

Between the white cube and the grey cubicle: The worker as artist?

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Job vacancies, popular management books, and contemporary DIY literature show that in today's labour market people have to be creative and live a creative life. Yet, creativity appears easier labelled than explained. The importance of stimulating creativity in the workplace in management studies has been recognised as self-evident. Contrastingly, voices from the art world have predominantly criticised the appearance of creativity outside of their field. It therefore appears we are dealing with competing values between different groups of actors.

Within creativity studies, this research aimed to fill a knowledge gap in between these two opposites by taking enough critical stance to challenge the idea of a by definition virtuous creativity, but simultaneously also not attempt to assess the value of creativity at the workplace. Creativity was limited to a utilitarian definition, considering that using creativity at work relates to obtaining the largest degree of happiness (i.e., large turnover). Accountants and artists were chosen as the two professions at opposite ends dealing with creativity at work. Challenging the normative conceptions society upholds on these two lines of work, the first were referred to as covertly and the second as overtly creatives in this research. Using Boltanski and Thévenot's orders of worth, this study aimed to understand how these actors legitimise their use of creativity at work. Interviews were conducted with five actors from each profession to have them share their thoughts, opinions, and concerns on the topic, whilst participant observations were used to cover the non-verbal creative moments. Upon examination, it appears that the two seemingly opposite worlds actually think congruently to each other. Participants identified creativity as something to solve everyday problems and make things easier, but additionally recognised an unexpected form of creativity at work in the sense that it is also used to obstruct productivity. Through this, this study highlights how researching creativity demands reflexivity and an openness to differing outcomes. However, accountants and artists did disagree with each other in showing how they value creativity through different orders of worth. Whereas accountants approved of a growing presence of creativity in the labour market through the order of fame, the artists used the logic of the order of inspiration and found alternative interpretations of creativity by others wanting. A reason for this could be that the covert creatives yet struggle with obtaining the recognition they arguably deserve, whereas the overt creatives defend their territory. Additionally, a *créativité pour créativité* was considered undesirable by both groups as it obstructs the production process. Thus concluding, they appeared to agree on the values of one dominant order: the industrial order. And yet, creativity did not allow itself to be restricted. Each time participants came down to a certain vision, they disrupted it again. And there you have it: creativity in action.

Accountants | Artists | Creativity | Orders of worth | Pragmatic Sociology

Foreword

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Contents

Abstract and keywords	3
Foreword	4
1. Introduction	6
2. Theoretical framework	9
2.1. Previous research	9
2.2. Deconstructing the singular, creative genius	10
2.3. Prosuming artistic qualities	11
2.4. Appropriating the creative	13
2.5. The worker as artist?	15
3. Methodology	20
3.1. Research question and sub-questions	20
3.2. Exploring creativity qualitatively	21
3.3. The research design	22
3.4. Analysing discourse	25
3.5. Discussion of data collection	25
4. Results	27
4.1. When is someone creative according to the art world and finance world?	27
4.2. What is creativity according to artists and accountants?	29
4.3. What role does creativity play in the art world and finance world?	32
4.4. How can creativity contribute to work according to artists and accountants?	35
5. Conclusions	39
5.1. Strengths, shortcomings, and recommendations	40
6. References	42
7. Appendices	46
Appendix A: Reading list for a more creative life	46
Appendix B: Interview guide (EN/NL)	47
Appendix C: Consent form (EN/NL)	53
Appendix D: Coding manual	56

1. Introduction

A grim picture presented by Gielen, forms the incentive of this research project:

“The new model worker is a sort of capitalistic caricature of the artist. He is nomadic, doesn’t have a 9 to 5 mentality, thinks outside the box, is versatile, moves from project to project, is able to live on little, and has the potential to create something with limited resources.” (Pascal Gielen as cited by Griffioen, 2016).¹

In spite of this bleak description, he evidently points out how ‘creative’ is one of the keywords of our days and makes for a fashionable but precarious job requirement. Regardless of sector, vacancies show that creativity as a competence is required in construction, customer service, daycare, fundraising, HR, IT, real estate, transportation, etcetera (Nationale Vacaturebank, 2016). Popular management books and self-help/DIY literature are here to teach you how to unlock your creative potential and apply it to practice (see Appendix A). Creativity is considered “a wonderstuff for transforming workplaces into powerhouses of value” (Ross as cited by Taylor, 2013: 176). This also applies to areas typically not associated with the phenomenon. Most striking is that even in accountancy – despite the fact that creative accounting² is a euphemism for some first class accounting scandals (Farrell, 2015) – people want to include creativity in their practice (cf. Ali Shah, Butt & Bin Tariq, 2011; Bryant, Stone & Wier, 2011; Hood & Koberg, 1991). So how do they do it? What does creativity mean in a world absorbed by a creativity-frenzy, where everybody wants and needs to be creative and live a creative life?

Looking at the art world, these questions certainly keep its actors busy. At *Documenta 14*, they will try to understand what it means “to be free when the market exceedingly places the demand on individuals to be free, creative, autonomous, and striving” (Revel, n.d.). The digital medium *De Correspondent* has devoted several essays on the matter (Berger, 2015; Griffioen, 2016; Visser, 2015). And publications such as *Creativiteit en andere Fundamentalismen* (Gielen, 2013), *Iedereen een kunstenaar: Over authenticiteit, kunstenaarschap en de creatieve industrie* (Jacobs, 2014), and *Klein lexicon van het managementjargon* (Laermans, De Cauter and Vanhaesebrouck, 2016) take on critical stances towards the omnipresence of creativity in today's world, which in their eyes is diminished to a commodity for which they “thank” the creative/cultural industries. In their line of thought, creativity can be interpreted right or wrong. Yet, creativity is an ambiguous virtue that is easier assigned than defined (Lennox, Brown & Wilson, 2016). The first obstacle in researching creativity is thus to decide on a definition of the word.

In different fields, the concept can be explained in various forms, which makes it an elusive research topic (Thomas & Chan, 2013; Sawyer, 2012). Emphasising the use of creativity within work practices, creativity within this thesis is limited to its more utilitarian definition (cf. the philosophical works of Hume, Bentham, and Mill). The aim of applying creativity should be to do good and bring happiness. In Utilitarianism, happiness signifies the largest possible balance of pleasure over pain (Smart & Williams, 1973). Accordingly, creativity in work should be functional, and produce solutions or shortcuts to problems as hand. Defining creativity in this manner, this research project does not aim to romanticise the notion. As

¹ Original quote in Dutch: “De nieuwe modelarbeider is een soort kapitalistische karikatuur van de kunstenaar. Hij is nomadisch, heeft geen negen-tot-vijfmentaliteit, denkt ‘out of the box’, is multi-inzetbaar, beweegt van project naar project, kan van weinig leven en heeft de potentie om met geringe middelen iets te creëren.”

² Creative accounting refers to accounting practices that are technically correct but deviate from how accounting policies were intended to be used. It capitalizes on loopholes within generally accepted accounting principles to disguise one’s financial performance (e.g., keeping debt off a balance sheet).

such, approaching the phenomenon from a critical perspective would be fruitless. Rather than letting the researcher assess the legitimacy of creativity at work, this thesis thus conforms with a Pragmatic approach. Although it is expected that the current definition of creativity will be too narrow to do the phenomenon any justice, it will be up to the participants of this study, to either corroborate or contradict it.

In order to understand the spreading of creativity in work to all corners of the labour market, a comparison is made between two groups of workers. Within ideal classifications of creative people, these groups appear to be standing at the two poles on opposite ends. From all professions, the artist is arguably by definition seen as a creative person who unleashes his imagination and expresses original ideas in the creation of artistic work (Amabile, 1998; Lena & Lindemann, 2014). The (visual) artist is a member of the art world that furthermore brings together curators, critics, gallery owners, collectors, and so on. Based on normative convictions, it is the art world and its actors who authenticate that artists are indeed creative people. Hence, these actors will be referred to as overtly creatives in this study.

Contrastingly, within the world of finance, creativity should not only mean originality but should also be practical as it has to be able to improve a product or service (Amabile, 1998). Here, creativity is being directed to a specific goal. Bringing together business administrators, financial analysts and advisors, accountants, and more, creativity has to be appropriate and harmonise with their otherwise rigid activities that deal with financial stability, trustworthiness, and the like (Al-Beraidi & Rickards, 2006; Balaciu et al., 2009; Bryant et al., 2011). Especially within accountancy there is an understanding that the work that has to be done is confined by rules, which makes creativity superfluous or even a threat to productivity (Bryant, et al., 2011). As such, it could be said that the workers in this field lack creativity. And yet, despite cynicism on creativity in accounting, it has recently been sought after by popular demand, as has been illustrated under section 2.1. Thus, referring to accountants as covertly creatives, this research project aims to understand how exactly they are able to apply creativity in their practice. Comparing their creative conduct to that of overtly creatives grants an understanding of how both worlds comprehend and apply the concept. Deliberately defining artists and accountants in this normative manner deals with the ideals people endorse on these groups regarding their use of creativity (Thacher, 2006).

This thesis has aimed to understand how workers who do not appear directly involved in creative work or the cultural industries, adapt creativity to their own practice. By doing so, the potential spillover effects from one practice to another practice have been examined. While the creative industries have shown an economic approach beneficial to the arts, this research explores whether an artistic approach to economics may provide the same. Ergo, the research question goes as follows: *How do values regarding creativity by overtly creatives (i.e., artists) in the art world compare to values regarding creativity by covertly creatives (i.e., accountants) in the finance world?*

In terms of feasibility, this study has restricted itself to examining actors in the Dutch art and financial world. Exploring how actors justify their adoption of creativity has been done via qualitative, in-depth interviews with artists and accountants which has been substantiated with participant observations in their work environments. Regarding its social relevance, researching creativity within the workspace has questioned the ultimate values actors ascribe to work. Moreover, this thesis has touched upon the growing (multidisciplinary) body of creativity studies. It has aimed to contribute to the growing community of Pragmatic Sociology by examining the fascination for creativity in today's labour market as logic as possible (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1999).

2. Theoretical framework

In this chapter, the attraction of creativity has been examined theoretically. Preeminent to this project is the social status and conditions of allegedly creative professions compared to occupations that are not particularly associated with the word. As this does not mean that the latter is by definition practised without applying creativity, the emphasis has been placed on creativity as a socially constructed phenomenon.

Departing from the bleak picture painted by Gielen in the introduction, and comparing two at least seemingly opposing groups, has given the impression of a polarisation of creativity. There is an *us* versus *them*. To deconstruct this, Becker's work on art worlds is presented. Although not explicitly mentioning creativity, his theory proved still valuable in this research as creativity likewise seems not solely destined for a lucky few, but rather fostered and maintained within a social context. Thereafter, steps are taken to discuss the presumption of creativity in a participatory culture. While growing participation encompasses a collapsing of old societal and artistic hierarchies, one may additionally consider this democratisation of artistic qualities as an appropriation of them. The twentieth century has brought an arsenal of Critical theory which should not be overlooked, that thus brings us to the work of Critical Theorists Adorno and Horkheimer and the more contemporary Jameson. Consequently, this would lead to a moral discussion on correct (i.e., autonomous) and especially incorrect (i.e., popular) uses of creativity. Yet, autonomous creativity could be used as a collective noun of ideals that eventually come down to a rhetoric of superiority (Beeckman & De Vriese, 2017). While this thesis does not aspire to deny any potential conflict, it accepts the right to and possibility of actors' errancies (including the researcher) (Mortier & Vanheeswijck, 2017). By means of Pragmatic Sociology, power is thus granted to the reader to be one's own critic. Via this Enlightened principle, this thesis functions as a limbo in which actors legitimise their use of creativity, from which the "right" political foundation may be build at a later stage (Beeckman & De Vriese, 2017). Thus, whereas in the introduction predominantly the differences between the art world and finance world have been distinguished, this chapter eventually neutralises the discussion. As an alternative to Critical theory, the Pragmatic approach has examined whether clashing orders of worth lead to any potential spillover effects between the white cube and the grey cubicle.

2.1. Previous research

Earlier research on creativity has been conducted in a range of disciplines, covering amongst others psychology, management theories, philosophy, and cognitive neuroscience (Gielen, 2013; McIntyre, 2013). However, those with an interest in the topic often tend to focus predominantly on the advantages and charms of encouraging creativity (Lennox et al., 2016). Studies within creativity and innovation management have taken the need for creativity within organisations as a *fait accompli* that should be advanced (cf. Amabile, Conti, Coon, Lazenby & Herron, 1996; DiLiello & Houghton, 2008; Drazin, Glynn & Kazanjian, 1999; Kalleberg, 2003; Oldham & Cummings, 1996; Woodman, Sawyer & Griffen, 1993). These studies affirm the popular belief that creativity is a virtue. Thus in these areas of science, critical debate on creativity remains for the time being absent. Even within the usually more reluctant accounting departments, giving creativity a place in the workspace is being reconsidered (Al-Beraidi & Rickards, 2006; Bryant et al., 2011; Hood & Koberg, 1991).

The gap that this thesis has aimed to fill is an understandable one. With the rise of the creative/cultural industries and influential studies that denote the importance of knowledge workers and creative professionals as ascendant economic forces (cf. Florida's creative class theory), Neoliberal policies have been approving this creative stimulation vastly (Gielen, 2013). From a Sociological perspective that is

complemented by Philosophy, this study has questioned whether first and foremost artistic qualities such as creativity are indeed valued to fit non-artistic/cultural practices, and if so, how different discourses justify the use and application of creativity. Whereas Menger (1999; 2001) has researched how artistic careers and ways of working may be leading the way for the more regular labour market (e.g., in terms of flexibility), this study has aimed to address the same topic from the other way around by considering the worker as an artist.

2.2. Deconstructing the singular, creative genius

Creativity is being explored and conceptualised in many disciplines. In fact, in order to understand creativity more profoundly, Hennesy and Amabile express a need for “interdisciplinary research, based on a systems view of creativity that recognises a variety of interrelated forces operating at multiple levels” (as cited in McIntyre, 2013: 87). Along these lines, creativity is perceived in Individualist theories of psychology (e.g., Brouillette) as a distinguishing trait, whether it be innate or nurtured, which grants the owner of the quality the competence to innovate and produce more, better, or different outputs (Taylor, 2013). Yet, this study has addressed creativity from the other end of the spectrum, namely from the perspective of the social status one acquires through being creative, and how it is constructed within a social context. This assumes that being creative makes one special, which would correlate to the general view that creativity is of value and something we should strive for as much as possible. For this, Becker’s work on art worlds provided an interesting case. While his work focuses rather on the artistic good (the artwork) and does not explicitly address creativity, it was still applicable when creativity is viewed as an artistic quality as part of a product or service.

According to Becker, when defining and delimiting art, context plays a crucial part. He argues that a work becomes art when it is defined so by groups of people (Becker, 1982). Adjusting this idea to creativity, one can say that a work or action is labelled as creative when it is defined so by groups of people. In other words, art and/or creativity is not a product or service of singular geniuses but rather a collective activity. His sociological approach to understanding the arts leads to what he names art worlds, which consist of “the network of people whose cooperative activity, organised via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produces the kind of artworks that the art world is noted for” (Becker, 1982: x). Each facet of the art world in question provides an array of resources and constraints for the production of art. Key to this theory is that art or creativity is shaped by the whole system that produces it rather than merely those whom we consider an artist or creative. Accordingly, we should view art and creativity as a collective activity. This places emphasis on the process of a work becoming art or becoming acknowledged as creative rather than the final product it develops. By accentuating the creation of art as a collective undertaking, Becker points out two matters.

Firstly, it is not only about making the work but also about appreciating it. Even a small audience can make a difference in acknowledging a work as art or not. This draws attention to the relationship between the producers and consumers of art (Alexander & Bowler, 2014). Within the collective activity of creating art, people have to establish and maintain a set of reasons to which art can be weighted to make sense of the work so it can be valuable. But whereas art is more or less a concrete and producible thing, creativity is more abstract and maybe not so much a thing on its own. To be able to draw a parallel here between art and creativity, the latter has to be brought back to a practical definition, hence the utilitarian definition that was presented in the introduction. Along these lines, creativity is seen as a tool to increase productivity for example. In a similar fashion then, within the collective activity of creating creativity, people have to

establish and maintain a set of reasons to which creativity can be weighted to make sense of its output so it can be valuable (cf. Boltanski & Thévenot's values of the orders of worth in section 2.5).

Secondly, there is a widely accepted understanding in Western society, that art is a product created by an autonomously working artist (i.e., the lone genius) (DeNora, 1995). A broadly accepted interpretation of the creative genius comes from Kant who argues that genius is at the heart of autonomy, and stems from a harmonious relationship between innate talents which cannot be taught or imitated (Gammon, 1997; Murray, 2007). Yet, as Heinich (2015: 73) illustrates: "A "sociology of a genius" will undeniably appear a paradoxical undertaking if sociology is reduced to being a "science of the collective" and genius to an idealist imposture for decadent aesthetes or unrepentant psychologists". Thus while some people work directly on the art product (core personnel, viz. the one considered the actual artist), Becker (1982) acknowledges a division of labour which also includes many others (support personnel, i.e., stagehands, bookkeepers, managers) who likewise play a role in establishing other components that together construct the work as being art.

Whether it is consciously perceived or not, these aspects of the production and distribution process of art inevitably affect the artwork in question. Artistic creation is restrained and guided into certain directions via the production system. Additionally, artists are constrained by the distribution system in the sense that art needs to fit within the system for it to reach an audience. While this may sound as an attempt to dominate artists, Becker (1982: 92) sees it more optimistically: "Available resources make some things possible, some things easy, and others harder: every pattern of availability reflects the working of some kind of social organisation and becomes part of the pattern of constraints and possibilities that shapes the art produced". In other words, this assemblage of possibilities and constraints create the framework — the box! — that one may work with, or its conventions. These conventions are the rules to the game that simultaneously create and constrict art. Yet again, creativity is more abstract than artworks and does not require the validation that art calls for. Within a production system, creativity being a value or tool can be fluid and take on many shapes. It is its output that remains subject to the confinements that are determined by the conventions of each world.

While Becker's conception of art worlds has had immense influence in the sociology of art, it can be criticised for normalising what makes art and artists special, and thus sets them apart from any other production system. Treating artists as nothing extraordinary can threaten those whose status' are bound to the (socially constructed) special nature of art. The same can be said for creativity: by normalising creativity, everyone can be considered creative, leaving little left for those whose status' may rely (at least in part) on their creative abilities.

2.3. Prosuming artistic qualities

In the extension of stepping away from the romantic myth of the creative genius, we enter a participatory culture. Jenkins (2006: 290) defines participatory culture as that where "consumers are invited to actively participate in the creation and circulation of new content". Throughout the years, the jargon of the artistic practice has seeped into the requirements formulated in various job vacancies, inviting candidates to acknowledge their skills in thinking outside the box and being creative. Since this study has focused on only one of those artistic qualities, a participatory culture within this thesis means to include the covert creatives aside the overt creatives that have come to feel empowered to own up to their own versions of creativity. In the same breath, this also reveals the potency of a participatory culture: consumers alter and revise content, broaden and provide multiple perspectives on it, and recirculate it and give it back to the public. Along these

lines, they are not only consuming creativity but turn into producers of creativity as well. In other words, they become prosumers (Nakajima, 2012). One may view these prosumers in different lights: positively, they are to be seen as contributors, but antagonistically, they can be considered competitors.

Within the visual arts, it was Bourriaud who brought forth the idea of Relational Aesthetics (Bourriaud, Pleasance, Woods & Copeland, 2002). This approach to the art practice acknowledged that the old-established idea of the artist as sole creative genius and only creator of art had to be reconsidered to adopt a view that supports the understanding that art is made within a social context, ergo, in collaboration with the audience rather than merely in the private studio. As such, Relational Aesthetics can be viewed as a force towards prosumption in art sprouting from an optimistic point of view. Both the artist (i.e., the producer) and the viewer (i.e., the consumer) decide when a work becomes a work of art, leading to a dispersing democratisation of culture. The artist has to be seen as a facilitator who grants the audience access to the power to influence the world together.

As boundaries have faded and hybridisation occurred, the public now feels empowered to take matters into their own hands. They want to decide for themselves what they find valuable and worthy of their time and attention. This desire comes forth out of commercial interests as well as democratic principles (Anderson, 2006). In section 2.4, boundaries between the overtly and covertly creatives have been examined. When those boundaries are loosened, the covert creatives may open up and claim their own share in creativity. In relation to the labour market and listed job requirements, this may be stimulated by a commercial interest. Additionally, everyone now has an equal chance to be a self-entitled creative. This form of cultural democracy reckons that there are other cultural expressions and practices occurring outside of the established, cultural elite (Gattinger, 2012; Mulcahy, 2006). Creative work may thus appear outside of the traditionally accepted creative professions such as the artistic practice. As such, it does not only take into account that equitable access is granted to cultural works and/or services, but that there is also fair access to resources for cultural production and its distribution.

Yet, as there are supporters of the prosumption of art and artistic qualities such as creativity, there are also opponents. The blurring of boundaries between producers and consumers has led to growing dissatisfaction and scepticism amongst some scholars in regard to the authority of professionals within a certain field (Deuze, 2007; Keen, 2007). There are those who fear that (un)solicited intervening of the masses lead to a body of superficial products and/or services as opposed to when predominantly in-depth expertise is applied (Keen, 2007). Gielen (2013: 70) refers to a privatisation of creativity, where the masses place patents and refer to property rights to their use of it, which in his eyes leads to “pirates” and “other illegals”. Those who have dedicated themselves to education and training to obtain a high proficiency of knowledge and skills within a certain field are now thus interfered by the broader public whom — without particular education and training — are confident they know something at least equally well, and often even better. In this line of thinking, creativity is no longer bestowed to a cultural elite, but appropriated by the masses. With the empowerment of the dilettante, the authority of the expert risks being undermined. As a consequence, the core of professionalism gets threatened and misintelligence is lurking. It can then be argued that creativity then can be commodified in all sorts of shapes and sizes, potentially leading to a flat, superficial interpretation of the phenomenon which may cast a shadow over its original, complex meaning. Critically, however, here it would be interesting to draw a line to the work of Baudrillard which deals with the consumer society and mass culture, and concepts of simulation and simulacra in particular (Nakajima, 2012).

Central to French Poststructuralism is the birth of a plurality of truths and interpretations, and debating benchmarks (i.e., prototypes) and representation (i.e., reproductions) (Van den Braembussche, 2007). In the eyes of Baudrillard, we are living in the era of simulacra (i.e., copies without originals) which is accompanied by an “implosion of meaning” (Van den Braembussche, 2007: 325). Devoid of original meaning or authentic content, simulacra have taken over from reality (Baudrillard, 1985). Whereas meaning used to refer to some profound, hidden dimension that contained secrets yet to be unfolded, meaning today is simply the appearance of meaning. These simulations appear to us as reality thanks to mass media and mechanical reproduction (Gane, 2006). It is the rapid increase of images that the audience receives, that make information unreliable. Depending on which sources one taps into, one may find evidence to substantiate one’s convictions (Baudrillard, 1985). With this abundance of information, it becomes increasingly more complex to understand the world around us. Appearances leave no space for the hidden or a deeper truth. In its extension, this leads to a hyperreality, where the boundaries between what is true and what is fake, and what is real and what is imagination, have waned (Nakajima, 2012).

Along this way of thinking, one may start doubting strict distinctions between originals and copies. Who gets to decide what is a prototype and what is a reproduction? In the age of copies without originals, what does authenticity mean? In relation to creativity, what is its deeper meaning and what is merely a simulation? By blurring the lines between producers and consumers, emphasising copying and borrowing, the discussion may turn to cultural appropriation of creativity. According to Baudrillard, this leads to indifference, where everything is flattened out to its Neocapitalist exchange value and consequently becomes devoid of authentic meaning (Van den Braembussche, 2007). Despite his disapproval of Marxism, there are certainly correlations to be made between his conceptions and the Frankfurter Schule, with Adorno and Horkheimer in particular (Baudrillard, 1985; Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002 [1944]). As such, this discussion continues by taking a few steps back to set out an overview of Adorno and Horkheimer’s culture industries theory.

2.4. Appropriating the creative

The prosumer’s ascendance comes from a chain of historically critical junctures: Fordism crumbled in the 1970s, which was followed by the birth of Neoliberalism (Comor, 2010). Therefore, flowing from participatory culture into a more critical stance leads naturally to the Critical theory of the Frankfurter Schule. Critical theory grew out of a development of classical Marxist theory and aimed to understand the problems that modern capitalism had brought on society. Trying to understand those problems, the Frankfurter Schule was built on several claims (Bruce & Yearly, 2006). Firstly, they thought one should analyse society in order to observe and describe its happenings so one would be able to criticise it. Secondly, sociologists should form opinions on what was going on and whether this was what ought to be. Consequently, this should progress into stipulating change of the situation. And thereafter, one had to be reflexive about one’s theoretical foundations.

As a result, Adorno and Horkheimer took a reflexive stance towards Marxist theory, which they expanded with their culture industries theory (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002[1944]). Whereas Marx had considered obstacles to social progress as strictly political or economic dilemmas, Adorno and Horkheimer broadened this to include cultural obstacles. Opposed to the autonomous, true art that sharpens the mind, they regarded that the culture industries produce popular art in a homogenous, standardised, predictable manner in order to dominate society. By dumbing down the popular arts, the audience also stupefies. Industrial Capitalism needs this to control their workers so the proletariat is unable to rebel against the

establishment. Liquidating the individual and consequently one's free will to consume, the culture industries target a mass audience. Along these lines, they employ mass production techniques that turn culture into a commodity like any other product. This is where Adorno and Horkheimer draw on Marx' concept of commodity fetishism: above all, things are reduced to be valued in merely monetary terms (Bruce & Yearly, 2006; Düzenli, 2011; Sherlock, 1997). Yet, the culture industries have a way of wrapping their mass culture products in pseudo-individuality. This tricks the audience into thinking that they distinguish themselves from others when really the product's commodified nature is being concealed under a deceptive facade of individuality (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002[1944]).

In the spirit of Adorno and Horkheimer, creativity can be seen as a commodified artistic quality. However, instead of only blaming the culture industries, any type of business could now be appropriating creativity in their practice and use it as a required qualification of their workers (cf. section 2.1 on previous research). Opposed to true creativity that sharpens the mind, this popular creativity could thus be interpreted as being shaped into a homogenous, standardised form that is brought down to the predictable. Creativity then fits precisely into the rules and regulations of the labour market. Or in Gielen's (2013: 51) words, creative work has become oriented towards results, which considers the results more important than anything else, leading to the death of autonomy. In this popular, flat world, critical creativity would only lead to annoyance. Therefore, the forms through which creativity is employed may be manifold, but it remains nevertheless embedded within a society of control (Jagodzinski, 2012). Synonymously, an organisational setting may be considered a (micro) society of control (Deleuze, 1992). According to the Critical Theorists, freedom of movement and free choice in these societies are democratic fantasies. These notions are illusionary in the sense that creativity is restricted to fit the organisation's codes of conduct, which may include things as confidentiality, privileges, the ability to promote oneself, etcetera. What follows is that creativity becomes a commodity like any other job requirement. Although wrapped up in pseudo-individuality, it is reduced to pure use- and exchange-value. Creatives that "sell out" their skills to these organisations lose their creative integrity in the eyes of others (Lennox et al., 2016). They are appropriated by the machine and by doing so lose ownership of and therefore responsibility for one's creativity. Most importantly, there is no escaping from it: Adorno and Horkheimer considered the culture industry as a totalitarian system (Bruce & Yearly, 2006).

Adorno and Horkheimer have provided remarkably pessimistic accounts on the culture industries. Their culture industry theory is built on the idea of a passive and utterly uncritical audience. Yet, contrasting to this is the concept of the active audience, that regards that consumers of culture are in fact human beings that are quite capable of making judgments themselves, distinguishing facts from fables, and interpreting cultural objects in more than one way (cf. British Cultural Studies such as Hall's encoding-decoding theory). However, arguably the harshest critique on Adorno and Horkheimer's theory is that it got labelled elitist. Firstly, this was due to their complex style of writing, making their work difficult if not impossible to read for their target audience: the members of the working class (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002[1944]). Additionally, their division between serious art and popular art strongly correlated to personal taste (Berkers, 2016). As a result, their statement that only serious art could elude the power of the culture industries was highly biased. Critics have thus argued that Adorno and Horkheimer were spreading a moral panic: when the ruling class is worried about a potential decline of their authority (cf. Cohen's study on 1960s mods and rockers; Ross' research on American intellectuals and popular culture).

This discussion would not have been complete without referring to Adorno and Horkheimer. However, as their work by now has become more or less outdated, Jameson has provided a more contemporary alternative to the matter (Jameson, 1991). Elaborating on the ideas by Baudrillard, Jameson has more explicitly been inspired by the Marxist philosophy. According to him, rather than considering Postmodernism as an autonomous development, it is to be considered as the cultural logic of Late Capitalism (Bruce & Yearly, 2006; Jameson, 1991). That is to say, Postmodernity stems from developments within Capitalism. These developments entail a comprehensive “aestheticization of reality” (Van den Braembussche, 2007: 330). And yet, simultaneously culture is being submerged into the market where it is reduced to a commodity.

While this appears to be in line with the Critical theory by Adorno and Horkheimer, there is a substantial difference in attitude towards this commercialisation process. Modernism through the ideas of Adorno and Horkheimer criticised the commercialisation and professionalisation of art, and vehemently defended autonomous, true art. Contrastingly, Postmodernism assumes that the commercialisation process has brought about a creative/cultural industry which has led to new forms of art and culture who each have their *raison d'être* and should be further investigated (Van den Braembussche, 2007). In the eyes of Jameson (1991), this omnipresence of culture, the increasingly dominant creative/cultural industry, and mass media bombard people with images that fundamentally influence our disposition towards what we consider to be reality (cf. Baudrillard). Relating this back to creativity at work, from a Postmodernist perspective, the omnipresence of creativity as a defining job competence within vacancy descriptions, the power of the labour market, and mass media that have turned consumers into prosumers (see advertisements of workers in Appendix B) merely conserves the illusion that something is happening that is a fact, or otherwise known as the truth. In reality, however, there is no fabrication of meaning anymore: the medium itself is the message, who captivates the public with an illusion that does not correspond to social reality. Nevertheless, the aim of this study has not been to provide an etymological or a semantic analysis of creativity. Focussing on the social narrative of creativity instead, the purpose of the final section of this chapter has been to neutralise the discussion.

2.5. The worker as artist?

“It can be argued that this growing interdisciplinarity can be seen as a corollary of a growing culturalization of the economy, which runs much deeper and along a much wider and deeper range of tributaries than claims that the cultural field is being captured by neoclassical and neo-liberal economists.” (Flew, 2012: 82).

Whereas with Critical theory particularly pessimistic views of integrating creativity have been discussed, the rest of this chapter has been intended to counterbalance these judgments by turning the discussion towards Pragmatic Sociology. Rather than focussing on conflict, this final section has investigated whether there are common grounds to be met between the art world and finance world.

Originating in France, with Boltanski and Thévenot as its central proponents, Pragmatic Sociology refers both to Pragmatic Philosophy and to Pragmatic Linguistics (Heinich, 2012; Jagd, 2011). In Pragmatic Sociology, prominence is placed on the descriptive and analytical rather than the critical. Emphasis is placed on how actors use discourse to face the situations (and potential conflict) they meet that demand interpretation (Blokker, 2011; Jagd, 2011). When analysing the actions of social actors, their explanations for acting certain ways have to be taken into account and to be taken seriously. Research should highlight how

these explanations are used and what their effects are, in short, how they operationalise. Doing so requires a researcher to enter the field humbly, acknowledging that people are active human beings able to do and think for themselves. This stands in stark contrast with Critical theory as shown before. Proposing Pragmatic Sociology as an alternative to Critical sociology, Boltanski and Thévenot (1999) thus argue that to study actors' activities, a researcher should be highly reflexive of one's own normative principles. Consequently, Pragmatic Sociology aims to remain neutral throughout a study. Whilst examining the values that actors mobilise to legitimate their actions, it is not up to the researcher to judge whether these values are right or wrong. Therefore, in regard to this study, an empirical description of how actors from the art world and from the finance world use discourse to interpret creativity and legitimate their use of has been made, but a valuation of their judgments has been retained.

According to Pragmatic Sociology, the way that actors interpret situations is built on the ideas of a manifold of orders of worth, and regimes of justification (Blokker, 2011; Boltanski & Thévenot, 1999; Silber, 2003). Especially when a situation turns into a dispute, these orders of worth manifest themselves. Actors refer to justificatory frameworks (or: polities) and dispositions which together form worlds that aid them in conquering disputes (Blokker, 2011; Jacquemain, 2008; Jagd, 2011). For this, Boltanski and Thévenot (1999; 2006) differentiate six prevalent orders or worlds. The civic order accentuates the worth of the collective rather than individual beings. In this case, equality is an important human qualification (1). The domestic order correlates with the worth people attune to their position within a ranking of esteem and reputation through which they qualify their authority (2). People's worth in the order of fame (or: opinion) relies on the number of others that bestow their recognition of them (3). The industrial order relates to the worth of productivity and efficiency and qualifies itself through professional competence and expertise (4). The order of inspiration rests upon the worth of grace which may be expressed through a number of things such as divinity, creativity, and artistic sensibility and is qualified by its ingenuity (5). Lastly, the market order concerns around actions that are motivated by people's desires to possess certain goods. In this order, people qualify themselves by their purchasing power (6).

These orders allow one to analyse different ways of harmonising clashing orders of worth (Jagd, 2011). In order to do so, actors are to be confronted with a test to justify their viewpoints and corresponding actions. This may result in three different outcomes: a clarification in one, dominant order at the expense of other competing orders (1), a local arrangement that temporarily solves disagreements on a certain decision (2), and a compromise that embodies a shared justification by different orders (3). Note that actors from different orders all have to compromise, which leads to a plurality of worths active within one individual in a given situation (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1999). One can imagine that the art world that has been discussed so far, fits rather naturally in the order of inspiration. The way that actors within the art world may justify their application of creativity is bound predominantly to qualifications such as ingenuity. However, that does not mean they can reject the worths of other orders. They too have to balance between for example fame and the market. The same goes for actors within the finance world. They may correspond naturally with the industrial order, valuing productivity and efficiency and thus applying a functionality to creativity. Creativity may be qualified by its professional competence but simultaneously must be weighted by authority and its ability to be exchanged.

Along these lines, there is a section within the labour market that appears to compromise between different orders by definition and represents a justification shared by the industrial order and the order of inspiration: the creative/cultural industries from before. Managing the arts and culture deals with two legitimacy problems: by management scholars, it is often taken less seriously, and simultaneously it is viewed

with suspicion by the art world (Colbert, 2011). Whereas the business sector operates from the idea of market failure, the art sector works from preventing to be misunderstood by the public (Bendixen, 2000). These two starting points appear to be paradoxical to one another. However, in line with the Pragmatic approach of this study, bringing cultural management into the discussion is a logical next step.

Whether it be as Flew (2012: 82) called a “culturalization of economy”, or as Laermans, De Caeter and Vanhaesebrouck (2016) consider that creativity now belongs to an economised discourse, it is thanks to theories such as Florida’s creative class now evident that the worlds should be considered as interconnected. One way of looking at it, the creative/cultural industries may be considered as a tool of Neoliberalism to shape creativity towards something comprehensible and controllable (Gielen, 2013). In the Neoliberal constitution, creativity is demanded and communicated in a *l’art pour l’art* (or better: *créativité pour créativité*) manner. Creative work ethics within this Neoliberal constitution regard notions as rigidity, inflexibility or fundamentalism to a nostalgic industrial order of the past. On first notice, these kind of justifications sound as if they belong to the order of inspiration where justification rests on the quality of being clever, original and inventive. And yet, this type of discourse appears to conflict with the assumption Gielen makes that creativity within Neoliberalism has to be comprehensible and controllable. To show that the argumentation that creativity in Neoliberalism belongs to the order of inspiration is false — a simulacrum! —, it is needed to explain in short the difference between Neoliberalism from Classical Liberalism.

What both share is a belief in “the idea of the self-regulating free market, with its associated values of competition and self-interest, as the model for effective and efficient government” (Steger & Roy as cited by Ganti, 2014: 91). Classical Liberalism operates from the optimistic view that it is best for society to leave people in freedom and trust on their natural autonomy. Along these lines, the market should operate free from interruption, which eventually then evolves into a *laissez-faire* Capitalism (Gielen, 2013). The most fundamental difference from Classical Liberalism is, however, that Neoliberalism considers that a good society is not a natural phenomenon, and in order to exist thus has to be coordinated through some form of political effort and organisation (Ganti, 2014; Gielen, 2013). As such, Neoliberalism is more sceptical towards the free space individuals posit and “articulates a normative vision of the proper relationship between the state, capital, property, and individuals” (Ganti, 2014: 93). According to Gielen (2013), this is where two values start to clash that are at the heart of cultural management and/or the creative/cultural industries. Whereas a discourse from the order of inspiration is drawn upon and communicated with to the outside world, at the heart of the operations one finds values from the industrial order that qualify creativity through its professional competence and efficiency. Here, Boltanski & Thévenot’s clashing orders harmonise in a clarification in one, dominant order at the expense of the other. Yet, this is a rather judgmental example which conflicts with the Pragmatic approach of this study. It assumes creativity is commodified to an ideology. In the eyes of Baudrillard, this would raise a clever smokescreen (Van den Braembussche, 2007). Ideology does not produce new meaning but instead excavates all the already existing meaning. It is no longer about the true meaning of creativity, but instead about the social prestige that it bestows on its carrier. However, a more appropriate alternative to dealing with appearances could be Goffman’s dramaturgical perspective.

Staging creativity

“(…) incapacity of the ordinary individual to formulate in advance the movements of his eyes and body does not mean that he will not express himself through these devices in a way that is dramatized

and pre-formed in his repertoire of actions. In short, we act better than we know how.” (Goffman, 1956: 73).

The dramaturgical framework by Goffman explains the identity management techniques actors use in social interaction to achieve harmony and stay clear from conflict (Goffman, 1956; Jeacle & Carter, 2012). Comparable to actors on a stage, actors in social life adopt roles. Through these roles, they convey impressions to others. By deconstructing and analysing these performances, one may gain insight into the construction of the self. Referring to “front”, Goffman (1956: 17) explains how the actor makes use of the physical setting of a performance (e.g., a mood board to visualise the artistic process) and the personal characteristics of the performer (e.g., being an ordinary guy). When the actor plays an established social role, s/he may experience that it comes with a preordained front (Jeacle & Carter, 2012). Both the stereotype of the accountant as stiff and boring, and the stereotype of the artist as chaotic and crazy may serve as examples here. Moreover, when an actor presents an impression that embodies accredited values, it has to deal with idealisation (Goffman, 1956). With these idealised personas, spillover effects from one order to another may lead to complications. For instance, a creative accountant may need to tone down out of the box thinking to be accepted in the office, and a commercial artist may be frowned upon by peers. Ergo, some actors need to work harder than others to obtain the desired impact, which is called dramatic realisation (Goffman, 1956: 19). Added to this, actors play different parts throughout life, sometimes even simultaneously. Manoeuvring to present oneself advantageously, balancing between the right parts at the right times, is referred to as identity management. When it goes wrong, the social stability is disrupted. Both the actor and the audience (i.e., other actors) then have to work to restore stability. However, it is not always a conscious process. Actors do not only perform in the sense that they are aware of their actions and know what their effects could be (Schechner, 2006).

Drawing a line back to Pragmatic Sociology, actions of actors are embedded in delicate situations or controversies (Blokker, 2011: 252). To have participants open up and share sensitive moments, the traditional, etic approach of the sociologist to a field is challenged. Pragmatic Sociology is an undertaking to social research that does not relate to more conventional social groupings (e.g., structuring people in classes) or traditional infrastructures of inequality (e.g., level of education) (Silber, 2003). Along these lines, critics have pointed out that Pragmatic Sociology is unable to analyse unequal, socially structured access to different regimes of justification (Bénatouïl as cited by Silber, 2003: 430). Pragmatic Sociology is considered a micro- and meso-level method that lacks “transcendent normative guidelines” as Critical Theorists have, and therefore cannot be used to solve societal dilemmas (Delanty as cited by Hansen, 2016). However, according to Pragmatism, science does provide the best opportunity to examine objectively what it means to be creative in a society that is taken over by a frenzy over creativity, where everybody wants and has to be creative and live a creative life (Dooremalen, De Regt & Schouten, 2013). Nevertheless, one has to keep in mind that science is also used to fixate our beliefs in the world. To find out the legitimate worth of creativity to workers in different situations of production that require them to justify their motives, this study operates from two different poles which are allegedly the two extreme opposites. In order to understand their reasoning, I will go back and forth between the industrial order and the order of inspiration. The next chapter goes into further details regarding methodology.

3. Methodology

The aim of this thesis has been to identify how actors from both the art world and financial world construct creativity and make use of artistic jargon for their professional practice. By comparing how actors from both worlds understand and apply creativity in their practice, this thesis investigated whether there are any spillover effects observable between the two. Accordingly, this chapter provides an explanation and justification for the research methods that have been deployed.

3.1. Research question and sub-questions

Using Pragmatic Sociology as its point of departure, this thesis revolved around how actors from different worlds mobilise values regarding creativity in certain ways. Ideally, it has not asserted a value-judgment on whether the mobilisation of these values by different actors are to be considered right or wrong. Yet, in the wake of the logics of each world and their accompanying justificatory frameworks, it is likely that actors have done so all the same. Coming from this point of view, the research question went as follows:

How do values regarding creativity by overtly creatives (i.e., artists) in the art world compare to values regarding creativity by covertly creatives (i.e., accountants) in the finance world?

In order to answer this question, several sub-questions have been delimited, which are presented and discussed below.

When is someone creative according to the art world and finance world?

In relation to the research question, this sub-question has been aimed to identify those who are considered creative according to actors from the art world and finance world. Following the same structure as the theoretical framework, the first sub-question related to the creative idols of the actors from each world. To whom do they refer when they talk about creatives? How do creatives act according to them?

This question aimed to decipher whether indeed the creative person is considered a lone genius or a socially constructed phenomenon. As such, this sub-question corresponded to Becker's theory of art worlds. Moreover, this question was used as a lead-in to the next, arguably more complex question.

What is creativity according to artists and accountants?

The second step that had to be taken to eventually answer the research question, was to have actors from both worlds (i.e., artists and accountants) verbalise how they define creativity. What concepts and values are used to accomplish their definitions?

This question aimed to reveal whether those concepts and values are assembled and constructed in either similar or contrasting ways. Moreover, this question tapped into the ideas discussed in section 2.3 about presumption and aimed to identify how both overtly and covertly creatives own up to their own interpretations of creativity.

What role does creativity play in the art world and finance world?

Corresponding to the Critical theory from Adorno and Horkheimer, this next sub-question has been aimed to analyse how creativity is used within practice. Does the art world truly apply an autonomous creativity? And opposed to that, does the finance world apply a homogenous, standardised and predictable version of popular creativity? Is creativity disguised under pseudo-individuality?

It must be noted that this thesis does not emphasise an etymological or semantic approach, but instead concentrates on a social narrative. While Critical theory has made outspoken valuations in these regards, this third sub-question aspired to ask the same whilst restraining from any judgments. Using a vocabulary inspired by Adorno and Horkheimer, created the challenge to remain as much a reflexive researcher as possible. Attempting to remain value-neutral, the codes (see Appendix D) corresponding to their concepts have been read and re-read, and questioned and re-questioned.

How can creativity contribute to work according to artists and accountants?

With this question, the pragmatic potential of creativity within the workspace has been debated by actors from the art world and from the finance world. How can creativity add another dimension to their practices? Are there advantages and/or limitations to its use?

As has been reviewed under section 2.4, this sub-question inquired about the strengths and limitations of potential spillovers effects from the artistic practice to the finance world. Differences and similarities between the perceptions on this phenomenon by both worlds contributed to answering the research question.

3.2. Exploring creativity qualitatively

“One of the greatest methodological fallacies of the last half century in social research is the belief that science is a particular set of techniques; it is, rather, a state of mind, or attitude, and the organisational conditions which allow that attitude to be expressed.” (Dingwall as cited by Mays & Pope, 1995: 109).

Central to this research project is exploring and recording in a truthful and detailed way the values in regard to creativity that are mobilised and justified by the art world and the finance world. Rather than a quantification of collecting and analysing data, the emphasis lies on understanding the art world and finance world and the ways that they interpret and evaluate creativity (Bryman, 2012). Along these lines, a qualitative research method has been adopted to answer the research question by means of in-depth interviewing and additional field observations.

Naturally, there are certain reasons to argue for either quantitative or qualitative methods. As Britten and Fisher have voiced: “there is some truth in the quip that quantitative methods are reliable but not valid and that qualitative methods are valid but not reliable” (as cited by Mays & Pope, 1995: 110). Three positives regarding qualitative research could be that it provides a more realistic, relatable worldview which cannot be acquired through numerical data and statistical analysis (1), it provides flexible ways of collecting, analysing and interpreting one's data (2), and its rather unstructured data give the research a descriptive competence (3) (Boodhoo & Purmessur, 2009). On the other hand, one can roughly pronounce three critiques on the methodology as well, namely that there is a risk of biased results due to the presence of the researcher, secondly, the uniqueness of a research case raises the level of difficulty and arguably even makes it impossible to reproduce a research project, and lastly, this method carries considerable limitations to conclude a research project with generalisations (Bruce & Yearly, 2006; Mays & Pope, 1995).

Within a qualitative methodology, the presence of the researcher is quite unlikely to be excluded from the research project. Yet as Dingwall points out above, in social research the mindset of the researcher should be stressed over the techniques that are applied. To counter potentially biased results, in most qualitative research methods, the researcher should keep in mind reflexivity regarding their presence within the study (Bowen, 2009). Consciously and unconsciously, the researcher's presence can contribute to the

attachment of certain meanings to certain social interactions. It is, therefore, crucial to include reflexive observations within the discussion so that the reader is able to follow the thinking process of the researcher, especially in relation to how the researcher interprets the findings. Walsh & Downe (2006: 115) declare that this reflexivity bestows “an authenticity and honesty that is distinctive” to qualitative research. Additionally, Mays & Pope (1995) argue that multiple researchers (or readers) can balance out partiality within an investigation. When more people engage with a study, the researcher can test and challenge his own reflexivity within the research and understanding of its findings. Along these lines, multiple readers have been invited to follow the process of this thesis to challenge any private attachments or impositions to the project.

Regarding the uniqueness of a case and consequently its difficulty with re-investigating the research project at a later date or by a different researcher, this may require more effort in relation to quantitative research methods, but nevertheless, can be relatively easily dealt with. Especially, observations and interviews, provided that they are audio- and/or video-recorded or written down, grant opportunities (also for other researchers) to reanalyse the study again (Mays & Pope, 1995). By adding the original interview guide, new interviews can be undertaken at a later stage as well (Appendix B).

Lastly, qualitative research methods have been criticised for their deficiency in generalising its findings to a broader population. However, the aim of this study has not been to generalise its findings so they may fit a whole population, but rather to obtain a profound and rich understanding of how creativity is valued and put to use within the contexts of the previously mentioned worlds. In other words, this research used a qualitative methodology to grasp the cultures of two groups of people (Clissett, 2008).

Similar to quantitative research, establishing rigour in qualitative research could be strived for through a systematically constructed and critical research design, calculated data collection, reflective interpretation, and open communication (Mays & Pope, 1995). The subsequent sections of this chapter aim to clarify these elements. These sub-sections go more in-depth in the particular choice of method, the sampling logic that has been employed, and the kind of data analysis that was made use of to examine the data in a methodical and detailed manner before ending with a reflection on how the data has been collected.

3.3. The research design

Initial choice of method: interviewing

In order to understand how overtly and covertly creatives interpret and make use of creativity in their practice, this research project departed from semi-structured, in-depth interviewing as its method for data collection. By using an interview guide, the important topics and corresponding questions extracted from the theoretical framework were outlined to provide a foundation on which the dialogue could partake (Appendix B). This form of interviewing made it likely to obtain the richest data to answer the research question. The interviews were audiotaped and consecutively transcribed verbatim, after which they were stored in Pages, and thereafter processed in Atlas.ti.

In particular regard to actors from the finance world, semi-structured interviewing was chosen as a fitting method, as it took into consideration to make efficient use of both the interviewee's and the researcher's time (Bernard, 2011). It was expected that this would weigh in predominantly for accountants as they, by delimitation of their profession, were more likely to be bound to an institutional schedule, whereas artists were assumed to work more individualistic. Yet, as it appeared, it was also well-suited for the interviews with artists, who wandered off easily from answering the questions into other lines of thought. Thus, next to leaving space for both the researcher and the participant to follow up on new leads that initially

were not thought of but nevertheless proved to be meaningful, it provided a controlling grid to keep an eye on the goal of the interview. A limitation to interviewing was that the format of the interview predominantly pivots on verbal behaviour (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, it was probable that certain implicit matters in social life were taken for granted by the interviewee, which could be more likely to surface in ethnographic research such as through participant observations.

Moreover, all interviews were conducted individually and in person so that contact between the participant and the researcher was direct, and to prevent the potential interruption of the conversation due to technical errors such as a bad connection through telephone or internet. The questions in the interview guide were to address all types of questions: behaviours, opinions/values, feelings, knowledge, sensory, and background/demographics (Maykut & Morehouse, 2002).

Additional choice of method: participant observations

The reason why ethnographic research was initially deemed unsuited for this particular research project, had to do with limited time and feasibility. The unmistakable presence of the researcher could result in reactive effects from the participants. When people are aware of them being observed, they tend to behave less naturally, which would have the very opposite effect that a researcher aims for. Having a long time period to conduct participant observations could likely solve this problem as this would allow the research subjects to grow accustomed to the researcher's presence which makes them behave more naturally over time. Unfortunately, this would have required a long period of time to do so and as this thesis revolved not around one but two worlds, it would have to be done in twofold. Therefore, field observations were initially limited to solely create a better informed interview guide. Divided in two one-day field observations, one day was spent at an accountancy office, and another day at an artist's studio. The intention was to merely observe once at both worlds, only for the sake of providing background information to sustain the interview guide.

And yet, field observations turned out to be a fruitful addition to the data collection. Through interviewing, the assumption is made that actors of both worlds are able to understand themselves, and thus can comment on and analyse themselves (Coulon, 1995). Yet it should by no means be seen as evident that they are so reflexive, and thus a more ethnomethodological approach to this thesis allowed to observe the practices of artists and accountants in their natural habitat. Along these lines, participant observation granted the opportunity to pay attention to creativity in interaction between co-workers and especially capture the non-verbal creative moments that could potentially go unnoticed during the interviews as it appears simply ordinary to the participant. Yet, by observing the ordinary activities of daily life we, in the words of Garfinkel (1967: 1), "learn about them as phenomena in their own right".

With an ambiguous concept as creativity, it was assumed most feasible to start exploring it from somewhere close to the heart. As such, the point of departure of this research came from a micro-perspective which centred on the individual experiences of participants. Correlating to Pragmatic Sociology, this more ethnographic approach thus provided an alternative to abstract theorising.

As is common in ethnographic studies, the field observations were approached from a more grounded theory perspective. As such, there was no guide to serve as a framework from which to operate. However, the field notes have aimed to cover settings, events and their sequences, indicators of social difference (e.g., clothing or speech), movement, behaviour and interactions, and personal judgments and reactions to what is observed (Komarova, 2016). Depending on the situation, I positioned myself as more distanced or participative in the field.

Sampling: what, how and why

Since this research contained a comparative study, there were two units of analyses, namely (visual) artists representing the overtly creatives within the art world, and accountants representing the covertly creatives within the finance world. To obtain a sample that led to 10 to 15 hours of in-depth interviews, five actors from both the art and finance world were invited to participate.

An explicit division in age or gender in the sample was not required, nor a specific level within an organisation's hierarchy. Accordingly, a snowballing technique has been applied to acquire the sample. This sampling technique is particularly recommended for research on networks composed of individuals (e.g., artists) (Bryman, 2012). Moreover, it was expected beforehand that participants in accountancy were harder to obtain. As such, snowballing was here also a strategy to sample hard-to-reach populations. Table 1 illustrates the composition of participants within the sample.

Participant	Gender	Age	Years working
Artist 1	Male	26	6
Artist 2	Female	48	26
Artist 3	Female	28	2/8
Artist 4	Female	29	1,5
Artist 5	Male	24	7
Accountant 1	Male	39	21
Accountant 2	Male	56	10
Accountant 3	Male	56	3/34
Accountant 4	Male	57	37
Accountant 5	Male	33	2

Table 1: Description of sample

Participation in this research project happened on an anonymous and voluntary basis. This was made clear to the participant in advance through a consent form (Appendix C). In the rest of the writings, the participants will be referred to by their occupation and a number. These numbers have been appointed based on the chronological order in which the interviews were conducted (see table 1).

As explained in the introduction before, actors from both worlds have been chosen because, within ideal classifications of creative people, visual artists and accountants are positioned at opposite ends. The artist is considered by definition to be creative (ergo, referred to as overtly creatives in this thesis) who unleashes his imagination and expresses original ideas in the making of artistic work (Amabile, 1998; Lena & Lindemann, 2014). Contrastingly, within business, the worth of creativity is not per se justified by originality but should also be practical so it may improve a product or service (Amabile, 1998). Specifying down to accounting, creativity has to be appropriate and harmonise with their otherwise rigid activities that will put reliability first (Al-Beraidi & Rickards, 2006; Balaciu et al., 2009; Bryant et al., 2011). Albeit cynicism on creativity in accounting, literature demonstrated how even in this part of the labour market, actors are

endeavouring to find an appropriate place for creativity at work (cf. section 2.1.). Referring to accountants as covertly creatives, this thesis has aimed to understand how exactly they are able to apply creativity in their practice. In order to learn how both the art world and the finance world understand and practice creativity, the creative conducts of overtly and covertly creatives are compared with one another.

3.4. Analysing discourse

As this study concerns itself on how the art world and finance world value creativity and consequently put it to use, discourse analysis has been employed. This type of analysis approaches language as a tool that actors use to shape or produce the social world (Bryman, 2012). Within the organisational context of accountancy and the artistic practice, discourse analysis has been applied with the intention to come to understand how discourses on creativity are constructed, maintained, and used to justify the use of creativity by actors from each world. As language in discourse analysis is not merely a means to understanding the world under investigation, coding was not only used to indicate what is being said, but also how it is said, by whom, where, when, and why. Lennox et al. (2016: 1) observed: “It is almost axiomatic that the people who most often say the word “creative” are not the most creative; the corollary is that the most creative people find the least occasion to use the word”. Therefore it was important to read between the lines of what people say.

Although predominantly educated in the logic of the art world and thus having a thorough comprehension of its discourse, I am also acquainted with the values of the finance world. Depending on the situation, I provide a counterbalance in the discussion by playing the devil’s advocate. By challenging the values that actors mobilise this way, this thesis may remain neutral throughout the study.

3.5. Discussion of data collection

In total, the data obtained through interviewing consists of ten and a half hours. Additionally, field notes were gathered in three days spent at both worlds, coming down to a total of six days of field observations (see table 2 for a description of the field observations). Reflections on the performance of each interview and observation are provided in the transcripts and field notes. Three interviews were conducted in Dutch. Therefore, excerpts of these interviews that have been used in the next chapter, are translated to English, with the quote in its original language provided in a footnote.

Due to the limited time period, this thesis has operated to research creativity at work from theoretically distinguished ideal types of actors from the investigated worlds. Using normative cases was consciously done in order to contribute to understanding profound public values such as creativity (Thacher, 2006). If the ideals provide judgments contrary to common-sense expectations, reflections on artists in the art world and accountants in the finance world may lead to having to reexamine the ideals to which we are universally committed now.

Participant	Location of observation
Accountant 2	Participant’s office
Artist 3	Participant’s studio
Accountant 2	Participant’s office
Artist 4	Workshop
Accountant 2	Participant’s office

Participant**Location of observation**

Artist 3

Participant's studio

Table 2: Description of field observations

Beforehand it was expected that interviewees from both worlds could deviate from these ideal types, leading to some artists that perhaps are a little less creative/think within the box/have fewer original ideas, and that not all accountants are by definition rigid/obey the rules/perpetually work systematically. Participants in both worlds strayed from these benchmarks.

In addition, the accountants were expected to struggle with acknowledging that creativity appears in their practice, which was met in the form of several rejections and hesitating replies: "I'm not sure whether I know how creativity manifests itself in the work of accountants, so I hope you don't expect spectacular insights." (potential interviewee, in litt., 26 March 2017).³ Throughout the data gathering, the majority of the accountants appeared to be downplaying themselves in relation to creativity or being interesting enough as a unit of analysis. As such, collecting data took twice as long as anticipated beforehand. While both worlds can be considered closed settings, access to them for field observations was obtained fairly quickly once participants were consenting to cooperate.

Initially, participant observations especially complimented the gathering of data from accountants, as obtaining interviews took a long time compared to the artists. Contrastingly, in the case of the artists, the impression was given that observations would not be all too fruitful. During the first observation at a studio, the participant was extremely aware of my presence and constantly busy disrupting the observation. However, another artist was again extremely aware of the official character of the recorded interview, which prevented the participant from expressing clearly through talk. In this case, field observations proved more fitting because the participant was able to relax.

In light of the researcher's reflexivity, I felt especially at ease with the artists, yet was pleasantly surprised by the warm and welcoming accountants. In contrast to the archetypical notions I had of them, they were shy but very curious, gladly helped me in any way they could, and provided insights more profound than anticipated beforehand. Along these lines, especially the field observations at the office of Accountant 2 were rich and beneficial, because they gave me a thorough understanding of their daily routines and interrelations.

³ Original quote in Dutch: "Ik weet niet of ik echt een idee heb hoe creativiteit zich uit in het werk van een accountant, dus ik hoop niet dat je heel spectaculaire antwoorden verwacht."

4. Results

As expected, it has been a true challenge to study creativity and have participants express in a clear and unequivocal manner what creativity is to them: “It’s completely unfathomable just how much creativity is bound up inside in one person’s head.” (Artist 1, 00:34:51). The following sub-sections each present and discuss the obtained data in light of the four sub-questions to the research question. Firstly, sub-section 4.1 deals with describing the phenomenon of creativity through the eyes of the participants. By letting them explore creativity from a highly personal vantage point, they discussed their own position towards creative people, shimmering a light on their personal values and beliefs. Sub-section 4.2 delves into defining creativity which therefore provides an understanding of how creativity is thought of, how it is owned up to, and how it is justified. Thereafter, section 4.3 goes deeper into how this makes them feel and sheds a light on struggles actors may have with themselves, with other actors or with institutions. After these steps have been taken, sub-section 4.4. brings the discussion back to a constructive zone where participants explain how creativity can be applied in practice and made workable.

4.1. When is someone creative according to the art world and finance world?

Letting the participants explain who they consider creative people first, provided a helpful context to which they could demarcate what they distinguish as creativity. Thus for starters, participants were asked to talk about their creative idols. Three out of the five accountants referred to creative people as those who are connected to the arts, be it in performing arts (Accountant 2), crafts (Accountant 3), or design (Accountant 5). This illustrates how artists can be considered overtly creatives within this research. Society has generally accepted that they are. Contrastingly, to the question how many creative people are found at his office, Accountant 5 immediately exclaimed: “Zero!” (00:21:33). Albeit this was said jokingly, four out of five accountants did not consider themselves (“truly”) creative, despite each of them providing anecdotes about creative moments in their lives and work. Along these lines, they can be considered covertly creatives within this study.

Whereas Accountant 2 talked about his creative idols in an abstract manner, distinguishing for instance musicians as creative, Accountant 1 gave a very specific answer: Albert Einstein (Accountant 1, 00:12:56). Particularly fascinating about this choice is that Einstein is popularly considered to be a genius. As such, the romantic notion of the creative genius appears still quite alive. Drawing a comparison with a visual artist, Albert Einstein is in his eyes the Salvador Dali of physics. However, further elaboration on this statement isn’t given. It is possible that Dali could be replaced by other household names in the arts such as Rothko, Duchamp, or Van Gogh, or other widely accepted geniuses such as Mozart, Shakespeare, or Da Vinci. Therefore, one could argue that this would be begging the question. Einstein was a genius in physics because Dali was a genius in Surrealism. Moreover, while Accountant 1 may make this statement in a one-on-one interview, referring to canonised scholars or artists is most certainly a group effort as a canon brings together important works of art or theories as a framework of a shared culture. Thus while the idea of a creative genius may still be alive, distinguishing someone as such remains a collective activity that corresponds with a widely shared body of conventions.

The majority of the accountants distinguish creative people through an artistic element and, *mutatis mutandis*, three out of five artists refer to designers and artists (Artist 2), filmmakers and writers (Artist 4), and himself (Artist 5) when thinking about creative people. Contrastingly, Artist 4 confessed she does not consider herself a highly creative person but more as an admirer of other people’s creativity, and in particular of those who are not directly related to her own field. She explains how it is then easier for her to regard them

as creative because outside of the borders of her own practice, she feels she can still be amazed. But whereas Artist 4 appears to not want to call herself creative out of insecurity, Artist 2 and Artist 3 made explicitly known they would never want to declare themselves as creative for other reasons. Although their justifications for this seem rather hazy, they could be dealing with a certain aftermath of the social construction of a genius affecting artists as been described by Artist 1:

“We've hit now on something which really pisses me off about creativity and artists as well (...) this idea of authorship and genius. And it really creates this myth around artists and artwork and all of this that really doesn't exist and it romanticises everything and pulls it out of reality. Like artists are an imagined community really- You know, we're not different in any way!” (00:43:40).

This statement would imply that everybody is creative, which is corroborated by a majority of the other participants as well (Accountant 1, Accountant 2, Accountant 4, Artist 1, Artist 2, Artist 3, Artist 5). And yet, throughout the conversations they referred to creative people as “different than usual” (Accountant 1, 00:02:30), “special, (...) something extra” (Accountant 5, 00:15:41), “quirky or (...) social complicate” (Artist 1, 00:17:47), “odd” (Artist 2, 00:20:05), able to “deal with so much weird stuff” (Artist 3, 00:29:26), “a bit crazy” (Artist 4, 00:43:14), and “up in the sky” (Artist 5, 00:55:55). As such, there is a general consensus amongst them that creative people possess peculiar, out of the ordinary traits that distinguish them from “*normal people* which would be like someone with an office job” (Artist 5, 00:21:29, own italics). Strikingly, this is unanimously affirmed by the artists. Their contradicting statements make it difficult to clearly demarcate where they stand. Yet, they could be considered in limbo: in response to this state of insecurity where they do not know whether or not to use their creative abilities as a distinguishing trait from others, they are in search of a secure foundation for their understanding of the world. As Artist 3 points out:

“I mean, my definition of the word is for sure not the most used definition. But perhaps it is. Maybe you're gonna tell me in this piece that it is! And then I would be very happy! Because then I can use the word wherever I want! [Interviewer: Yeah, and then you feel normal again.] Yeah, oh, then we have to find a new word!” (00:48:10).

This kind of existential crisis does not appear to be applicable to the accountants. Accountant 1 is the only one who does not hesitate to identify himself as creative. Struggling between being “a genius” and being “normal” thus is not an issue for the accountants: “No, I'm not at all [creative] and I am reasonably happy about it.”(Accountant 3, 00:25:53).⁴

Moving on, creativity within this study has departed from the idea of it as a tool to increase productivity. Following Utilitarianism, actors need to determine how creativity can be used appropriately correlating with its usefulness, and balancing pleasure over pain. Throughout the data, creativity was explained roughly by two umbrella terms. Creativity has been acknowledged as an intangible idea (Artist 3), and has been recognised through a tangible output, be it a work of art (Artist 2) or a business letter (Accountant 2).

Whereas creativity in its intangible format was only explicitly vocalised by Artist 3, defining it like this certainly expanded the possibilities to what something could be considered creative. While arguably

⁴ Original quote in Dutch: “Nee, ik ben het helemaal niet en ik ben er ook redelijk gelukkig mee.”

more difficult to observe, creativity in its intangible, cognitive form was especially noticeable during brainstorm sessions between colleagues (participant observation, Accountant 2, 3 March 2017). Considering creativity in this manner would moreover further normalise creativity. Everybody can think, ergo, everybody can be creative. This could lead to a strong democratising effect. However, most participants agreed that creativity should lead to some form of output:

“Creativity in itself is probably nothing. Creativity, like talent, is nothing. It is only helpful in the context that it produced something.” (Accountant 2, 01:19:06).

“You can have a good idea about something, but if that idea becomes fixed in your head, that's not actually being very creative. That's just you got good ideas. It's what you do with them.” (Artist 2, 00:34:38).

“My sister-in-law is super creative. She's busy all day carving slugs out of stone, and painting, and dabbling.” (Accountant 3, 00:09:22).⁵

Accountant 1, Artist 1, and Artist 5 corroborated these statements. Therefore, it has to be said that the conventional means of distinguishing creativity remain that it has to lead to a tangible output. Creativity is not only about coming up with novel ideas, but turning them into action as well.

So, when is someone creative according to the art world and finance world? It appears actors from the two worlds are quite consentient on the matter. Both agree that artists tend to be more creative than people with other professions. Actors from both worlds reach out to examples from the art world when talking about their creative idols. However, eight out of ten participants argued that actually everybody can be seen as creative. Creativity is therefore not limited to merely this field. And yet, they cannot help it to use words that promote something different. There is something special about creative people and therefore, in the end, not everybody can be considered creative. Although coming up with novel ideas plays an important part in creativity, the “truly” creative people can be identified by the tangible output they bring forth. What is produced can take on different forms, depending on the context. For the artist, this could manifest itself in the production of new work. Contrastingly, for the accountant, this could be writing a financial statement. As such, “true” creativity can transcend sectors, but it does limit the range to when someone can be identified as creative. This highlights how both worlds justify creativity through the logic of the industrial order. Moreover, Becker's theory is right if one considers that creative people are acknowledged as so within a social context, but nevertheless, a halo around creative genius remains quite intact.

4.2. What is creativity according to artists and accountants?

Departing from the idea of a participatory culture, participants were asked to reflect on several advertisements made by job seekers from different sectors (see Appendix B). These job seekers can be regarded as prosumers of creativity. Rather than merely consuming creativity, they turn into producers of creativity. They own up to their own version of creativity by reshaping and modifying what it means. Doing so broadens the concept and grants numerous perspectives on creativity. As discussed in section 2.3., these

⁵ Original quote in Dutch: “Mijn schoonzus is super creatief. Die zit heel de dag slakjes te slijpen uit steentjes en te verven en te kliederen.”

prosumers can be regarded either contributors or competitors to the producers of creativity that were already in the field. Interestingly, assuming it is easier to express what one does not like versus what one does like, both the overt and covert creatives unanimously reacted sceptically on these advertisements. None of them were fully convinced whether the job seekers had successfully demonstrated their creative abilities:

“I find it a bit double. Of course, in this phase, you, let’s say, speak in broad generalities. And you, well, present yourself as flexible and creative. But how does that work out in practice?” (Accountant 4, 00:07:19).⁶

“Because you’re asking me about creativity, I’m also putting this in the box of creativity. I don’t know if I would state- if you weren’t asking me about creativity I don’t know if I would judge any of these people as creative.” (Accountant 1, 00:09:58).

All participants agreed that the wording used by job seekers was standardised, which made the participants wonder whether any of the job seekers were actually aware of what they were trying to say. Characterising themselves as “assertive”, “creative”, and “open-minded” without substantiating this with examples, made for rather superficial advertisements, although this was considered likely inevitable with an open application (Accountant 5). Additionally, the used medium, namely social media, was not considered a creative way of communication (Artist 4). Thus, while these job seekers appeared to have come to feel empowered to own up to their version of creativity, it did not correspond with what the participants consider to be creative. Not knowing the job seekers personally, the participants could not judge whether their creative abilities were natural and honest, or whether the job seekers merely inserted catchwords because the employer could be asking for this (Artist 1; Accountant 3; Accountant 4; Accountant 5). However, participants did appreciate the level of confidence that these job seekers expressed by actively presenting themselves in the labour market rather than passively waiting to be asked to do so (Accountant 2, Accountant 3, Accountant 5, Artist 1, Artist 2). As Artist 2 (00:22:48) explained:

“I think it's super exciting. I mean, I may not like it or what they do, but I'm a bit in awe of it, you know. I think it shows a kind of curiosity and a kind of enthusiasm for things. (...) And it can be, you know, your bank manager can be creative. (...) It's not following a certain norm that's expected, or a certain format or structure that been imposed on you. It's kind of moving around these type of structures. So, it does imply certain independence of thinking. And I think it's very beautiful.”

Hence, creativity is something that is challenging, thinking actively for oneself and doing something other than the average or the expected. It deals with a form of self-determination, where people are free to act to determine their own social status. This all appears in a positive light (Accountant 4). Along these lines, prosumers of creativity operate from a democratic principle. In this view, the participants consider prosumers as contributors who increase cultural democracy. Here, the order of fame appears to be at hand. While it has not so much to do with one’s actual level of self-esteem and belief in one’s capabilities, it deals

⁶ Original quote in Dutch: “Ik vind dat altijd een beetje dubbel inderdaad. Dat heb je natuurlijk in deze fase- heb je natuurlijk altijd dat je- laten we zeggen in algemeenheden vaak schiet inderdaad. En je, nou ja, flexibel en creatief je voorstelt. Ja, hoe dat uiteindelijk dan in de praktijk uitpakt, dat is altijd nog maar de vraag.”

purely with the recognition bestowed by others: it is the accountants who grant the job seekers their appreciation for their confidence. Their creative abilities are in this light legitimised by the accountants.

However, as mentioned before, participants were predominantly sceptic about the manner in which the job seekers applied creativity in their advertisements. While the accountants tried to look on the bright side, searching for bits and pieces that do express creativity, the same cannot be said for the artists, who took on a stronger offence. In the eyes of the artists, commercial interests, namely securing a job to earn an income and have a comfortable life, overshadow everything else. The job seekers appeared to be “just craving for a job” (Artist 4, 00:13:04) and “very much looking for like a simple, regular, not too much nonsense job.” (Artist 3, 00:10:49). This seems to conflict with valuing a challenge, independence of thinking and being non-conformist (Artist 5), which makes boundaries between what is true and false, and what is real and what is imagined creativity hazy: “You’re always (...) creating a hyper version of yourself. (...) You’re all looking for work.” (Artist 1, 00:07:59). Therefore, in the artists’ eyes, the main aim of these prosumers was not to be truly creative, but to secure a job. This functional link, that correlates with Boltanski and Thévenot’s industrial order, seems to bother the artists. The values of the industrial order thus are discarded by them to a clarification in their dominant order of inspiration. In the eyes of the artists, creativity has been used by the job seekers to appear as though they think out of the box, but the way it is applied actually proves to them the opposite. Especially the second example has to endure criticism:

“When you use photos and images and stuff, that’s considered to be creative. (...) you add an extra dimension to something normally very dull like black and white text so you can really show like you make a conscious choice. (...) On the other hand, you know, I’m doubting- now it’s a brick wall, if it’s a rainbow if- it would make any difference for me. And I think I would just see it as a background image. So you like a stock sort of image. So actually not as a very conscious choice. So it maybe looks like it shows another dimension of something, but actually it’s very superficial. So actually it only says the person is less creative than one not even using a background like that. Because apparently this is already enough for this person to “Oh I have to show my creativity so I just put an image.” So, it’s actually very linear thinking.” (Artist 5, 00:14:57).

The other artists are just as puzzled by this advertisement (Artist 1, Artist 2, Artist 3, Artist 4). According to them, creativity requires precision and premeditation and this advertisement shows them neither. Visuals are merely used to commodify creativity to a shallow and superficial interpretation to secure employment. Along these lines, creativity has been bereft of its original content and transformed into a simulation. Yet, from all participants, it is only the artists who express this dismay. Therefore, there has to be a reason for them to respond so vehemently. It could be illustrating their fear that this intervention of the masses undermines their creative authority. Whereas they used to control authorship over what is creative and what not, it appears that increasing presumption of creativity has resulted in weaving power structures. For a group of actors that have adopted the role of ingenious, nonconformist creatives, it must be hard to deal with a growing democratisation of creativity as it reforms the core of their identities. Contrastingly, as the accountants do not truly derive their identity from their creative abilities, they gave the impression to be much less concerned about its right or wrong interpretation.

Thus, to answer the second sub-question, creativity according to actors from both worlds means to challenge, to think critically, and to do the unforeseen and unanticipated: the out of the box. However, they acknowledge that there are those with contrasting opinions, who communicate creativity in a highly different

manner. Despite differing interpretations, actors from the finance world predominantly expressed admiration for the prosumers to own up to their version of creativity. It conveyed to the accountants an assertive, proactive attitude that they approved of. Here they are strikingly dissimilar to the artists. The actors from the art world considered the alternative interpretations by prosumers as lacking depth, which in their eyes does not do justice to the complex profundity of the meaning of creativity. While the artists too struggle with pinpointing creativity down to a rich and satisfying definition, they can more easily denote what it is not: creativity is not explained by measurability (i.e., the values of the industrial order), in monetary terms (i.e., the values of the market order), or equivalent to all users (i.e., the values of the civic order). From this, one could say that artists reject the logics of these three worlds and thereafter deal with finding harmony between the remaining domestic order (i.e., dealing with esteem and authority), the order of fame (i.e., dealing with semiotics and recognition), and the order of inspiration (i.e., dealing with passion and nonconformity).

4.3. What role does creativity play in the art world and finance world?

As this thesis departed from a rather functional interpretation of creativity, participants roughly divided the concept into two branches. On the one hand, creativity was defined by a problem-solving quality. On the other hand, a different kind of creativity surfaced against expectations. Brought up already in the first interview, Artist 1 (00:14:38) identified a form of creativity in his father that works against functionality and undermines productivity by stacking piles of empty folders on his desk so his colleagues would not hand him over more work. This kind of creativity was identified as testing the status quo.

It would be tempting to categorise these two branches in either autonomous creativity that sharpens the mind or its popular counterpart that is homogenous, standardised and predictable in order to dominate society. However, to refrain from biasing this research, both branches are to be discussed in both worlds which each could be an autonomous or popular interpretation of creativity. Doing so brings to light that power structures between actors and events should not be considered as causes of a dispute but as effects. As events are interpreted in different ways, it results into diverse dominant and dominated groups. By describing events and presenting multiple ways to analysing them, the reader may question the strengths and limitations of them being a case of either the dominant or the dominated. Eventually, it is up to the reader to decide which argumentations are justified.

When considering creativity by its problem-solving quality, thinking out of the box would imply coming up with innovative solutions to issues one might come across. Along these lines, when Artist 3 moved into her new studio, she was busy demarcating her own space from the communal spaces by installing a door that was taken out at another part of the building (participant observation, Artist 3, 2 May 2017). One may want to define this creative moment as a form of autonomous creativity: the worker is working against the existing conditions of the building to make the environment fit her needs, which sharpens her mind because she has to think of feasible solutions. On the other hand, one may want to define this creative moment as a form of popular creativity: as the art world qualifies itself through ingenuity, moving a door from one part of the space to another is the kind of problem-solving that could be expected of its actors. Moreover, this was a cheaper alternative than buying a whole new door, and therefore one may also argue that this creative moment can be reduced to be valued in monetary terms. This example shows how multiple orders of worth are operating during the same event depending on one's interpretation. Each of them provide a different legitimisation of the use of creativity at work. Next to using her imagination (i.e., the order of inspiration), the artist in question dealt with knowing her own worth as an artist within the network of connections from

which she deduces her authority as an artist (i.e., the domestic order), whilst understanding the worth of price in the form of a new door or by reusing existing resources (i.e., the market order).

Next to this, the accountants provided a different example. Accountant 3 (00:09:22) explained how his former employer was declared bankrupt. His task was to come up with innovative ideas to raise funds so they could still work their ways around it. This creative moment can be considered autonomous in the sense that the accountants were in a certain free fall, which sharpened their minds to come up with alternatives to survive the company. Yet, it could also be interpreted as popular creativity. Creativity was transformed into a commodity, where the main objective was to bring in money. Again, multiple orders of worth are at play through which creativity can be justified by the worker. The value of professional competence (i.e., the industrial order) can be considered important as the entire existence of the company was at stake. Additionally, dealing with bankruptcy, creativity at work concerned a monetary charge (i.e., the market order). Moreover, creativity was applied from a passion for the cause (i.e., the order of inspiration), or a strong sense of solidarity amongst the workers (i.e., the civic order).

Moving on to consider creativity by its capacity to challenge the status quo, thinking out of the box would, for instance, be to put to proof the rules within an organisation or one's conventional way of working. As Artist 4 illustrated:

“I think more practical and commercial now because I take more risks. Also, we pay the rent of this studio. So it's a waste of money also if I don't work here constantly. And it would also be nice if my work could get sold or could be collected. And since we don't have that much space, it's good to also create work that also has a goal.” (00:10:46).

The artist's altered mindset could be considered an autonomous creative moment as she deals with the professionalisation of her practice and using resources more efficiently, which one could argue goes against the conventions of the art world and therefore requires one to think critically. Nevertheless, it could also be explained as popular creativity. According to Critical theorists, worrying about money commodifies true creativity, or as Artist 5 typifies:

“You think rationally "Okay, if I do this and I get the money and then I can do that", which is not pure creativity, you know. You (...) appropriate it, you know. You appropriate it very much. It's a bit like when you paint (...) a portrait of families, something that's very well received for money so you focus on that. So you're still creative, but on the other hand you're not being creative at all.” (00:28:37).

Creativity at the workplace is thus explained and legitimised through the values of the market order, the industrial order, or the order of inspiration. Depending on one's vantage point, these justifications could appear as a clarification in a single dominant order, a temporary arrangement to solve critical issues for the time being, or a compromise between different orders.

Aside this example, the accountants and the office life have been classified as dull (Artist 5), nice if one does not want to think too much (Artist 3), and “fairly run-of-the-mill” (Accountant 5).⁷ However, this would not do them justice. Throughout the field observations, the accountants continuously provided examples of creative moments, whilst not being entirely aware of this themselves (participant observations,

⁷ Original quote in Dutch: “vrij standaard”

Accountant 2, 3 March 2017; 29 March 2017; 24 April 2017). Although appearing busy with work all day, the accountants constantly drifted off into joking around, getting coffee for the whole department, buying cookies at the market around the corner, and consequently being rather unproductive. It would only be restored briefly when someone higher in rank would pass by (participant observations, Accountant 2, 24 April 2017: 13:45). Along these lines, creativity could be seen as autonomous because challenging the authority of the organisation requires a sharp mind to play the right part at the right time. On the other hand, it could be considered popular creativity as well: while this behaviour certainly does not generate more profit for the organisation, it could certainly be beneficial for the worker. Performing to appear productive can be considered a continuous task and thus requires effort, yet the actors carry out their roles well-nigh fluently, arguably on automatic pilot. This would explain why the accountants were not fully aware of their performance: they put on a better show than they are aware of. Moreover, this brings creativity back to its monetary qualification as it makes one earn an income with the littlest effort.

Whilst retaining from sorting out which creative moment was either popular or autonomous, there was one participant who made outspoken statements regarding the death of autonomy. Accountant 3 illustrated how an enormous creative overturn had happened in his work, which he assigned to the take-over of his current employer of his previous one, and according to him manifested itself in the rise of flexiplaces at the office (00:02:13). The flexiplaces are introduced by the management to channel creativity at work in a certain direction. For Accountant 3, these flexiplaces symbolise a society of control: stemming from managerial developments into new ways of working, it gives the illusion of freedom of movement because one is allowed to sit anywhere, yet it fully neglects that workers want to sit at a personalised desk where they can keep a picture of their loved-ones (00:46:33). It gives the illusion of free choice, but the clean desk policy restricts them from personalising their desks. The management allowed one colleague to slightly decorate the place, which served as an attempt to distinguish themselves a bit, giving an impression of individuality (participant observation, Accountant 2, 29 March 2017). And yet, due to the flexiplaces people feel as passersby and therefore do not feel responsible for watering the succulents bought by a colleague, so within weeks they were deteriorated (Accountant 3, 00:02:13; participant observation, Accountant 2, 29 March 2017, 09:50). While the flexiplaces were initiated to ignite creativity at the office, it backfired by the top-down approach of the management, as workers were not guided into this new way of working. Those who do seem to “sell themselves out” to this system, lose creative integrity in the eyes of their colleagues:

“All of a sudden, I see colleagues change. They need a laptop or a cellphone of the municipality or else they can’t function. While the same colleagues before the take-over functioned excellently with a permanent desk. And now, they can’t function anymore without a laptop.” (Accountant 3, 00:04:37).⁸

Along with his reasoning, these workers have reduced creativity to pure use- and exchange-value. In return for working flexibly, they obtain all sorts of gadgets to increase productivity. In other words, these workers are not confined to a certain space, but as they acquire mobile phones and laptops, they are controlled by their superiors who can check in on them at any given moment. Accountant 3 shows how spillover effects between idealised personas lead to entanglements. In his eyes, the co-workers who give in to the impositions of the management, have to work on dramatic realisation to maintain respect amongst their colleagues. From

⁸ Original quote in Dutch: “Ik ziet collega’s van het een op het andere moment veranderen. Die moeten een laptop hebben of die moeten een mobieltje hebben van de gemeente want anders kunnen ze niet functioneren. Terwijl dezelfde collega’s voor de herindeling, met een vaste plek uitstekend konden functioneren. En nu kan men niet meer functioneren zonder een laptop en ander te hebben.”

his vantage point, applying creativity along the directions of the management leads to a clarification in one dominant order (i.e., the industrial order) at the expense of other orders. Albeit it is easier to identify a society of control within an organisation of people, it is not impossible to also appear in the (individualist) art practice as well. Considering Jameson's cultural logic of Late Capitalism, artists too deal with an aestheticisation of reality. Submerging culture into the market, even the most critical artist is sensitive to obtaining grants to continue production (participant observation, Artist 3, 2 May 2017, 16:50).

In this light, what role does creativity play in the art world and finance world? Artists and accountants came up with two branches of creativity: applying creativity in practice as something that solves problems, and applying creativity as something that challenging the status quo. Actors from both the art world and the finance world demonstrate consciously and unconsciously that they execute both of these forms of creativity. This supports Goffman's statement that we act better than we know. Whether these forms fall under autonomous or popular varieties of creativity is debatable and thus left to the judgment call of the reader. However, it does make clear that groups of actors cannot simply be classified as autonomous creatives or popular creatives. In this light, the work of Critical theorists appears rather archaic. The use of creativity in the workplace can be legitimised through the logics of different orders of worth, be it the domestic order, the order of the market or another. Depending on the context, actors renounce or affirm the use of creativity at work by values drawn from these orders of worth. Thus, each world shows how creativity plays different roles at different times.

4.4. How can creativity contribute to work according to artists and accountants?

Talking about how being creative made people feel, all participants spoke with praise. Creativity makes them feel happy and alive (Accountant 1; Accountant 4, Artist 3; Artist 4), it makes them proud of what they accomplish (Accountant 3, Artist 5), and makes them feel empowered and gives their lives meaning (Accountant 2; Accountant 4; Artist 1; Artist 2).

In line with Boltanski & Thévenot's order of inspiration, the artists consider creativity an important, if not an essential element of work. How it exactly contributes to work is not explained, but according to Artist 3, creativity is "super important. Otherwise, nothing happens." (00:37:31). This is supported by Artist 5: "It's the main factor of your work. (...) If, as an artist, you don't consider yourself as being extremely creative, you wouldn't make art." (00:41:14). One may, therefore, say that creativity plays an important role in the social status of an artist. Even if someone would actually not be creative, it could be enough if the person in question is convinced of his own creative abilities. However, Artist 1 gives a more nuanced reply: "It's super important to be creative, but then obviously you have (to) give form to it, make it accessible in a way." (01:00:49). Here creativity starts to shift more already to the order of industry. Creativity should thus also in the art practice be applied efficiently to reach one's target with a minimum of wasted effort or expense (Artist 4).

Continuing with this idea, the accountants provided a much more rationalised interpretation of the importance of creativity at work: creativity has a certain purpose, but a *créativité pour créativité* will surpass the aim of an organisation (Accountant 1; Accountant 3; Accountant 4; Accountant 5). As Accountant 2 further illustrated:

"It makes people feel good because they put something of themselves into the process. So it's part of them as well. So they're committed to the whole thing. Much more than just the hired hand who is

there to do something. (...) And what they do matters and what they bring to the table matters. What they think about it, matters. Yeah, it's inclusive." (01:39:01).

This is corroborated by Artist 5:

"It gives me sense of purpose. And a sense of that I can be proud of something like- it's close to arrogance actually (...) feeling elevated above the plebs. This is of course very overreacted way of putting it. But subtly it's there. And I think actually with all creative people. You feel like you are an unique and that gives you a reason to live." (00:45:23).

Hence, the majority of the accountants agreed that creativity is not something that is crucial to perform properly at work, but it adds another dimension to work by enriching workers on a personal level (Accountant 1; Accountant 2; Accountant 4). Creativity thus prevents workers from estranging from the work that needs to be done (Accountant 5). Note that here creativity is distinguished by participants through its problem-solving qualities. It serves to increase production rather than to challenge the status quo. Contrastingly, the kind of creativity that tests the existing state of affairs is the kind of creativity accountants wanted to stay clear from: "disruptiveness is not something you want to include in every process because disruptiveness can kill efficiency." (Accountant 1, 00:26:51). As Accountant 4 elucidated:

"For instance when you have a document which used to consist of one page, but when you think of it, three pages could be better and add something to it. But if I were to make ten pages of it, then I would go completely overboard." (00:22:33).⁹

Accountant 2 (00:41:45) argued that this kind of creativity would be discrepant to the archetypical accountant who strives for a structured working environment where there is no place for confusion. This is corroborated by Accountant 5, who reacted negatively to the question whether he would want more space for creativity at work. Yet, differing from the other accountants, Accountant 3 argued that he would not want more creativity at work if this is the kind of creativity that is imposed on him by his employer (i.e., the flexiplaces that should stimulate productivity), but instead craves for a more challenging form of creativity:

"Why do we have to write financial statements? People are tense, feel burned out and God knows what- only for it to be thrown in the garbage! Which makes you wonder, why do we invite an external accountant to agitate everybody only to give his approval and be done with it. Be creative and say "Do you even need that accountant any longer? Do we need a financial statement?". As long as everything works, everything works." (00:46:33).¹⁰

⁹ Original quote in Dutch: "Als je bijvoorbeeld een stuk heb dat je zegt van "Joh, dat was vroeger één bladzijde", dan denk je "Nou, als je er een derde bladzijde van maakt, kan het heel mooi zijn en iets toevoegen", maar als ik er tien bladzijdes van ga maken, dan schiet ik m'n doel voorbij."

¹⁰ Original quote in Dutch: "Waarom moeten wij een jaarrekening maken met hele boekwerken? Mensen overspannen, tegen de burn-out en weet ik het- vervolgens wordt het in de oud papier container geflikkerd! (...) Dat je zegt van waarom moet een accountant hier heel de boel opstoken om vervolgens te zeggen "We geven een goedkeuring en we zijn klaar". Wees eens creatief dat je zegt "Hebben we die accountant nog wel nodig? Hebben we een jaarrekening nodig?" Zolang het goed, dan gaat het goed."

He acknowledged that this was a radical example that is not workable in his current situation, but it does illustrate a certain cry of distress. Whereas Accountant 2 discussed the importance of creativity more hypothetically, Accountant 3 showed that he is not given the feeling that his contribution at the office matters. Along these lines, creativity is not only valued through its worth of ingenuity and worth of productivity, but additionally deals with the order of fame that relies on the number of others who bestow their recognition of an actor. Having arrived at a dispute, the concerned orders of worth manifest themselves. Searching for ways to harmonise these competing values, Accountant 3 is tested to justify his point of view. Being bound to this job until he can retire, it appears that a clarification into the industrial order is at hand. Yet, he proposes that he would be able to deal with the problem-solving kind of creativity of his employer if it were communicated properly, which could shift to a compromise embodying of a shared justification by actors from different orders (00:28:30). This example, therefore, illustrates how the finance world not merely operates from the industrial order, but in fact deals with a plurality of orders and their values. Additionally, it shows how Accountant 3 has to deal with the preordained front of the accountant who simply has to follow the rules and regulations that are laid down. To be accepted at the office, he feels he has to tone down the kind of creativity he personally feels comfortable with. The struggles of Accountant 3 with his employer may be reflecting a Neoliberal approach to creativity at work. Other accountants agree that there is space for creativity, but it is restricted as the work itself is bound to rules and regulations:

“There are quite a lot of rules that we have to keep. That limits your creativity. (...) But within those borders, you can still be creative. Like [the idea] I had the other day. It wasn’t allowed, but well, what if it was? Then it would have been good.” (Accountant 5, 00:33:19).¹¹

“You know, you just know that the moment you work at an administration like ours, you are bound to rules and regulations that you have to keep. So, that offers little room. So yeah, there is less space for creativity because your hands are tied.” (Accountant 4, 00:14:06).¹²

Bear in mind that it is not only the financial world who deals with these issues. Artists have to abide by their dependance on the help of others, and by acquiring grants that each prescribe their own rules and regulations (Artist 3; Artist 4; Artist 5). As such, in the art world too there is no endless space for creativity that is strictly legitimised through the order of inspiration. They likewise deal with the market order or the order of fame. It appears that actors from both the art world and the finance world have obtained established social roles and therefore deal with idealisation. Within the accredited values of their worlds, actors may deviate from the norm which may conflict with their surroundings and disrupt social stability. Thus, they have to alternate between different personas, ergo, deal with identity management.

In this fashion, how can creativity contribute to work according to artists and accountants? Actors share the same ideas on the advantages of creativity: it makes them feel good, proud, and empowered. Yet, whether it is automatically appropriate at work, is another question. There are several limitations of creativity in the workplace that are difficult to delineate. On the one hand, a *créativité pour créativité*

¹¹ Original quote in Dutch: “Er zijn best wel veel regels waar we ons aan moeten houden. Dat beperkt je creativiteit. (...) Maar af en- ja goed, nou wat ik zeg. Kijk, binnen je kaders kan je nog wel creatief zijn. Nou wat ik laatst had, was dan niet juist maar goed, dat zijn wel de dingen die- stel nou dat het wel de juiste manier was, dan was het toch wel goed geweest.”

¹² Original quote in Dutch: “Weet je, je weet gewoon, zeg maar, op het moment dat je op een administratie zit- dat is bij ons- je zit aan allerlei voorschriften zit je vast die je moet blijven hanteren inderdaad. Dus dat biedt weinig perspectief erin. Dus ja, die creativiteit kan je vaak wat minder kwijt omdat je aan handen en voeten gebonden ben.”

obstructs production and thus makes creativity inappropriate at work. Both the accountants as the artists eventually need to reach a goal. On the other hand, reducing creativity to make it fit within certain rules and regulations, may conflict with actors' personal values. Deviating from their social roles may lead to friction which will require all actors in the game to restore stability.

5. Conclusions

By no means has it been anticipated that studying creativity would be an easy task. Practicing a multidisciplinary approach, combining cultural sociology and philosophy gave way to do justice to researching this elusive concept. All participants avowed that it was a complicated topic that made it quite impossible for them to make indisputable statements on their perception of creativity. Throughout, participants have altered their ways of thinking, their beliefs and their judgements. It showed how artists and accountants had to deal with values of competing orders with each their own logic.

In an attempt to break the topic down into feasible compartments for the participants, four sub-questions were delimited. Letting the artists and accountants talk about their creative idols, gave a clearer impression of who they think of when they refer to creative people. While throughout this thesis they have been approached as two opposites, they revealed to think quite alike. Apart from two participants, all acknowledged that in fact every person can be thought of as creative. As such, it appears that actors have tried to normalise creativity to a larger audience, which would explain why it is such a much sought after job requirement. Their views can thus be said to correlate with Becker's work as presented in section 2.2. Moreover, it suggests that Critical theory approaches to creativity have grown outdated. Creativity is a universal trait and thus no longer bestowed to a cultural elite.

And yet, this did not keep them from using words that indicate that creativity is special, unusual, and out of the ordinary. Consequently, actors implicitly confessed that creativity is not something you witness every day or in every person. This could be a defensive move on the artists' behalf whose social status relies on their creative abilities. However, the accountants attested the same. On the one hand, this could indicate a certain admiration for creativity as it symbolises wit, resourcefulness, and open-mindedness. It is something not all of them necessarily identified themselves with, but do consider traits that they would like to have more of. On the other hand, demarcating creativity as something that only appears in certain areas in life, would guarantee that it cannot disrupt their highly stable working environment, and therefore will not bring forth disputes and the accompanying discomfort or the like.

Having participants define creativity brought the discussion to how the concept is thought of, owned up to by actors, and consequently justified by them. Again, artists and accountants provided corresponding attributes to the word. Both agreed creativity means to think critically, and out of the box, but additionally admitted that other interpretations could be given. This brought to light the work of Critical theorists where a judgment is made by actors between right and wrong interpretations. It is here where the values of accountants and artists parted ways again. The accountants considered the creative prosumer as a contributor, and they approved of their proactive and assertive attitude. This stood in stark contrast to the artists: they found alternative interpretations of creativity by prosumers wanting in profundity, which according to them did not do justice to the true meaning of creativity. At this moment, accountants and artists showed how they value creativity through different orders of worth. The artists strongly defended the order of inspiration while the accountants justified themselves through the order of fame, relying on the number of others that bestow one their recognition. This could possibly relate to the distinction that has been made in this thesis, where the accountants were otherwise referred to as covertly creatives. Naming them in this manner would imply that they do not yet have the recognition they arguably deserve.

Logically, the discussion thereafter tapped into ideas from Critical theory, distinguishing between autonomous and popular forms of creativity. As there is an immense body of Critical theory, especially in relation to the creative/cultural industries, it could not be neglected within this thesis. There are those who argue that the current creativity-mania is an offspring of a economisation of arts and culture. However, from

this thesis' Pragmatic vantage point, verdicts on the matter could not be made by the researcher. It did however appear in the data, and was especially voiced by the artists. This was to be expected as it addresses the core of their "business", whereas the accountants were not so much in danger by this all. However, they did, once again, corroborate with the artists by acknowledging two branches of creativity: the problem-solving kind, and the kind of creativity that challenges the status quo. Consciously and unconsciously, actors from the art world and the finance world performed both of the two branches in each their distinctive ways. Especially the latter kind, deals with the conventions of their worlds.

Moving the discussion to a more constructive ending, actors discussed how creativity could be beneficial to their work. Acknowledging that creativity leads to positive reinforcement of feelings such as empowerment and pride, it was debatable when and where creativity was appropriate at work. A *créativité pour créativité* obstructs the production process for both the accountants and the artists. Here, the two groups agreed on the values of one dominant order, namely the industrial one. And yet, reducing creativity to fit within certain rules and regulations that each worker faces, appeared to conflict with actors' personal values. Balancing between different orders and their values, would require each actor at the scene to work together to restore the stability of their preferential, dominant order of worth.

How do values regarding creativity by overtly creatives (i.e., artists) in the art world compare to values regarding creativity by covertly creatives (i.e., accountants) in the finance world?

In this light, to answer the research question, this thesis project has shown how seemingly opposites, the overtly creative versus the covertly creative, actually are not very different at all. Albeit deviating from each other at times, they have drawn upon very similar, if not the same values to explain what creativity is to them. And yet, all parties involved have disrupted the process of reaching a truly embraced, participatory form of creativity. Reasoning about this, valuing creativity as something special and extraordinary could be in fact a highly Pragmatic approach to the phenomenon. Actors need to preserve their values so they can maintain their ideals. These ideals help them to defend themselves against those who think differently, which in turn helps them cope with life's challenges. Distinguishing between an us versus them, the actors are able to identify themselves as part of a certain group. By internalising the values of a group, the actor strives for a mind at metaphorical rest. Ergo, stability trumps all. Yet, rest does not equal creativity. Creativity is not something that allows itself to be restricted. Each time you think you have come down to a definition, it has to be disrupted again. Behold! Creativity in action.

5.1. Strengths, shortcomings, and recommendations

On strengths

On the one hand, creativity studies have been approached from an applied vantage point, considering the importance of stimulation of creativity in management studies as a self-evident fact. On the contrary, voices stemming from the art world have predominantly criticised the appearance of creativity outside of their field. Within studies on creativity, this thesis has thus aimed to fill in a knowledge gap in between these two opponents, by taking enough critical stance to challenge the idea of a by definition virtuous creativity, but simultaneously also not derail into assessing creativity's application. This has led to the unexpected outcome that creativity in work was also used to obstruct productivity. Additionally, Pragmatic Sociology combined with participant observations and interviews have proved an innovative, empirical addition to the multidisciplinary character of creativity studies.

Setting out from a macro-level theorising, this thesis has examined the large-scale occurrence that is creativity in the workspace. Yet with a nebulous topic as creativity, it was important to prevent to linger on abstract entities. Zooming in on the experiences of two groups brought the discussion to a feasible meso-level. Diving even further to a micro-level approach, allowed to study how individual actors balance their roles and identities in relation to creativity and their professions. As such, this thesis has shone a light on occurrences of creativity in daily life that otherwise risk to be taken for granted.

On limitations

“It's a very tricky subject. Because creativity like, I didn't even considerate it but while I'm talking about it I already noticed that it's like an eel. You cannot grasp it. And at one point it's everything or nothing anymore. (...) It could be that when you would ask the questions again I would have completely different answers.” (Artist 5, 00:58:57).

As it appeared, each time a participant came down to a definition of the word, they had to disrupt it again. Bringing creativity down to a clear cut definition seemed to not do participants proud. As a consequence of changing definitions, actors from both worlds made contradicting statements throughout. This did not help to keep such an obscure research topic manageable, despite it being inevitably related to it.

Moreover, it was particularly difficult to get enough actors from the finance world to participate. As such, it took a significantly longer time to obtain the required data. From all participants, especially the accountants appeared shy or outright insecure to participate, although this was certainly unfounded. As obtaining data was considerate delayed, everything else was postponed as a logical consequence. Along these lines, this led to some time shortage which has negatively affected the designated time to analyse the data.

On recommendations

The sensation of not quite being able to pinpoint a phenomenon such as creativity, serves as further encouragement to try to understand creativity through academic research. Practically, it may be beneficial to therefore immerse oneself deeper within the field through full-scale ethnographic fieldwork. Since creativity has been difficult to verbalise, it could be fruitful to leave semi-structured interviewing aside and focus on the non-verbal (inter)actions of actors. Focussing on one of the interpretations as presented in this thesis, this approach would allow one to conduct research on different aspects that together appear to build up creativity.

Lastly, the accountants have provided me never before thought insights. While they were initially difficult to reach, they were highly cooperative and frank throughout their participation. As such, their actions made for excellent study material. People's general disdain towards working in an office deserve to be neutralised. Therefore, I argue to continue research that challenges the normative conceptions we uphold to accountancy and the office life, which in turn questions our reflexivity towards the values we ascribe to work.

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7. Appendices

Appendix A: Reading list for a more creative life

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Creativity at work

The purpose of the study is to understand how people apply creativity in their work. This comes forward from developments in labor (theory and practice) that more and more stress that creativity needs a place in people's work practice. I am interested to see how creativity indeed settles in working environments, how it is welcomed by workers, and how they apply creativity in their practice.

This interview takes up about 1-2 hour(s). Do you mind if I record the interview? This is purely for my own administration.

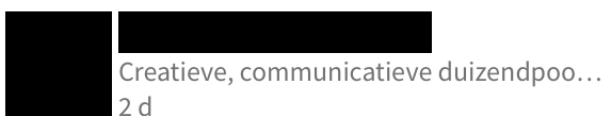
Face sheet information

- You will remain anonymous throughout the research, but to refer to you in my writings I would like to know your age, gender, and occupation.
- Number of years employed?
- How does your work setting look like (studio, office, at home)?
- Do you work alone or with others? If so, how many?
- What role does creativity play in your day-to-day life?/When do you feel creative? (Example)

Defining the creative person

1. To warm up, I have 4 examples of job seekers from different sectors that present themselves as creative. Do you think these people adequately/successfully show their creative ability? Why do you think so?
 - In what way do these people set themselves apart from non-creatives?
 - What sector/occupations would you consider these people in? Why?

Example 1



Gezocht!! Een bedrijf dat behoefte heeft aan een enthousiaste, startende, creatieve, organisatorische duizendpoot met goede communicatieskills en een bachelor of business administration in the pocket. Ben jij of ken jij dit bedrijf dan hoor ik dat graag! Delen is helemaal top.

5 interessant • 1 commentaar

Example 2



Example 3

Opzoek naar een nieuwe uitdaging in social media, (online) marketing, televisi...

Gezocht: Fulltime uitdaging in Utrecht of directe omgeving.
Mijn naam is [redacted] en ik ben op zoek naar een nieuwe fulltime functie op het gebied van social media, (online) marketing, televisie en management. Ik ben open minded, assertief, creatief, ambitieus en heb oog voor detail. Ik stel graag doelen en denk in oplossingen. Uiteraard ben ik altijd bereid om meer te leren.
Bekijk mijn Curriculum Vitae op mijn LinkedIn page. Voor meer informatie ben ik te bereiken via [redacted] Alle tips zijn welkom! Delen binnen je netwerk? Heel graag!
#ikzoekwerk #SocialMedia #OnlineMarketing #Management #Televisie

Example 4

[redacted]

Ik ben een starter op zoek naar een uitdaging. Ik heb stage ervaring in het bijbrengen van sociale vaardigheden bij jongeren, trainen en coachen van jongeren en bieden van sociaal-emotionele ondersteuning aan jongeren.

HBO Pedagogiek
Minor Agoog in de GGZ

Per direct beschikbaar

Op zoek naar een nieuwe uitdaging in de regio's Rotterdam, Den Haag of Amsterdam

Betrokken | Oplossingsgericht | Sterk analyserend vermogen | Sterk empathisch vermogen | Flexibel | Oog voor kwaliteiten van jongeren- en kinderen | Creatief | Trainen en coachen van jongeren

2. Leaving this example aside, when you think of a creative person, how would you describe that person?
Who comes to your mind?
 - How do creative people act? / How do you come to judge them creative?
 - How do creative people interact with others? / How does creativity manifest in conversation with others?
 - What do you think of creative people?
 - What do you think your colleagues/boss normally say/expect from creative people? / How do they view creative people? What kind of behaviour do they expect from them?
 - Do you consider yourself a creative person? Why? If not, would you like to be considered creative? Why?
3. Would you say creativity is something you are born with, or something that you learn throughout the years? / Is it an individual or group activity?
 - Can you explain that more by giving an example?
4. How many creative people do you find at work?
 - How come there are so many/few?
 - In what way do you consider them creative or not creative?
 - What is admirable about creative people?
 - What can be challenging about these people?

Defining creativity

5. Could you give me three characteristics that describes creativity according to you?
 - Why did you choose XYZ characteristic(s)?
 - Do you think creativity's success can be measured or weighted to these characteristics? Why yes/no?
6. What is your opinion on the idea that everybody can be creative?
7. Is creativity important for your work? Why yes/no?
 - How does the company you work for think about creativity in their practice?
 - How do you think creativity can be applied at your work?

8. When did you feel creative at work? Please describe the situation.

- What happened?
- Who were there?
- When did this happen?
- Why did this happen?
- How did this happen?
- How did being creative make you feel?
- Do you feel more creative at work or outside of work?
- How come?
- Would you like this to be different? Why?

Contribution of creativity at work

9. When you think about your work/function, do you feel you have to be creative to be able to perform? Why yes or no?

- How does that make you feel? (Does pressure restrict your creativity?)
- Can you give an example?

10. In relation to your work, how can creativity help you? What are its benefits?

11. In relation to your work, how can creativity obstruct you? What are its downsides?

- What areas in your practice would you like to keep creativity away from? Why?

12. With all this attention to creativity in society, do you think the concept can be incorrectly applied to a situation or person? Why yes/no?¹³

- Can you give an example?

13. Why do you think society stresses that creativity at work should be stimulated?

- For what would creativity be useful?
- Could creativity also be used for something different than that?
- Would you recommend stimulating creativity at your work? Why?

Concluding

14. Is there anything left you want to share with me regarding creativity at work?

Creativiteit op werk

Het doel van dit onderzoek is om te begrijpen hoe creativiteit zich op het werk manifesteert. Dit is gestart naar aanleiding van ontwikkelingen in werk (theorie en praktijk) waarbij gestimuleerd wordt om ruimte te maken voor creativiteit op de werkplek. Ik wil graag begrijpen hoe creativiteit zich daadwerkelijk in de werkplek settelt, hoe het wordt ontvangen door werknemers, en hoe zij creativiteit toepassen in de praktijk. Dit interview duurt ongeveer 1 uur. Ik neem het interview op met een audio recorder. Dit is voor mijn eigen administratie en zal met niemand gedeeld worden.

Algemene informatie

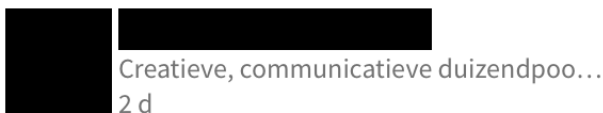
¹³ This question was only asked if it was deemed appropriate in the conversation.

- Uw deelname blijft te allen tijde anoniem, maar om naar u te refereer in mijn schrijven, zou ik u willen vragen naar uw leeftijd, geslacht en beroep.
- Hoeveel jaar beoefend u dit beroep?
- Hoe ziet uw werkomgeving eruit (omschrijving van het bureau)?
- Werkt u alleen of samen met anderen? Zo ja, met hoeveel mensen?
- Wat voor rol speelt creativiteit in uw dagelijks leven/Wanneer voelt u zich creatief? (Voorbeeld)

De creatieve mens

1. Als opwarmer heb ik vier voorbeelden van werkzoekenden uit verschillende sectoren die zichzelf presenteren als creatief. Ik heb hier een paar vragen over maar neemt u eerst even de tijd om de vier advertenties door te lezen.
 - Denkt u dat deze mensen hun creativiteit op een succesvolle manier profileren? Hoezo?
 - In welk opzicht zetten deze mensen zich af tegen niet-creatieven?
 - In welke sector/beroep schat u deze mensen? Hoezo?

Voorbeeld 1



Gezocht!! Een bedrijf dat behoefte heeft aan een enthousiaste, startende, creatieve, organisatorische duizendpoot met goede communicatieskills en een bachelor of business administration in the pocket. Ben jij of ken jij dit bedrijf dan hoor ik dat graag! Delen is helemaal top.

5 interessant • 1 commentaar

Voorbeeld 2



Voorbeeld 3



Gezocht: Fulltime uitdaging in Utrecht of directe omgeving.
Mijn naam is [redacted] en ik ben op zoek naar een nieuwe fulltime functie op het gebied van social media, (online) marketing, televisie en management. Ik ben open minded, assertief, creatief, ambitieus en heb oog voor detail. Ik stel graag doelen en denk in oplossingen. Uiteraard ben ik altijd bereid om meer te leren.
Bekijk mijn Curriculum Vitae op mijn LinkedIn page. Voor meer informatie ben ik te bereiken via [redacted] Alle tips zijn welkom! Delen binnen je netwerk? Heel graag!
#ikzoekwerk #SocialMedia #OnlineMarketing #Management #Televisie

Voorbeeld 4



Op zoek naar een nieuwe uitdaging in de regio's Rotterdam, Den Haag of Amsterdam

Betrokken | Oplossingsgericht | Sterk analyserend vermogen | Sterk empathisch vermogen | Flexibel | Oog voor kwaliteiten van jongeren- en kinderen | Creatief | Trainen en coachen van jongeren

2. Dit voorbeeld terzijde, als u aan een creatief persoon denkt, hoe zou u deze dan beschrijven? Wie komt er in gedachten?
 - Hoe gedragen creatieve mensen zich? Hoe concludeert u dat iemand creatief is?
 - Hoe gaan creatieve mensen om met anderen? In interactie?
 - Wat vindt u van creatieve mensen?
 - Wat denkt u dat uw collega's vinden van creatieve mensen?
 - Beschouwt u zichzelf een creatief persoon? Hoezo? Zo niet, zou u creatief willen zijn?
3. Is creativiteit iets waarmee je wordt geboren, of is het iets wat zich ontwikkeld door de jaren heen?
 - Is het een individueel of groep-activiteit?
 - Kunt u hier een voorbeeld van geven?
4. Als u kijkt naar uw werk, hoeveel creatieve mensen ziet u dan om zich heen?
 - Hoezo zijn het er zo veel/weinig?
 - In welk opzicht beschouwt u deze mensen als creatief of niet creatief?
 - Wat is bewonderenswaardig aan creatieve mensen?
 - Wat kan een uitdaging zijn met creatieve mensen?

Creativiteit

5. Welke drie woorden komen in u op die creativiteit omschrijven?
 - Waarom koos u XYZ?
 - Denkt u dat het mogelijk is om creativiteit te meten aan deze kenmerken? Waarom ja/nee?
6. Wat vindt u van het idee dat iedereen creatief kan zijn?
7. Is creativiteit belangrijk in uw werk? Waarom ja/nee?
 - Hoe denkt het bedrijf waar u voor werkt over creativiteit op de werkplek?
 - Hoe denkt u dat creativiteit op uw werk ingezet kan worden?
8. Wanneer voelde u zich voor het laatst creatief op werk? Omschrijf alstublieft de situatie.
 - Wat gebeurde er?
 - Wie waren erbij?
 - Wanneer gebeurde het?
 - Waarom gebeurde het?
 - Hoe gebeurde het?
 - Hoe voelde het om creatief te zijn?
9. Voelt u zich vaker creatief op werk of buiten werk?
 - Hoe komt dat denkt u?
 - Zou u willen dat dat anders was? Waarom ja/nee?

Bijdrage van creativiteit op werk

10. Wanneer u denkt over uw functie, krijgt u dan het gevoel dat u creatief moet zijn om te presteren?
 - Waarom ja/nee?
 - Wat doet zoiets met u? (Werkt druk uw creativiteit tegen?)
 - Heeft u een voorbeeld?
11. In relatie tot uw werk, hoe kan creativiteit u helpen? Wat zijn de voordelen?

12. In relatie tot uw werk, hoe kan creativiteit u in de weg zitten? Wat zijn de nadelen?

- Zijn er onderdelen in uw werk waar u creativiteit vandaan wilt houden? Welke/waarom?

Tot slot

13. Waarom denkt u dat mensen vandaag gemotiveerd worden om creativiteit te stimuleren op werk?

- Zou u zelf creativiteit op uw werk stimuleren? Waarom wel/niet?

14. Is er nog iets over creativiteit op werk waar we niet of onvoldoende over gepraat hebben, wat u nog met mij wilt delen?

Appendix C: Consent form (EN/NL)

CONSENT REQUEST FOR PARTICIPATING IN MASTER THESIS RESEARCH

For questions about the study, please contact

Chloë Neeleman, e-mail address tcnneel@hotmail.com, telephone number +31 6 4644 5293.

Description

You are invited to participate in a master thesis research about creativity in the workplace. The purpose of the study is to understand how people apply creativity in their work. This comes forward from developments in labor (theory and practice) that stress that creativity needs a place in people's work practice. I am interested to see how creativity indeed settles in working environments.

Your acceptance to participate in this study means that you accept to be interviewed. Additionally, I may ask to observe you while you are at work. Signing this consent form thus also means that you agree to being observed.

In general terms, the questions of the interview will be related to how you define creativity, and how important creativity is to you in your work process. In case I want to do an observation with you, the observation will take place before the interview. My observation will focus on discovering some more background information about how you work, and how you apply creativity to practice.

Unless you prefer that no recordings are made, I will use an audio recorder for the interview, and take written notes in case of an observation. You are always free not to answer any particular question, and/or stop participating at any point. If I want to accompany you in any activity (such as a visit to your working environment), I will ask you for your permission for each time. Furthermore, as I am writing my thesis in English, it would greatly help me to conduct the interview in English. However, if you prefer to do the interview in Dutch, that is also possible.

Risks and benefits

As far as I can tell, there are no risks associated with participating in this research. I will make sure that you cannot be identified, by referring to you in my thesis via general information, mentioning only occupation, age, and gender. I will use the material from the interview and observation exclusively for academic work, such as further research, academic meetings, and publications.

Time involvement

Your participation in this study will take around 1 to 2 hours for interviewing, and around 7 hours for an observation (an average day at work). You may interrupt your participation at any time.

Payments

There will be no monetary compensation for your participation.

Participants' rights

If you have decided to accept to participate in this project, please understand your participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty. You have the right to refuse to answer particular questions. Your individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study.

Contacts and questions

If you have questions about your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact –anonymously, if you wish– my thesis supervisor dr. Daniela Stocco, via e-mail address danstocco@gmail.com.

Signing the consent form

If you sign this consent form, your signature will be the only documentation of your identity. Thus, you DO NOT NEED to sign this form. In order to minimise risks and protect your identity, you may prefer to consent orally. Your oral consent is sufficient.

I give consent to participate with this study and to be recorded during this study

Name

Signature

Date

TOESTEMMINGSFORMULIER DEELNAME AAN MASTER SCRIPTIE ONDERZOEK

Voor vragen over dit onderzoek, neemt u contact op met

Chloë Neeleman, e-mail adres tcmneel@hotmail.com, telefoon nummer +31 6 4644 5293.

Omschrijving

U bent uitgenodigd om deel te nemen aan een master scriptie onderzoek over creativiteit op werk. Dit onderzoek komt voort uit trends op het gebied van werk (zichtbaar in zowel theorie als de praktijk) waarbij gestimuleerd wordt om ruimte te maken voor creativiteit op de werkplek. Het doel van dit onderzoek is om erachter te komen hoe verschillende mensen creativiteit toepassen in hun werk.

Uw deelname aan dit onderzoek houdt in dat u akkoord gaat met een interview. De vragen tijdens het interview zijn gericht op het illustreren van uw definitie van creativiteit en hoe creativiteit zich in uw werk tot uiting komt.

Tenzij u bezwaar heeft tegen opnames, zal ik het interview opnemen met een audio recorder. U mag op ieder moment weigeren een vraag te beantwoorden en/of uw deelname aan het onderzoek stoppen.

Risico's van deelname

Voor zover ik kan inschatten, zijn er geen risico's verbonden aan deelname in dit onderzoek. Uw deelname zal te allen tijde anoniem blijven. In mijn schrijven zal ik alleen naar u refereren via uw beroep, leeftijd en geslacht. Het materiaal van het interview zal alleen gebruikt worden voor mijn academisch werk, zoals mogelijk vervolgd onderzoek, academische bijeenkomsten en publicaties.

Tijdsduur deelname

Uw deelname aan het interview zal rond de 1 en hooguit 2 uur duren. U mag op elk moment uw deelname stoppen.

Compensatie

Helaas kan ik u geen financiële compensatie voor uw deelname aanbieden.

Rechten van de deelnemer

Als u akkoord gaat met deelname aan dit onderzoek, weet u er dan van bewust dat uw deelname vrijwillig is en dat u het recht behoudt om uw deelname op ieder moment terug te trekken zonder dat daar consequenties aan verbonden zijn. U behoudt het recht om vragen niet te beantwoorden. Uw privacy zal gewaarborgd worden in alle gepubliceerde en geschreven data resulterend uit dit onderzoek.

Contact en vragen

Als u nog vragen heeft over uw rechten als participant, of als u om welke reden dan ook ontevreden bent met onderzoek-gerelateerde aspecten, kunt u (eventueel anoniem) contact opnemen met mijn scriptie-begeleider dr. Daniela Stocco, via e-mail adres danstocco@gmail.com.

Het tekenen van dit formulier

Uw handtekening op dit toestemmingsformulier zal de enige documentatie zijn van uw identiteit. Daarom hoeft u dit formulier niet te ondertekenen. Om uw privacy te waarborgen, mag u ook uw toestemming mondeling geven. Mondelinge toestemming is voldoende.

Ik ga akkoord met deelname in dit onderzoek en om opgenomen te worden tijdens dit onderzoek

Naam

Handtekening

Datum

Appendix D: Coding manual

#	Code	Definition	Example
<i>Category: definitions</i>			
126	Def_creative-probsolv	Defines creativity by problem-solving characteristic.	[from field notes] “My participant shows me a closet where co-worker 1 stores his chair. This is his very own closet because he has a special chair with very precise settings for his back etc. In the closet, co-worker 1 has hung up a picture of himself, so that it’s clear for everybody that this is his closet.”
139	Def_creative-statusquo	Defines creativity by testing existing state of affairs.	[from field notes] “My participant sits down at his own spot and for the first time today seems to “settle in”. While I cannot check his screen, I believe he has not yet worked on anything so far. He continues to chat but now to his neighbor (...) They appear to be constantly joking around. In the twenty minutes that we are already at the office, my participant has not made any real attempts to get to work yet.”
31	Def_creative-other	Other characteristics that creativity has been defined by.	“Maybe it's has to do a bit with letting go of sort instinctive feeling of survival. You know, like going to work every day because you have the feeling like you know you have to have a steady income so you can have this and that and that.”
40	Def_creative-think	Defines creativity by cognitive, intangible character	"I think when I'm thinking, then I feel the most creative. Because then you can rethink and you can find solutions and you can sort of question the solution again and see if that works out and so actually I am always creative because I'm always thinking about everything and rethinking everything.”
39	Def_creative-output	Defines creativity by a final, tangible output	"But if it's a connotation of these people who think that you always have to glue stuff and cut stuff, then I'm not a creative person. Because I'm not a really maker, so I make too less to become a real creative person.”
89	Def_creative-safe	About feeling secure and safe enough to be creative	“Je moet heel zelfverzekerd zijn! En dat ben ik op dit moment helemaal niet. (...) door die herindeling ben ik (eigenlijk) zo beschadigd. Dat verbaasd me echt. Dan ben je heel je zelfverzekerdheid kwijt (...) en als je niet zelfverzekerd bent, dan word je ook niet creatief (...) zo'n kunstenaar die iets maakt (...) als die niet zelfverzekerd is dan zeggen ze "Gooi het maar in de oud ijzer bak. Hup, weggooien!". En op dit moment is dat met m'n werk zo. En dat wil ik niet afdoen als zielig. Nee, dat overkom je.”
40	Ideal_artist	Normative conception of an artist.	“Or if people say to me "Oh, you're an artist so you are creative". I'm like "What does that mean?"”

48	Ideal_accountant	Normative conception of an accountant.	[on interview exercise] “Nummer twee dat zie ik echt een boekhouder. Dat is kort. Klantgericht, punt, flexibel, punt, betrouwbaar. Nou dat zijn echt die kreten die je in de financiële hoek ziet.”
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Category: theory ‘creative genius’

43	Creative_status	Being special because of one’s creative ability; something one strives for.	“I have dreamt about being a writer or (...) a musician or stuff like that. But that's pretty- never dreamt of being a great financial professional.”
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84	Creative_conventions	Rules within a world that create and constrict what/when/who/why is creative.	“Je weet gewoon, zeg maar, op het moment dat je op een administratie zit- dat is bij ons- je zit aan allerlei voorschriften zit je vast die je moet blijven hanteren inderdaad. Dus dat biedt weinig perspectief erin. Dus ja, die creativiteit kan je vaak wat minder kwijt omdat je aan handen en voeten gebonden ben.”
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27	Creative_idols	Those referred to when talking about creative people.	[on Albert Einstein] “I think he was very creative in the way that (...) he thought (...) and the way he approached (...) the problems that he faced (...) If you would ask me what artist I would regard as creative, I would go for Salvador Dali. And I think Albert Einstein is the Salvador Dali of physics.”
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103	Creative_indiv	What is (seen as) creativity is activated alone.	I think to really develop it, is very much a personal, an individual thing. (...) whether you develop it is ultimately an individual decision and an individual effort (...) I am my own fate.”
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206	Creative_group	What is (seen as) creativity is activated by a group of people.	“My understanding of creativity is probably more what I've read about it and what I've been taught about it and told about it, then what I've experienced (...) and by talking about it like this, I allow my own experiences and thoughts about it, to take me a step further than I would usually go. So my first reactions are basically reproducing (...) of experiences and structures that I know. And thinking about it- talking about it and getting a feel for the subject creativity drives me further from what I know and gives me probably a better understanding but also a much broader idea about creativity.”
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21	Creative_admire	What is admired about creative people/creativity.	“(…) dat ze van buiten de gebaande paden om iets bereiken wat ook goed is. Het is zo makkelijk om te zeggen van "Zo is het" maar dan zeggie "Nou, gaan we nog eens kijken" en dan moet je maar tot de conclusie kunnen komen van "Joh, als ik het zo doe, dan kan het ook!"”
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24	Creative_challenge	What can be challenging about creative people/creativity.	“(…) it has so many wrong connotations. So yeah, I'd rather eh skip the word. Otherwise everybody sees me, all the time (…) always able to come up with something awesome. Like every minute, every second! "But you're creative! You can fix this!" Like what?”
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Category: theory 'prosuming creativity'

19	Creative_lucky-few	Creativity is only for some people	“Ik denk niet dat iedereen echt, écht creatief is.”
32	Creative_everybody	Creativity is something of everybody	“I don't know if I've ever really sat around with someone who I think to be fundamentally uncreative in some way. They might not be creative in that moment, but they have something happening else- or an idea that they have that's even something nice.”
20	Creative_participate	When more people own up to their creative abilities.	[from field notes] “Co-worker 2 comes back again and mingles into the conversation. He proposes to make a memo but the others say that will not work because they need a form, and it is about more than one mistake that are bundled together. (…) By thinking out loud they challenge and question each other and the possible solutions they bring up.”
11	Prosumer_contributor	Prosumers seen as contributors to development of creativity.	[challenging the rules of the office] “Another colleague takes the opportunity to join their conversation. He enters it with taking out his smartphone to show a video. My participant rolls back his chair and the three position themselves in such a way so they can look at the video.”
9	Cultural-democracy	Cultural/creative expressions occurring outside of mainstream canon.	[from field notes] The computers are heightened by a big pile of printing paper. This is something I would consider out of the box thinking (using printing paper for something else than printing), using minimal resources to obtain maximal effect (heightening the computer by something that is readily available), which increases productivity (by heightening the computer, the worker has a more comfortable position towards it which takes away an agitation that could possible disrupt the workflow)”
10	Prosumer_competitor	Prosumers seen as competitors or enemies of creativity.	“I think the internet is a great source of uncreative situations (…) like- oh the videos with the- "Oh this artist creates beautiful portraits by hammering nails into walls or by rearranging beans on a table" and stuff. And people are like "Oh my God, this is amazing!" but I- I- I don't get it. I don't think that is creative.”
40	Implosion-of-meaning	Devoid of original meaning or authentic content, simulacra of creativity have taken over from reality.	“There's just no sense of who they are and what they're up to. You know it can almost be computer generated.”

22	Hyperreality	No clear boundaries between true and fake and real and imagination.	[on interview exercise] "Kijk, het is meer een woord. Dus ik, ja, "Ik ben creatief", ja. Maar waaruit blijkt nou dat je creatief bent?"
<i>Category: theory 'appropriating creativity'</i>			
20	Commodify_creative	Reducing creativity to be valued in merely monetary terms.	"You think rationally "Okay, if I do this and I get the money and then I can do that." Which is not pure creativity. (...) You appropriate it very much. It's a bit like when you paint (...) a portrait of families, something that's very well received for money so you focus on that. So you're still creative, but on the other hand you're not being creative at all."
46	Autonomous_creative	"True", free creativity that sharpens the mind.	"That you cannot really grasp it at the moment, but it also really stays in your head. That you really hate it and then after a few years you still think about it then you can also turn it upside down. And then it's a really nice experience."
26	Popular_creative	Homogenous, standardised, predictable form of creativity.	"When you use photos and images and stuff (...) you make a conscious choice like "I put a brick wall behind my advert" while it could also be like a rainbow or whatever so (...) I would just see it as a background image (...) like a stock sort of image. So actually (...) it's very superficial. (...) it only says the person is less creative than one not even using a background like that. Because apparently this is already enough for this person to "Oh I have to show my creativity so I just put an image." So, it's actually very linear thinking.
9	Moral-panic	Ruling class worries about potential decline of their authority.	"I certainly was brought up from this artistic environment which meant that an artist had to be original and I think that the younger generation of artists (...) they're much more conformists, you know. (...) art's being used as a kind of lifestyle, a commodity, you know (...) making work that conforms to what society wants. Whereas art is something that smashes society, do you know what I mean?"
82	Society-control	When it is oversaw how creativity should be employed at work.	"I appreciate it very much if somebody comes to and say "(...) we have this client group- maybe if we do this for them they will value us more highly". That's (...) a creative process that I appreciate very much as an employer."
22	Cult_logic	An aesthetization of reality in Late Capitalism whilst also submerging culture into the market to reduce to a commodity.	"I think a lot of people think that (...) creativity is value-creation and since we live in a highly financial world in which creativity needs to resolve in more money, I think that is what their objective is. To have more value-creation."

5	Neoliberalism	Considers that a good society is not a natural phenomenon, and in order to exist thus has to be coordinated through some form of political effort and organization.	“Stel je voor dat bij een voorstel maken van- dat heel creatief is (...) en dat gaan we doen. Vervolgens sterft dat een vroege dood want de opdrachtgever is niet bekend. De afdeling X is er niet mee eens dus die moet een overeenstemming krijgen met de andere afdelingsmanager en dat wordt zo stroperig gemaakt dat- elke creativiteit die wordt in de kiem gesmoord.”
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Category: theory ‘Pragmatic Sociology’

112	Reflexive	Aware of researcher’s own normative principles and position within the field	[from field notes] “I thought he would be expected to be there around 08:00 or 08:30 maybe, but as he works there externally, he in a way makes up himself when he comes in and when he goes. So this already disrupts my very normative impression that people in office jobs work “from 09:00 to 05:00”.”
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114	Value_industrial-order	Worth of productivity and efficiency through professional competence and expertise.	[from field notes] “In his eyes, these accountants are young ignorant guys who just barge in, collect everything they need to check, go into isolation for a week and then come back with only stupid questions. They answer the questions and then they leave again, leaving the impression that everything is alright. But then they come back again a week or two later with stupid follow-up questions. He explains that he doesn’t understand that they ask those follow-up questions immediately because by the time that they do, everybody is working on something else again.”
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86	Value_order-inspi	Worth expressed through divinity, creativity, artistic sensibility etc. and qualified by ingenuity.	“Someone who is really a successful creative person really doesn't give a shit and just trust what they do and doesn't doubt for three seconds.”
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10	Value_domestic-order	Worth attuned to position within a ranking of esteem and reputation through which authority is qualified.	“Een burgemeester zei bijvoorbeeld "Joh, ik heb eigenlijk maling aan de regels. Ik wil gewoon dit resultaat hebben". Dan heb je wel een probleem inderdaad omdat je creatief moet worden vanuit de bestuurder- vanuit je leidinggevende.”
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31	Value_order-fame	Worth of the number of others that bestow their recognition of someone.	“That’s difficult relationship between the artist and the public. (..) You make art to present to people, but on the other hand it's not like the more people like it, the better their artwork but it's also the opposite where no one likes your work then it would be difficult. (...) I can imagine that if no one would like my work I could still comfort myself with the thought "Well XXXX, you know, you are a genius. You are the most creative guy in the world.””
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37	Value_compete	When logics of multiple orders clash with one another	[from field notes] "My participant confessed that he had wanted to go to art school during his adolescent years. It was his father who persuaded him to go to business school and my interviewee agreed now that this was the wiser decision."
11	Harmony_clarification	Clashing values lead to clarification in one, dominant order at the expense of other competing orders.	"En ja, daar hebben we echt bakken met geld binnen gehaald door echt super creatief te wezen. Ja, dat was echt leuk. En en dat mis ik nu. Ik zit nou bij Control en daar zit je regeltjes te controleren en als er maar eentje van die regels afwijkt dan moet ik zeggen "Joe, dat regeltje staat er, dat moet je wel naleven". Dus ja d'r is een cultuurslag bij mij binnen gekomen, dat wil je niet weten!"
12	Harmony_temporary	Clashing values lead to local arrangement that temporary solves disagreements on a certain decision.	[from field notes] "My participant explains that she has not visited her studio for about a week. As such, she has to get used to becoming productive again. In order to stimulate this, she is doing a bit of these kinds of chores."
8	Harmony_compromise	Clashing values lead to a compromise that embodies a shared justification by different orders.	"My business associate is eh more the manager and I'm more the create- eh creative. And I know he hates me sometimes for being creative and coming up with yet another new idea etcetera etcetera. But then again I think the tension between us is very productive. Eh because he- he helps me not to start a new idea every day of the week. And I help him see new things and create new things."
5	Spillover-values	Values spreading to another area	"As soon as you kick on an idea and things start to click and happen, then suddenly that's it. Everything becomes material and everything becomes fun and everything is just sparking constantly. And- so I notice that the more creative in the studio, and the more well that's going, then the more creative everywhere else when you get outside the studio obviously."
70	Dramaturgical_perisp	Projecting something on oneself as a mask to present a persona of oneself	"By using words like "creativity" and using active words, they try to set themselves up- present themselves as people who are open to communication (...) so in that sense extrovert."
65	Identity-management	Alternating between different masks	[from field notes] "The men talk about their wages and about getting paid. My participant elaborates on the procedure that is attached to this by his recruitment agency. Co-worker 1 says "Hey, let's be serious now" to which my participant replies with "I'm always serious!"."

Category: creativity at work

22	Work_creative-feeling	When someone feels creative at work.	[from field notes] "Occasionally they talk in superlatives: "Beautiful!" "Perfect!" "Craftmanship!" I hear her studiomate saying: "So this is creativity at work!" They come back to the studio. My participant laughingly asks: "Are you writing that down, Chloë?""
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49	Work_creative-feeling-how	How creativity at work makes someone feel.	“Nou, het voelde goed! Ik dacht eigenlijk van "Hé nou heb ik het voor elkaar!" (...) daar werd ik wel even voor terug gefloten. Maar goed, het voelde goed!”
30	Work_creative-important	Whether creativity is important for work	“Ja dat denk ik wel. In ieder geval als een soort drijfveer. Dat is gewoon prettig. Ik zou er zelf niet aan moeten denken dat je veertig jaar lang op deze manier werkt en dat veertig jaar zou moeten blijven doen.”
16	Work_creative-perform	Whether creativity is needed to perform at work	“Nee, denk het niet, nee. (...) er zijn best wel veel regels waar we ons aan moeten houden. Dat beperkt je creativiteit. Dus ik denk niet dat dat heel erg nodig is.”
16	Work_creative-contribute	How creativity contributes to work	“It helps me on a personal level. I couldn't do repetitive work without thinking about it. Sometimes it's nice doing stuff in a repetitive way and not having to think about it. (...) But the real satisfaction from accomplishments comes from when you've done something which is new- created, yeah.”
33	Work_creative-obstruct	How creativity obstructs from work	“Creativity is usually something that (...) feels as though it comes from you and you get the energy from elsewhere maybe. (...) so then when (...) you have to share that and you see it being pulled away from you- then you kind of want the control back (..) it's really such a tough negotiation to (...) work on a project with people.”
11	Work_forbidden-area	Areas in work where creativity should stay away from	“There's a small side to it which is like the subsidies or the finances. But I mean, I doubt about it because like I said earlier I also really like the idea of someone being just 100 percent fucked up like not concerned with any practical things.”
25	Work_creative-relevance	The relevance of creativity within the workplace	“It makes people feel good because they put something of themselves into the process. So it's part of them as well. So they're committed to the whole thing. Much more than just the hired hand who is there to do something.”