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Organizational Entrepreneurship

With de Certeau on Creating Heterotopias (or Spaces for Play)

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Focusing on the relation between work as a managerially ordered place and conditions for creativity within such an order, this article uses a number of spatial concepts to elaborate on organizational entrepreneurship as creation of space for play/invention. Organizational entrepreneurship is understood as constituting a silent history of organization and management theory. In crafting a history of the present of entrepreneurship, the author distances it from how it has become represented in management (enterprise) discourse. Michel de Certeau's concepts of space and place and of strategy and tactics together with Michel Foucault's concept of heterotopia allow the author to describe and analyze a case where an artists-company collaboration resulted in an entrepreneurial event, transforming work and surprising management.

Keywords: *entrepreneurship; managerialism; Michel de Certeau; silent histories; spacing; heterotopia*

In 2001, Kent Hansen, a Danish artist and curator with whom I had previously cooperated, was organizing a new project. The Danish government had decided to fund initiatives trying to get artists and businesses to meet. Kent ran a project called *Visionsindustri* (Industry of Vision) where several art groups went to different companies to cooperate with people on actualizing ideas for how to make work better. The general aim was to provide and facilitate company-artist collaboration for workplace renewal. The more specific aim is described by Hansen (2001) as “integrating the creativity and specific forms of expressions of artists with the development processes at the workplaces in order to create an untraditional space for communication and development of these workplaces” (p. 17, my translation). Hansen invited me to write an essay on this and to contribute with my

perspective as a researcher in entrepreneurship and organization as well as with my experience from working with artists and designers in exhibition projects. I took on the task, watching videos from one particular project (the one discussed here), listening to discussions at meetings, reading the participants' texts, and looking at photographs. My essay centered on what happens when we think that Art (capital A), the institutionally sanctioned or media-hyped forms of art, comes to work (Hjorth, 2001). In the spirit of Michel de Certeau, this study focuses on how art (lowercase a), as part of everyday practices, swarming in the margins of work, can transform a place of work by creating space for play.

Since then, a continued interest in relations between entrepreneurship, aesthetics, organization, art, and management has provided a context for what I try to

do here: inquire into the present history of initiatives such as the one briefly described above as an example of a rather sudden but strong emphasis on entrepreneurship from writers and practitioners of management. I focus on this example as manifesting a productivity of enterprise discourse in which a certain version of entrepreneurship has become promoted. Projects like bringing artists into the company make sense to managers seeking to stimulate creativity at work. Studies in management and organization theory of art, aesthetics, and creativity in work (Czarniawska-Joerges & Guillet de Monthoux, 1994; Guillet de Monthoux, 1993; Linstead & Höpfl, 2000; Strati, 1999) lack an opening toward entrepreneurship. In this article, I want to make a contribution to studies of organizational creativity from a novel reading of entrepreneurship. The history of carnival, passion, and play helps bring out the “entrepreneurial entrepreneur” to a history of the present of entrepreneurship. I show how this requires a rewriting of entrepreneurship (Hjorth, 2003) that rejects its present reduction to a concept of management, that is, into enterprising dressed up as entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship is then described as a form of social creativity, as a tactical art of creating space for play and/or invention within an established order, to actualize new practices. Entrepreneurship in this contextual definition is forms of organizational creativity.

POSITIONING AND PURPOSE

The empirical focus of this article is on this relation between an established order and creativity within such order—on the order of a strategized place (appropriated by management knowledge) and the creation of space for play and/or invention (heterotopia) within the apparatus of such an order. This is a relation central to all forms of organizational entrepreneurship, although it is theorized almost exclusively from the perspective of management or strategic management (du Gay, 1997;¹ Sandberg, 1992; Stopford & Baden-Fuller, 1994), which commonly results in paradoxical systems for controlled creativity. It is a problem related to an inherited priority given to managerial perspectives when dealing with organizational problems and a subsequent lack of concepts that would allow an alternative. Stressing the need, inspired by de Certeau’s approach, to recognize a silent or unwritten history of entrepreneurship, we

need to go beyond the managerial discourse on entrepreneurship and the human.

In entrepreneurship studies, an often ahistorical approach brings students to a view of opportunities as simply there to be recognized or discovered.² Schumpeter (1947) pointed out this tendency and urged students of entrepreneurship to become more historical in their studies. Practicing this advice, you arrive at the conclusion that opportunities are rather created in an ensemble of time in an already arranged order—in a place often prepared for something else. All opportunities have a genesis: the processes of preparing, arranging, trying out, and relating, which place you in a position where you can transform occasions into opportunities and opportunities into actualities. Creativity is “a genesis of intuition in intelligence” (Deleuze, 1988, p. 111) rather than a strike of genius. The pressure from economic models and theories provokes the analyst’s tendency to opt for the convenient black boxing of the complexities of the geneses of opportunities so that the event can be represented in a classical empiricist language of *opportunity discovery* or *opportunity recognition*, the latter being an increasingly popular concept in the entrepreneurship research literature at present (Gaglio & Katz, 2001; Shane & Venkataraman, 2000; for a critique, see Gartner, Carter, & Hills, 2003).

The specific purpose of this article is to critically question certain aspects (primarily the governmental rationality) of conventional managerialism and managerial entrepreneurship. With Michel de Certeau,³ I elaborate on a number of concepts—strategy, tactics, heterotopia—through which an alternative perspective on organizational creativity (as entrepreneurship) is developed. The importance of this contribution is possible to relate to the challenges of understanding and practicing organizational entrepreneurship in the context of today’s demands for a creative (business) organization.

Increasingly throughout the 1990s and onward, managements seek to secure a creative organization. As a result, entrepreneurship has become an interesting solution to this problem. However, the history of management thinking and practice reproduces a managerial form of entrepreneurship. In the wake of the present hype for entrepreneurship, we have to distinguish between this official-strategic (management literature) version and local-tactical events of entrepreneurship. We cannot understand organizational entrepreneurship without taking into account the

dominant form of knowledge and practices in organizations: management. On the other hand, what I have learned from engaging in entrepreneurship research is that we cannot limit ourselves to the management literature's reduced representation of entrepreneurship. Simplifying the matter, we might say that the tension between the tactical art of making spaces for play and invention in work and the strategic, managerial appropriation of specific places for work is thus in focus.

This makes Michel de Certeau (focusing on creativity in everyday practices) and Michel Foucault (showing how freedom is exercised in power-knowledge formations) central thinkers to a present history of entrepreneurship. As entrepreneurship always operates within the dominant order of management in contexts of formal organizations, the writings of Michel de Certeau provide a number of generative concepts for the student of such organizational entrepreneurship. De Certeau was occupied with a certain gap—a distortion—between what a discourse said and what society did with it (Ward, 2000). This interest in the silent transformation in everyday practices of the official or strategic story, his writing on strategy, tactics, space, and place as concepts helping him to “unsilence” this “making use” in everyday practices, and his alignment with Foucault's thinking on power and knowledge make him central to this study.⁴ The power of knowledge, for de Certeau, lies in how it can transform the uncertainties of history into readable historiographies (de Certeau, 1984). De Certeau brings out the playful, witty, cunning creativity of everyday cultures. He is interested in the silence that dominant thinking and practice produce beyond images of people as consumers who effectuate decisions or plans, and he urges us to attend to the multitude of creative productions—of ways of making use—abundant in everyday practices. For this study, he provides concepts for relating the strategic impacts of enterprise discourse (managerial entrepreneurship) to the tactical uses of management on the part of (entrepreneurial) entrepreneurship. His precise use of space and place forms a bridge to Foucault's concept of *other spaces*—heterotopias—which I use to describe spaces for play and invention. I believe my general purpose, to conceptualize entrepreneurship as a tactical art of creating spaces for play (heterotopias), can provide a contribution to studies of creativity in the context of formal organizations.

The article proceeds according to the following structure: First, I discuss the dominant apparatus

of representing, knowing, and ordering work—managerialism and its governable human. Second, I introduce Michel de Certeau's work as a form of cultural analysis, which I try to apply in the discussion of creativity at work. Third, Foucault's concept of radically other spaces—heterotopias—is used in describing the relations between prescribed places for managerially governable work and entrepreneurial creation of spaces for play (within these prescribed places). This allows us to further analyze the relation between managing and the governable employee. Next, I contextualize the example of artists in one Danish company. This allows us to make use of the concepts discussed earlier here. I conclude with reflections on my approach and describe some possibilities this perspective brings to studies of entrepreneurship as forms of organizational creativity.

MANAGERIALISM AND MANAGERIAL ENTREPRENEURS

Background

We write histories of the present (Foucault, 1980) not to present today as a completion or as an ideal state but to diagnose the present. Management, as developed in institutions of knowledge and practices, has thrived on the battles between passion and interest, between carnival and lent (in its secularized form as self-control), and between appetite and intellect. We can conclude that the possibility of reproducing the manipulable *homo oeconomicus* (economic man), central for management, is traceable in the drawn-out effects of these battles, which in turn secure the dominance of interest, lent, and intellect.

The self-determining subject of reason, an outcome of the so-called Scientific Revolution (Foucault, 1970/1981), represents a triumph of the subject over the body, nature, the feminine, and the passions (Colebrook, 2000; Stengers, 2000). Lost is a possible multiplicity of natures (antiessentialist)—*ludens* (playing), *narrans* (storytelling), *traditionalis* (of tradition)—as rationality slowly is made synonymous with economic rationality and as *homo oeconomicus* is centered. The “epistemologized” (Rorty, 1980, p. 132) subject of modernist science has occupied all serious space on the central stage of life, reserving corners for art only in a “Sunday culture” of disinterested spectatorship (Findlen, 1998). In this text, I work with the concept of a discursively produced subject and

with the possibilities for thinking and writing this creates. This is not a grand subject but a subject becoming and perishing through discursively provided subject positions (Foucault, 1980) in life as lived (de Certeau, 1984).

The argument for decentering the self-determining subject is ethical. Taking passions, the body, and the playful into account, we unsilence what has been shut up by modernist science, which declares it as outside reason. We stress connections between discourses, institutions, and orders and processes of producing subjectivities. If you represent people as subjects of a particular knowledge, they become governable through that knowledge (e.g., see Colebrook, 1999, on representation). With Foucault (1988), we can note that acting on oneself in ways directed by management knowledge (managerial technologies of the self) governs (conducts the conduct of) our organizational lives through reproducing the ideals of rational minds calculating on their interest in strategic issues: the manipulable homo oeconomicus (Gordon, 1991).

Managerialism and Managerial Entrepreneurs

Economy emerges as an ontological reality during the 18th century (Dean, 1999; Foucault, 1991) and has lately become dominant through neoliberal representations of individuals as entrepreneurs of themselves. Gordon (1991) suggests that this leads to a possible redescription of the social as a form of the economic. The economist and 1992 Nobel laureate Gary Becker has devoted much energy to describing the rationale of such an economy. This outcome is, of course, not necessary but is the result of specific developments. In the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, the central question of how to tame (in the sense of subjecting to modernist cultivation) the passions to gain an ordered and controllable citizen was answered: "Make interest into the greater passion" (Foucault 1971; Hirschman, 1977). The regulative ideals of control over one's self—the body of Lent rather than of Carnival—is increasingly directed by a governmentality (Foucault, 1986) that culminates in late-industrial managerialism: how to best invest your "human capital" so as to market yourself as a human resource to management.

Managerialism (Deetz, 1992; du Gay, 1997; Grey, 1996) continues to legitimize an application of management knowledge and systems of practices far beyond the business organization. A progressive enlargement of the territory of the market (Gordon, 1991) makes

possible the assumption that this is normal—that life, not only work, is subject proper to management knowledge. Managerialism brings with it a certain representation of the human necessary for its governing practices. This is central in Taylor's (1911) as well as in Mayo's (1933) discussions on how to manage employees, and the line stretches into today's ideal of self-managing enterprising employees. But surely, the role of manager does not exhaust the cast in today's scripts for running successful companies. We also find the role of bureaucrat (du Gay, 2000; Weber, 1978), the role of administrator (Fayol, 1949; Simon, 1945), the role of decision maker (Cyert & March, 1963; March, 1994; March & Simon, 1958), and the role of managerial entrepreneur (Kanter, 1983; Peters & Waterman, 1982). The (office) employee is produced in any of those positions. Strong normalizing forces today pull in the direction of the managerial entrepreneur.

What is represented as an entrepreneur? Is entrepreneur the same as in Richard Cantillon's (1680-1734) days of mercantilism, in Frank Knight's (1885-1972) and Joseph Schumpeter's (1883-1950) days of mature and late capitalism, and in Peters and Waterman's (1982) and Kanter's (1983) global or postcapitalism? Cantillon (1755/1999) describes the entrepreneur as a risk taker in economic development; Knight (1921/2002) portrays the entrepreneur as someone dealing with uncertainty; Schumpeter (1949), asserting that entrepreneurs are certainly not economic men in the economist sense (Dahms, 1995; Swedberg, 2000), explicitly relates entrepreneurship to collective deeds and focuses on innovation as the central element; and finally, Peters and Waterman (1982) express entrepreneurship as related to successful management of chaos. When enterprise discourse produces "managerial entrepreneurs" (Hjorth, 2003) in all spheres of organizational life, happily proclaiming the latest solution to problems of speed, flexibility, and innovativeness, this seems important to study as an effect of an enterprise governmentality (Burchell, Gordon, & Miller, 1991; Dean, 1999; du Gay, 1997). It seems to me that one can be critical of enterprise discourse and culture (du Gay, 1997) and still leave the concept of entrepreneurship in management writings rather untouched. Affirming entrepreneurship as related to silenced histories in modernism—passion, carnival, play—would instead demand a rewriting of entrepreneurship that takes us beyond its limited or reduced form available in the dominant managerial representation.

The managerial entrepreneur—the *manopreneur*—is a role proper to enterprise discourse for maintaining managerial control. The *manopreneur*, the entrepreneur of enterprise discourse, is a managerial enterpriser renamed entrepreneur. Through this move, two things of importance to researchers of organizational forms of entrepreneurship are accomplished: (a) The historically well-established conventional meaning of entrepreneur (e.g., Rockefeller, Carnegie) is reactivated and brings legitimacy to its new promoters as they imply a continuity of what is described as new examples—the Bill Gates and Ted Turners of the 1990s—and (b) the openness of entrepreneurship research, that is, what some tend to describe as the “lack of a unifying paradigm of entrepreneurship research” (Landström, 1999; Venkataraman, 1997), is used to make it possible to provide a conceptual home and stability to the struggle to fix the concept of entrepreneurship. The result is visible in the highly successful enterprise discourse that has turned entrepreneurship into a managerial concept, has represented employees as entrepreneurs, and has made them governable as subjects of and to management knowledge.

Enterprise discourse in managerialism operates as a governmentality on a societal level. The employee who is taking initiatives and assuming responsibility and who is creative, energetic, and most clearly mimics the ideal managerial image of an entrepreneur (Drucker, 1985; Kanter, 1990) is praised. A certain mode of representation serves enterprise governmentality. Language has shifted, for example, from *unemployed* to *job seekers*, relocating responsibility from the individual-society relationship to the individual herself or himself.

Managerial representations of entrepreneurship, of course, serve the supreme managerial principle: control. The enterprising employee, therefore, has to be a manipulable *homo oeconomicus*, that is, an individual represented as one with rights, desires, needs, and interests that cannot be “dictated by government” but which are “necessary to the ends of government” (characteristic of liberalism; Dean, 1999). The success of the enterprise discourse, to the extent that it operates as a managerial governmentality, is to be found in how governed employees are willing to exist as enterprising subjects (entrepreneurs). The individualizing and normalizing forces of control and efficiency-seeking management nourish technologies of the self. These technologies, typical of this time of disciplinary society and of society of control, are ways of mastering the prescribed self—in this case, the *manopreneur*—so as

to liberate oneself from accusations of unprofessional behavior or of managing situations with arms other than those enterprise discourse has provided (Foucault, 1988). Such “undiscipline,” de Certeau (1984) says, is, of course, always there in prescribed places for (controlled) work as a freedom or play to be exercised in cunning tactics, transforming strategies of power and knowledge, making use of them in surprising ways: making space, *spacing*, for play and invention—for heterotopias. The concept of heterotopia allows us to relate to space and movement.

To obtain a richer understanding of heterotopia, I now turn to Michel de Certeau’s form of cultural analysis. This, I argue, will help us see *homo ludens* (playing humans) as at least equally relevant to the analysis of organizational life as one has conventionally assumed *homo oeconomicus* to be.

MICHEL DE CERTEAU: FOR A CULTURAL ANALYSIS

De Certeau’s cultural analysis is focused on everyday life and on how people are inventing their lives in the minutes of living (see his *Culture in the Plural*; de Certeau, 1997a). He tries to ask questions about the *other* in people’s daily activities from which a transformative creativity emerges, in the gap between what discourses say and how people make use of them (*Heterologies—Discourse on the Other*; de Certeau, 1997b). The alternative, warns de Certeau, would be to silence this immense creativity and speaking. His analysis aims at voicing what is easily silenced or at unsilencing what already has been written out of the official versions of how something is known or practiced. Writing should then itself be tactical and try to make use of dominant or strategic versions of, in this case, the representation of creativity and entrepreneurship in work. De Certeau makes use of the conventional concepts of strategy and tactics in his own way. We should note how this is done before we continue:

I call strategy the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated. It postulates a *place* that can be delimited as its *own* and serve as the base from which relations with an *exteriority* composed of targets or threats (customers, competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city, objectives and objects of research, etc.) can be managed. As

in management, every "strategic" rationalization seeks first of all to distinguish its "own" place, that is, the place of its own power and will, from "environment." (de Certeau, 1984, p. 36)

His concept of tactics describes a different mode of power: "Occupying the gaps or interstices of the strategic grid, tactics produce a difference or unpredictable event which can corrupt or pervert the strategy's system" (Colebrook, 1997, p. 125). De Certeau (1984) describes tactics as

determined by the absence of a proper locus. No delimitation of an exteriority, then, provides it with the condition necessary for autonomy. The space of a tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power. . . . It operates in isolated actions, blow by blow. . . . What it wins it cannot keep. This nowhere gives a tactic mobility, to be sure, but a mobility that must accept the chance offerings of the moment. (pp. 36-37)

The strategic operates through a place made proper. When a place is appropriated as one's own, one can capitalize on the acquired advantages (e.g., the bank clerk's authority derived from the sacral or militant aesthetics of the place of the bank office). It is within such imposed places that tactics create space. When these are spaces for play or invention (e.g., making use of or subverting the clerk's authority), we find examples of entrepreneurship. Such inventions are created in the cracks in the surveillance of the proprietary powers. The tactical act poaches in these cracks; it creates surprises in them, writes de Certeau (1984).

Through de Certeau's writing, we can multiply the possibilities of entrepreneurship. This would be a tactical writing, making use of the strategic, dominant, and managerial version as reproduced in enterprise discourse. When multiplicity is embraced, as suggested in the discussion of human natures above, a space for play is introduced through which new variants can be created. I call such a space for play a heterotopia and then draw on the elaborations of this concept by Foucault when suggesting a way to describe entrepreneurial acts of invention in the managerially ordered place of work.

Tactical Research

Writers and practitioners of management knowledge have demonstrated an overwhelming attention to entrepreneurship that affects a silence. The spectacu-

larly uniform runaway trains of the genre of management always rush away in a furious spirit of victory, bringing about a monotonous whistle with an anxious tone. Entrepreneurship in mainstream management is too quickly reduced to an efficiency-enhancing tool; it is simply put into the general toolbox of management where its use is determined, as for the rest, by shareholder value. De Certeau would ask us to listen to what is silenced, answering well to how we seek entrepreneurship beyond the deafening pop tune of enterprise.

An entrepreneurial perspective not only departs from entrepreneurship as a concept but also contains innovative ways of speaking and addressing entrepreneurship. This puts research back in the position of search. I try to use the timing of enterprise discourse to tactically transform what this discourse produces (e.g., the managerial entrepreneur). Such an entrepreneurial act tries to articulate what has so far been silent or silenced: a history of the present of entrepreneurship.

When we need a way to discuss the relations between the strategic and the tactical in de Certeau's sense, a language of space helps us become more stringent. De Certeau (1984) is precise in his use of space and place:

A place (*lieu*) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence. It thus excludes the possibility of two things being in the same location (*place*). The law of the "proper" rules in the place: The elements taken into consideration are *beside* one another, each situated in its own "proper" and distinct location, a location it defines. A place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability. (p. 117)

A *space* exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. . . . In contradistinction to the place, it has thus none of the univocity or stability or stability of a "proper." In short, space is a practiced place. (p. 117)

Management writings probably belong to one of the most successful genres since the 1950s in the West. Their spread and proliferation (not the least through targeting a strong consumer group, managers) have made the practices of managing a highly directed occupation—directed as when we follow a manual in a how-to description and also as characters in a play are directed by the script. Employees in today's orga-

nizations are self- or auto-directing as their behavior is governed by self-images officially grounded in the "scripts" of management as expert knowledge. I am interested here in a history of entrepreneurship outside its managerial representations. This would consist of stories displaying ignorance or transformation of the law of the proper that rules in managerial places. It is, rather, a history of the creation of space and of spacing—movements in fields of practices. These are the results of operations playing "on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power" (de Certeau, 1984, pp. 36-37).

Entrepreneurship strikes like a singularity, relies not on a mandate, the law of the proper reigning in the ordered place, and is in this sense an event: of creating other spaces, heterotopias in which new practices can be invented. An event alters and reconfigures the force or strategy operating in a discursive formation (Colebrook, 1997), that is, in the formation of objects, concepts, tactics, and strategies that give meaning to the world: a "logic" organizing and normalizing the social. Studying entrepreneurship in the context of formal organizations in places prescribed by management knowledge would then benefit from practicing Foucault's (2002) way of *eventualization*, which is

first of all, a breach of the self-evident. It means making visible a *singularity* at places where there is a temptation to invoke a historical constant, an immediate anthropological trait, or an obviousness that imposes itself uniformly on all. To show that things "weren't as necessary as all that. (p. 226)

OTHER SPACES: HETEROTOPIAS

When children play, they often create space for themselves within the place we have prescribed for them. In the place of a home, even under the dinner table, we can find them creating a space for imagination, (serious) play, and resistance. This space can become their shielded house. Or it can become a specific creation, actualizing the images of their imagination. This space is related to the home but resists it in having become an "other" space, differentiated in spacing—a heterotopia.

After a short glimpse of the concept of heterotopia in the foreword to *The Order of Things* (Foucault, 1966/1971), where it is described as disturbing order by not being in place, Foucault elaborated on the concept in a lecture presented to the Architectural Studies Circle in 1967. (It was later published as a text in 1984 with the

title "Of Different Spaces.") He searched for a way to describe

real places, actual places, places that are designed into the very institution of society, which are sorts of actually realized utopias in which the real emplacements, all the other real emplacements that can be found within the culture are, at the same time represented, contested, and reversed, sorts of places that are outside all places, although they are actually localizable. (Foucault, 1984/2000, p. 178)

He continues to say that because these places are different from all the emplacements that they reflect on or refer to, he calls them heterotopias. Foucault is not precise in his terminology here, as he later describes this possible field of study centered on heterotopias: "One could imagine . . . a sort of systematic description . . . [of] these different spaces, these other places, a kind of contestation, both mythical and real, of the space in which we live" (Foucault, 1984/2000, p. 179). We will use heterotopia as metonym for different spaces, as Foucault's original title suggests and in consistence with de Certeau's terminology of place and space. Heterotopia will thus describe the actualized other space, differentiated in spacing. This captures the spacing of tactics, which, as we saw earlier is characterized by mobility. For our purpose, the creation of heterotopias could thus be described as an event that creates and expands the cracks in the official version (a discursive formation, e.g., an administrative pattern and style of a company's management thinking and practice) through actualizing subversive-transformative ideas for how to make use of the strategic.

Heterotopias as radically other spaces withdraw from the reigning order and the necessities of the present and offer spaces for imagination, for creation, and for everyday creativity. From de Certeau's concepts of space, we relate to heterotopias as offering temporary spaces created by the tactical user. In relation to the strategically dominant order, occasions can be used as opportunities. These spaces are created everywhere, not the least within work. There are silent cultures of everyday creativity, silenced also by the official culture of Art, that resist official cultures of work.

Managerially organized work is a place within modernity that forms a limit; the field of possibilities of workers is prescribed by the governing practices of management. E-mails are to be answered wherever we are; mobile phones are supposed to be carried like "microsuperiors" in our pockets. Subtly, those technologies, represented as freedoms, control our lives

through establishing new normalities to match. And precisely on those limits, we find tactical spacing—the creation of heterotopias. Guided only by multiplicity, locality, and temporality, those spaces are spaces for invention and play. The empirical case discussed here of artists in A/S LK (the company) illustrates that when managers instigate enterprise behavior, entrepreneurship might well make use of this official script in surprising ways. These are the tactical replies to the apparatus (the heterogeneous composition of discourses, institutions, administrative measures, symbolic leadership cues, and practical arrangements) that is often brought about by a managerial strategy.

De Certeau's use of tactics—the transformative insinuation of an anomalous supplementary element into a prescribed order (Ahearne, 1995)—also emphasizes that “‘tactical’ practitioners do not have time at their disposal. They must respond to situations as they are affected, and retaliate as they are ‘touched’” (Ahearne, 1995, p. 163). Keeping desire and passion, tactic, and timing in focus, silent stories of organizational creativity become unsilenced and writeable.

THE PLACE OF ART

When homo oeconomicus gradually (during the 16th to the 18th centuries) crowded out alternative regulative ideals for understanding Western life (Hirschman, 1977; Huizinga, 1962), art was simultaneously assigned a marginal place. Modernity, characterized by scientific reason joining (and sometimes replacing) God as a ruling force, simultaneously prescribed for art a place within Sunday culture (Huizinga, 1962). The continuity of a hierarchy between lent and carnival secured the subsequent hierarchy between seriousness and play (see Umberto Eco's, 1980/1998, *The Name of the Rose*). The sciences started to lock human knowledge into neat boxes used for building disciplines at universities (first established in the 12th century), where analysis qua Galileo and Descartes (detachment from nature or object and from one's passions, law based, context free) could become practiced. The “art” of knowing was still familiar to Erasmus and Copernicus, though, who made use of aesthetics and the fantastic-fabulous to tell stories of how things could become thought, knowing that these stories could also be told differently (Findlen, 1998). This openness of knowledge, the possibility of telling stories differently, manifests an acceptance of multiplicity to the extent that the wit of

personal narratives and an aesthetics of beautifully composed stories were mingled with the rationality of scientific discourse. Enlightenment definitely instigated a hierarchy between the two (narrative wit vs. scientific rationality), reactivating the hierarchies between seriousness and play and between Lent and Carnival.

Art was, for a long time, considered to have the purpose of representing life in various beautiful forms. Thus, it had no place within modern life, which was being increasingly monitored scientifically. Its function, instead, was to entertain and cultivate a disinterested relation to an ornament. In the struggle to get out of this prescribed function, Art has moved through a series of leaps, following the moves of science. From having been an admixture in the cultural blend of life, it achieved a position where it struggles mainly with the heritage of representation and ornamentation. Art, like science, has become locked into its corner, from where it enviously observes life, leaving a great distance to everyday women and men. As long as Art maintains a place outside everyday life, the expressive form that remains for it in the struggle to find a way back into life is shock (Vattimo, 1992), something easily validated by today's exhibition visitors.

Work and Play

During the 1990s, we have seen that when creativity at the workplace became urgent as a success factor, management turned to entrepreneurship (Kanter, 1990). This also happened in the case that inspired the writing of this article. Artists were welcomed by the local managers, who saw the former as initiators of renewal. When we unsilence carnival, passion, and play as parts of our history of the present of entrepreneurship, we understand that a rewriting of entrepreneurship is required (Hjorth, 2003). In this perspective, work and play, art, and creativity can be less clearly kept apart. In relation to the empirical case, I make a note on workplaces as spaces of creativity. This is an attempt to enable the movement of old positions vis-à-vis entrepreneurship, primarily to resist the present reduction of entrepreneurship into a managerial concept.

When Art Comes to Work

It is from this perspective that we come to see the freshness of an initiative such as the one of engaging

artists for various forms of development of work life in the A/S LK company in Ringsted, Denmark. It is, however, also here that the trap of stabilizing identities lies. When artists come to companies, the first achievement is, of course, that they meet people at work. The struggle to reach outside galleries and museums is of great importance. However, we easily obtain the effect that art and creativity in such cases are definitely sucked out of work in being brought to work by the visiting artists. Workers, then, become workers without art and creativity, and artists become Artists with a capital A.

Art affects everyday women and men more as a practice of repetition. The amount of engagement that Art has accomplished in people's everyday lives could perhaps be measured from the silence it has created. Every day, women and men complain about how "same" everything "different" (shock) can look as they (on rare occasions) leave the exhibition rooms after having visited another installation on tour or at display. Again, it is from this perspective that an initiative leaving those rooms-marked-for-Art behind can be seen as a creative move in itself. If one can overcome the problem of pacifying recipients and instead enact cocreators in a process of actualization, space for play can be created within a prescribed place for work. A project that uses art as that which can change everyday practices has breached a spatial order and has suggested that we can establish spaces for creativity also within places assigned for work—indeed, a kind of evident disclosure of creativity within life.

If art can become disclosed in work, the Artist no longer keeps the key to Art. This is shown when A/S LK workers cocreate space for play with artists at work. In such cases, Art becomes liberated as art; ideas of what could be actualized are related to desire and power.

Art at work can become a reproduction of seriousness and play, of homo oeconomicus and homo ludens, of Lent and Carnival, of production and creativity, and of everyday life and Sunday culture. There is no need, no necessity, for this to happen, though. However, as discussed above, they are structurally differentiated historically by being associated in hierarchical binaries. When renewal or innovation projects are initiated as managerial attempts at entrepreneurial moves, enterprise discourse is probably effective. The A/S LK example can be read as illustrating a managerial strategy of promoting self-images

measured against the regulative ideal of the enterprising employee. As such, it was a "best practice" taken from an appendix of any best-selling 1990s management book. And precisely for this reason, such an occasion always offers opportunities for cunning tactics. The tactical user—in this case, an entrepreneur composed of a group of artists and A/S LK employees—makes it possible for everyday women and men to create a space within the strategically prescribed places of enterprise discourse in its local version.

From the perspective of organizational creativity, the important aspect of "Art comes to work" is this making use both of Art and of a management strategy. Prescribed places of official scripts are tactically transformed and used for the differentiation of other spaces—the spacing that creates heterotopias. The Danish Superflex art group worked with people at A/S LK on a project with the purpose of developing internal communications at the company. They created a number of suggestions for new methods and tools meant to enhance and obtain new perspectives on communication at A/S LK (Hansen, 2001). The employees at A/S LK finally chose to build a kind of haven for their "own time." This idea was selected as something to actualize, and such a haven was created, as Figure 1 shows.

One can hardly imagine a more concrete version of a heterotopia, a different space within a prescribed place—in this case, a space for comfort, rest, silence, and pleasure on the premises of A/S LK, a space for play within the place prescribed for production. Practices invented in this heterotopia could then be transferred into work so as to change the way work is organized as well as the way communications between workers and managers take place. One woman said that the Superflex project had changed her views both of work and of art:

Here, at the end of the project, my expectations have moved in another direction. I believe that this and similar projects in the days to come can break down harming monotony or sameness and inspire to new ideas about what a workday might look like, to the benefit and enjoyment for the labor market of the future. (M. Hansen, as cited in Hansen & Andersen, 2001, p. 57)

As noted above, this haven was described by the employees as a space where new practices could be

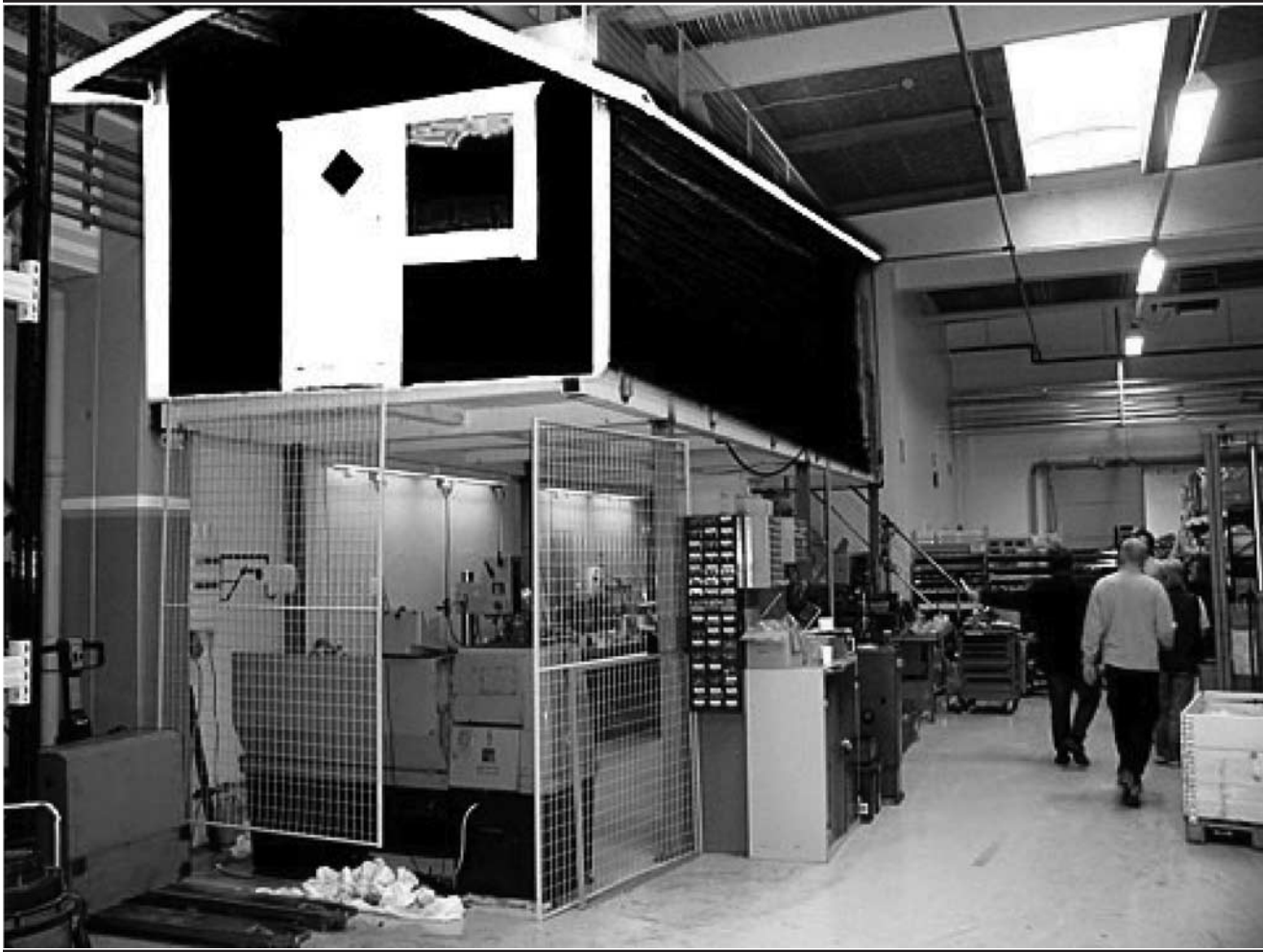


Figure 1: The heterotopia in A/S LK

Source: From *Visionsindustri* (pp. 52-53), by K. Hansen and C. B. Andersen (Eds.), 2001, Viborg, Sweden: Vestsjællands Kunstmuseum, Informations Forlag. Copyright 2001 by Kent Hansen. Reprinted with permission.

invented. For sure, the creation of this heterotopia in itself would demand new practices already. One would have to include the stepping in and out of this heterotopia. In this new space, people at A/S LK imagined that they would need, for example, computers and whiteboards, and would host a local radio station. This indicates that the heterotopia would be a busy place for play. For 1 hour each day, A/S LK employees would broadcast information to everyone at the company. In the style of tactical surprises, this turns out to be a radical way of enhancing communication within the company, which was precisely management's purpose behind entering the project. A specific form of enhancing was created, though: one that was controlled by the employees' radio broadcast.

INVENTION OF NEW PRACTICES: ART AND WORK

Strategy, Tactics, Heterotopia: Relating the Concepts

Let there be no doubt: I celebrate efforts such as the one trying to facilitate a mingling of artists and workers, primarily as it demonstrates the instability of such subject-positions. Creativity in everyday women and men's lives is always possible as tactical uses of in-betweens. It is the *entre* and *prendre* of entrepreneurship. *Entre* for creating space, spacing, and stepping into the in-between, and *prendre* for the grasping of opportunities. Entrepreneurship cannot be reduced to

a managerial strategy. It cannot be reduced to homo oeconomicus or to a "proper" consumption of opportunities and cannot be aligned with a hysterical pressure for creativity at work. Entrepreneurship cannot be instigated through strategies described in best-selling management books on the bookshelves of airport lounges. Entrepreneurship cannot be served as a regulating ideal or as a product of idealized enterprising behavior. Creativity, play, and art are already there, at and in work. What art (and artists) can do for this everyday creativity is precisely what was done in A/S LK: to call out homo ludens onto the organizational stage and communicate the realness of ideas in relation to opportunities and desires for actualization—to create opportunities out of occasions and create actualities out of opportunities.

The creativity that concerns us is the one that changes our everyday practices (Spinosa, Flores, & Dreyfus, 1997). Art projects at work not only destabilize the monopoly of management knowledge and its regime of reason and rationality but also pull art into life from its marginal place in a Sunday culture. This form of desire for creating and producing that we, in the context of economy, call entrepreneurship will now have a new field of possibility for action to operate in. This is also a point where we are led by the metonym of heterotopia to consider the change in worker subjectivity that events of art in work can bring about, for it is in constructions of changed worker subjectivity that heterotopias can become recreated and used. This has to happen all the time, as creations—both heterotopias as such as well as what is created in them—will always be screened by the dominant regimes of reason (managerial regimes in business organizations and economy in society at large) so as to find out its effects on control and efficiency. This ephemeral quality of entrepreneurship is well caught by de Certeau's concept of tactics as well as by Schumpeter's (1949) vision of organizational entrepreneurship as short lived.

In the case of A/S LK, a gap in between managerial strategies and their concrete actualization was continuously produced. Copying strategies into the real seems impossible, as managerial knowledge is full of models for human behavior (e.g., images of homo oeconomicus) that serve theory but do little for actual persons and their practices. In A/S LK, these gaps were tactically used by the Superflex art group to create opportunities for new communication practices. Employees on the shop floor at A/S LK also used the

art group so as to transform the strategic intention to achieve better communications into the need for a heterotopia. Initially, this could be interpreted as a setback; workers shield themselves off when managers seek to develop communications. One could, however, see the heterotopia as the required space for play, set against the place for production appropriated by management, in which needs for actual communication would be generated from the inventions of new practices.

Toward Organizational Creativity and Entrepreneurship

Studying creativity and innovativeness at work, we found two striking messages: (a) The intense pressure for being creative, innovative, and taking efficient initiatives at work should also be related to as a recent concept of managerialism, conducting conduct according to the rationality and norm of enterprise discourse. As such, it operates through stereotypes, and this time the entrepreneur has been recycled as an emblem of the proper employee. Normalizing forces make people practice self-regulating technologies, helping them fit into the prefabricated molds of the enterprising employee; and (b) innovativeness is already virtually real at workplaces but needs to be actualized in creations. Heterotopias are built everywhere. Strategic prescriptions are used tactically, creating temporary trophies that cannot be kept but that push the creators to be continuously on the move, to be spacing, to create heterotopias as care-of addresses in work. The invention of new practices, such as broadcasting information through a superlocal radio station, or the creation of new forms of practicing work life, is local and temporal. There are silent stories of creativity in work. This article, by using de Certeau's writings, has wanted to unsilence some.

Entrepreneurship in this article plays the very role of creating disruptions and breaks with normalizing and regulating forces. The desire to create, to invent, or to transform organizes the entrepreneurial subject in the face of managerial strategies of power and knowledge. Our attention to human natures serves only the purpose of reminding us of a broader scope when we turn our analytic attention to organized work and the situation of employees. Such a broader scope invites passion and desire, play, the feminine, and bodies and thereby breaks with a continuity in our

focus on the interest-driven male subject of economic reason, which dominates mainstream management and organization theory. Such a shift in focus and such a broadened scope, I argue, will serve as a more sensitive attention to entrepreneurship and to the possibilities of spacing as creativity within work. When creativity is crowded out from work through managerial practices prioritizing predictability and control, risk, play, desire, and adventure are lost. Following such a loss of life, only prefabricated dreams are made available in the glossy niceties of the good, good little worlds that the success-assuring managerial concepts for innovative organizations offer to their burnouts (de Certeau, 1997a). When Maja Hansen at A/S LK reflects on what she created together with the artists, she talks about breaking down the "harming monotony or sameness and inspiring to new ideas about what a workday might look like" (as cited in Hansen & Andersen, 2001, p. 57). This is, of course, an enormous invention at A/S LK—the experienced possibility of a different workday. If entrepreneurship works like that, it is more than enough.

NOTES

1. Du Gay, however, stays with a received notion of entrepreneurship and does not make a distinction between enterprise discourse and entrepreneurship discourse. The history of the present of entrepreneurship that I indicate in this text opens up to entrepreneurship in its entrepreneurial rather than managerial forms. This allows for not only a less reduced version of entrepreneurship but also a more fruitful relation between entrepreneurship and art and creation processes.

2. Opportunity recognition and opportunity discovery are major themes in entrepreneurship research.

3. Historian, Jesuit, theologian, cultural sociologist.

4. Foucault, as we know the author from his last project on the history of sexuality, of course also exemplifies such closeness to life.

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