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Abstract

Although the lion's share of scholarship in management and organization studies conceives of organizations as entities within which communication occurs, "Communication Constitutes Organization" (CCO) scholarship has attracted interest because it makes a productive reversal, that is, by asking *how organization happens in communication*. Over the past decade, *Organization Studies* has become the key scholarly outlet for CCO thinking in the management and organization studies field. Accordingly, in this paper we discuss seven articles that have appeared in this journal as evidence of the perspective's centrality. We first situate CCO theorizing within the linguistic turn, and position CCO with respect to other lines of scholarship underwritten by a rich conception of language and discourse. We examine the varied ways CCO thinking has found organization in communication, locating in the seven articles productive tensions between the process of communication, on the one hand, and *organization*, *organizing*, and *organizationality*, on the other. We contribute to CCO scholarship with reflections on these three theoretical orientations and provide a set of possibilities for its further development.

Introduction

Over its history, organization studies has too rarely interrogated a fundamental, yet deceptively simple, question: What *is* an organization? Existing theories have typically taken organizations for granted, perhaps because organizations form convenient units of analysis, present themselves as useful containers for social processes, or seem to be self-evident entities marking a social scene. In contrast, research falling under the mantle of *Communication Constitutes Organization* (CCO) has, since its inception in the 1990s, argued that pursuing this crucial ontological question can bear significant conceptual fruit.

CCO thinking engineers a major reversal in the field's thinking. The majority of the management and organization studies field depicts communication as merely one among many activities occurring inside pre-existing organizational walls; communication is the means by which information can be transmitted and shared across a set of people (Axley, 1984). Communication, in such accounts, revolves around accurately capturing organizational members' ideas in symbols, propelling messages to receivers, and ensuring information correspondence. Standing in stark contrast to these assumptions, CCO scholarship holds that organizations, as well as organizational phenomena, come into existence, persist, and are transformed in and through interconnected communication practices. In other words, CCO scholarship presents communication as the main force that creates, generates, and sustains—*constitutes*—what we consider to be organizations and organizing practice. It holds that imagining organization *as* communication—where communication is not merely a participant in organization but, much more radically, is *equivalent to* organization—is both an ontological move with novel heuristic benefits and can serve as a grounding for methodological claims. Cooren, Bartels, and Martine (2017), drawing inspiration from Dewey (1916/1944), offer a useful encapsulation of this conceptual transformation: "instead of just envisaging communication as something that happens in organization, the CCO movement

paradoxically proposes to study how organization happens in communication" (p. 513). Consequently, scholars in this vein look *at* communication rather than *through* it to understand organization—in other words, they see communication not as reflecting or representing some deeper mechanisms, but instead as where organization lives. Although a detailed review is beyond our scope here (for comprehensive overviews, see Ashcraft, Kuhn, & Cooren, 2009, Brummans, Cooren, Robichaud & Taylor, 2014, or Schoeneborn & Vásquez, 2017), taken as a whole, CCO scholarship seeks to reconfigure assumptions about the relationship between communicating and organizing; its pursuit of this reconfiguration has generated novel understandings of many of the fundaments of organization theory, including agency (Brummans, 2018; Cooren, 2004), techno-logy (Taylor, Groleau, Heaton, & Van Every, 2001), routines (Wright, 2016), boundaries and space (Porter, 2013; Vásquez & Cooren, 2013), power and authority (Bencherki & Bougoin, in press; Kuhn, 2017; Taylor & Van Every, 2014), corporate social responsibility (Christensen, Morsing, & Thyssen, 2013; Schoeneborn & Trittin, 2013), and organizational tensions (Cooren, Matte, Benoit-Barne, & Brummans, 2013; Putnam, Fairhurst, & Banghart, 2016).

Obviously, such a move requires a dramatically different conception of communication than available in those conventional accounts. And perhaps unsurprisingly, a range of theoretically distinct, yet conceptually associated, stances of CCO scholarship exist (see Schoeneborn, Blaschke, Cooren, McPhee, Seidl, & Taylor, 2014). Across the various manifestations, communication is not about message transmission, but is a *process of meaning production and negotiation*. Meaning, moreover, is understood to reside neither in the messages actors exchange, nor in those actors' cognition, but in the *practices* in which an array of participants—human as well as nonhuman—engage (Kuhn, Ashcraft, & Cooren, 2017). Accordingly, if organizations are systems of meaning (Donnellon, Gray, & Bougon, 1986; Schatzki, 2006; Weick, 1979), communication ought to be the key mode by which organizational existence is explained. As we

shall argue below, seeing communication as constitutive of meaning (and thus of organizational reality) positions communication as a vital *explanation for* organizational phenomena.

Thus far, CCO scholarship has contributed to the field of management studies in at least four ways: first, by developing a processual ontology of organization as a precarious communicative accomplishment (e.g., Cooren, Kuhn, Cornelissen, & Clark, 2011; Taylor, 2011); second, by emphasizing the fundamental embeddedness of organizations in communicative relations with the broader society (e.g., Kuhn, 2008); third, by highlighting the fundamental and formative roles of texts, technologies, and other artifacts in materializing the communicative constitution of organization (e.g., Rennstam, 2012); fourth, by widening the spectrum of organizational phenomena and highlighting the "organizationality" (Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015) of loose and fluid social collectives—such as bike commuter communities (Wilhoit & Kisselburgh, 2015). In this sense, CCO scholarship broadens the ontological issue with which we began, suggesting that we should be interested not only in the *what is an organization* question, but also in questions such as *how is organizing accomplished* and *what makes practice more or less "organizational."*

We believe the time is ripe for reflecting on the central claims of CCO scholarship and its (current and potential) uptake in management and organization studies in a larger scope and in systematic form. What is known today as CCO perspective was developed primarily among North American scholars working in the field of (organizational) communication. However, in the past decade, CCO-based research has been widely published in journals central to the field of management and organization studies, too (e.g., Ashcraft et al., 2009; Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015; Koschmann, Kuhn, & Pfarrer, 2012; Robichaud, Giroux, & Taylor, 2004; Wilhoit & Kisselburgh, in press; Wright, 2016). At the same time, CCO thinking expanded beyond its North American roots, branching into European organization studies. One indication of the increased

institutionalization of CCO scholarship in Europe is the Standing Working Group "Organization as Communication" at the European Group of Organizational Studies (EGOS), which has been operating since 2015. Among management and organization studies journals, *Organization Studies* (OS) has become one of the main platforms for publishing CCO scholarship (other outlets include *Human Relations* and *Management Communication Quarterly*). This article aims to give visibility to these developments and display the journal's intellectual leadership in this area by featuring a set of *OS* articles that have advanced CCO scholarship in significant ways.

Our article is structured as follows: as a first step, we believe it is important for an *OS* readership that we position CCO scholarship vis-à-vis the broader horizon of language-centered approaches in organization studies, such as established works on metaphor, narrative, discourse, and so on. This positioning helps carving out the distinct benefit of CCO scholarship in comparison to these neighboring theoretical lenses. Second, we unfold the central framework that is guiding our discussion of selected articles that were previously published in *OS*. More specifically, we distinguish here between three main dimensions of CCO scholarship; namely, works that are focused on the communicative constitution of *organizations* (i.e., the "noun" or "entity" dimension), of *organizing* (the "verb" or "process" dimension), or of *organizationality* (the "adjective" or "attribute" dimension). These three dimensions translate into three forms of tension that, in our view, are currently driving CCO scholarship. Finally, we discuss and assess these different orientations within CCO scholarship and suggest a research agenda for future inquiry into the constitutive relation between communication on the one hand and organization, organizing, and organizationality on the other.

Positioning CCO scholarship within the broader spectrum of language-centered approaches in organization studies

At its heart, the key contribution of CCO scholarship can be seen as an attempt to keep the intellectual promise of the linguistic turn (Deetz, 2003) for understanding organization and organizing, while simultaneously engaging with the material turn (Ashcraft et al., 2009). The standard interpretation of the linguistic turn is that language is somehow important in creating and maintaining organization (see, e.g., Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000a). As Deetz (2003) pointed out, however, this interpretation is highly problematic: "The problem of language as the 'mirror of nature' that preoccupied the positivists was replaced by simply focusing on the 'mirror' as an object" (Deetz, 2003: 425). In other words, language-centered analyses failed to realize the radical potential of the linguistic turn in that, on the whole, they simply substituted a linguistic reality for a material reality as the ontological basis for organization.

The linguistic turn, rather than merely turning attention to language, attacks on philosophical-theoretical grounds the widely accepted idea that language is a system of reference for denoting objects "out there" (Cooper, 1989: 480): "language is a structure of material marks or sounds which are in themselves 'undecidable' and upon which meaning has to be imposed." Symbolic systems such as language therefore do not *contain* meaning. On the contrary, meaning is what users assign to language to distinguish certain experiences from one another. Importantly, the subjectivities of language users are formed in and through language. Language, and the potential meanings that emerge in it, forego any experience of what is external to it, since experience can only gain its shape and intelligibility through language in the first place.

In this paper, we argue that CCO scholarship is particularly well equipped to deliver on some of the promises of the linguistic turn. More specifically, we assert that CCO scholarship can help dissolve the well-established dualisms in contemporary theories of organization, such as

subject–object, micro–macro, structure–agency, and material–ideational. In doing so, CCO scholarship taps into the origins of the linguistic turn by offering a sharper critique and a deeper understanding of the role of language and communication in organizing and organization. In particular, CCO scholarship furthers the potential of the linguistic turn to problematize the relationship between language and social reality and renders that relationship inherently processual, indeterminate, and conflict-laden. Language constitutes the world, yes, but as a result of struggle and negotiation and not by mechanistic determination.

At the same time, we need to consider that CCO scholarship is not alone in pursuing and unpacking the promises of the linguistic turn: it shares an intellectual heritage with other language-based perspectives on organizing and organization, such as metaphorical exploration (Morgan, 1986, 2016), storytelling and narrative (Boje, 1991, 1995; Brown, Gabriel & Gherardi, 2009; Czarniawska, 1997a, 1997b; Gabriel, 1991, 1995), and organizational discourse analysis (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000b; Phillips & Oswick, 2012). Accordingly, we briefly point to some key similarities and, more importantly, differences between CCO scholarship and these neighboring streams of theorizing.

Root metaphors and metaphorical explication

The key idea behind metaphorical exploration and "root metaphors" (Putnam et al., 1996) is that, on a deep level, our understanding of the world is affected by the inner workings of language itself. The very idea of organization studies is instructive: to think about the subject, we are bound to apply basic metaphors of what an organization is. Textbooks suggest that organizations are "machines," "cultures," "organisms," "polities," while, in fact, organizations are none of these thing—or at least cannot be reduced to any of those things. The focus in this body of work is on how tropes—that is, figurative speech—inform the process through which knowledge about the world is created. Although rhetoric recognizes a long list of tropes, metaphorical exploration pays

particular attention to how metaphor—the act of likening an entity to something whose similarities illuminate our understanding of that entity—can be used to understand organizing and organizations (Cornelissen, 2005; Cornelissen et al., 2008). Morgan's work (1980, 1986, 2016; see also Örtenblad et al., 2016) on metaphorical images of organization has been particularly influential in this regard. In sum, root metaphors help us structure our thinking about the world and, in particular, how we create knowledge about it.

CCO scholarship tends to accept the premise of metaphorical exploration. However, as Schoeneborn, Vásquez, and Cornelissen (2016) have argued, while one key impetus of CCO theorizing rests on the "organization as communication" metaphor, CCO scholarship is also characterized by a *metonymic* imagination of the organization-communication relation, that is, by asking how communicative practices (the parts) constitute organizational phenomena (the whole). The difference is that while metaphorical exploration draws on language primarily to explain how knowledge is generated about the world, CCO scholarship focuses on how language and communication interject into the creation of the social world—or rather, to be specific, the *ontogenesis* of organization and organizing as such. In other words, CCO scholarship is primarily interested in how organizing and organization are "coming into being" (i.e., ontogenesis) through communicative practices (Ashcraft et al., 2009; Cooren et al., 2011; Nicotera, 2013). In this sense, CCO scholars empirically look at, for instance, how metaphors and other figures of speech are used in actual conversations and unfold their constitutive and formative role in organizing collectives (e.g., Cooren et al., 2013: 263). As a result, CCO scholars do not treat metaphors of organization merely as metaphorical images, but study them for their ontological consequences— for instance, their role in creating organizations and organizational phenomena.

Narrative and storytelling

Proponents of the storytelling and narrative perspectives (Boje 1991, 1995; Czarniawska, 1997a, 1997b; Gabriel, 1991, 1995) share an interest in how organizing and organization come "into being." These perspectives put stories at the forefront of how organizing and organization are created and sustained (Brown et al., 2009). The key idea is that communication deep down is driven by the story format: if any set of facts lack characters, plots, and morals that resonate with a given community, they also lack the capacity to provide meaning (Fisher, 1984). On the whole, CCO scholarship acknowledges that stories are powerful mediators of meaning but questions whether the story format has primacy as a means of communication for organizing and organization. Importantly, many CCO scholars do not see why stories and narratives should be special and accord a similar status to a broader spectrum of communicative devices, including lists, graphics, models, tables, key symbols, technologies, and so on (e.g., Cooren, 2006). Another way of putting it would be to say that these scholars reframe the influence of narratives in the process of communicating (see Frandsen, Lundholt, & Kuhn, 2017). Furthermore, CCO scholars also tend to take a stronger interest in the role of disorder, conflict, tension, disharmony, and failure than scholars who adopt narrative approaches do (Kuhn, 2012; Vásquez et al., 2016). Ultimately, CCO scholarship focuses less on the meaning and sense of communicative acts and more on their effects and material consequences.

Organizational discourse analysis

Finally, the interest in a broad spectrum of analytical approaches is a common denominator between the CCO perspective and organizational discourse analysis or ODA (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000b, 2011; Phillips & Oswick, 2012). Generally speaking, ODA focuses on how texts, in the broader sense of the word, are put together in discourses that are assumed to be the key drivers for organizational dynamics. In this sense, ODA examines how social reality is talked

into (or out of) existence through conversations and documents, but also how institutionalized bundles of texts regulate what can be talked into existence. The "talking things into existence" part of ODA is commonly understood as "small d" discourse analysis, while the focus on institutionalized bundles of text is labeled "big D" discourse (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000b, 2011). Kärreman and Alvesson (2009), for example, have shown how conversations about careers among management consultants are regulated by two overarching ("big D") discourses: Ambition and Autonomy. Career choices, aspirations, subsequent identity work, and the location of authority are all articulated and realized through these discourses.

Both CCO scholarship and ODA share the focus on how organizing and organization are talked into existence and how institutionalized forms of talk and text place boundaries on what can exist. However, CCO scholarship is less committed to the idea that language is doing all the heavy lifting in this regard; instead, it puts more emphasis on the idea that organizing arises from the interaction between context and communicative acts, rather than from the communicative acts themselves (Ashcraft et al., 2009). In this regard, CCO scholarship also offers a distinct view on how agency is theorized: whereas ODA suggests that agency is vested either in individuals ("small d" discourse) or in discourses as such ("big D" discourse; see Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011), the CCO perspective understands agency to be a perpetually open question because it is distributed among (and found always in the relationships between) texts, objects, people, and so on (Cooren et al., 2011).

In sum, CCO scholarship can be understood as an attempt to simultaneously pursue and challenge the linguistic turn: it pursues the linguistic turn by questioning the relevance of object– subject, structure–agency, and micro–macro dualisms, but it also challenges the linguistic turn by engaging deeply with the material and practice turns (Kuhn & Putnam, 2014). Furthermore, CCO-based research tends to have affinities with other language- and communication-based approaches,

such as root-metaphor perspectives, narrative and storytelling, and organization discourse analysis. However, it differs from these perspectives in that it emphasizes the importance of communication for the *ontogenesis* of organization and organizing, the role of conflict, tension, meaning, and (dis)order, and the ways in which agency builds and flows in communication and organizing. In a next step, we carry forward this focus on tensions as a main driver of organizational ontogenesis by suggesting three variants of CCO scholarship that differ in their concern for what is the analytical level and object of ontogenesis.

Three types of tension in CCO scholarship

In this section, we discuss how the main theoretical impetus of CCO scholarship differs in key articles we identified among those published in *Organization Studies* over the past decade. Our selection of previously published *OS* papers was driven by the identification of three dimensions or theoretical orientations within extant CCO scholarship. More specifically, we suggest that CCO research is concerned with studying the communicative constitution of (a) *organization* as a social entity or actor (i.e., the noun dimension), (b) *organizing* as a social practice or process (i.e., the verb dimension), and (c) *organizationality* as an attribute or degree (i.e., the adjective dimension). As we will elaborate, each of these dimensions puts to the fore a distinct form of theoretical tension between communication as a process on the one hand and, depending on the impetus of theoretical imagination, organization, organizing, or organizationality on the other hand (see Figure 1).

--- INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE ---

What unites all three theoretical orientations is the emphasis on communication as the main mode of explanation. In other words, while all three theoretical orientations treat communication (or more precisely, "communicating" as a verb or process) as the *explanans* (i.e., the source of explanation), they differ in what they regard as the *explanandum* (i.e., the object of explanation),

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which they regard respectively as organization, organizing, and the organizationality of social collectives. As our review of these works will show, each of these theoretical streams is driven by three distinct—and inherent—forms of tension and by their as distinct conceptions of how explanans and explanandum interrelate. The imagination of organizational phenomena in dialectical or paradoxical figures, in turn, tends to be in-built to CCO scholarship (see Kuhn, 2012; Vásquez et al., 2016) and also serves as key source of its heuristic and explanatory value (see Schoeneborn et al., 2016). At the same time, our article locates seven key articles published in *OS* that can be seen as representative of recent trends in CCO scholarship by systematizing them according to the three tensions (see Figure 1). Within the diagram, we placed articles more to the left if their unit of analysis was primarily communication events, networks, or practices, and more to the right if their unit of analysis was primarily "the" organization as an entity, or on organizing processes, or on the organizationality of social collectives. In one instance, we placed the article (by Taylor, 2011) in the middle between these two poles, as it exactly describes their processual interplay. In the following, we discuss the three tensions and the respective articles in more detail.

(1) Verb–noun tension: The communicative constitution of organization

A first major stream of research within CCO scholarship revolves around the tension between communication in the sense of *communicating*, as a verb, and *organization*, as a noun or an entity. This is the stream of research that is most commonly associated with the label "CCO," as it addresses the fundamental question of the ontological status of organization: what *is* an organization, after all? And how do organizations, as social entities or actors, come into being and sustain their existence over time? Proponents of this stream are united by the assumption that there is a quasi-symmetrical relation between communication and organization and that these are co-constitutive of each other. In other words, these works tend to dissolve the verb–noun tension in a "both-and" way (see Putnam et al., 2016); that is, by embracing the opposition between process

and entity and by acknowledging their mutually constitutive connection. This means that process and entity are ultimately understood as two sides of the same coin and thus organizations are understood here as "processual entities." This term emphasizes that organizations are maintained in and through communicative processes that recurrently re-instantiate their existence (see Blaschke et al., 2012; Schoeneborn et al., 2016). Different models of communication offer contrasting conceptual resources for dissolving this tension. As a result, the various approaches within CCO scholarship tend to differ significantly in their answers to the question of *how* communication constitutes organization.

The first set of selected articles is primarily concerned with reframing "the" organization in communicative terms. Each of the three articles included in this section—Kuhn (2008), Taylor (2011), and Blaschke et al. (2012)—aims (albeit in different ways) at imagining organization as both process and entity at the same time. We review these articles by (a) attending to the conceptions of communication and organization with which they work, and (b) exploring the insights into organization that they offer.

Conceptions of the relation between communication and organization. Proponents of the "Montreal School" of organizational communication, which is commonly seen as one of the key and leading groups of CCO scholarship (see Brummans et al., 2013), shape the visions of communicating and organizing upon which these three articles draw. Much of the Montreal School thinking is based on seeing communication as a dialectic between conversation and text, although more recent works tend to draw on this concept more implicitly than earlier theoretical works did (see Boivin, Brummans, & Barker, 2017). "Conversation" is understood as the (relatively) observable interaction between interdependent actors, while "text" is the topical, conceptual, or thematic substance upon which conversations draw and to which they contribute. Communication is reducible to neither dimension, but the result of the interplay between text and conversation that

unfolds as actors seek to produce coordinated action by co-orienting to both one another and to their common pursuit (Brummans et al., 2014; Taylor, Cooren, Giroux, & Robichaud, 1996).

In his *OS* article, James R. Taylor (2011), the primary architect of the Montreal School, explicates the noun–verb relationship. He connects the dialectic between conversation and text with the pragmatist claim that communicating involves both interactions *and* transactions. "Interactions" are the familiar conversational exchanges that occur between actors in a specific scene, whereas "transactions" occur "across actors who are aspects of a relationally integrated whole" (Simpson, 2009: 1338). The notion of a transaction thus refers to the frameworks of rights and obligations that circumscribe interaction in a specific scene. For Taylor, organization can become an entity when it becomes part of transactional frames; when "it has been constituted in conversation and in text by its presence there – in communication, in a word; it too can now enter into transactions" (Taylor, 2011: 1278). Importantly, these texts can be decontextualized and distanciated as they become "imbricated" (a metaphor based on intersecting tiles on a roof) with one another. When texts become imbricated, they gain durability and can extend beyond localized practices; when they overlap with one another in practices that span time and space, a collective actor (and its intentions) can be distinguished and identified. It is then that *the organization* can be understood to "speak" with a single voice, even if that voice is embodied by a particular actor (e.g., the CEO), because the imbricated texts are taken to be representative of a collective agent. Moreover, within the transactional frame, participants become identified with their roles. Some participants—both human and nonhuman—are understood to be the organization's representatives and are consequently deemed to be authoritative (see also Koschmann, Kuhn & Pfarrer, 2012).

Kuhn (2008) too highlights the conversation–text dialectic, but builds upon it to insert a conception of power in the practices that generate organizations. Organizations require an array of (human and nonhuman) agencies brought together to accomplish coordinated action. For Kuhn,

the focal element that engineers this array is not individual human agency, but what he calls the *authoritative text*. The authoritative text "portrays the relations of authority and criteria of appropriateness that become present in ongoing practice" (Kuhn, 2012: 553); it brings together figurative and concrete elements. In other words, "text" is construed broadly as representative of the organization as a whole, because it articulates what the collective "is" (and what it is not) in the sense of establishing an identity, a trajectory, and the practices that the collective can pursue to accomplish its future. Similar to the Montreal School, Kuhn argues that authoritative texts can become actors in their own right, guiding and shaping the conversations that comprise the practice of organizing. Authoritative texts, however, pick up "intertextual" influences from other texts, which are found both within and beyond the (artificial) boundaries of organizations. In appropriating of the notion of intertextuality, Kuhn suggests that human agency and intentionality cannot be the sole points around which organizational analyses pivot; he instead advocates openness to contingency and indeterminacy in CCO explanations. Intertextuality, therefore, displays that the organizational text never emerges *sui generis*, nor is it ever complete; it is always the ongoing product of practice and it becomes supplemented and saturated through its encounters with other texts. In that sense, the authoritative text can be understood as both noun and verb simultaneously.

The article by Blaschke et al. (2012) also takes as its starting point a baseline assumption of the Montreal School: "When I imagine an organization, I have in mind nothing more than an interlocking network of communication processes" (Taylor, 2003: 12). However, Blaschke et al. (2012) are critical of the Montreal School's main methodological focus on single communicative events (e.g., usually via conversation analyses), as a result of which, they argue, the Montreal School scholars risk losing sight of the emergence of "the" organization as a larger entity constituted through such events. Accordingly, the authors propose a new methodological approach

that consists in communication-centered social network analysis, which, in principle, is compatible with the underlying assumptions of the Montreal School. More specifically, the authors suggest that established forms of network analysis should be turned "inside out": instead of studying individual actors as the nodes of an organizational network and the communication between them as the network's edges, communication events should become the network's nodes. This "inverted" network analysis puts communication events in the front and center and uses individual ties as connections between these events (i.e. as the network's edges). The authors argue that through this approach, organizations can be studied as they emerge communicatively, which brings this form of analysis closer to the ambition of CCO scholars to grasp organizations as "processual entities" (Blaschke et al., 2012: 883). In sum, the proposed methodology treats communication (as a process) and organization (as an entity) as two sides of the same coin.

Insights about organization. Works in this vein suggest that instead of theorizing organizations as heuristic endeavors, research should ask whether communication-centered conceptions of organization generate new insights into, and questions about, the existence and operation of organizations. Such works deny the simple reduction of "organization" to an entity; instead, they mine the insights to be gained from the tension between verb and noun (see also Cooper, 1986; Styhre, 2002).

From this vantage point, the articles presented in this section make three contributions. First, they encourage scholars to grasp the precarious character of organizational existence. Although organizations have many resources for creating a durable existence, to some extent they are always precarious accomplishments that are created and re-created in communication. From a constitutive viewpoint, communication does not merely express, but—importantly—*creates,* social realities. The key claim in the three articles we have discussed is that persistence is not so much ensuring economic viability, but mainly consists in the ongoing communicative labor that

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(re)accomplishes these social realities (Blaschke et al., 2012; Schoeneborn, 2011). The dualism between process (communication) and object (organization) has been a longstanding and taxing cause of division in organization studies (see Poole & Van de Ven, 1989). A key attraction of the CCO approach is its potential to transcend this division with a novel conceptual apparatus, which includes, for example, the idea of processual entities.

The second contribution of these articles is to existing accounts in organization theory. Kuhn (2008) is perhaps the most explicit on this count when he argues for developing a distinctly *communicative* theory of the firm. In contrast to approaches to the firm based on competence (e.g., the resource-based view) and governance (e.g., transaction cost economics), Kuhn argues that a CCO-based vision situates the organization's existence not merely in "internal" communication, but also in the struggles over meaning, which involve an array of stakeholders who take part in the ongoing constitution of its authoritative text. In this sense, the firm becomes less an entity generated by individuals who design it and work for it and is understood more as the effect of the myriad of practices in which its existence is implicated. This view is in line with Blaschke et al. (2012) who argue that studying organizations by means of network analysis that centers on individuals means losing sight of the underlying communicative dynamics that constitute organizations in the first place.

Taylor (2011) reacted to conceptions of organization that fail to problematize ontology or that place the organization's ontological foundations in individuals or structures rather than in communication. For instance, he critiqued Weick's penchant for social psychology and its focus on individual human cognizers. Taylor does not claim that individuals and their cognition are irrelevant, but that they are of limited usefulness when it comes to explaining organization with the help of the conceptual apparatus that is founded on the dialectic between conversation and text. In

that respect, all three papers of this section shift the level of analysis clearly to the communication–organization nexus.

The third contribution of these articles is that the CCO view they propound reveals struggles over meaning and authority as not merely the domain of power and politics in organizational life, but as inherent in all organizational phenomena. Kuhn (2008), for instance, asserts that power, control, and authority should be understood as always already bound up in the ongoing constitution of organization, a stance echoed in a good deal of recent CCO scholarship (e.g., Holm & Fairhurst, in press; Hudson, 2016; Kuhn, 2017; Putnam et al., 2016; Wright, 2016). Taylor (2011), in slight contrast to Kuhn, avoids the use of the term "power" and prefers "precedence" or "authority" instead, because these concepts are more closely aligned with the dialectic between conversation and text and the constitution (for Taylor, also the *authoring*) of organization. The debate on "power," "precedence," and "authority" is another reminder that CCO-oriented works demonstrate how organization, as a noun, is recurrently (re)instantiated, or accomplished, over time and space and how those (re)instantiations implicate struggles over meaning located in communication practices (see also Taylor & Van Every, 2014).

(2) Verb–verb tension: The communicative constitution of organizing.

There is a different conception of the relationship between organization and communication, according to which communication is a mode of explaining certain practices of organiz*ing* (instead of organiza*tion*). In contrast to first cluster of works the focus here shifts from explaining how organization is perceived as an entity (or noun) to how organizing as a process (or verb) is accomplished. This shift reflects the increasing attention that organizational scholars are paying to processual perspectives. From these perspectives, organizations are best understood not as stable and enduring entities, but as ongoing and precarious flows of practice (e.g., Ford & Harding, 2004; Hernes, 2014; Tsoukas & Chia, 2002; Weick, 1979). Similarly, in CCO thinking, communication

is usually framed as an open-ended process that generates meanings and connects or relates various elements (Bencherki, 2016; Cooren, 2015; Putnam & Boys, 2006). Although existing perspectives on communication diverge with respect to how they engage with materiality, as well as to what they recognize as participating in communication (Ashcraft et al., 2009), works that emphasize communication as a verb seek to reveal how organizing emerges in and through practices of communicative co-orientation.

In other words, the starting point for these works is the process of communication itself, because communication is understood to display inherent ordering or organizing properties. Accordingly, works that espouse this view are interested not so much in exploring "the" organization, but the value of considering the formative role of communication in relation to particular organizing practices, such as establishing the trajectory of corporate social responsibility initiatives (Christensen et al., 2013), the role of rituals in decision-making (Koschmann & McDonald, 2015), or the establishment of the routines that enable organizing to persist (Wright, 2016).

Conceptions of the relation between communication and organization. The two *OS* articles we chose for this section—by Rennstam (2012) as well as by Porter, Kuhn, and Nerlich (in press) both focus on the formative role of communication and its material manifestations in particular organizing practices. For instance, in an ethnographic study of a Swedish company that supplied telecommunication technologies for mobile phones, Rennstam noted that objects *participated* in the work of engineers by shaping and stabilizing relations of authority. He began with a conceptual distinction between technical objects and objects of knowledge, borrowed from Knorr-Cetina (1999). *Technical objects* are instruments, taken for granted and uninterrogated during organizing; *objects of knowledge* (or *epistemic objects*) are always unfinished, problematic, and open to construction (see also Ewenstein & Whyte, 2009; McGivern & Dopson, 2010; Miettinen & Virkkunen, 2005). For Rennstam, objects are lively elicitors of knowledge because they

interpellate people: "they puzzle and provoke and invite to action […] objects exert control by participating in the initiation and realization of knowing processes, where it is decided what to do and how to do it" (Rennstam, 2012: 1075). Furthermore, the distinction between technical and epistemic objects allowed him to consider how objects can sediment organizational relationships, act back upon humans, and actively shape knowledge and knowing—and decisions. Objectual interpellation, in other words, *is* communication.

In his work, Rennstam documents various efforts to grasp the possibilities associated with a particular object and to understand the consequences of deciding for or against a redesign. He observed how a "power amplifier" (PA), which had previously been treated as a technical object, emerged instead as an object of knowledge when clients requested a new phone design. Interpellation became evident as the PA participated in the production of organizational knowing by eliciting particular forms of knowledge in ways that aligned with the actors' (formal and informal) organizational positions. Early on, the PA *stabilized* organizational relationships, reinforcing engineering and management roles; later, the PA's ability to elicit knowledge created a new social order that rearranged the formal hierarchy. For Rennstam, the ongoing accomplishment of organizing is marked by objects that carry the residues of preceding organizing—residues that can be re-activated in the moment and, consequently, participate in the authoring of the organization's patterns and decisions. Rennstam thus denies a sharp distinction between communicating and organizing (see also Taylor, 1995) and, as a consequence, presents *knowing* as a practice that displays the communicative and object-oriented negotiation of organizational control.

A second example of the verb–verb tension can be seen in Porter et al.'s analysis (in press) of how authority is formed in the debate on climate change. Porter et al. focus on a process of organizing that transcends single organizations. They studied an online discussion forum in the Netherlands that enabled both climate scientists and climate-change skeptics to engage with one

another's stances. The forum was created after politicians and other actors questioned the science guiding the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), following an IPCC report that misidentified the amount of land in the Netherlands that is below sea level. The outcry over this error led the Dutch government to create a blog that could bring experts on all sides of the climate change debate into the conversation.

Not surprisingly, the discussion forum, as a key site on which public controversy unfolded, highlighted questions of authority with respect to climate science. Examining how authority is negotiated, Porter and her colleagues note that processes of organizing in public controversies differ from those in formal organizations, because authority in public controversies can be neither reduced to a participant's position in a hierarchy nor seen as the result of applying domain-specific expertise. Consequently, and in line with the concept of the verb–verb tension, the authors argued that authority is better understood as *authoring*; that is, the practice by which actors vie to inscribe their interests into a collective's decisional trajectory. For Porter et al., this practice is made up of *authoritative moves*, efforts to "write" that trajectory by making promises of value with respect to the problem at hand. Employing the notion of authoritative moves allowed Porter et al. (in press) to study the discursive positioning of selves and others. In the discussion forum, they located types of authoritative moves that organized the controversy by bridging, (de)coupling, or resisting this positioning. By portraying organizing as a communicative process of authoring, Porter et al. not only display the intricacies and contingencies involved in the debate on climate change, but also show authority to be a complex negotiatory practice. Actors who apply this practice position themselves and others, while simultaneously pursuing alliances and detachments that bolster their (and diminish their competitors') ability to author a collective's trajectory. Organizing, from this perspective, can be understood as a struggle over meanings; particularly in settings like public

controversies, investigating the process of authoring lays bare the complex and often paradoxical effects of efforts to coordinate collective action.

Insights into organizing. The verb–verb tension is indicative of perhaps the most explicit rejection of the notion that organizations are containers for communication—that communication occurs or flows within organizations (see also Axley, 1984; Putnam & Boys, 2006). In contrast to this notion, the perspective that views organizing as a communicative process of authoring proposes that communication and organization are *equivalent* (Smith, 1993) or "variant expressions for the same reality" (Taylor et al., 1996: 28). From this viewpoint, organization is portrayed as an ongoing accomplishment—as *organizing*.

Eschewing broad pronouncements and abstract claims regarding the value of process, the articles by Rennstam (2012) as well as by Porter, Kuhn, and Nerlich (in press) demonstrate the richness of "everyday" in practices of organizing. As Weeks, Ailon, and Brannen (2017, p. 731) argued in a recent *OS* special issue, studies of quotidian practices force analysts and readers to interrogate the taken for granted, yielding "unexpected, inductive insight" inaccessible to other approaches. Rennstam's paper (2012), for example, shows how the power amplifier (PA) we mentioned earlier was not merely the topic of conversations: when conjoined with other forms of agency, it participated in the constitution of a new (and ongoingly accomplished) social order. Similarly, Porter et al. (in press) demonstrate how investigating interactions on the climate-change blog through the lens of the communicating–organizing relationship revealed the complex negotiations involved in creating authority.

A second contribution of research on the verb–verb tension is that it highlights contradictions, tensions, and paradoxes in processes of organizing. These are central to the analysis in Porter et al.'s article (in press). The authors argue that public decisions are characterized by dialectical tensions in which actors' positionings are "entangled with other

opposing and resistant) positions" (pp. 5-6). Likewise, Rennstam shows that in processes of meaning-negotiation in which the PA was at issue, different forms of knowledge clashed with one another in processes of meaning negotiation in which the PA was at issue.

Tensions and paradoxes have gradually become understood as central and persistent elements of organizing that have been too long disregarded in organization theory (Putnam et al., 2016). In CCO scholarship, these elements are considered to be important driving forces for the communicative constitution of organization and organizing because they keep the very conversation-text dynamics going, which create the process of organizing in the first place (see also Vásquez et al., 2016).

(3) Verb–adjective tension: The communicative constitution of organizationality.

A third, and most recent, stream of works in CCO scholarship adds to the debate the idea of treating organization as neither noun nor verb, but as an adjective. This idea is inherent in the study of the communicative constitution of *organizationality*. Research in this stream opens up the focus of CCO scholarship beyond established forms of organization and organizing to explore other types of social phenomena, such as networks, markets, social movements, communities, and so on. A central question in this stream of research is what makes these phenomena more or less "organizational" (Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015; see also Ahrne & Brunsson, 2011; Ahrne, Brunsson & Seidl, 2016; Apelt et al., 2017). We argue that CCO scholarship lends itself particularly well to the study of various loose and fluid social phenomena, given that CCO scholarship, in its empirical focus on tracing the emergence of organization on the "terra firma" of local interactions (see Cooren et al., 2011), ultimately implies a "low threshold" view of what an organization is; in other words, from a CCO viewpoint, the organizational character of a social collective can emerge literally everywhere, whenever (human or non-human) actors come together to co-orient their actions and start acting on behalf of a collective other (see also Taylor & Cooren,

1997; Taylor & Van Every, 2000). In empirical terms, this means investigating not only formal and well-established exemplars of organization, but also more fluid and precarious social formations that one would not necessarily classify as organizations, but that can nevertheless be studied in terms of the degrees of organizationality that they reach. Such formations might include, e.g., terrorist networks, hacker collectives, bike commuter communities, and so on. An important implication of this theoretical focus is that the "organizationality" of a social phenomenon is not a binary question (i.e., it is not a question of yes or no), but rather a matter of degree; more specifically, a degree of (temporary) crystallization (Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015).

Conceptions of the relationship between communication and organization. The verb–adjective tension has its roots in early CCO scholarship. For instance, Taylor and Cooren (1997) asked in a widely cited article "what makes communication organizational?" (p. 409). This question implies that communicative processes and certain speech acts differ in the degree to which they make the emergence of organization, or the accomplishment of coordination and control, more likely (see also Cooren, 2004).

Two good examples of this theoretical angle are the *OS* articles by Wilhoit and Kisselburgh (2015) and by Haug (2013) that we have included in this section. The article by Wilhoit and Kisselburgh (2015) is concerned with the phenomenon of bicycle commuting—not a typical subject matter for the discipline of organization studies as such, but within the subject area of sociology more broadly. Drawing on an empirical study of a bike commuter community at a college in the American Midwest (i.e., in a car commuter culture where cycling to work is rather uncommon), the authors vividly demonstrate that certain forms of collective action that arise among the commuters can be seen as forms of organizing (see also Bennett & Segerberg, 2012), even when the participants do not see themselves as members of an organization in the sense of a collective entity. In this regard, the study by Wilhoit and Kisselburgh (2015) is in line with other

works in the CCO literature that argue for switching the focus of research from individual human actors onto communicative events or communicative practices as the constitutive elements of organizational endeavors (see Bencherki & Snack, 2016; Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015). Strikingly, Wilhoit and Kisselburgh (2015) demonstrate that in the community they studied, collective action emerged as a form of "spatial resistance," which refers to the cyclists' attempts to reclaim spaces and infrastructures that were primarily designed to serve the purposes of car drivers or pedestrians. The authors ascribe a powerful and performative role to non-human actors and material configurations that stabilize bike commuting practices as the form of spatial resistance – importantly, in some cases even without the conscious awareness of the human actors who partake in these practices (see also Rennstam, 2012, as discussed above).

In a similar vein, Haug (2013) studies social phenomena that take place outside the boundaries of formal organizations. More specifically, he examines the role of meetings as an important "backstage" infrastructure that gives stability to social movements that tend to be rather loose and fluid in character. In a nutshell, Haug (2013) distinguishes between two dimensions of meetings: first, the actual performance of a meeting in interactions between participants (the activity dimension) and meetings as arenas or institutionalized spaces in which such interactions can occur (the structure dimension). Haug zooms in particularly on meeting arenas by asking how this form of social order can emerge and become stabilized over time. To answer this question, he draws on the notion of "partial organization" (Ahrne & Brunsson , 2011) and argues that meeting arenas can be seen as a form of partial organization or at least as a social space that can be organizational to some degree (i.e., the "adjective" dimension in its pure form). In this sense, Haug's article resembles the Luhmannian variant of CCO scholarship (see Schoeneborn, 2011) in that he suggests that it is the emergence of decisional communication that constitutes meeting arenas as temporary and partial organizations (see also Ahrne, Brunsson & Seidl, 2016; Apelt et al., 2017).

At the same time, this focus reveals fundamental overlap of CCO scholarship (e.g., Cooren et al., 2011) with the notion of partial organization by Ahrne and Brunsson (2011): both approaches tend to grasp organization as a "fragile order" (Haug, 2013: 716) or as continuous "attempts to create a specific order" (Ahrne & Brunsson, 2011: 90). It is because of this inherent fragility that meeting arenas, as organizations, cannot be stable forms of social order if they are not scaffolded by "neighboring" social orders such as networks (i.e., interpersonal relations based on trust) and institutions (i.e., taken-for-granted beliefs and norms).

Importantly, even though Haug (2013) confines his arguments to the role of meetings in social movements, we believe that these theoretical considerations can be extended to the study of organizations more generally. His theorizing raises the fundamental question of whether decisional communication can bring forth organizations as social phenomena (i.e., organizations) at all and whether organizations can only survive if they are stabilized additionally by other, complementary forms of social order (such as networks or institutions).

Insights into organizationality. Wilhoit and Kisselburgh's study (2015) is, in our view, most closely aligned to the idea of a "low-threshold" concept of organization. Indeed, their article is a promising candidate for unleashing the potential of CCO scholarship by prompting scholars to rethink what an organization is, where it starts, and where it ends. Moreover, their article demonstrates how scholars can address the "chicken-and-egg" paradox that is inherent in CCO scholarship; in other words, the question of what comes first: organization or communication? While the majority of empirical studies in CCO scholarship tend to rely on already well-established and formal exemplars of organizational communication or organization, on the whole they tend to fall short in providing evidence for one of the key assumptions in CCO thinking; namely, that communication predates organization and plays a formative role in organization. In contrast to those works, Wilhoit and Kisselburgh (2015) identify traces of organizationality in

communicative practices that take place beyond what we would typically classify as an organization and, in doing so, manage to bring the constitutive and formative role of communication more clearly to the fore.

Taken together, the two articles that we chose for this section share not only an interest in organizational phenomena beyond the boundaries of formal organization, but also the emphasis they place on the importance of material and spatial configurations to explain how communicative practices gain stability and how organizationality is accomplished. One main difference between the two articles points to an important research gap in CCO scholarship: while the study by Haug (2013) is concerned with how organizationality is established intentionally by actors in a social movement, the study by Wilhoit and Kisselburgh (2015), underlines the non-intentional emergence of organizationality in the bike commuters' collective.

Despite such contributions, the theoretical toolset available to CCO scholarship remains limited. This is partly because scholars largely neglect the cognitive level of analysis in their attempts to distinguish, explain, and compare strategic and emergent forms of the communicative constitution of organization, organizing, and organizationality. We suggest that future research on the verb–adjective tension pursues further the avenue that Haug (2013) has begun to explore, to investigate how CCO scholarship cross-connects with other recent works in organization theory that similarly seek to examine under which conditions and for what reasons organizers choose (in the broadest sense of these two terms) to establish forms of organizing beyond formal organization (e.g., Ahrne & Brunsson, 2011; Ahrne, Brunsson, & Seidl, 2016; Mumby, 2016).

Concluding remarks and outlook

Our article contributes to organization studies in three main ways, as we will elaborate in the following: First, our article offers a novel way of systematizing the three main theoretical orientations in CCO scholarship: theorizing the communicative constitution of organization, of organizing, and of organizationality.

Most typically, the focus of CCO scholarship has been placed on *the communicative constitution of "the" organization* as a noun or entity, while the relation between communication and organization is imagined as a constitutive link between the two: organization as an entity is created and sustained through a symbolic-material process of meaning-making. The tension between "communication" as a process and "organization" as an entity (see also Nicotera, 2013; Schoeneborn et al., 2016) provides the theoretical impetus becomes visible, for instance, in the article by Taylor (2011), where the locus of an organization's constitution is placed on ongoing communicative processes of imbrication.

In contrast, most works that focus on *the communicative constitution of organizing* do not necessarily engage in ontological reflections on what "the" organization is and how it comes into being. Accordingly, the constitutive relation turns into a formative one; in other words, these words seek to understand how certain forms of talk and text foster or perform practices of organizing. The theoretical impetus in this stream of literature does not originate from the fundamental differences between verbs and nouns, but rather from the tension between different types of processes or activities; namely, communicating and organizing. These works also investigate the degree to which certain types of talk create the authority and connectivity that are necessary to accomplish organizing (Porter et al., in press; see also Christensen et al., 2013; Ford & Ford, 1995).

The final theoretical orientation in CCO thinking, which rests on *the communicative constitution of organizationality*, turns the tension in the other two theoretical streams upside down. Here, the *explanandum* is neither a verb nor a noun, but rather an adjective or an attribute of yet a different entity or process. For instance, in their study of a bike commuters' collective, Wilhoit and Kisselburgh (2015) demonstrate how to study through the CCO lens a social phenomenon that is not typically seen as an organization. By applying this lens, the authors were able to pick up the traces of organizationality that can be found in a social collective that is as loose and fluid as that of workday commuters. In such cases, the relation between communication and organizationality becomes a matter of degree (see, e.g., Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015).

Second, our new systematization of CCO scholarship also offers a research agenda and illuminates theoretical pathways that would be worthwhile to be further developed and advanced. While the three theoretical orientations we have identified in CCO scholarship jointly provide a rich, complex set of interrelated theoretical inquiries, they differ strongly in the degree of maturity they have reached along their development. For instance, research on the verb–noun tension has been part of CCO scholarship since its very beginning, whereas research on the verb–adjective tension emerged only very recently. These latter works, by focusing on organization as an adjective, are suggesting that we study how social phenomena accomplish "organizationality" in and through communication. With this overview, we aim to spark further research into this recent and comparably less explored area, because we believe that a communication-centered explanation can make it significantly easier to grasp a range of contemporary phenomena that fall outside the common understanding of what an organization is, such as hacker communities (Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015), terrorist networks (Bean & Buikema, 2015), or crowdfunding platforms (Nielsen, 2018). As a result, developing further this avenue of research would allow CCO thinking to make an important contribution to organizational scholarship by helping it expand the range of

phenomena that can be studied through an organizational lens. Furthermore, this would allow CCO scholarship to go beyond the classical phenomena range of organization studies and to become a springboard for studying larger changes in socio-economic life that have been captured by the concepts of "communicative capitalism" (Dean, 2005; Mumby, 2016) or "communicative labor" (Arvidsson, 2010; Greene, 2004).

Accordingly, we invite future research in CCO scholarship to explore the changing communicative conditions that have allowed a broad "zoology" of organizational phenomena to emerge. With this expanded understanding of what organization can be, organizational scholarship can be reinterpreted as a field united by a common theoretical impetus, rather than solely by a joint interest in a subject area; that is, by the study of social phenomena *as* organization, rather than by the study *of* organizations as social phenomena. At the same time, developing CCO scholarship further in this direction will also help sharpen its distinctiveness and value in relation to neighboring theoretical traditions (e.g., on metaphors, narratives, or discourse) that are not as explicitly concerned with the ontogenesis of organization, organizing, and organizationality.

On a final note, our article has addressed more explicitly the differences of CCO scholarship in comparison to neighboring works in organization studies that draw on the study of metaphors, narratives, or discourse . As we have argued, the distinct value of CCO scholarship vis-à-vis these works lies in its fundamental interest in the ontology and, more specifically, the ontogenesis of organizational phenomena. Furthermore, CCO scholarship offers explanations to ontological questions of organization existence in the form of tensions that typically oscillate between processuality and entitativity (see also Nicotera, 2013; Schoeneborn et al., 2016). However, even if our article has carved out some distinctiveness of CCO scholarship within the larger realm of language-focused perspectives in organization studies, we believe that fruitful and

under-utilized potentials especially lies at the intersections of CCO scholarship with other, epistemologically compatible theoretical lenses.

Besides works on metaphor, narratives, and discourses, we identify such potential, for instance, in exploring the links between CCO scholarship and recent variants of neo-institutional theory that have been summarized und the notion of "communicative institutionalism" (Cornelissen, Durand, Fiss, Lammers, & Vaara, 2015). These works exhibit compatibility to CCO scholarship by conceptualizing institutions as emergent structures of meaning—where meaning is not merely a representation of actors' cognitions—that occur only in and through communicative practices (see also Lammers, 2011). Although communicative institutionalism is a relatively new entrant into a field with a good deal of conceptual momentum, it holds the potential to reconfigure how this field understands the locus of institutional emergence and change and, in so doing, to shift the site in which institutional (micro)foundations are believed to operate (see Felin, Foss, & Ployhart, 2015; Powell & Rerup, 2016). At the same time, the analytical shift from the communicative constitution of organization to the communicative constitution of institutions (a twist on the verb–noun tension we discussed earlier) can help CCO scholarship move beyond its primary focus on existing, formal organizations and become part of a broader theoretical endeavor that explores the communicative constitution of social realities (Cooren, 2012) and their (potentially increasing) organizationality (Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015).

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Explanans	Tension/type of explanation	Explanandum

communication/ communicating (as verb or process)

(1) verb-noun tension: mutual constitution

Blaschke et al. (2012)   *Taylor (2011)*   *Kuhn (2008)*

organization (as noun or entity)

communication/ communicating (as verb or process)

(2) verb-verb tension: formative relation

Porter et al. (in press)   *Rennstam (2012)*

organizing (as verb or process)

communication/ communicating (as verb or process)

(3) verb-adjective tension: degrees of crystallization

organizationality (as adjective or attribute)

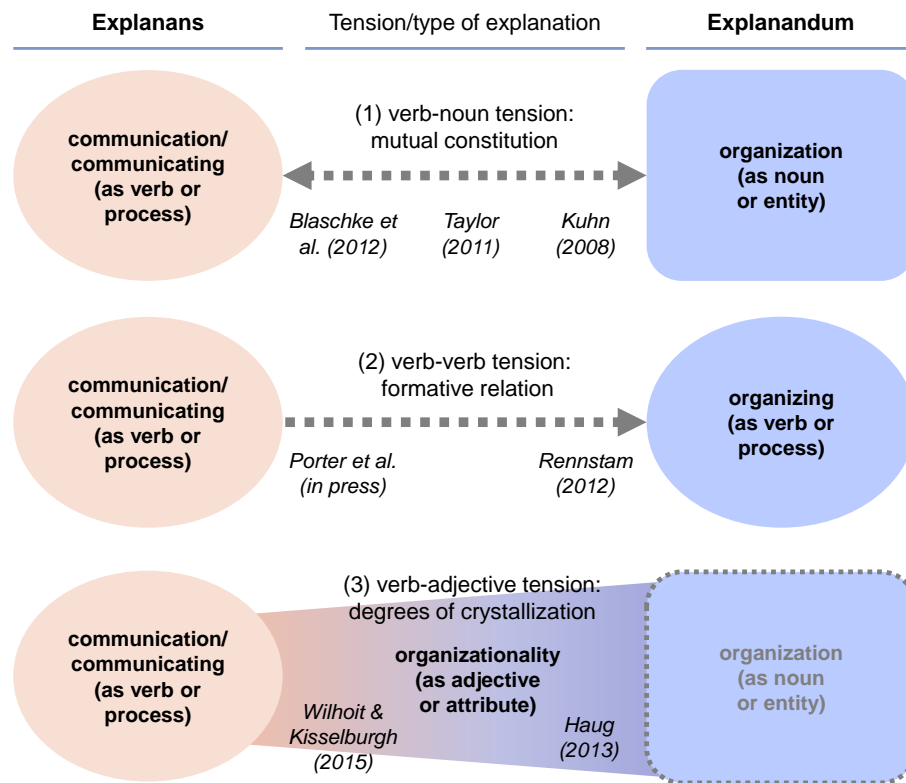*Wilhoit & Kisselburgh (2015)*   *Haug (2013)*

organization (as noun or entity)

Figure 1: Three forms of tension in CCO scholarship