 2012) challenge these distinctions still further, whilst Shaw shows creative subcultures to be spaces in which consumers often become producers, and vice versa (Shaw, 2013). Volunteering, too, problematizes any simple distinction between amateur and professional. Research conducted in Birmingham found that “audiences” for the contemporary arts were also involved in a variety of volunteering activities through which they contributed to the cultural life of the city, helping cultural organizations to realize their programmes and events, and moving freely across “varieties of participation” (Gross & Pitts, 2016).

Research with volunteers at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) found they play a crucial role in keeping it running. Yet, at the same time, these volunteers were providing essential support, their “knowledge was perceived as amateur or non-productive” (Ashley, 2012, p. 115). The volunteers didn’t challenge this status, due to “deference to the institution,” “revering the expert knowledge and high status of the curators,” leading Ashley to describe these volunteers as engaging in a kind of marginalized and precarious labour. “Their marginality, and ability to accept as natural the authority of the institution to use them as it wants, could make them exemplars of precarious creative work” (2012, p. 115). This example deepens the need to consider a continuum of creative work that extends significantly beyond those employed formerly within the creative industries, and beyond those in freelance or apprenticed positions.

Volunteering is a politically charged domain of work. Who can volunteer “freely”? Who takes on voluntary positions out of necessity—for example, to build up a CV, to gain the experience required to access paid roles? What kinds of labour are marked as worthy of remuneration, and which are positioned as the kinds of (affective) labour that go unpaid? How people perceive and position themselves with regard to their identities as amateurs, volunteers, or professionals is conditioned by institutional practices and policy discourse. Stevenson’s work makes a critical challenge to the ways in which

cultural policy has constructed the “non-participant” as a problem to be solved (2013); whilst Paquette’s edited collection highlights the need to interrogate the role of policy in conditioning processes of professional identity formation in creative work (Paquette, 2012, p. 15).

Paquette argues that “social policy delineates and defines poverty, health and education in a given society—or, at the very least, the state’s conception of these areas. As a result, policies construct a user and produce political subjects.” He goes on to suggest that there is more that needs to be understood about the interactions between cultural policy, identity, and creative work:

Cultural policy theory, in particular, may gain more reach and more depth by engaging in the interdisciplinary task of bringing together different levels of analysis to include organizational analysis, sociological theory and the philosophy of identities, to name just a few lenses that inform our understanding of cultural phenomena. [...] What kind of professional subjectivities are enabled by cultural policies? What are those identities and identification processes that are tied in with cultural policies? (Paquette, 2012, p. 15)

Once we recognize that policymaking provides contexts in which subjects are called into being—or the conditions in which selves are narrated—we can go beyond a critique of the limited or problematic subjectivities currently posited and promoted, and consider alternative conditions for self-narration, and alternative modes of selfhood that cultural policy could support: potentially, for example, playing an active role in enabling a wider variety of creative careers.

There are two kinds of questions here, one is normative, and the other is a question of causation, practice, and policy. What kinds of creative or cultural selfhoods should cultural policymaking be positing and promoting (if at all)? How can cultural policymaking effectively go about this task? In the following section, this chapter provides evidence to suggest there are already people engaged in creative careers off the clock. The final section suggests that a greater recognition of and support for such careers has an important part to play in any future cultural democracy (Wilson & Gross, 2017a; Wilson, Gross, & Bull, 2017), beyond the deficit model.

The Love Arts Festival

This fieldwork material is drawn from research in Leeds during 2013–2014 (see Murray, Blakemore, Graham, Gross, & Walmsley, 2014). Five academics, from a range of disciplines, conducted research at the Love Arts Festival

organized by the Leeds Arts and Minds Network, which works to support and disseminate good practice on the links between art and mental health. The research was designed to be highly participatory in nature, employing “deep hanging out” (Walmsley, 2016) to explore questions of cultural value and well-being with five research participants, each a member of the Arts and Minds network. The five researchers and five participants paired off and engaged in extended conversations over a several weeks, whilst visiting events within the Love Arts festival.

Through these conversations, our participants described the ways in which their cultural activities have varied during their lives, with changes in employment and family situation, in particular, having a significant relationship with patterns of creative activity. A prominent theme across the conversations was the relationship between art and everyday life. In some cases, our participants structured their weeks around a series of creative activities taking place in locations across Leeds. Participants often drew explicit comparison between unsatisfying experiences of work or domestic life and their current practices or future ambitions for a working life structured around more fulfilling (culturally creative) activity.

As part of the participatory approach, research participants were invited to write or co-write a summary of their conversations over the preceding weeks. Here are two examples of these narratives.

Gillian

Gillian is originally from North Yorkshire but has lived in the Moortown area of Leeds for many years.

“I’d never really thought about why the arts are important to me until I was involved in this research. Being asked the question made me realize how much of my life has an arts or cultural link. I was pushed to study sciences at school, and it meant I had to abandon much of the stuff that I actually enjoyed doing. But creative, artistic and cultural things had a way of sneaking back into my life, and I found myself reading for escape from studying, or making jewellery, going to the cinema or theatre ... somehow all that was more interesting to me.

Thirteen years ago I started doing a job that was analytical and wasn’t really me at all. In my spare time I went to a craft evening class, ran youth groups that involved creative activities, organized theatre or cinema trips with friends at work, and even at work I was the one getting people to dress up and have coffee mornings for various charities.

I left my job because of depression and anxiety, and it's no surprise when I look back that I started going to creative writing and watercolour classes to help me get out of the house again. Since then I've been to more art and writing classes and groups, been part of choirs and singing groups, and ended up doing more volunteering that has creative links. I've been impressed by the range of things that Leeds has on offer, both to visit and participate in. And I've been inspired by people and institutions, which show that arts and culture are strong at so many different levels in the city.

I've realized that this is where I'm happiest—being creative, being inspired by the arts and culture of the city and region. Being in a choir led to me participating in the cultural celebrations for the Olympic torch passing through town. Being in a writing group at the library has meant we've created work linked to the art gallery and city museums, while a painting group has meant visits and exhibitions linked to other museums. I like the way that being connected to one artistic or cultural thing leads to another one, and another one... And I like the way that I've met people who are involved in different groups or events, but we have a love of arts and culture in common.

It's important to me that I have my own creativity inspired, that I get to experience some of what Leeds has to offer, and that I connect with other people who are creative or are just having a go at different artistic or cultural things."

Barry

Barry is 76 and has lived in and around Leeds all his life. Throughout this time, he has had interests in painting, creative writing, and music. Whilst Barry has long been keen to participate in arts activity, it is only in recent years that he has become involved on a sustained basis. He went to Leeds College of Art as a young man, but due to mental health problems did not complete his degree. Barry says that he "didn't start living" until he was 48, the age at which he finally received professional support for a lifelong speech impediment. Subsequently, he not only began attending a range of support groups but again took up painting, as well as writing poems. He emphasizes the importance that these activities have had for him in terms of processes of "self-recognition" and "techniques of coping."

For Barry, this is a project of both artistic and personal development, which he summarized through a visual mapping of "The positive effects of creativity" (Fig. 24.1). It is an ongoing process, in which through painting and poetry he gives material form to feelings and thoughts, recognizes those parts of himself,

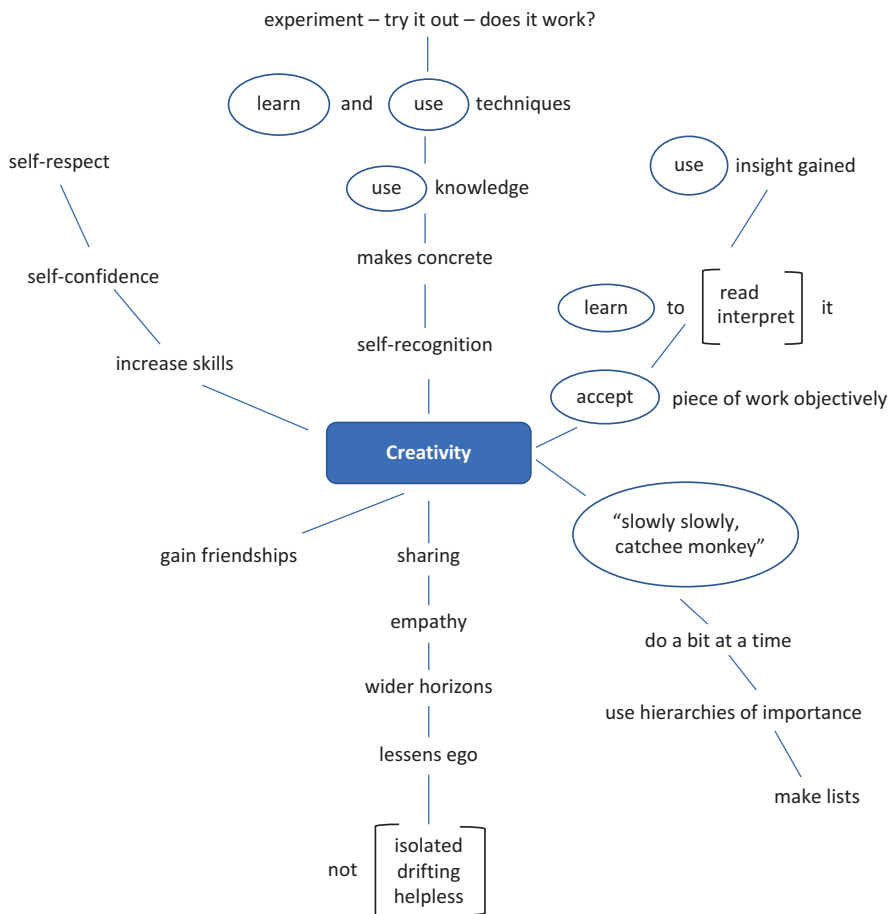


Fig. 24.1 “The positive effects of creativity,” Barry

and then works on the artwork as a process of working (also) on himself. He explains that these processes of (self-)recognition and development take place through the enabling conditions provided by a range of organizations across Leeds. The Love Arts festival, for example, has provided him with a “focus and direction” for his creative energies. The organization Space has also been important. Barry does not have enough room to paint at home. It is only at Space that he has the space to paint.

Barry describes these organizations as spaces of change. Processes of making (paintings and poems) not only facilitate self-recognition but also bring the hope and possibility of change. “In the past I easily gave up if things seemed insurmountable. But with all the groups I’ve been going to, and facing up to issues, I’ve been able to say, ‘eh up, I can do this—there can be a Plan

B’.” Barry says that what art and support groups make possible is participants’ belief in the possibility of change. They provide confidence that participants can do things, affect themselves, and change their environments. “People can go to a place like Space and find out about change.” Change that is “inside” and change that is “out there.” “The more groups you go to the more you find out about.” “It just opens the world out.” “Space is about getting well—because you’re vulnerable when you go in; so it’s about getting—not invulnerable—but able to cope.”

He explains that going to these groups gives him structure and recognition. “They acknowledge me. I’m building up a reputation. They accept me and listen to me.” Barry goes so far as to compare these relationships to the closest domestic bonds. “I feel an allegiance to the family, of course, but also to the groups. [...] I’ve been going a long time.”

The majority of Barry’s creative activities involve making paintings and poems himself. However, he also very much enjoys attending performances and exhibitions as an audience member and visitor, including going to Opera North with Jean, his wife. He would like to do this more, but the price of admission is an obstacle.

Barry contrasts the unhappiness he experienced in unsatisfying jobs earlier in life with the meaningfulness and enjoyment of his activities in recent years. “I’m retired from all that shitty stuff. Now I’m free.” In art groups, he says, “I learned to cope with life, really.” Through these activities Barry continues to be involved—on a regular, week-by-week basis—in creative meaning-making, self-recognition, and satisfying social processes, and in this way, he has developed what he calls “real confidence: inner confidence, not bravado.” Barry explains that some of the difficulties and periodical crises he experienced earlier in life were connected to the fact that he was fed up with “not living my dreams.” He explains that, “I wanted to be an artist, and now I am.”

Creative Careers Off the Clock

Our research participants in Leeds described a range of ways in which, through their creative activities, they were shaping their lives. In some cases, this was through a weekly schedule of creative activity providing the primary structural points around which other plans were made. Some participants were undertaking a range of activities—from singing in a choir, to volunteering at the Love Arts festival—through which they were (re)forming plans for a future path of paid employment. Most were at times of their lives unable to work, but a pathway of creative activity was an important alternative structure. In a

variety of ways, creative pathways were being developed outside of, in parallel to, or overlapping with the boundaries of paid employment.

In some instances, a pathway of creative activity was explicitly understood as a practice of self-exploration. A creative career, in this sense, can involve an ongoing process of self-knowledge and self-development. At the same time, such practices are deeply social in nature, drawing on the range of organizational provision within Leeds, and the forms of social interaction that take place there. Moreover, our participants made clear that there are significant social and financial factors that can constrain their creative activities, as well as those that enable them. They stressed the importance of feeling welcome, and strongly differentiated between organizations on this basis. Money was also a major issue. Several of our participants have been in and out of work for some time, and so opportunities for free activities have been particularly important.

It emerged over the course of the project that the majority of our research participants had, at different times, a significant relationship with one particular organization in Leeds, the Swarthmore Centre, which offers a wide range of classes and groups, from IT classes, to yoga, to craft sessions and introductions to Buddhism. This centre worked well for our research participants, combining the key features of a welcoming environment, affordability, and a range of activities of interest. From there, our participants found out about activities elsewhere in the city, just as they did through the Love Arts festival. Whilst their pathways of creative activity were self-directed, they were also mediated by key organizations, and the relationships formed there.

Implications

Supporting Creative Careers Off the Clock

Cultural policy in the UK has concerned itself with professional practice, primarily, and yet a major proportion of cultural activity exists within the domain of “civil society” (Harding, 2012). There are many pressing questions to pose to cultural policy with regard to its role in enabling cultural opportunity for all (Wilson, Gross, & Bull, 2017). This chapter has addressed these questions from one particular perspective, that of the notion of a “creative career,” and the importance of recognizing not only that creative careers exist outside of and across the boundaries of professional practice, but that there is great potential—once this is recognized—for a range of agents to actively support creative careers “off the clock.”

Hennekam and Bennett argue that, on the basis of their own and other research into creative careers and creative education, it is now possible to summarize what is needed to prepare people for a creative career:

there is now sufficient evidence to demonstrate that certain fundamentals are required for all fields of creative work. These include a basic knowledge of legal rights and responsibilities, small business skills, management and technological acuity, personal attributes that enable graduates to confidently express, market and apply their skills and knowledge, and entrepreneurial thinking. We assert that these aspects should form the core of CIs [Creative Industries] programmes. (2017, p. 80)

But what if we considered the possibility of preparing everyone for creative careers *off the clock*? What might this involve, and where might it happen?

The Future Role of Cultural Organizations

In a sense, supporting people to develop a creative career off the clock represents the holy grail for cultural organizations. Call this the mission for “repeat attendance,” to put this at its crudest, or “relevance,” to place it within the more expansive framework offered by Nina Simon in her account of how cultural organizations can be enablers of value and meaning for their communities of interest (Simon, 2016). By introducing the idea of the creative career off the clock, this chapter is proposing a conceptualization of cultural opportunity that has potential benefit to cultural organizations seeking to develop sustainability, cultural policymakers genuinely seeking a more “democratic” approach, and to the publics they serve.

The civic role of arts organizations is a matter of live debate in the UK. The phase one report of the Gulbenkian Inquiry into the civic role of the arts (Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2017) offers five metaphors: parks (as places of gathering), town halls (as places of debate), schools (as places of learning), temples (as places of solace and enlightenment), and homes (as places of belonging). These images point to the diversity of public value that cultural organizations can have. This chapter’s highlighting of the possibilities for creative careers off the clock connects with each of these roles, and any single creative career may make use of one or more cultural organization through many combinations of these uses. We should, however, add one more metaphor to the five, and that is the “studio,” where people can try out their own ideas, mix with other people as they create, and get messy. This sixth metaphor highlights the role that cultural organizations have in enabling cultural *agency*.

Each of the existing five describe roles which, in important ways, may provide conditions conducive to the development of cultural agency. The notion of the studio takes this one step further.

As we saw through Gillian and Barry's experiences, it is important to avoid false dichotomies between presentational and participatory cultural organizations. Any one organization will involve a range of activities along a continuum of presentation and participation. Moreover—recognizing that there is a variety of modes of participation (Gross & Pitts, 2016)—any individual may at different times be inclined towards one or more of these varieties; from being presented with a performance or exhibition, to being the maker or performer themselves.

Beyond Cultural Organizations

Thinking in terms of creative careers off the clock provides a framework capable of addressing this variety of participation at the individual level, as well as opening a new analytical perspective on the role of cultural organizations. But it has implications not only for programmers and marketers of cultural organizations but also for educators from primary schools to universities. What, for example, might be the implications for HEI lecturers of considering that the students they are working with may, beyond graduation, pursue a creative career off the clock? What kinds of information, advice, networks, and support might be valuable? And how can both local and national policymakers actively promote and support creative careers along a continuum, not only those within the high-visibility creative industries but also including creative careers off the clock? This needs to begin at school (Wilson & Gross, 2017a), but it cannot be the responsibility of schools alone. One of the arguments of this chapter is that a creative career is something that can begin—or begin again—at any stage of life. Retirement, in fact, may be a particularly important point at which having support to establish a creative path is especially important.

Narrating Our Lives

Finally, we need to pay attention to the narrating of creative careers. Part of what it means to have a path through life is to be able to tell the story of where you have been and where you are going. The extent to which this is possible for any one person will be conditioned by a range of factors. But one of them will be the presence or absence of opportunities for talking about creative

interests and activities. We give shape to our lives, in part, by the ways in which we narrate them.

Insights from psychotherapeutic traditions are significant here. Common to many talking therapies is the invitation to narrate one's experiences. There are several respects in which this is valuable. One classic respect, of course, is the necessity of make conscious those experiences which may, if left unspoken, have problematic power over our feelings and actions. As Stephen Grosz puts it, "When we cannot find a way of telling our story, our story tells us" (Grosz, 2013, p. 10). But Grosz's phrase points to the fact that, within psychotherapeutic situations, it is not simply discrete experiences that are given the space to be told and to be heard. The opportunity is provided for a whole selfhood to be narrated and recognized. What therapeutic practices show is that the telling of our stories is a highly reflexive process. We are not simply reporting information about a state of affairs that exists in a fixed and final form. The narration of our lives modifies the power of the past, and creates new pathways for the future.

The potency of telling the stories of our lives applies to many situations beyond the therapeutic scenario. It can be part of the value of participatory research. It can be part of the value of democratic processes, in which collective decision-making enables experiences to be shared, and for those experiences to take on the status of public and political significance. Or, in post-conflict situations, there may be enormous need for stories to be heard, in order for collective processes of self-knowledge and political renewal to take place.

But the value and transformative power of telling our stories is a potential that can remain largely unrealized. In schools, career advice services may or may not provide young people with the opportunity to reflect on their interests and possibilities, and to create spaces in which to think creatively about future paths (Wilson & Gross, 2017a). The same is true in adult life. Some workplaces are more conducive than others to workers thinking actively about their "professional development" and career plans. Where do we go to tell the stories of our creative lives? High-profile artists may be interviewed by journalists to publicize a new album, an upcoming tour, or a new production. At job interviews, a curator may tell the story of their career, presenting a professional identity and having it recognized by a potential employer (see Brook and Comunian, Chap. 6 in this volume, for further discussion). But for many people, there may be few if any opportunities to tell the story of their creative life. Opportunities may arise within friendships and families. These may be more or less casual and fragmentary. The opportunity to give a full shape to our lives, within everyday life, may be few.

Yet, there are quiet and common ways in which people actively give shape to their lives through everyday practices. These may include attendance at a weekly choir rehearsal, knitting group, or dance class. Activities such as these can operate at more than one temporal scale, with weekly rehearsals—working towards a particular performance or a finished object—shaping a termly or seasonal cycle. What are the conditions that enable and constrain the shaping of creative paths? What enhanced conditions could be provided? As we found in Leeds, one of these can be the opportunity to talk about creative experiences and interests—involving not only the reporting of the fixed facts of ourselves but the exploration of possibilities, the realization of potentials, and the mobilization of new (self) knowledge.

By showing that creative careers exist “off the clock,” this chapter raises the question of how such creative paths can be better recognized and supported. It goes beyond the growing acknowledgement of the presence and importance of amateur culture and ‘everyday creativity’ (Gauntlett, 2011; 64 Million Artists, 2016): highlighting that such activities are not only a part of people’s lives—they can also be the practices through which people give form and value to their lives. In doing so, this chapter raises possibilities for better identifying and supporting conditions of (individual and collective) self-actualization, via creative *career-making* of many kinds. Further research needs to investigate how creative careers off the clock are developed across sociocultural variables including location, gender, ethnicity, (dis)ability, and class. Alongside such research, policymakers, cultural organizations, educators, ‘creative citizens’ (Hargreaves & Hartley, 2016), and other agents of change should consider the ways in which the conditions over which they have influence have the capacity to enable and constrain not only one-off creative opportunities, but the formulation and development of creative careers.

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25

Embedding an Everyday Culture of Creativity: Making Creativity Work in a University Context

Laura Speers and Nick Wilson

Introduction

Universities are often thought of as quintessentially creative institutions because they are places of idea generation, learning, and new and valuable thinking. However, the dominant mode of neoliberal economic rationality in the UK, with its increasingly competitive and individualistic emphasis on growing student numbers, league tables, assessment, and performance, casts such perceived wisdom in doubt. For many, working in universities has become less a place of creativity, imagination, and risk-taking, and more a place to meet and comply with top-down expectations, performance indicators, and a marketized culture where income generation is the number one priority. Against this backdrop, in this chapter, we report on an “innovation project” undertaken during 2015–2016 within a UK-based university, which aimed to foster and support a sustainable “everyday culture of creativity” through trialling a programme of creative interventions.

The innovation project was led by a national campaign organization that works extensively on “everyday creativity” with a wide range of stakeholders across the UK. Our job as (action) researchers was both to better understand those factors which might enable and constrain the embedding of an everyday culture of creativity within the particular context of a university setting and to feed this back into the process of developing specific interventions. Amongst

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other insights, the research revealed a central challenge, namely how to introduce and/or promote everyday creativity within the academy without this being subsumed or appropriated for some instrumental or goal-driven purpose. Early on in the project, we identified the importance of “breaking the cycle” through tolerating uncertainty and ambiguity, and thus moving beyond this apparent paradox.

The chapter is divided into three parts. The first section sets out the context and rationale of the study by describing the modern UK university, defining key terms, explaining the nature and scope of the initiative, and outlining the methodological approach. The second section reports the findings of the project, focusing on the dilemma of fostering creativity while not allowing it to become instrumentalized. In particular, we highlight the need to focus on the creativity enablers of “freedom”, “trust/permission”, “risk-taking”, and “communication”. The last section concludes with key lessons learnt from undertaking the project and general recommendations for “making creativity work” in a university context.

Setting the Scene

Higher Education and Economic Rationality

Since the 1980s, there has been a shift towards the marketization and internationalization of UK higher education. Barnett (2000) has argued that the modern university has been “uprooted” and is in a state of continuous reconfiguration, which he describes as “supercomplexity”. The unprecedented growth, complexity, and competitiveness of the global economy have put pressures on higher education to respond to the changing environment (Bartell, 2003). There is a wealth of literature documenting the impact of principles of economic rationality on universities that have contributed to their commercialization and corporatization (Lynch, 2015). Neoliberalism—“broadly defined as the extension of competitive markets into all areas of life, including the economy, politics, and society” (Springer, Birch, & MacLeavy, 2016, p. 2)—is an economic agenda centred on capitalist free markets and is enforced through policies such as deregulation, privatization, tax cuts, and globalization. The neoliberal agenda is to reform institutions, systems, subjects, and behaviours to render them instrumental for capital accumulation (Harvey, 2005). Universities are by no means free from this agenda (see Young, Chap. 10, and Newell, Chap. 18, in this volume, for further discussion).

In recent years, there has been a trend in universities towards focusing on cost-efficiency, value for money, productivity, effectiveness, outcome delivery, target setting, and auditing (Nixon, 2004, p. 246). Cribb and Gewirtz (2013, p. 344) have referred to the “hollowing out” of universities in that the increasing emphasis on marketing and corporate identity, and focus on institutional competition and success, make the university look, feel, and act like countless non-educational corporate institutions. A growing amount of research has commented on the prevalence of new managerialism or “New Public Management” as the dominant model of governance. Lynch, Grummell, and Devine (2012) define this new managerialism as governing through enacting technical change imbued with market values. Naidoo and Jamieson (2006) argue that the policies of the new public management model have repositioned universities as “servants of the knowledge economy” and students as “customers”. Characteristics of this new managerialism in universities include changes in line management and a hierarchical mode of authority, monitoring of employee performance and the encouragement of self-monitoring, an institutional stress on targets, and an emphasis on measured outputs including strategic planning, performance indicators, quality assurance, and audits (Olssen & Peters, 2005). As critics have pointed out, this obsession with ranking, auditing, and measuring, substitutes image over substance and shows higher education’s concern with reputation and impression management (Lynch, 2015).

There have been attempts to place creativity in education policy and view it as “democratic” rather than the preserve of the gifted few (Craft, 2001; Micklem & Hunter, 2016; Wilson & Gross, 2017; Wilson, Gross, & Bull, 2017). However, this type of thinking has often been met with resistance, as the crux of *de facto* creativity policy (in the UK, the government does not have a “creativity policy” as such) is limited to an emphasis on creativity as the basis for industrial activity in the “knowledge economy”. The notion of creativity as “life-wide” in education policies seeks to equip a flexible workforce ready to adapt to the changing global, political, technological, and social conditions (Craft & Jeffrey, 2008). Furthermore, Ball (2003) has argued that the proliferation of creativity rhetoric has been paralleled by the expansion of the aforementioned performativity policies where individuals are measured and regulated through appraisals and comparisons. This has led to something of a vicious cycle in which initiatives designed to deliver the very thing being desired—creativity—are looked at with widespread suspicion, by academics at least, who fear an empty rhetoric, symptomatic of the new language and culture of managerialism across higher education. Although universities have traditionally been viewed as institutionally autonomous or a politically insulated realm, critical writers suggest this is no longer the case.

Everyday Creativity

“Creativity” is a challenging concept to pin down as multiple definitions of the term abound. As Jones (2012) has pointed out, much of the contention surrounding creativity arises from establishing whether we are talking about a property of a particular product, or whether we are describing a process. Echoing Mel Rhodes (1961) formulation of the “4 Ps” of creativity, Jones writes, “This is to say, does creativity reside in texts (and other social artifacts) or does it reside in people?” (Jones, 2012, p. 4). Generally, in the social science literature, creativity is a property attributed to people, and researchers are interested in the creative process rather than product. Elsewhere, scholars have distinguished between “big C” and “little c” creativity (Silvia et al., 2014). Creativity, with a “big C”, typically denotes genius and eminence, while “little c” creativity is associated with ordinary people and their everyday hobbies and passions. Carter (2004, p. 13) defines creativity with a “little c” as “not a capacity of special people but a special capacity of all people”. Little c creativity very much informed the thinking behind the innovation project reported on in this chapter: the underlying premise was that everyone working within the university were “creative people”; the challenge was calling attention to and recognizing the variety of creative practices that happen in their daily lives (including at work), which often go unobserved.

Leading creativity scholar Ruth Richards has similarly argued that all humans are born with creative potential, and that instead of thinking about “Big C Creativity” we ought to think about “everyday creativity” (see Goslin-Jones and Richards, Chap. 5 in this volume). Everyday creativity is dispersed across our daily activities in work and leisure. It is less about aesthetic concerns, though can encompass craft and artistic expression, but is rather to be found from managing interpersonal relationships to organizing an event and rearranging a room, as well as using humour and problem solving. Richards (2007, p. 4) writes, “In truth, our creativity is less about Activity A or B, than a way of approaching life which can expand our experiences and options, and even deeply affect who we are—and can become”. However, all too often, everyday creativity is overlooked and subject to the three “U’s”. Our creativity is often underrecognized, underdeveloped, and underrewarded in schools, at work, and at home (Richards, 2007, p. 26). Although there has been a shift recently towards considering everyday creativity at a national or city-wide level (for instance, prominent UK-based initiatives include the BBC Get Creative Campaign, Fun Palaces, 64 Million Artists or the five-year AHRC research project Understanding Everyday Participation), still not much is known about everyday creativity empirically. In researching this innovation project, therefore, our aim was first to understand what factors enable and constrain embedding an everyday culture

of creativity in a university setting and, second, to examine empirically the extent to which they could be introduced and developed through some kind of programme of creative initiatives.

The Innovation Project: Making Creativity Work

A national campaign organization working in the field of everyday creativity was commissioned to undertake this innovation project. This followed on from the University's prior involvement in a number of small-scale research studies that had raised both the possibility and the potential importance of proactively developing an embedded culture of everyday creativity within this higher education context. A key part of this innovation project included the commissioning of action research to inform and assess a specific programme of interventions. Two representatives of the campaign organization ("the project team") led the project, and the co-authors of this chapter ("the research team") worked closely alongside them. An important limiting factor was that both the project and research teams' involvement was restricted to one day a week. The project was divided into two phases and ran over the 2015–2016 academic year. The first phase in the autumn term comprised the "groundwork" stage where a principal aim was to find out and understand what the lived experience of being at the University was like. During the term, 57 meetings were held with a cross section of people based across a number of different campuses, ranging from faculty deans, students, professional services staff, the student newspaper editors, library services, and more. It was striking during this phase that people frequently talked about the goal-driven and highly pressurized nature of life at university. The rationalized market-driven context of higher education was plainly evident and seemingly deeply embedded in respondents' thinking about "creativity at work" (or the lack of).

In response to this background context and emerging research findings, the project team sought to reorientate the everyday experience of being at university through two main interventions during the spring term. One was a crowd-sourced digital "artwork" where everyone was invited to share their creative passions, hobbies, and interests, along with a picture on a specially built website. This allowed participants to challenge their habitual roles at university by presenting a different, more holistic, and authentic account of themselves, which would be a fun way of cumulatively building up a "different" picture of what university "is". The second intervention was a 31-Day Challenge where participants who joined the digital artwork were automatically enrolled into a month of creative challenges. Participants received a daily prompt in their inbox for a short creative task ranging from such activities as speaking to someone new, writing a manifesto, leaving a note for someone, finding graffiti, or making a collage.

Methodology

As an action research project, a critical component of the methodological approach was to allow events, experiences, and reflections to influence the shape and direction of the research. Thus, data needed to be collected so far as possible without interfering with the experiment or intervening in the culture of creativity being promoted. The researchers developed a multi-method approach by drawing on a range of sources to provide data. These sources included the documentation of all meetings and events, the digital artwork site and social media platforms, feedback from workshops and talks, a research blog, a survey, and recording personal reflections of the team. This captured the “behind-the-scenes” nature of getting the project off the ground. The data collection centred on the research question’s focus on the conditions, structures, and institutions that enabled/constrained the project.

The innovation project did not engage with all staff and students at the University, but it did engage a sizeable population. Over the duration of the two terms, 82 meetings were held, 21 individual events were organized, and 16 partnerships were made across the University (i.e. with different departments such as dentistry and midwifery, and divisions of the University, for instance, the careers service and student union). Approximately 1560 people were reached in total through these events and meetings. The number of uploads to the digital artwork was modest, with only 460 people contributing a profile. However, there were 5509 visitors to the website and 12,384 page views which suggests that people were interested in perusing the website if not contributing directly towards it (the average time spent was 3 minutes 10 seconds). A survey was also carried out on Survey Monkey at the end of the project and sent to those who had signed up to the digital artwork. Although a traditional survey seems at odds with the playful and creative nature of the project, it provided a helpful and efficient means to hear from participants.

Nurturing Everyday Creativity in the Academy

The Importance of Play

The innovation project was premised on the implicit notion that there was a perceived lack of, absence, and/or need for an everyday culture of creativity at the University. As we have already indicated, staff and students interviewed informally during the first phase reported being particularly “tired”, “busy”, and “serious” in their approach to their work, with little or no time for creativity as a result.

The data we collected corroborated what is highlighted in the research literature, and to this end our view is that the feelings and issues raised were not specific to this one higher education institution but likely to be found across the sector. People felt under strain because of an emphasis on performance and outputs, which resulted in a sense of pressure and sometimes anxiety about keeping up with individual workloads, regardless of department or division of the University. Students expressed concern for needing to be productive and focusing on grades and employment upon graduation. Another common thread articulated by staff and students alike was a sense of fragmentation and lack of community where individuals did not know classmates or the people working in the office next to them. Overall, there was a strong feeling of powerlessness about being able to change the institutional culture.

During the unfolding research, it became increasingly clear that the ambition to introduce and/or embed a culture of everyday creativity would somehow need to be reconciled with the overbearing reality of a highly outcome-driven context, such that a “space to *play*” rather than an instrumentalized “change management programme” was what got delivered on the ground. With this in mind, it is informative to reflect critically on the nature of “play”. Huizinga (1955, pp. 8–10) identified five characteristics that play must have:

1. Play is free, is in fact freedom.
2. Play is not “ordinary” or “real” life.
3. Play is distinct from “ordinary” life both as to locality and duration.
4. Play creates order, is order. Play demands order absolute and supreme.
5. Play is connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained from it.

Summing up the characteristics of play, Huizinga stated (1955, p. 13):

We might call it a free activity standing quite consciously outside “ordinary” life as being “not serious”, but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it.

Similarly, Statler, Roos, and Victor (2009) argued that play in organizational contexts cannot be associated with material gain or profit because as soon as you impose external goals on it, it ceases to be play. Therefore, the idea of getting people to play more so that they become more “creative” does not work. In order to be successful in developing creativity/creative learning, one has to ensure that the goal is holding the “play space” open and *not* doing so

for any extrinsic instrumental, goal-driven purpose or intention (see Amabile, 1998 on “how to kill creativity”). This raises a paradox of “intentionality”. Were this innovation project to have made recommendations for positive action in the form of interventions at the University that intentionally promoted more play *for* more creativity, for example, these would likely have failed. Embedding everyday creativity requires finding ways of holding the play space open for more people, more of the time, by embracing the uncertainty of unpredictable outcomes.

In practice, it proved very difficult for the innovation project to hold open the play space, without unwittingly prioritizing the extrinsic intention or objective to “produce results”. At issue here was, amongst other things, the thorny challenge of fulfilling contractual obligations to deliver an innovation project on time and on budget—with all the tacit assumptions this entails (not least satisfying key decision-makers that investment in such a project was warranted in the first place)—whilst at the same time seeking to genuinely innovate. This, of course, is very much akin to the widely observed problem of national funding councils funding genuinely innovative “blue sky” research projects. It was observed that all sides struggled, to some extent at least, to try new ways of doing things, especially when these were couched in terms of fun, play, and creativity. To manage the paradox, embracing uncertainty was a requirement and developing a flexible and adaptive *modus operandi*, regardless of whether the outcome would be a success, failure, or somewhere in between.

Toleration of Ambiguity

The toleration of ambiguity emerged as a key characteristic in managing the tension between fostering creativity and resisting instrumentality. Various scholars and disciplines have taken up the concept of ambiguity tolerance since it first emerged in psychology research 60 years ago (Frenkel-Brunswick, 1948), which has led to multiple definitional orientations. It has been conceived as a personality trait (Budner, 1962), a property of organizations (Furnham & Gunter, 1993), and more recently associated with creativity (Amabile, 1996) and pedagogy within higher education (Vaughan et al., 2008; see also Orr & Shreeve, 2017).

Embracing ambiguity is challenging because ambiguity can be perceived as a threat or stress and it means allowing the possibility of a negative outcome, which most wish to avoid. When faced with a situation or task characterized by unclear or missing information, or unknown outcomes, there is a natural tendency to seek closure and find a solution as quickly as possible to resolve

the issue (Lubart, Zenasni, & Barbot, 2013). However, this closure comes at the price of the sustained thinking needed for complex problems. As Zenasni, Besancon, and Lubart (2008) argue, tolerating ambiguity allows individuals to continue grappling with complex problems and remain open, which can facilitate the emergence of novel thinking.

Research has shown there is a relationship between embracing uncertainty and creativity in work contexts (Erez & Nouri, 2010). High tolerance for uncertainty is associated with risk-taking, tolerance for mistakes, and low bureaucracy, which encourage exploration and novel ideas (Miron, Erez, & Naveh, 2004). Bureaucratic cultures, in contrast, have high uncertainty avoidance and restrict deviation from normative behaviours (Jansen, Van Den Bosch, & Volberda, 2006). The first phase of our research supported the literature that universities are becoming “tight” as opposed to “loose” working cultures where outcomes are associated with order and efficiency, conformity, routine, and inertia instead of openness to change and deviation from the rules, which enhances exploration and novelty (Gelfand, Hisae Nishii, & Raver, 2006).

The project team encountered genuine difficulty with respect to ambiguity tolerance (in terms of both practising it themselves and encouraging others to do so). One might point here to a form of cognitive dissonance or role strain between maintaining an open position as to what might emerge, on the one side, coupled with a natural tendency to ensure the “success” of the project on the other. The team had to resist the natural inclination to follow “good practice” project management, whereby explicit objectives and strategy are pinned down as soon as possible, and that these get competently “delivered”.

Based on a thematic analysis of data collected from multiple sites, we would like to point to four key additional factors that were fundamental to enabling and constraining creativity: freedom, permission, risk-taking, and communication. These conditions interrelate and overlap with each other, are closely linked to ambiguity tolerance, and work in combination rather than isolation. These four conditions became most apparent when they were lacking, limited, or absent. These findings largely correspond to organizational management literature that describes creativity enablers as “dimensions” (Ekvall, 1996), “motivators” (Amabile, 1998), and “actions” (Robinson & Stern, 1997). Following Mellou (1996, p. 127), we use the term “condition” to denote the interactionist nature of creativity, which emphasizes the “continuous, and multidirectional interaction between individual and situational characteristics”. This interactionist view conceptualizes creativity not as a personality trait but behaviours resulting from “particular constellations of personal characteristics, cognitive abilities, and social environments” (Amabile, 1983, p. 358). Each condition is now considered in turn.

Freedom

A fundamental condition for everyday creativity and the opening of a play space is the freedom and opportunity to be able to do so in the first place. In taking the decision to commission the project, the University provided the opportunity for an initiative such as this through its subsequent funding and support. However, in doing so, it also inevitably placed constraints on the freedom and licence of those charged with undertaking the project to carry it out. The modern university is a complex and often sprawling institution with multiple constituent arms, which can be challenging to communicate with and engage. It became clear from early on in the research project that the University was fragmented with different branches and divisions who did not interact with each other, and probably have had little or no knowledge of each other's existence. Furthermore, each division has set rules and protocols that do not always correlate with the institutions, norms, regulations, and cultures of other departments. The project team encountered these divergent regulations in relation to promotion, PR, and publicity. For example, the logo specially created for the project was deemed too close to the University's own brand identity and so had to be revised. The number of exclamation marks in the innovation project promotional copy and correspondence marked itself out as not belonging to the University culture, and was duly criticized. Elsewhere, on the project website where participants were invited to express themselves through a picture and short biography of interests and hobbies, one student posted a picture of herself outside a sex shop. This was deemed "inappropriate" and its removal was requested (though subsequently it was allowed to remain on the site following a request from the project team). Although these might seem like micro or trivial incidences, they are, nonetheless, revealing of the complex climate of rule-making, rule-abiding, and rule-breaking that takes place within the university (often unobserved or consciously reflected upon), and the necessarily competing (and limiting) parameters that people are always working within.

The degree of attention paid to detail and the policing of the University's brand indicates the extent to which it is committed to corporate identity and convention. This echoes what Cribb and Gewirtz (2013) described as the "hollowing out" of universities where there is an increasing emphasis on corporate institutional competition and success, and a focus on reputation and quality assurance. Although many of these regulations and protocols are in place for good reason, the stress on institutional correctness for an internal and "playful" project seemed noticeably misplaced. The restrictions on communications and publicity hinder the ability to acquire and share information, and

for individuals to make plans and decisions about their work and everyday life at university. Rules can offer helpful guides and instruction, but if they are too strict and prescriptive, there is little room for workers to redefine or make choices about their tasks (Isaksen & Ekvall, 2015). In point of fact, this leaves little room for “creativity at work”. By contrast, scholars have noted that the freedom to cross boundaries and deviate from the rules rather than conform leads to an enhanced creative organizational climate (Erez & Nouri, 2010; Wilson, 2010). Although all institutions need a structure and bureaucratic framework to function, the experience of this innovation project suggests that relaxing the rules or allowing the freedom to experiment or challenge the status quo might bring about greater opportunities for creativity and innovation, as well as a potentially happier and fulfilled workforce.

A question that arose continually throughout the study was the extent to which one’s sense of freedom within a work context is real or imaginary. In the dispersed modern university, the question posed is “who really holds the power and authority?” Of course, principals and deans are key decision-makers, but in a fragmented system where there are multiple divisions of workers, there was a pervasive sense of there being controls and regulations operating at other levels, but it was unclear precisely who was enforcing them. In the project team’s meetings and interventions with stakeholders across the University, there was a notable sense of apathy, of feeling “stuck”, of not being able to change things, which diminished people’s motivation to get involved; many simply could not see the point. As social theorist Jeremy Bentham conveyed in his famous concept of the “Panopticon” prison building, we act as though we are being watched all the time, even if we are not (see Suckley and Nicholson, Chap. 12 in this volume, for further discussion in the context of office space). This is a highly effective means of disciplinary control as we feel under constant surveillance. This raises an important point about the degree to which the widespread feeling of inertia and apathy was a self-limiting belief impacting people’s sense of agency, or whether, in fact, they had more freedom than they realized.

Permission

A primary condition for whether people engaged in the project can be framed in terms of being “given permission” or shown trust (see also Wilson, Speers, Hunter, & Micklem, 2014). The project revealed that participants felt they needed permission to make time, play, be themselves, be open, and honest. The potential “givers” of permission in this context ranged from the University

(in a formal sense), the project team (as initiators), one's boss (as the immediate line of command), one's peer group, or oneself. Clearly an "everyday culture of creativity" is one in which there is an active level of support for creativity operating across levels and hierarchies. This needs to be embedded in the strategic make-up of the university, permeating both its language and its practices. Whilst implicitly creativity was valued at the University, the analysis revealed much more could be done to signal commitment to giving permission to all its stakeholders.

As we have already indicated, the innovation project's power to leverage change can be seen to be dependent on the mere fact of its having happened *at all*. Stepping back just for a moment, this signals the importance of universities being able to justify to themselves the commissioning of just this kind of project, where both processes and outcomes are, necessarily, unknowable in advance. At a more concretely situated level, the project team demonstrated the power of personal interaction in giving permission through drawing on their own personal experiences and narratives of transformation through creativity. This permission giving offered safety and legitimacy to others and worked across the hierarchical structure of the University. Senior management staff suddenly lit up talking about playing the piano or computer games, and the rugby sports team did not want a creative session to end after being reluctant to participate at the start. However, unfortunately, these face-to-face interventions are not scalable across an institution as large as a modern university.

Giving, and being given, permission requires a level of trust between parties. Trust runs both ways: it requires one party putting their trust in another—such that they will follow through with a particular agreed agenda, but similarly, it requires this party acting in line with the trust it has been given. So, in the context of a senior management staff member divulging their interest in computer games, or the rugby prop forward displaying an open interest in a creativity workshop with paints and play dough, there had to be a sense of trust that their "opening up" to creativity would not, in some way, be later used against them. This issue of trust extends across *all* relational encounters, not just those between the project team and university staff and students. With this in mind, it is interesting to reflect on a particular scenario that arose mid-way through the project, when the commissioning body of the innovation project conducted an informal survey to gauge reactions to the 31-Day Challenge. Unfortunately, though carried out with good intentions, it was not implemented with the full knowledge of the project team, and this was perceived as a breach of trust. As Ekvall (1996) has argued, trust denotes emotional safety in relationships where individuals feel as though they can be

open and frank, and have sincere respect for one another. However, when trust is missing, people are suspicious of each other, become closely guarded, and find it difficult to openly communicate (Isaksen & Ekvall, 2015). The incident demonstrates the singular importance of working in close dialogue and indicates that there is scope for issues of trust (or mistrust) to be quickly seized upon and escalated within this context of work on creativity. One might suggest there is a particular fragility here on account of an unusual space being held open without any clear “rules” (norms) in place to bind how people behave, and dictate outcomes. Clearly then, issues of permission giving and trust are crucial to a university’s culture of everyday creativity in an increasingly complex and changing environment.

Risk-Taking

Risk-taking is very much linked to the toleration of uncertainty and is a common behaviour associated with creativity, innovation, and entrepreneurship (Martins & Terblanche, 2003; Stokes & Wilson, 2017). Taking risks in organizational contexts is experienced by workers as “taking a gamble” or “going out on a limb” to put forward ideas and set out new initiatives even when the outcomes are unknown (Isaksen & Ekvall, 2015). Risk-taking is conducive to creativity because it involves breaking from habitual ideas and practices. For example, the project team sought to disrupt “business as usual” by carrying out lecture or meeting “drop-ins” where they invited attendees to do a small creative task. This could be as simple as doodling, drawing the person next to them, or sharing a personal story or fact about themselves outside of the university and their student/staff/work identity. Although seemingly not particularly risky or subversive, small acts of disruption and play had a substantial impact on the atmosphere of the room. People who had worked together for a long time learnt things about each they never knew before, and enthusiasm around the project and uploads to the website always increased after small interventions such as these. This indicates that risk-taking need not necessarily be radical or rebellious but constitute simple challenges to the status quo. Or, as Lubart et al. (2013) have suggested, risk-taking can involve hazarding social criticism by being prepared to be met with resistance and rejection.

Mainstream culture across the modern university is demanding and driven, a place of “work” and not so obviously one of “play”. Therefore, the notion of encouraging play was seen and felt to be countercultural, going against the dominant mode of operation. As the creative leaders of the project were from a national campaign organization and not the University itself, this afforded

them an “outsider” or “in between” identity where they had more freedom to boundary cross and not feel the pressure of institutional objectives or assessment criteria. However, the challenge for the risk-taker is to encourage an everyday culture of creativity through experimentation and crossing of boundaries yet not present, and this can present a serious threat to any institution, which is risk-averse.

Communication

Communication emerged as both a fundamental enabler and a problematic constraint of the project. It became clear the mode and message of communication was essential to the project’s success at an individual, project-management, and institutional level. The open flow of communication and information exchange is crucial for encouraging creativity in social environments. The innovation project initially sought to be inclusive of everyone within the University community. It quickly became apparent that such a universal call to action could not work, given the size, diversity, and hard to reach nature of the University as a whole. Even though it was important that the message of everyday creativity spread far and wide, a tailored approach was needed that distinguished between different organizational contexts (Damanpour, 1995). For many time-poor and information-saturated students, official University emails are not read, or, at least, not engaged with, and social media (specifically Instagram and Facebook) were the most effective platforms to engage with this segment of the University. For professional services staff, email was the most successful mode. Academics were the hardest group to engage, probably because calls to action via email as the dominant mode of communication were viewed as a chore and an additional job. Face-to-face communication was the most successful means of communication across the University. Hearing the project from a personal angle, being able to associate it with particular faces, and having a captive audience (such as at beginnings and ends of lectures, meetings, etc.) had a significant bearing on the engagement and uptake of the project.

From the outset, the innovation project aimed to encourage a bottom-up ethos. This was precisely to mitigate against suspicions that it was a corporate initiative to get staff and students to work harder or more productively as part of the neoliberal regime. However, as the predominant mode of communication was University email, it was very difficult to avoid the project being viewed by many as a top-down enterprise. As website content and emails are subject to increasingly rigorous and centralized control in terms of content

and tone, language, format, and style of message, the project's interventions were constrained by the medium employed to communicate the message. This is likely to have put off many academics, students, and others, and points to the fact that more thought is needed to address how innovative messages can be conveyed within an organization's habitual communications structure, so as to introduce an independent, fresh, and creative set of ideas without their being seen as centralized or overly top-down messaging. Students and/or staff—many of whom are highly talented designers, painters, writers, and communicators—could have been drawn upon in this regard to actively frame this communication.

Finally, the sheer volume of information and “noise” in our digital everyday lives has resulted in organizations of all types (universities amongst them) often employing a strict monitoring policy and a high degree of control over what gets messaged, and how. The one-way nature of this communication can be problematic. It is all too easy for there to be no encouragement of dialogue, interaction, or the development of “communicative tolerance”, which is a crucial step in enabling social and everyday creativity (Wilson, 2010). A vital aspect of enabling creativity is an open and multidirectional flow of communication and information exchange, which establishes a sense of community and reassurance of voices being heard rather than hierarchical unidirectional communication. Although the innovation project encouraged participants to “share” their experiences of the creative challenges, not all participants did, and it was difficult to facilitate this more proactively, except digitally through social media posts. However, for those who *did* share and interact online and offline, it was clearly beneficial, as one professional services participant in her survey response stated: “Sharing the challenges or doing them live with colleagues has been fun, insightful and energising”. This supports Martins and Terblanche's (2003, p. 73) argument that “an open-door communication policy, including open communication between individuals, teams and departments to gain new perspectives, is therefore necessary to create a culture supportive of creativity and innovation”.

Conclusion

Managing a sustainable culture of everyday creativity in a university context is clearly not without its challenges. Research on the innovation project reported on here has identified the importance of “breaking the cycle” through tolerating uncertainty and ambiguity. The conditions most influential in enabling and constraining creativity in a university context are found

to be freedom and opportunity, permission and trust, risk-taking, and open and multidirectional communication between all stakeholders. Particular attention is drawn to the difference between a culture that supports everyday creativity as an outcome, or form of instrumentalized innovation, and a culture that supports everyday creativity, which is a universal capacity of all human beings.

This study indicates a mix of positives and negatives to take away. On the negative side, there is clearly a worrying danger of universities, however unwittingly, becoming “no” places; they are unable to take risks; they are reluctant to experiment and undertake creativity in the true sense of these words. This is not just about the kind of top-level strategic decision-making that is made by those in authority, but rather it extends out from the many small-scale, “everyday” processes, procedures, norms, and beliefs that, through their enactment and repetition, get reinforced to an extent where it becomes difficult to see any alternative. In terms of measuring the objective “success” of this innovation project, it might be argued that the results were somewhat mixed. On an individual basis, there was evidence of some genuinely exciting and creative journeys of transformation; a number of small groups (mostly of professional services staff) also found the sharing of everyday creativity between them to be beneficial. However, the interventions could not be seen to have reached any real critical mass, and it would be difficult to claim any demonstrable lasting change for the good.

On the positive side, that a project such as the one reported here could have happened at all, is encouraging. It is true that this innovation project achieved a limited reach; it did not *embed* an everyday culture of creativity at the University. However, the project did reveal that an everyday culture of creativity is achievable in principle, is desirable, and importantly is *needed* in the context of the contemporary university. In passing, it is also interesting to note that the project led to some unexpected additional outcomes for the project team themselves, including their subsequently being employed by the University to deliver termly workshops on creativity, and deliver a leadership scheme for senior academics.

As Lynch (2015) argues, there is an urgent need to build a counter-hegemonic discourse to managerialism and neoliberalism in higher education grounded in the principles of democracy, equal participation, universal learning, and the challenging of received orthodoxies. Notwithstanding the manifest challenges and difficulties involved, embedding and nurturing an everyday culture of creativity clearly speaks to this agenda in important ways, and represents a form of “creativity at work” that all universities have a vested interest in supporting.

Recommendations

Universities can and should be spaces of everyday creativity. The project discussed in this chapter demonstrated the possibilities but also the limitations. As Sosnoski (1994, p. 212) argues, “Institutions, like all social contracts, can be rewritten. However, this is not a simple process”. By sharing the project’s findings and recommendations, we hope to “break through” the pervading managerialism and widespread dissatisfaction to bring about small institutional changes in higher education.

Our recommendations and key learning points are aimed at those wanting to implement everyday creativity projects or undertake initiatives in a university setting (N.B. it seems likely that many of these suggestions will also have more general application across organizations of all kinds):

- Carefully consider how to clearly and persuasively communicate creativity initiatives to the diverse stakeholders and potential participants of a university. It is clear a “one-message-fits-all” approach does not work and considerable thought is required to tailor messages to the multiple constituents of a university.
- Make the governance and running of any creativity initiatives transparent so that everyone has the opportunity to buy into what is being worked on. In addition, build in scope for interaction and feedback between the project team and participants, and between participants themselves.
- Build a network of leaders and champions through engaging with people across hierarchy—from senior management and academics to support staff. This helps increase visibility, ownership, and responsibility that challenges existing university life and brings about change in a more systematic and sustainable way.
- Create a play space that encourages risk-taking, experimenting, challenging boundaries, and questioning the status quo to bring about meaningful change. Giving oneself and each other permission allows for a more radical vision of what “different” might look like.
- Ensure the frequency and consistency of creative calls to action, whether in the form of creative challenges, regular workshops, or being part of a creative community.
- Embed creativity into existing university life in concrete ways such as adding creativity to the “Any other business” part of a meeting, explore options for integrating creativity within learning goals and “independent learning” on modules, and ensuring creativity is part of leadership programmes and training.

Based on the work discussed in this chapter, there is clearly a need, and importantly an appetite, for everyday creativity initiatives to bring about change in contemporary universities. The way forward requires a mix of organic, bottom-up practice, allied with top-down support. We make the recommendation to managerial, supervisory, and executive boards to add *nurturing an everyday culture of creativity* as a strategic priority to long-term vision and plans. Boxall and Woodgates (2015, p. 4) note there is “a deep-seated conservatism of university cultures and an aversion to risk-taking among many management teams and governing bodies”, which is a contributing factor behind the slow pace of innovation. Nurturing an everyday culture of creativity would mitigate against this conservatism and have a positive impact on the competitiveness and survival of UK higher education providers.

Acknowledgements The University and those directly involved in this innovation project have been anonymized. We are grateful to the project team, in particular, who provided valuable insights relating to the issues discussed in this chapter.

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26

Social Media and the Future of Creativity at Work

Chris James Carter

Introduction

In 2006, *TIME Magazine* broke from tradition by dedicating its prolific Person of the Year cover not to the usual cast of eminent politicians, musicians, and celebrities but to the vast collective of everyday people participating in an increasingly social web. The publication reflected a pivotal moment in the cultural awareness of how burgeoning social media platforms such as Wikipedia, YouTube, and MySpace represented a seismic shift in how people interacted socially, accessed information, and demonstrated agency online, contributing to a democratizing effect that was “about the many wresting power from the few and helping one another for nothing” (Grossman, 2006). In turn, the lure of a more equitable, hyper-connected, and globalized online society reflected a technologically utopian vision with potentially profound implications for how millions of individuals would come to express and seek recognition for their creative endeavour.

Underpinning this digital revolution was the concept of “Web 2.0” (O’Reilly, 2005): a proposed transformation in the character of the Internet, with relatively static online content evolving into a more dynamic and collective web that involved blogging, the harnessing of collective intelligence through crowdsourcing, “folksonomies”—a type of social classification and

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indexing (Vander Wal, 2005)—and emphasis upon the delivery of rich user experiences. For Kaplan & Haenlein (2010, p. 61), the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0 are fundamental to what since has become the prevailing definition of social media, with both individual and collective creative endeavours of users setting the emergent digital world apart from the old. If we are to posit that every individual possesses the capacity to be creative (Runco, 2004)—but that this may not necessarily be brought to fruition or recognized (Martin & Wilson, 2014, 2016)—then social media may provide individuals with unprecedented opportunity and the freedom to realize this potential. As noted by Zagalo & Branco (2015, p. 6):

[This] is a new cultural movement we call creative technologies, technologies that enable common people to express themselves. People who had no opportunities to learn how to read musical scores, to learn how to program a computer, and to learn how to sing, paint, dance, film, perform, and design are now given through these new creative technologies new modes to participate, collaborate, and share learning processes which will liberate creativity.

One domain in which social media appear to be having a profound impact is work. Recent books (e.g. Zagalo & Branco, 2015) and journal special issues (e.g. Lee, 2015) have cast a light on the emergent concept of digital creativity. These collections bring together numerous illustrations of how social media have been utilized by individual employees and organizations, from LEGO's innovative use of social media to foster consumer co-creation of products (Botoric, 2015) to an analysis of the popular crowdfunding platforms, Indiegogo and Kickstarter (Gomez-Diago, 2015), and the use of MOODLE to enhance creativity amongst designers (Karakaya & Demirkan, 2015). Additionally, Leonardi, Huysman, and Steinfield's (2013) discussion of Enterprise Social Media (ESM) reflects the increasingly wide-scale use of social media by organizations as a means for enhancing communication amongst colleagues and with consumers.

However, despite the various ways in which social media may enhance creativity at work, including increased collaborative opportunities and wider exposure to new information, they also present considerable risks to work that require closer consideration (Oldham & Da Silva, 2015). Indeed, in the face of expert concerns around the increasing roles of algorithms and artificial intelligence (AI) for the future of jobs and jobs training, Rainie and Anderson (2017, p. 4) conclude that “workers of the future will learn to deeply cultivate and exploit creativity, collaborative activity, abstract and systems thinking, complex communication, and the ability to thrive in diverse environments” as a human response to limitations of technological automation. Thus, to fully

understand the impact of social media on creativity at work, we can turn our attention towards the possibility of a widening disconnect between the idealistic philosophical foundations of the social web—and the purported democratizing effects of this on the expression of creativity—and its present form, just over a decade later.

In this chapter, I examine three key areas where this gap appears to be especially evident in the context of social media: first, in accessing and attending to digital information; second, in providing platforms for individuals to freely express work-based creativity; and third, in redefining the means for how creative labour is remunerated. While I seek to avoid adopting the type of overly pessimistic “critical” scholar role maligned by Gauntlett (2015), the chapter examines the myriad of issues that social media present for the fulfilment of work-based creative potential in an effort to highlight the opportunities that they represent for further research in this fascinating area.

Social Media and the Foundations of Creativity

One fundamental argument underpinning the value of social media as a means for supporting creative expression is the increased democratization of access to information. Dominant perspectives within the creativity literature have consistently emphasized the role of domain knowledge in providing the basic foundations for creative thinking, from the system theories of Csikszentmihalyi (1996) and Amabile (1983) to creative problem-solving processes (Amabile, 1996; Young, 1965) and the study of creative individuals producing master-level works (Hayes, 1989). As concluded by Weisberg (1999, p. 227) in his comprehensive review, “extensive domain-specific knowledge is a pre-requisite for creative functioning”, principally by providing the sources from which ideas can be generated and synthesized to form novel combinations.

The logic of the social web’s value thus resides within providing individuals with instant and expansive access to vast repositories of information that can subsequently form the crucial building blocks for knowledge acquisition. Information sources that may have once been inaccessible, whether for socio-economic reasons or lacking the required credentials, are often now freely available via open-access government webpages, crowdsourced online encyclopaedia platforms such as Wikipedia, user-generated “how-to” sites such as Instructables.com, and a myriad of blogging and micro-blogging sites that bring the insights of amateurs and experts together. In each instance, it is possible to see how greater access to a seemingly limitless online store of information may assist

individuals in building the depth and diversity of knowledge crucial for developing effective divergent thinking and creative problem-solving skills, such as thinking of non-conventional ideas, breaking perceptual sets, and using wide categories (Amabile, 1996; Guilford, 1967).

However, this perspective faces a number of issues. The first was precipitated by changes made by Google to its search algorithms in 2009. Adapting its proprietary PageRank algorithm, in which search results were essentially based on a citation-based determination of relevance and popularity, Google shifted the focus of their core service to a more personalized, predictive approach based on an individual's history of search queries. Pariser (2011, p. 15) famously described the subsequent effect of this personal customization as "the filter bubble": a definitive feature of web-based information searches in which there is "less room for the chance encounters that bring insight and learning", whether in the form of ideas or social others. This issue was pervasive in efforts to explain the shock results of the 2016 Brexit Referendum and US Presidential Election, where personalized algorithms on Google and popular social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube were accused of creating "echo chambers" in which the diametrically opposing perspectives of others were concealed (e.g. El-Bermawy, 2016).

Given the vital role that diverse, heterogeneous backgrounds, knowledge, skills, and abilities appear to play in the process of creativity and innovation within organizations (Kurtzberg, 2005; Paulus, 2000; West, 2002), the undetected, biased algorithms underpinning major social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter may restrict the potential for unconventional, creative thinking. With two-thirds of American adults reporting that they receive at least some of their news intake from social media as of late 2017 (Shearer & Gottfried, 2017), the need to better understand the effects of online algorithms on digital creativity has never been more pressing. Compounding the issue further is that online searches lead to the fragmentation of information, which can have the effect of stripping away important context in deriving meaning (Carr, 2011). Indeed, according to Lanier (2010), social media rely on restrictive web designs that effectively "lock in" ideas, creating an effect "like a wave gradually washing over the rulebook of life, culling the ambiguities of flexible thoughts as more and more thought structures are solidified into effectively permanent reality" (p. 9).

A second issue stemming from the increasing use and reliance upon social media for information is the veracity of information upon which domain knowledge is constructed. Shirky (2008, 2010) presents the case that the user-generated basis of social media has enabled individuals to more readily participate and collaborate on hobbies and projects of interest as volunteers within

their spare time. This is particularly evident in the case of Wikipedia pages, which, at the time of writing, features over 5.43 million pages in England alone, with 897.4 million edits made by over 31.3 million users, overseen by 1261 “admins” (Wikipedia, 2017). Whilst an arguably admirable endeavour, the role of non-expert contributions and editing has led to questions of credibility around the knowledge the platform purports to share. Keen (2011), Kamm (2007), and Orłowski (2005) have been notable voices in criticizing the enhanced status of “the noble amateur” in lieu of reputable and expert gatekeepers, even invoking T.H. Huxley’s “infinite monkey theorem” as a visceral means for suggesting that meaningful creativity and cultural contributions will inevitably be produced so long as the online masses are provided with enough typewriters (Keen, 2011, p. 2).

Whilst outspoken polemicists such as Keen have been labelled as harbouring elitist views on the issue of digital culture, the use of Wikipedia in higher education reveals further issues and contradictions with respect to the veracity of information presented on the platform. Menchen-Trevino and Hargittai (2011) found that most undergraduate university students lack basic knowledge of how Wikipedia articles are edited and tend to be aware of academic resistance to citing such sources but yet continue to use the site regularly for information. From an academic perspective, Dooley (2010) found that university faculty members tend to disregard Wikipedia as an extremely credible source of information but nevertheless often continue to use it to support both their teaching and research. Meanwhile, researchers have also noted the increasing rise of social “bots”—non-human, software robots—upon popular social media platforms such as Twitter (Ferrara, Varol, Davis, Menczer, & Flammini, 2016). Whilst some appear benign, others represent the potential for causing considerable harm, whether in the guise of propagating “fake news” during political elections (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017) or spreading unverified or inaccurate information during large-scale emergency situations (Gupta, Lamba, Kumaraguru, & Joshi, 2013).

Even if we are to assume that the information created and shared via social media is largely credible and helpful in developing knowledge that will enhance creativity at work, there still remains an issue of individuals knowing which stimuli to focus on and which to ignore. Attention plays a key role in the creativity literature, with Mendelsohn (1976, p. 366) proposing, “The greater the attentional capacity, the more likely the combinatorial leap which is generally described as the hallmark of creativity”. Relatedly, in reference to the “Big C” form of eminent creativity, Csikszentmihalyi (1996, p. 8) emphasizes that “To achieve creativity in an existing domain, there must be surplus attention available”, a notion which Shirky (2010) similarly appears to draw

upon in arguing that the collaborative aspect of social media enables people to use their free time, or “cognitive surplus”, not only for the type of frivolous online activities mocked by critics such as Keen (2011) but also to produce creative and civic value.

However, several critics have pointed towards the negative implications of the social web on attentional focus. Pariser (2011) draws a comparison between the web and what he terms “the Adderall society” in reference to the amphetamine-based drug prescribed for individuals with Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD). Just as the drug has the effect of narrowing the focus of its user, so too, Pariser argues, does the social web as a result of the aforementioned filter bubble effect. Indeed, the personalized algorithms underpinning social media may indeed be detrimental for serendipitous discovery given Eysenck’s (1993) proposition that creative thinking tends to occur in lower states of cortical arousal where attention is widened and cognitive searching open to as much stimuli as possible. For instance, Carr (2011, p. 118) argues how “the Net seizes our attention only to scatter it”, enforcing a form of constant distractedness and arousal that prevents the necessary conditions for attaining creative “flow” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996). Such online distractedness may also prevent individuals from taking the requisite time to disengage from attending to information and permit the unconscious mind to fully digest and process problems (Carr, 2011; Young, 1965).

Nevertheless, running counter to the fear of employers that personal use of social media during work hours will lead to declines in employee productivity, Coker (2011, 2013) found that workplace Internet leisure browsing (WILB) may actually help to restore attentional resources and feelings of autonomy for employees. Research by Olmstead, Lampe, and Ellison (2015) has further indicated that as many as one-third of workers use social media to take a “mental break” from their work, with just over half reporting that it helps them to recharge. However, the researchers also indicate that a similar proportion report feeling distracted by social media from the work they need to do, so the relationship between the effect of the technology on attentional focus and productivity appears to be more complex than anticipated.

As indicated by the cursory outline provided in this section, there is still a great deal of work required to fully understand the complexities of the relationship between social media, greater access to online information, and creativity. The chapter now turns to address the notion that social media have presented individuals with greater opportunities for self-expression and for their creativity to be recognized by others.

Social Media, Creative Expression, and Recognition

According to Baumeister and Tice (1986, p. 65), the “public self” can be defined as “the totality of how one is known to others—one’s reputation and public roles”. The process through which it is regulated is typically referred to as impression management, or self-presentation, and describes the ways in which individuals attempt to control the impressions that real, or imagined, others form of their identity (Jones & Pittman, 1982; Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Schlenker, 1980). With site memberships exceeding two billion active users, distributed across hundreds of platforms catering for a broad spectrum of audience ages, locations, and interests, social media provide a global platform for individuals to engage in creative forms of public self-expression.

Drawing upon Meyrowitz’s (1985) proposition that human behaviour is influenced by the ways in which broadcast media collapse different social contexts, boyd (2010) contends that networked technologies, such those embodied by social media, extend and complicate the notion of a shared “public sphere” (Habermas, 1991) by influencing the ways in which information is presented and how individuals socially interact with one another. Specifically, boyd (2010, p. 39) defines the notion of “networked publics” as, “publics that are restructured by networked technologies [that] are simultaneously (1) the space constructed through networked technologies and (2) the imagined collective that emerges as a result of the intersection of people, technology, and practice”. Due to the mediated nature of interactions within these spaces, boyd (2014) highlights four distinct technological affordances of social media that play important roles in shaping the actions of users: persistence (the durability of data), visibility (the public accessibility of data), spreadability (the viral nature of shared data), and searchability (the ease of locating data).

In practice, each of these affordances combines and interacts to create both favourable and unfavourable conditions for the expression of work-related creativity. With respect to the former perspective, Twitter, YouTube, and Instagram all provide platforms upon which content is typically broadcast to both “subscribed” followers and the wider public, with the sites enabling their users to not only follow the lives of famous people upon the site (Hargittai & Litt, 2011) but become celebrities themselves through the public visibility of their actions. Indeed, previously “everyday” individuals such as Felix “PewDiePie” Kjellberg and Zoe “Zoella” Suggs have independently showcased original digital content to audiences exceeding millions of users and in some instances, generating millions of dollars in advertising revenue for both

themselves and the site as a result (Jacobs, 2014). In the case of Spencer Owen and his “Hashtag United” venture, YouTube has even enabled a team of amateur footballers to transform their fan base from a handful of loyal friends and family to playing matches for online audiences of almost two million people, supported further by big-name sponsors such as Coca Cola (Hattenstone, 2017).

Even on a comparatively smaller scale, Marwick and boyd (2011a, 2011b) found that young adults using Twitter tend to engage in techniques of “micro-celebrity” to strategically self-promote and attract attention, regardless of their number of followers. In doing so, users appear to engage in a form of self-commodification (Marwick, 2013; Marwick & boyd, 2011a), or “personal branding” (Montoya & Vandehey, 2002; Peters, 1997), in which their public persona is carefully and strategically crafted in a manner traditionally reserved only for signed artists and entertainers. In this respect, Schawbel (2009) underlined the power of social media as a platform enabling individuals to create authentic yet personally profitable public identities. By using social media to actively choose their identities, Akerlof and Kranton (2010, p. 15) conclude that doing so “may be the most important “economic” decision a person ever makes”, a perspective that appears to permeate much of the literature on personal branding and social media (Fertik & Thompson, 2010; Marwick, 2013; Mayfield, 2010; Schawbel, 2009) and that is reflected in Schmidt and Cohen’s (2013, p. 36) vision that “Identity will become the most valuable commodity for citizens in the future, and it will exist primarily online”.

To examine the democratizing character of this trend, it is useful to draw upon the systems model of creativity formulated by Csikszentmihalyi (1996, 2014) and in particular, the role of gatekeepers in the creative process. The notions of value and recognition play a vital role in many of the prevailing definitions of creativity (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Stein, 1974). As emphasized by Amabile (1996, p. 33), “A product or response is creative to the extent that appropriate observers independently agree that it is creative”. Traditionally, large-scale publication of creative work would typically require the recognition and acceptance of the “field”—the social configuration of a particular domain—and its privileged gatekeepers in order to succeed. These domain experts hold the power to change cultural understanding, tasked with distinguishing the value of a contribution as a work of creative merit or as a rather more mundane offering. In terms of eminent, “Big C” creativity, therefore, the field plays a crucial role in determining simply “whether the innovation is worth making a fuss about” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, p. 41).

By providing a global platform upon which individuals can connect directly with an audience and gain recognition for their creative endeavours, social media have facilitated the transfer of power away from traditional gatekeepers and towards members of the public. On the one hand, this could have profoundly beneficial effects for freedom of work-related creative expression. In a recent report, Wilson, Gross, and Bull (2017) emphasize that if the arts, creative industries, and everyday creativity were better connected then there would be an emphatic boom for cultural creativity. One important recommendation highlighted was in using digital technologies to increase inclusivity and encourage the sharing of stories about digital co-creation, thus promoting and reinforcing the concept of “cultural democracy”. Due to the persistence, visibility, spreadability, and searchability of data upon social media, individuals using the technology are well placed to leverage the scale of the networked publics in which they have positioned themselves to gain recognition for ideas, products, or services that may never have progressed beyond traditional gatekeepers such as publishing bodies, venture capitalists, or award panels.

However, by supplanting the conventional role of domain experts as arbiters of creative value with the wisdom of the crowd, concerns have arisen with respect to the quality of contributions subsequently accepted into the cultural domain. For some critics, the digital revolution’s usurping of gatekeepers represents the death of the cultural economy (Keen, 2011), effectively broadening the selection filter of a field to the point where any creative actions take on cultural value, causing the nature of the domain to shift dramatically (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996). This issue is neatly characterized by the documentary “PressPausePlay” (Dworsky & Köhler, 2011), in which the musician and producer Moby describes the influx of mediocre musical creations facilitated by social media as “grey goo” smothering the domain. According to Lanier (2010, p. 120), the designs of social media not only “strongly favour flatness in cultural expression” due to the pervasive “lock in” effect but also promote a hive ideology that “robs musicians and other creative people of the ability to influence the context within which their expressions are perceived” (p. 136).

The loss of control over how others will interpret creative expression upon social media also has important implications for work-related reputation. Indeed, the prior examples of YouTube celebrities, Felix “PewDiePie” Kjellberg and Zoe “Zoella” Suggs, offer stark illustrations of how social media fame can rapidly turn to infamy. In the case of the former, Kjellberg’s unique brand of video games commentary and comedy had amassed around over 50 million subscribers to his YouTube channel, providing the springboard for his first book, published by Penguin, and a lucrative sponsorship deal with the

Disney-owned Maker's Studio (Dredge, 2015). However, following two separate periods of sustained negative media and public backlash during 2017 in response to content featuring racist language, both Disney and YouTube parted ways with Kjelberg, closing down previously lucrative channels of advertising revenue (Hern, 2017). Suggs faced a similarly critical reaction in 2014 as the public learnt that her first book, also published by Penguin and stemming from the millions of followers of her make-up tutorial vlogs, had in fact been largely ghostwritten by editors (Blair, 2016).

Whilst these cases may seem like extreme examples of the pitfalls facing now high-profile social media celebrities, individuals with considerably more modest public profiles also face reputational risks as a result of speaking freely. For instance, the integration of social media within recruitment screening processes, typically referred to as "social recruiting" (Doherty, 2010), has also become an increasingly common practice and poses a potentially significant professional risk to users. In particular, around two-thirds of recruiters report using the Facebook profiles of applicants as part of their screening processes (CareerBuilder, 2012; Jobvite, 2014; Reppler, 2011) and are especially inclined towards forming negative judgements of social media content indicating illegal drug taking or excessive drinking, the criticism of former employers, that are of a sexual, discriminatory, or profane nature, or conveying spelling and grammatical errors (CareerBuilder, 2012; Jobvite, 2014; Reppler, 2011).

As illustrated adeptly by the numerous cases of everyday online public shaming discussed by Ronson (2015), close self-regulation and persistent wariness of negative reprisals are far from conducive conditions for creativity, as indicated by the considerable wealth of research into the role of positive affect in supporting creative expression (Hennessey & Amabile, 2010). Whilst the risk of expressing controversial ideas and individual experimentation may be great for individuals, so too is the risk of producing conformist, risk-averse digital facsimiles of individuality that are unlikely to be beneficial for the creative output of either organizations or individuals. With questions remaining about whether social media are conducive to creativity, we now turn our attention towards the prevailing tensions underpinning how the technology has impacted on the remuneration of creative endeavour.

Social Media and Creative Remuneration

With social media providing a global stage upon which individuals may express creativity and nurture their professional reputation, it is timely to consider how the technology has impacted upon the remuneration of their creative

endeavours. YouTube once again provides a striking illustration of this issue, explicitly labelling its community of contributors as “Creators” and taking steps to support the monetization of their digital content with informative videos through their “Creator Insider” channel, launched in 2017. The potential monetary rewards are evident: by 2016, Forbes had included the earnings of YouTube celebrities within their annual list for the second time, with the 12 highest earners exceeding over £55 million through advertising revenue, brand sponsorships, merchandise, and spin-off book publishing deals—an overall increase of 23 per cent from the previous year (Ellis-Peterson, 2016).

Not all YouTube “Creators” may be quite so privileged, however. The scale of revenue per views varies considerably on the creator, depending on the number of views their content receive, the size of their followers or subscribers, the location of their core audience, and the type of videos created. Additionally, YouTube announced that creators must have surpassed 10,000 total views in order to start generating advertising revenue from their content (Sloan, 2017). According to one report, major celebrities on the platform such as PewDiePie, whose vlogs have received over 16.3 billion views in 2017, can expect to earn an average of \$7.6 per 1000 views, while others with more modest, yet nevertheless substantial, numbers of views comfortably exceeding multiple millions can expect to receive less favourable rates of only \$1.5 per 1000 views (Facchetti, 2017).

This discrepancy has been further compounded in 2017 by the so-called adpocalypse, in which YouTube announced that it would be “demonetizing” any videos that contravened its acceptable content guidelines (Kain, 2017). After finding many videos stripped of their ability to generate advertising revenue, this policy change subsequently led popular YouTubers, such as Ethan and Hila Klein of the “h3h3Productions” channel, to openly discuss the financial implications for their livelihood and ultimately, scale back their creative output through the channel. Furthermore, YouTube’s controversial policy change may have unduly impacted more upon creators based within the platform’s own community than on popular mainstream entertainers simply re-sharing their televised content via the site. As noted by Ethan Klein in a vlog titled “YouTube’s Rules Don’t Apply to Everyone” (Klein & Klein, 2017), by making the decision to demonitize any videos relating to the events of the tragic Las Vegas shooting in October 2017 produced by YouTubers but not from mainstream celebrities such as Jimmy Kimmel, the site was engaging in unfair “selective enforcement”.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, analogous discrepancies in creative remuneration have also been noted in the context of music streaming. As one of the most prominent platforms in this domain, Spotify provides music content from

both signed and unsigned artists. However, it has been high-profile signed artists, such as Taylor Swift and Thom Yorke, who have led public criticism of the site's payment model and its implications for the remuneration of artist royalties (Marshall, 2015). The reason for this is illustrated by McCandless (2015), who outlines how unsigned artists on Spotify earn an average of \$0.007 per play, meaning that they would require 180,000 total plays per month in order to earn the US monthly minimum wage of \$1260. In contrast, the situation is considerably more problematic for signed artists required to split revenue further with their record label, with a rate of \$0.0011 per play requiring almost 1.12 million plays per month in order to achieve the national minimum wage. As concluded by Marshall (2015, p. 185), "Rather than internet technologies providing liberation from old industry dynamics, what we may be seeing is a consolidation of long-established power structures".

The same question of whether social media are exerting a net positive effect on the remuneration of creative endeavour can also be posed more widely in relation to the so-called gig economy. This increasingly prevalent form of short-term, freelance labour typically involves two forms of work: "crowdwork", through sites such as Amazon's Mechanical Turk, [Freelancer.com](https://www.freelancer.com), and Clickworker, and "work on-demand via apps", such as Uber, Deliveroo, and Taskrabbit (De Stefano, 2016). Whilst many of the examples tend to focus on the completion of piecemeal work involving the delivery of goods, transportation, or specific tasks, platforms requiring greater levels of individual creativity have also emerged throughout the cultural industries. For instance, 90seconds offers approved scriptwriters, voice-over artists, and video producers and editors a platform through which they can sell their services quickly and easily to global brands requiring videography expertise on projects. While sharing some similarities in terms of the types of creative services offered, Fiverr provides an alternative service operating on a shorter-term, more cost-effective model. Tailored towards "lean entrepreneurs", the platform enables creators to craft music jingles, written translations, and digital marketing solutions to order, for as little as \$5 per project.

While the short-term, freelance nature of "gig" work offers the benefits of flexibility and personal control over employment hours for many workers (Taylor, 2017), it is debatable as to whether it can generate sufficient revenue for individuals as a full-time option. Recent figures from the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD, 2017) would suggest not: it is estimated that approximately 1.3 million people—4 per cent of all UK employment—are currently performing work of this nature but with almost three-fifths doing so to supplement their full-time "regular" employment. Indeed, while various reports have provided examples of freelancers who have generated six-figure annual revenues through the use of platforms like Fiverr (Shin, 2016), much like on YouTube, such instances are relatively rare.

This point is illustrated adeptly by graphic designer Joseph Feliciano's (2014) 22-day trial of Fiverr, following which he opted to share details of the experience and his income report. Feliciano found that once the platform had taken its cut of around 20 per cent, the 55 projects that he successfully completed at a rate of \$5 each earned him \$217.80 from a total revenue of \$275. With each project taking an average of 10–15 minutes to complete, this represented the hourly rate equivalent of around \$16: notably higher than the current basic federal minimum hourly rate in the United States of \$7.25. Nevertheless, some reports place the average monthly income of Fiverr at just \$103 (Earnest, 2017) and payments from Fiverr clear individually, take two weeks to be transferred, and are restricted to the basic \$5 fee until a certain number of orders have been completed. This subsequently led Feliciano to conclude, "Fiverr is not a viable source of income unless you are pumping out orders like a machine". Recent UK government-sponsored reports (Taylor, 2017; UK Parliament, 2017) have also echoed similar concerns over the rise of gig economy work, pointing towards the pervasive lack of job security and employment benefits that many platforms are able to avoid due to the self-employed status of gig economy workers.

In contrast, some social media platforms are harnessing the "do-it-yourself" ethos of gig work and "the wisdom of crowds" (Surowiecki, 2004) to bolster entrepreneurial creativity in the digital economy. For instance, Innocentive is a platform that enables organizations to pose challenges for which potential solutions are crowdsourced from over 380,000 creative problem solvers, who are in turn rewarded with a share of between \$20,000 and \$100,000 if their particular solution is chosen by the client or "seeker". Crowdfunding platforms such as Kickstarter and Indiegogo have also become increasingly popular sources of potential investment capital in recent years (Belleflamme, Lambert, & Schwienbacher, 2014), with many entrepreneurs opting for crowdfunded capital over more traditional sources, despite the relatively high failure rate of delivering on time to investors (Agrawal, Catalini, & Goldfarb, 2014; Mollick, 2014). In this respect, social media may well have different implications for the remuneration of creative endeavour depending on whether the specific type of work involved is of the on-going "gig" variety or if it used a source of crowdfunding new entrepreneurial ventures.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined three core areas in which I believe more research is required as we look towards evaluating the impact of social media on the future of creativity at work. Whether in terms of its effects on the foundations

of creativity, its role in the expression and recognition of creative endeavour, or its influence on the remuneration of creative labour, social media have appeared to share a complex and fascinating relationship with working practice in the digital economy. A recent report by The Warwick Commission (2015, p. 15) emphasizes the need to maximize opportunities created by the digital age, encouraging a “thriving digital cultural sphere that is open and available to all”. Such a vision is not so far removed from the technological utopianism that pervaded the early days of the social media revolution just over a decade ago. However, as this chapter has indicated, important gaps distinguishing this idealistic past from the realistic present have since emerged. It is only by better understanding how and why these have occurred that we may better predict the role of social media on the future of creative work.

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27

Creativity at Work and Sustainable Product Development: Practitioner Perspectives from the Clothing Industry

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Introduction

This chapter addresses creativity which is conceptual and practical in the context of product development, incorporating a case focusing on practice which is both creative and environmentally sustainable. Although there is the potential for creativity at work in organizations in any sector, it is clearly especially significant within the creative industries. Additionally, this is a significant field to investigate, since the creative industries sector is a major contributor to the economy, with Gross Value Added of £84.1bn in 2014 in the UK, which has increased each year since 1997, and there are around 2.8 million jobs in the UK creative economy, of which less than half were in non-creative sector companies, according to the Inter-Departmental Business Register (DCMS, 2016). However, the final figure could be larger in relation to the fashion business, since fashion design is included in this definition but fashion manufacture and retail are not.

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In relation to creativity and product innovation, designers may often be automatically perceived by consumers as the central, or even the only, creative actors, yet there are many other roles, such as technologists, engineers, and buyers, who facilitate the creativity of designers in the workplace and who are also creative in their own right (Goworek, 2006). However, practitioners in these supporting or parallel roles may be less likely to express their creativity aesthetically, which could explain why their creative input is less evident or not visible to consumers. Our chapter begins by exploring literature on creativity at work, before discussing how creativity can be applied to product development within the clothing industry. Lastly, we discuss how creative knowledge, skills, and processes can be put into practice in a case on sustainable product development that requires both creativity and innovation, incorporating industry perspectives. The research in the case set out to reveal barriers, enablers, knowledge, processes, infrastructure, and consumer views that support wider adoption of practices to facilitate product longevity.

Creativity in the Context of Work

The definition of creativity is a matter of some debate in terms of its scope. Certain authors consider creativity to be limited to the generation of novel ideas (Cox, 2005; Eubanks, Palanski, Iswart, Hammond, & Oguntebi, 2014; Mumford & Gustafson, 1988), which suggests there is a level of uncertainty or risk attached, and others specify that additionally, such ideas must be useful or actionable (Baer, 2012; Berman & Kim, 2010; Runco & Jaeger, 2012). Furthermore, creativity may be perceived by some to be restricted to particularly talented, creative individuals in artistic or cultural fields (Eubanks et al., 2014; Wilson, 2009). Creativity can be considered to involve the generation of ideas that diverge from the norm and yet actors within the creative process also need to confine those ideas within limits set by society and organizations (Puryear, 2014). The challenges of defining creativity (and its metaphors such as incubation and divergence) have been explored by McKerracher (2016), who questions the need to arrive at an individual definition, proposing instead to celebrate its diversity. Furthermore, there is no clear consensus on the boundaries within which creativity is located, in that idea implementation may be included or viewed as a separate subsequent stage. Baer (2012) suggests that innovation is a broader concept, comprising both creativity and implementation of the ideas which it generates. This would seem a reasonable assumption, since many more creative ideas are likely to be generated than are put into practice (Sohn & Jung, 2010).

Berman and Kim (2010, p. 621) are amongst the authors who agree that innovation is broader than creativity: “innovation is commonly defined as the process whereby new ideas, objects, or practices are created, developed, implemented, and diffused (e.g., Rogers, 1995; Walker, 2006)”. Rogers (1997, p. 8) concurs, also believing that idea generation is narrower than innovation, since he describes innovation as “the process of converting preferred ideas into real products”, adding that curiosity and humour are important factors in creativity, of which all people are capable to differing extents. However, Puryear (2014) criticizes the study of creativity for focusing on idea generation and its end results whilst neglecting the cognitive processing that occurs in the interim, which is a strong potential area for future study in the creative sector. Taking the various views in the literature into account, within this chapter we consider creativity to encompass idea generation which comprises creative problem-solving, moving beyond product ideas to include service and commercial concepts, with functional as well as artistic and aesthetic considerations.

Managing Creativity

Product (or service) development, improvement, and practical process adaptation are amongst the various tangible aspects of creativity which can be managed. Other aspects of creativity such as creative thought processes are less tangible and can consequently be somewhat difficult to manage, particularly as those responsible for managing creativity can have different perspectives and motivations from those who are tasked with creating new ideas (Eubanks et al., 2014). Furthermore, creative ideas may not necessarily seem logical (Puryear, 2014) and may thus be incompatible with the more logical framework expected by highly business-orientated employees. Risks inherent in the novelty of creative ideas may incite conflict between different teams within an organization, leading to disagreement around which concepts should be selected or limiting the effectiveness of their implementation (Baer, 2012; Frost & Egri, 1991; Green, Welsh, & Dehler, 2003). This can result in organizations selecting ideas which inhibit creativity, in that they are less of a departure from the norm and are therefore considered a safer option. Employees whose roles are finance orientated may be more prone to selecting risk-averse creative ideas, despite the fact that the increased risk in more creative proposals also offers the potential for increased profitability by producing original goods and services that could consequently gain a competitive advantage. However, measuring levels of creativity can be problematic, since

the number of ideas generated may not relate directly to the critical or commercial success of a product or service (McMahon, Ruggeri, Kämmer, & Katsikopoulos, 2016). Even with a high rate of idea generation, the concepts which are implemented could have been amongst those which were devised earliest, thus adding complexity to the task of measuring creativity.

Isaksen, Kaufmann, and Bakken (2014) investigated the personality factors behind creative problem-solving styles, since creativity is usually essential in order for organizations to remain competitive and to gain insights into people's approaches to creative problems which can help to establish suitable conditions to encourage creative outputs. Problem-solving styles may require adaptation in order to incorporate sustainable thinking. "Creative style" refers to the ways in which people express or apply creativity (Treffinger, Selby, & Isaksen, 2008). Management instruments can be utilized to evaluate creative styles, including FourSight, which can assess attitudes towards the stages of creative problem-solving, categorizing employees as Clarifiers, Ideators, Developers, or Implementers, a system used in practice by organizations including Google, IBM, and 3M (Foursightonline, 2017). Creative thinkers have also been classified into two categories by Kirton (1976): Adaptors, who follow rules and develop solutions within existing teams and structures, and Innovators, who are less disciplined, yet promote change by approaching tasks from novel perspectives, moving beyond a problem's boundaries. The Innovator approach is more typical of designers who wish to push the boundaries of product development and create a sense of freedom in their work. In practice, both innovative and developmental approaches can be contributed by different team members or by an individual who has a combination of both. Generating ideas which are perceived by others as being highly creative can be driven by the creator's desire to be original and may even be part of an evolutionary drive to innovate (Abra, 1997; Perkins, 1984; Puryear, 2014).

Research suggests that creativity can be enhanced when teams perceive that it is expected of them and when they work together supportively with shared goals and relevant networks (Eubanks et al., 2014; Gilson & Shalley, 2004). Encouraging an environment which fosters teamwork, through aspects such as more effective workplace location and initiating meetings, can be relatively easy and economical for managers to implement (Rogers, 1997), which can lead to enhanced creativity. Eubanks et al. (2014, p. 223) found that a positive relationship with the team network and autonomy made employees more willing to be creative:

The freedom to try new things plays a vital role for employees engaging in creative endeavors. This freedom can be influenced by one's relationship with her

supervisor, relationship with her team, and various work pressures. One of the first steps to reaching creative output is to have a playful attitude toward work where there is encouragement and processes that allow individuals to take risks and try new things ...

Similarly, branding consultant Martin Knox (2017) describes the importance of being able to make mistakes without risk whilst creating concepts, so that employees are encouraged by their companies to be creative in their ideas. The concept of Creativity Management has been developed with the aim of increasing the volume of novel ideas which can be implemented within organizations by fostering an environment that encourages staff to propose innovative ideas via training or brainstorming, motivated by incentives and striking a balance between top-down and grassroots innovation. Creativity Management enables managers to then select which ideas to progress to the implementation stage (Berman & Kim, 2010).

Creativity in Education and Industry for Creative Fashion Roles

Individual approaches to work in creative roles are often inspired by the actors' educational background, and product developers usually require relevant specialist education in order to learn the design and/or technical skills related to their work. Academics in all disciplines can be considered to implement creative processes within their work, for example, through curriculum development for new courses or individual lectures, which can offer the opportunity to insert contemporary issues which require creative solutions within this content, such as minimizing sustainability impacts. However, in disciplines which are overtly labelled "creative", for example, in a University's School of Art and Design, there is clearly a large amount of creative work being implemented and creative academic research represents a knowledge base which can have unrealized potential for commercialization (Mould, Vorley, & Roodhouse, 2009). Of all the creative curricula, fashion is generally perceived to be a highly creative and innovative subject. Clark (2009) categorized "designer fashion" as one of the creative industries in the UK (although the definition of "designer fashion" is not clear, since all fashion products need to be designed) and found that the fashion business was considered to be part of the "experience economy" in Denmark and Sweden. A clearer definition of the creative industries is called for (ibid.), although the somewhat intangible and fluctuating nature of this sector makes its categorization problematic.

Interdisciplinary work can provide wider opportunities for educators in disciplines connected to the creative industries and has been implemented by the team in this chapter's case. Collaboration between business schools and creative fields has been encouraged by organizations such as the Design Council to ensure that managers gain more understanding of creativity and that equally, creative roles have an appreciation of business, building stronger links and the sharing of skill sets between business schools and creative disciplines in recent years, reflecting the way that industry has to work. Wilson (2009, p. 188) therefore states:

What is needed is a fundamental review of the behaviours, knowledge and skills that successful creatives and managers actually exhibit, and of the particular contexts in which they interact. To this end, there is an opportunity here too for researchers (from different disciplines and working in separate schools and faculties) to work together on truly inter-disciplinary research projects.

Our chapter's case explores fashion product development, and fashion design is usually viewed automatically as the central (and sometimes only) creative role in the clothing industry. However, there are many other parallel or supporting roles that are also creative and which facilitate the creativity of the design team. Garment or textile technologists (usually working for manufacturers/suppliers), buyers, and merchandisers (from clothing retailers) also have parts to play in both enabling and directing designers' creativity (Goworek, 2006), as well as senior managers responsible for creative strategy and process innovations. Although technologists can place constraints on design due to ensuring that product features are viable in production from a technical perspective, they could also be considered to be guiding the designers more effectively towards practical design solutions. For example, such constraints could include restricting the use of incompatible fabrics or dyes which are not colour fast, thus avoiding seams ripping or dye transferring onto furniture after consumers purchase the garments.

Retail buyers set further creative parameters in terms of briefing designers to achieve target prices for garments, to appeal to consumers' tastes, and to achieve this within a specific timescale, all of which may limit the use of components and design features. Therefore, in the clothing sector the temporal, financial, and technical parameters of creativity at work are set for designers by technologists, buyers, and merchandisers within their own organization and from their clients and suppliers. Research indicates that individuals or collaborative groups can be equally creative, with groups being particularly effective at making ideas marketable (McMahon et al., 2016), and this relates

to the way in which the fashion business operates, with designers tending to work individually on design concepts at the idea generation stage, after a briefing by other team members or clients, followed by teamwork on the commercialization of selected ideas. It is also important to note that the fashion and textiles business can exist on many scales and those responsible for creating ideas may automatically be in charge of financial aspects. For example, in Gale and Kaur's (2002) book about textiles, the section on "The Creative" incorporates chapters not only on the textile designer and textile artist but also on the craftsperson and designer maker, who may operate as sole traders or freelancers taking on virtually all management functions.

Environmentally Sustainable Fashion Product Development

Designing is a creative problem-solving role, described by Walker (2009, p. 35) as "an activity that is inherently concerned with divergent problems—problems that have no definitive solution. Instead, during the creative design process a range of factors become synthesized". Design is also a contemplative activity, requiring periods of deep thinking on an individual basis for designers to create product concepts, interspersed with collaborative discussions with colleagues about creative and practical issues. Fashion design may be perceived as one of the ultimate creative endeavours, developing spontaneous innovations through a magical combination of flair and flourish. In practice, however, the process can be somewhat formulaic, largely consisting of rendering various permutations of colour, componentry, construction, fastenings, fabric, finish, length, width, seams, and silhouette (Goworek, 2006). Moving beyond these functional and aesthetic considerations, designers can benefit from an understanding of business operations by working in concert with other functions within an organization and externally. Aiming to make products more sustainable is an additional constraint and challenge for designers to address within the product development process. Consideration of negative sustainability impacts of clothing is essential in a society which produces increasingly high levels of textile waste (Hjelmgram, Salomonson, & Ekström, 2015). Sustainable product design aims to minimize or remove such negative sustainability impacts on the environment and society. For example, negative impacts can be reduced by the selection of more environmentally or socially sustainable materials and components or production processes, with consideration for future re-use or sustainable disposal.

Cucuzzella (2016) points out that sustainability can be either an obstacle or a lever for creativity, since it can result in a restrictive design brief or one that is open to new concepts, and she questions where creativity fits within sustainable design, offering Life Cycle Analysis (LCA) and Ecological Footprint as examples of purposeful tools that designers can use to evaluate their designs, with a positive, preventative approach. Grose (2013) takes LCA into account by describing making garments more sustainable or durable as “misplaced strategies” unless their ultimate use is also considered. Quality is also of importance to provide consumers with longevity and durability in their clothing (Streit & Davies, 2013) and the relationship between price, purpose, fashionability, and longevity through astute fabric and styling decisions during product development can lessen clothing’s negative sustainability impacts (Goworek, Hiller, Fisher, Cooper, & Woodward, 2013). Fletcher and Grose (2012, p. 9) “favour a multifarious approach to sustainability in fashion, working both inside and outside the sector and across all parts of the economy” and they foresee designers becoming more informed, with a new vocabulary and ways of thinking that could enable them to achieve new levels of innovation, such as the perpetual recycling of fibres, spurred on by government policies and new industry standards. Some would question whether creativity plays a part in design interventions for sustainability and in response, Cucuzzella (2016, p. 1548) points out that:

Regardless if the perspective for exploring alternatives of unsustainable situations is short, medium or long-term, designers as producers of culture strive for creative outcomes in all their projects. Design has become an increasingly important medium for understanding and addressing the current environmental and social crisis. As a vehicle for change, with the intent of improving a given situation into a better one (Simon, 1969), design can therefore contribute to the changes necessary such that society can move towards a type of development that is sustainable (Fletcher et al., 2001).

Multi-disciplinary cooperation between actors across the product life cycle (design and production teams; buyers; suppliers; marketing and corporate responsibility managers) helps achieve simultaneous customer value and sustainable design (Curwen, Park, & Sarkar, 2012; Hong, Kwon, & Roh, 2009). In turn, company ethos, systems thinking (Hong et al., 2009) and a pro-active business culture support sustainable design objectives, structure, and processes (Curwen et al., 2012). The integration of suppliers and cross-functional teams collectively addresses principles of design for sustainable clothing—company mandate, shared values, knowledge sharing, reorganization, and supply chain

simplification (*ibid.*)—and helps to optimize materials, design, and consumption (Gam, Cao, Farr, & Heine, 2008). Reducing sustainability impacts by maintaining longer active use of clothing requires a pro-active, visionary design approach (Laitala & Klepp, 2011; Niinimäki, 2012) to maximize emotional durability. Sustainable fashion design literature proposes that designers are appropriately informed and able to influence the product development process (Black, 2008; Fletcher, 2007; Fletcher & Grose, 2012; Gwilt & Rissanen, 2010). However, Palomo-Lovinski and Hahn (2014) suggest that designers working for mainstream fashion businesses lack the empowerment and awareness or knowledge required to influence the process. Meanwhile, conflicting commercial demands compel clothing retailers to reduce costs or maintain brand integrity through product aesthetics, quality, functionality, and availability (Brun & Castelli, 2008). Sustainable design through clothing longevity appears at odds with the cost and time priorities of this prevailing fashion business model (Cooper, Hill, Kininmonth, Townsend, & Hughes, 2013) in which only small firms have been able to do more than adopt incremental product and process improvements and reshape their whole supply chain (Caniato, Caridi, Crippa, & Moretto, 2012). Eubanks et al. (2014, p. 233) propose that “variables such as positive peer group, positive interpersonal exchange, intellectual stimulation, and participation indicate the importance of the team to engage in creative endeavors”. Therefore, a team focusing on sustainable garment design can be encouraged to thrive in a working environment that supports these elements.

Creativity can in itself be a challenge to durability in relation to fashion, alongside identity formation and communication via clothing, due to their resource-intensive nature (Fletcher, 2012). Challenging issues such as sustainability and longevity requires innovative solutions and the creative thought processes used by designers could be central to improving sustainability within the fashion industry. Moving beyond the product development phase, companies can implement take-back schemes which oblige them to accept returned garments after consumer usage for re-use, remanufacture, or disposal to save them from landfill. This accountability can thus give clothing brands a different, more sustainable perspective on design, production, and distribution, with “a growing body of designers who fuse thrift with creativity and embellishment” according to Fletcher and Grose (2012, p. 67). Conversely, consumers’ lack of empathy with basic fashion products, in combination with low prices and accessibility, can result in garments’ disposal prior to becoming worn out, and this absence of an emotional connection between the consumer and the product can lead to premature disposal in landfill, where physical durability becomes problematic (*ibid.*). Government policy can

make a rapid and direct impact upon consumer behaviour by making people purchase or dispose of products in a more sustainable manner (e.g., making it compulsory for retailers to charge for carrier bags has led to a significant reduction in their consumption), and government-funded research, such as the project in our case given later, can be structured to influence designers to apply the outcomes to their creative practice, thus also helping consumers to change their behaviour.

Whilst it is debatable whether or not brainstorming in teams is more effective than developing ideas individually (McMahon et al., 2016), our empirical experience in the fashion business and research projects tells us that working as a team with representatives from different functions is essential in fashion product development, to provide input from aesthetic, technical, and commercial perspectives which ensure that technically feasible garments with market appeal can be produced effectively. Accordingly, Fletcher and Grose (2012, p. 181) predict that creative roles will work together more effectively in the near future: “designers will become strategists and comfortably work alongside economists, policy-makers, ecologists, business leaders and scientists, working collaboratively to influence positive societal and cultural change”.

Adding sustainability to the more established list of design constraints, such as price, technical considerations, and aesthetic appeal to consumers, could however be considered to potentially make the design role somewhat frustrating and inhibit creativity. Despite this, sustainable design has proven to be a popular topic for innovative students and academics during the last two decades, as evidenced by the establishment of professorships and courses in this field at universities known primarily for their creative approaches, such as University of the Arts subsidiaries London College of Fashion and Central Saint Martins. To encourage creative and sustainable product development, Niinimäki and Hassi (2011) propose a range of design strategies for sustainable fashion such as co-design, customization, personalization, and modular do-it-yourself (DIY) kits and explore consumer responses. In addition to such strategies, consumer creativity could help customers form more of an emotional attachment to clothing items when they have engaged with the product development process and may also have paid a higher price for a certain level of customization. Consumers can also be creative through repairing items (McLaren & McLauchlan, 2015) using craft skills which adopt the same techniques that others implement within their paid employment. There is a sense that when creativity of this kind provides people with such satisfaction and enjoyment that they choose to do it voluntarily, virtually identical processes can move beyond the realm of work to become creative pastimes.

Drivers for Longer Clothing Lifetimes

Extending product lifetimes encompasses improvements to physical durability, the behaviour of consumers in their purchase, care and disposal of products, and wider socio-cultural influences (Cooper, 2010). Since one-third of the UK population say they would buy clothing made to last longer (WRAP, 2013) it is not unreasonable to assume that it should be possible to increase the average life expectancy of clothing items by around one-third (WRAP, 2012), in which case the environmental footprint of clothing could be reduced by 20%. However, while developing longer-lasting clothing is technically achievable (WRAP, 2014), many businesses have failed to adopt this strategy because the commercial case for doing so is yet to be proven. Fast fashion, with prolific new style turnaround, short-lived fashions, and low costs, remains one of the prevailing models, particularly within the lower-priced level of the UK mass market. However, the values of other consumers, who prioritize sustainability over price (Intel Oxygen, 2011; WRAP, 2012), increase the opportunity for longer-lasting classic items and better processes for clothing recycling and re-use in some markets (WRAP, 2012). It is also recognized that clothing can defy obsolescence unintentionally, rather than through design planning or the features of a product, evidenced by ethnographic research that demonstrates consumers' ability to extend the life of clothing through thoughtful usage (Fletcher, 2012).

The clothing industry itself offers numerous challenges to adopting more sustainable practices. It is accepted that most clothing retailers and brands have global supply chains, (Spicer, 2006), and that most large clothing businesses operate in similar ways, adopting established "norms" (Giddens, 1986). In this context, agency, defined by Barker (2005, p. 448) as the "capacity of individuals to act independently and make their own choices", is limited and there are few disruptive influences. However, research into sustainability management suggests that the governance structures of some firms need disrupting to enhance the agency of designers and creative roles. This in turn would help to create more sustainable approaches to the product-service mix (Hoejmose, Brammer, & Millington, 2012; Lockett, Johnson, Bastl, & Evans, 2011); the processes that support re-use and recycling (Boström, Jönsson, Lockie, Mol, & Oosterveer, 2015; Hoejmose et al., 2012; Lozano, Carpenter, & Huisin, 2015); and the concept of "use" (Taylor, 2013). The "agency of design" is discussed in creating sustainable fashion products by Farrer (2010, p. 22), although the multi-disciplinary nature of the commercial product development process, which extends beyond the design function, can often be overlooked.

An Example of Creativity at Work in Action: The Case of Clothing Longevity

To demonstrate how creativity at work can operate in practice, here we present a case which investigates the implementation of creative idea generation, within the boundaries of sustainable product development in the context of the clothing industry. In the UK, government sustainability policy supports initiatives aimed at reducing the disposal of excessive amounts of clothing to landfill (Defra, 2011). One such initiative is developing and selling clothes that lasts for longer. This policy assumes that new business models increase the commercial viability of such a strategy to retailers and brands (WRAP, 2012). However, industry strategists remain sceptical of the commercial opportunity to increase clothing lifetimes. Our case highlights the conflicting priorities of achieving sustainability within a commercial context. It explores the roles of product development teams and the opportunity for creative solutions—not just to product design—but also to designing new service offers, new systems for re-use and recycling, and new ways to commercialize and communicate a more sustainable approach to fashion. The case also examines whether the traditional fashion industry structures and norms limit the agency of designers to contribute to the creation of a more sustainable future. This case examines environmentally sustainable, industry-led strategies aimed at enhancing clothing lifetimes, based largely around new product development (NPD).

Our exploration into the adoption of clothing longevity builds on a series of earlier studies, by the project team and other researchers, to establish whether it is possible to design and manufacture clothing that lasts for longer than average. The study utilized mixed methods, including semi-structured interviews with 25 garment industry stakeholders from across a range of roles in fashion retail and the supply chain. We subsequently conducted 4 round-table discussions, engaging some 40 multi-disciplinary academic and industry experts to debate specific themes concerned with making and selling clothing that lasts for longer. In parallel, we facilitated four focus groups with representatives from various market segments to discuss their behaviours when buying, caring for, and discarding clothing. Subsequently, four pilot interventions highlighted the factors that, in practice, promote and inhibit improved clothing longevity. The research was conducted by an interdisciplinary team of design and business academics, as part of a project funded by the UK Government's Department for Environment, Food, and Rural Affairs (Defra) to explore how the NPD process and supply chain could extend clothing lifetimes (Cooper et al., 2016).

Findings

While generic approaches to sustainability, such as raw material impacts, energy efficiency, and ethical compliance, are increasingly important to retailers and brands, to many such organizations, clothing longevity has not become a priority, since extending the longevity of garments challenges other commercial objectives, including profit margins and future sales. Challenges within the NPD process, globalization, fast style turnover, product proliferation, and the over-riding cost imperative, mean that designers may be constrained, as mentioned earlier, and often lack control of upstream processes such as material choices and manufacturing methods. While supplier firms consistently refer to their significant skills and accumulated knowledge, they also perceive a knowledge shortfall in retail buying teams, even though it is the latter who generally drive the NPD process. This situation is exacerbated because distrust and lack of transparency between large retailers and their suppliers can mean that suppliers perceive their creative knowledge to be undervalued. Smaller, innovative retailers and brands admit that they lack sufficient power and influence to have any lasting impact on the practices of their suppliers, who favour larger customers. As a result, durability standards are disregarded or are of limited, short-term benefit. Furthermore, certain retailers and brands maintain that consumers undermine clothing longevity through inadequate clothing care.

Some respondents acknowledge that durability enhances brand value, regardless of its contribution to sustainability. For example, in our study, a representative from a large clothing retailer stated: “if there are ways and means of making longer lasting garments, better quality garments commercially effectively then that’s what we should be doing anyway”. Meanwhile, some small brands have begun to offer more service-oriented solutions, such as repair and alterations, whereas others are taking a creative approach by designing modular or more adaptable clothing, which is multi-functional. All extend the life of clothing and can provide alternative revenue streams. Such solutions to enhancing durability need to be “designed-in” requiring a strategic steer, multi-disciplinary creative approach that spans functional boundaries and the freedom to apply technological know-how. Problems such as colour fading, pilling, and failed trims were frequently solved by making alternative choices, rather than making improvements to the failed elements. According to one of the retailers we interviewed, this involves “working far enough in advance of the production to pick up any problems and resolve them ... as early in the process as possible”. Within this retailer’s NPD team,

“the buying, the designing and the technology and merchandise are all on the same level (office) and we all go on trips . . . we’re all in the developing meetings together”. This supports multi-faceted approaches to creativity and the importance of early design involvement. Consequently, collaboration between relevant creative roles from the initial stages and consideration of time planning are two of the factors that facilitate sustainable product development.

In one supplier company, in our sample, the design team was fragmented between a small UK team close to the customer and a technical team located in China, close to production. The teams worked closely together, although not without problems, and the structure enabled collaboration with the customer about design and between the technical team and suppliers. Engineering products to meet price points and deadlines were challenges to creativity and durability. A quality brand suggested that making longer-lasting products would require “an investment in training and product development”, as well as innovative approaches to product tests that represent wear and tear. The testing process itself also supports tacit knowledge of the product and its durability characteristics, which builds up with time and experience for designers and their colleagues in other functions. In contrast, a fabric manufacturer admitted to “experiencing mixed messages coming from the design and production departments of (its) clients, with design selecting fabrics even though production have dismissed them in the past, and production then wanting developments/modifications to be made based on test results”. Using fabrics for unintended purposes can also compromise durability, as not all are made for persistent use or care, and this therefore needs to be taken into account when making creative decisions during NPD.

Discussion

These findings confirm that design for clothing longevity is constrained by traditional structures which limit the agency of some actors, particularly suppliers, to fully utilize their creative skills and knowledge within effective multi-disciplinary teams (Palomo-Lovinski & Hahn, 2014). Furthermore, there is a perceived lack of respect for the creative and technical knowledge and skills found within the supply chain that constrains the drive for retailers’ or brands’ design teams to acquire technical knowledge. This is reinforced by inherent strategic values which favour private gain over creativity and the prevailing commercial drive to prioritize cost-savings (Hoejmose et al., 2012). The lack of agency is associated with a high-level mandate to support sustainability (Curwen et al., 2012), that is not translated at commercial or operational

level into clothing longevity as advocated by policy (Defra, 2011). Where design for durability is adopted this generally supports brand values such as quality (Brun & Castelli, 2008) rather than sustainability per se. Signs of a commercial case for clothing longevity are not driving change on any scale and there is a lack of enquiry in this field, whether in the agency of design (Farrer, 2010), understanding of use (Taylor, 2013), or generation of new business models. Contextually, the scale of accumulation and flow of capital have changed from district or national to global levels (Spicer, 2006), while governance structures remain rooted in the West. In turn, this appears to have created a fragmentation of the inter-organizational and multi-disciplinary discourse that could lead to enduring sustainability improvements from inter-firm to intra-firm level. This divergence, or hybrid organizational logic (Ibid.), inhibits the discourse that could commercialize design for clothing longevity, limiting its scale to relatively small organizations and niche markets. However, the outputs of this research project offer an example of how policy has the potential to implement and accelerate change, via the publication of a report and toolkit to demonstrate strategies for incorporating durability into clothing in practice, which can inspire more sustainable creativity within fashion product development (Cooper et al., 2016).

Conclusion

The literature and the case in this chapter demonstrate that creative knowledge, skills, and processes can be used at work in collaborative cross-disciplinary teams (Mould et al., 2009) to implement sustainable product development effectively. Since creativity at work within the fashion business is not limited to the designer's role, other roles such as technologists and buyers have also been demonstrated to have an impact upon the creative process of incorporating sustainability within fashion product development. If the notion of creativity within the clothing industry can be applied to both manufacturing and thought processes involved in product development and production, rather than adhering to a narrower definition of creativity being restricted to aesthetic ideas devised by designers, this offers more scope for the incorporation of sustainable practices within the visual and practical creation of physical products. The incorporation of more sustainable practices within creative processes at work is becoming increasingly significant and in the future, regulations may be imposed which make a more sustainable approach towards creativity compulsory. The present notion that sustainable design is an innovative and therefore unusual phenomenon is likely to give way to it becoming

standard practice for future designers, due to increasing acknowledgement of the importance of minimizing sustainability impacts.

The research in the case concludes that a lack of governance and agency, rather than a lack of creativity, inhibits technical capability to enhance clothing longevity. The research adds empirical, commercial data to theoretical work, drawing on diverse schools of thought. The findings emphasize the conflicts between creativity, commercial drivers and sustainability imperatives, product longevity and other approaches to sustainability, and the creative, technical, and financial challenges implied by hybrid approaches to scale. The company mandate needs to address both commercial and sustainability drivers, reinforced with creative design and technical innovation, where a fundamental shift is required to give multi-functional design teams the capacity to utilize their creative skills and knowledge within a supportive, but global, business structure (Curwen et al., 2012).

Implications for managers are that key factors which foster creativity within a team (Eubanks et al., 2014) can be provided by supportive management to encourage creative and sustainable product innovation, such as autonomy, mentoring, and networking, to encourage a supportive positive climate towards problem-solving for sustainable design issues via collaborative teamwork, both within organizations and with external stakeholders such as suppliers.

One of the key barriers to the wider adoption of practices to facilitate product longevity in the case was the lack of information available to educate both practitioners and consumers in this area, and therefore providing that information to those engaged in product development, as referred to in the case, could enable them to add to their knowledge to devise creative solutions. Governmental strategies can impact upon the rapidity of implementing creative sustainable product development through policies and the distribution of publications to inform more sustainable practices. Sharing information on sustainable practices within the clothing longevity toolkit can offer businesses the opportunity to benefit from the knowledge of members of a product sector which usually shuns collaboration with competitors and is notoriously secretive. Finally, there is potential for a new theoretical model of creativity in relation to sustainability to be developed that would be applicable to both academic and business fields. Future research could investigate ways in which sustainable approaches can be incorporated into creative thinking in relation to design and product or service development, to enhance understanding of the commercial cost-benefit equation and evaluate alternative business models which facilitate sustainable innovation. As this research is limited to the UK market, there is an opportunity to further explore issues beyond national scale.

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Disruption on the Dancefloor: Understanding Creativity as Openness and Emergence

Brigid McClure

Introduction

The Australian philosopher Rosalyn Diprose suggests that “how we formulate the limits to our creativity depends upon where we think the ability to dance comes from” (2002, p. 66). This chapter takes Diprose’s provocation quite literally and explores creativity through a lens of social salsa dancing, weaving together empirical research, personal practice, and theoretical reflections. There are four key features of social salsa dancing which make it a particularly relevant site of enquiry for thinking about creativity, in the context of what multiple researchers have identified as a sociocultural paradigm of creativity research (Cummings, Bilton, & ogilvie, 2015; Glăveanu, 2010, 2011; Sawyer, 2008, 2012; Sawyer & DeZutter, 2009; Littleton, Rojas-Drummond, & Miell, 2008): first, social salsa dancing is an improvised process, with no tangible artistic product; second, it is a thoroughly embodied and embedded practice; third, it is not restricted to professionals but rather danced by individuals from all walks of life simply for enjoyment; and finally, it is danced in a partnership between a leader and a follower. I start by drawing out these four features in more detail and connecting them with key themes within broader literature on creativity. In the subsequent discussion, I describe how the roles of leader and follower are constructed and how they shape interactions in social salsa dancing, and then explore the implications for how dancers engage

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L. Martin, N. Wilson (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Creativity at Work*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-77350-6_28

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with and experience the creative process. I show how different conceptions of creativity fundamentally inform attitudes, behaviours, and pedagogical approaches and conclude by offering some applied strategies aimed at enabling a more collaborative practice with increased creative potential.

Educational theorists Tapio Toivanen, Laura Halkilahti, and Heikki Ruismäki (2013) neatly summarize the challenges of creativity research as follows: “Creativity is a multi-dimensional and complex phenomenon. It is difficult to measure and one of the most difficult psychological concepts to define” (2013, p. 1169). Nonetheless, Kuan Chen Tsai suggests that “there is clear consensus in the field of creativity that differentiates between the creative product and the creative process” (2012, p. 15). Whilst the term “salsa” encompasses a wide range of music and dance styles which can be found in a variety of social contexts around the world, this chapter focuses on social dancing which is an improvised practice with no goal beyond itself. This places the emphasis firmly on the creative process itself rather than the creation of an artistic product. Psychologist and creativity researcher Robert Keith Sawyer argues that creativity research has tended to neglect improvisational practices in favour of “activities that result in objective, ostensible products—paintings, sculptures, musical scores—which remain after the creative act is complete... In contrast, in improvisational performance, the creative process *is* the product” (2000, p. 149). Dancer and philosopher Maxine Sheets-Johnstone makes a similar observation about improvisational dance: “the process of creating is not the means of realising a dance; it is the dance itself” (2011, p. 421). Like Sawyer, I believe that improvised practices offer valuable contexts for the study of creativity, precisely because the lack of a tangible or enduring product forces us to grapple with understanding creativity *as it is in process*. Furthermore, if—as in the case of social salsa dancing—there is no audience other than the participants themselves, we must recognize that the creative practice is being enacted for the sake of *experiencing* the process as it unfolds rather than for the entertainment or aesthetic judgement of observers.

If we understand social salsa dancing as creativity-as-experienced-in-process, it is clear that it is also thoroughly embodied and embedded. It is what Michael Giardina and Joshua Newman (2011) would call a “physical culture”, fundamentally characterized by bodies moving together in particular patterns and contexts. Despite the diversity of theoretical work on creativity, and growing interest in embodiment across a range of disciplines traditionally interested in creativity, there still seems to be a missing connection—certainly, it is worth noting a distinct lack of discussion on embodied creativity in the updated editions of both *The Cambridge handbook of creativity*

(Kaufman & Sternberg, 2010) and *Creativity theories and themes: research, development & practice* (Runco, 2014). As psychologist Marius Stanciu notes:

Embodied creativity research represents a new and promising direction that can change the manner in which we perceive not only the creative process, but also the influence that the body and the environment can have on shaping creativity itself. Despite the age of some of its core concepts, the field, however, is still underdeveloped. (2015, p. 316)

Laura Malinin (2016), working within the field of architecture, draws on research into situated cognition to suggest an “ecological model of creativity”, which recognizes that perception is always embodied, and that creative practice is fundamentally shaped by our perception of our physical and social environment, the materials and other actors available to us, and the way we interact with them. In a different context of higher education, Norman Jackson (2017) suggests a similar ecological approach, again recognizing a creative practitioner’s “deep relationship” with their context. Although both are interested in the interaction between individual and context, Jackson focuses more on how individuals develop their creative practice by learning to make best use of contextual features, whilst Malinin focuses more on how environments could be intentionally designed to better enable creativity. This chapter considers both perspectives, first, by exploring how the creative practice of dancers is enabled or inhibited by the way they interact with their partners and the music and, second, by exploring how salsa teachers can construct learning environments which encourage a more creative practice.

The third feature I would like to draw out is that social dancing is not restricted to trained professionals but rather danced informally for enjoyment by individuals from all walks of life, in local clubs and studios and at international festivals known as congresses. Social dancing is thus an example of what psychologist and creativity researcher Ruth Richards describes as “everyday creativity”, in which:

To cope with changing environments, we improvise, we flexibly adapt, we try this and that... Far from being a minor or specialised part of our lives, our everyday creativity—our originality of everyday life—is, first of all, a survival capability. It is also a universal capability. (2007, p. 3)

Within the context of social salsa dancing, the changing environment can be understood in terms of the continual stimulus provided by the music and other dancers, and the diversity of individuals who make up the salsa

community is a clear illustration of the universal capability for creative practice. Richards advocates for a greater critical focus on everyday creativity, arguing that:

If everyday creativity is not a new idea, it still seems downplayed compared with other life concerns ... it becomes even more important to ask why the creativity we take seriously is widely considered exclusive to eminent or exceptional people ... in preference to the creativity we all can manifest. (2007, p. 7)

This chapter takes seriously the everyday creativity of a community of mainly amateur dancers, by not only highlighting and celebrating their practice but also critically interrogating and identifying the factors which structure and delimit that everyday creativity.

Finally, the fourth feature to note is that social salsa dancing is danced as a partnership between a “leader” and a “follower”, prompting us to move beyond ideas of individual creativity and consider how creativity works in and through encounters and relations. This is consistent with a wider shift “away from individualist conceptions and toward collaborative, sociocultural conceptions of creativity” (Sawyer, 2012, p. 429). This shift places greater emphasis on the interaction between multiple individuals, and between individuals and their social world; for example, Cummings et al. argue that “creativity derives from multiple creativities, not from a singular property” (2015, p. 14), and that “creativity occurs through dynamic group behaviour (teams and systems) or ‘creative dynamics’” (2015, p. 15). This chapter focuses on the detail of how a creative process unfolds through embodied interaction and the shifting relations of different elements, exploring how our mode of engagement with others directly shapes the creative process and delimits creative potential. It is important to recognize at this point that the roles of leader and follower are conventionally assigned to men and women, respectively. This raises all sorts of interesting and challenging questions for feminist research; indeed, the ideas explored in this chapter have emerged from a wider project investigating gender relations within the salsa dance partnership. This chapter focuses on how the differentiation into leader and follower roles shapes each individual’s experience of, and contribution to, the creative process, but the gendered allocation of roles does raise a methodological point about the practice-based research, which has informed this chapter. Building on over a decade of personal experience on dancefloors around the world, the practice-based research was then conducted over the course of a year, encompassing 11 congresses as well as extended periods in the local salsa scenes of London and New York, and including semi-structured interviews as well as many informal

discussions and hours spent on the dancefloor. As a woman, my normative role in salsa is as a follower, representing a particular form of positionality which I negotiated to some extent during the research process by learning to lead, both to enable embodied dancefloor interactions with female as well as male dancers, and to explore reactions from other dancers when the usual heteronormative dance partnership was challenged. Developing embodied skill and experience as both a leader and a follower proved crucial for understanding the creative process from both perspectives and informing the ideas explored in this chapter.

Creativity as Choreography

Social salsa dancing is fundamentally about connecting with a partner through shared experience of movement. The first mechanism of connection that dancers learn is a simple pattern of steps commonly known as “the basic step”, which provides the foundation for virtually all movement throughout the dance and enables dancers to coordinate their movements to the music and develop shared momentum. Building on this basic step, dancers begin to learn the mechanics of leading and following, using tactile signals to enact more complex flows of movement, many of which have been gradually codified over the years into recognized sequences called “turn patterns”. These turn patterns are typically learnt through “skill and drill” exercises where teachers demonstrate the pattern, then break it down into shorter elements, which the class copy and repeat until they can reproduce the entire pattern correctly. During this early learning process, most of the instruction is directed towards leaders, showing them how to initiate the turn pattern through tactile and kinaesthetic signals, with frequent and explicit exhortations to take responsibility for making the movement happen, such as “you need to actually lead her” or “you need to make her go where you want her to go”. Meanwhile, followers practise responding by moving in the direction indicated, with occasional reminders from the teacher such as “don’t anticipate!” and “don’t do it for him, let him lead you!” Partners rotate every few minutes to ensure that every leader is able to correctly execute the turn pattern with every follower. Being allocated to the role of leader or follower thus begins to shape an individual’s dancing practice from their very first encounter with salsa. Depending on whether they are a leader or a follower, they develop differentiated experiences, skills, and embodied knowledges according to the normative expectations of their role, which are continually reinforced and modelled through the discourse and practice of teachers and more experienced

dancers. The normative partnership structure places responsibility on leaders to deploy their repertoire of turn patterns in different ways to improvise a continuous flow of shared movement, whilst the follower is primarily responsible for maintaining their balance and footwork to react quickly and appropriately to whatever lead is given.

In this construction of the dance partnership, the potential for creativity resides almost exclusively in the choreographic abilities of the leader, with clear constraints on the follower's ability to be creative, as evident in this explanation by one follower who has danced for many years:

The only thing you are allowed to do in salsa as a girl is your styling, it's what you put in between what he wants you to do. But that's it. You can't say, "stop, I am talking now". Well you could, it's just that people don't expect you to.
(Lena)

Lena clearly feels that her opportunities to be creative are limited to "styling" through decorative embellishments which she manages to fit within the lead she is given. It is important to recognize, however, that this constraint is not (or at least, *need not be*) a relation of physical domination, in terms of leaders forcing followers into certain movements. Drawing on Foucault's influential theory of power as a system of relations which positions individuals as more or less able to act in certain ways (Foucault & Rabinow, 1984), we can understand how the constraint is imposed by the *structure* of the partnership and a system of relations which empowers leaders—and disempowers followers—to act creatively. Hence, Lena acknowledges that it is in theory quite possible for her to do more of the "talking" (which I take to mean actively determining the choreographic flow of the dance) but that this would not fit with the normative expectations of her role as follower and is therefore likely to be experienced, not only by Lena's partner but by Lena herself, as disruptive both to the partnership and to the creative process. Similarly, I reflected in a fieldnote written after a dance encounter with one highly regarded leader who has danced and taught for many years:

He has the lightest, gentlest touch of almost anyone I've ever danced with, often not or barely making contact at all, relying on those higher level shared understandings for me to follow his body movement ... and the understanding that once he sets me in a direction I should keep going until he changes it. But it is still me choosing to act according to those shared understandings.

Clearly, this leader is not physically manoeuvring my body into following; rather, the creative constraint is imposed by the way the follower's role is

constructed within the partnership structure. Just as for Lena, consistently choosing not to follow his lead would soon result in the breakdown of the partnership and loss of any sense of connection.

As we have seen, the leader's role is normatively constructed as the choreographer for the partnership, through the deployment of pre-rehearsed turn patterns. Within this paradigm, the experience of connection arises from the successful communication of patterns to a follower who responds appropriately, resulting in a smooth, shared flow of movement. Whilst we have so far focused on the creative limitations this places on the follower, if a leader takes up their role in this way, then they are also creatively constrained, by the limits of their existing repertoire of patterns. The use of a pre-rehearsed repertoire is a familiar theme within discussions of improvisation, as illustrated by Sawyer's description of how "improvisation always occurs within a structure, and all improvisers draw on *ready-mades*—short motifs or clichés—as they create" (2000, p. 157). But Sawyer acknowledges that "if this process is carried too far, the improvisational nature of the performance is compromised", potentially leading to "patterned rigidity" (*ibid.*). Early on during the process of learning to lead, I discovered the heavy weight of responsibility to keep generating a continuous flow of movement when you only have a small repertoire of turn patterns to call on. As a novice leader feeling for the first time this responsibility to keep things going—despite already having developed a critical perspective on the normative partnership structure, and first-hand knowledge of how it feels to be "turn patterned" as a follower—I found myself anxiously running through my limited repertoire of turn patterns with every partner I encountered. Moreover, the weight of responsibility was made heavier still by the pressure I felt to "correctly" execute newly learnt patterns so as not to cause any confusion or disruption for the follower. Sawyer's term "patterned rigidity" is certainly an apt description for the resulting experience, with limited creative opportunity for either partner.

As dancers become more experienced and skilful, the patterns of execution are refined, becoming more granular and malleable, and enabling a sense of novelty within each dancefloor encounter. This is a more embodied understanding of what creativity researcher Margaret Boden calls "combinational creativity", using familiar ideas to create novel combinations in a process that "requires a rich store of knowledge in the person's mind, and many different ways of moving around within it" (2009, p. 3). Michael Kimmel (2015), a cognitive scientist researching creativity and improvisation within the context of embodied practices such as Contact Improvisation, Tango Argentino and Aikido, describes how the rigid forms "fluidify" and enable expert practitioners to adapt more dynamically to the unfolding of each encounter. Many

dancers do gradually develop a more reciprocal enactment of the dance partnership, no longer reliant on the execution of turn patterns as rehearsed routines but rather using the familiar patterns of movement as scaffolding or blueprints to work from, leading to a more nuanced flow of shared improvisation. This can be understood in terms of what Boden calls “exploratory creativity”, in which practitioners explore a given “conceptual space”. Boden defines a conceptual space as “any disciplined way of thinking [and moving] that’s familiar to (and valued by) a certain social group. Within a given conceptual space, many thoughts [or movements] are possible, only some of which may have been actually thought [or enacted]” (2009, p. 3, with my additions in square brackets). Nevertheless, in social salsa dancing, the normative expectations and behaviours of leading and following are strongly internalized during dancers’ early experiences of salsa as the primary mechanism for creating connection, and continue to pervade the practice even of more experienced dancers, shaping their engagement and the creative process. This is evident in the reflections of a leader who has danced for about three years:

I suppose if I wanted to just do turn patterns, we would be doing turn patterns most of the dance... Because what I want to lead or experience in the dance is what we kind of do, more often than not... But the way I dance, I try not to look at it in that sense... (Jacob)

Here, Jacob recognizes the expectations of a normative partnership structure but is quick to explain that he tries not to engage his partners in that way. By contrast, Maria, a more experienced and highly skilled follower, describes how her ability to negotiate a more collaborative creative dynamic is dependent on her partner:

I think that the follower needs to realize who she is dancing with because if it’s a guy that likes these type of things and he follows you in your initiative, then it’s okay. But if it’s a guy that doesn’t really like these kind of things then you maybe only annoy him... (Maria)

Even though Maria is an experienced and skilful dancer, when she encounters a leader who performs his role according to a normative partnership structure, there is limited opportunity for her to contribute to the creative process.

One might well question why Maria, Lena, or any other dancer would continue to willingly engage in partnerships where they clearly feel creatively

disempowered, but it is important to understand that social salsa dancing is about the experience of connecting with a partner and, according to the prevailing discourses within the salsa community, this connection is primarily established through the mechanism of leading and following. Amelie, who has danced for over a decade, reflected after a dance with a highly sought-after leader, “It was lovely to dance with him, but it was definitely an exercise in following—no freedom allowed for me in it”. Whilst Amelie clearly enjoyed her dance with this partner, this pleasure is only enabled through her willingness to accept a follower’s role despite the constraints it brings. It is her desire to connect with her partner, and her ingrained belief that connection is built through complementary leader/follower roles, which motivates her to participate within a normative partnership structure. The following comment by another follower who has danced for about five years similarly shows how the normative partnership structure continues to pervade the experience even as dancers develop more skill and awareness:

As you progress and you become more aware of the music and how it connects with the dance, you find spaces and times where you can express the music without disrupting the symbiotic leading and following. So, I think it’s all just about spending more time with it, practising the dance, and understanding not just the mechanics but the collaboration that happens when you dance with someone. (Hannah)

Hannah’s comments indicate that connection, collaboration, and a musical orientation become increasingly important as dancers develop and progress beyond basic mechanical competence. Yet she clearly still views the experience through a lens of leading and following and is concerned by the idea of disrupting this normative partnership dynamic. In the following discussion, I explore how reframing the idea of connection and distancing it from the mechanics of leading and following could have a fundamental impact on the creative process.

Creativity as Emergent Through Openness

The writer, actor, and comedian, John Cleese, gave a now-famous lecture in 1991 in which he suggested that the key to understanding creativity is to think in terms of “modes of operating” (Cleese, 1991). Referencing research by psychologist Donald McKinnon during the 1970s, Cleese suggested that creativity is enabled by operating in an “open mode”, where we are “relaxed

... less purposeful ... more inclined to humour ... and, consequently, more playful. It's a mood in which curiosity for its own sake can operate because we're not under pressure to get a specific thing done" (1991, np). Many other creativity researchers similarly point to a strong correlation between openness to experience and creativity (e.g. Dollinger, Urban, & James, 2004; Li et al., 2015; McCrae, 1987). Cleese also argues that creativity is simply not possible when operating in a "closed mode", which he describes as "an active (probably slightly anxious) mode... It has a little tension in it, not much humour. It's a mode in which we can get very stressed and even a bit manic, but not creative" (1991, np). This echoes my early experiences of learning to lead as described earlier, in that I was purposefully trying to correctly execute the turn patterns I knew and anxious under the pressure I felt to sustain a flow of movement from my limited repertoire. This experience contrasted sharply with my early experiences as a follower, during which I primarily focused on being as responsive as possible to my partner's lead and was able to enjoy the resulting shared flow of movement. Other followers similarly describe their experiences in terms of "tuning in" or "listening" to their partners, emphasizing their attentiveness and readiness to respond. By considering the roles of leading and following through the lens of these different modes of operating, we can begin to see an alternative view of the dance partnership, in which the follower's responsibility to be responsive offers an opportunity to operate in an open mode, whilst the leader's responsibility to generate a sustained flow of movement may often inhibit them from operating in an open mode.

The argument here is not that leaders *cannot* operate in a more open and receptive mode, but rather that they typically learn to lead in a way that focuses on the successful execution of rehearsed patterns, and this makes it challenging to develop a high level of receptivity towards their partner. Jacob, the leader who acknowledges the normative partnership expectations but tries "not to look at it in that sense", describes how he consciously cultivates a mode of openness:

You have to adapt to who you're dancing with, and that's what it comes down to... You're meant to be receptive to what's going on, and try to be attentive.

In the following extract from an interview with Jacob, we reflected on a recent experience of dancing together (the text in square brackets indicates me speaking as the interviewer):

[Last night for example, you know, there were times where I would sort of deliberately not take a signal... I was like, ok, he's suggesting that there, but I'm going to do this...]

I thought you were being more and more playful, I just thought progressively it was because you were more relaxed.

[I mean, it might have been at times, but there were other times when I was more deliberately messing around.]

Well, the thing is I enjoy messing ... it just means I have to be more creative, I have to think more creatively, because you're playing with the dance. And to me, that is what I enjoy about dancing mostly, really. So the more you are messing around, the more fun I have!

It is ironic that in this particular case I was arguably operating in a more closed mode, in the sense that I was quite deliberately “messing” with Jacob’s lead for my own purposes of researching the micro-interactions of the dance partnership. Nonetheless, the discussion illustrates how Jacob’s positive orientation towards disruption affords greater shared creative potential. The key point is that “messing” is perceived not as a rupture in the flow of movement but as a stimulus which provokes a new response and therefore *contributes* to a more creative flow of movement.

There is an important shift in the partnership dynamic here, a willingness to let go of the learnt goal of correctly executing turn patterns and the normative construction of leader and follower roles, and reimagine the partnership as a relationship of mutual responsiveness. Earlier, I referenced Boden’s modes of combinational and exploratory creativity; this shift in the partnership dynamic can be understood in terms of her third mode which she calls “transformational creativity” (2009), where the conceptual space itself is altered, allowing the emergence of new ways of thinking—or moving—that were previously impossible. Another dancer describes how, at a more experienced level, dancing:

becomes everything apart from the steps, it’s everything in *between*. It’s just the little things, the snippets of interaction, the bits of connection. (Alastair)

In these descriptions, we see the emphasis shift away from individual dancers and their specific roles, steps, or turn patterns, and focus instead on the ongoing relations between dancers and the creative possibilities which arise and dissolve as these relations continually shift. In discussions with one leader and well-renowned teacher who has danced for more than two decades, he explained his understanding of connection as follows:

There is no you, and her, and dance, and music ... you can get to the point where you only experience *it*, you know. There is no two people, there is just *it*—it’s the music and the dance and the people involved, with no lines to separate them. (Diego)

The “it” that Diego describes is a complex web of relations encompassing not only himself and his partner but also the music and the process of dancing itself. Philosophers Gille Deleuze and Felix Guattari’s concept of “assemblage” is helpful here, in providing a theoretical framework around an idea of connection which highlights the fluidity of relations, and seeks to understand bodies in terms of “movement and rest, speed and slowness...; the intensive effects it is capable of” (1987, p. 304). Recalling Hannah’s earlier comment about connection with the music, we can see how the concept of assemblage is powerful in the way it can encompass not only the bodies and practices of the dancers but also contextual elements such as the music and the spaces of the dancefloor.

Diego goes on to explain how, when he is experiencing “it”, the dance no longer feels like a combination of movements executed by himself and his partner but seems to take on a life of its own, where “things are just flowing, things are just coming out”. Another dancer, Astrid, similarly describes how this kind of partnership interaction “will bring out something in you that you didn’t know you could do before”. There is a strong sense of creative potential emerging through relations, as articulated by Peggy Holman in the context of organizational change, but in language that could very easily be describing the experience of partner dancing:

While stumbling over disturbances, listening to ourselves and others, teasing out distinctions, connecting with what attracts us, and experimenting along the way, we ultimately notice what is coalescing. (2010, p. 87)

The emergent model of creativity described here is subtly but significantly different from the choreographic model discussed earlier, which carries an implicit assumption that creative potential resides within individuals. Instead, the descriptions of “things just coming out” or “coalescing” suggest that creative potential resides within the unfolding and shifting relations themselves. Social anthropologist James Leach describes this framing of creativity “as social dynamics, as coming-into-being” (2012, p. 31). As Leach reflects, “the inflection this gives to the perceived location of creative work is startling: it is the *relation itself* that carries creative potential” (2012, p. 29, emphasis added). A range of researchers working in different contexts make a similar case for thinking about creativity as emergent within sociocultural relations (Cohen, 2012; Cummings et al., 2015; Glăveanu, 2011; Sawyer, 2008; Sawyer & DeZutter, 2009). Sawyer and DeZutter call this the “moment to moment contingency of collaborative emergence”, explaining how “a wide range of actions is possible at each moment; the actors do not know what is going to follow an

action, and they do not know how their actions will be interpreted and elaborated” (2009, p. 83). Cultural psychologist Vlad-Petre Glăveanu argues that creativity should be thought of as “social in nature and located in the space ‘in between’ self and others” (2011, p. 480), whilst Stephen Cummings, Chris Bilton, and dt olgivié, working in the intersection between cultural and management theory, suggest a model of “creative dynamics” (2015), arguing that:

We have become so enamoured with the creativity myths surrounding the flamboyant creative genius and the lightbulb flash of inspiration, that we never fully get past what should just be the initial steps in our modelling, missing the multiplicity, the emergence, and the group dynamics that contribute to valuable creative outcomes. (2015, p. 22)

The parallel with the dance context is clear; dancers become so caught up in the normative construction of the leader and follower roles, with its focus on turn patterns and styling, that many never fully get past what should be just *one* possible way to build connection, and miss the emergence and interplay of partner dynamics which lead to wonderfully creative outcomes.

Towards a More Collaboratively Creative Practice

We have seen that the way the leader/follower relationship is typically constructed through rehearsed turn patterns tends to inhibit dancers creatively, and how a reframing of connection towards mutual receptivity and openness to “disruption” might enable a fuller exploration of creative potential within the dance partnership. The question remains, then, how to enable dancers to move beyond—or preferably, avoid establishing in the first place—the behaviours and expectations normatively associated with the mechanics of leading and following. One obvious starting point is the teacher-student interaction within a structured class context, which clearly offers major opportunities to reframe connection and shift behaviours and norms. There is very little formal literature examining salsa pedagogy, although there are many articles and posts reflecting active debate and discussion among dancers online. Most of those who teach social salsa dancing are not formally trained as teachers but rather are social dancers themselves who find their way into teaching after a few years, or even a few months in some cases. Whilst many of these teachers work hard on, and are admired for, their own dancing practice, there is rarely any critical reflection on the pedagogical process itself; most simply follow the same process they observed and experienced as students, perhaps introducing

new sequences of steps or turn patterns, but using the same “skill and drill” approach as described earlier. In this approach, learning objectives are ill defined beyond a general desire to “get it right”, which in practice means the leader being able to correctly execute the turn pattern demonstrated by the teacher, thereby passing on the same normative construction of leader and follower roles. There is little opportunity for spontaneity or musical responsiveness from either partner, and the emphasis on getting the turn pattern “correct” also inhibits the leader from being responsive to the follower.

Kerry Chappell, an educational theorist with particular interest in creativity in dance education, frames teaching for creativity in terms of finding a balance between teaching “craft knowledge” and enabling individual learners to develop their “personal voice” (2007, p. 39). Chappell suggests this balance might be achieved by shifting between teaching elements of technique through closely structured tasks led by the teacher, followed by more playful tasks which purposefully allow time and space for learners to experiment. Janice Fournier, a specialist in early childhood learning through dance and drama, similarly suggests that:

By carefully structuring focused explorations of material, teachers can create openings where learners’ contributions (at whatever stage of development) are encouraged, acknowledged, and actively supported. (2011, p. 196)

In my own teaching practice, I have been developing this kind of approach through a project called *Music Moves*, which aims to provide an enabling atmosphere where it is safe to try things out, where all students are challenged to do more than copy and repeat, supported in their experimentation, and actively encouraged to play and have fun with new material. The underlying principle is to recognize that every student is capable of contributing to the creative process. Ethnomusicologist Dard Neuman (2012) takes this approach further, drawing on traditional pedagogy in Hindustani music to suggest that a teacher might deliberately refrain from naming or theorizing craft knowledge until after the students have had an opportunity to establish their own corporeal intimacy with new material. Instead of starting with technical explanations, the teacher simply offers an idea (whether musical or movement) and encourages students to work through the idea over and over again, developing fluency but in the process also discovering myriad creative opportunities as the initial idea “begins to open up and break down into ... phrasebits that can be expanded in different ways” (2012, p. 437).

Within a salsa context, then, a teacher might suggest a movement idea, for example, the idea of one partner rotating to the right. This can then be

followed by playful tasks framed in terms of building connection, giving time for partners to work together through the idea of rotating to the right, experimenting by varying tiny details of contact, energy, speed, use of space, and taking turns to initiate or arrest movement. I discovered during Music Moves workshops, however, that putting this approach into practice can be challenging when students are already accustomed to the skill and drill approach. Here, I have found the work of Cremin, Burnard, and Craft (2006) helpful in offering three related principles to guide these playful tasks and encourage active engagement from students, all of which are highly applicable within the salsa context. The first is the principle of the teacher “standing back”, remaining available to support students but removing themselves from their usual authoritative position at the front of the class. The second principle is to foster a sense of agency among students, by providing opportunities for students to work autonomously, and actively working to incorporate their ideas into the class. The third principle is to hold time and space for students to explore, ideally allowing the “rhythm of learning” to be “governed by engagement rather than the clock” (2006, p. 8). As Fournier explains:

this is the point in the rehearsal process to “mess with the material” to better understand its meaning, its potential qualities and connotations, and its place within the dance ... dancers may experiment with different ways to execute the movement, changing the speed or quality with which it is performed, or the arrangement of dancers in space. This is the essence of creative inquiry—purposely exploring options to see which offer the most promise. (2011, p. 192)

Then, following Neuman’s approach, only *after* students have developed their own corporal intimacy with, and creative exploration of, the idea of rotating to the right might the teacher formally name this as element “A” or “a right turn”, and start to classify technical aspects such as timing, footwork, weight shifts, angle of arms, use of levels, flicks, drops and catches, type of hand connection, travelling, and multiple rotations.

Whilst Chappell and Fournier’s focus is on shifting the teacher/student relationship away from one of an expert imparting knowledge, specific attention is needed within salsa’s partner work context to shift the *student/student* relationship, in order to build expectations, norms, and exercises around mutually responsive partner interactions. The earlier quote from Fournier about teacher/student relations can equally be applied to student/student relations, prompting reflection on how teachers can create openings where *followers’* contributions are encouraged, acknowledged, and actively supported. The crucial task for the salsa teacher, then, is to ensure that *both*

partners have the opportunity to explore options, to respond to options suggested by their partner, and to jointly evaluate how different options feel. During my research, only one dancer described their learning experience being anything like this. Jay, who has danced for four years, explained how he learnt one-on-one with a teacher who would introduce a simple movement by both leading and following it, then they would spend considerable time experimenting with multiple variations, evaluating which “felt better” and why, to build understanding about how each partner can contribute to a shared creative process. Jay explains the effect on his dancing:

I think of leading in terms of highlighting options. So I rarely lead in a way that says “do this”—instead I position my body in a way that makes some movements obvious and other movements unlikely, and then just see what they do!

For both the teacher/student relationship and the leader/follower relationship, there are resonances with Paolo Freire’s work on dialogic pedagogy, and his central argument that impeding genuine dialogue is fundamentally dehumanizing for both parties. Freire argues that people must first be able to recognize the problem with the current structure, “so that through transforming action they can create a new situation, one which makes possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity” (2017[1970], p. 21). Switching leader and follower roles as Jay learnt to do, and as I did during my fieldwork, can help build stronger shared understanding between partners and develop greater awareness of the limitations of the normative partnership structure. However, Freire cautions that we cannot achieve a more humane dialogic interaction simply by reversing the terms of engagement; we must create a new *way* of engaging. Shifting the emphasis of salsa classes to more playful experimentation, collaborative exploration, and mutual evaluation of options can all help to reframe connection and build value in improvising together rather than executing increasingly complex turn patterns, thereby gradually shaping a new and more creative practice.

Whilst articulating, modelling, and facilitating new behaviours and pedagogic approaches offer enormous potential to shape a different understanding of leading and following, this will take time, and meanwhile, there remains a challenge to negotiate individual encounters on the dancefloor. As participant Jacob says:

We meet this structure, it’s already there, and we have to figure out how to engage with it, or even negotiate our way around it. But it was there long before we started dancing.

As the earlier discussion illustrated, whilst leaders have some ability to choose to what extent they enact a normative partnership structure, that choice is not available in the same way for followers—or rather it is a false choice of either accepting their normative role or feeling responsible for breaking any sense of connection. As my research into the dynamics of the salsa partnership has evolved, I have found myself developing a heightened sensitivity to the dynamics of each particular encounter on the dancefloor, along with an increased willingness to be a “disruptive” follower in those encounters where the dynamic makes me feel creatively constrained. This might arise as a result of being relentlessly “turn patterned”, or having my arms thrown around in complex manoeuvres, both of which are common experiences when dancing even with more seasoned leaders. The most common response would probably be to accept the normative role, which can still be enjoyable if the leader is technically proficient and musically aware. Alternatively, one might increase tension in the arms and body as a form of resistance to being manipulated, either for self-preservation or to try and claim some autonomy within the flow of movement, but this can start to feel more like a battle than a dance. Of course, another response would be to simply walk away and end the encounter, which might be appropriate in extreme cases where a normative dynamic veers towards being physically rough but otherwise feels overly punitive and does little to engage the leader with the possibility of developing a more collaborative creative dynamic.

An alternative response informed by the theoretical arguments in this chapter would be to imagine the creative constraint as located not in one’s partner but in the structure of the partnership itself, and focus efforts on trying to nudge the entire encounter towards a more dialogic paradigm. As Freire puts it, “the object of action is the reality to be transformed by them together ... not other men and women themselves” (2017[1970], p. 67). This suggests the follower might try to disrupt the situation more gently, by thinking of their own role in terms of both creating and responding to options—in effect, maintaining their receptive “open mode” but viewing the lead not as a series of instructions but as an unfolding of options being presented, and trying to find a balance between responding as expected and choosing to do something a little different. Sometimes it might be effective to soften the tension in arms and body, as both a tactile hint to the leader and a way of lessening the energy within the interaction. If the follower does not maintain a certain amount of enlivened energy or tension within their body, it becomes more challenging for the leader to continue to manipulate them physically. While this approach

may be temporarily unsatisfying, due to a feeling of connection being lost—which is, after all, a primary motivation for dancing with a partner in the first place—I have found that it can help to “stand back” and open up a bit of time and space within the flow of movement, often creating a moment of uncertainty and questioning from the leader. This offers a chink of light in their otherwise “closed mode” of operating and, if gently and playfully confronted in this moment by a positive, engaged partner, it is often possible to draw the leader into a more reciprocal exchange of ideas.

It is interesting to note that Holman suggests a similar approach within the context of organizational change, using what she calls “compassionate disruption” (2010, p. 155) as a way to engage with and make a difference to established patterns of behaviour or interaction, arguing that “compassionate disruption opens the way to creativity” (2010, p. 163). Compassion here is understood in terms of maintaining an openness and respect towards others, and an awareness of how one’s actions affect others. Freire points to similar conditions needed for genuine dialogue, emphasizing care for each other’s humanity, humility in the effort to find new ways of creating together, faith in each other’s creative ability, and a willingness to remain open to continual transformation (2017[1970], pp. 62–65). Holman suggests that the most effective strategy for compassionately disrupting an undesirable dynamic is through asking “possibility-oriented” and “appreciative” questions (2010, p. 163), terms which have interesting potential for embodied application on the dancefloor. Again, the importance of appreciation for the other is reflected by Freire, when he asks “how can I dialogue if I am closed to—and even offended by—the contribution of others?” (2017[1970], p. 63). Management theorists Dusya Vera and Mary Crossan (2005) offer similar insights from improvised theatre to support innovative team performance in organizations, emphasizing the need for mutual care, trust, respect, and support to take risks. They explain improvised theatre’s unbreakable “rule of agreement”, by which all individuals are committed to operating in a mode of openness towards the contributions of their collaborators, accepting what is offered and seeking to build on it. Vera and Crossan recognize that operating in this way can be extremely challenging in a work context “because competition, power, and status are often important factors affecting team dynamics” (2005, p. 207) but argue that it is important for enabling innovation, explaining that “actors know that their context supports experimentation, that their actions are not being judged by fellow players, and that nothing is seen as a mistake. In this context, they can stretch a little further than they have before” (ibid.).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored creativity through the lens of social salsa dancing, drawing out four features that connect with key themes in creativity research—in short, understanding creativity as *experienced-in-process*, *embodied*, *everyday*, and *emergent-through-relations*. As an empirical context, social salsa dancing provides a valuable site to draw together and situate ideas from a range of disciplines, and the Music Moves project is offered as an example of the weaving together of theory and practice, through an integrated praxis of dancing-teaching-researching, where experimentation in dancing and teaching sparks conceptual exploration and vice versa, in a constant playing back and forth of ideas and encounters. Whilst salsa provides the context for this chapter, the ideas explored here have broader relevance. There are emergent creative processes at work all around us in everyday life, for example, in movement, as we navigate our path through unfamiliar surroundings and crowds of people, in conversation, as we negotiate our way through discussions with friends or formal meetings at work, or in decision-making, as we figure out a direction through the challenges and opportunities we face, for example, as parents, business leaders, or entrepreneurs. If we develop the belief that creative potential lies not within us as individuals but within the relations we build with others, perhaps we can start to develop a more positive orientation and openness towards the “disruptions” of others. Building on existing literature on emergent and relational creativity (e.g. Cohen, 2012; Cummings et al., 2015; Glăveanu, 2011; Holman, 2010; Leach, 2012; Sawyer, 2008; Sawyer & DeZutter, 2009; Vera & Crossan, 2005), there is a need for future research to bridge cognitive, sociocultural, and artistic disciplines, and bring together the themes developed in this chapter to develop more a holistic understanding of creative practices as they emerge through, and are shaped by, everyday embodied interactions. All our interactions are inescapably structured by cultural norms and relations of power and inequality and, as this chapter illustrates, these norms and relations can have an enormous impact on our creative practices and potential. Whilst ideas such as compassionate disruption and openness may be difficult to grapple with, perhaps particularly in the context of organizational cultures, they may also offer transformational potential. I opened this chapter with Diprose’s provocation that “how we formulate the limits to our creativity depends upon where we think the ability to dance comes from” (2002, p. 66). I return to Diprose to finish, for I agree with her conclusion that “it is the other who prompts the dance” (2002, p. 68).

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29

Making Creativity Work: Marking Out New Territories

Birgit Wildt

Context: The Creative Act or What Can Be Learnt from Art and Design Studio Education

Fragments

The Russian avant-garde distinguished between creativity “as the capacity of many” and art “as the skill of a few” with the latter being abandoned by “Proletkult theorists” (p. 290) who preferred the term creativity (Bishop, 2012). This chapter uses creativity and the creative act interchangeably emphasizing practice as action, an act of forming or becoming (Parr, 2010, p. 226) in the context of boundary crossing. This notion reminds us of Arendt (1958) saying that an action points to an “inherent tendency to force open all limitations and cut across all boundaries” (p. 190). Drawing from art and design studio education (ADSE), Orr and Shreeve (2017) state that “art and design” breaks into a diversity of subject areas, “each with its own distinctive ways of working, thinking and acting” (p. 5), a statement which directs attention to Gieryn’s “boundary work” (p. 132) and negotiating in relation to boundary crossing (Borgdorff, 2012, p. 177). Drawing from ADSE across Europe and, in particular, the UK (e.g. University of the Arts London, Bucks New University, Glasgow School of Art and Goldsmiths University London), and touching on features of distinctive pedagogies, the chapter is divided into

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fragments or “component parts” (Iser, 1972, p. 282), some of which are “caught in action” (p. 4) and read in other social spaces (Barthes, 2002). Commenting on *what is* and suggesting *what might* become whilst crossing disciplinary borders, these fragments expose and, at the same time, decorate a certain ADSE reality. Speaking in symbols and signs for the reader to decipher and leaving arguments unfinished, fragments evoke accord and conflict seen as an act of resistance from which something new might emerge. Fragments known as “pre-intentions”, citing Husserl (Iser, 1972, p. 282), point to flexible and open-ended thoughts and images, a fluctuating state of affairs, yet selectively orchestrated and presented. This chapter offers a “reframing” (Žižek, 2014, p. 190) of creativity in “thought, action and sensibility” (p. 101), hopefully, traversing into new territories (Guattari, 1995).

Difference

There has been increased recognition of adopting non-standard pedagogies across disciplines and, equally, an augmented interest in generating conditions of ambiguity inherently embedded in creative practice (Orr & Shreeve, 2017). Ambiguity proposes “disjunctions in expectations” (Austerlitz et al., 2008, p. 139), challenges pre-established pedagogies and points to the question as to why would one thrive on ambiguity while, at the same time, follow routes of certainty (Nowotny, 2016). ADSE opts for ambiguity and points to a disruptive student-centred approach to teaching and learning by substituting notions such as right or wrong, concrete or expected for arbitrariness in interpreting and meaning making. Advocating “fuzzy boundaries” (Austerlitz et al., 2008, p. 141; Gaver, Beaver, & Benford, 2003, p. 236), ADSE values creativity as a living practice emphasizing the lived out as a dynamic state of doing (practice) and being (living) suggesting a position of the in-between or metaxis (jagodzinski & Wallin, 2013). Moving along the “borderline between art and academia” (Borgdorff, 2012, p. 206), creativity points to uncommon forms of theory building and “knowledge production”¹ seen as “non-implicit” forms of knowledge, a “not-knowing or not-yet-knowing” (p. 173) not easily adaptable to conventional higher educational programmes. The creative act itself aims at repetition, at emergence and difference, exemplified, for example, by “Monet’s first water lily” (p. 2) which, although repeatedly drawn, remains in its singularity (Deleuze, 1994). Péguy reminds us that the creative act allows “random patterns” to emerge without equals or equivalents, “non-substitutable singularities” (p. 1) which remain repetitive yet different

(Deleuze, 1994). ADSE values the notion of difference as a difference in kind or by degree allowing a certain freedom in the context of creative production. What appears to be put into play is a “productive force” (p. 131) emphasizing process over outcomes and allowing students to reconstruct or de-construct ways of experiencing, thinking and meaning making (Guattari, 1995). The focus points to testing out, to trial and error and an open outlook towards something which is yet not known indicating “disobedient modes of knowledge production” (Raunig, 2013, p. 28). Borgdorff refers to the non-discursive or non-conceptual nature of knowing, a form of knowledge which has yet to emerge, a becoming to know or knowing as being part of the creative act. The notion of becoming suggests that something is created *before* the emergence of a creative output, an expression² in the making, a “*werdendes Objekt*”³ in Schlegelschen terms where the “division is temporary” (Osborne, 2013, p. 169), a progressive thought seen as “a temporal registration of the necessary incompleteness” (p. 169). The creative act points to a “continuous thriving” (p. 169) and the work, the expression, remains as a fragment, something which “*lives* only in its incompleteness, as project” (169). Hence, the expression, the fragment *is* the project, is the work, the work in progress or process illustrating an intention towards realization.

Emergence

The notion of becoming proposes possibilities, an undefinable continuation,⁴ a coming into being, and takes into account “what it is [and] that it is what it is” (Sontag, 2009, p. 14). Here, ADSE promotes an “ontological approach to learning” (Shreeve, Sims, & Trowler, 2010, p. 128) aiming at a rupture presented as an expression—an object, artefact or as a form of “thinking—which is no longer in line with ‘the cliché’ of common sense, but a breaking away from it” (Jagodzinski & Wallin, 2013, p. 186). This breaking away indicates a “deliberate articulation of unfinished thinking” (Borgdorff, 2012, p. 145) exemplified through thinking about thinking, “artistic thinking” (p. 10) or thinking of possibilities in the process of creative production (Wesseling, 2011). This expression demonstrates the complexities of a lived-out struggle between intention and realization in the form of “a series of efforts, pains, satisfaction, refusals, decisions” (p. 2) not easily translatable into a linguistic formula (Duchamp, 1957). ADSE embraces this struggle within a learning space that tends to be flexible, borderless and inter-connected; a living space (*Lebensraum*) which is not static, “abstract or neutral” but a “form of life”

(Hughes, 2014, p. 57). The studio space tends to be a transitional space transforming the way students and tutors act and reflect within that space. Adopting a learner-led pedagogy aiming at an “equality of intelligences” (Rancière, 2010, p. 81), ADSE favours an emancipatory form of learning emphasizing a “radical equality” (p. 170) within a community of practice (Crockett, 2012). A community of practice suggests encounters of reflective/dialogic nature, “a kind of exchange” linking “processes, skills and understanding” (p. 125) to practice (Shreeve, Sims, & Trowler, 2010). Emphasizing the process of developing an identity as a practitioner and becoming part of the community of practitioners (Orr & Shreeve, 2017; Shreeve, Sims, & Trowler, 2010), creative practice produces relationships, inter-personal and inter-subjective, which remind us of the Arendtsche “in-between”, this “physical worldly in-between” (Arendt, 1958, p. 182), this “‘web’ of human relationships” (p. 183) linking the academic with the professional world. Students and tutors are learners and co-learners with the latter taking on the role of gatekeepers engaging the former in professional collaborative encounters. Collaborating and opening up new spaces of enquiry, generating new connections and network potentialities promise an active exchange and tutors are present to stabilize and destabilize expectations, to assign and withdraw meaning to the students’ work while adapting multiple identities which sit “simultaneously and alongside one another” (Irwin & Springgay, 2008, p. xxxiii).

“Enabling Constraints”

ADSE promotes a self-directed learning pedagogy perceived as a “two way exchange” (Shreeve & Batchelor, 2012, p. 20) or a “kind of exchange” of “tentative nature” (Shreeve, Sims, & Trowler, 2010, p. 125), a negotiation of responses based on “debate and disagreement” (Sayers, 2016, p. 139). The student’s journey points to a “living method of self-education” (Mendoza, Bernasconi, & MacDonald, 2007, p. 312), based on mutual respect and openness. Openness refers here to being open to “experimental transformation” (p. 91) and the development of otherness (Jagodzinski & Wallin, 2013) in relation to the creative output, a unique expression, and also to the student themselves as the “human other in its specificity” (Butler, 2005, p. x). Entering into a relationship with others as part of social exchange suggests a form of self-presentation towards personal aspirations and intentions. Students in ADSE are encouraged to follow their own “unique ideological discourse” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 332), a journey towards something which “is made, or makes itself as in the expression ‘make the difference’”

(Deleuze, 1994, p. 36), an expression which is not artificial, not artful, but artistic and unique. ADSE values the student's individuality, their "distinctive and diverse" expression (Orr, Yorke, & Blair, 2014, p. 34) which might challenge tutors who are engaged in "mass teaching" (Raunig, 2013, p. 34) and standardized processes that aim at "sameness" (Barthes, 1972, p. 152). Creativity transfers the personal (experience) and the political (institutional affairs) into new contexts, settings and languages allowing co-learning under "enabling constraints" (Manning & Massumi, 2014). "Enabling constraints" encourage creativity within limits, a notion, which points us to the evaluation apparatus which, in ADSE, tends to be relational and interpretative (Manning, 2008). Criteria aim not to be "prescriptive"⁵ but suggestive,⁶ supporting "contradiction, disagreement and anomaly" (Wilson, 2013, p. 207). Revisiting Rancière's (2010) notion of "equality of intelligences" (p. 81), students are encouraged to act as active agents in evaluation processes seen as collaborative and negotiable. Orr, Yorke, & Blair (2014) indicate a "reverse transmission" (p. 41) valuing students as "active co-producers of their learning" (p. 32) who design, interpret and evaluate their curriculum by raising opinions, providing options and becoming "experts" of their own undertaking (p. 41). The balancing act between the learning journey and the critical feedback acknowledges a dual interest in individual students and their particular learning path. The outcome, the creative expression, tends to be a "product [which] tells the story of the journey" (p. 35); it tells the story that the students have invested in, the story of a self-directed endeavour where students take responsibility towards their own learning (Orr, Yorke, & Blair, 2014). Assessment in art and design education may start with an assessment briefly co-created by students in relation to their expectations, an approach which seems to be less prescriptive, less top-down oriented challenging more conventional power relations (Harman & McDowell, 2011). Distributing a certain power to students might challenge perception of not only how to "teach" but also how we think about one's own subject (Gunn, 2015).

ADSE proposes a process- and project-centred approach to learning supported by an individual "needs-based model" (Borgdorff & Haarberg, 2014, p. 233) introducing students into a community of practice. Yet, trends towards uniformed assessment procedures, reduced contact hours, limited space and resources (Shreeve, Sims, & Trowler, 2010) remind us of the shifting values of academia (Addison, 2014; Biggs & Büchler, 2010; Orr & Shreeve, 2017). Looking at how creativity can work under "enabling constraints", the second part of this chapter visits notions such as space, production and dissemination.

Some Further Fragments

Space

“Enough space must be present to produce what we do not yet know” (Borgdorff, 2012, p. 190). Citing Borgdorff, one might ask what is “enough” space and what exactly *makes* that space? The studio space tends to be a flexible and transitional space emphasizing *in* instead of *on* creativity. The studio space is not a space of rigid methodological pedagogies, but a temporal and physical space of interconnections linking the academic and the professional world. Space in ADSE points to relationality, a collaborative practice space centring on identities and connecting action (doing) to meaning making (Borgdorff, 2012; Grosz, 2001; Orr & Shreeve, 2017). The studio space points to a free space in material thinking, an open space for unique images or situations to emerge (Irwin & Springgay, 2008). Following Shreeve, Sims, & Trowler (2010), space seems to be an “influence on what and how students learn” (p. 136); it is the place where production takes place. I draw from Orr & Shreeve (2017) who exemplify such a free space through Gormley’s artefact “Blind Light” illustrating a misty, foggy, room-sized interior space and inviting viewers to engage with the work. “Blind Light” aims at disorientation and uncertainty and confronts the viewer with the question as to what lies inside and outside the space (Orr, 2015). “Blind Light” presents a shared experience, a space allowing object (artefact) and subject to become entwined, encouraging learning *with* instead of *from* and *about* the object. “Blind Light”, according to Gormley, does not provide “security and certainty about where you are”, nor does it “protect you from the weather, from darkness, from uncertainty [...] as you enter an interior space that is the equivalent of being on top of a mountain, or at the bottom of the sea”. What counts for Gormley is what lies inside/outside that space and how the viewer can act within that space and, by doing so, immerse with the work, through “little leaps into the not-known” (Atkinson, 2012, p. 11). “Blind Light” like the studio space facilitates the unknown, the emergence of knowledge and knowing in a shared learning space. “Blind Light” illustrates that learning can happen anywhere, from studio to museum to gallery spaces, exemplified, in a UK context, through the Tate Exchange project in collaboration with various institutions—Central Saint Martins (CSM), Plymouth College of Art, Bath Spa University and Kingston University (amongst others). The gallery space can be a transformative and transitional space, a “place of exchange, trust, generosity, openness—and risk”; an “intimate space [...] to share your voice” (p. 126) and to challenge

institutionally established boundaries (Lange, Reynold, & White, 2016). Tutors “feel that they are working from a ‘flexible’, ‘shared’, ‘open’ or ‘stretchy’ agenda” (p. 126) and yet there is always a certain “denial among lecturers concerning their relationships with the spaces where learning takes place” (p. 126). Tate Exchange tackles the issues associated with space through a diversity of collaborations and configurations to generate, if only temporarily, a certain freedom in the context of creative production.⁷

Production

The creative act emphasizes assembly over object triggering a form of knowledge which allows a certain freedom in the process of its production. Rogoff (2010) speaks of knowledge beyond conventions, a knowledge which challenges established codes of academic practices as it tends to be emergent and open-ended, even “free”, which raises the question of “what *is* knowledge when it is ‘free’” (p. 3). “Free” knowledge might not “move easily between paradigms” (p. 5) since its potential impact or usefulness might lack transparency from the start. Knowledge when it is “free” might not easily be adapted to certain “need-based” (p. 5) cultures since it decouples itself from operational demands associated with expert or authoritative knowledge (e.g. illustrated by the REF). Yet, what exactly is this form of knowledge that advocates a certain “freedom”? The creative act promotes tacit, sensory or embodied forms of knowing, pointing to “guesses, hunches or imaginings” (p. 25), terminologies which depart from more conventional forms of knowledge production (Polanyi, 1966). Tacit, sensory or embodied forms of knowledge tend to be experienced as sensation or “possibles”, notions which do not point to an “absolute form” but to “percept and affect” (p. 178), a felt experience, which succeeds expectations of the uniform (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994). A felt experience tends to arise *before* the cognitive process of meaning making takes place and, as part of a certain *Spieltrieb*, a play drive, indicates a dynamic engagement between subject and object based on a “desire *of* or *for* a given object” (Butler, 1987, p. 25), not easily translatable into benchmark statements (Shreeve, Sims, & Trowler, 2010). In ADSE, desire relates to both joyful and violent pleasure and students are tested on “who thrives and who survives” in these conditions (Orr, 2015). Desire also points to a yearning for recognition, “a desire for recognition” (Butler, 2004, p. 2) in which one seeks to lose and find oneself, a recognition which “transform[s] matter and life in unpredictable ways” (Grosz, 2008, p. 6).⁸ Here, Borgdorff (2012) speaks of practical knowledge or “knowing-how” (p. 49), a knowledge which “*does* rather than

is” (Rogoff, 2010, p. 1). When knowledge *does*, it is experienced and embodied in practice, a form of knowing or knowledge which tends to sit prior to reflection, concepts or language. Biggs and Büchler (2010) refer to Antoni Gaudí’s design of the Parque Güell where the architect photographed hanging chains, turned them around to illustrate arches and catenary curves. Gaudí used a visual vocabulary emphasizing “showing” instead of telling (Elkins, 2009, p. 124) and that we can “know more than we can tell” (Polanyi, 1966, p. 4), a notion difficult to codify.

Codification

Nowotny reminds us that the creative act “refuses to become subject to prediction” (Nowotny, 2016, p. 57) and, as an “open-ended process of exploration” (p. 155), tends to be associated with an emerging expression, one that is not necessarily part of what Kjörup (2010) calls “the rhetorical field” (p. 40) to fit the university market.⁹ Creative expressions also point to the intangible, the “non-conceptual” and “non-discursive” (Borgdorff, 2012, p. 48) in relation to ideas and experiences of an aesthetic nature which, once expressed, do not necessarily sit “on the same theoretical basis as the use of verbal language” (Kjörup, 2010, p. 40). Students and tutors in ADSE search for languages best suited for each emerging expression to maintain its “performative power” (p. 58).¹⁰ The language used in ADSE might be coded in images, sounds or scripts, aiming at providing information or conveying a certain resistance (Deleuze, 2007). This form of resistance, as being part of an expression, reminds us of an “active struggle” (p. 328) between subject (student) and object (artefact), a “confrontation” (Deleuze, 2003, p. 69) which tends to be exemplified through the expression’s intrinsic and transient value. Noting Duchamp (1957), it is the “personal ‘art coefficient’” illustrating the “relation between the unexpressed but intended and the unintentionally expressed” (p. 2). Following Duchamp, the code of practice in ADSE seems to stand in direct relationship to the creative expression emphasizing the personal, particular and practical, notions which are not easily transferrable into discursive terms. Expressions point us to an experience, to the “singularity of the event” (p. 90) which, personalized, might not fit the “academic discourse of argument building” (p. 96) or, necessarily, the notion of conversation or conservation (Biggs & Büchler, 2010). Creative expressions also intend to reach publics from inside and outside academia, and ADSE continuously looks out for new languages and presentational forms. Documentation and dissemination might be challenging as exemplified through formats such as the *Journal for Artistic*

Research which enables multi-modal expositions to speak in a diversity of voices (e.g. image, audio and video), raising the question as to what happens to the “event” (Biggs & Büchler, 2010, p. 90). Shared authorship, equality of meaning making, the student as co-producer facilitating empowerment through collective and non-authoritarian open collaboration and emergent forms of knowledge production and meaning making might not be compatible with predefined aims and objectives, learning outcomes and assessment procedures (Bishop, 2012; Orr & Shreeve, 2017) since they illustrate the importance of the experimental, the unforeseen, the less predictable in content and delivery.

Reflective Questions

Asking what higher education can learn from ADSE, Atkinson (2012) adds: “what kind of pedagogies do we have or require that might support such learning?” (p. 11). What kind of “community of practice” (p. 35) do we have in place that comfortably engages in creative practices (Orr, Yorke, & Blair 2014)? What kind of resources do we require to feel more at ease with distributing power, accepting uncertainty and working in the dark (Orr, 2015)? Uncertainty, “embedded in situations of ambiguity” (p. ix), is an inherent part of our learning, research and knowledge production (Nowotny, 2016). Widening our scope of analysis still further to this volume’s focus on “creativity at work”, we might well ask what support mechanisms do we need to enter spaces of tentative exchange allowing co-learning to emerge beyond scholarly specialization communicating *what is* and *what might* become through creative practice? What is required to generate a space of freedom and discovery favouring learning *with* instead of from and about, through collaborative practice (Bishop, 2012; Orr & Shreeve, 2017)? How can we extend connections between the academic and the professional world pointing to a relationality which centres on identities, on collective thinking and collaborative engagement within and beyond academia? How can we generate a practice space for images and situations to emerge which do not only value a finite outcome but a procession of experiences between students and processes? Exemplifying a certain transient value, creativity allows ambiguity and, therefore, a disjunction in expectations for both students and tutors allowing arbitrariness in form, interpretation and meaning making, a notion which reminds us of Valéry (1970) asking, “[h]ow splendid it would be to think in a form one had invented for oneself” (p. 228).¹¹ Gunn (2015) notes that “agency comes from ambiguity” and, perhaps, ADSE does exactly that; it encourages the

notion of being different in kind and by degree raising the question as to how difference is acknowledged and valued across and beyond the arts and humanities. Borgdorff (2012), and his reflection on artistic research, encapsulates what ADSE is about:

It is about articulating knowledge and understandings as embodied in artworks and creative processes. It is about searching, exploring and mobilising—sometimes drifting, sometimes driven—in the artistic domain. It is about creating new images, narratives, sound worlds, experiences. It is about broadening and shifting our perspectives, our horizons. It is about constituting and accessing uncharted territories. It is about organised curiosity, about reflexivity and engagement. It is about connecting knowledge, morality, beauty and everyday life in making and playing, creating and performing. It is about “disposing the spirit to Ideas” through artistic practices and products. (Borgdorff, 2012, p. 102)

Final Thoughts

Learning from ADSE, I inevitably draw attention to the challenges and constraints those working in other spheres might fear when applying creative practices across their own disciplines. Adapting to established academic customs and practices, creative aspirations and intentions often prompt recognition of difference or differentiation distorting the picture of the “uniform”—the growing agency-compliant academic model. The creative act, as ADSE proposes, favours “disobedient modes of knowledge production” (Raunig, 2013, p. 28) which are difficult to codify and to translate into measurable output. Output under the umbrella of creativity tends to be a “work in process”¹² indicating a progression towards a becoming present, a notion perceived as problematic in operational terms. Increasingly prescriptive “languages” which are not supposed to be “altered” or “recoded” (von Hantelmann, 2010, p. 104) point to the “academic voice”, an objective voice of predefined objectives, methods and outcomes attached to a “representable” body of knowledge. However, creative practice also recognizes the emergent, the uncertain, the passing of diverse voices (Bakhtin, 1981) and the borderline between the creative and the academic might abandon a pre-established stability (Borgdorff, 2012). ADSE teaches us that creativity sits happily within the “in-between”, a position manifesting itself as “neither this nor that” or “this *and* that” (Pinar, 2004, p. 9), perceived as an addition or as a “weak hybridity” (Jagodzinski & Wallin, 2013, p. 98) for those (academics) who favour progressively regulated higher educational systems. Hence, those who introduce creative practices

across disciplines tend to be either committed or, eventually, lose commitment following or favouring a united outlook of academic assets while oscillating in and out of regulatory systems and shadowing what Borgdorff (2012) calls an “objectionable ‘academic drift’” (p. 32). What might be worth pursuing is a modularized creative “licence” embedded within a radically ambiguous and, to some degree, autonomous pedagogy leaving room for the unspoken and the unthought, the intangible and the open-ended (Borgdorff, 2012). Such an enabling environment might be thought of as highly elusive, and yet in the creative spirit of radical ambiguity aired in this chapter, it is also quite possible.

Acknowledgements This work was supported by the Economic and Social Research Council [grant number 1107857].

Notes

1. The term “knowledge production” came under criticism as being linked to the ideologies and practices of neoliberal educational policies (Holert, 2009, p. 1).
2. The terms “expression” and “artefact” are interchangeably used as the latter proposes an umbrella term “for any creative or artistic expression” (Amez, van Kerckhoven, & Ysebaert, 2014, p. 119).
3. “*werdendes Object*” (“becoming object”), Schlegel as cited in Osborne (2013, p. 169).
4. A “condition of contingency” where new perspectives are proposed (Borgdorff, 2012, p. 196).
5. Following Dewey (2005), “such criteria are not rules or prescriptions. They are the result of an endeavour to find out what a work of art is as an experience: the kind of experience which constitutes it” (p. 322).
6. See also Leavy (2013), Barone and Eisner (2012).
7. See also collaborations between Tate Modern and Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance (“Creative Collision”), or Tate Modern and Culture, Media & Creative Industries (CMCI), King’s College London (“Towards Tomorrow’s Museum 2017”), elaborating the role of the museum which increasingly adapts to a wider social and cultural landscape.
8. Under the notion “[b]e playful, be sincere, be curious”, Plymouth College of Art asks: “What have you seen? What glows? What have you made? What have you noticed about that? What did you notice about yourself in the process? What does that mean to you? What could that mean to others?” (Making Learning: Pop-up school and symposium with Plymouth College of Art, Tate Modern, workshop, attended January 25, 2017).
9. For example, how “translatable” is a “sensory experience” (Hughes, 2014, p. 59)?

10. Performativity points to speech and bodily acts (Butler, 2004).
11. See also Hughes (2014, p. 52).
12. Boris Groys in conversation with Anna Lovatt, *Art Criticism in the Post-medium Age*, Tate Modern, 19.5.2014.

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Creativity at Work: Who Cares? Towards an Ethics of Creativity as a Structured Practice of Care

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Introduction

“Creativity at work” signifies a complex and contested site of research. On the one hand, it is where we might locate the extraordinary capacity of human beings to create objects, events, and experiences that afford entertainment, delight, pleasure, insight, meaning, and solace. On the other hand, as many contributors to this Handbook remind us, it is where we witness the capitalist mode of production and the broader ideology of neoliberalism perpetuating inequalities, precariousness, bias, and forms of “un-freedom” that constrain rather than enable our creativity. Creativity at work, it would seem, is as much a locus of dispute, disagreement, rivalry, and entrenched opposition, as it is the wellspring of human happiness and well-being. So, how then are we to understand the *ethical* nature of creativity at work? How are we to account for this complex and sometimes fraught context of transformative human activity from an ethical standpoint? These questions motivate this final chapter.

In their collection of chapters under the umbrella title *Creativity, Wisdom, and Trusteeship* (2007), Anna Craft, Howard Gardner, and Guy Claxton present a collective case for “wise creativity”; they point to the prevailing “value-neutrality” of human creativity, suggesting that the “ends to which creativity is put are not seen as significant” (Craft et al., 2008, p. 3). They open the door to thinking about creativity explicitly in terms of “human virtues”. More

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recently, in *The Ethics of Creativity* (2014), Seana Moran, David Cropley, and James C. Kaufman refer to the “crossroads” between creativity and ethics. For these authors, “Blending creativity with its consequences makes the generation of novel and effective solutions more than merely a question of what we *could* do, and turns it as much into an issue of what we *should* do” (Cropley, Kaufman, Murphy, & Moran, 2014, p. 299). Clearly, there remains much to be understood about this deep and foundational relationship.

Human beings face momentous challenges, not least in respect of climate change and global warming, and how we—as a species endowed with both the freedom and the responsibility to “manage” the earth’s ecology—should actually go about doing this. Though still at a much slower pace than many would like, “sustainability” is moving from being (at best) a fringe activity, to *the* issue of our century; more and more people are realizing that sustainable creativity is an imperative not just a “nice to have”. In this context, progressing our understanding of the ethics of creativity appears absolutely vital, but how might this be achieved through an exploration of creativity *at work*? In this final capstone chapter, I take up the opportunity to propose a new and distinctive theory, which has important implications for understanding both how creativity is “put to work” now and how it *should* be in the future. This theory is predicated on the human capacity and need for care and caring, which I argue is absolutely central to creativity, as it is to “being human”. In what follows, I introduce a novel theory of human creativity and by extension a new ethics of creativity as a form of care.

The chapter is divided into three parts—theory, evidence, and discussion. In Part I, I put forward the theoretical case for understanding human creativity in relational terms and as a structured practice of care. This theory seeks both to help us better understand extant cases of “actually existing” creativity, as well as point in new directions, for where creativity (at work) might go. The conceptual link between care and creativity is not of itself entirely new; however, the explanation of the extent of this relation and how it is structured is. Human creativity—as a structured practice of care—is profoundly relational and dialectical. It involves *the absenting of the absence of living differently, in order to live as well as possible*. Two issues are immediately worth highlighting about this formulation. First, it embraces the status quo—creativity’s “other”. This is significant because in fact we only ever *recognize* creativity in respect of its particular context (how else would we understand or experience “difference”?). Second, attention is drawn to the latter part of my definition, wherein the telos of “living as well as possible” is introduced. Naturally, this raises further questions about just what “living well” might mean *precisely* (e.g. there is a vast literature on themes relating to “authenticity”); the key point to

emphasize at this stage is that according to this redefinition of human creativity, it is—just like “care”—always relational and ethically framed; ethical considerations are necessarily present, whether in fact they are our focus or not. In short, human creativity is an inherently ethical, relational, and dialectical structured practice of care.

To the extent that we want to know more about what such structured practices of care entail in the actually existing context of human creativity “at work”, the chapter introduces us to four ethical phases (after Tronto, 2013), which help to situate and explicate the case being proposed. These phases of care—which, in effect, define what is *necessary* across all cases of creativity at work—require the moral qualities of “attentiveness”, “responsibility”, “competence”, and “responsiveness”. Having introduced the theory, Part II draws on the “evidence” presented from the preceding 29 chapters in order to assess whether this theorization of human creativity at work is credible when held up against a broad range of contexts and perspectives. Examples of what I take to be “creativity as care” are introduced, prior to each structured stage of creativity at work being considered in more detail. The third and final part of the chapter offers a forward-looking discussion and two overarching recommendations.

Part I: The Theory

Creativity, Creative Living, and Care

As has been reported throughout this book, creativity is widely taken to denote novelty and value (see Chap. 23 for a discussion of these two components and their relation by Chris Bilton). Robert Sternberg and Todd Lubart, for example, define creativity as “the ability to produce work that is both novel (i.e., original, unexpected) and appropriate (i.e., useful, adaptive concerning task constraints)” (Sternberg & Lubart, 2007, p. 3; see also Kaufman & Baer, 2012; Runco & Jaeger, 2012). Such a definition was originally proposed as a conceptual stopgap (Stein, 1974; see Martin & Wilson, 2017), and despite significant attention during seven decades of research on creativity, fundamental issues concerning the nature of novelty, the role of effectiveness, whether recognition is necessary to the existence of creativity, and the nature of the value created remain largely unresolved (Adarves-Yorno, Haslam, & Postmes, 2008; Boden, 2004; Kasof, 1995; Kaufman & Baer, 2012; Martin & Wilson, 2017; Runco & Jaeger, 2012).

Reflecting further on the nature of the value generated through creativity, it might be suggested that this depends upon both the specific context involved and our perspective on what we take creativity to be. In 1961, Mel Rhodes pointed out that we can (and do) look at creativity from a variety of distinctively different perspectives. His “4Ps” of creativity (based on a review of research on creativity at the time) is taught widely today:

Person—research focused on the traits that characterize creative persons

Process—exploring some kind of journey or process

Product—the outcome of the creative process

Press—the context in which creativity takes place

Whilst all four perspectives are important, it is the *Person* and *Product* that are most obviously visible in the workplace. This is reflected back to us in popular culture portrayals of creatives and creative industries: consider Don Draper, the fictional creative director in the television series *Mad Men*, for example, whose talent for understanding the desires of others, and then successfully pitching and selling ideas, is the reason why his colleagues put up with his otherwise highly erratic and alcohol-fuelled behaviour in the workplace. Such stories of “creativity at work” reinforce a particular and prevailing connotation of value, where ultimately “the market decides”. They also demonstrate the enduring lure of the “heroic” model of managing creativity (Bilton, 2006), where a “laissez-faire” approach—keeping out of the way and letting the creative do what they do best—is considered the best (or perhaps, only) way to proceed.

In my view, this perspective sells creativity short, on at least two counts: first, in terms of its overlooking the significance of creativity for *all* persons (not just those deemed to be “creative” in certain contexts); and second, for its emphasizing creativity as an individualistic phenomenon rather than acknowledging the relational and social nature of the creative process, which is highly contingent on the *Press* of the context involved (see Wilson, 2010 on “social creativity”). One of the things I’m arguing for in this chapter is a call to engage more holistically with *all four* of these perspectives—all 4 Ps.

A key difficulty, however, is that we often don’t actually get to see the relational or processual nature of creativity. It remains invisible. But in keeping with Anna Craft’s “possibility thinking” (Chappell, Cremin, & Jeffrey, 2015, p. xviii) “what if” rather than forming explanations of creativity in terms of the novelty and value of its outcomes, that is, that which is evident and actually apparent to us through empirical observation, we first considered what *must* have been necessary in order for the creativity to exist? Pursuing this

ontological line of questioning leads to a rather different conception of human creativity—one that is not so much about “the successful or acclaimed creation” but “a colouring of the whole attitude [we hold as human beings] to external reality” (Winnicott, 2005, p. 87). In four Ps’ terms, the focus of attention shifts from the *Product*, to also take account of the *Process* encountered by the *Person*, given the particular *Press* of the environment in which they are acting. Crucially, this conception challenges the value-neutrality of creativity, whereby we currently attribute either a positive or negative reading on the basis of some ill-defined post hoc ethical scale. As we’ll see, the position I’m proposing here argues that at an ontological level, creativity is *always* an ethically directed practice. This brings us to “creative living”, and so to “care”.

A key theorist of “creative living” is the psychoanalyst and paediatrician Donald Winnicott whose theories of holding, play, and reality have been particularly influential, though thus far remaining relatively marginal in the area of creativity studies. Crucially, Winnicott contrasts “creative apperception”, which he suggests “makes the individual feel that life is worth living” with “a relationship to external reality which is one of compliance, the world and its details being recognized but only as something to be fitted in with or demanding adaptation” (Winnicott, 2005, p. 87). According to Winnicott’s perspective, creativity is best understood in contrast to its dialectical “other”—compliance. Indeed, when we talk of creativity, we are often concerned with a situation of *non-compliance*—the act of breaking the rules, not conforming, *not* doing something expected, not doing the traditional or normal.¹ In practice, we are happy to sanction such creative behaviour and practice “when it *works*” ... that is, when the practices involved actually result, paradoxically—*not* in what was expected or anticipated or planned (or even hoped for)—since these *cannot* be known *ex ante*—but in respect of living differently, living better, or living well. This, then, is where the value-positive nature of creativity enters: we are much less happy when it “doesn’t work”—this is taken simply as breaking the rules, being deviant, a troublemaker, a trickster, or loser. What this points to is the importance of both understanding and acknowledging what we mean by “when it *works*” ... and how this in fact indicates the necessary presence of an ethically loaded teleological end that is desired. Such an “end” is manifest in all sorts of ways, and includes what we do, make, think, express, and experience.

It follows from what I have said so far that human creativity involves the absenting of the absence of doing, making, thinking, expressing, and experiencing (i.e. living) “differently”, so that we can live in the world as well as possible. As Winnicott observes: “In a tantalizing way many individuals have experienced just enough of creative living to recognize that for most of their time they are

living uncreatively, as if caught up in the creativity of someone else, or of a machine” (Winnicott, 2005, p. 87). He adds that “the creative impulse” is a “thing in itself” and is not restricted to say an artist producing a work of art “but also as something that is present when anyone ... looks in a healthy way at anything or does anything deliberately” (Winnicott, 2005, p. 92).

These perspectives on creative living are implicitly (and in some cases explicitly) concerned with “living as well as possible”. This is my cue for turning to the foundational link between creativity and “care”. I am not the first to recognize this link. Ann Game and Andrew Metcalfe, for example, note in their 2001 article on “Care and creativity” that:

Caring, indeed, is the source of creativity, vitality, and belonging. Creative experiences of newness and aliveness—those moments when we say we are really experiencing love, tenderness, an idea, a sunset, a piece of music, a poetic image—involve a state of holding. We need to feel held, or cared for, in order to open ourselves to the world, to live our relations with the world. (Game & Metcalfe, 2001, p. 70)

Care is complex, and “characterized by diversity and ‘multiple discourses’ of caregiving (Gubrium, 1995) shaped [amongst other things] by feminism, the disability movement, social policy analysts, legislators and carers’ organizations” (Phillips, 2007, p. 3). Care is *not* simply about a “soft” or “loving” human disposition (see Fromm, 1995); indeed, it often carries with it ambiguity, and notions of conflict and stress, that is, when people talk of the “burden of care” (this betrays the early Anglo-Saxon meaning of the word in terms of sorrow, anxiety, or concern). For the purposes of my enquiry, it is particularly instructive to follow Joan Tronto’s (1993) view of care as implying “a reaching out to something other than self”, as well as emphasizing that “care implicitly suggests that it will lead to some type of action” (p. 102). Both of these characteristics fit with human creativity. More broadly, Tronto has defined caring in the following way:

On the most general level ... caring can be viewed as a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our “world” so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, our selves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web. (Fisher & Tronto, 1990, p. 40)

Given the connections already made between creativity, creative living, and this definition of caring, it should be apparent why I am proposing that human creativity is just such “an activity that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our ‘world’ so that we can live in it as well as possible”. Whilst it is

perhaps more immediately obvious to see how creativity “continues” or “repairs” (these being transformational in nature), it also “maintains” in the sense of our creative responses being required to hold many pressures at work at bay. That creativity is about “living as well as possible” might be disputed by some; but, I think this confuses disagreement concerning what “living well” *actually* involves in practice, individuals’ beliefs about this, and the natural necessity of creativity always being comprised at an ontological level of such a telos. The definition being proposed is grounded in a structured practice of care, but this does not deny the fact that what counts as “living as well as possible” remains a practical and moral challenge all of us face, every day. “Living well” is, in part at least, a matter of social construction that is constantly negotiated and renegotiated over time, and which changes within and across individual cultures. This is important, of course, in accounting for why one generation or civilization deems something to be a shining example of creativity, when another might overlook it completely.

There will be those who feel my explicit linking of creativity with care is in danger of stripping out the contentious, the uncomfortable, or the critical— aspects of creativity, for example, which are seen as absolutely central to *art*. Again, my response here would be to make the important distinction between what I am asserting as the unifying underlying telos of “living as well as possible” and the actual practice(s) involved, which, inevitably, will be understood and appreciated differently, dependent upon individuals’ backgrounds, beliefs, life experiences, and emotional states. For example, artists critique, outrage, offend, and disrupt, I suggest, not simply to be bloody-minded (though I don’t exclude this in some cases), but because they care about our “world” (N.B. as paradoxical as it sounds, the conscious act of “not caring”, which no doubt some artists would claim as their guiding light, is arguably also one such approach to living as well as possible). Of course, this leaves the question of whether an artist’s chosen approach is, in practice, any more (or less) ethical than any other—to be clear, I am *not* suggesting some kind of blanket ethical approval of artists’ work per se; but the implicit aim of “living as well as possible” is the underlying driving force for human creativity—as, indeed, it is for our being human. It is also the reason we are committed to understanding it better.

An Ethics of Creativity as a Structured Practice of Care

Having presented the outline case for creativity as a practice of care, I want now to draw particular attention to two further features. First, this perspective

is at its heart a *relational* one—care, after all, is always both given and received. Understanding care, and I suggest creativity, from this relational perspective is critical—particularly when thinking about creativity at work. As Milton Mayeroff eloquently puts it, we can “speak of caring for the *other*, but in any actual instance of caring it is always someone or something specific that is cared for: the writer cares for *this* idea, the parent cares for *this* child, the citizen cares for *this* community” (Mayeroff, 1971, p. 12). Human creativity, similarly, shares this relational focus. We cannot understand creativity at work without addressing the particular context in which that work is taking place. Second, central to what is being discussed here is how creativity, as a specific form of “practice” (i.e. an activity that can be distinguished from other activities by its distinctive aims, virtues, and sentiments (Ruddick, 1989, pp. 13–14)) is “structured”. This is of potential significance with respect not just to understanding creativity but to help us *be* creative, at work, at play, and across our lives in general.

In thinking through what such a *structured* practice relating to creativity at work might entail, I turn once again to the work of Joan Tronto, who introduces four phases of care, each aligned with what she describes as a “moral quality” (Tronto, 2013, pp. 34–35):

1. *Caring about—attentiveness*. At this first phase of care, the would-be carer notices unmet caring needs. Here, the moral quality of attentiveness, of a suspension of one’s self-interest, and a capacity genuinely to look from the perspective of the one in need, is paramount. It is fascinating to reflect on how this attentiveness plays out in the context of creativity at work. Being attentive to the “one in need” (on whatever level this is construed), for example, requires being “open to experience”, which is widely cited as a key requisite for creativity (see McClure, Chap. 28 for further discussion).
2. *Caring for—responsibility*. Once needs are identified, the would-be carer has to take on the burden of meeting those needs. This is a responsibility and represents the key moral quality of this second phase. Here, it is interesting to reflect on how this phase might relate to existing (and well-known) stage models of creativity. Typically comprising three or four stages themselves, these follow a sequence through preparation-incubation-illumination-verification (see Wallas, 1926). A focus on responsibility adds something quite distinctive in this respect. In particular, it challenges an individualistic take on creativity and calls into question how individuals, groups, organizations, industries, and societies as a whole might collectively take responsibility for acting in ways that maintain, continue, or repair our “world”, in order to live as well as possible.

3. *Care-giving—competence.* Taking responsibility may well merge into the actual work of care; this work represents the third phase of caring and requires the moral quality of *competence*. This is both a technical and a moral issue. Given what I have argued earlier in terms of living as well as possible, it might be suggested that there is a particular moral dimension here to the question of what counts as living well, and therefore what we undertake as creative. In the professionalized context of caring in the health and social care sector, we find frequent reference to “care frameworks”; these are important for framing narratives concerning exactly what skills, behaviours, and practices are needed to best meet the needs of those involved. By extension, we might question whether there exists a similar shared discursive space in the context of creativity at work—and if not, how would we go about developing such a care framework here?
4. *Care-receiving—responsiveness.* Once care work is underway or completed, there will be a response from the person, group, animal, plant, environment, or thing that has been cared for. Observing that response, and making judgements about it (e.g. whether the care given was sufficient, successful, or complete?), requires the moral quality of *responsiveness*. Straightaway we can link this to the stage of “verification” outlined earlier, but we might also understand this phase as being of a more iterative kind. Indeed, one hopes that this responsive mode of behaviour is present at the start of any creative process too, that is, having an eye for the *potential* impact on any one or thing—including those involved is again both a technical and moral concern.

These steps in the process of care offer a structure which has crucial relevance for understanding what creativity at work is or could be and how we go about doing it. Having introduced the theory, the next section draws on the many insights offered across this volume to assess the evidence for how well this theory might hold up when considered across a wide variety of disciplinary and professional contexts.

Part II: The Evidence

There is a well-known saying which warns that “when you’re holding a hammer, everything is a nail”. So, it *could* be that in my enthusiasm to secure supportive evidence for this theory of creativity as a structured practice of care, I see “nails” where none exist. However, reading the chapters submitted to this volume, I have been *struck* repeatedly by the palpable feeling that I’m on to

something important. Notwithstanding the need to scrutinize the evidence objectively, this feeling is something that should not be ignored. Indeed, I would venture that whilst it is an aspect of doing research rarely commented on in methods textbooks, the way we *feel* about our work (embracing our subjective, conative, emotional, and embodied responses to data we review) *always* need to be acknowledged for the central role it plays in directing out enquiry. Support for this view comes from Terri Goslin-Jones and Ruth Richard's (Chap. 4) discussion of "intimation", the often-overlooked stage in the creative life cycle that heralds a creative breakthrough, and which, as the authors note, can "feel good".

Creativity as Care

What, then, is the "evidence" for creativity as a structured practice of care? Implicitly at least, this is a perspective that finds broad support from my fellow contributors. There is widespread agreement that creativity is closely linked with human flourishing and what might be termed "good work". Whilst drawing attention to the constraints that frequently impede this practice, many authors nonetheless agree that creative labour is typically oriented towards the production of things that are "aimed at pleasing, informing and enlightening audiences, and in some cases to the goals of social justice and equity" (Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009, p. 419; see also Oakley and Ward, 2018). Going further, as Toby Bennett (Chap. 21) explores in his chapter on "passion for music", a vocabulary of love is repeatedly evinced, and research in this area "speaks of deep attachment, affective bindings, and to the idea of self-expression and self-actualization through work" (Gill & Pratt, 2008, p. 15). It is by no means a big conceptual leap to rephrase such perspectives in terms of practices of care.

Intriguingly, perhaps the closest affinity for my theory of creativity as a structured practice of care comes from furthest away in geographic terms: several of the contributors to this volume work at The Learning Connexion in Wellington, New Zealand, which as its founder Jonathan Milne (Chap. 7) observes, abbreviates to TLC—Tender Loving Care. As Alice Wilson Milne (Chap. 9) notes, TLC makes care explicit in their Class Agreement: Take care of yourself, take care of others, and take care of the furniture (or look after the environment). Whilst this doesn't go as far as stating creativity *is* care, I think it far more than just coincidental that this connection comes through so strongly in an educational institution dedicated to supporting and growing the creativity of all who study there. It also clearly links with Jonathan Gross'

(Chap. 24) discussion of creative activities acting as processes of “self-recognition”, “techniques of coping”, and providing opportunities to believe in the possibility of change.

As we have seen, caring is defined in terms of activities that maintain, continue, and/or repair our “world” in order to live as well as possible. Goslin-Jones and Richards (Chap. 4) quote Carl Rogers’ (1961) advice that creativity is crucial if we are to adapt and thrive with the many changes that occur in our personal lives (including in our workplaces). We also see this sense of “repair” in Simon Poole’s (Chap. 3) appeal to the metaphor of the ship (after Neurath, 1959) forever sailing and continually being repaired and rebuilt at sea by the crew; and elsewhere, Goworek et al.’s (Chap. 27) discussion of “clothing longevity”, in what amounts to an argument about how creative clothing design might “care” for the world.

Understanding just what living as well as possible actually means, for whom, under what circumstances, in any given context, is central to unpacking creativity as a structured practice of care, and thus moving beyond the restricted conventional wisdom of creativity as novelty and value. Chris Bilton (Chap. 23) presents a powerful argument for avoiding Western and uncaring approaches to novelty without value, cautioning us against the pursuit of difference and disruption as ends in themselves. In what amounts to a call to better care for the world, Bilton appeals to a variety of dialectical design principles (“jugaad” in India (see also Weston and Imas, Chap. 14), “agile” and “lean” business processes and “design thinking”) which resist change for change’s sake and remind us of the importance of “uncreativity” or “the personal and organizational ballast which questions the value and necessity of new ideas”. Doing something “new” is not always the *best* way of providing care.

This link between creative living, living as well as possible, and *everyday creativity* comes through strongly in several chapters. Goslin-Jones and Richards, for example, suggest that “we are ‘everyday creating’ every single day of our lives ... when we reorganize the office, resolve conflicts with staff, drive a new way home, fix a gourmet meal, plant a garden, or tell our child a bedtime story”. Brigid McClure agrees with Ruth Richards that “Far from being a minor or specialized part of our lives, our everyday creativity—our originality of everyday life—is, first of all, a survival capability” (Richards, 2007, p. 3). The design principle of *jugaad*, introduced by Chris Bilton, builds on “the everyday, adaptive ingenuity of ordinary users and consumers, working from the bottom of the pyramid by using local people and resources, rather than starting with the special insight of an inventor or creator directed from above or outside the localised context”. A yet more extreme context for this kind of approach is discussed by Alia Weston and Miguel Imas, who use field research in Zimbabwe to explore how creativity transforms adversity. Weston and Imas

argue that creativity is “the ability of marginalized people to continually engage in tactics of survival by using adversity as a form of capital”. Here, above all else, we are reminded that creativity “as care” is for many experienced as a daily burden. Just as is the case for individuals undertaking “care work” in their private lives for partners, family, and friends, so this kind of “creativity work” is largely overlooked by society and can be anything but glamorous.

I have been keen to highlight the *relational* nature of this theory of creativity as a structured practice of care. Care is always both given and received. Mary Kay Culpepper’s chapter (Chap. 5) on affordances, understood as relations with the world, discusses the limits and allowances people confront “on the way to building a creative identity”. Affordances are understood as relational possibilities rather than operating according to some hydraulic shoving system, and this emphasizes the need always to contextualize creativity at work, taking as much account of the *Press* (giving/receiving) of the environment as the *Person* and their creative identity. Brigid McClure’s chapter on salsa dance highlights a wider shift “away from individualist conceptions and toward collaborative, sociocultural conceptions of creativity” (see Sawyer, 2012, p. 429). Intriguingly, she advocates “compassionate disruption” as a way to engage with and make a difference to established patterns of behaviour or interaction, arguing after Holman (2010, p. 163) that “compassionate disruption opens the way to creativity”.

It would be ludicrous, of course, to suggest that human creativity is dependent upon the *explicit* goal of living as well as possible. As Kerrie Unsworth (Chap. 2) reminds us, the workplace is characterized by multiple goals, and oftentimes, we are simply muddling through. Nevertheless, the argument being presented here does point towards specific practices associated with creativity being structured in such a way as to deliver a form of care. It is to these structured practices that I turn to in the next section. Before doing so, however, it is salutary to reflect further on Deema Sonbol’s chapter on women entrepreneurs in Saudi Arabia (Chap. 17), where the barriers they face in undertaking entrepreneurship stem, in part, from “natural ... ubiquitous essentialist discourses” that, from childhood, reinforce a lived-out understanding of their position in society as “caregivers”. Two things are very clearly identified here. First, the deeply entrenched nature of societal values, including those relating to “motherhood”, which can curtail the ability of women to pursue entrepreneurial projects (and, as Sonbol argues, requires women to develop “creative strategies” to overcome). Second, the sense in which creativity—as a structured practice of care—must always be understood within a broader societal context where *competing* demands for care are being made of us (some more than others) at any given time.

Creativity at Work as a Structured Practice of Care

The idea of a structured practice of care enables us to explore in more detail what kinds of *necessary* practices and dispositions are actually involved in creativity at work. Each of the four phases of care (attentiveness, responsibility, competence, responsiveness) are discussed in turn. It should be stressed, this is an *analytically* helpful ordering rather than an ontological account of what necessarily happens in practice; in reality, the phases overlap and merge together.

Attentiveness

The first stage of creativity as a structured practice of care involves *caring about* something. This raises questions over *who* is involved, *what* are they paying attention to, *how* are they “better” at others in paying attention (if indeed this is the case), as well as what kinds of *structures and conditions* motivate and enable (rather than constrain and exploit) their attentiveness. In the context of creativity, it is easy to see how society’s enduring fascination with individual creative geniuses (popularized in media and through celebrity culture) reinforces a sense of the “creative” or “artist” being, quite simply, *different* to everyone else: they notice things that others don’t. Some support for this view is perhaps inevitable when focusing in on the cultural labour market. Brook and Comunian (Chap. 6) consider the sense in which “being a creative involves a calling that may well transcend any immediate application in the labour market”, for example. This view is also closely allied to the belief that products within an artistic context have more about them to notice than other types of work.

One of the many problems with the enduring genius myth is that it places undue emphasis on the skills, behaviours, and personality traits of the individual, leaving any more structured understanding of the Press of creativity unexplored. For example, Tanya Aplin’s exploration of what constitutes “originality” under different intellectual property jurisdictions (Chap. 19) reveals structural differences in what one might then choose to consider valuable and worth pursuing (“The work must *originate* from the author and, as well, show the ‘author’s own intellectual creation’ in the European Union; ‘labour, skill and judgment’ in the United Kingdom; ‘skill and judgment’ in Canada, a ‘minimal level of creativity’ in the United States; the ‘imprint of the author’s personality’ in France; or ‘personal intellectual creation’ in Germany”).

The capacity to notice what others don't is often discussed in terms of being open to experience. Speers and Wilson (Chap. 25) draw particular attention to the need to keep an open mind and to hold a creative play-space "open". Intriguingly, they introduce "the paradox of intentionality", whereby the space for creativity to emerge *must* be held open without this becoming part of an extrinsic instrumental goal-driven purpose or intention. On the face of it, this appears to be at odds with the notion of creativity as a structured practice of care; how can you care about someone or something without first settling on who that someone or what that something is? Something rather similar to this paradox is played out in a powerful way in David Wright's discussion of "hopeful work" and the creative economy (Chap. 15). Wright draws out the tensions that exist between hopeful work, premised on "the possibility of self-fulfilment or the pursuit of enthusiasms and the expression of passions", on the one hand, and what he refers to as "hope labour" (after Kuehn and Corrigan, 2013), where workers work *in hope*—more often than not because they are working for free. It would be foolish to downplay the very real constraints that Wright and other critical commentators bring our attention to here. However, equally we need to acknowledge that hope is more than a survival strategy. Hope itself, it might be argued, is a structured practice of care. We hope, in this sense, precisely in order to maintain, continue, and/or repair our world so that we can live as well as possible. A key attraction of creative work for the still enthusiastic army of young people attracted to pursue work in the arts, cultural industries, and associated fields is precisely that this work is *not* exclusively shaped by narrowly constrained neoliberal economic goals. Instead, such work remains associated with aesthetic forms of self-expression, with pleasure and passion.

Writing specifically about the production of visual art (Chap. 8), Peter Adsett and Mary Alice Lee quote the art historian T.J. Clark who extolled the rewards of *sustained attention*, reflecting on the pleasure and astonishment that works will offer "if you give them half the chance". Interestingly, Adsett and Lee's definition of creativity also hinges on the "special attention" that an artist pays to the materials and processes of a work in its formative stages; such attention, they aver, will also then be acknowledged by the viewer in reading the finished work. The authors describe the work, when it happens, as "operating". This is a term I would like to extend beyond art works. For it alerts us to both the relational and the qualitative nature of our experience(s), more broadly. Being "open" is a necessary but not sufficient feature of this type of experience; there is also a qualitative depth to it; it matters. As such, we are compelled to take *responsibility* for it. This brings us to the second stage of creativity as a structured practice of care.

Responsibility

It is not enough to care *about* something; the next step in realizing caring is to care *for*—somebody, something, an idea, or even, the world as a whole. This involves taking (or actively refraining from) action of some kind. A number of issues present themselves when thinking further about this aspect of creativity as a structured practice of care. Building on the ideas raised in this *Handbook*, I consider just three here.

Firstly, we are reminded that responsibility comes not just in the shape of taking action for others; it is also pivotal in our being able to receive care ourselves. We can see this in the context of TLC, where Wilson Milne (Chap. 9) notes “By accepting the Class Agreement we take responsibility for ourselves and our actions, and acknowledge that it is our responsibility to ask for help when we need it”. The link between care and creativity is enshrined in this ethos of learning and “supported autonomy” (see Wilson & Gross, 2017). It is important to highlight the responsibility for self (as care-receiver) that comes first. Speers and Wilson highlight the centrality of “giving and being given permission” to be creative, once again emphasizing a mix of agential and structural determining features.

In many ways, the notion of an *individual* taking responsibility is much easier to grasp than *collective* responsibility. For example, running through many of the chapters in this *Handbook* is the question of what government’s responsibility towards creativity (as a structured practice of care) *ought* to be? In the absence of really knowing what creativity *is*, let alone how much value to ascribe it, society readily replicates a “truth in practice” (the de facto value of creativity is determined by what we can measure) on the basis of a “falsity in theory” (what we can measure determines the value of creativity). Jonathan Vickery (Chap. 16) writing on the role of creativity in the context of international development highlights how this lack of clear causality between government funding and the apparent “dynamism” in the arts in the United Kingdom is “often used by Governments to escape their responsibilities”. What is exposed here, I suggest, is the fault line of applying a cost-benefit analysis to a process of caring. Penny Newell’s discussion of “impact”, that is, the “benefits [of research to] the economy, society, culture, policy, health, the environment and quality of life—both within the UK and overseas”, also brings this problem of measurement sharply into focus (Chap. 18). Perversely, a distorted kind of responsibility taking, premised on an asymmetrical contract, is replicated if we’re not careful: “we’ll care for you, but only if you guarantee that our time and effort will be rewarded with the knowledge that

this will benefit you". As Louis Hyde (2006) reminds us, creativity (like care) cannot be commodified without damaging the very thing being exchanged; in this sense, creativity (like care) is both "given" and "received".

A central line of argument in this chapter is that human creativity extends well beyond problem-solving or introducing novel ideas; I highlight creative living as a mode of everyday practice which requires non-compliance. We normally don't associate breaking the rules with taking responsibility; but, in fact, this is the fulcrum around which creativity at work happens (or not). We cannot absent the absence of living differently in order to live as well as possible without knowing when (as well as how) to act "differently". This, in turn, requires taking responsibility to *know* the rules in the first place (see Margaret Boden (2004) on "conceptual constraints"), and then to follow or deviate from them. McClure (Chap. 28) observes, for example, that "the first mechanism of connection that dancers learn is a simple pattern of steps commonly known as 'the basic step' [the rules] which provides the foundation for virtually all movement throughout the dance, and enables dancers to coordinate their movements to the music and develop shared momentum". Mary Kay Culpepper (Chap. 5) emphasizes the role of technical and material affordances in understanding the rules of any particular domain. Elsewhere, Adsett and Lee draw on Stanley Cavell's idea of "automatism", which refers to the rules by which the "practitioners of a given discipline gain the freedom to improvise". On the face of it, the idea that there are rules by which one gains freedom to improvise, challenges Winnicott's basic formulation of creative living (as non-compliance); but, seen dialectically, this idea places even more emphasis on this critical stage of taking responsibility.

Competence

The third phase of a structured practice of care concerns our competence (or not) to actually deliver—*care-giving*. The metaphor I like to use to explain this moral quality of competence is the very simple example of a care-giver bringing a cup of tea to someone they are caring for. They care *about* the care-receiver and are attentive to their needs; moreover, they care *for* the care-receiver by, in this case, going into the kitchen to put the kettle on and making the tea, that is, turning a disposition for care into practice. However, *care-giving* requires that care is delivered, and delivered well. Should, for the purposes of this example, our *in-competent* care-giver accidentally spill scalding tea all over the care-receiver, they would have not succeeded in caring at all.

The question arises, what are the competences required to deliver creativity (as a structured practice of care)? Furthermore, we might ask what does “incompetence” entail in this context of creativity at work? These might seem like academic questions, but as Caroff et al. (Chap. 1) remind us in their chapter looking at assessment of creative potential, creativity is a major issue for companies; there is enormous interest in establishing approaches and methods that can detect the creative potential of people. The concerns and issues raised here have very real and pragmatic significance in terms of investment, resource allocation, organization, strategic management, and so on.

The market for self-help books on creativity is extensive; with them come many lists and typologies of skills, attributes, and competencies associated with “being creative”. There is no one master list, but being open to experience, risk-taking, autonomous, outward looking, adaptive, with an internal locus of control and high level of self-efficacy are some of the commonly cited criteria (see Michael Mustafa and Hazel Melanie Ramos’ discussion of “personal resources” in Chap. 13). Straightaway, we can see how such criteria link to what I have discussed earlier in the chapter under the label of creative living. The normative challenge for anyone or any organization seeking to develop these in a proactive fashion, either for themselves or for their employees, is to determine whether such criteria are causes or symptoms; this chicken and egg problem similarly bedevils approaches that seek to explain creativity on the basis of successful role models—do they explain what contributed to their success, or merely indicate what that success looks like, once achieved?

Several chapters discuss optimizing conditions for creativity at work and highlight specific spatial requirements (Suckley and Nicholson’s Chap. 12 on workspace design; Weiyi Wu’s discussion in Chap. 11 of co-working spaces in Shanghai), or the particular qualities of “studios” (see Gross, Chap. 24, and Wildt, Chap. 29). Penny Newell bemoans the “deflation of creative imaginative spaces” within a university context, and Bridgid McClure stresses the importance of “providing time and space to allow students to take the lead in a playful exploration of options”. Others focus on the digital space, which has been widely discussed as having a democratizing influence on creativity at work (see Gauntlett, 2018). An overriding viewpoint expressed in this *Handbook*, however, is not to overlook the broader context in one’s enthusiasm for the digital. Jonathan Milne calls for a better balance between digital and “doing”, suggesting that experiential learning brings us face to face with puzzles that are beyond digital reach. Meanwhile, Simon Poole argues that by connecting with or knowing the past and our cultural traditions, we can engage in a more personally and socially meaningful creative practice in the

digital world (see Chris James Carter's Chap. 26 for further discussion of social media and the future of creativity at work).

A central point of tension in relation to this care-giving phase of creativity concerns the view, on the one hand, that creativity demands specialist knowledge, skills, and talent, which only some possess versus the "everyday creativity" perspective, on the other, which draws attention to the capacity (at least) of individuals to develop such competencies, given the right conditions. Unfortunately, particularly within a cultural policy context of austerity, this tension is all-too-frequently polarized into a zero-sum game that pitches "proper" artists on the one side, against the untrained majority, on the other. Jonathan Gross's chapter makes a particular call to think differently about the way creativity is embraced in people's lives. He cites "the need to expand the application of the idea of a 'creative career' beyond remunerated activity", drawing attention to how "recognizing and supporting creative careers *off the clock* has the potential to open new possibilities for expanding the cultural agency of individuals and groups, across the life-course". There is a conceptual link here to Chris Bilton's discussion of "hacking", "crafting creativity", "working with your hands", "fixing things" as opposed to more high-profile cases of creativity at work (in turn, echoing Larry Shiner's (2001) discussion of the "great divide" between artisans and fine artists).

It is 20 years since the UK government published its definition of the *creative industries*: "those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (DCMS, 1998). One feature of the relational ethics of creativity being introduced here is to challenge this individualistic and instrumental reading of creativity that has come to dominate so much policy thinking and practice. Reflecting on students coming together to meet with others in acts of "shared creativity", Alice Wilson Milne highlights high levels of empathy, stamina, dedication, tolerance, and a commitment to personal values. Such qualities map closely on to Ruth Richards' discussion of five relational qualities—engagement, authenticity, empathy, mutuality, and empowerment (2007, 2014), and Wilson's (2010) five steps towards social creativity—enabling interdisciplinarity; supporting collective critical reflection; facilitating engagement; developing communicative tolerance; and applying alternative methods. These are competences that all too easily get overlooked in the rush to be creative. As one of my master's students rather wonderfully said to me on being asked "what is creativity?"—"well, it is living more slowly, isn't it!" Creativity takes time. Like care, it's not always something you can hurry.

Responsiveness

The final phase of caring highlights care-*receiving*. Here, the primary (though not exclusive) emphasis turns back on those receiving the care: is it what they need or want? How might it be improved? What, if any, are the opportunity costs of the caring approach actually being delivered? But also, what is the impact of the caring on the carers themselves? In the context of creativity at work, such questions intersect with a raft of recent research projects exploring aspects of “cultural value” (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016) and the much-discussed tension between intrinsic and instrumental value creation in creative organizations (Hewison & Holden, 2011). This is a vast area which demands careful contextualization; indeed, one of the major challenges facing those studying creative and cultural labour is determining just who should be included (see Toby Bennett’s chapter for further discussion). I return to the big question of what kind of value is created in the workplace in the final part of this chapter; for now, however, I want to take the opportunity to look further at some implications of “responsiveness” for the *Process* of creativity. Being open to living differently, and being responsive represent two sides of the same coin. As various contributors highlight, the potentially emancipatory nature of creativity at work can place a heavy burden on those involved.

Alice Wilson Milne observes that “The process of feedback is at the heart of creativity. You take something, do something to it, and then respond to the result... It’s how we learn, how we grow and how things evolve” (see also Milne, 2008). The capacity to reflect on failure unifies both the student of entrepreneurship (Huang and Arndt, Chap. 20) and the student of art and design (see Wildt’s discussion of the “balancing act between the learning journey and the crit” (Chap. 29); also Young’s discussion (Chap. 10) of the pivotal role of “reflection” in developing creative methodologies in the humanities). However, Wilson (Chap. 22) puts forward the view that, in some respects at least, entrepreneurship education has been rather better than the arts, humanities, and social sciences, in encouraging a reflexive and responsive approach to learning. Tori Huang and Felix Arndt outline how their entrepreneurship students are encouraged to expand their comfort zone, reflecting and sharing their successes as well as their failures. One wonders whether this is an approach that is so openly embraced in other disciplinary contexts?

In their chapter on creativity and employee well-being, Michael Mustafa and Hazel Melanie Ramos note that the overwhelming majority of research tends to view employees’ creativity as a win-win: “not only do organizations that promote individual creativity benefit in terms of effectiveness, but also the very

employees report greater job satisfaction and psychological well-being”. However, Mustafa and Ramos caution us to also consider employee “unwell-being” at work, commenting on high levels of work-related stress and burn-out. It is in this context that Penny Newell’s discussion of the need for creativity to be undertaken voluntarily and without coercion rings particularly true. She quotes Stefan Collini (2012), for whom “creativity is paradoxically nullified by the enforcement of imaginative free play”, and who decries any disciplinary regime that states: “be creative or I’ll beat the hell out of you”. This is rather like demanding “you *will* care”, and “you *will* be cared for”, both of which are guaranteed to fail.

Simply opting to “be creative” at work is equally not sufficient, however. Toby Bennett’s discussion on the role of passion in creative labour is especially enlightening in this respect. He notes that “To be passionate ... involves conceiving of agency as an act of submission, or giving oneself over to an object or other”. What is so striking about this viewpoint is how it flies in the face of neoliberal thinking and “the enterprise of the self”,² which is all about being “in control”. As Bennett stresses, to be passionate is to submit oneself to one’s passion in ways that go beyond the boundaries of control and self-mastery. This is truly a domain of responsiveness, requiring courage, commitment, and listening to others at least as much as oneself.

Part III: Discussion and Recommendations

My overall aim in this chapter has been to introduce a new theoretical account of creativity premised on a relational ethics that casts creativity as a structured practice of care. Creativity, I have suggested, absents the absence of living differently in order to live as well as possible. I have then applied the insights from across this volume to lend support to this theoretical position. At a purely academic level, this conceptualization might be said to move us on past the conceptual “crossroads” that commentators have argued exists between creativity and ethics. More importantly, I think it provides a framework for both thinking and doing “differently” in the context of creativity at work.

In this last part of the chapter, I now put forward two recommendations based on what has been discussed. Both have to do with the words and stories we use to justify our dispositions *and* our actions when it comes to “creativity at work”; to be clear, however, my argument is not merely restricted to the presentational or discursive, but is profoundly ethical in nature. The first recommendation concerns our use of the term creativity, and its closely allied

term innovation. Having made the case for creativity as a structured practice of care, we now need to operationalize a distinction that can herald a distinctively new way of thinking about—and crucially, practising—creativity at work. This brings me to the second recommendation, which is that we should actively reclaim “creativity at work” from the neoliberal ideology that threatens to either appropriate it for its purposes of accumulating capital or reduce it to a weasel phrase, devoid of any substantive significance. The agenda laid out here is an exciting new one for creativity at work, understood as a structured practice of care that is premised on maintaining, continuing, and/or repairing our “world” in order to live as well as possible.

First Recommendation: Distinguishing Creativity from Innovation

As many of the authors in this volume (and, indeed, elsewhere—see Banks, 2017; McRobbie, 2016) have attested, applied interest in creativity at work has all too often been driven by an underlying neoliberal agenda. However, there is a problem here in terms of the easy slippage between discussions of “creativity” and “innovation”. I would like to suggest that whilst both terms involve novelty and value of some kind, unlike creativity, innovation is not necessarily driven by living in the world as well as possible. Several authors discuss innovation in quite negative terms. David Wright’s context is the “creative economy”, which in his view stands for a “precarious and exclusionary labour market”; Chris Bilton observes that “the pressure to innovate results in a high pressure ... environment where individuals are perpetually dissatisfied with their own work”. He argues that “excesses in the pursuit of novelty” can lead to neurotic behaviour and a failure to meet the criteria for creativity. Penny Newell’s discussion of innovation as an “operator” of creativity in a university context, also picks up on this critical theme.

Given this *Handbook*’s explicit focus on “work”, it is fascinating to reflect on the fact that the word “creativity” only first appeared in the nineteenth century, at the very time when free-market economics was being introduced, and when scientific and technological advances were beginning to make human independence possible. In his (2003) study of *The value of creativity: The origins and emergence of a modern belief*, John Hope Mason notes that “The fact that the word to ‘create’ involved some kind of innovation initially set it apart from to ‘invent’ (*inveniri; erfinden*) and ‘to discover’ (*découvrir; entdecken*), for both of these verbs originally meant finding or uncovering something which already existed” (Mason, 2003, p. 8; see also Martin & Wilson, 2017 for a

detailed review and critique of the relationship between creativity and discovery). Whilst some theorizations distinguish clearly between creativity and innovation (see, e.g. discussion in Mustafa and Ramos, Chap. 13, and Goworek et al., Chap. 27); in practice, creativity and innovation are now used interchangeably; to all extents and purposes, they have become synonyms for each other (e.g. see Keith Sawyer's (2012) *Explaining creativity: The science of human innovation*). However, I want to argue that whilst creativity and innovation do indeed overlap in practice, they nonetheless refer to different things—they have different referents, if you like. Human creativity *necessarily* involves a structured practice of care, whereby there is an underlying telos of living in our world as well as possible. Such a telos is not always manifest as a conscious intention, nor is it a given that the practices actually carried out will be “caring” (as discussed in this chapter, there are many reasons, embracing issues of responsibility, competence, and responsiveness, as to why this might not be the case). “Innovation”, on the other hand, which according to mainstream definitions is also premised on the introduction of novelty and value, and the “successful exploitation of a new idea” (DTI, 2003) may or may not involve a structured practice of care—that is, crucially, this relationship is *contingent* not necessary. Any particular case of innovation *may* embrace an underlying telos for those involved of living in the world as well as possible. To be clear, I am *not* saying that all innovation is bad and creativity good. However, innovation is always driven by a different distinguishing underlying telos (albeit again, not usually held at a conscious level) of accumulating capital as a particular form of “value” creation. What is potentially very important about this distinction is the implications it has for thinking critically about the kind of attention we give to creativity, what we care about, and then how we go about delivering that care—for ourselves and for the world—in practice.

The implications of this distinction are far reaching. One particular area where it would have very real significance is in entrepreneurial education. Entrepreneurship, after all, is widely seen as the process that leads to the production of innovation. Rather than dismissing entrepreneurship outright, as many left-leaning critics of capitalism are prone to do, I would wish to highlight the contingent nature of the relationship between entrepreneurship (as currently understood) and living as well as possible. My view (as also expressed in Chap. 22) is that entrepreneurship can, and should above all else, be seen as the process of realizing a *creative* project. This being the case, we have a choice to advocate and practice entrepreneurship that is motivated by living as well as possible rather than by the accumulation of capital.

Establishing *which* acts of creativity to support and invest in requires being able to assess, amongst other things, the extent to which they deliver on their

promise to live in the world as well as possible. Currently, we tell ourselves that the market decides. But is this really the case? As Stephen Grosz puts it, “if we don’t tell out stories, our stories tell us” (Grosz, 2013 in Gross, Chap. 24). This is where perhaps we need to think harder about the kinds of overarching narratives and “care frameworks” we need to put in place to govern our approach and the types of creativity at work we really want. This is certainly no easy task—but again we can find some helpful pointers from Joan Tronto’s work on “caring democracy”. She introduces a fifth phase of care that advances a further set of critical moral qualities that make it “possible for people to take collective responsibility, to think of citizens as both receivers and givers of care, and to think seriously about the nature of caring needs in society” (Tronto, 2013, p. 35). This phase—*caring with*—as Tronto calls it, is defined in terms of plurality, communication, trust, and respect (themes, incidentally, which Speers and Wilson highlight in their study of everyday creativity in a university context). There are clearly no easy quick-fit solutions here, but it does seem that a productive first step might involve creativity and care theorists talking to each other. This could be an extremely productive dialogue for all concerned.

Of course, it might be claimed that what is being argued here is just some kind of semantic sleight of hand—whereby we “brush” the negative connotations of creativity at work under the innovation “rug”, exonerating creativity of any taint of compromise and in so doing raising creativity to an unimpeachable position on its pedestal of positivity. It is a fair question to ask what difference this conceptual distinction would actually make in practice—given that workplaces are *not* suddenly, or any time soon, going to stop looking to innovate (in the sense of accumulating capital) on the basis of this argument alone. My aim, at least in the first instance, however, is to open up a space under the label of “creativity at work”, which allows for genuine and shared reflection concerning *what* “living as well as possible” entails (as I have previously stressed, “actually existing creativity” is not uniformly positive). This takes me to my second recommendation.

Second Recommendation: Reclaiming “Creativity at Work”

It might be suggested that compiling a book devoted simply to “creativity” or even “creativity research” would have offered an easier overall framing than a *Handbook of Creativity at Work*. On the one hand, the “at work” tag might be seen to dilute the book’s focus on creativity; on the other hand, the focus on creativity might be held to belittle other forms of work that are, by implication,

deemed *not* to be “creative” (a similar criticism is often aired of using labels like “creatives” or, indeed, the “creative industries”). However, through the writing and editing of this volume, I find myself more convinced than ever that this focus on “creativity at work” has not just been useful as a descriptive device—indicating where we should be putting our attention, but it opens up the possibility of thinking differently about creativity in a work context. My second recommendation, therefore, is that we should reclaim creativity at work as a force for positive change.

If we are to pursue this recommendation seriously, we need to be prepared to adopt an open mind, and indeed, think differently about our relationship to both creativity and work. Taking Peter Adsett and Mary Alice Lee’s chapter on creativity and the visual arts, for example, the authors intriguingly suggest that we might actually do well to avoid the use of the word “creativity” at all, advocating instead reference to words such as “work” or “process”, and adding that any “emphasis on the phrase ‘work of art’, must be on *work*...” Pursuing this line of thinking further, I want to use this opportunity of summing up this *Handbook of Creativity at Work* to call for a “hopeful” (see David Wright’s Chap. 15) “détournement”³ (see Nick Wilson’s Chap. 22), in which we replace negative connotations with a positive message of care. In referring to “creativity at work”, therefore, we advocate a new position, a call to do things differently, such that, indeed, it is creativity (not innovation) which more often leads the way. Then we would indeed have reason to see the existence of “creatives” as “a harbinger for broader socio-cultural changes” (Brook and Comunian, Chap. 6).

Finally, recalling Goworek et al.’s (Chap. 27) focused discussion of how creativity at work can operate in practice (in their case the focus being on clothing design), it is exciting to reconfigure “creativity at work” as an aspirational term of reference for thinking differently about such practices. This *Handbook* offers more than just a collection of interesting perspectives on creativity in context, written by researchers who keep a safe “objective” distance from the objects of their study. Rather than merely seeing “creativity at work” as just one more manifestation of “third-wave” interest in creativity as a *sociocultural* phenomenon (see Sawyer, 2012), I suggest we should consider “creativity at work” as heralding a new wave of applied research. As such, what has been presented here collectively sends up a rallying cry to think and act differently (more creatively and caringly) about the much-needed role of creativity in society today.

It is with this rallying cry that I bring this chapter and the *Handbook* to a close, but it is not the end of the story. We clearly have much still to learn about creativity at work. This is not just because our grasp of the terrain is

necessarily partial; it is also because the nature of creativity at work itself is, and will always be, changing. After all, it is in the very nature of creativity at work to be different *tomorrow* (I, for one, am optimistic about how the many creative technological revolutions that lie just around the corner can be harnessed in the service of human flourishing). Ansel Adams declared: “No person⁴ has the right to dictate what other individuals should perceive, create, or produce, but all should be encouraged to reveal themselves, their perceptions, and their emotions, and to build confidence in the creative spirit” (n.d.). This seems a very apposite statement to end on. My hope is that this *Handbook* will build confidence in the reader to reveal more of themselves, to think, do, make, express, and experience “differently” about human creativity. If we achieve this even in some small measure, we will have begun to put creativity to work, and in so doing, taken another step towards living in the world as well as possible. That’s something we should all care about.

Acknowledgements I am hugely indebted to my fellow contributors to this *Handbook*, whose ideas are discussed in the chapter. In commenting on their insights, I by no means wish to imply that these authors share my views, but then again, I hope they do.

Notes

1. This is not to suggest that “knowing” the rules and (paradoxically) being understood in terms of them is not very important too.
2. It is fascinating in this context to note Foucault’s (2008) interest in the “*care of the self*”, too.
3. The term *détournement* refers to a technique developed in the 1950s by the [Letterist International](#), and later adapted by the Situationists who used it as a method of propaganda. It is a method for turning expressions of the capitalist system against itself.
4. Original “man” and “men” revised for inclusivity.

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