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THE MINISTRY OF DESIRE

- ANXIETY AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN A BUREAUCRACY

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CBS COPENHAGEN BUSINESS SCHOOL
HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

The Ministry of Desire

Anxiety and entrepreneurship in a bureaucracy

Hallur Tor Sigurdarson

Monument of the Unknown Bureaucrat by Magnús Tómasson

Supervisor: Daniel Hjorth

Doctoral School in Organization and Management Studies

Copenhagen Business School

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The Ministry of Desire
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The Doctoral School of Organisation and Management Studies (OMS) is an
interdisciplinary research environment at Copenhagen Business School for
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organisation and management of private, public and voluntary organizations.

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Reykjavík, June 2016

Hallur Þór Sigurðarson

Executive Summary

This study enquires into the capacity of a Ministerial Department to entrepreneur.

Since the early 1980s there has been a call for entrepreneurship and innovation in the public sector. The call became an international discourse with considerable implications for public administration. Accordingly, bureaucracy is a ubiquitous hindrance for entrepreneurial practices and many of the solutions proposed for public sector bureaucracy draw on research and practices in the private sector and are guided by economic rationality. Instead of adopting this common critique and its set of solutions, in this dissertation a different approach is developed to enquire into the capacity of a bureaucratically organised Ministerial Department to entrepreneur. The approach involves an emphasis on *local practices*, *affects* and *movements* in an ethnographically inspired study. The result is also an idea – local and contextual – of the relationship between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy, which is distant from the entrepreneurship/bureaucracy dichotomy.

The approach developed in this study draws inspiration from the European School/tradition in entrepreneurship studies. This recent stream of research has voiced a loud plea for the field to *experiment* with ways of absorbing and writing with movements and processes. While responding to this plea, I experiment by enacting empirical events in a series of loosely coupled 'figurations'. These then become the point of origin for an affect-based theorisation of entrepreneurial practices in the Department, making principal use of Deleuze's reading of Spinoza. Hence, experimenting with the development of a way to write and enquire into movements and processes is one important aim of this study.

During the course of the study, an *anxious organisational mood* emerged. Anxiety is found to permeate practices in the Department and becomes especially vivid in the development of new initiatives. The intensity of the anxious mood is found to be affected by two immanent organisational desires: *the desire to secure* and *the desire to serve*. The Department will commonly preconfigure and organise encounters towards a balance between its desires to secure and to serve. While this practice connects with Weberian-bureaucracy's calculative rationality, it pertains to affects of fear towards novelty and taking risk. On the other hand, if

the organisation enters into encounters where adequate service demands less security, the Department demonstrates an ability to *respond creatively* in encounters, for example by engaging in new practices and developing novel ideas. Thus, it is argued that the Department's capacity to entrepreneur corresponds to its ability to respond to/in encounters. In this respect, the most critical encounters are those concerning collaboration with Ministers, underlining the importance of political leadership for the organisation's entrepreneurial capacity. But collaborating with two different Ministers, one after the other during the time of this study, affected the Department's capacity to entrepreneur in significantly different ways. Correspondingly, the study shows a bureaucratic organisation, anxious but also highly sensitive, whose capacity to entrepreneur can be catalysed in encounters involving affects pertaining to, for example, openness, playfulness, informality and flexibility.

The rule-based and hierarchical behaviour characteristic for bureaucracy works to calm and balances the Department's anxious mood. But the Department's practices and flexibility are not bound by this as a limitation. Instead, it is argued that the Department's capacity to entrepreneur can even gain from bureaucracy – that is to say, from its non-inclusive *ethos*, contributing to the ability to encounter each new Minister with heightened sensitivity and responsiveness to his/her movements, finding ways to move *with* each Minister and creating what Spinoza would call *common notions*.

After discussing how the anxious mood and movements of the Department inform and are informed by various theoretical insights pertaining to the relationship between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy, lessons will be drawn. These lessons, belonging in particular to the intersection between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy, inform ideas of *entrepreneurial bureaucracy*, *bureaucratic entrepreneurship* and *entrepreneurial leadership in bureaucracy*. Finally, I reflect on having experimented with process and make suggestions for future experimentation.

Dansk resumé

Denne afhandling undersøger et Ministerielt Departements entreprenante kapacitet.

Siden begyndelsen af 1980'erne, har der været opfordret til øget entreprenørskab og innovation i den offentlige sektor. Opfordringen blev hurtigt del af en international diskurs med væsentlige implikationer i den offentlige sektor. Ifølge denne diskurs er bureaukratiet en allestedsnærværende hindring for entreprenant praksis, men løsningerne herpå trækker ofte på erfaringer fra den private sektor, styret af økonomisk rationalitet og effektivitet. I stedet for blot at godtage premisserne for denne kritik, bliver der i denne afhandling udviklet en tilgang til at undersøge et Ministerielt Departement kapacitet til at iværksætte. Tilgangen indebærer fokus på lokal praksis, affekter og bevægelse i et etnografisk inspireret studie. Resultatet af dette studie er en alternativ forståelse af relationen mellem entreprenørskab og bureaukrati.

Studiet drager inspiration fra den europæiske skole / tradition for iværksætterstudier. Her har der været en kraftig opfordring til at eksperimentere med forskellige måder at forske på, i et forsøg på, at opfange entreprenante bevægelser og processer. Som svar på denne opfordring, bliver der i afhandlingen eksperimenteret med at 'performe' empiriske begivenheder i en række løst koblede 'figurationer'. Figurationerne danner derefter udgangspunkt for en affekt-baseret teoretisering af entreprenant praksis i Departementet. Forståelsen af affekter i afhandlingen gør brug af Deleuzes læsning af Spinoza. Kort sagt, at eksperimentere med proces-forskning er, i sig selv, et vigtigt sigte i denne afhandling.

I løbet af forskningsprocessen opstod idéen om en organisation i angst. Angsten siver ind i Departementets praksis, og bliver især tydelig i udviklingen af nye initiativer. Intensiteten af den ængstelige stemning er påvirket af to immanente organisatoriske ønsker (desire): ønsket om at sikre og ønsket om at tjene. Departementet forsøger generelt at forud-konfigurere og organisere begivenheder på en måde, hvor der er balance imellem ønsket om at sikre og ønsket om at tjene. Denne praksis relaterer til bureaukratiets kalkulerende rationalitet, og den afledte affekt af angst for det nye og for at tage risiko.

På den anden side, beskriver afhandlingen hvordan Departementet, hvis det indgår i visse relationer hvor tjeneste indebærer krav om nyudvikling og entreprenørskab, demonstrerer kapacitet og evne til at reagere kreativt, for eksempel ved at engagere sig i nye praksisser og udvikling af nye idéer. Således defineres Departementets entreprenante kapacitet som evnen til at reagere på/i begivenheder. I denne henseende er de mest kritiske begivenheder dem, der vedrører samarbejde med ministre, hvilket samtidig understreger vigtigheden af politisk lederskab i forhold til entreprenørskab. To forskellige ministre besad embedet, i løbet af feltarbejdet til dette studie. Med markant forskellige måder at lede på, påvirkede de den organisatoriske kapacitet udi entreprenørskab på forskellige måder. Departementet viser sig herigennem at være sanselig og lydhør i sin angst, hvilket kommer til udtryk ved en entreprenant kapacitet katalyseret gennem møder og relationer, når disse, for eksempel, involverer affekter som åbenhed, leg, lighed og fleksibilitet.

Selvom den regelbaserede og hierarkiske adfærd, der er karakteristisk for bureaukratiet, letter og afbalancerer Departementets ængstelige stemning, er organisationens praksis ikke som sådan bundet af denne adfærd. I stedet viser det sig, at Departementets entreprenante kapacitet kan vinde ved at bureaukratiets ikke-inkluderende etos kan bidrage positivt til entreprenante reaktioner i en organisation med skiftende ministre. Dette bidrager til et møde med ministrene, præget af intens sanselighed og lydhørhed over for deres bevægelser, som udmøntes i at organisationen er klar til at bevæge sig aktivt med ministrene. Når det lykkes kan det skabe hvad Spinoza ville kalde fælles forestillinger (common notions).

Efter en detaljeret diskussion vedrørende hvordan den ængstelige stemning og bevægelser i Departementet informerer og bliver informeret af et udvalg af teoretiske indsigter vedrørende forholdet mellem entreprenørskab og bureaukrati, konkluderes der, hvorledes nye tanker om entreprenant bureaukrati, bureaukratiske entreprenørskab og entreprenant lederskab i bureaukrati, kan bidrage til vores forståelse af skæringspunktet mellem entreprenørskab og bureaukrati. Til slut reflekteres der over dette studie som et eksperiment i proces-forskning, med forslag til videre eksperimenter.

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[The world's best workplace]

The Minister is running a few minutes late. Then suddenly he appears in the courtyard, walks quickly up the stairs and enters the house. We shake hands and move into his office; he sits down by his desk with his iPad, possibly to update his Facebook page.

I drink a glass of water and then pour coffee into a white cup and take a sip.

Having problems with the internet?, I hear myself say when the Minister sighs in irritation in front of the computer. But I should definitely not say anything bad about the IT system, I remind myself. I've learned that it is not the smartest thing for an 'outsider' to bad-mouth things, not even an IT-system that the officials despise.

The Minister falls heavily into a chair to my left. He glances quickly at the large painting above my head: a lone ship sailing in deep blue waters. Is it sinking?

He is about to turn sixty, and his once-blond hair will soon be completely grey. He is wearing a dark-grey sweater with a checked white and blue shirt underneath, unbuttoned at the top. The jeans are blueish-grey and the sneakers he's wearing are blue with white laces. He is not quite sitting in the chair at the moment, rather half-lying – reminds of my own posture, while watching TV.

So?, he starts*.*

I offer my gratitude for the invitation to do a study on the Department: *… I want to focus on the collaborative relationship between the Minister and the Department and the development projects in the pipeline.*

The Minister picks up from my outlining of my project and elaborates at length about his organisational ambitions and observations: *I want to make the Ministry the world's best workplace! I want it to be a space for different opinions, where everybody can speak their minds. Already I can see a lot of changes since I started. If you'd been at meetings before now,*

you'd have seen that the Deputy Managers didn't say very much; the Office Managers would say less and the specialists wouldn't say anything …

[Serving a Minister]

How would you describe the role of the Ministry?
Senior Official: *By Ministry you mean Department?*
Uh… yes.
Senior Official: *My understanding is that the Department … that we should be a Minister's secretary. That means that we … that our foremost task is to serve a Minister with regard to what it is a specific Minister needs. This entails helping to draft new laws for parliament and it includes being either fully or partially – what should we say? – formulating policy. That is, making policy suggestions to the Minister. We are the ones who listen to what political signals Ministers are sending, that is, what kind of cultural policy do they want? Typically, they don't have a very detailed agenda or plan, no 'now you should do this and that', but they want to move in a certain direction. It is then our obligation to come up with concrete political suggestions and initiatives – to formulate and propose them to a Minister, having taken into account his or her general views. So, our proposals should respond to the things Ministers want – politically.*

[Nervousness]

Specialist: "*We have got the minister-accountability law, saying that if there is a failure, the smallest failure, then it could overthrow the Minister. And we have the State Audit, and we have the Ministry of Finance, and so on who observe us; and then we have the public, and we have some politicians ready to chop down any Minister, just like this, if only they get the chance. These are the conditions. And this produces a certain nervousness in our organisation*".

Chapter I: Introduction – Process, Entrepreneurship and Bureaucracy in a Ministerial Department

Whoever has learned to be anxious in the right way has learned the ultimate.

Søren Kierkegaard in *The Concept of Anxiety*

We begin in the middle, claiming nothing other than that an *idea* has emerged, a consciousness of an *anxious mood* in a Ministerial Department of Culture. The 17th century philosopher Baruch Spinoza claimed that every idea has its origin in external affects – but which affects? Was the anxious mood something experienced while observing meetings in the Department; was it stimulated by utterances in interviews or was it my own personal anxiety? Surely, it is all this and more, combined with the ability of imagination to move beyond accidental affects. An anxious organisation. The idea emerged and with it a tension imposing action. The action is in these pages where the idea of anxiety is developed, even catalysed, in the organisational context from which it emerged.

There was another earlier idea and action. It was an invitation to do fieldwork in the Ministerial Department of Culture. The invitation was accepted with intentions to inquire into matters related to development work, for example, policy development and collaboration between Minister and Ministerial Department. In other words, there was a fairly broad entrepreneurial interest guiding fieldwork from beginning to end. This may sound odd. The term organisational entrepreneurship does not usually produce mental images of government departments, or public offices in general. The Apples and the Googles, or other high-tech companies (usually located in close proximity to each other) are more likely candidates.

Ministerial departments, like the one that is the object of inquiry, are usually organised as a bureaucracy. But bureaucracies have a reputation (transcending management, political and social studies) for being immune to, or for prohibiting, entrepreneurial activities. For instance,

Reis and Betton (1990: 21) make a common observation claiming that '[b]ureaucracy has impeded the full flow of creative effort in organizations'. Accordingly, government officials are not perceived to be particularly inventive. Also characteristic of the long-standing critique of bureaucracy is Balzac's (2000: 10-11) harsh description of 19th century French officials: 'No one comes or stays in the government office but idlers, incapables, or fools.'

The dichotomy between public office bureaucracy and private office entrepreneurship runs deep, encompassing the distinction between public and private sectors as two different animals. The foundation of the polarity between bureaucracy and entrepreneurship already appears in Weber´s seminal work from the 1920s, *Economy and Society* (1978). It is almost natural to interpret Weber's associations of bureaucracy with *dehumanised* objectivity and scientific rationality, as being the ultimate ends of bureaucracy. Correspondingly, the bureaucratic *ideal* is a rule-based hierarchical machine, which has gained a dogmatic status in organisation studies.

Some of the most influential initiatives of recent decades to renew or even transform the public office come from the UK. The beginning of this development can be traced back to Thatcherism in the 1980s and to the 'New Labour' government from 1997 to 2010. For instance, the explicit claim of UK's 'New Labour' was to transform the public sector from consisting of unresponsive, paternalistic and leaden bureaucracies, to quality-oriented, flexible and responsive organisations (Clarke & Newman, 1997; Du Gay, 2000b). One of the most influential publications on the topic of entrepreneurship and bureaucracy is arguably Osborne and Gaebler's (1992) book: *Reinventing Government – How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector*. As the title states, the authors identify an entrepreneurial *spirit*, which, they say, is taking over public offices and replacing the spirit, the *ethos*, of the bureau that Weber famously talked about. The logic of this entrepreneurial spirit is the logic of enterprise and the market, i.e. a public sector promoting *competition*, focusing on *outcomes*, driven by a *mission*, *decentralising* governance and earning money (ibid.: 19-20).

Furthermore, there is a large discourse around the perceived inabilities of bureaucracy to 'do' entrepreneurship, influencing both public and private organisations. The discourse invents and

promotes post-bureaucratic ways of organising, better-suited for a post-industrial society, characterised by heightened competition, globalisation and the need for perpetual innovations. Post-bureaucracies, encompassing various organisational forms, are frequently considered to be the opposite of bureaucracy, i.e. they are to be decentralised, flexible, team- and network-based, and leverage creativity (cf. Höpfl, 2006; Reed, 2011).

In the meantime, this study affirms a need for and an interest in entrepreneurship in the public sector (e.g. Currie, Humphreys, Ucbasaran, & McManus, 2008; Diefenbach, 2011; Hjorth, 2003; Kearney, Hisrich, & Roche, 2008; Kovalainen & Sundin, 2012). Size, influence and the growing challenges of the public sector call for entrepreneurial practices and solutions (e.g. inequality, ageing population, climate change, terrorism and refugees). In this study I do not assume *a priori* that a dichotomy between bureaucracy and entrepreneurship exists. Interestingly, despite the common interpretation of Weberian-bureaucracy as rigid and mechanical, there are also clear indications of the importance of entrepreneurial activities, combined with a capacity in public administration to act entrepreneurially. We find this entrepreneurial tension, for example, in encounters between politicians and the State system, i.e. ministers and civil servants. Accordingly, a functioning democracy, mediating the will of citizens, requires that entrepreneurship can happen in the public sector. And here government departments play a vital role, not least because of their close proximity to elected politicians. Weber (1978: 1403) describes the governing minister in the same way and at the same time as he describes an entrepreneur: a 'moving spirit' and 'directing mind'.[1] Both minister and entrepreneur are said to have a *leading position* that differentiates their role from that of the official.

> Actually, it is more accurate to say that [a governing minister] is *supposed* to be something different. And so it is indeed. If a man in a leading position is an "official" in the spirit of his performance, no matter how qualified a man, that is, who works dutifully and honourably according to rules and instruction, then he is useless at the helm of […] government. (1978: 1403–1404, emphasis in original)

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[1] An entrepreneur for Weber is an owner and director of a firm.

Accordingly, politically elected ministers are not supposed to submit to order and obey rules if they do not support their ambitions and agenda. Weber then later states that the only difference between the entrepreneurial minister and the official is 'in the kind of performance' and responsibility expected (1978: 1404). He continues:

> The idea that the bureaucrat is absorbed in subaltern routine and that
> only the "director" performs the interesting, intellectually demanding
> tasks is a preconceived notion of the literati (ibid.)

We can infer, at least for now, that entrepreneurship is not deterministically absent from the work of officials in government departments and bureaucracy, and its spirit cannot be confined in any person. Without actively collaborating with civil servants, a minister would certainly have a difficult time making any kind of change or having any influence. It follows that it is a claim, emerging from this study, that government departments, in order to function and be successful at solving their tasks, need to have a capacity to 'entrepreneur'. And that entrepreneurship is not incompatible with structured and routinised environments like departmental bureaucracies (cf. Hjorth, 2004; Styhre, 2007).

Following an interest in organisational entrepreneurship and a perception of anxiety, the question and curiosity that guides the study unfolded in this dissertation is the following:

> *How does the Department's capacity to 'entrepreneur' unfold in the context of an*
> *anxious organisational mood?*

The question implies that there are multiple ways to converse entrepreneurial capacity in the Department, but here the focus is on showing how organisational entrepreneurship pertains to the anxiety perceived to 'surround' practices in the Department. Moreover, the question entails a particular empirical interest in the development of new initiatives in the Department, perceived as examples of organisational entrepreneurship, and the relationships between two consecutive Ministers and the Department.

For the remainder of this chapter themes of the study are introduced. First, I establish the preliminary outlines of the empirical field, the Department, and the fieldwork. Having already

introduced the tension between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy, the second section introduces entrepreneurship studies and how they become relevant to the current inquiry. The third section follows up on a stream of research within entrepreneurship studies which encourages thought and research to also become entrepreneurial, i.e. with process thinking and experimenting. This section also introduces the concept of affects as one way of thinking and doing process research. The chapter ends when I have outlined the aims and contributions of the study, along with providing an overview for the content of the remaining chapters.

Fieldwork and the Department

As we begin unfolding this study there is a need to provide a brief empirical context. The practical experiences were central to how the study was conducted and how it unfolded. The main empirical component of this study is based on fieldwork in a Ministerial Department of Culture, which is referred to simply as 'the Department' for the remainder of this doctoral thesis.[2] Fieldwork was primarily based on observations and interviews, in all covering a period of more than twelve months in 2012 and 2013. Central to the observations was a selection of development projects (non-routine), formally initiated by a Minister, and then involving collaboration between Minister and Department. However, a substantial amount of time and effort would also be used observing or in other ways getting to know daily practices and the organisation more generally. This would include lunches in the canteen, divisional and team meetings, and political meetings with ministers. I became a resident in one of the two core departments in the Ministry, between which jurisdictions were divided. I had a desk there (not always the same one) and could come and go as I pleased. The development projects and my observations were not limited to operations or people in the Department. Observed events and meetings could involve people from different organisations and sectors.

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[2] The term 'Ministry' refers to the ministerial department *and* subordinate agencies. I will be using these terms accordingly.

A few things about the Department
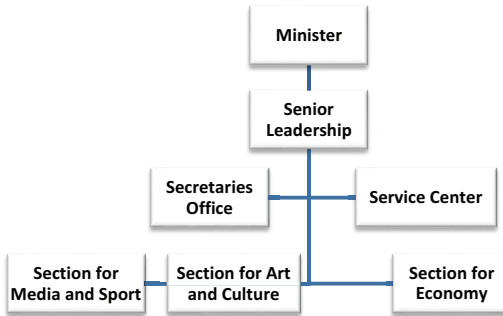
Fig. 1.1: A simple organisation chart for the Department.

It is customary, contributes to clarity, and makes a certain claim to truthfulness to provide a general context to empirical situations. But before doing so it needs to be noted that there is a methodological intension in this study to nurture openness in empirical accounts. This intention will be made clearer in following chapters. However, for now, it has the influence that the context provided below is limited to the purpose of assisting readers to develop their own understanding.

- The Department employed approximately 120 people, including students and temporary staff.
- The basic outline of the divisions in the Department was as follows:
  - At the top and closest to the Minister was the senior leadership: the Permanent Secretary and two Permanent Deputy Secretaries.
  - The Secretary's Office served the Minister and the senior officials directly; it employed around 30 people in all. The Secretary's Office also handled matters of communication and public relations, e.g. writing speeches, managing websites,

and participated actively in the development of new initiatives and their execution. Two Office Managers were responsible for administration and communication respectively.

- o The Section for Art and Culture was one of three core sections or departments with over 30 employees. Three Office Managers divided the responsibilities of different areas between them, e.g. in the areas of art education, cultural preservation, creative industries, informal youth and adult education, and international cultural collaboration.

- o Another core section, of approximately 20 employees, with two Office Managers, was The Section of Media and Sport.

- o The Section for Economy handled finances and financial control for the Department, of its agencies, and a few smaller cultural institutions. It had recently been moved into the Department instead of operating at the agency level.

- o Finally, the Service Centre looked after reception, local IT matters, and other internal services.

- About ministers:

  - o The Minister was the holder of democratic mandates to act and make decisions. Officials received their mandate from the Minister to act in matters.

  - o During the course of fieldwork two Ministers were in office, one after the other.

  - o The two consecutive Ministers had both been elected as members of parliament (MP) at the time.

  - o The Department had collaborated with four Ministers in the years between 2008 and 2013.

  - o The Minister did not function as the administrative head of the organisation. The administrative head of the Department was the Permanent Secretary. 'Permanent' meant that the position did not depend on the period of time that a particular Minister was in office.

- Additional framing of Department:

o The term 'Ministry', at least from an insider's perspective, also covers the agencies reporting to the Department. The term 'Department' was used to refer solely to the organisation closest to the Minister, which is the main empirical subject of this study. I will use this terminology for the remainder of this inquiry and, as mentioned, refer to the organisation as the Department.

o At the time, two agencies reported directly to the Department: One was more than double the size of the Department and the result of recent mergers of smaller agencies.

o The Department's senior management and office managers had several years or decades of experience within the public sector, having worked their way up through the public sector hierarchy.

o All civil servants retained their positions independent of any one Minister. The only exception was a Minister's political adviser(s) appointed by the Minister.

o A few years before fieldwork started the Department had begun to organise project groups to handle development of some of the non-routine initiatives, for example, policy development, campaigns and the organisation of conferences. The setup of these projects was usually that the members of the project groups were specialists from the Department, but also the Agency. There was then a steering group for the project, providing mandates to the project group and qualifying its ideas and decisions. The members of the steering group were the project members' superiors. The Departments' Deputy Secretaries would usually lead a given steering group.

Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship is introduced here at some length, not only as an important theoretical framework for the study but because it also provides an insight into the overall process and method perspective developed in later chapters. As mentioned above, it is entrepreneurship in relation to a bureaucratic organisation that is the main focus of the study. However, bureaucracy and its relationship to entrepreneurship are discussed in further detail in the next chapter.

The rise of entrepreneurship studies

At least since Schumpeter (1883–1950) began writing about entrepreneurship it has been seen as critical for achieving economic growth. This became a more generally perceived truth in the 1970s when studies began to show that Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) generated a larger portion of economic and employment growth than had been assumed (cf. Birch, 2000). In the 1980s and 1990s entrepreneurship became a central political concept. In the Anglo-American context Thatcher's UK and Reagan's US were faced with tough economic challenges, especially at the beginning of their terms of office, including low economic growth and high unemployment. Under these circumstances entrepreneurship was offered as a solution. Entrepreneurship became a highly encouraged political and economic priority. Entrepreneurs, especially successful company founders, gained heroic status. Managers saw the benefits of shifting their self-narrative towards becoming entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship was studied as a managerial skill – a way of managing (cf. Hjorth, 2003; Steyaert & Katz, 2004). Consequently, entrepreneurship studies were (re)born as a subordinate branch of management studies, inheriting theories and methods from management, rather than creating their own.

Focus in entrepreneurship studies was at first limited to the creation of new enterprises (Low & MacMillan, 1988). But it would soon expand and shift towards an emphasis on practices of entrepreneurship. Established organisations became objects of study and concepts like 'corporate entrepreneurship' (Burgelman, 1983); 'intrapreneurship' or 'intrapreneuring' (Antoncic & Hisrich, 2003; Pinchot III, 1985); and 'organisational entrepreneurship' (Hjorth, 2012a) have been introduced. The popularity of the term, entrepreneurship, has continued to grow. It has become a 'buzz word' of our time, fuelled by periods of significant growth (e.g. the DOTCOM growth of the late 1990s and the growth of the financial sector in the 2000s) and challenges (e.g. the meltdown of the financial sector in 2008–9). But entrepreneurship has also moved beyond the realm of economy as, for example, 'community entrepreneurship' (Johannisson & Nilsson, 1989; Johnstone & Lionais, 2004), or the better-known term 'social entrepreneurship' (Barinaga, 2012); 'public entrepreneurship' (Hjorth & Bjerke, 2006); 'cultural entrepreneurship' (P. DiMaggio, 1982; Kuhlke, Schramme, & Kooyman, 2015); and 'public sector entrepreneurship' (Diefenbach, 2011).

Still, a managerial and enterprising perspective still dominates in entrepreneurship studies. At least three aspects characterise this prevailing strand of research. First, it frequently emphasises the individual entrepreneur, that is, what characterises the (usually male) entrepreneur. For instance, Zhao, Seibert, and Lumpkin (2010) claim *conscientiousness*, *extraversion*, and *openness to experience* correlate with entrepreneurial intentions and performance. Nicolaou, Shane, Cherkas, Hunkin and Spector (2008) hypothesise that genetic factors have a statistically significant and substantive effect on the propensity of people to engage in entrepreneurship. Researchers have also focused on the individual's environment, including ethnicity (Kalnins & Chung, 2006), family assets and job/life satisfaction (Blanchflower & Oswald, 1998). Second, due to the close relationship between entrepreneurship and private enterprise, studies have been preoccupied with monetary growth and the success of ventures. A critical aim is to discover what characterises these successful ventures and their environment (e.g. Carroll & Khessina, 2005; Sorenson & Audia, 2000). A third characteristic of this dominant discourse in entrepreneurship studies is an institutionalised interest in quantitative studies. Common to most quantitative studies is the assumption that number counts, averages, deviations, etc., following well-defined rules of engagement, can bring us the facts of the matters studied. Interest in questioning implicit ontological and epistemological assumptions has been limited in main stream entrepreneurial studies. Research practices corresponding to the above, as supported by Lindgren and Packendorff (2009), are predominantly preoccupied with refinement and adaptation of theories and empirical phenomena. Experimenting and inventing new approaches that can develop new knowledge is arguably not an aspiration of such studies. This is relevant for this doctoral thesis, where one important aim is to *experiment*.

An emerging European tradition and critique of the 'enterprise'
Experimenting is to place oneself at the boundaries of knowledge and/or practice to see if it is possible to push them further. But experimenting also benefits from previous experiments, successful or not. For the past, almost two decades, there has been a developing alternative to mainstream entrepreneurship studies. It is sometimes referred to as the European School/tradition/strand in entrepreneurship studies (see following outlining of this strand of research Down, 2013; Hjorth, Jones, and Gartner, 2008; Hjorth & Steyaert, 2004, 2009;

Lindgren and Packendorff, 2009; Steyaert & Hjorth, 2003, 2006; Steyaert, Hjorth, and Gartner, 2011; Steyaert & Katz, 2004).[3] A reference to Europe does not mean that it is limited to European studies or academics as such. In fact, prominent scholars of this developing tradition come from the US and Australia. The European reference points towards European scholarly traditions, especially within philosophy, humanities and social sciences: it is an intellectual orientation, rather than geographical. With regard to positioning within this movement, it is a spacious and dispersed discourse which requires us to become more specific. But it also encourages modification and alternative approaches.

The European strand is critical of what is found to be dominating approaches to entrepreneurship studies. There is an urge to address and improve, for example, by neutralising fundamental propositions, arguably blocking a view of vast areas of potential research. Yet, taking a critical position does not mean denying entering into conversations and taking advantage of developments made. The European oriented critique of management studies draws on other critical perspectives, for example in organisation studies (e.g. Hoskin, 2004; O'Connor, 1999) and where the so-called *enterprise discourse* has been vigorously criticised (e.g. Du Gay, 1996, 2000a, 2000b, 2004; Gleadle, Cornelius, and Pezet, 2008; Gray, 2002; Grey, 1996; Salaman & Storey, 2008). The most elaborative critique of the *enterprise* comes from Hjorth (2003) and Du Gay (2000b). But the writings of both authors play a substantial role in the current enquiry. Du Gay's critique is made from a Weberian perspective, and is a defence for bureaucracy and public administration, while Hjorth investigates possibilities for reframing entrepreneurship studies beyond the hegemony of economic rationality:

> Enterprise discourse, inseparable from neo-liberalism and the 'progressive enlargement of the territory of the market' (as Gordon, 1991: 43, puts it), not only produces economic policies throughout the West (from the 1980s and onwards) that try to pave the way for more private enterprises. It has also reproduced the

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[3] Down (2013: 1) is critical of the term 'School' in this respect, having been supportive of it previously. He finds it too secluded and to imply, or even declare, unilateral independence of a discourse that denies interacting with the more mainstream entrepreneurship research. Instead, he suggests the term European *tradition* of Entrepreneurship: 'which adopts a broader social-science (and humanities) perspective and is critical, reflexive and attentive to history than a great deal of mainstream entrepreneurship scholarship'.

dominance of management knowledge, which is also how it could become effective so rapidly. Management centres on how to make up the proper employee. The answer that enterprise discourse provides is the enterprising self. (Hjorth, 2003: 19–20) [4]

Accordingly, the enterprise discourse in management has become mainstream, not only in a social and organisational context, but also in how individuals are viewed. The enterprising self is later described, by Hjorth as *homo oeconomicus*.[5] The concept conveys the idea that the human subject is manipulable, and its interests can be controlled by managers in the interests of the enterprise. Manageable interests of human subjects delimit desire and passion as drivers of human activity, i.e. creativity and entrepreneurship. According to Hjorth (2003), this has made a certain cross-fertilisation of management studies almost inevitable. Management has made extensive use of economics and behavioural studies to gain support as a governing and controlling force over the bundle of resources *homo oeconomicus* possesses. Hjorth's critique of the enterprise is one cornerstone of the European tradition. Still, more important than the critique, is a striving to forge a different discourse, released from managerialism and the enterprise.

The European strand calls for and presents studies of entrepreneurship in a broad social, historical and cultural context. Three aspects of the strand provide particular support for the current inquiry. First, an interest in different and *cross-disciplinary* approaches that are anchored in an emphasis on human creativity. This is based on the assertion that there is a close connection between human creativity and entrepreneurship. Moreover, entrepreneurship is, here, not only the spectacular and ground-breaking but something much more common: 'a matter of everyday activities rather than actions of elitist groups of entrepreneurs' (Steyaert & Katz, 2004: 180).

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[4] The term *discourse* refers to semiotics, practices and things. Foucault analysed the genesis of different discourses, studying historically how we came to 'know' what we think we know. Studying the genesis of a discourse looks at how it took form. Hjorth's (2003) approaches the enterprise discourse borrowing from Foucault's discourse approach.

[5] The concept is a reference to Adam Smith's *magnum opus, Wealth of Nations*. It was first published in 1776.

Second, this study emerges with attention to *local context*, i.e. the Department's situation. Attempts to generalise social and cultural values arguably lose exactly that which is important in organisational entrepreneurship: everyday events and activities constituting organisational lives. We sometimes appear to think of general theories as more real, probably because of their soothing clarity and claimed universality. But to generalise, especially in a social context, the level of abstraction is heightened to the same degree as generalisations. Universal social theories become severe dislocations of local context and reality. An interest in the local is, in this sense, an act of realism, i.e. of avoiding elevated abstractions and representations. Hjorth, Jones and Gartner (2008: 82) boldly claim that 'no text of scientific value can avoid being fiction in the sense of being made out of both imagination and available resources of narration and description'. With this in mind, this study provides space to narrate local *minor* voices that may disrupt common sense and 'major' theory (e.g. by focusing on the development of new initiatives in a bureaucracy). But *minor* voices means neither trivial, nor iconic. Rather, they are 'microcosms of events' played out on a larger scene, attending to the local context that 'major' history might displace (Stoler, 2010: 7). It is also to be noted that an emphasis on minor, local and contextual assumes *wholeness* and *relationality.*

Third, is a willingness to bring creativity into entrepreneurship studies in all areas, including empirical focus, methods and theories. *Experimenting*, and with it curiosity, guides the European stream, arguably, above all else (cf. Hjorth et al., 2008; Steyaert, 2012). On these pages as well as in various entrepreneurship studies, experimenting culminates in a radical focus on *process* (e.g. Hjorth, Holt & Steyaert, 2015; Lohmann & Steyaert, 2006; Olaison, 2014; Sørensen, 2006; Steyaert, 1997, 2007). In several of these studies entrepreneurship becomes a contextual and moving 'object' and experimenting, accordingly, encompasses an interest in how to think with movement, inquire into processes, rather than things. A turn towards process is also found in organisations studies. Actually, in these times of cross-disciplinary approaches it can be difficult, and sometimes not meaningful, to differentiate between the different spheres of management studies, for example, between organisation, innovation and entrepreneurship studies. And certainly, they are all relevant for this study.

Viewing entrepreneurship as a process is not an entirely recent phenomena. In a seminal text Steyaert (2007) identifies no less than thirteen process approaches in entrepreneurship studies. These include Greiner´s (1972) classic growth model, Aldrich and Martinez's (2001) evolutionary approach, Gartner´s (1993) interpretive approach, and approaches more explicit about their philosophical foundation (e.g. drawing on phenomenology, pragmatism, and social constructivism). Steyaert´s (2007) summarisation shows that process approaches can be just as deterministic as any structure, as is the case with Greiner´s growth model. The question is then: how to think about processes processually? It is a question which distinctively entails *working out a way* of thinking, writing and doing research, one that affirms movement by being on the move itself (Kristensen, Sørensen and Lopdrup-Hjorth, 2014). The next section introduces the background for the process approach developed for this study.

Process and experimenting

1. Process has primacy over things. Substance is subordinate to process. Things are simply constellations of processes.

2. Process has priority over substance. Things are always subordinate to processes because processes inwardly engender, determine, and characterize the things there are. But process as such transcends the realm of things since there are also substance detached processes. (Rescher, 1996: 2, emphasis in original)

The pre-Socratic philosopher Heraclitus (535 – 475 BC) is cited for having claimed that *all things flow*. Ever since, philosophers have contemplated the place and role of movement in the world, and a series of philosophers have given priority to processes and movement. A recent publication on process thinking and organisation studies explicates the broadness and variety of process approaches by providing an introduction to 35 influential process philosophers, from Heraclitus to Spinoza, and from Whitehead to Sloterdijk (Helin, Hernes, Hjorth & Holt, 2014a). Whether all of them would have subscribed to the exact wording of Rescher's two ontological principles introducing this discussion, will not be debated here, but they are useful in their simplicity as an attempt to frame process ontology in the absence of a fully-fledged approach. That such an approach will be revealed at some point seems doubtful and even paradoxical. It

would require a level of abstraction that would presuppose fixed and permanent structures. '[S]uggestions, sketches, and expressions of confidence' may be all we can hope for (Rescher, 2000: 18). Still, many thinkers have developed monumental and enduring doctrines on the bases of process thinking.

Process philosophy has undeniably, especially in an Anglo-American context, become a catchphrase for the doctrines of the English philosopher and Harvard Professor, Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947). Whitehead has influenced many succeeding him, both in continental and analytical philosophy. But Whitehead himself was strongly influenced by previous and contemporary thinkers, particularly Heraclitus, Leibniz, Bergson and American pragmatists like Peirce, James and Dewey. Whitehead made *process* a central concept in his thought, adopting the leading principle that 'Nature is a process', here invoking the thoughts of Heraclitus, Bergson, and even Spinoza. In his seminal work, *Process and Reality*, first published in 1929, he presents 'actual occasions' as building blocks of the world. They are not substances, but processual units (atomic), which, analytically speaking, are without any real duration. Occasions continually arise and perish and become data for future events and experiences (Hernes, 2014). Similarly, for Einstein and Bergson, time was of no less importance than space. In the flow of Nature, Whitehead argued that 'temporality, historicity, change, passage, and novelty' were among the most fundamental facts we had to address to understand the world (Rescher, 1996: 21).

Despite the undisputed influence of Whitehead's philosophy for thinking process in contemporary philosophy, the approach developed on these pages is much more influenced by the thinking of the French philosopher Gilles Deleuze (1925–1995) who, however, frequently drew on Whitehead's work. But Deleuze cannot be introduced without including his partner in crime, Feléx Guattari (1930–1992). He was Deleuze's close collaborator and co-author of several books. Deleuze and Guattari describe a world in a constant state of flux and *becoming*. Things, beings, or structures are only brief stable moments in the flow of *becomings*. Take the most stable thing you know: a mountain, a planet, an organisation? Give them time and you will see them transform. Stability is not the opposite of movement. It is only a matter of

different durations, how fast a 'thing' moves. Deleuze (1994, 2005) would perceive of flow as a perpetual *repetition* of *difference*, and correspondingly argue that the only way to comprehend Nietzsche's *eternal return* is to think of it as a continuous *return of difference*. There is no stable world behind the flow, no structures to be revealed or simulated. Deleuze (2004) would describe his own project as a way of overcoming Platonism, of affirming processes of new *becomings*. Science, philosophy and art will have to be considered as creative practices, each in their own way (Deleuze & Guattari, 2009). And life itself (in a very Bergsonian way) is ubiquitously creative.

Importantly and characteristically, Deleuze was not 'one', or even two with Guattari. A significant aspect of Deleuze´s work was the (ab)use of other thinkers' ideas and theories from arts, science, philosophy and more. He attempted to catalyse the ideas of several of the most influential Western philosophers from Plato to Leibniz; from Hume to Foucault. But certain ideas and thinkers were more important to Deleuze than others. Spinoza, Nietzsche and Bergson form a holy trinity that permeates Deleuze's work and his collaboration with Guattari (May, 2005). It is Deleuze's reading of Spinoza that is in focus in the fourth chapter of this thesis, contributing to an analytical perspective for the study. Deleuze's reading of other thinkers cannot be described as simple interpretations or introductions to their work. At one point he describes his approach eloquently as 'taking an author from behind and giving him a child that would be his own offspring, yet monstrous' (Deleuze, 1995: 6). A less graphic description would be that Deleuze *affirms* the thought of other authors. Meaning, he adds new connections, both within their own system of thought and beyond, to ideas and concepts often considered as having little in common. He tests their limits to see what they can become – an investigation into their potentiality. For Deleuze, the aim was to perceive the world, or parts of it, in a radically different light. Drawing on Deleuze's process ontology of becoming, the practice of adding and affirming connections between different and seemingly incompatible concepts and ideas inspires and informs this study.[6]

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[6] May (2005) describes Deleuze's philosophy as 'steeped' in an ontology of *becoming*.

Affects

Complementing Deleuze-Guattarian process ontology, my entry to doing process research is with *affects*. In recent years we have been able to observe a 'turn to affect' in humanities and social sciences (e.g. Clough & Halley, 2007; Gregg & Seigworth, 2010; Leys, 2011). This emerging discourse is extensively inspired by Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) and his most famous work, *Ethics,* published soon after his death. Apart from Deleuze and Guattari, other prominent process philosophers are of importance in this discourse e.g., Bergson, James and Whitehead. But of contemporary thinkers Brian Massumi's name has to be mentioned. Massumi is a vigorous reader of Deleuze and Guattari's work but at the same time an influential affectual-theorist.

Theorising affects entails the claim that human beings are corporeal creatures: our cognitive capacities – logic and rationality – have been overemphasised and we have ignored the subliminal intensities affecting us, including actions and thoughts. Hence, we need to enquire into the processes of affects or we will never be able to understand humans and human behaviour.

Affects are simple and immensely complex. They are in any movement and rest. Every encounter produces affects. Emphasising affects entails a radical shift for how we inquire into the world. Affects are always relational, always in between two or more *modes* (things/bodies). Their relationality is an intensive proof of a *rhizomatic* world and its wholeness. But affects are still autonomous, independent of any specific mode (Massumi, 2002). Their presence in any encounter allows us to deduce that every-*body* is affected and creates affects (cf. Spinoza, 1996). The sunlight affects the growth of the tree; the tree affects the survival of the squirrel; and the nervous but playful squirrel affects my joyful walk in the park. The autonomy of affects also means that they are pre-social, pre-individual and pre-conscious. They are capable of escaping and exceeding all things human (Beyes & Steyaert, 2012). However, escaping human cognition and consciousness is not the same as not being affected. The body perceives more than we are aware of, and affects are first and foremost subliminal. Think of all the different processes taking place in your body right now. You do not consciously perceive the blood continuously flowing through the whole of your body, or your heart pumping. You do not even

notice your encounter with the mosquito feasting on you. But your body does. Other affects we are of course more consciously aware of (right now I can taste the tea I am drinking, its bitterness and the warm cup). Correspondingly, affects ensure that there is always more to every event, every encounter then is consciously perceived. Massumi (2002) speaks of 'felt moreness' to ongoing experience. Moreness evokes indeterminacy and estrangement: 'What is happening?' Putting it differently, affects signify a *potentiality* of something else – an 'otherness' and difference.

For Deleuze and Guattari (drawing on Bergson) potentiality and moreness is in the *virtual* powers of *becoming* (May, 2005). The virtual points towards the parallel of the virtual and the *actual*. We can speak of the affects that never reach our consciousness as virtual. But the virtual is just as real as the actual. It only lacks actuality. For example: The human eye contracts the waves of light and actualises it as different colours. Many other animals do not do this, but still perceive light waves. Other animals, like pythons, have a second visual tool, enabling them to see and actualise heat sources in their surroundings. Hence, affects are perceived and become conscious, but also actual, in different ways. Every event and its affects are an opening to a vast *virtuality*. Creation is *actualisation* of the virtual, i.e. managing 'to establish a contextual – relational presence in an ongoing world, where forces and will to power already are at work' (Helin et al., 2014b: 10). Furthermore, the virtual potentiality of an event does not perish when it passes, but can be *re-actualised* in a context of past and future events.

Affects are openings towards new *becomings*. From the process perspective developed in this study we will not speak of the human subject as if it was a fixed object. Humans, like everything else continuously *become*. Our perception of the world, though, may be so perpetual and routinised, or we simply lack time, that we do not perceive change and begin to imagine a being, a core, unaffected by encounters ('This is who I *am*!' / 'This is *the* world!'). But we become through what we encounter and how we encounter it, that is, through the affects of encounters and how they get organised. For example, the Department becomes through its encounters with Ministers and bureaucracy becomes through its encounters with practice. In this study sensitivity for affects in the Department is developed in an attempt to perceive its

becoming(s), i.e. how it becomes, rather than what it is. In the interim there is an emphasis on showing before telling guiding the development of method for this study (see Chapter III).

Government departments and bureaucracies are frequently considered to be static organisational forms, and even decaying and boring ones. This assumes that bureaucratic organisations adhere to a rigid *ideal type* and are out of touch with their environment. Yet, this does not agree with the role, position and practices of governmental departments, which continually engage in new encounters, for example with ministers and other politicians, media and citizens, but also internally, for example, in the development of new policy initiatives. These encounters create a space for movement and novelty. In other words, they create a space for entrepreneurship.

Aims and contributions

Even though contributions to what Steyaert (2007) calls the 'creative process view' in entrepreneurship have increased, contributions are still most frequently conceptual developments. Hence, from the backdrop of the discussions above, expressing an interest in entrepreneurship, process and affect, an aim of this dissertation is to expand the field by working out a way to engage productively with a local empirical situation. And secondly, to do so with different theoretical concepts from entrepreneurship and organisation studies, selected in response to the empirical core. In other words, the dissertation will act upon the call that 'it is time that the field not only accepts that the world 'has' processes but that it engages more fully with approaches that absorb the processual' (Hjorth et al., 2015). Implicit to this endeavour is the assumption that entrepreneurship research should not only aim to represent entrepreneurship, but should make it entrepreneurial (e.g. Hjorth et al., 2008; Jones & Spicer, 2009; Steyaert, 2012, 1997, 2007).

Earlier in this chapter I posed an overarching question for this study. The question already encompasses a critical observation of the empirical situation, born from sensitivity to organisational affects. But preceding the question is a desire to express how entrepreneurship *becomes* in the Department and how the Department *becomes* with entrepreneurship. What intensifies this desire is an interest in expressing and comprehending the local ambiguous

relationship between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy. On the one hand, I operate with a processual understanding of entrepreneurship as *organisation creation*, not only referring to the creation of new organisations but also aiming to make sense of the experience of (re)organising (e.g. Gartner, 2012; Hjorth et al., 2015; Steyaert, 2007). On the other hand, I engage with an understanding of bureaucracy as classic Weberian rule-bound hierarchy, but also as an invention of a non-inclusive *ethos* of the bureaux. By answering the above research question in the tension between the two concepts of entrepreneurship and bureaucracy, created by the empirical situation, an aim is to contribute to an emerging affectual-based field of organisational entrepreneurship.

In sum, contributions are made in terms of both process studies and entrepreneurship studies in a local context that is organisational, bureaucratic and public. Before concluding this dissertation, movements in encounters in the Department will be theorised in terms of organisational affects, mood and desires. Following engagement with entrepreneurship and organisation theory, lessons will be drawn regarding the relationship between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy, as conceptions of *entrepreneurial bureaucracy* and *bureaucratic entrepreneurship* with implications for *entrepreneurial leadership*. Finally, having experimented with the doing and thinking process, the last chapter will also offer reflections and suggestions for future experiments studying affects and entrepreneurship.

Structure of the dissertation

The following discussion introduces the remaining chapters of this thesis.

Chapter II introduces selected theories and ideas from entrepreneurship and organisation studies pertaining to the frequently challenged relationship between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy, which is essential in this study. The chapter begins by making the link with the developing European tradition introduced above and also discusses how corporate entrepreneurship is being adopted and adapted to entrepreneurship in the public sector. Discussions then introduce the classical Weberian ideal of bureaucracy. However, since Weber, there has also been a plethora of loud voices criticising bureaucracy; such critique has taken different forms and perspectives, which are also presented in the chapter. A strong common

denominator for this critique is the argument that bureaucrats and bureaucratic organisations are unable to facilitate entrepreneurial practices. Despite this, some argue firmly for the value of bureaucracy, especially in the public sector, and even with regard to entrepreneurship. Here, the chapter focuses on certain seminal contributions, and in particular Paul du Gay's somewhat inventive interpretation of Weberian bureaucracy. Before concluding the chapter, I outline a potential relationship between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy by drawing on Du Gay's ideas of bureaucracy and a selection of other scholars who are critical of the popular dichotomisation between bureaucracy and post-bureaucratic ways of organising.

Chapter III focuses on method, that is, the way of doing process research. It introduces *experimenting* as a point of origin for carrying out process research of particular value and relevance for entrepreneurship studies. Non-representational theory is suggested and outlined to provide a comprehensive framework for developing a way to absorb process into this study. The second main section of the chapter examines how fieldwork (e.g. extensive observations and interviews) was conducted with inspiration and by 'poking' from ethnography. The last main section of the chapter then explains in more detail how this particular process study of the Department is conducted by writing and enacting a series of *figurations*, leaving space for performativity and imagination and for readers to make their own connections. This becomes a way of absorbing process and holding on to lightness in sense-making and theorising.

Chapter IV offers a framework for theorising process in the Department with affects and desire, which in particular flows from Deleuze's reading of Spinoza's work, mainly the *Ethics*. Accordingly, any *mode* (e.g. a body, an organisation or a thing) has the capacity to be affected by another mode and responds to these affects in different ways. In addition, any movement or rest on the part of a mode is a response to affects, but the capacity to be affected and act on these varies. To understand movement and variability in these metaphysics of affects and relationality, I also engage with ideas of *desire*, *joy* and *sadness*. The final main section of the chapter introduces a concept of organisational *mood*. It is described as a way of being together, preconfiguring and planning encounters with other modes. In this way, the mood of an organisation influences its capacity to be affected by and respond to affects. Hence, it is argued

that identifying a mood in the Department will increase our understanding of the organisation's ability to entrepreneur.

Chapter V consists of a series of figurations enacting different events and citations from fieldwork. The figurations do not offer a continuous or seamless narration of a larger tale, but instead move between places and episodes in a manner that is more sudden and preoccupied with the local context and influence of an event. However, the different projects in the Department do provide a certain degree of linear consistency in the organisation of the figurations, which becomes a way of balancing the challenge of connecting with a reader's sense-making.

Chapter VI theorises practices in the Department as they were observed and enacted in the figurations. Anxiety is presented as a mood that permeates practices and events in the Department and strongly influences how the Department preconfigures and organises encounters, for example with its Ministers. However, the *anxious mood* also relates to two desires in the Department, namely the *desire to secure* and the *desire to serve*. I discuss how the anxious mood and the two desires feature in the Department's internal and external encounters, but with a particular emphasis on encounters with the two Ministers. I find that these encounters can influence the anxious play between the two desires and thereby increase or decrease the Department's capacity to be affected. Ultimately, this capacity to be affected corresponds to the Department's capacity to engage in entrepreneurial practices.

Chapter VII discusses, on the one hand, the Department's anxious mood, the desire to secure and the desire to serve, and, on the other hand, the different ideas and theories introduced and explored in Chapter II. First, the discussions engage with the Weberian ideal type of bureaucracy and the *ethos* of the bureaux. Second, the chapter develops an idea of how the anxious mood affects sensitivity and responsiveness to the Ministers' ideas and ambitions. Third, the discussions establish a connection between the Department's anxious mood and the three main dimensions of corporate entrepreneurship. Fourth, before concluding the chapter, I draw on previous theorisations to show how the anxious mood in the Department indicates how organisational entrepreneurship can benefit from being approached with sensitivity to

affects rather than, for example, orders and control. In addition to its engagement with different and heterogenic theories pertaining to entrepreneurship and bureaucracy, this chapter suggests that an affectual and local approach to research can substantially enhance our understanding of entrepreneurship and bureaucracy, adding a non-cognitive and irrational account of practices.

Chapter VIII is the final chapter of the dissertation. The main purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, it aims to answers the question guiding this study, which leads to a number of lessons regarding three different aspects: entrepreneurial bureaucracy, bureaucratic entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial leadership. These aspects constitute and describe a relationship between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy flowing from this study. Second, the chapter aims to reflect upon experimenting with process research in this study. In this respect, I conclude with a number of suggestions for future process research willing to engage with affects, entrepreneurship and the making of figurations.

Chapter II: Theoretical Insights to Entrepreneurship and Bureaucracy

They are one of the most unpleasant races in the galaxy – not actually evil, but bad-tempered, bureaucratic, officious and callous. They wouldn't even lift a finger to save their own grandmothers from the Ravenous Bugblatter Beast of Traal without an order, signed in triplicate, sent in, sent back, queried, lost, found, subjected to public enquiry, lost again, and finally buried in soft peat for three months and recycled as firelighters.

Douglas Adams in *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*

Public sector bureaucracy has a reputation antithetical to organisational entrepreneurship and yet we are interested in the capacity of such an organisation to become entrepreneurial. While Joseph Schumpeter, as an architect of innovation and entrepreneurship studies, is celebrated as 'king', Lounsbury and Carberry (2005) ask if Max Weber, as a guiding force in the early development of organisational theory grounded in detailed analysis of bureaucracy, has fallen from grace to become 'court jester'. Critique of bureaucracy has been relentless since Weber. Different organisational forms have been proposed, frequently coined as post-bureaucratic, emphasising, for example, *tacit knowledge*, *creativity*, *behavioural adaptability* and *decentralisation*; as opposed to *explicit knowledge*, *standardised continuity*, *work discipline* and *centralisation* (Reed, 2011). However, despite the influence of these new ways of organising it is much too soon to declare the death of bureaucracy. For one, bureaucracy is still a dominating organisational form in the public and corporate sector. Second, it has proved difficult to uphold a dichotomy between post-bureaucratic modes of organising and bureaucracy, to the extent that it would arguably be more appropriate to speak of hybrids, than radically different ways of organising (Clegg, 2011; Reed, 2011).

Emerging from a focus on entrepreneurship in the Ministerial Department this chapter outlines theoretical accounts relating to both entrepreneurship and bureaucracy. However, the main objective is not a detailed outline of the broad discourses encompassing the two areas of

entrepreneurship and bureaucracy, but instead to highlight particular theoretical insights adhering to entrepreneurship and bureaucracy, and found to be of particular relevance to the study of the situation in the Department. This is to say that, in accordance with an inductive approach, the theoretical selection responds to the empirical situation. Hence, the outcome becomes a theoretical framing, drawing on somewhat divergent discussions within entrepreneurship and organisation studies.

The first main section introduces organisational entrepreneurship in terms of the European tradition. The discussion is brief because critical aspects from the European tradition have already been discussed at some length in the introduction chapter, and because this entrepreneurial context will continue to permeate method discussions in the following chapter. Moving on, there is an outlining of insights from the literature on public-sector entrepreneurship, adapting to and borrowing from studies of corporate entrepreneurship. This literature argues for three dimensions and several antecedents influencing entrepreneurial activities in public organisations. The second main section focuses on bureaucracy, including the criticism it faces. The section starts by outlining a Weberian perception of bureaucracy, followed by an overview of the critique of bureaucracy and public administration in particular. But public bureaucracy also has its defenders, and some of them discuss bureaucracy's ability to change, adapt or even to become entrepreneurial. Here, discussions remain selective, giving priority to Paul du Gay's positive reading of Weber, including his understanding of the *ethos* of the bureau. While Du Gay has a narrow managerial idea of the concept of entrepreneurship (as enterprising) and remains critical towards its role in public bureaucracies, the idea of an *ethos* does not necessarily and unequivocally exclude entrepreneurship in bureaucracy. But this becomes a discussion in the last section of the chapter, which addresses the relationship between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy, before concluding remarks.

Organisational entrepreneurship

Deriving from Schumpeter and other classical works, entrepreneurship and innovation has emphasised innovative individuals, rather than organisations, creating innovative processes (Kovalainen & Sundin, 2012). According to Schumpeter entrepreneurial activities were products

of individuals combining resources in new ways (Schumpeter, 1934). But connecting entrepreneurship exclusively to individual, also while reading of Schumpeter, would be a grave simplification. There is a whole facet of entrepreneurial activities, requiring the complex collaboration of organised actors to be realised – now more than ever.

The European strand of entrepreneurship studies has been used here to frame the fundamental understanding of entrepreneurship and to direct the approach developed in this thesis. The European strand encompasses cross-disciplinarity, process thinking, relationality and experimenting (cf. Down, 2013; Hjorth & Steyaert, 2004, 2009; Lindgren & Packendorff, 2009; Steyaert & Hjorth, 2003, 2006; Steyaert & Katz, 2004; Steyaert et al., 2011). This framing also suggests that entrepreneurship is first and foremost a *practice of organising*, of creating new order (Hjorth, 2012a). Hence, entrepreneurship is always considered to be processual, organisational and relational. In this respect, Steyaert (2007) advocates for the term 'entrepreneuring' to mean the practice of doing entrepreneurship. But the term will be used frequently for the remainder of this thesis. It follows that organisational entrepreneurship is not bound by an economic rationality, but is associated with process and creativity that can transcend social spheres (e.g. Steyaert & Dey, 2010; Steyaert & Hjorth, 2003, 2006). Entrepreneurship as a new order can therefore emerge through the formation of, for example, a new company, institution, product, service or policy. Consequently, entrepreneurship can affect the whole of society and living.

However, we need a way of thinking about organisational space, and especially bureaucratic space, that is still open to entrepreneurial movements. From Deleuze and Guattari (2008) flows a metaphysics of organisational space. Accordingly, organisational space is viewed as being segmented by molar/rigid lines and molecular/supple lines. The molar lines form binary, arborescent systems (e.g. hierarchical and role-based systems). Molecular lines work in between the molar lines. They are fluid and dynamic, encompassing even chaos in the midst of rigid structures (cf. Hodson, Martin, Lopez, & Roscigno, 2013). The ultimate capacity of molecular lines is *deterritorialisation*, i.e. taking off as a *line of flight* from a structured space. The lines of flight are not in opposition to the current order; rather, they are catalysed by it.

They escape order to become a new order, i.e. a *reterritorialisation* of a new space of both supple and rigid lines. Accordingly, organisational space is constantly on the move. It is not dialectical, rather processual. It is not only the rivalry of forces, but a creative type of *play* on that which is already there. We might call it *affirmative* play. To come closer to this, Hjorth (2004) has used De Certeau's (1984: 36) celebrated description of *tactics* to explain entrepreneurial forces playing on structured places: tactics are a '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'. Accordingly, organisational entrepreneurship becomes tactical play, a mobile practice, operating *in* the event of encounters with order, accepting chance by looking for and creating space and movement.

Interestingly, Schumpeter (1947) develops a distinction between *adaptive* and *creative* responses that complements De Certeau's tactics. For Schumpeter, the distinction between adaptive and creative responses does not only connect economic results. It is rather to be viewed as responses to social and organisational encounters. Adaptive responses are calculative, linear responses to encounters, to information and other circumstances we find ourselves in. In this sense, adaptive responses correspond to the calculative rationality of bureaucracy and its role in ensuring continuity and equality. In management, adaptive responses could also be deemed a strategic response. Creative responses, on the other hand, are disruptive and non-linear, much like De Certeau's tactics, and are considered to be entrepreneurial. They entail action that is outside the range of existing practices. They can be understood only *ex post*, never *ex ante*. Putting this in an organisational context, creative responses change situations and processes. Even though Schumpeter was more interested in changes influencing whole industries or markets we can perceive of creative responses in/of organisations as being more local and their duration influenced by factors like leadership, for instance.

The implications of the understanding of organisational space and entrepreneurship described above are substantial for this study, including its approach and theorisation. It invites a perception of bureaucracy beyond the Weberian *ideal type* of rule-based behaviour and

hierarchical governances, drawing attention to the importance of sensitivity for organisational movements and disruptions. Still, there are also other, more conventional views of organisational entrepreneurship in bureaucracy and the public sector from which this study benefits.

Corporate entrepreneurship adopted by the public sector

The public-sector is considered to be predominantly bureaucratic. This has also supported the common claim in much public and policy discussions that entrepreneurship and the public sector are contradictory terms (cf. Kovalainen & Sundin, 2012). However, as a consequence of its bureaucratic way of organising, the public sector is said to be in need of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial management (Zampetakis & Moustakis, 2007). But, the perpetual requests for more enterprising activity, often arriving in the form of harsh criticism, has led to a situation where civil servants are considered to have low self-esteem and disbelief in their capacity to be entrepreneurial (cf. Tullberg, 2002).

At the same time the bulk of entrepreneurship research is made in a private-sector context, emphasising optimisation and economic value. It is, therefore, no wonder that scholars and practitioners frequently look to private organisations for inspiration to foster entrepreneurship in the public sector (e.g. Kearney et al., 2008; Osborne & Gaebler, 1992).

There is an extensive research tradition concerning entrepreneurship in the private sector, often referred to as *corporate entrepreneurship* (CE) (see overview in Kuratko, 2012), but also as *corporate venturing* and *intrapreneurship*. Even though the view of entrepreneurship in this study is different from the 'enterprising' and 'managerial' approach of corporate entrepreneurship, its influence on public-sector entrepreneurship makes awareness relevant. Corporate entrepreneurship starts developing in the 1970s (e.g. Hanan, 1976; Hill & Hlavacek, 1972; Peterson & Berger, 1971) and throughout the 1980s (e.g. Burgelman, 1983; Pinchot III, 1985; Schollhammer, 1982). In this period research developed from focusing on how entrepreneurship inside teams and corporations could be developed towards a conceptualisation of CE where entrepreneurial behaviour in corporations required sanctions, resource commitments and structure. Public sector entrepreneurship has then attempted to

adapt to the differences between the two sectors, aiming to gain from research efforts and findings in CE (e.g. Currie et al., 2008; Diefenbach, 2011; Kearney et al., 2008; Klein, Mahoney, McGahan, & Pitelis, 2010).

Dimensions of public sector entrepreneurship and differences between public and private organisations

Traditionally there are considered to be three underlying dimensions of entrepreneurial orientation constituting CE: *innovativeness*, *proactiveness* and *risk-taking* (Covin & Slevin, 1991; Miller, 1982). These dimensions are focused on serving the entrepreneurial objectives of corporations, which is to increase monetary profits. Clearly, the purpose and the objectives of public organisations are different. Economic profits will not usually be a central objective, even though optimisation of resources is frequently a vital parameter. Thus, before looking more closely at the three dimensions and their applicability in the public sector we need be aware of differences between the public and private sectors (see discussions in Bernier & Hafsi, 2007; Currie et al., 2008; Diefenbach, 2011; M. H. Morris & Jones, 1999; Rainey, 2009; Yang & Pandey, 2009).

Drawing on relevant literature there is considerable consensus that, for one, the public sector is more sensitive to and influenced by the political environment than private enterprises. There is also a unique expectation of fairness and equal treatment in and from public sector organisations in addition to requirements of transparency, openness and responsiveness. Public sector organisations frequently deal with greater goal ambiguity, more conflicts, less decision-making autonomy for managers. These organisations will commonly have fewer incentives and trade-offs compensating for risk-taking, which is considered to make them risk aversive. Currie et al. (2008) have argued that a complex network of stakeholders characterises the public sector and adds to the complexity and ambiguity of entrepreneurial goal-setting and execution. Correspondingly it is argued that corporate entrepreneurs work with clearer goals in the form of profit and customers growth, that they have more control over resources and more flexible organisational structures (Sadler, 2000). That is not to say that corporate entrepreneurship is a simpler affair, only that the challenges and complexity are different. Thus, ultimately, circumstances and challenges for entrepreneuring in the public sector are considered unique

and the differences mentioned in the literature find entrepreneurial constraints, rather than advantages.

Still, there is an apparent consensus among various scholars that the traditional dimensions of CE – innovativeness, proactiveness, and risk-taking – apply to the public sector but with a different focus (e.g. Currie et al., 2008; Diefenbach, 2011; Kearney et al. 2008; M. Morris, Kuratko & Covin, 2008). Accordingly, innovativeness involves quests for novel solutions to needs and problems, including new services, organisational forms and processes. But the focus of public sector innovativeness is said to be more on new processes, rather than new services or organisational forms (Currie et al., 2008; M. Morris, et al., 2008; M. H. Morris & Jones, 1999). Proactiveness emphasises the importance of 'action orientation, implementation of ideas, adaptability, and the anticipation and prevention of problems' (Diefenbach, 2011: 36). M. Morris et al. (2008) point to the particular importance of proactiveness in the public sector in relation to the interpretation of rules, networking and leveraging of resources, while adding that patience and persistence are vital characteristics of public sector entrepreneurs. Risk-taking in the public sector 'involves the willingness to take moderate risk in committing resources to address opportunities' (Currie et al., 2008: 989). The emphasis on 'moderate risk' is here an indication of a calculative approach to risk and failure. Diefenbach (2011) and Currie et al. (2008) underline risk-taking as the dimension that differs the most from the private sector. One thing is that failure in the public sector does not include personal bankruptcy, but instead, it can entail budget cuts, discontinuation of programmes, poor delivery of service, and carriers can be hampered or employees suspended (Diefenbach, 2011; M. Morris et al., 2008). Currie et al. (2008) maintain that risk-aversion is a critical obstacle to entrepreneurship in public organisations, while M. H. Morris and Jones (1999) find public entrepreneurship to be more strongly related to the first two dimensions of innovativeness and proactiveness.

Antecedents to public sector entrepreneurship
According to literature drawing on CE, the focus on entrepreneurship in the public sector needs to take into account the particular characteristic differences of the sector and the challenges these pose, while drawing on insights from CE studies. For this purpose Kearney et al. (2008: 295) create a conceptual model (a set of propositions) for 'public sector corporate

entrepreneurship', emanating from a study of the CE literature. The authors divide a series of entrepreneurial antecedents to the public sector into two sets: the *internal* and *external* organisational environment. Drawing on this discussion, first regarding internal environment, the authors suggest the following: (1) *Structure and formalisation* should be more *organic* and less *mechanic* (e.g. hierarchical and rule-based). (2) Flexible and decentralised *decision-making* is an advantage, as is less formalised *control*. (3) High *rewards* and *motivation* are positively related to entrepreneurship. (4) Organisational *culture* needs to be supportive and flexible to facilitate entrepreneurship. For instance, if employees are perceived as entrepreneurial, failures and successes are applauded and screening mechanisms facilitate innovative direction and processes (Legge & Hindle, 1997). (5) *Risk-taking* needs to be encouraged where it fits. (6) *Proactiveness* in scanning for opportunities, along with anticipating and preventing problems has a positive impact on public sector entrepreneurship. The resemblance of the above antecedents to Hornsby, Kuratko and Zahra's (2002) Corporate Entrepreneurship Assessment Instrument (CEAI), is substantial. But this study suggested that there are five stable antecedents to middle-level managers' entrepreneurial behaviour: (1) *management support*; (2) *work discretion/autonomy* (including tolerance to failure); (3) *rewards/reinforcement*; (4) *time availability*; (5) *organisational boundaries* (including clear objectives).

With regard to the *external* organisational environment in the public sector, Kearney et al. (2008) point out that entrepreneurship relates positively to (7) organisations that can adapt to changes in *political* environment. (8) *Complex* environments are more positively related to entrepreneurship than simple and benign ones. (9) A *munificent* environment, incorporating technological opportunities, growth and demand for new services/products, appears to encourage entrepreneurship. (10) Accordingly, *changing* and dynamic organisational environments suggest more entrepreneurial abilities than stagnant or stable environments.

Borins (2001) and Currie et al. (2008) are focused on entrepreneurship and leadership in the public sector. Borins identifies three approaches that could increase entrepreneurship. First, the importance of *persuasion*, i.e. highlighting benefits of innovation by using demonstration projects and social marketing. Second, *accommodation*, i.e. involving affected actors and

engaging in the governance of innovation. Third, solving *other* matters, for example, finding new/different resources, gaining political support, building alliances, and having a clear vision and focus on the most important aspects (cf. Kearney et al., 2008). Currie et al. (2008) gathered qualitative information from public leaders in three different arenas. They claim their data indicates 'that the depiction of leadership as one of a 'heroic' individual at the top of the organization that drives change may be a myth' (ibid.: 996). Accordingly, entrepreneurial leaders can be in different places inside and outside the organisation. The authors claim that risk aversion is a critical concern for entrepreneurship in the public sector. Public leaders associate 'identification' and 'exploitation' of opportunities with considerable *risk*, which appeared to originate from 'an all pervasive 'blame' culture and public visibility of 'mistakes'' (ibid.). Nonetheless, public leaders recognise the need for entrepreneurship and creativity in service development. Consequently, risk is said to be less about civil servants' propensity for risk, and more about the ability to balance the need for risk. Currie et al. (2008) conclude that entrepreneurial leadership in the public sector is a complex constitution of three roles or abilities, described in terms of the *political agent*, *stakeholder agent* and *entrepreneurial agent*. The last of these roles encompasses the ability to make use of entrepreneurial opportunities by 'supporting, motivating, manipulating, and empowering' colleagues (ibid.: 1005).

To round off the discussion of public sector entrepreneurship, drawing on corporate entrepreneurship, it has to be noted that there are limitations to entrepreneurial activites in the public sector that have to do with legitimacy. Civil servants do not have the democratic mandate to act according to their opinions or interests. Civil servants in ministerial departments may be involved in policy creation in collaboration with politicians, but otherwise they will have to act in a space framed by law and political mandates. The legitimacy of taking risks is arguably affected by this, and so is the obligation to use public resources responsibly (Bellone & Goerl, 1992). The 'rough' entrepreneurs pursuing self-interest by, for example, attempting to dominate others, posing radical changes, while ignoring tradition, would have to be restrained in the public sector. Accordingly, the idea of a public entrepreneur as some kind of 'hero' can be dangerous. Public entrepreneurs will commonly have a set of obligations, which constitute a role that cannot be neglected. Just as the public organisation has core commitments that its

employees must adhere to. Entrepreneurship cannot be an excuse for betraying organisational responsibilities.

Bureaucracy and criticism

The Weberian ideal type of bureaucracy
Ministerial Departments are the 'crown jewels' of public administration in democratic societies, and are usually perceived to be archetypical public bureaucracies. But when we discuss and label organisations as bureaucratic it is frequently done with reference to an *ideal type* that can be traced back to Weber.

Weber still remains a main authority for defining *ideal-type* bureaucracy. For him bureaucracy was, and is widely considered to be, an indispensable aspect of understanding the emergence of modernity and Western industrialisation. What characterises bureaucracy, according to Weber (1978: 956–958) is, first, a division into *jurisdictional areas ordered by rules* concerning assigned duties and their continual fulfilment. Second, bureaucracies have a clear *hierarchical system* of governing and dividing superiors and subordinates, which entails that decisions can be appealed in a regulated manner up the ranks of the hierarchy. Third, bureaucratic management is based on *written documents*. The written documents map processes for activities and decisions, making them traceable and explicit. Fourth, the bureaucratic office usually demands thorough *training in a field of specialisation*. The bureaucrat also incrementally gains knowledge of the workings of the office, which is the only way of acquiring the skills and adapting to the conduct required to reach more senior levels. Fifth, it *demands the full capacity of the official*, not taking into account that the official only receives payment for a standard number of hours. Finally, bureaucratic office-management follows and *can be reduced to general rules*, more or less stable and exhaustive, embedded in its very nature. Later characterisations of *ideal-type* bureaucracy draw, in one way or another, on Weber's description. For instance, Reed (2011: 233) summarises bureaucracy as ideals of *specialisation*, *standardisation, formalisation, centralisation*, *depersonalisation* and *collectivisation.* Kallinikos (2004) offers another more condensed version where the above characteristics are boiled down

to a claim that *rule bound behaviour*, encompassing standardisation, is the epitome of the bureaucratic ideal, in addition to *hierarchic governing*.

Weber (1978) argues for the superiority of bureaucracy. Compared with other organisational forms (known at the time) its rigid and stable structures give rise to 'precision, speed, unambiguity, knowledge of the files, continuity, discretion, unity, strict subordination, reduction of friction and of material and personal costs' (ibid.: 973). Weber presents bureaucracy as an organisational form that enhances rationality and objectivity. The more bureaucracy develops towards perfection, the more it becomes *dehumanised*, and the more it succeeds in 'eliminating from official business love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational and emotional elements which escape calculation' (ibid.: 975).

Furthermore, bureaucracy's personal *disinterestedness* and professional formality offers a solution to critical problems of nation states – not only in terms of effectiveness and stability but also with regard to corruption, nepotism, democracy and equality. Bureaucracy proper does not differentiate between citizens, but assures 'equality before the law' and the State (ibid.: 979). It offers guarantees against arbitrary results, serving to exclude the effects of personal interests and engagement (e.g. Du Gay, 2000b, 2011; Kallinikos, 2004; Weber, 1978; Willmott, 2011). Weberian bureaucracy encompasses a distinctive type of ethics and rationality, different from personal preferences and conviction. It demands allegiance to calculations of procedural decision-making becoming purely technical and objective (Willmott, 2011). In other words, bureaucracy requires vocational disposition and ethics adapted to an *ethos* of the office. But we revisit the *ethos* of the bureau later in this chapter.

Before leaving Weber's *ideal type*, let us note that like so many other conceptual instruments of social sciences, *ideals types* are a means of grasping and simplifying an overly complex and messy world. Hence, *ideal types* can and do play an indispensable heuristic role in elucidating vital aspects of organisational practices, but must be handled with care, as they are in need of local context and practices to acquire a practical and performative role beyond reductive generalisations (Reed, 2011).

Moving on, let me offer a few examples from the literature of the vast critique of bureaucracy, which sometimes appears to take issues, primarily, with the Weberian *ideal type* and agreeing that bureaucracy involves entrepreneurial incapacity.

Classical critique of bureaucracy

It is safe to conclude that the common perception of bureaucracy is not a positive one. In common language bureaucracy will often stand as a synonym for inefficiency, incapacity to act, lack of responsibility and sometimes even corruption. Weber (1978) himself is also critical of bureaucracy, warning about its potential *dehumanising* effect, that bureaucracy would become so mechanic that it would lead to the numbness and indifference of its servants. Their work would be executed 'without regard for persons' (ibid.: 976). Thus, Weber himself set the tone for much of the critique later directed against bureaucracy.

Another, criticism of bureaucracy of no less importance is not academic or theoretical, but from literature. Franz Kafka (1883–1924), who was a bureaucrat himself and writing his novels around the time Weber is writing his most influential work, makes bureaucracy a significant theme in his writing. *The Trial*, *The Castle*, and *In the Penal Colony* are considered his key works on bureaucracy (cf. Warner, 2007). Hodson et al. (2013) identify four aspects of Kafka's bureaucracy as a kind of inverted or mutated *ideal type*, which besets *divergent goals* of organisations lacking vision; *patrimonialism* surviving any form of attempted objectivity; *unwritten rules* of continuously negotiated order; and *chaos*, which controversially is produced in attempts to routinise organisational life. Interestingly, however, the authors present the Kafkaesque themes as alternatives and reasonable ways of describing bureaucracy than just as critiques. They find support for these themes in a critical amount of reviewed organisational ethnographies (n = 162), and their main resulting argument is that 'social sciences need a fundamentally revised theory of bureaucracy capable of understanding bureaucracy's power laden and often dystrophic features' (ibid.: 256).

There is urgency in this call from Hodson et al. (2013), considering that since modernity bureaucracy has been a dominating style of organising in both public bureaux and private

organisations. Weber's bureaucracy and its impact on organisational theory is difficult to overestimate, as Lounsbury and Carberry (2005: 501) point out:

> From pioneering research in the mid-20th century that built on Weber's theory of bureaucracy to contemporary research on organization-environment relations, it is undeniable that organizational theory is profoundly imprinted by the Weberian gaze.

Still, Weber and bureaucracy have, to a large extent, 'fallen out of grace' in organisational theory. Weber is usually cited only ceremonially (Lounsbury & Carberry, 2005). One important reason for this is that bureaucracy has received waves of forceful critique. Styhre (2007: 26)[7] calls the bureaucracy discourse following Weber a 'tragic story'. It primarily outlines shortcomings and failures to reach goals and objectives, uniting many of the critics in an alleged tendency of bureaucratic organisations to be self-referential and immune to external influence and effects. Bureaucracy gets confirmed as an 'iron cage', based on rule-based rationality, and leading to dehumanising objectivity, which isolates organisations from their environment, pacifying employees and their autonomy to act as sensing and sensible human beings (Styhre, 2007).

Among early scholarly critics buaracracy are authors of substantial gravity. One is the former Colombia University Professor Robert Merton (1910–2003) and student of Talcott Parson (1902–1979) at Harvard. But Parson is largely responsible for introducing Weber´s thinking to North American readers. Both Parson and Merton have substantially influenced the development of modern sociology. In a seminal text Merton uses Veblen´s concept of 'trained incapacity' and Dewey's notion of 'occupational psychosis' to mediate his critique of bureaucracy and underline its isomorphic effects and inability to react to change.

> Trained incapacity refers to that state of affairs in which one's abilities function as inadequacies or blind spots. Actions based upon training and skills which have been successfully applied in the past may result in inappropriate responses *under changed condition*. (Merton, 1940: 562, emphasis in original)

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[7] Styhre's (2007) has written an extensive review of bureaucratic literature. Different insights of this sub-section draw on his text.

Occupational psychosis rested upon similar observations, of people developing 'antipathies, discriminations and emphases' as a result of their occupational role and routinised work (ibid.).

Accordingly, the bureaucratic organisation renders people incapable of acting beyond routines and rigid structure. And they become incapable of reacting to changing social or organisational conditions. At the same time and because of this incapacity bureaucrats despise their work.

Previously, two of the most prominent figures of the Austrian School, Von Mises (1881–1973) and Schumpeter had already voiced their criticism of bureaucracy. Von Mises (1969)[8] saw it as the embodiment of market failure. Bureaucracy was the outcome of the government meddling with business, and businesses should not be organised like bureaucracies. It would lead to the 'bureaucratization of the mind', which became an ample theme in bureaucracy critique (Von Mises, 1969: 81ff). Like Merton, Von Mises believed that bureaucracy would indeed kill ambition and destroy incentives to move beyond instructions while striving for success. Schumpeter (1943), the undisputed father of entrepreneurship and innovation studies (and therefore cited at length) also had his doubts:

> The bureaucratic method of transacting business and the moral atmosphere it spread doubtless often exert a depressing influence on the most active minds. Mainly, this is due to the difficulty, inherent in the bureaucratic machine, of reconciling individual initiative with the mechanics of its working. Often the machine gives little scope for initiative and much scope for vicious attempt at smothering it. From this a sense of frustration and of futility may result which in turn indices a habit of the mind that revels in blighting criticism of the effort of others. This need not be so; many bureaucracies gain on closer acquaintance with their work. But it is difficult to avoid and there is no simple recipe for doing so. (Schumpeter, 1943: 207)

Schumpeter clearly experiences bureaucracy as a threat to organisational entrepreneurship, but at the same time he implies that bureaucracy does not have to render organisations incapable of entrepreneurial actions, i.e. that bureaucratic organisations have a capacity to be

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[8] Originally published in 1944

entrepreneurial. Nonetheless, Von Mises, Schumpeter and Merton set the tone for a plethora of bureaucracy-critical voices, which have become a point of departure for much of organisation and entrepreneurship studies.

Post-bureaucracy

The 20th century gave birth to radical changes including technological, sociological and economic ones. It is a common perception that bureaucracy is a child of its time. Even though it may have successfully solved some of the challenges of modernity in emerging democracies and industrialisation, it is often times viewed to be incapable of adapting to the post-modern and hyper-competitive environment of a globalised world (cf. Clegg, 2011; Harris, Clegg, & Höpfl, 2011). Accordingly, bureaucracy is not suitable in an economic environment that is oriented towards production of services, digital media and experiences by means of intangible resources, primarily knowledge (Greenwood & Lawrence, 2005). Bureaucracy is perceived to be better suited for a socio-economic context characterised by the production of physical goods by means of physical labour and resources. In short, it is an outdated product of modernity and industrialisation.

Post-bureaucracy stands for a broad organisational discourse, not only critical of bureaucracy, but also posing various other ways of organising. In common to these alternative ways of organising is that they are considered better suited for organisations of post-modernity dealing with external and internal environments that are radically different to what organisations of modernity had to deal with. Instead of the bureaucratic notions of *machines* and *iron cages*, fundamental analogies in post-bureaucracy include *liquidity* and *networks*, signifying major changes in control regimes (e.g. Crouch, 2005; Ezzamel & Reed, 2008; R. Rhodes, 1997; P. Thompson, 2003).[9] The analogies indicate the need for organisations to develop a capacity to cope with lack of continuity, uncertainties and contingencies affecting core aspects of how to organise, for example, by blurring organisational boundaries and evoking the need for temporal and heterogeneous skills and knowledge. These are considered to be abilities that bureaucracy

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[9] The metaphors are also frequently used to describe post-industrial society in more general terms. A series of thinkers have contributed to this, including the aforementioned Deleuze and Guattari, along with Zygmunt Bauman and Bruno Latour.

lacks. Critics subsequently argue that under these circumstances bureaucracy will simply 'implode under the combined weight of its internal contradictions and tensions' (Reed, 2011: 230).

From the above we can see how post-bureaucracies are often considered as opposites to ideal type bureaucracies. Grey and Garsten, correspondingly, describe them as a trend of our time encompassing 'a range of organizational changes which have as their espoused aim the erosion or dismantling of bureaucracy' (2001: 203). The organisational forms and concepts encompass so called *virtual organisations* (Schultze & Orlikowski, 2001), *project driven* organisations (e.g. McSweeney, 2006; Midler, 1995), *network organisations* (Powell, Koput, & Smith-Doerr, 1996), and more.[10] Despite this multiplicity there have been attempts to comprehend post-bureaucracy as an *ideal type*. Probably the best-known attempt comes from (Heckscher, 1994).[11] But also Reed (2011), after having described the ideal type of bureaucracy as ideals of *specialisation*, *standardisation*, *formalisation*, *centralisation*, *depersonalisation* and *collectivisation,* continues to identify an *ideal type* post-bureaucracy underpinning different coordinating aspects. Drawing freely on Reed, the *ideal* post-bureaucracy includes the following aspects:

- First is *collaboration*. It usually takes place in teams or project groups as preferred ways of working and addressing challenges. These teams will often include participants with different knowledge profiles and experiences, and be composed of members from across departmental boundaries. Also, collaborating teams may have participants that would be considered to be outside organisational boundaries but become temporary members of teams due to, for instance, expert knowledge or networks. This is considered to increase the team's ability to act. Unlike in the bureaucratic ideal type,

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[10] See for example, Styhre (2007) and Clegg (2011) for a discussion and comparison of different types of post-bureaucracies.
[11] According to Heckscher (1994) post-bureaucracies are characterised by the following: consensus through institutional dialogue; influence through persuasion/personal qualities; high need for internal trust; emphasis on organisational mission; focus on principles guiding action; fluid/flexible decision-making processes; network of specialised functional relationships; open and visible peer review processes; open and permeable boundaries; broad public standards of performance; expectation of change.

employee roles are not rigidly defined but may change considerably, depending on the context of the collaborating team.

- Second, the *ideal* post-bureaucracy is very *flexible*. It adapts to an environment in constant flux, posing different and often unfamiliar challenges. Not only does this require organisational members to be flexible, taking on new responsibilities, but also requires the organisation to acquire the capacity to continually adapt their process to changing tasks. Bureaucratic standardisation is not considered to be viable in the *ideal* post-bureaucracy.

- Third, without rigid specialisation, standardisation and formalisation, post-bureaucracies must continuously *negotiate*, even in terms of identifying the challenges that need to be addressed. Other examples include work processes, organisational membership and action.

- Fourth, continuous negotiations are, to a large extent, the result of *dispersal control*. Control, for example, when it comes to decision-making and taking responsibility, is not hierarchical and centralised as it is in bureaucracies. Various organisational members influence decisions, which are negotiated horizontally.

- Finally, Reed (2011) identifies a post-bureaucratic *ideal*, encompassing ideas of *personalisation and individualisation*, as opposed to bureaucracy's depersonalisation and collectivisation, which are essential elements of the *ethos* of the public bureaux (cf. Du Gay, 2011). The former pair of concepts anticipate enthusiasm and passion from organisational members, combined with a commitment to organisational vision and mission. In the absence of hierarchical control, post-bureaucracies convey autonomy but require committed and disciplined selves. Members of post-bureaucracies are not expected to acquire defined expertise or master the routines of prescribed roles. Instead, the most valuable knowledge in post-bureaucracies is *tacit* and not entirely transferable but adaptive and creative. In the post-bureaucratic world of continuously anticipated turbulence, organisational principles and values must guide action, before any objectifying rules of conduct, perceived as hallmarks of bureaucracy.

The most common form of post-bureaucracy is organising in terms of projects, i.e. project management. Project management has, by now, proliferated in almost all industries, not least those considered characteristic of a global economy, for example, IT, business consulting and pharmaceuticals. Project management became popular in the 1950s with high-profile technical accomplishments, e.g. the Manhattan project and the Apollo space programmes (Harrison, 1981; Winch, 2000). The promise of project management is to deliver non-repetitive (or one-off) projects on time, to budget and to specifications (Hodgson, 2004). Entrepreneurship and creativity have also been included as important characteristics of project management. However, Morris (1994) argues that project management is simply traditional management, having incorporated conventional practices of planning, organising, controlling and so on. Similarly, Hodgson (2004: 86) ironically states that

> what distinguishes project management as of particular relevance to 21st century organizations is its rediscovery of a very 19th-century preoccupation with comprehensive planning, linked to a belief in the necessity of tight managerial discipline.

Hodgson thereby raises questions about a clear differentiation between post-bureaucracy and bureaucracy. But Morris and Hodgson are not alone. In recent years, a series of scholars have heavily criticised the dichotomy between the two ideas (e.g. Clegg, 2011; Kallinikos, 2004; Reed, 2011; Styhre, 2007). The dichotomy is questioned both from the above perspective, according to which the post-bureaucratic discourse fails to acknowledge how much it relies on managerial control, and, as addressed below, because, these authors claim, the post-bureaucratic critique of bureaucracy is based on a misconception of bureaucratic practices and the capacity of bureaucratic organisations to act.

As we move on, it is important to note from this discussion how the discourse on post-bureaucracy is a response to a societal change which has brought with it changes in the organisational conditions for work – in private and public organisations alike – placing emphasis on speed, flexibility and innovativeness. It also means that organisational conditions for bureaucracy have become different from those in Weber's day. If we accept this premise, taking bureaucracy seriously, we need to ask how it can be conceived-of differently in this

recent context: judging it by what it does and how it performs under these changing conditions rather than strictly holding on to how it was described over a century ago, even though this description still fuels a substantial amount of the critique against bureaucracy.

New Public Management and other critiques of public administration

Drawing on assumptions and ideals of neo-liberalism and post-bureaucracy there is a highly influential critique of public sector bureaucracy. It is well known under the label of New Public Management (NPM), or sometimes *entrepreneurial governance* (e.g. Du Gay, 2000b; Kovalainen & Sundin, 2012; D. Osborne & Gaebler, 1992; Styhre, 2007). Historical roots for this movement can be traced to the late 1970s and early 1980s. Savoie (1994: 3-4) explains how three of the most prominent political leaders of the time, Regan, Thatcher, and Mulroney, all three under considerable influence of neo-liberalism, took issues with public administration in their respective countries:

> Certainly many politicians were quick to express frustration with their public services. Ronald Regan, on assuming office, wasted no time in making his own views known about bureaucracy. He declared on his inaugural day that he had come to Washington "to drain the swamp." In Great Britain, shortly after coming to office, Margaret Thatcher made literature on public choice theory required reading for senior public servants. In Canada, Prime Minister Mulroney said in his election campaign speeches that once in office he would hand out "pink slips and running shoes to bureaucrats."

Following the aspirations of these leaders, a plethora of initiatives to improve public administration was put into motion and continued in the decades that have followed. This applied to Anglo-Saxon countries in the beginning, but subsequently spread to many other OECD countries (Du Gay, 2000b). Already in the mid-1980s there appeared to be a remarkable consensus among political leaders of different countries as to what was wrong about civil service (B. G. Peters & Savoie, 1994).[12] Still, the most renowned and influential cases on the European side came from the UK and include the *Next Steps programme,* launched in 1988. The programme recommended

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[12] Germany and Japan are notable as countries that did not buy into NPM to the degree many other OECD countries did (cf. Du Gay, 2000b; Pollitt, 1995)

that many services traditionally provided by government departments directly controlled by ministers should be semi-devolved to executive agencies headed by chief executives linked to the main departments through a contract like 'Framework Document' which would set out their tasks and responsibilities and their overall performance targets. [It] would also specify the financial and personnel freedoms judged necessary to the meeting of the agency's performance targets. (Du Gay, 2000b: 87–8)

The process, called 'agencification', aimed to hive off between75% and 95% of civil servants into delivery focused agencies. Inevitably, central government would lose some of its control, but senior officials should have more time dedicating themselves to policy development, while agencies had the freedom to adopt 'business-like management practices' (Panchamia & Thomas, 2014: 5). The idea is that it will lead to more accountable management of quantifiable targets, customer-focused services, and more efficiency in public expenditure (ibid.).

The Next Step programme marked a paradigm shift in public administration in the UK but, as noted, its effects reached far beyond national boundaries. Already in 1995 there are claims of regional differences in the adoption of this new form of public management:

[M]ore emphasis on performance management in Scandinavian countries, a stronger accent on MTMs, the contractualization of the public service and systematic approaches to improving service quality in New Zealand, the UK and the US; internal decentralization in France (Pollitt, 1995: 133).

Fuelling the widespread adoption of NPM and the enterprising of public administration was also Osborne and Gaebler's (1992) seminal publication: *Reinventing Government*. The authors draw on multiple cases from public administration in the US and outline the ideology of what they call 'entrepreneurial government'.[13] According to the authors entrepreneurial government consists of ten principles. Du Gay (2000b) calls it a 'shopping list' for governments wanting to reform state bureaux, underlining the influence of the authors' writings and the ideas they

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[13] In fact, 'Enterprising Government' is also a name of a chapter in the book.

disseminate. Interestingly, though, Osborne and Gaebler start their book being rather sympathetic towards public administration by underlining some of the reasons why government cannot be run like a business:

> Few Americans would really want government to act just like a business – making quick decisions behind closed doors for private profit. If it did, democracy would be the first casualty. […] There is a vast continuum between bureaucratic behavior and entrepreneurial behavior, and government can surely shift its position on that spectrum (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992: 23).

The authors are also critical of the Total Quality Management (TQM) approach adapted to public organisation, expressing that it does not take sufficient note of the difference between public and private organisation. However, these claims become puzzling, at best, when we read the ten principles they propose as foundations of *new entrepreneurial governments*:

> [E]ntrepreneurial governments promote *competition* between service providers. They *empower* citizens by pushing control out of the bureaucracy, into the community. They measure the performance of their agencies, focusing not on inputs but on *outcomes*. They are driven by their goals – their *mission* – not by their rules and regulations. They redefine their clients as *customers* and offer them choices – between schools, between training programs, between housing options. They *prevent* problems before they emerge, rather than simply offering services afterward. They put their energies into *earning* money, not simply spending it. They *decentralize* authority, embracing participatory management. They prefer *market* mechanisms to bureaucratic mechanisms. And they focus not simply on providing public services but on *catalyzing* all sectors – public, private and voluntary – into action to solve their community's problems. (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992: 19–20)

What is particularly striking in this excellent summarisation, which I am compelled to cite at length, is the clear influence of private sector market logics and ideology. Economic rationality and management techniques are suggested for the public sector to increase spontaneous individual agency and authority. The suggestions are in stark contrast to Weber's idea of civil

servants, including their rule-bound roles and non-inclusive approach to work. But they comply almost perfectly with political ambitions and interests initiating public administration reforms in the early 1980s.

NPM has since been criticised for its narrow focus on measurable performance outcomes and for neglecting the differences between public and private sector work, e.g., by viewing citizens as clients and prioritising cost-cuttings before service needs (Kelly, Mulgan, & Muers, 2002; Stoker, 2006). One response to the critique of came with the invention of *Public Value Management* (PVM). Mark Moore makes a plea in his book *Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in Government* (1995) for entrepreneurial management in the public sector with an emphasis on creating *public value*. Similarly, the aforementioned attempts, some very recent, to adapt corporate entrepreneurship to the public sector are also a part of this stream of increasing the public sector's capacity to be entrepreneurial (e.g. Bartlett & Dibben, 2002; Diefenbach, 2011; Kearney et al., 2008). There is no single definition of public value, but in an extensive comprehensive review of the literature Diefenbach (2011) concludes that creating public value entails the involvement of and collaboration with the public. The value created is then situated in between citizen and society, founded in the needs of the individual and subject to evaluation (see also Meynhardt, 2009). As in NPM the focus of PVM on public sector managers and their autonomy to act as entrepreneurial agents is significant (cf. Moore, 1995). But in these more recent contributions there is more emphasis on managing networks of stakeholders (e.g. politicians, users, businesses and institutions) to create value and legitimise action (cf. Currie et al., 2008). The influence of 'open innovation' (Chesbrough, 2006) and the post-bureaucracy discourse becomes especially apparent here, insisting on co-production, dialogue and bottom-up approaches to decision-making (e.g. Collins, 2007; Stoker, 2006). But this also relates to the most serious critique on PVM, i.e. the danger of increased power and legitimacy of public managers to act and define public value (e.g. Du Gay, 2000b; R. A. Rhodes & Wanna, 2007). In Ministerial Departments it is of paramount importance that the authority of Ministers is respected, which makes the role and involvement of Ministers important for entrepreneurial endeavours.

The extensive influence of NPM on developments in the public sector in recent decades is an indication of an increased focus on public administration in politics and the media. The economic rationality behind NPM, but also PVM, underlines performance as cost-efficient and economically responsible use of resources rather than in terms of the classic values of bureaucracy, such as transparency and fairness. For these and other reasons, a number of scholars have been critical of developments moving in this direction in public administration. The response of some of these scholars has been to defend and mount a new approach to bureaucracy.

Defending bureaucracy: Du Gay and his reading of Weber

Bureaucracy has not been left undefended against criticism in recent years (e.g. Courpasson & Reed, 2004; Du Gay, 2005; Greenwood & Lawrence, 2005; Harris et al., 2011).[14] Rather than providing a broad overview of this developing discourse, selected contributions underlining the values of bureaucracy are discussed in this section. These were found to be of relevance for the current study into the entrepreneurial capacity of a bureaucratic organisation, namely, the Department. Of particular importance, for our purposes, is Paul du Gay who is considered to be 'one of the foremost contemporary interpreters of Max Weber and the bureaucratic archetype' (Harris et al., 2011: 3). As a key figure in rethinking and defending bureaucracy Du Gay is also important for this inquiry because he writes in the context of public administration.[15] Like the named European tradition of entrepreneurship, he is critical of the *enterprise discourse* and the enterprising self, he claims, penetrates discussions of reforms of the public bureau. Fundamental to Du Gay's reading of Weber is an emphasis and revitalisation of the, so-called bureaucratic *ethos* and its *ethics of responsibility.*

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[14] Greenwood and Lawrence (2005) and Courpasson and Reed (2004) are introductions to special issues in Organization Studies, discussing contemporary challenges and the relevance of bureaucracy; Du Gay (2005) edits a book with the affirming title *The Values of Bureaucracy*; and Clegg, Harris, and Höpfl (2011) edit *Managing Modernity –Beyond Bureaucracy* with a collection on chapters discussing how bureaucracy has been 'transcended', 'displaced' or 'transformed' in post-modernity. In sum, all of these publications contain several contributions from different scholars arguing for the relevance of bureaucracy.

[15] Du Gay's empirical references are most frequently to public administration in the UK, but also more generally to Western nation-states.

During the past two decades Du Gay's revitalisation of Weber's bureaucracy accounts for impressive praise of bureaucracy and bureaucratic public administration in particular (e.g. Du Gay, 1994, 1996, 2000a, 2000b, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2009, 2011). He fulminates fiercely against enterprise and post-bureaucratic discourses, encompassing the NPM movement, which he claims overwhelms the public bureau, and eliminates important innovations and values (Du Gay, 2008). The *enterprising self* (i.e. the economic human subject whose interests and passions are subject to managerial control, stimulating feelings of enterprise and initiative) penetrating public administration in both practice and theory, Du Gay argues, poses an imminent danger to a public administration in that the public bureau is based on values to ensure values important for democracy, including, equality before the law, ministerial responsibility and less corruption.

Following Du Gay (2000b), the enterprise discourse and its power to transpose processes towards economic and (free) market logic, significantly alters the role of the nation-state. If we, for example, put this into the context of globalisation, rules and processes become supranational ungovernable economic forces, and the only way to avoid becoming a loser is to out-compete everyone else. There is an economic war between nation-states. With this reasoning the state has to operate like other competitive corporations, as a result of which it should devolve its responsibility and interference in the economy, letting the market become self-regulating (ibid.). Du Gay describes how the idea of a well-ordered and regulated economy, providing resources to the nation-state and society, has become the adverse image of 'big government', undermining national and economic efficiency and resources (Du Gay, 2000b). The fundamental message of the enterprise to the state is twofold: *become smaller and become more efficient*. The consequences are widespread. For example, with economic efficiency as a guiding-light, there is no intrinsic reason for the state to execute its services. Instead, the state can choose to empower different agents, by outsourcing, to provide public services (e.g. commercial enterprises, NGOs, and trusts). These actors are then subject to constraints of economic efficiency administered through continuous evaluations and assessments (Du Gay, 1994).

Du Gay (2004) argues that the enterprise discourse, represented in the public context by, for instance, Osborne and Gaebler (1992) in a raw state, is a transformation of the way government conducts itself *and* how people conduct themselves within government. The latter is of essential importance for Du Gay, because the vocational role of the civil servant is redefined. In his reading of the management literature Du Gay identifies an enterprising self that is not only economic, i.e. *homo oeconomicus*, but is insisting on the wholeness of life. From this perspective bureaucracy and its vocational and ethical premise are described as fragmented and anomic (cf. MacIntyre, 1981; T. Peters, 1987; 1992). Subsequently, the impersonal and hierarchical character of bureaucratic reason and action becomes a moral symptom (Du Gay, 1994). In the enterprise, work is a path to self-fulfilment and there are no boundaries between 'work and non-work, reason and emotion' (ibid.: 663). Du Gay perceives this as management's utilisation of a romantic idealism, a calculative control of the enterprising self. Civil servants are led to the 'promised land of self-realization' (ibid. 664). They must exercise discretion, take the initiative and accept greater responsibility for their actions. The qualities of the enterprising civil servants must, subsequently, become those of *productivity*, *self-regulation* and *responsibility* (Du Gay, 1991; 1994). The civil servant should, accordingly, take ownership of assignment and deploy their personal enthusiasm (Du Gay, 2008). In short, the spirit of the office, its *ethos*, has been transformed, it has been *enterprised*.

Du Gay's appraisal of bureaucracy relates strongly to how it constitutes an *ethos* of the bureau and *ethics of responsibility* of civil servants. These are closely intertwined and considered to be 'remarkable and 'fragile' achievements of bureaucracy and modernity (Du Gay, 2008: 350). Thus, Du Gay's fascination with bureaucracy is not so much about routines, standardisations or hierarchy but concerns the human capacity to adapt to the ethics of the office which he considers an enhancement of human ability. Bureaucracy here becomes a personal conduct and a way of leading a life. It is a distinctive life order or *Lebensfürung*, as Weber would call it. Du Gay (1994) rejects the critique that bureaucracy is unethical because it is premised upon a separation between reason and emotion, public and private, and subsequently inimical to individual self-realisation. In fact, Weber distinguishes between *ethics of adjustment*, *ethics of conviction* and *ethics of responsibility* (cf. Willmott, 2011). None of these should be rejected

entirely, but, according to Weber, we need to learn to live with the tension between them. We need to choose their application with sensitivity for the context of a given situation. Thus, public administration is a sphere of life requiring civil servants to give priority to one form of ethics before others. In other words:

> The ethical attributes of the 'good bureaucrat' – strict adherence to procedure, acceptance of hierarchical sub- and super-ordination, abnegation of personal moral enthusiasm, commitment to the purpose of the office – are the product of definite ethical practices and techniques through which individuals acquire to certain norms. (Du Gay, 1994: 667)

Ethical practices of the bureaucrat can, by no means, be reduced to being a mere cog in a larger machine. The public bureaucrat is obliged to show responsibility in all actions:

> An official who receives a directive which he considers wrong can and is supposed to object to it. If his superior insists on its execution, it is his duty, even his honour to carry it out as if it corresponded to his innermost conviction, and to demonstrate in this fashion that his sense of duty stands above his personal preference […] This is the ethos of office. (Weber, 1978: 1404)

In Du Gay's interpretation the *ethos* of the office, encompassing the acquired ethical practices of the bureaucrat, entails a vocational differentiation between civil servants and politicians essential for democracy. The difference between the two should be regarded in terms of *responsibility*, rather than being (ontologically) different tasks, or a dichotomy between political conception and administrative execution. If the difference of responsibilities is maintained there is nothing controversial or suspicious about the involvement of bureaucrats in policy development, as long as the minister has the final word and is publically accountable (Du Gay, 2000b). The politician has responsibilities to his or her own political convictions. The politician is obliged to make compromises and sacrifice things of lesser importance for a greater cause, while taking full responsibility (Weber, 1978). The bureaucrat is ethically responsible for vocational duties, autonomous and superior to interests, kin, class and conscience. Public administration, thus, requires a form of self-denial. It is a fragile accomplishment requiring

substantial time and training. Du Gay does not see this as dehumanisation. Officials 'are expected to make independent decisions and show organizational ability and initiative' in smaller and larger issues 'every bit as much as politicians or indeed, entrepreneurs' (Du Gay, 2000b: 120). The two, the politician and the bureaucrat, are placed on different life paths, which organisationally intersect and need to collaborate, despite their different imperatives. Neither can be rejected in a responsible government.

Among the worst 'crimes' of the enterprising government is to galvanise a dichotomy between policy development and administration (e.g. Du Gay 1994, 2000b, 2008, 2011). The enterprising government differentiates between the roles of politicians and civil servants in terms of their tasks. Politicians need to be preoccupied with creating policy, but civil servants are viewed as having solely an administrative role when they execute policy. In somewhat more fashionable terms, officials become *managers* of policy execution and implementation, while their direct involvement in policy development is considered undemocratic. But the dichotomy does not hold in practice. Administration cannot be entirely separated from policy development and therefore theory cannot pretend that implementation and execution does not affect policy. Du Gay (2000b) provides empirical support for this with historical examples from the UK, showing the need for feedback from experiences of policy implementation to improve and develop policy. Also, policy implementation and execution will always include a space for interpretation and contextualisation.

Furthermore, the dichotomy between politicians and civil servants, policy and management, produce at least two additional critical consequences. One is the legitimisation of injecting and requiring enthusiasm and personal commitment from civil servants (e.g. Du Gay 1994, 2000b, 2004, 2008, 2011). This may seem harmless if the dichotomy held and policy execution was only a matter of economic efficiency. But it is not, and enthusiasm, encompassing personal commitment and responsiveness, makes a claim on personal dispositions, morals and opinions, which come to influence policy (Du Gay, 2008). Accordingly, enthusiasm, as personal commitment, would mean the total collapse of the Weberian dispassionate *ethos* of the office. Ironically, enthusiasm leads to 'politicization' of public administration instead of the

'depoliticization' that was the aim of public sector changes in the UK in the 1980s and 1990s (Du Gay 2000b, 2004, 2011). The idea was, and arguably still is, that service delivery be moved out to quasi-independent agencies and institutions that should, like other businesses, know and serve their 'customers' with enthusiasm and flexibility. Correspondingly, civil servants have been encouraged to put themselves in the place of 'the other' (Du Gay, 2008: 341). But officials were put into this world to serve the public, based on values of *equality*, rather than being accountable for the *needs* of 'customers' or 'clients'. The two are easily at odds, and enthusiastically serving a customer-citizen is bound to entail unbalanced decisions, when in fact the *ethos* of the public office conveys a conservative approach to tasks (Du Gay, 2000b, 2008).

Lastly, a consequence of the dichotomy between policy development and managerial execution of policy is the dissolving of ministerial responsibility for the execution of policy. Du Gay (2000b) argues, by including empirical examples, that the supervising role of the minister for execution and implementation in public administration is removed from his obligations. This has created a situation where ministers have been able to 'have their cake and eat it', i.e. they maintain the ability to intervene in execution. But if things go wrong chief executives can be made responsible for operational matters, expected to answer publicly for the performances of their agencies' performances instead of politicians (Du Gay, 2000b: 132).

Bureaucracy and entrepreneurship

Moving on from here, we take a closer look at the potential relationship between bureaucracy and entrepreneurship with Du Gay's Weberian interpretation as one reference point. This is done with the awareness that Du Gay has a different understanding of entrepreneurship from that with which this study has connected through the European tradition. Du Gay conveys an image of entrepreneurship as encompassed by the enterprise and under the realm of management. However, as explained in the previous chapter, for example, Hjorth (2003) and Steyaert and Katz (2004) make a meaningful distinction between enterprise as managerial entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship as a form of social creativity.

Weber and Du Gay agree that policy development in government departments can be described as a collaborative endeavour between politicians, or ministers, and civil servants.

Their rationalities and ethics differ, but they need to find ways to collaborate and sometimes develop something new and untested. But neither Weber, nor Du Gay has much to say about the details or empirics of this process. For example, how do political ideas entailing novelty, flowing from personal conviction and enthusiasm, encounter and collaborate with the dispassionate *ethos* of the public bureau? How do the parts negotiate and collaborate? Or, what is their capacity to implement and produce something new and different? Still, Du Gay's reading of Weber, I argue, does not exclude an entrepreneurial inquiry into public bureaux, despite his managerial understanding of the concept. It is in particular the *ethos* of the bureau and *ethics of responsibility* that draw attention to entrepreneurship. Du Gay appears to avoid using terms like 'formal' or 'calculative rationality', which Weber feared would lead to dehumanised institutions and 'iron cage' societies. Instead, Du Gay (1994: 667) makes a tempered claim for the influence of formal rationality in bureaucracy, stressing that Weber's descriptions, including 'dehumanization', 'impersonality', and 'objectivity', refer simply to the objective of setting aside pre-bureaucratic forms of patronage. In the same vein, Willmott (2011: 281) argues that ethics of responsibility is committed to values, just like ethics of conviction, but 'tempered with the anticipated consequences of alternative courses of action'. In these terms ethics of responsibility is not about mechanical accuracy in execution, as much as it is about cautiousness and taking different consequential scenarios into account in decision-making and execution. But Willmott (2011) also points out that we do not know much about the bureaucratic *ethos*, i.e. how it emerges, how it is continuously maintained and renewed. He is critical of both Weber and Du Gay, who appear 'to assume that the principles and ethos inhere in the structure of bureaucratic organization, and do not therefore consider how they are practically constructed and continuously renewed' (ibid.: 285). Accordingly, we should look at practices in bureaucracy rather than its structures or as an *ideal type*, if we want to understand its *ethos*. But at the same time as the *ethos* of the bureaux becomes subject to local practice it is also subject to change and even transformation.

As Willmott, like Reed (2011), draws attention away from *ideal type* bureaucracy, by emphasising local context, the concept of bureaucracy points toward an immanence, rather than transcendence. In this respect recall Nietzsche's famous distinction between ethics and

morals: ethics being active, immanent and creative forces of life; while morals are reactive and transcendental forces predefining life (e.g. religion) (Deleuze, 2005). Notably, irrationality and mistakes can only be captured in terms of movements and change, and are inevitable aspects of ethical living, while they would have to be considered exceptions, and therefore irrelevant, or immoral from a moral perspective on living.

Now recall that Hodson et al. (2013) underpin the inevitability of movement, chance and change in bureaucratic organisations, arguing that a Kafkaesque logic of *divergent goals*, *patrimonialism*, *unwritten rules* and *chaos* apply better to multiple ethnographic accounts of bureaucracies than the Weberian *ideal type* to describe these organisations. Their message is that we should not continue to treat these organisational aspects as mere aberrations in bureaucracy because they are difficult to put into generalising or static models. Their correspondence to practice is as valid and equally important. An essential point of their study is that everyday practice, movement, in bureaucracies, despite repetition, is continuously changing and never exactly the same. We should not mistake theory or ideals for organisational practice, just like morals values do not describe living with much accuracy.

Non-inclusive ethos and the capacity to adapt
Of those who identify an entrepreneurial ability in bureaucracy few are as categorical as Kallinikos (2004; 2006). His perception of the critique of bureaucracy, as we see in the enterprise discourse and applicable to much of management studies, is that it is oversimplified, based on 'astonishingly naïve functionalism devoid of any historical awareness' (2004: 14). This results in 'misinterpretation of bureaucracy through the overrepresentation of *secondary characteristics*' (ibid., emphasis added). Secondary characteristics, in this respect, are represented in much of what is commonly perceived as *ideal type* bureaucracy and presented earlier in this chapter. Kallinikos (2004) simplifies them by dividing them into two categories: first, *standardisation* and *rule-bound behaviour*; and second, *hierarchy* and *centralisation*. Much like Du Gay, Kallinikos finds the core property of bureaucracy to be in *non-inclusive* involvement of individuals in organisations (ibid.: 31). Correspondingly, it is this segmentation of life into spheres that fundamentally allows a bureaucratic organisation 'to be adapted, modified, redesigned, abandoned or reshuffled to address the emerging technical, social and economic

demands the organization is facing' (ibid.: 23). Continual changes inside and outside of a bureaucratic organisation (e.g. technical, social and economic) do not demand basic changes in personality, beyond those relating to attitude and skills. Roles and structures can be *redefined*, *redesigned*, *abandoned* or *reshuffled* as they are not personal qualities of an individual subject. This constitutes the *unique adaptive capacity* of bureaucracy, which is not only fundamental for continuity in a democracy, but a capacity that can host vibrant change, impossible in organisations with enthusiastic personal involvement. Ministerial departments, we know, have an obligation to serve a minister in the way that can realise ambitions to make changes and develop new initiatives. A reading of Kallinikos (2004) would find this obligation at the heart of bureaucracy's non-inclusive *ethos*, encompassing the capacity of *selectivity* in defining roles and duties; contextual *mobility* of roles (e.g. moving them between organisations); and *reversibility* of job designs.

In short, it becomes a grave misunderstanding that bureaucracy is a stiff and rigid form of organising. This misunderstanding is the result of an abstract image of bureaucracy, lacking practical and historical awareness. Kallinikos (2004: 27) conveys an idea of bureaucracy made up of practical aspects (e.g. routines, tasks, procedures and roles) that can be separated from each other and altered with relative ease, thanks to a *non-inclusive* organisational *ethos*. Hence, the most accurate and meaningful conceptualisation of bureaucracy will not transcend time and space, but is sensitive to context, just as bureaucracy is sensitive to practice.

'Moving spirit' and political governance in public bureaucracy
Where is movement in public bureaucracy? Can the capacity to adapt be catalysed? In the introduction chapter of this dissertation it was mentioned that Weber (1978) describes governing ministers in the same way and at the same time as he describes entrepreneurs, i.e. as *moving spirits directing minds*. The difference between roles of ministers and civil servants has already been described as being in the *kind* of performance and responsibility they have (Weber, 1978). And Du Gay (2000b) read this as a difference in ethics and imperatives.

With regard to a ministerial department's ability to encompass change and entrepreneurship, Weber is aware of inherent limitations to the efficiency of bureaucracy proper, for example due

to democratic responsibilities. But at the same time, describing ministers and entrepreneurs as *moving spirits*, he indicates the significance of encounters between the political and the bureaucratic; ministers and civil servants. Correspondingly, Heclo and Wildavsky (1974) coined the phrase *political administration*, covering both ministers and permanent secretaries, meaning that they were organisationally interdependent to be able to carry out their respective roles. The Weberian moving spirit – tightly connected to entrepreneurship – of a ministerial department cannot be confined in one place or person. If the Minister's moving spirit is to produce change or novelty it has to be adopted by civil servants, in one way or another, to be realised. Flowing from Du Gay (2000b) and Kallinikos (2004) in particular, the Minister's ideas, ambitions and movements can be perpetually adopted because of bureaucracy's non-inclusive *ethos*, which does not involve personal interests and values.

Theoretical accounts pertaining to the relationship between political leadership and ministries are scarce, as well as local empirical descriptions of the collaboration between ministers and, for example, senior officials. In a rare ethnographic study in a government department that focused on senior civil servants, R. A. W. Rhodes (2005) also argues that there are significant epistemological weaknesses in the already scarce literature encompassing departmental and ministerial decision-making (examples include Burch & Holliday, 1996; Butler, Adonis, & Travers, 1994; Greenaway, Smith, & Street, 1992; R. A. W. Rhodes & Dunleavy, 1995). Rhodes (2005: 5) claims that one characteristic of many of these accounts is their 'modernist empiricism [approach, which] takes facts as given and divorces them from their context of beliefs to legitimate its claims to objective knowledge'. It has been thoroughly noted that this study has produced its own empirical accounts emphasising entrepreneurship. However, with regard to relevant theory involving political leadership and public bureaucracy, the Swedish organisational theorist Nils Brunsson (2000) has made a notable contribution to organisational change, which serves a purpose of this study. But Brunsson's theory has strong ties to politically led public organisations and draws on empirical studies in the public sector.

Brunsson accentuates ideology and irrationality. He argues that political ideology is essential for change and novelty in these organisations. Rational and calculative processes are inefficient in

this regard and will seldom succeed in developing real change or become entrepreneurial. A process starting from an objective or defined success criteria (e.g. increasing profitability, number of people reading novels, or number of people attending opera) will fail to *motivate*, *commit* and create *positive expectations* among civil servants. Such rational approaches, instead, increase perceived uncertainty and *risk* in a development process. Brunsson (2000) notes that a calculative and rational approach, estimating risk by looking at the external environment to predict what could happen in the future, profoundly strengthens and intensifies perceptions of uncertainty and risk. What it does instead is to bring attention to our inability to predict the future. Civil servants will be aiming for efficiency and certainty to reach stated objectives with an imminent notion and emphasis on risk. In this respect, we need to recall that risk-averseness is considered a critical obstacle for entrepreneurship in both public and private organisations (e.g. Bernier & Hafsi, 2007; Currie et al., 2008; Diefenbach, 2011).

A non-inclusive bureaucratic *ethos* does not appear to be a problem for entrepreneurship when we read Brunsson (2000). But the emphasis on risk and uncertainty evoking fear in development work is. It is to be understood that bureaucracy in public administration, even as it is commonly perceived in terms of rule-bound behaviour and hierarchy, is not a critical obstacle for entrepreneurship. Here, it is important to note that Brunsson (2000) designates ideologies as *weak* or *strong*, depending on how open or closed they are for 'manipulation', for instance, by management, as opposed to environmental changes. In terms of organisational novel actions, there is an advantage in *strong* ideologies, as they are *conclusive*, *consistent* and *complex*. This helps the organisation to effectively and immediately evaluate the relevance of different ideas. In this way, a strong ideology serves as a necessary demarcation and enabler of entrepreneurial actions: 'defining what is perceived as facts, but also decide what facts will seem important' (Brunsson, 2000: 29). This solves many problems of efficiently choosing between multiple options without too intensive a concern or focus on risk, while evoking shortcuts in decision-making, omitting and abbreviating certain steps. As an example a strong ideology could minimise the need for detailed mandates from ministers. Brunsson (2000) calls the influence of strong ideology on development processes *action rationality*, as it appears to be an efficient basis for creating commitment and motivation. In Brunsson's (2000: XV) words,

'action rationality proves to be a combination of rule following and systematic irrationality'. *Decision rationality,* on the other hand, implies weak and inconsistent ideology, provoking a calculative and rational process. With regard to public administrative units, Brunsson (2000) concludes that it is important for them to have a weak and *changeable* ideology, so that it remains open and adaptive to political ideologies. Lastly, Brunsson (2000: 144–5) differentiates between two types of organisation: *changeful* organisations, which already have a strong ideology, independent of political leadership. These are susceptible to environmental changes, but will resist political leadership and changing ideologies. On the other hand, a *changeable* organisation has a fundamentally weak ideology (inconclusive, inconsistent and simple). This provides a shell against environmental affects, but instead the organisation is sensitive to changing political leadership and ideas.

Concluding remarks

I have now introduced different streams of discussion relating to public administration, bureaucracy and entrepreneurship. Due to the chapter's length and breadth it is appropriate to offer a somewhat detailed summary. The first section emphasised a broad overview of attempts to draw on the already extensive research into corporate entrepreneurship and the adaptation to entrepreneurship in the public sector. The three basic dimensions of corporate entrepreneurship – innovativeness, proactiveness and risk-taking – are usually also considered to be applicable to entrepreneurship in the public sector. However, due to vital differences between public and private sectors, which include unique expiations of fairness and equal treatment, goal ambiguity, less decision-making autonomy and fewer incentives compensating for risk, the three dimensions must be adapted.

The second section started with an introduction to the classical Weberian ideal type bureaucracy and moved on to examine branches of critique of bureaucracy. Common to this critique is the assertion that bureaucracy does not have much capacity to become entrepreneurial. For this reason and to complement a new era of globalisation and post-industrialisation there have emerged multiple post-bureaucratic modes of organising, promoting *tacit knowledge*, *creativity*, *behavioural adaptability* and *decentralisation* (Reed, 2011). However, there is substantial evidence that a dichotomisation between bureaucratic and

post-bureaucratic modes of organising cannot be maintained. On the other hand, there is ample evidence that organisations are developing alternative versions of bureaucracy (Du Gay, 2005; Styhre, 2007). NPM, or entrepreneurial governance, and PVM represent a movement that for over three decades has been influencing and sometimes transforming the public sector. NPM has done this by drawing rigorously on insights from entrepreneurship as enterprising and management in the private sector, which includes corporate entrepreneurship. PVM has, however, softened the approach by emphasising the creation of public value made in collaboration with, for example, citizens, businesses and politicians. These approaches advocate for the increased autonomy of public managers, making them central agents of enterprising endeavours in the public sector, corresponding to the private sector.

Du Gay's (2000b) extensive reinterpretation of Weberian bureaucracy is not only a defence for bureaucracy, but entails a harsh critique of attempts to bring the economic rationality of the *enterprise*, along with the *enterprising self*, into public administration. According to Du Gay these attempts are a threat to the *ethos* of the bureau, which, at the same time, he considers to be a radical invention of modernity and paramount to functioning democracies. Subsequently, this is what is at risk when we introduce enterprising as entrepreneurship into public administration. However, as Kallinikos (2004) explains, bureaucracy has a unique capacity to adapt, which its critics have missed. At the centre of this capacity is the non-inclusive *ethos*. An interesting question is if, and then how, this could also serve as an opening to entrepreneurship in bureaucracy.

The last section identifies the importance of the relationship between politicians and civil servants, especially in government departments. Weber makes it clear that despite different responsibilities ministers and civil servants collaborate closely on 'intellectually demanding' task, which must be conceived to be outside formal rules and routine. Brunsson (2000) makes an important contribution to organisation studies when he addresses the importance of ideology for politically led bureaucracies. Accordingly, risk aversion is a hindrance to change and entrepreneurship in these organisations. But a strong ideology and the organisational ability to change ideologies can delimit the effects of risk-aversion, and instead channel

organisations towards (entrepreneurial) action-orientation, as opposed to calculative decision-making.

Moving forward, the overview provided in this chapter indicates a complex and somewhat problematic relationship between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy. One aspect is the understanding of entrepreneurship in the context of the enterprise, which this study does not share. But instead develops different opportunities to discuss the relationship between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy. A second critical aspect relates to how we view and conceive bureaucracy: Are Weber's accounts just as relevant as before for our understanding of bureaucracy in contemporary organisations? Do influential reinterpretations, like Du Gay's, account for important conditions of present-day public administration, which includes, for example, a highly mediatised environment and self-aware organisations? These questions, along with the situation that the relationship between entrepreneurship and public bureaucracy is undertheorised outside the influence of the enterprise discourse, are an indication of the need to revisit the public office with increased sensitivity towards everyday practices and local context.

The next chapter addresses process as method. But when we continue and engage more directly with the empirical situation in the Department the theoretical framing outlined here will be activated in conversation with empirical accounts and an affect-based theorisation with the objective of informing both the empirical situation and related theoretical insights and questions from this chapter.

Chapter III: Process as Method

This is then my plea: Experiment!
Chris Steyaert in 'Making the Multiple'

Process thinking in entrepreneurship and organisation studies is emerging. The contours of process research are still being drawn and the literature grows. But it is not developing towards consensus around a certain method or framework. It is a process of working out ways of doing research in context. This is a primary purpose of this chapter. Paraphrasing Deleuze (1989), doing process research has the potential to *create research to come*, i.e. to think affirmatively with and beyond current methods, but also, and at the same time, to re-enact reality. Affirming is here becoming-active, to actively engage in making new connections and new (organisational) wholes. Process research becomes a way of thinking and doing that creates connections, even between what appears to be contradictory (e.g. entrepreneurship and bureaucracy). It pertains to empiricism and pragmatism, where experimentation comes before ontology – 'And' before 'Is' (Rajchman, 2001: 6). We make connections; they are not given. And it is done with the belief that something will come out of it. In the absence of universal truth, connections are local (but still pertaining to the same whole or substance).

In this chapter, method (pronounced softly) is outlined as an experiment that pursues the development of a *way* of doing research; of performing or re-enacting fieldwork encounters, while attempting to *show* more than it tells. Inviting readers to draw assumptions; allowing for blanks, while attempting to abstain from the common inclination of filling or hiding with abstractions and objectivity. It is an attempt to embrace the fate of writing research as a balancing on boundaries between fact and fiction, here, to evoke ideas of what could become. With the backdrop of the empirical situation in the Department, working out a way is guided by an idea of *anxiety*, focus on development of new policy and initiatives, which also gives weight to the relationship between ministers and Department. Nested in this way and this experiment is the belief that by making different connections, looking for openings, we can move beyond antagonism to, for instance, bureaucracy, entrepreneurship, or specific political systems.

Following this introduction, the first out of three sections of this chapter starts inquiring further into what process and experimenting entails for doing research. It adds to what was encountered in the first chapter of the dissertation and draws, in particular, on *non-representational* theory for pursuing a method. As the term 'non-representational' implies, this loosely coupled school of thought points, in particular, towards enactment and performativity, as an alternative to representations, which include a direct reference to a reality 'out-there'. Moving on, the focus shifts towards organisational fieldwork in and relating to the Ministerial Department. The final section of the chapter is a contextual development of a *way* of enacting experiences and affects pertaining to the Department. At its core is a way of thinking and doing research tightly connected to the process of writing about it. Accordingly, writing is not only a way of communicating to readers, but a way of activating – a dynamic and creative process – akin to what Richardson (2000) calls a 'method of inquiry': an in inquiry preferably for both authors and readers.

Doing process research: experimenting and theorising

Experimenting

Among process thinkers we will find frequent encouragements of creation and *experimentation.* Nietzsche encourages us to *create our own way*, which Foucault picks up, likening life and ethics to artistic creations (Rabinow & Faubion, 1997). Deleuze's philosophy also conveys similar ideas of the ubiquitous creativity of life. For him, Nietzsche's *eternal return* is the *return of difference*, which *affirmed* in practice is to unburden 'life with the weight of higher values', making life 'light and active' (Deleuze, 2005: 174). All three authors emphasise or demonstrate the importance of vitality, imagination, and fabulation. The experimenting *ethos* in process thinking transcends entrepreneurship studies when it touches processes thinking. But as Karl Weick (1989) points out there is unfamiliarity with thinking and writing processually, and we have not been good at it. In proper management studies we are used to using concepts to stabilise and routinise even when we talk about change or improvisation. The results can easily become a caricature, a simplification that ignores the significant influence of local context and practices. As a response, Weick (1979) encourages organisation scholars to

think in terms of verbs rather than nouns. The need for experimenting also comes with local approaches to doing research. While researching local practices includes movement and differential research 'objects', method also needs to be able to move and adapt. This was obvious to Bergson, arguing that method had to be developed in relation to what is being studied (Linstead, 2014). Hence, variety and flexibility is nested and necessary in the same instance that our position as researchers becomes processual.

In a similar vein, Langley, Smallman, Tsoukas, and Van de Ven (2013: 10) state that 'there is ample room for substantive, methodological, and theoretical development' in process research. And at the same time they provide different examples of how process research can be done in organisation studies in a special journal issue. Explaining what these examples *do* Langley et al. claim they

> take a researcher into a conceptual terrain of *events, episodes, activity, temporal ordering, fluidity, and change*. We see that process conceptualizations offer ways to understand emergence and change as well as stability, and they incorporate understandings of causality as constituted through chains of events rather than through abstract correlations. They also admit that time and process flow on beyond an arbitrary stopping of the clock to assess the state of the world at any particular time. Process research enables researchers to address important questions that lie at the heart of management and organizational life (ibid., emphasis added).

There are important lessons here to be taken into account, which include that process research experiments should aim to get closer to the 'heart of' organisational life. But to do this, the authors are seemingly suggesting developing sensitivity for the local and singular in events, and the temporality of order or stability. It also means that even the most rigid bureaucratic structures should be viewed as temporal, and with an inspiration from Deleuze, we might even consider them fragile.

Helin et al. (2014b) write about process mainly in the context of organisation studies, but there are clear implications to entrepreneurship studies, which also imbue the cross-disciplinary

European tradition. Here, again, experimenting is paramount, not only because the objects of study are constantly emerging; so, also, is the relationship between researcher and the world: 'There is little distinction to be made between researcher and researched' (ibid.: 11). The researcher is not privileged with an outsider's view from nowhere; it always influences the researched. Following this line of thought, research should affirm and embrace its own position of unavoidable influence. And with inspiration from Nietzsche the authors encourage the use of

> research to change the world while describing it selectively in its richness. Like with the bee, we could use active forces to act upon forces, bend them, learn how to belong to the flower, how to become under the influence of nectar, how to form a temporary bloc of becoming with the daisy that has opened up, increased its interactive capacity (ibid.: 12).

A second lesson that Helin et al. offer regarding experimenting with process thinking takes the form of critique of more traditional and static approaches as seen in management studies:

> Re-search entrusts methods' moulds, templates, and rules to secure repetitions that generate (statistically) consistent results. Things are identified, their elements parsed, and their context unfolded. Concepts like variables are employed to identify what these things are, categories like dependency used to represent possible relationships between them, and classes are used as generalities by which analysed variables find homes as being of a type. This all assumes a passive world of mass rather than energy, adaptation rather than creativity, and retention rather than protention. (ibid.: 11)

The critique (here cited at length) offers insights as to what should be avoided in process research, to the extent that it is doable and practical, i.e. repetitive research practices designed to generate consistent results and applying abstract concepts to identify what things *are*. Instead, to absorb process, we want to express *how they become* or *how they differentiate from each other*. However, completely avoiding everything the above critique encompasses is difficult – maybe impossible? It has been pointed out several times that even those claiming to cling on to principles of process philosophy often revert to non-process practices (De Cock &

Sharp, 2007; Hernes, 2008; Steyaert, 2012). For example, Hernes (2008), discussing the work of Langley (1999) and Van de Ven and Poole (2005), claims that even though they accept process they still adopt a classical approach to analysing data, and the flow of processes becomes implicitly predetermined. Hence, consistency in process thinking is a challenge not easily solved. We speak, write, and even think in the context of normative discourses, which comprise limitations for how we communicate (especially if we wish to be understood). Doing process research is therefore also a question of balance and pragmatics. We need to remember to ask ourselves questions, like for example: when does far into process become far out? But still without losing awareness of the continuous movements of/in the field, while refraining from filling the entire space with meaning.

In effect, to work out a way to do process research for this study at least three lessons are drawn from the above discussion: One, a need to develop method as a way that responds to the local and the singular of a given situation; two, a need to affirm a close convoluted relationship between researcher and the researched; three, a need to abstain from arresting meaning; four, to experiment with selected boundaries for absorbing process, while accepting the practical existence of others.

Moving on, I continue to act upon Steyaert's (2012) plea from the beginning of this chapter. Steyaert has argued for the need to experiment with process research and for entrepreneurship studies to become more entrepreneurial. This means not only experimenting beyond the conventional and structural approach criticised by Helin et al. (2014b), but also, more generally, moving beyond the representation and interpretation that can be identified in many process theory contributions (e.g. oriented towards Weickian sense-making). He calls for more radical approaches. Steyaert's plea has come to complement a desire driving this study, infused by experiences relating to the Department. Thus, his plea can be viewed as a point of departure for formulating an approach, and it moves towards *non-representational* theory/theorising, which, in a Deleuzian spirit, entails a radical *becoming* perspective on the world.

Non-representational theory has received only marginal attention in entrepreneurship and organisation studies. It has its origins in human geography where it constitutes a heterogenic conceptualisation of theoretical practices (e.g. Anderson & Harrison, 2010; Lorimer, 2007; 2008; Thrift, 2008). Critique of representations has a long history in philosophy, culminating in constructivism. However, one intention of non-representational theory is to put constructivism to the test, so to speak, by investigating its potentials, even going beyond it to some extent (Thrift, 2008). Its historical and philosophical underpinnings are to be found in the writings of prominent process thinkers like James, Whitehead, and Bergson, but also Deleuze and Derrida. Non-representational adopts the ontology of *becoming*, anchored in Deleuze's philosophy, and in particular when Deleuze draws on the work of Spinoza. Furthermore, actor-network theory, various feminist writings, and last but not least performance studies play a vital role in non-representational theory.

As the concept 'non-representational' clearly states, it opposes representations and representational accounts of the world. In fact, it claims that we cannot extract representations from the world, as we are always 'slap bang in the middle of it' (Thrift, 1999: 297), co-constructing with humans and non-humans. For a more detailed account of non-representational theory and how it touches entrepreneurship and organisation studies, let me emphasise the following four themes.[16]

Non-representational theorising takes a turn towards practices, asking 'how' instead of 'why', taking a radical stance on the subject: 'Practices are productive concatenations that have been constructed out of all manner of resources and which provide the basic intelligibility of the world' (Thrift, 2008: 7). Accordingly, practices are pre-individual and not tied to human subjects. They are not stable, but while repeated they constitute routines and structures; in other words, material bodies of work and styles maintained through repeated enactment. Here, bureaucratic routines may serve as a relevant example: a network of practices involving things, actions, bodies and so forth. But it follows that bureaucracy can, like other practices, 'lose [its]

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[16] The following themes are inspired especially by writings of Steyaert (2012), Beyes and Steyaert (2012), and Thrift (2008)

place in a historical form of life, [and] may leave abandoned wreckage behind' (Thrift, 2008: 8). While this is a common view of bureaucracy, the wreckage can also take on a new life with new connections, generating new hybrids, or become a fertile ground for something new to grow from. This is one thing this study wants to investigate. First, by investigating bureaucracy in a local context, and in a time (post-industrial) very different from when the influential Weberian *ideal type* was developed. Second, by connecting with bureaucracy through entrepreneurship on the assumption that even routines and habits can carry the seeds of disruption and change (cf. Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). Third, by giving priority to events, affects and desires as forms of movement rather than identifying structures. Fourth, by drawing lessons from the process of the enquiry to open new trajectories for thinking about bureaucracy.

A second important aspect in non-representational theory is *affects* and sensations. Affects were introduced in the first chapter of this dissertation, as pre-cognitive and pre-individual forces, escaping and exceeding the human body. 'Affects are not feelings, they are *becomings* that go beyond those who live through them' (Deleuze, 1995). While affects can be described in terms of a felt 'moreness' of an event, emotions 'set up encounters' (Thrift, 2008: 116). Affects are relational with the potentiality to become disruptive and transformative. They represent a level of intensity and indeterminacy where things are not settled and various 'lines of flight' or becomings are available (A bird flies in through your office window. What do you do?). Emotions are at the level of *qualification* (cf. Massumi, 2002). One *has* emotions. They qualify structure and 'filter' experience. Thus, they affect our judgement and how we establish the values of events and the world (ibid), i.e. what becomes an object of anger, pity, love, or excitement and what becomes an object of negative or positive value. Deleuze and Guattari (2008) encourage us to get beyond feelings, to become *imperceptible,* i.e. become something beyond our (human and prefigured) interests. Fortunately, the structuring of emotions does not eliminate felt 'moreness' of events or that something has escaped, because emotions are more or less disorienting. Feelings create an inside, or space with oneself and one's vitality (Massumi, 1997: 228). It is true for emotions, like other structured things, that they live in and through what escapes them. Now, anxiety pertains to emotions and is a perception flowing from encounters in the Department. However, in this context, anxiety should be considered not

as an individual's emotion but as something that constitutes a collective – an organisational way of being and becoming in the Department. This relates to an understanding of an organisational *mood*, which is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Third, *performativity* or *enactment* is central in non-representational theory. For instance, a research text does not represent or mediate a reality 'out there'. Instead, it is presentative and immediate – it is what it is. It is relational. But relations are not (one-directed) representations. They are immediate relations to and *in* reality to an 'extra-textual practice that prolongs the text', as Deleuze (cited in Thrift, 2008: 132) would put it. A text, or another object of study, is performative, not as an object of deconstruction or interpretation, but it becomes a reason to ask: *What use does it have? What relations can it create?* or *What are its affects?* Its becoming and potentiality is in its various encounters to e.g. another text, theory, or thought. One term does not represent another. A term encounters another, or several, and they become something between them and outside of them (Thrift, 2008). A text's potentiality is breaking out of prior (common sense) context and becomes *decontextualised* from representation. This was also Derrida's understanding of performativity as a force that could add something to the world, and thereby change how the world is experienced. Simply put, performativity is about adding to the world.

Performativity in process influences this study in at least two ways. First, when empirical material is presented and enacted. How this is done is discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Second, it affects the way analysing and theory is approached in this thesis, i.e. building theory becomes *theorising* (Steyaert, 2007, 2012). According to Weick *theorising* is precisely *not* what we usually call theory, which is to fix and reduce the world to abstractions. Steyaert (2012) adopts the concept of theorising from Weick, but extends it to non-representational theory and performativity to connect with forces of *desire* and pre-personal *affects*. The process of theorising is sensitivity for not freezing the movements it studies, but instead, taking advantage of the *wholeness* and openness of the world, which, when performed, explores potentiality – virtuality – to inquire into what the world can become.

The fourth non-representational theme I want to discuss, due to its importance for this study, is *multiplicity*. Multiplicity is closely related to performativity. It entails not only the wholeness or relationality of the present and human and non-human connections, but transcends both space and time. Developing sensitivity for multiplicity is to affirm the excess of space and the event that extends beyond its present (Beyes & Steyaert, 2012). Law (2004) has been an influential advocate for connecting multiplicity explicitly and practically to method. His claim, complementing process ontology, is that there is no outside perspective which pastes all theory and processes together (ibid.: 8). Law makes the same point as Helin et al. (2014b) did above about the inevitable and active relationship between researcher and the researched. Though Law is not explicitly writing in the context of non-representational research the same applies, i.e. no claim to superior truth is accepted in descriptions of accounts and structures. Consequently, there will always be a 'hinterland' in the accounts of this study that gets 'othered', and it becomes only larger if we hold on to static theories, claiming a rational and causal world that only needs to be discovered in an iterative and dialectic process of a scientific method. But there is an alternative:

> [T]olerate the uncertainties and the specificities of enactment, flux and resonance, [and we may] find that we are confronted with a quite different set of important puzzles about the nature of the real and how to intervene in it (Law, 2004: 141).

For a more another account of the unavoidable 'hinterland', recall Deleuze, re-enacting Bergson, addressing reality as both *virtual* and *actual*. Both are just as real, but the virtual only lacks actualisation, i.e. contextual-relational presence, to become actual. Here we can, for instance, think of any substance, which according to Deleuze (now re-enacting Spinoza) is nothing beyond its attributes. But at the same time the attributes are multiple; many more than perceived at any particular point in time. May (2005) has explained this with a reference to Japanese origami: paper is folded and unfolded into arrangements of recognisable figures becoming a *mode* of the paper, or in other words a set of actualised attributes. The modes of different folds are not copies of any original model or image, their reality is equal to any other mode of the paper. Thus, a paper as substance has multiple potential *virtual* modes that can be

actualised in any given presence. Another exquisite example of the world's moreness and virtuality is applied by Helin et al. (2014b) and T. Osborne (2003), using the numerous paintings of Mont Sainte-Victoire made by the French post-impressionist painter Paul Cézanne (1839–1906). Cézanne repeatedly paints the mountain. But instead of being a performance of homogeneity and invariability the multiple repetitions perform the mountain's difference and process (e.g. affected by the different light, perspective, colours and artist's state of mind). Through the paintings we get to experience the mountain *being as becoming*. It does not have any ultimate being or actuality (representation) beyond becoming. Rather, it has multiple modes or expressions performed in the paintings. Thus, in and through the *series* of the pictures performing these expressions we approach the reality – virtual and actual – of the mountain.

As with experimentation, non-representational theorisation is presented here according to the themes adopted and adapted to the way process research is done in this dissertation. But now we continue on to outline the process of doing fieldwork in the Department. Claims have already been made regarding processes being situated in local activities or practices. In other words: '*there are only micro-processes*' (De Cock and Sharp, 2007: 239, emphasis in original). Assuming a world of *multiplicity* and *wholeness* what is perceived as macro is only a symbolic manipulation of micro-processes, and ever so in today's post-industrial society (or are we beyond that?). But local actions and opinions continuously prove to have almost immediate global effects (the financial markets and wars in the Middle-East serving as radical examples).

Micro-processes and fieldwork

Organising and entrepreneuring occur within a larger context of events, circumstances and settings. This demands 'sensitivity for the way we theorize and write about [entrepreneuring], giving primacy to local context' (Steyaert, 1997: 28). Thinking with process, local context becomes a multiplicity of organisational micro-processes constituting everydayness of organisational practice. In my study I have selectively borrowed from the toolbox of ethnographers (anthropologists doing ethnography), doing participant-observations, conducting interviews, collecting different documents and taking photographs. This approach, because of its suppleness, circularity and uncertainty, has created a highly bilateral and interactive relationship between method as a way-of-thinking process and what becomes studied. The poaching from ethnography deserves a short introduction.

Ethnography and anthropology

Fieldwork in anthropology, where ethnography was developed as an approach, traditionally implies an intimate approach to research, entailing long-term presence in a field made up of social and cultural connections. Fieldwork was usually conducted in exotic places, villages, outside Europe and North-America (by brave heroic males). Long-enshrined as the essential method of anthropology, ethnography has by now been adopted in a number of fields ranging from cultural studies and nursing, to law, organisation studies, and even industrial engineering (Tedlock, 2000). As the concept 'ethnography' implies (*graph* meaning 'written' or 'drawn') it cannot be separated from the process of writing.

Ethnographers will seek to harvest practitioners' own (emic) language-use, focusing on how views are articulated, reasoning is performed, decisions are made, and action taken in the context of naturally occurring everyday practices (Geertz, 1973) In this setting, the role or the position of the researcher has been described and coined in different ways. Malinowski (1884–1942), a seminal figure in the history of anthropology[17], claimed an anthropologist's goal was to grasp the native's point of view. His assumption was that participant observation could lead us to think, feel and behave as natives – we could *go native*. Yet, with ontological paradigms

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[17] Malinowski is also referred to as having been an ethnographer and sociologist.

shifting towards structuralism and then constructuralism, combined with insights that raised questions about the objectivity, honesty and authenticity of previous ethnographies, anthropologists became more critical of their methods, especially their own position in the field (Tedlock, 2000). [18]

Since the middle of the 1980s there has been constant growth in experimental ethnographies, activated by criticism of representational writing and objectivity. In this regard, Clifford and Marcus' *Writing Culture* in 1986 was a landmark publication. About writing ethnography Clifford would state:

> No longer a marginal, or occulted, dimension, writing has emerged as central to what anthropologists do both in the field and thereafter. The fact that it has not until recently been portrayed or seriously discussed reflects the persistence of an ideology claiming transparency of representation and immediacy of experience. Writing reduced to method: keeping good field notes, making accurate maps, "writing up" results (Clifford, 1986: 2).

Their claims marked a turn towards reflectivity and experimenting, which in many ways has become a hallmark of present-day use of ethnography. Correspondingly, language has become a site of exploration and struggle:

> The ethnographic genre has been blurred, enlarged altered to include poetry, drama, conversations, reader's theatre, and so on. These ethnographies are like each other in that they are produced through *creative analytical practices* (Richardson, 2000: 929).

Hence, ethnography has contributed to a (postmodernist) blurring of genres, undermining the privileged position of science over literature and non-fiction of fiction (ibid.). But a reflective and experimental approach to ethnography does not only apply to writing. It applies to all aspects of doing ethnography. In the context of this study it should already be clear that 'going

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[18] Tedlock (2000) describes Marlinowski's posthumous field diary as a scandalous exposure of his lack of participation, racial prejudice, and imperialistic ideas.

native' cannot serve as a goal, but would rather imply an inability to conceive one's relationship to the field and position in it. In anthropology, the unavoidable relationality between researcher and field has also for some time now been an encouragement to experimentation, encompassing, for example, new fields and objects of research. These range from the most mundane (e.g. the local supermarket) to the most exotic. Ethnographies are written about events taking place in varying timespans, e.g. days, years or decades, while ways of retrieving information constantly evolve, including the use of photography, video-recording, emails and social media.

Ethnography in organisation studies

Since the 1980s, taking off in the early 1990s, ethnography has made a serious entry into organisation studies (cf. Czarniawska, 2012; 2008). Organisational scholars have been poaching, as I have, within the terrain of ethnography whatever has seemed to be useful. In the eighties, it was done primarily under the banner of consulting. But it has now become an established approach in organisational research.

To a certain extent, doing ethnography in organisations can be compared to classical ethnography in exotic places in that organisational culture and rituals can be just as foreign as any tribe. But there are also important differences or attributes that characterise ethnography in organisations. One is that organisations, like a ministerial department, are only a limited part of the life-world of an organisation member. Members of an organisation are an active part of it for only a limited amount of hours in a day, and the total span of employment or membership may last for only a few years, months or even less. Second, modern organisations and their practices are often distributed and difficult to confine within a clear definition of space and time. In other words, organisations have become increasingly mobile, with organisational members, especially decision-makers, moving around quickly and frequently (Czarniawska, 2008).[19] Furthermore, 'ethnographically inspired' research in organisations usually has a different research interest and questions being posed compared with classic anthropology

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[19] For an elaborated discussion of the challenges of doing organisational ethnography see, for example, Czarniawska (2008)

where the common object of study is culture. Ethnography developed as 'the study and representation of culture as used by particular people, in particular places, at particular times' (Van Maanen, 2011: 221). An anthropologist doing ethnography will typically attempt to map the main characteristics of a certain culture. In organisation studies, however, there is frequently a more specific *a priori* interest in specific areas of an organisation, e.g. leadership, project management, entrepreneurship or defined change programmes. Also, organisational studies often seem to be conducted in a more limited time-frame compared with, at least, traditional studies in anthropology.[20] Correspondingly, there is a lesson here for the organisational ethnographer not to let an *a priori* research question or interest become a blinding fixation, limiting sight and sensitivity for the fluidity and 'messiness' that is organising. To put it in a phrase: the predictable in ethnographic fieldwork is the unpredictable and that is precisely a reason for entrepreneurship especially to engage with anthropology and ethnography, as alternatives to the more common, more structured and predetermined approaches.

Constructing a field

One building hosts the Department. Well, actually the building is a combination of at least three buildings. The Agency of Culture served the Department with work-processes flowing between them. There were approximately 25 institutions under the jurisdiction of the Department, and numerous boards appointed by Ministers, with members from inside and outside the Department. Then there was the political system, which encompassed the sitting government and the Parliament with its 179 MPs, to which ministers are responsible. Minister and Department serve approximately 5.6 million citizens… and we could go on.

As for any organisation, we quickly observe the relational rhizomatics that make up the Department and its practices. Actually, this point was made clear right from the start by one of the officials listening sceptically to explanations for this study and aspirations: 'You cannot know *why* we do the things the way we do. We might be getting ideas and inspiration from

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[20] The *a priori* focus and the time constraints of organisational studies have been a source of criticism amongst anthropologists. The criticism was, for example, raised several times by prominent anthropologists at a seminar on business ethnography attended by the author in Copenhagen in May 2012.

anywhere', she stated. A researcher will always have to draw boundaries – consciously and unconsciously – and there will always be something beyond one's sight. But boundaries, even arbitrary, as Candea (2007: 180) has argued, give us something to strive against. They form a space of incompleteness, but also a counterpoint from where one can challenge imagined completeness or totality. In the case of this study, the construction of a research field began with a broad interest in doing research relating to organisational entrepreneurship. Then, an opportunity to do research in the Department came about. In the meeting between a research interest in entrepreneurship and empirical activities, opportunities and insights during the research process gradually contributed to the scope and boundaries of fieldwork.

The moment of opportunity for the fieldwork was a sudden and unexpected invitation from the Minister at the time. The invitation itself was open and without notable constraints. The Minister was a self-claimed activist and entrepreneur, wanting to change the way the Department worked, to have it become more 'spontaneous' and 'creative'. On the other hand his political ambition, explicated in several newspaper articles and interviews, was to make art and culture become a larger part of 'mainstream' socio-economic and political discourse. Later, after discussions with civil servants to confirm access to the organisation, the outcome was that I would follow the development of new, and at first, named initiatives. Hence, the development of new initiatives, usually defined as projects internally, became the locus of my fieldwork. The initiatives had a defined timespan of at least several weeks and required a collaborative effort, usually beyond the organisational boundaries of the Department. By following the initiatives I was following the development and execution of political aspirations. The initiatives had the attention of both the relevant Minister and civil servants, usually including frequent interaction between both parts. The initiatives were started in response to the Minister's explicit wishes and mandate. They constituted novel challenges for the Department and in that they were opportunities for organisational entrepreneurship.

Yet, following projects or single initiatives did not keep me from enquiring into other activities and practices in the Department. These included different kinds of meetings, e.g. monthly employee meetings, weekly section meetings and team meetings. I would also make continual

inquiries into different roles and daily practices of civil servants in different sections of the organisations. This part of fieldwork is not to be considered secondary in any way. Entrepreneurial activities are also produced against the backdrop of mundane and routine practices (e.g. processing permission requests, citizens' comments regarding the service of various institutions, and applications for funding). Additionally, studying the broader organisational context provided invaluable insights and 'thickness' influencing how the organisation was conceived and how the fieldwork experience is conveyed. In other words, they provided more insights into 'relationality' between the Department's micro-processes. These included, for instance, how routines were executed; how people communicated on a daily basis; and how work was perceived in the Department, more generally speaking. For the interest in entrepreneurship, specifically, it was important, for example, to qualify distinctions between the common and the not-so-common perceptions; between prejudgements and actual practices. It gave better insights into the organisational *whole.* This is not to say that more context always increases clarity. Situations may become even more ambiguous as a result, and certainly more complex. But simplicity is not an objective of this study. Had it been, one should then have chosen to rely on a more structured approach, e.g. the application of predefined models and theories – non-local and non-contextual. Ambiguity and messiness are the price of and reward for local and contextual research. Such research can disrupt theory and beg questions relating to how different and possibly unconventional concepts can be activated in the process of learning about what has happened. Ultimately this process can become a path towards radically new knowledge.

Following defined work processes of practice does not entirely relieve us from making further choices in the field. As mentioned above, being in the field we are limited by time and space, when in fact 'things' take place simultaneously in multiple locations. But I held on to my initial focus, giving priority to the development of new initiatives, which meant taking a special note of collaboration between employees, with people from outside the organisation, and collaboration between Minister and civil servants. For spatial plotting this interest of mine kept me, to a large extent, inside the Department's physical boundaries (buildings). Yet, on several occasions, it also brought me out of the Department to meetings, workshops and conferences.

In the field

After having negotiated access I visited the Department frequently. My visits would usually be for between two and four days each week, with a few gaps, for example, around holidays. Most frequently I scheduled my stays around certain events inside and outside the Department. These events, as mentioned, had different purposes. Often they were project meetings, but there were also team, department and employee meetings. I would also organise my presence around the availability of those I interviewed. The days I stayed at the Department were usually full working days, even if I only had one meeting or interview scheduled for the day. I used my time to move around the organisation and talk to people, for example, at lunch, by the coffee machine, or dropping by at people's offices with quick questions. At other times I could sit at my desk reading through documents or writing notes.

During my stay at the Department I had my residence in the Section for Art and Culture which occupied the second floor of the main building. I could sit at a desk there when I had the need for that. Most often I found myself sharing an office with different student workers. Access to mail and intranet was provided early on, as well as an ID card to access the building at all times. The only system I knew I could not get access to was the central file-management system.

The level of interaction in my participant observations varied. First of all, I would have to take the initiative when asking, for instance, for information, interviews, documents, access to meetings and new projects, and so forth. Very rarely would things fall into my lap, so to speak. The level of interactivity would also depend on the setting. I did, for example, actively participate in a couple of workshops, expressing my opinions and coming up with ideas like other participants. I also presented my research intentions at different times, including a presentation to a large group of employees, involving some discussion and questions. However, at project meetings I usually remained silent unless spoken to, which happened occasionally.

Field notes are a classic tool of ethnography, i.e. turning a piece of lived experience into bits of written text (cf. Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011; Wolfinger, 2002). In this sense their contribution is essential for the construction of an ethnographic monograph or, in the context and language of this dissertation, the *enactment* of events in the field. Field notes are the practice of writing

down regularly and systematically what has been observed and learned. Writing field notes is at the heart of the juncture between *what* a researcher finds out and *how* it is done. This is a fundamental duality of field notes and underlines the need to include *what* is observed and *how* one and others observe. But both aspects also continue to unfold while the author reviews notes ('headwork'), and re-writes them ('textwork').

Complementing both the 'what' and the 'how', Emerson et al. (2011) provide useful insights into developing observational sensitivity in participant observations and note-taking. I have taken particular note of those I have found supporting the interest in entrepreneurship. Accordingly, I have attempted to note initial impressions, e.g. sounds, atmosphere, the look and feel of the locale and the people in it (ibid.: 24). Even though I lived in the same society as the organisation worked in, numerous situations initially appeared strange or foreign. Not least because of this, initial impressions provided invaluable insights. Second, and closely related, I focused on my personal sense of what was odd, surprising or exciting, even shocking. Clearly, this could change in the research process as one gains further experience and insight into others' views and opinions. However, it is a good indicator of what is worth writing about, also with regard to entrepreneurship. But, at least since Schumpeter, entrepreneurship has been connected to abnormalities of *creative destruction* and *crisis*. Further, Emerson et al. (2011) warn against the temptation to describe *why* things happen instead of focusing on *how*. The former is a risky venture and easily becomes an illusion, usually including a series of opaque claims. On the other hand, being mindful of how things happen, i.e. how they become, can produce illuminating descriptions, revealing the world as a *virtual* play of potential and chance, rather than abstract causal relations.

For a closer context to how I went about participant observations and keeping field notes: at project-related meetings and workshops, I made extensive and rather detailed notes, emphasising what I have just mentioned, but in particular though how people communicated; namely, what people were saying, how they said it and how others reacted. In many cases I edited or rewrote the notes soon afterwards to add details and reflections. These could also include analytical and theoretical reflections. There were situations where I could not do all at

once, i.e. participate, observe and take notes, so I would then write notes afterwards, preferably immediately or on the same day. On a couple of occasions I recorded my notes. The cases of delayed note-taking were usually related to highly interactive situations or in circumstances where I considered note-taking too intrusive. Examples of the former include actively participating in workshops and during my own presentations. Regarding the latter, determining if on-site note-taking is too intrusive, it is obviously a judgement call and a matter of sensitivity to the framing of a situation, for example, of trying not to spoil equanimity and spontaneity of any given event. I would not take my notebook with me to lunch or pick it up in the middle of a casual conversation. Also, there were gatherings, like section meetings, where people spoke freely about various subjects where I thought note-taking might spoil people's openness. These considerations were more relevant at the beginning of fieldwork, while my presence was still unfamiliar to organisation members and, in all fairness, until I myself began to feel more comfortable and confident in the new settings.

Pictures

Apart from making written notes I took over a hundred pictures. Several were of the building, from the inside and the outside. This may seem an obvious thing to do, but it was also part of an immediate reaction, fascination even, to entering the building, moving around in it and hearing officials talk about it. My impression was that there was a distinct appeal and atmosphere in the building, which played a role in how organising was done in the Department. These pictures have especially contributed to written descriptions of settings and how they affect a given event. Other pictures were from events outside the walls of the Ministry, that is to say workshops, conferences and a few institutional visits. The pictures would assist me in recalling and describing surroundings and atmospheres, providing a more detailed account than my immediate notes. Also, it could save time in situations where note-taking was either difficult or impossible. Taking photographs also came in handy in workshops where the output was frequently text and drawings on paper cards. I am aware that photography has come to play a major role as a tool for various types of fieldwork, yet I consider it mainly as the kind of support I have illustrated, i.e. as supplementing my notes, and in situations I thought were interesting or odd.

Interviews

A significant challenge of doing fieldwork in organisations is the physical and spatial boundaries of the researcher, when we know organising can happen simultaneously and in many places (Czarniawska, 2008; De Cock and Sharp, 2007). The critical nature of this problem varies but every researcher doing a local study on organising confronts this challenge in one way or the other.[21] Despite having a rather specific focus in my research on certain initiatives, activities could take place in my absence and without my knowledge. One efficient way of gaining insight and access to these activities was by talking to people, e.g. in unscheduled and casual conversations, or more statically by scheduling interviews with them. The interviews were a particularly valuable way of acquiring a more in-depth understanding of events, processes and practices. They frequently provided missing pieces, offered new perspectives or clarified misunderstandings. Most importantly, interviews provided insights into how informants experienced events and organisational life, for example, how they perceived entrepreneurial activities.

Interviews are different from observation, generating different texts and experiences. The researcher asks questions, which demand answers. In comparison, there is arguably more involvement and control at play in the interview situation on the part of the researcher. The field notes leave a trace of observations that the researcher does not have much control over, though they do not exclude the researcher's influence and intentions. But the interviews generate a text that is more what was intended by means of the questions asked and the intimacy of the interview situation (cf. Silverman, 2006).

I scheduled interviews with 23 civil servants and two Ministers. Each interview with civil servants was scheduled for an hour although some lasted longer. Two civil servants were interviewed twice. The interviews with the Ministers were shorter, but instead both Ministers were interviewed twice, which added up to well over an hour of interviewing with each. Interviews with 21 of the interviewees were audio-recorded. Six officials from senior and

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[21] See Czarniawska (2008) for a detailed discussion and suggestions for how to do ethnographic research in organisations where many things happen simultaneously and in multiple places.

middle management were interviewed. The others were officials with connections to different initiatives – usually as participants in a project group. There were also exceptions, particularly when I suspected a person had some special insights or I expected them to be good informants in other ways.[22] Twelve of the interviewed were from the Section for Art and Culture, two from the Section for Media and Sport, one from Human Resources, three senior officials, three communication workers from the Secretariat, and two from the Agency for Culture. Finally, I had numerous conversations with people inside and outside the Department beyond the scheduled interviews.

	Ministers	Minister consultant	Senior Managers	Office Managers	Specialists (including project managers)	Student workers	Specialists from the Agency of Culture
No. of inter- viewees	2	1	3	3	13	1	2

Table 1. Number of interviewees and their roles

I did the first three scheduled interviews in the first few weeks after having gained access to the Department. Here the purpose was mainly to get an overview of how the Department was organised and some of its main functions. Following Spradley's (1979) advice I concluded that I would get more out of interviews at a point where I was more 'thoroughly enculturated' so that topics and questions could become more insightful and relevant.

To prepare for interviews I drew 'mind-maps', identifying the main topics I wanted to discuss with a specific person. If the person had been working with a particular project I had been following this would contribute to at least one of the topics. Other examples of topics could be

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[22] See Spradley's (1979) seminal work, 'The Ethnographic Interview'. Accordingly, the requirements for selecting a good informant are '(1) thorough enculturation, (2) current involvement, (3) an unfamiliar cultural scene, (4) adequate time, and (5) nonanalytic' (p. 46).

Collaboration with the Minister, *Entrepreneurship in the Department*, *Change of Ministers* and *Success criteria for action*. The number of main topics varied from four, up to about sixteen. For each topic there was at least one question, but usually four or five, sometimes including additional follow-up questions. A relatively high number of main topics usually meant that I had different and specific questions or gaps I wanted to address at a later stage in the fieldwork. One might suspect that the interviews had been very structured and predefined. Yet, the main purpose was in fact the process of preparing, i.e. being well prepared and clear about what was relevant for each topic. My experience was that the more specific I was in the design of the mind-map, the better the interview usually went.

In an interview situation I would use the respective mind-map as support, first, to be able know which topic had been covered and which ones had not; second, good preparation made sure that the interview did not stop because of a lack of questions. For example, before leaving a topic or theme and moving on I would glance at my mind-map to see if there was something important that had not yet been covered. Third, when the interview was moving towards an end, another glance at the mind-map would tell me if there were topics still not covered. If there were, I had the option of moving the discussion in that direction. In other words, the mind-maps were not scripts to be followed but a tool to make sure the most important subjects were covered and to secure a continuous and meaningful dialogue.

During interviewing I followed, for all practical purposes, Spradley's (1979) identification of three important ethnographic elements of interviewing. First, I would make my purpose as explicit as possible. Here, the advantage was that everyone in the Department knew something about me and my project right from the start, and the people I interviewed were almost always people I had observed and talked to several times before scheduling an interview. Still, at the beginning of an interview I would introduce my purpose and briefly say what I wanted to talk about if it had not been discussed beforehand. Senior managers especially would ask for information about what we would be talking about. I would then send them an overview of the themes I wanted to discuss and a few of my basic questions. This was, however, by no means a fixed list of questions, in the sense that discussions would always develop further during

interviewing. At the start of an interview I would also ask if I could audio-record. Only once I decided to turn off the recorder as it was clearly disturbing the interviewee.

Second, I would try to be transparent about why I was asking certain questions, that is explain how they related to my project. I would also sometimes offer my own reflections. This could be a way of communicating my surprise about something that had happened, or something I did not completely understand, thus offering the informant a chance to provide her/his view or to provide missing information.

Third, I aimed to combine *descriptive* (e.g. 'how did you experience the meeting?'), *structural* (e.g. 'how did you end up in the project group?'), *and contrast questions* (e.g. 'how would you compare collaborating with the two Ministers?'). I soon found that asking descriptive questions was especially important because people had a strong tendency to be analytical and general in their answers, avoiding being descriptive and particular. This observation made it even more important to choose informants I knew and had shared some experiences with. This would usually result in a more open discussion and descriptive answers.

Finally, I would try to create a friendly atmosphere during an interview situation (cf. Spradley, 1979). This would include not interrupting or moving into new topics before I thought the person had had a chance to say what they wanted and by showing explicit and genuine interest in what they were saying.

Internal documents

The Department, as a bureaucratic institution, produced a lot of written documents. Traceability is an important requirement in any bureaucracy. Thus, documents are a significant source of information about practices in the Department. I asked for access to the central filing system, where the history of all cases and documents is stored, but was refused. Yet, I do not think it would have added much value to my study. Because of the focus of the study, documents relating to identified and named projects were of particular interest, for example, showing how an initiative evolved over time. I did not experience problems getting the documents I wanted, usually via email. In the development of new initiatives, the documents

were most frequently sent out to the relevant people and I often received copies that way. If I found out that there were documents I had not received, I asked for them. Obviously, it is not impossible that there were interesting and relevant documents that I never found out about and never asked for. The only way to address this was by being attentive to the organisational environment, asking questions and making enquiries when there appeared to be gaps or inconsistencies.

Not 'secondary data'

Decisions and actions concerning the Department regularly find their way into national media. The media is nowadays frequently referred to as the *fourth estate*[23], because of its power to influence public opinion. For Minister and Department, what is said in the media is of paramount importance. To be able to understand some of the decisions and practices in the Department it was therefore important to be aware of what the media was saying about e.g. Minister, Department and relevant institutions. With access to a national media database it was fairly simple to gain an overview of what was being written in the press and to look for material on specific topics. Of primary relevance was coverage of the Ministers and different initiatives connected to the Department.

Before starting fieldwork, I spent considerable time preparing by reading about the first Minister, his political agenda and the Department itself. Later, during fieldwork, I would continually read what the media was writing. There was a point in time when my observations were more focused on the media than anything else happening in the Department, and that was during the days leading up to the resignation of the first Minister. During this turbulent time the media and the political opposition were more in charge of organisational events than Minister or Department.

I have now provided an overview of the most important aspects of doing fieldwork in and around the Department. It included various processes and the production of different materials, most often as texts, including interviews, field notes, pictures, documents and media

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[23] The term has been attributed to Edmund Burke (see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fourth_Estate, accessed 09/11/2014)

articles. These multiple sources provided insights into the various aspects and layers of the organisation, underpinning the fact that an organisation is an assemblage of various formal and informal practices, rules, opinions, interests, attitudes, etc., constituting multiple different organisational relations, encounters and affects. But the multiplicity entailed in the encounter between researcher and the researched, here described as fieldwork, honours, and is a valuable source for, thinking and doing process research. To give priority to process is to give priority to the relational *wholeness* of the organisation; to give priority to what things are made of – how they become and what they do – rather than the things themselves. Organisational life is not in the reflections of employees, the documents written, orders given, or physical surroundings. But we will come closer to it if we can combine or connect all this. Moving on, we turn to the question of how to *enact* this encounter of multiple layers between researcher and the researched while at the same time, making use of former discussions of doing process research drawing on non-representational theorising and an interest in entrepreneurship as an organisation creation.

A *way* of enacting multiplicity

The foundations and contours of the *way* process is considered and enacted in this study have already been presented, but it is time to intensify the contextualisation of this particular way of *doing* process research – of responding to a plea for experimentation. It has been noted that it encompasses (Deleuze-Guattarian) relational epistemology, complementing an ontology of becoming and coined in concepts like *rhizome* and *multiplicity*, which express the world as a relational *wholeness*. Thus, knowledge lies in the affirmation and creation of relations. We are always enacting the world, or parts of it, when we write, for example. This section deals with how to write process in a manner complementing the research question, themes of the study – entrepreneurship and bureaucracy in particular – and the empirical context.

The *way* developed for this purpose and outlined below involves the writing of a series of what I call *figurations*. The figurations are imaginative performances of events pertaining to the Department, but can also include direct quotes from interviews. Their content and organisation connects with the focus on entrepreneurship in a bureaucracy, and arguably also teases out a

form of organisational anxiety. Calling the pieces of texts 'figurations' is a reference to movement and performance, i.e. making a figure and following movement. In this respect, Deleuze asks us to follow desire and movement through the use of rhizomatic figures (Cole, 2011). Steyaert (2012: 157), in a reference to Braidotti and non-representational theory, also speaks of figurations as mappings of embodied positions. However, what follows is my own enactment of what it means to write figurations. The figurations constitute the whole of Chapter V. While the figurations are an attempt to absorb process, two overarching practical aspects and objectives influence their emergence. One is that, for the researcher, they have been a way of enquiring into encounters with/in the Department. Second, they constitute an effort to give more space to the reader's own perceptions and sense-making. Both aspects are discussed in more detail below.

The following discussions address the development of the figurations and how they connect with different aspects of doing process research. First, the figurations constitute a way of *writing multiplicity* as a series of empirical events, which in different ways corresponds to doing field work. Second, *performativity* is a critical aspect of the figurations. Third, *imagination* cannot be separated from performativity, or writing in general, but at the same time it does not exclude claims of truthfulness. Finally, the figurations are an attempt to stay with *process and lightness* for as long as possible.

Writing multiplicity

Doing fieldwork in the Department was sometime like being in a montage of experiences and events. I would jump into one meeting about the Minister's road trip; do an interview with a senior official; eat in the canteen and discuss a TV series; bike back to my office at the university; bike to the Ministry two days later to participate in a workshop on diversity, and so forth. In other words, fieldwork was not, and most probably never is, a smooth consistent flow of causal or consistent events. Yet, it was a flow of events, but these events were just as independent as they were interdependent. This has affected how this study conveys some of these experiences through 'figurative' accounts, which still leave open various indeterminacies, gaps and a chance for readers to experience more than what they are told. In this sense, the

empirical accounts are an invitation to readers to make their own sense of the text framed as figurations. But would this invitation then not be more serious without a contextualisation of themes, method or theory? This is a legitimate question I have asked myself. But at the same time such a venture would be at great risk of not connecting to readers and becoming too diffused to have or perform experience and affects that I, as author, still want to convey. In any case 'I' cannot ever be separated from the text no matter how far it is from my intention to control anyone's reading. We all have a certain capacity to be affected, i.e. to experience affects. To comprehend what we experience we must have a way of relating to encounters, which takes as its point of origin previous experiences and expectations, for instance, of what a doctoral dissertation should look like.

Drawing on what has been introduced, the figurations create a multiplicity or series, which, despite their autonomy, are all connected. They are connected by the author, but loosely enough to be an invitation to the reader to disconnect and reconnect. The writing of the figurations is about creating a series that multiplies connections, of writing with 'And' rather than 'Is' (cf. Steyaert, 2012). Thus, there is an open 'And' between each and every figuration. Similarly, the figurations become a series of sessions that make a process by activating a potentiality of the multiple – multiplying meaning, rather than arresting it (ibid.).[24] The figurations perform a figure, take a position, but then leave it for another and another and … Anxiety and entrepreneurship are not unfolded, defined, or explained in totality in any one figuration. Rather they are there as an intensive expression unfolding in the Department's practices and encounters, occasionally made explicit in utterances.

Deleuze (1997: 225) states that writing, as a way of creating multiplicities and making connections, that it is inseparable from becoming. Correspondingly, experimenting with figurations is an attempt to show something more than a liner narration or representation. Or, to put it differently: a series of figurations and the breaks between them give room to reflect and approach each of them anew, using encounters and events as the point of origin, rather than having to protect a continuous and consistent style or storyline. In this way the figurations

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[24] A description of figurations performed as a series of sessions is inspired by Steyaert's reading of Serres, where series become a means of enabling 'the potential of the multiple' (Steyaert, 2012: 159).

correspond more accurately to experiences from fieldwork and the material it produced, leaving behind perceptions of potentiality and indeterminacy (the cat in the box was both dead *and* alive).

 'Mess' or 'messiness' is not what I am going for with the figurations. However, the study takes note of Law's (2004) description of reality as a 'mess', unknowable through regular, routinised representations. Law's critique is that 'proper' social sciences silence mess and 'messiness'. For Law the creation of multiplicities is in attentiveness and sensitivity for events, practices, surroundings etc. that we usually disregard. Often it is because we want to generalise and make universal conclusions, thinking we can do this without knowing about the local. While reality is a mess, our lives are a flow of events. From birth to death the imminence of the event cannot be avoided: global and local, influential and trivial, intimate and external. We label them and apply meaning to them in different ways, which in itself is an event – *the sense of the event* (Kirkeby, 2004). The imminence of events applies to research, fieldwork, and organisational practices. But, as Hjorth (2007) points out, there is a distinction to be made between practices and events. It is in and through events that everyday practices are performed and *become*. But at the same time studying practices is how we access events – a window to the event. It is also why the figurations emphasise the way people work and communicate, and the way they make sense of both (e.g. in interviews).

Every event has a *virtual* potentiality beyond any causality or rationality. We can say that it is totally autonomous and totally dependent at the same time (Kirkeby, 2004). It is autonomous because it is not bounded by the *actuality* or an understanding of previous events. Already with Hume (1711–76), we learned that causality is an assumption – an effect of our imagination. There is always a thought or an action that could have been different. No matter the rigidness of circumstances or what preceded it. However, the event is still always in the shadow of previous events as experiences. Hence, there is a constant tension taking place in the event between the *virtual* and the *actual*, decisive for what fraction of it becomes *actualised*. Our (all too human) tendency is to move rather hastily between these levels as we make sense of events, i.e. the moment towards: 'this has happened', which is an attempt to close the event

and dismiss other potentials.[25] But the event has neither a beginning nor an end. Those are narrative constructions, usually pertaining to causality and rationality (cf. Hjorth, 2007). The event always carries the seeds of creative and entrepreneurial activities, of affects that interrupt everyday practice. This study enquires into how this happens in bureaucratic surroundings, commonly considered hostile to any deviations from routines and rules.

The question of how things happen is posed first from an author´s view whilst writing and constructing the figurations from a heap of data and experiences. I continually reflected on experiences in the Department while being there and made decisions accordingly about, for example, who to talk to, what to ask, and how to connect current experiences to previous ones. Along the way ideas started emerging with the sense of a more intimate perception of how things work and how they get affected. But I had not developed a clear idea about how I could communicate my encounter with the Department. Writing, like cartography, is never a 1:1 copy. Instead, it is a radical and selective transmutation of affects, perceptions and ideas. To begin with I did two things in parallel. First, I began to transcribe my interviews. I transcribed approximately half of them myself, and got a professional to do the other half.[26] When the interviews had been transcribed I organised them to get a better overview by coding them. The coding was fairly intuitive, but the main subject codes, under which there would be several sub-codes, were the following:

- Subject codes for each of the two Ministers (Mr. Minister and Mrs. Minister) containing, for example, sub-codes of 'leadership', 'policy' and 'resignation'.
- 'Affects and emotions' identified or described in the interviews, for instance, 'fear', 'confusion' and 'fun'.
- 'Entrepreneurship', under which there were codes like 'creativity', 'chaos' and 'facilitate'.
- 'Organisation', addressing topics like being 'busy', 'flexibility' and making 'mistakes'.

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[25] Kirkeby (2004) calls this the *proto-event*.
[26] The reason for the limited use of an external transcriber was mainly limited funding.

- 'Project-work' or policy projects, organising the interviews according to each project I observed.

The coding was not carried out for the purpose of triangulation or to be given a privileged role in identifying themes for writing, but it was an important part of conceiving of the encounter with the Department, and influenced the making of the figurations.

A second thing I did, as an analytical move influencing the writing of the figurations, was to write up meetings (e.g. project meetings and workshops). Creating texts that attempted to grasp things I thought had been interesting during a given meeting. Sometimes it entailed something surprising, as in unexpected. At other times it was surprising because it was so very determinable in terms of previous experience, or that events confirmed common prejudgements. I looked, in particular, for aspects that made events different and identifiable, but at the same time singular. I want to call it *eventness*, i.e. something indefinite, which could open up the chance for something new to happen (cf. Rajchman, 2001). These write-ups became rather detailed texts that helped to grasp and identify different phases, for instance, in the development of new initiatives. In this sense, the writing corresponded to what Richardson (2000) calls a *method of inquiry*, or writing to enquire into previous experiences in order to develop new ideas and elucidate others. This process would evoke and support the idea of enacting encounters and experiences for readers in a way that corresponded to how they emerged in writing.

The two analytical movements described above, regarding interviews and meetings, became the medium around which the figurations were written, i.e. as a combination of descriptive accounts and selected citations from interviews.

Performativity

It was when I began to identify anxiety in the Department my interest and focus on affects and perceptions increased. This has now produced a turn towards performativity in conveying experiences from the Department. Performativity as a central aspect of the non-representational theorisation has been established and has an influence on the way process is thought and done in this study. The figurations – a series of events – are a way of addressing

performativity. Their supple connectivity, openness and indeterminacy becomes an indication of what is not there – prolonging the text. Drawing on Thrift (2008) this becomes a way of encouraging the question: 'what relations can we make?' The question could not be avoided while writing the figurations, if only because of the choices that needed to be made during the process. But now, as mentioned, it has become an invitation to the reader encountering the text, to give meaning. I imagine a reader standing in between texts connecting them (using body and mind), which I find to be close to the very definition of performativity, that is, to add to the world.

Affects cannot be separated from the performativity of figurations. They are essentially about performing affects penetrating encounters. However, in the end these affects can only be attributed to the researcher/researched encounter, without the possibility to clearly distinguish between one and the other. Thus, a way to relate to performativity in the writing of the figurations has been to implicitly answer questions like 'what are the affects of this encounter?' and 'how do they unfold in practices?'

Yet another way of interrogating performativity is in terms of its pragmatics by asking: 'what can we use this text for?'. The figurations are made in the context of the study's focus on organisational entrepreneurship and bureaucracy. But the last three chapters of this dissertation can be viewed as an inquiry into similar questions of usability, of what kind of entrepreneurship and bureaucracy do the figurations enact. The open-endedness of the figurations, refraining from becoming conclusive, is also an invitation to the reader to ask pragmatic questions in a context (e.g. theoretical) that can be different from this study's.

Writing multiple figurations is not a way of grasping essence (e.g. of events, development of new initiatives, or organisation) but rather a way of providing space for 'moreness', different affects and *becomings*. Truthfulness is a driving force. Helin et al. (2014b: 3) make a valuable point using Cézanne's multiple paintings of Mont Sainte-Victoire as example: 'there are several paintings that are true. As such a multiplicity the image resists becoming locked into the fixity of thing-ness, as it keeps open the endless capacity of seeing variation'. Correspondingly, the potentiality of a series of figurations is to become a 'programme' for actualising novelty;

become a part of the staging on which creation takes place. In the empirical context of the Department one can imagine a series that would inspire us to question perceived structures and dichotomies, e.g. bureaucracy/entrepreneurship, hierarchy/flexibility, or to create connections between ostensibly unrelated concepts, e.g. anxiety and entrepreneurship.

Imagination and figuration

This study works with a concept of entrepreneurship as organisation creation beyond causal thinking and economic rationality. Instead, creativity, process and context become central aspects. According to the outlined European tradition of entrepreneurship studies, narrative-creativity including expression, imagination and fabulation are important to actualise new ideas (e.g. Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; Gartner, 2007; Hjorth & Steyaert, 2004; Hjorth, 2013; 2007; Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; Steyaert, 2007). Such claims were a point of origin while writing the figurations. Above I mention *eventness*. Writing the figurations is an attempt to perform *eventness* of encounters. It is not possible to replicate or represent an event by means of any 'objective' writing style. No more than it is possible for a cartographer to map all layers and details of a landscape on a single map. Instead, events are imaginatively performed, guided by their *eventness*, which becomes a way of conveying and organising affects and intensities.

Surely, writing with focus on affects we are always limited by perceptions of practices. But we are not delimited by sense-making or a predefined rationality. Affects transcend rationalities. Thinking process and performativity, we want to enter this *in-between* space of experience in an attempt to think beyond a preconfigured state of affairs. Accordingly, I inquire into the *potentiality* of organisational life pertaining to entrepreneurial practices in the Department: 'what can the Department become?', 'what can a bureaucracy do?', or 'how can a Minister lead?' are all relevant questions. Deleuze had a series of concepts and slogans to stimulate thought and writing beyond present stratification of reality (e.g. minor-politics, symptomology and nomadology). With regards to literature he maintains that

> [writing] consists in inventing a people that is missing. It is the task of the *fabulating* function to invent a people. We do not write with memories, unless it is

to make them the origin and collective destination of a *people to come* still ensconced in its betrayals and repudiations. (Deleuze, 1997: 228)

A corresponding claim has also emerged in entrepreneurship studies:

Drawing on previous emphases on the importance of the narrative-creative side for actualising entrepreneurial ideas […] this study affirms this approach by introducing the concept of *fabulation* as a processual narrative performance of imagination. (Hjorth, 2013: 206, emphasis added)

Accordingly, writing with a focus on affect and becoming, i.e. writing towards actualising the entrepreneurial, is a practice of *inquiry*, *invention* and *fabulation* (see also Steyaert, 2012). Society and organisations are full of meaning, interpretations, names and folds. But there is always a space in between all this to create new connections, to cut up, and anatomise. Corresponding to the description of Cézanne's paintings, Jameson (1998: 51) describes Bertolt Brecht's (1898–1956) method of realism and faithfulness, as that of creating aggressive 'intertexts, notoriously plagiarising or working over their pre-existing "originals" '. Creation of imaginative intertexts, here, becomes a way of leaving representation to become a way of finding out about oneself and one's topic. It is also a way of becoming faithful to the world and its potentiality and an attempt to leave pre-configurations and common sense by staying with things to get to know them (cf. Hjorth & Holt, 2014; Whiteman & Phillips, 2006). The figurations are an outcome of a similar process of staying with local encounters, which together still create a whole.

Flowing from fieldwork, corresponding to what has been described, this study is the outcome of having to deal with piles of heterogeneous data, fractions of information in different shapes and forms, sometimes ambiguous and inconsistent. How to account for that is the researcher's headache and dilemma. Enacting figurations is choosing to emphasise *showing*. This is not to say that the boundary between showing and telling is always clear. But prioritising telling before showing is, for example, the very human and spontaneous allocation of meaning to what has taken place or what is about to happen without describing it. Van Maanen (1988) calls this kind of writing *realist tales*. They are, furthermore, characterised by a dispassionate third-

person voice. Realist tales push strongly towards a narrative authenticity of observed practices. On the other hand, performing and showing readers draws on fiction and to some extent on Van Maanen's *impressionist tales*, by using sensory language and emphasising the immediacy of events and experience.

An assertion based on what has been said so far is that fiction or fabulation cannot be entirely avoided in writing and speaking. Paraphrasing Deleuze organisational life is a flow of signs without anything outside it being signified. For some the reaction to such insights has been that boundaries between fiction and non-fiction are primarily a matter of an author's claim before anything else (Richardson, 2000). Supporting these claims are established practices of even the most 'realist' writers and researchers. For one, numerous studies (e.g. cultural, social, and organisational) will change names of characters and places. Second, every author and researcher has to be *selective* about the things they write and the things they leave out. This selection will always involve a subjective evaluation in one way or the other. Third, researchers will frequently use metaphors to convey meaning. Fourth, the use of direct citations in qualitative studies of all kinds is made primarily to 'illuminate experience, evoke emotion, and provoke response' (Sandelowski, 1994: 479), leaving this established practice in the domain of aesthetic and ethics. Hence, research texts do entail inventiveness and inventions. Correspondingly, writing the figurations can be likened to the writing of *semi-fiction* conceived as a way of 'exploring empirical reality and pulling together fragments from fieldwork' and making use of the unavoidable inventiveness of research texts (Whiteman and Phillips, 2006: 20).

Inventive, semi-fictitious figurations emphasising affects without claiming to be representative have received different practical manifestations. First, the use of fictitious names in the text without a one-to-one relationship to an individual provided the opportunity to think in concepts and content rather than representations of individuals. In this sense, conceptual characters give body to utterances and practices first and foremost, meaning that I allowed myself to combine utterances from different civil servants and make them the utterance of one

conceptual person.[27] This allows for a different compilation and use of space in the text, but also increases the effect of anonymity. However, as a footnote and reassurance to some readers, the conceptual personas correspond to an identifiable level in the Department's hierarchy (e.g. minister, senior official, office manager and specialist), and keeps intact the effects of hierarchical positions on practice. Furthermore, let me re-emphasise that some of the figurations are what we usually call direct quotations from recorded interviews. These are marked with quotation marks.

However, a second manifestation of inventiveness in the figurations is precisely that other utterances in the figurations are *not* direct quotations.[28] When combined with conceptual people or bodies enacting utterances, this increases the space to combine and adapt, to become more attentive and truthful to the *eventness* and the singularity of a situation (e.g. a meeting), but it also poses the challenge of remaining close to the *emic* language of the organisation. A few simple techniques or rules guided me here:

- To stay as close to original utterances as my notes allowed (I did not have recordings from meetings, only from interviews).
- I was allowed to combine and adapt two or more utterances from the same event/meeting into one speech/utterance.
- I was allowed to compile a dialogue/discussion by selecting utterances from the same event to shorten and intensify the experience of the event.

All these decisions, along with other things discussed above, are deliberate moves towards enactment of events and affects, instead of being copies or replicas.

To include the author's voice and presence is a common writing technique in various genres, e.g. ethnography, journalism and fiction. In an attempt to enact affects, perceptions and relationality in events, my own presence and agency has to be acknowledged. One cannot

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[27] In the practice of writing the figurations utterances of one conceptual character did not, however, correspond to more than two individuals' utterances. Still, I see no reason why the number could not have been higher (3, 4, 5,…).
[28] There are fundamental problems with a distinction between direct and indirect citations to vocal expressions. In the case of this study, for instance, it is misleading to speak of direct quotations when almost everything was uttered in a language different from English. Also, I am not familiar with any successful attempts to make anything remotely close to a perfect copy between sound and text, and certainly not with the help of the Roman alphabet.

escape the influence of the researcher as author and observer. However, making this presence explicit can be done for different purposes. For narratives with factual claims (like in much of ethnography) it often becomes an attempt to demystify fieldwork, as well as the whole research process, including writing. In this respect, Van Maanen (1988) famously speaks of *confessional tales*. His point is justifiably that one should be careful in applying one's own voice to texts, as it can easily 'suck its author (and reader) into a black hole of introspection' and become an 'abstract representation of fieldwork' (ibid.: 92–93). Such writings have the tendency to drift towards vanity and become self-congratulatory, by granting authors superior knowledge or skills. On the other hand, if authors manage to use it skilfully, it can be a 'gift' to readers and they acquire a deeper sense of problems and challenges. I will not assert that my voice will become a gift to my readers, but I can reveal what has guided it.

First, I try to limit it. It is a basic manoeuvre for avoiding too much navel-gazing and the risk of moving focus to personal developments, rather than enacting and showing what has taken place. Second, there is an emphasis on showing interaction between author and organisation, which sometimes unfolds different layers or attributes of organisational and entrepreneurial practices. In other words, there should be an emphasis on the encounter rather than the author as a person. Third, to be able to enact the rationality of certain activities I find my voice and reflections to be useful as an active part in the construction of the relational multiplicity that is this study. Finally, as we know from good journalism, there is probably no better way to convey the immediacy of experience, and to give it coherence and significance than the vivid, but balanced, presence of the author (Whiteman & Phillips, 2006).

Keeping process and lightness

Following the figurations, it inevitably becomes a challenge to restrain from completeness in theorisation, discussions and drawing conclusions. Therefore, there are a couple of simple restraints. One is by simply separating figurations from additional discussions so that the figurations can be read and experienced without a context guided by additional analytical layers and consistency. Second, in analysis and discussions empowered by the figurations I prefer to refer to them 'lightly' by their labels, rather than carving out various citations. With regard to the final chapter, it will contain concluding remarks, but instead announcing simple results it

offers a summarisation of the 'theorised' model of anxiety, which cannot be separated from what it encounters, and on top of that *lessons* concerning entrepreneurship, bureaucracy and leadership, which draw on insights provided in the study.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has outlined a way of thinking and doing process, revealed and actualised in the study of the Department. The chapter draws on different sources of thinking process. These sources pertain to, in particular, non-representational theory, entrepreneurship, and organisation studies. A common thread of these different perspectives is a philosophy of becoming and the strong influence of Deleuzian thought. A plea for experimentation in process and entrepreneurship studies has guided the evolution of the process approach developed in the chapter. The plea has become an inspiration to dare to, for example, perform encounters; to emphasise affects; to develop an approach *with* and adapting to empirical insights; to engage readers by showing, minimising or at least delaying the arrest of interpretation and theory; and to prioritise theorisation rather than the application of theory. Central to the outlined approach – the experiment – is the development of figurations (see Chapter V). A more conventional way of conveying the empirical encounters and insights that constituted this study would be the use of citations, quotes, and field descriptions laying out and neatly supporting clearly defined analytical categories tightly connected to theory. Presenting figurations, in addition to what has just been mentioned, is in this respect a way of preserving (by performing) affects produced in empirical encounter between researcher and the researched, also that which does not fit into accurately defined categories or models.

But there are other things at stake in the production of figurations. First, with regards to organisational entrepreneurship, the figurations take note of its assumed capacity to move beyond and create something outside of established categories. Accordingly, the figurations also connect with entrepreneurship's involvement in everyday activities. Secondly, as implied in the previous chapter, there are ample reasons to enquire into the everydayness of bureaucracies, not least to move beyond the predominantly critical interpretations of a Weberian *ideal type*. Finally, due to rareness and public influence there is arguably an independent value in accounts anchored in everyday practices of a Ministerial Department.

Especially, if it is possible to preserve elements of chance, inconsistency and gaps which more structured approaches would not allow for.

Before offering the figurations, however, the next chapter follows up on the constitutional position of affects for this study, connecting with organisational entrepreneurship and affects and the anxiety perceived to permeate practice in the Department. The conceptualisations explicated in the chapter form a basic framing for a theorisation taking the figurations as a point of origin.

Chapter IV: Framing Theorisation with Desire and Affects

Affects is *the world*

Brian Massumi in *Parables for the Virtual*

Introduced in this chapter is what would commonly be coined an 'analytical framework'. However, with the term *theorisation*, there is an emphasis on the active and performative, or, if you prefer, creative aspects of conveying encounters pertaining to the Department. These necessarily include actions of selecting and othering, connecting and adding. The framework introduced here is active in the remaining chapters of the dissertation. But at the same time, the empirical encounter and the way that it is conveyed in figurations (see Chapter V) are already active in the formation of this chapter and its conceptualisations. Consequently, we are already theorising.

This is the subtle challenge of developing a framework for theorisation whilst pertaining to process and movement. The purpose cannot be, strictly speaking, to repeat or outline a theory and then apply it (as is customary in much of management studies). The implications of process, as it is thought and done here, is to *not* arrest theory and theorising in the application of predefined models. The cost of this is that

> the material you apply it to […] undergoes change, much more markedly than do the concepts [or models]. […] This is all very grim. It has less to do with "more to the world" than "more of the same". It has less to do with invention than mastery and control (Massumi, 2002: 17).

Nonetheless, there is no sign of a method or framework that will not affect conveyed events and experience. But this is not Massumi's point. The point is rather allowing for the 'material' to speak in different – inventive and affirmative – ways, not with one fixed predefined point of view. This could be approached in a different way, e.g. by combining theories or striving beyond

them, but most importantly, however, we need to help the 'material' to speak without a frame that suffocates. Yes, it can be difficult to describe in precise explicit terms, but for an author the tension is clear once it is attempted to convey with any accuracy the ambiguity and complexity of organisational life. And for this reason the following framework is broad and spacious. Implicit in its construction is a desire to create new connections outside or beyond established terminology in bureaucracy and entrepreneurship. Furthermore, it is an attempt to take process and the perception of anxiety seriously.

The chapter contains two main sections. The first is by far the longer and takes Spinoza's ethical philosophy as its point of origin, or rather Deleuze's engagement with Spinozian ideas of the capacity or power to be affected and create affects. The section begins by discussing basic concepts in Spinoza's metaphysics, outlining a world's imminence and wholeness, before moving on to discuss the role of affects for a 'body's' power to act and create. This discussion has to encompass 'desire' before we can conceive how encounters affect a body or an organisation differently. In the second section, the concept of *mood* is introduced as a way of 'being together' and something that preconfigures and plans encounters in organisations.

The power to be affected and create affects

Spinoza is the Christ of philosophers, and the greatest philosophers are hardly more than apostles who distance themselves or draw near this mystery (Deleuze & Guattari, 2009: 60).

In philosophy, appreciation of Spinoza's thought has not been consistent. However, during the 20th century his work gained considerable interest from notable philosophers, including Leo Strauss, Louis Althusser, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Antonio Negri and Gilles Deleuze. Deleuze´s whole philosophical project is permeated with influence from Spinoza. Spinoza is not known for simplicity, and neither is Deleuze. Grasping Spinoza's or Deleuze's entire philosophical projects is also far beyond this discussion. Configuring an affectual framework, nevertheless, requires engaging, albeit briefly, with some of the fundamentals of Spinoza's thesis before moving into concepts of more particular interest.

The world´s trinity

Deleuze reads Spinoza´s *Ethics* as a contrast to Descartes' meditations. In the Cartesian tradition there are three differences in being: *real* distinctions between substances; a *modal* distinction between mode and a substance the mode implies; and a *reasonable* distinction between substance and attribute (Scott, 2010: 138). These three basic terms and distinctions are very different for Spinoza, and Deleuze describes them as different *expressions*. First there is no *real* difference between substances, and it is most definitely not quantifiable: 'By substance I understand what is in itself and is conceived through itself, that is, whose concept does not require the concept of another thing, from which it must be formed' (Spinoza, 1996: I, §3). Accordingly, there is *one* substance and that is God/Nature. Substance is imminent, thus, it is the whole of *Nature*, and *explicates (evolves)* and *implicates (involves)* everything. There is no God or being that is transcendental, above or outside the world.
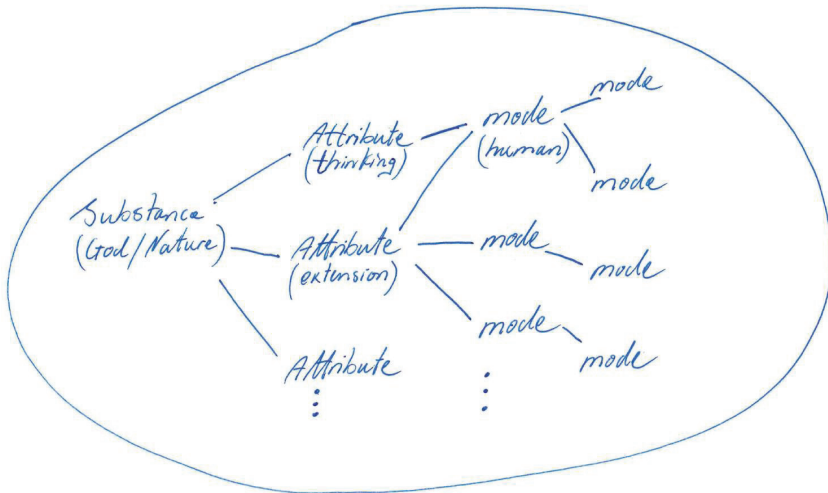
Fig. 4.1: Order and relationality between substance, attributes and modes

Substance, Nature, expresses itself through an infinity of attributes. But attributes are that which 'the intellect perceives of a substance, as constituting its essence' (ibid.: I, §4).

Furthermore, *essence* of substance is in the expressions of the attributes. A *mode* is what expresses attributes, they are 'the affections of substance, *or* that which is in another through which it is also conceived' (ibid.: I, §5). Modes are things and species we find in the world. Man is a mode just as a stone, a bird, a 3D printer and a ministerial department are all modes, albeit of a different kind. A mode can only know and express a limited amount of attributes. Man, notably, knows only two: *thought* and *extension*. Man is here defined by what s/he can do, rather than what s/he *is*. The two attributes are the only points of view man has on substance (Deleuze, 2013). But they are still the infinite qualities of man – his essence – inasmuch as man is composed of mind (mode of thought) and body (mode of extension) (cf. Scott, 2010). This implies a univocity between substance/God/Nature and modes, meaning, human attributes compose man in the same way as they do substance. However, they are the entire being of man, but not of substance. Modes, then, all share a common cause, God, who is *cause sui*, or '*a cause of itself, in itself and through itself*' (Deleuze, 2013: 162). Moreover, thought and extension, mind and body are parallels. They do not interact with each other, but there is a correspondence between them. In other words, a body capable of *action* and his current state have a corresponding *idea* in the mind, but they are not the direct causes of each other.

Modes and affects of joy and sadness
This study deals with an organisation and entrepreneurial processes of organising. For this reason, drawing on Spinozian metaphysics, *modes* are of particular interest, as they express everything in the world our senses can perceive. First, let it be established that modes are *all relational*, that is, they are composed of a great number of parts or extensions (Deleuze, 2013). A body is composed of different parts, cells and molecules while an organisation is frequently composed of a number of bodies, buildings and machines. In fact, everything is an organisation of some sort. Second, recall that modes are affections of substance, but they cannot create affections themselves, because they are not their own cause. But they have a *capacity to be affected*. One mode does not have the exact same capacity as another to be affected. For instance, cats compared to fishes will have different capacities or powers to be affected, which, for example, is obvious in their encounters with water. However, two men do not either have the same capacity to be affected. They are not affected (or not) by the same things or in the

same way (e.g. I doubt you'd care much for the song I´m listening to right now). Furthermore a mode, its extension, its body,

> ceases to exist when it can no longer maintain between its parts the relation that characterizes it; and it ceases to exist when "it is rendered completely incapable of being affected in many ways." In short, relations are inseparable from the capacity to be affected (Deleuze, 2013: 218).

In this respect, Deleuze also rephrases Spinoza´s contemplation regarding the mind/body parallel in the Ethics and asks: *What can a body do?* To which the answer has to be that it corresponds to its capacity to be affected, i.e. *to maintain and create new connections* with other modes. Accordingly, the power of a mode is its capacity to be affected. It is how it can know about the world and corresponds to its ability to *act* in it.

Strictly speaking, at the level of modes, affections (*affectio*) are the effects of other modes. They are that which happens to a mode when it encounters other modes, i.e. sensed corporal traces called *images*. These images are regarded by mind in thought and become its *ideas* (Deleuze calls this parallel between images and ideas *imagining*), which involve the nature of the affecting external body/mode. Affections, also *ideas*, form a certain state. It means a temporal constitution of an affected body *and* mind 'which implies more or less perfection than the preceding state' of the same mind and body (ibid.: 48). Hence, a state is not fixed, it is a perpetual process from one state to the next, altering a mode´s *perfection*, increasing or decreasing its power. For man and organisations variable perfection responds to increased or decreased powers of mind and body to *act*. But as we will discuss in more detail *acting*, in this reading of Spinoza, is *not* just a passive reaction to encounters and affects. *Acting* is to add something new to the world, and for a mode to become a force that can act and add to the world. Acting is therefore not in the sameness of routines and habits, nor does it adhere to a set of moral values. In this sense, acting does not correlate to ideas of bureaucracy as being strictly rule-based and hierarchic. But for Spinoza, much of human life appears cemented in systems of belief, interests and habits. But how then can we go from reactive to active actions?

A mode is not its own cause, and neither are its affects. Spinoza even calls them confused ideas or *passions* of the mind. As mind and body are parallels these passions of the mind are not bounded or confined by the sensed affections of the body. Mind is different from body in that it perceives experience as lived duration, a process, a flow of differences, rather than an instance. Two women may perceive the same event in very different ways and affirm of the body something that adds to reality or diminishes it, influenced by their own life experience and duration. The same can be said about organisations competing in the same market but responding very differently to a given situation. Their responses depending on the relations they have created – their capacity to be affected and act.

Spinoza maintains that a mode encountering another mode(s) produces either a *joyful* or *sad* passion. In Deleuze's words,

> [t]he passage to a greater perfection, or the increase of the power of acting, is called an affect, or feeling of *joy*; the passage to a lesser perfection or the diminution of the power of acting is called *sadness*. Thus the power of acting varies according to external causes for the same capacity for being affected. (ibid.: 50)

Even though we generally consider the capacity to be affected to be relatively constant, it clearly changes, for instance, with age. It is limited when we are born, but increases rapidly, and then diminishes again with old age or sickness. But within this capacity, passions of joy and sadness are at play. The passions of joy are affirmative forces, connections that add to the mode and the world. We experience joy when we are affected by another mode, or body, that complements ours in some way, which increases our power to act (e.g. think of a good friend when you are in times of need; or simply a hammer while faced with a nail). Increased power to act enables us to do things we were not capable of before, or we did not know we were capable of. That is, a joyful encounter between different modes can make them more active and powerful *together*. Organisations, as modes, are not substances. They are not their own cause. Organisations will only advance through acts of becoming something other – always in a 'block' – encountering and connecting with other modes (cf. Deleuze & Guattari, 2008). And as

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organisations are already a multitude of modes, organisations will change with the changing 'internal' encounters and relations.

Sad passions diminish our power to *act* and can dissolve current relations to the extent a mode perishes. For an organisation this corresponds to it losing its largest customer and being unable to replace the loss with new customers, or enhance its sales to current customers. For a person it may be a lethal symptom spreading around the body and cells begin to disrupt the functions of organs by dissolving their (productive) connections. But the sad passions are also less dramatic. They are even unavoidable in organisational and daily lives where they constitute, for example, routines, habits, and customs. They can also emerge with hierarchical orders, rule settings and key performance indicators, which keep organisational practices within the current framework of passive or reactive activities. One can argue that they are, for example, a necessary condition for control and economic efficiency.

Deleuze (2005) makes clear that there is a connection between passions of joy and sadness in Spinoza and active and reactive forces in Nietzsche. According to Deleuze's reading of Nietzsche the world is a constant play of active and reactive forces. A mode is nothing but two or more connecting forces. An active force can also be observed in parallel to joyful passions, where it's striving for the limit of its potentiality. It is creative in the sense that it *experiments* with different ways of what can become of it, and it's capable of transformation (May, 2005). Active forces affirm *chance* and *difference*, making them 'an object of enjoyment' (Deleuze, 2005: 66). On the other hand, reactive forces are defined by active forces in that their only objective is to separate active forces (and themselves) from what they can do, i.e. from experimenting and reaching their limits. Consequently, they are forces of limitation and adaptation, which brings us back to the sadness in routines, habits and morals. However, let it also be clear that joy in Spinoza does not exclude, for example, routine, habits and morals. Thus, joy is not indispensably an active force, as we will come to see.

Desire

What qualifies passions as joyful (and active) is a striving or an appetite they encourage – Spinoza calls this *conatus* or *desire*.[29] *Conatus* as desire is a striving towards other modes and affects that potentially maintain and add to one's existence. This is precisely the potentiality of passions of joy, that is, to increase one´s *power to act*. Hence, more joyful passions or affects can increase the power to act, which is the same as the power to create new affects (Hjorth, 2013). Even with a settled capacity to be affected, a desire towards passions of joy makes our ability to be affected grow and we can be affected in a great number of ways (Deleuze, 2013). At the same time, sad passions diminish the power to act, i.e. to create new affects, and our power to be affected decreases. Our body becomes less affected and less open to encounters with other modes.

Let it be noted that desire, as *conatus*, does not come from lack of something, but from abundance and multiplicity. It is a striving to preserve and enhance the power to act (or *power to exist* as Spinoza also calls it). Accordingly, we understand desire to be a power, not to repress, but to expand and connect to other modes, to other desires, other forces (cf. Colebrook, 2002). This kind of desire corresponds to Nietzsche's *will to power*, but in Deleuze's reading, Nietzsche's *will to power* was either affirmative, aligning itself with active forces, or negative, aligning itself with the reactive forces (Deleuze, 2005).[30]

It follows that passions alone, even if they are joyful, are still passive affections and forces, encompassing passive affects and ideas. We can experience passive joy, for instance, from good food or reaching a deadline at work, without it increasing our power to act or to be affected. On the contrary, our desire for simple passions of joy can lead to extremes, to sadness and diminish our power to act (e.g. obesity, addictiveness and stress). Extremes, though, are not the most problematic aspect in this respect, but rather the defeat against conformity – not conceiving one's power to act and becoming the motor of action and events. In the same vein, strict morals or fundamentalism, conceived of as accepted differences between good and bad,

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[29] 'Conatus' is used more frequently than desire in Spinoza, while 'desire' is a much celebrated term in Deleuze, arguably strongly influenced by his engagement with Spinoza's 'conatus'.

[30] See also discussions in Hjorth (2012c, 2015)

can entail joyful or sad passions. Still, they are not aligned with a desire for new *becomings* and experimenting. They will therefore not contribute to the creation of new organisational constellations. Instead, it is a desire that limits and preconfigures what something *is* and at the same time what it can become. Joyful passions are not an adequate condition for *active* joy and action, or increased power to be affected and act. To grasp this we want to understand more about what desire does.

Desire and 'common notions'

As the name of his most important work implies, Spinoza´s project was ethical. Accordingly, it can be conceived of as an *ethic of desire*, which, as Hjorth and Holt (2014), point out has some interesting epistemological implications:

> Disappointed by the inadequacy of concepts, urging ourselves beyond our pauce perspectives, we experience an intellect yearning and stretching at awareness, enticed by the irreducible otherness that lays the other side of silence. To be a human being is to want to be elsewhere, driven by a [desire] to urge oneself somewhere; this is the grounding of intellect and really of the human condition. Intellectually, we are not, then, defined by reason, but by the [desire] to become, to drive, to will; as partial modifications of the whole, our intellect finds us *striving towards the whole*. This restlessness is what defines us, it is our essence; we will never be complete. (ibid.: 82, emphasis added)[31]

As indicated above we go back to the metaphysical foundations in Spinoza´s project to understand how a mode, such as a woman or an organisation, can adopt an ethical style of desire that strives beyond what *is*. Recall the immanence and wholeness of substance, or God for the religious, entailing there is nothing beyond the univocal substance, no external point of view or being, and no hierarchic duality of body/mind. They are simply different attributes, expressions, of the same substance. In other words, they are all *becomings* on a par with each other (Colebrook, 2002). Spinoza´s hope is that man can ascend to this level of knowledge: from particular knowledge to awareness of Nature´s wholeness. Which is to affirm the potentiality of

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[31] Here 'desire' replaces 'conatus'.

multiple bifurcations, differences and series (connections of 'And'); realising, for example, that *we don´t even know what a body can do*, because it depends on the composition of its relations (Deleuze, 2013). But by now we are able to say that this composition corresponds to the limits of a capacity to be affected.

To answer the question posed on how to increase power to act and be affected, Deleuze (1988: 54) emphasises Spinoza´s *common notions*:

> The common notions are so named *not* because they are common to all minds, but primarily because they represent something common to bodies, either to all bodies (extension, motion and rest), or to some bodies (at least two, mine and another).

It follows that the common notions are not *abstract*, but become *general* ideas in the mind. It is the unity in composition of at least two bodies' relations of motion and rest; agreeing with each other and together becoming other. We experience joyful passions when we meet a body that agrees with ours. Yet, we may not adequately recognise what it is that is common in our unity, what constitutes its 'moreness'. But this is how *reason* needs to be understood, i.e. as an affirmative desire (and will to power) to organise encounters to create common notions. More precisely desire only succeeds

> to the extent that man strives to organize his encounters, that is, among the other modes, to encounter those which agree with his nature and enter into composition with him, and to encounter them under the very aspects in which they agree and accord with him (Deleuze, 1988: 103).

Accordingly, understood in this way, reasoning becomes, first, an effort to select and organise encounters of joyful passions and, secondly, a way to comprehend the common notions of these joyful passions so that they can become active affects – actions. This, however, requires experience and the first common notions will only be common to the very encounters they relate to. But with time they can become more general. In this way, each common notion contributes to new ones, striving towards and approaching consciousness of wholeness – of substance.

Conceiving common notions in organisational encounters is an inquiry into the subtle structures of an encounter, of its relational unity (e.g. what is man-and-hammer that is not man without hammer and hammer without man?). The mind deducing new affects from current and previous encounters, beyond images from corporal traces. Common notions become a *fold* in the mind, a new idea of what can become in a new relational unity. In this context, Spinoza also speaks of *adequate ideas* which, however, appear to be reserved to God/Nature, creating affects independent of encounters and passions. That is not the capacity of modes (e.g. humans or organisations) 'muddling through' in the middle of it all, and a capacity with its origin in experiences and encounters with other modes.

Desire guided by reasoning to fold passions is that of *becoming worthy of the event of joyful encounters*. It is not about enduring events as external and accidental, but a desire to become their motor. Even as a transformative force. A desire that 'wills' new ideas and actions. A desire for all that an organisational body is able to do, to express joy and active forces of the affects that surpass. Thus, we go from passive joy to active joy by folding an external cause fertilising an internal idea, *common notions* and action. It ceases to be a confused reactive idea from an encountering body that agrees with ours and becomes adequate in expanding common potentials to connecting modes. '[F]rom every passive joy there may arise an active joy' (Deleuze, 2013: 275).

An idea of something common is the expression of the *whole* that is substance. It affirms an agreement of relations between two or more bodies, one that is always there in the relations of bodily movement and rest. Deleuze calls the common notions a fundamental discovery of Spinoza's *Ethics*. It is an ethical project driven by desire to become active, become a cause in encounters – to *create*. It takes up the following challenge: *how can encounters create connections that add to the world?* Thus, it is never to become reactive or repetitive. What drives Deleuze's reading of Spinoza and impregnates his own philosophy are the complementing ideas of *difference* and *wholeness*. Every mode or body can join forces, connect, because they are expressions of the same substance. They exist on the same *plan of consistency*, and therefore they are able to become something different in their encounters.

Hence, organisations can acquire a capacity to overcome and 'transmute' their own bodies 'by composing a new more powerful relation with another body' (Scott, 2010: 168).

To affirm and take advantage of this potentiality there has to be a desire in place that can ask and try to answer the question: *what is this new unity/organisation capable of?* And each attempt to answer is an experimental act that has to be repeated, even though the chance of failure is imminent and unavoidable. But this is essential to a process of creating and learning (e.g. body meets water, hand meets a sword, and an organisation hires a new employee). A swimmer cannot only repeat the movements of the instructor on dry land. Learning to swim is to experiment to find out what is common to the body's movements and rest, and the water's – *how they agree in their difference*. The body explores and the mind reflects on the process. If they get to agree the lethality and fear of the water is replaced by joy and a desire to enjoy the potentiality of the water. One combination becomes an opening to new joys (e.g. sailing, surfing, or diving).

Organisation
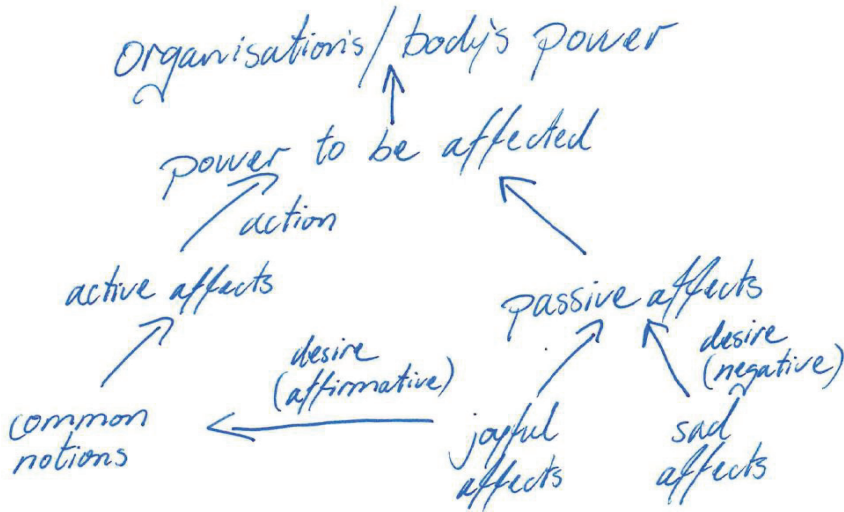
Fig. 4.1. Movements of affects in encounters [32]

Organisations are modes fully comparable to a body in Spinoza's terminology, forming a set of relations (Scott, 2010). What gets organised is the difference in substance, in the whole, itself. To organise is a desire and will to comprehend an organisation's constitutive relations; to select encounters and enquire into them to compose relations that can form a more powerful organisation. The power of an organisation is defined by its power to be affected and act to create new affects, corresponding to the movements discussed above and demonstrated in fig. 4.1. It is the power to transform passive passion to action that becomes an organisational novelty and thereby entrepreneurial. To increase the power to exist, an organisation needs to pay attention to all its relations (e.g. to employees, technology and administration), cultivate its environment (e.g. customer, citizens, competitors and local neighbourhood) and how it encounters them. In this context entrepreneurship requires organisational heterogeneity and a desire to make use of the heterogenic and often complex encounters it entails. Sameness and simplicity in encounters and a passive or negative desire does not support the organisational

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[32] Inspired by a drawing by Scott (2008).

ability to entrepreneur, but would correspondingly minimise the organisational capacity to be affected and create new affects.

We can also view leadership as organisational encounters. A negative and reactive leadership, its passions sad or joyful, would be a leadership that is unable or uninterested in sensing or enquiring into affects in the organisation, e.g. its complexity, movements and rest. It would not find and activate commonality with the bodies that constitute the organisation. The negative leadership wanting change would most probably implement them with orders and top-down re-definitions of not movements, without sensitivity or knowledge of the potentiality of the organisation. This kind of leading and organising does not align itself with the active and creative forces in the organisation, but is more concerned about responding and adapting to external circumstances, like competitors in a market. On the other hand, a leadership with an affirmative desire can be understood as one that connects to the organisation's power to affect and be affected. It desires the formation of a different whole. It is would be a leadership that conceives organisational relations and cultivates active forces in encounters, for instance, in the form of new suggestions and unexpected initiatives.

But there is more. Organisations in the form of public institutions or companies are phenomenally complex and fragmented. Still, they manage to move together because they have a way of being together, e.g. of entering into encounters, sensing and acting in an organised manner – they share a *mood*.

Mood

Mood enters this discussion as an addition to frame the dynamics of affects and desires in organisational encounters in this study. Affects have already been established as pre-social, pre-individual and pre-conscious (see Chapter I). With Spinoza's different powers to be affected and differentiation between affects and emotions, it becomes clear that affects are perceived and experienced in context. It has also been discussed how a mode's capacity to be affected has to be understood relationally. Every mode has a relational composition determining its power to affect and be affected. An organisation like the Department and its power to exist is not the sum of all of its individual civil servants, or all the modes we can attribute to it. Its

power to exist is in the sum of its encounters and active connections which make it possible to operate, but also to organise new encounters. Thus, to comprehend this with increased sensitivity to movements and encounters in the Department, and to help us enquire into its entrepreneurial capacity the term *mood* is used to converse about an *organisation's way of being in the world*. Note the emphasis on an organisational context, meaning that a mood is always organisational and encompasses togetherness.

A mood is *not* an emotion(s), nor is it a sum of its organisational members' emotions. But like individual emotions an organisational mood emerges, is maintained and can change with affects. Emotions in an organisation may vary considerably depending on the members' psychological situations. But we are still able to talk about an organisational mood encompassing a variety of emotions. It follows that a mood is considered to be more stable than emotions. This is also reflected in the way we talk about moods and emotions, i.e. we are *in* a mood, but we *have* emotions. We enter into moods as we enter into collectives and create relations. Their emergence is collective, thus they can only change with a collective effort, while our emotions emerge *in* us, appearing as subjective possessions that can lead us astray.

One could think of other concepts as alternatives to an organisational mood. There is, of course, a well-established discourse on organisational culture. However, one of the challenges with the term 'organisational cultures' is that it has become so very broad and somewhat defused, encompassing climates, atmospheres, etc. (Schein, 2010). What is frequently emphasised in studies of organisational cultures is to reveal 'espoused beliefs, values, rules and behavioural norms' (ibid.: 53). Developing and using 'organisational mood' emphasises the priority given to affects in this study. Mood is not an affect itself any more than emotions, but it coins a critical aspect of how affects are sensed and responded to in encounters, how encounters are organised and what they produce. Accordingly, the identification of an organisational a mood is a strong indication of an organisational capacity to be affected and create affects.

An organisational mood draws on Heidegger's idea of *Stimmung* and in particular Flatley's (2008) derived use of mood for what he calls 'affective mapping'. In Flatley's words 'we find

ourselves in moods, that have already been inhabited, by others, that have already been shaped or put into circulation, and are already there around us' (ibid.: 5). Heidegger complements this statement describing *Stimmung* as something that attunes our *way of being together*. Moods do not necessarily emerge in our consciousness, even though we are in them. But they still become a way we encounter each other in terms of affects – influencing the space for manoeuvre and potentiality. A mood pre-configures and organises togetherness, and thereby, as mentioned, an organisation's power to affect and be affected, and ultimately its power to entrepreneur.

Put into the context of the Deleuze-Spinozian terminology in the previous section, a mood links to organisational desire and what becomes desirable. We can, for example, ask how a mood affects desire. For instance, a depressive organisational mood, supported by excessive standardisation or dehumanising performance standards would most probably ossify and repress an affirmative desire for new encounters and connections. On the other hand, a mood of enthusiasm would produce different images and ideas of the world, but also affect desire differently. Accordingly, we can say that a mood is not a desire; desire is in a mood, just as the organisation is, indicating the current capacity of the organisation to be affected and act, but not necessarily all that it can become.

Thus, despite its considerable stability, a mood is not fixed. Organisations and collectives constitute their own moods but they can change and develop. A strong indication of this is already present in classical organisational theory. In that case, the commonly accepted notion that even the most entrepreneurial and experimenting organisations tend to, due to different contingency or configuration factors, lose their initial desire and capacity to enter into new and different relationships as the organisational emphasis moves towards standardisation of outputs or processes (e.g. the seminal works of Mintzberg (1983) and Greiner (1972)). And even though this is not a common view, we can look at the aforementioned discourses relating to post-bureaucracy and NPM (see second chapter of dissertation) as attempts of established organisations to invigorate something we might want to call an entrepreneurial or an enterprising mood.

Drawing on Heidegger' *Stimmung*, moods, prior to consciousness and even desire, are not easily managed or controlled with conventional managerial tools. We are usually not aware of the mood we are collectively *in,* and even less aware of how it determines our power to act and perceive affects. But this can change when a mood is disrupted with an affective force that can penetrate a given mood, or in other ways dramatically intensify it to the extent that we start noticing it and how it influences thought and action (Flatley, 2008). Heidegger insists we should not simply give ourselves to moods, but become aware of them. At least if our intention is to exert agency, or *act* in a way that can be considered entrepreneurial.

Still, remember there is nothing we can call a non-mood: 'we are never free of moods' (Heidegger, 1962: 136). Not even when we observe our own mood. To gain agency and *act* in and beyond a given mood is therefore an expansion of an organisational power to be affected. But, as we know from Spinoza, this can only be done in and through joyful encounters and by connecting with other modes. Thus, developing or changing moods is always a *mediated* movement influenced by encounters and their affects.

A mood resists or disregards encounters and affects that do not comply with it. But joy can still be found in movements and rests of another body that conveys counter-affects.[33] For instance, we are presumably more perceptible to critical advice coming from a good friend than from a passing stranger or maybe a journalist; we will also prefer to contemplate the message or morals of a work of literature we love and admire for their aesthetic affects, rather than what is mediated by something we despise.

Affects make sure that a dichotomy between form and content is not possible. Flatley (2008) is particularly preoccupied with examples of the second kind, pertaining to performativity of art and aesthetic. But for him aesthetics can become the means of making us aware of the mood we are in, intensifying it. For example, in literature an awareness of a mood can be created 'in another world' and from another point of view. In that way literature sometimes shows the potentiality of a mood or the opportunity to develop new moods. Correspondingly, disruptive and intensifying encounters conveying, for example, unfamiliarity or surprise will commonly

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[33] Heidegger talks of counter-moods.

increase sensitivity to the mood we are in. They can create or reveal, albeit momentarily, cracks and potential (escape) routes away from our mood, suspending immediate mood-organised responses. This can be a necessary organisational move in the creation of *common notions*, for example, between modes in different moods. However, agreeable encounters of this sort, disruptive and intensifying, must arguably be on the 'plane of the organisation', meaning that they must relate to organisational practices and mood, still, without letting the mood dominate the encounter. There is an immediate indication for entrepreneurial leadership here: leaders wanting to increase organisational capacity to entrepreneur would be assisted by an understanding of the organisation's mood and how it affected organisational practices. This would help the leadership to organise encounters in a way that could diminish negative resistance, for instance, with encounters that would convey confidence and success in situations the organisation considers precarious.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has outlined a framework to be used in this study to analyse and theorise affectual movements in the Department. The chapter connects with the question directing this study, regarding the capacity of the Department to entrepreneur, in two important ways. First, the capacity to entrepreneur corresponds to an organisation's capacity to be affected and its ability to fold passions/affects into *action*. These actions encompass organisational novelty and creativity. This also relates to an interest of the study in encounters that challenge the current capacity of the organisation to be affected. On the one hand because they entail the development of new initiatives, and on the other hand, because they usually involve encounters with the Ministers that represent different roles and responsibilities compared to the civil servants. Second, the question of the Department's capacity to be entrepreneurial is viewed in the context of anxiety as a mood in the Department. Now, that we have gained insights into the term mood we can already see how it implies that anxiety can influence the capacity of the Department to engage in entrepreneurial activities by preconfiguring and planning organisational encounters.

Next chapter unfolds the empirical figurations. But it is followed by an analytical chapter where the above framework is activated as a way of enquiring into the Department's capacity to entrepreneur.

Chapter V: Figurations

[Dance]

Look outside the window.

Come down to the garden.

Today is the day of dance.

(From an internal mail)

[Signposting]

Well, I guess every chapter needs some signposting. The events the figurations relate to processes, usually easily identifiable. These include the process of negotiating access to the Department; the resignation of the first Minister; and different projects, most notably the 'Rural Culture' project, the 'Reading Campaign', and the 'Diversity' initiative. The figurations have each been assigned a heading. The headings serve a purpose when making references in the following chapters, which unfold on the backdrop of the figurations. (The headings are also vague labels that sneaked in during the writing process and refused to leave. Instead they got silenced with brackets.)

[Entry]

We, my academic supervisor and I, approach the gates of the Department close to the city centre. It stands modestly on the bank of one of the city´s canals, overlooking the palace hosting the national assembly on the other side. The Department's building is almost 300 years old. It got its name after having been a credit institution for the poor – House of Assistance. It is made of bricks like most buildings in this city and has five floors. I have been in this area many times, but never noticed the building.

Before walking between the two wooden doors of the front gate I look up and notice the modest garlands and festoons decorating the gate. We walk a few steps through a tunnel leading to an atrium in the middle of the building. I look around and momentarily I become confused by the walls and windows surrounding us. Then, I notice a door in a corner to my far left.

At the reception desk we state our purpose and a friendly looking middle-aged woman invites us to take a seat in the waiting room on the first floor. We start climbing the wooden staircase directly opposite Reception. I have seen pictures of it – taken in the 1970s, and the staircase had been occupied by protesters. One protester sat on the stairs and smoked hash. It must have comfortable. At least the steps are deep enough to sit on and the staircase wide enough for a decent number of protesters. I hold on to a grey railing, which sits on top of white hourglass-shaped balusters. The May sun penetrates the windows facing us, reflecting off the white surface of the stairs and increasing the sharpness and contrast of the blue walls.

In the waiting room we find two beige leather chairs. We sit down and wait. Almost two months earlier, in a conversation with my supervisor, Mr Minister had agreed to allow a researcher (me) into the Department. So, here we are to meet a senior official, an Office Manager and a specialist to discuss how and when the undertaking can begin.

[Sickness]

It is late September and I'm fighting a dreadful fever. Despite an irrational amount of painkillers, I am still pale and sweating when I enter the senior official's office. After all this time cancelling the meeting was not an option. I'm eager to start fieldwork, feeling hopeful that I may even start tomorrow. I meet my appointed contact person, a specialist, for the first time. He is a cheerful looking man and shakes my hand with a smile and a twinkle in his eyes.

I attempt to explain my project once more but I don't think I'm doing a good job – despite having written and sent two versions of the project description to the Department. The straight faces and silence of the three officials in the room feel impregnated with scepticism, there is neither nodding, nor 'yes'-ing. The senior official tells me we need to prepare and sign a confidentiality agreement before I can get access to the Department. I'm not going to be starting fieldwork in the coming days.

As the meeting comes to a close the effects of the painkillers have worn off and my face has gone from white to transparent. I call myself a taxi and head home.

[Accessing layers]

The leaves on the trees in front of the Department have turned yellow and orange. One or two windy days and they will be blown away. It appears as if the Minister has made his mind 'clearer' to the civil servants. At least I have been informed that I can follow three recently started initiatives in the Department, and apparently he has underlined his own role and practice as open to observation.

The two Office Managers and the two specialists in front of me are from the Section of Art and Culture, which is where I am supposed to have my base when I do my fieldwork. There have been concerns from employees in the department about my planned presence. They apparently suspect or fear that my purpose may be to evaluate them in some way. I explain the background and context of my research: how it came about in a dialogue between a Professor and a Minister. I explain how my research takes as one point of origin the Minister's interest in making art and culture more visible and effective in political, social and economic contexts. That consequently, I am interested in following projects and initiatives that work with art and culture in a socio-economic context. Also, that I'm interested in the Department from an entrepreneurial and organisational perspective; how they, for example, develop new policies.

I then describe my method as consisting of observations and interviews and that I will not necessarily have to be a completely passive observer; they are welcome to ask me questions or even ask for my help if it becomes relevant. At the same time, I emphasise that my approach is inductive, meaning that even though I have a research plan and an agenda, I will follow 'things' that interest me as they unfold and develop. In fact, it had already been suggested, by the Minister, as I understood that I could follow three planned or recent initiatives the Minister wanted to address.

I don´t sense any hostility in the room and become more relaxed when I get asked a few clarifying questions. One attendee stands up and excuses herself. She has to be somewhere else. *The Minister thinks he has made us more relaxed*, she states with a grin before leaving the room.

[Meeting the Minister]

The Minister's office is in the east corner of the Department. It's red. Several paintings hang on the walls. Sculptures, vases and plants sit on the windowsills under the numerous windows of the room. The weekly lunch meeting between the Minister and senior officials is about to start; the Deputy Secretaries, the Minister's political adviser, the Minister's administrative assistant, and a couple of other civil servants are present. The Secretary is on a long leave and the two Deputy Secretaries have been sharing her responsibilities for the past few months.

- Hi! I'd like to introduce myself. I'm the researcher you invited into the Ministry.

Mr Minister: Hi, nice to meet you! Yea, I'm looking forward to speaking to you and hearing what you have to say about life and stuff.

People sit down at a large meeting table, already filled with the traditional one-layered sandwiches (neatly prepared bread with different combinations of meat or fish, vegetables and mayonnaise). The Minister takes a seat in the middle on one of the sides.

The agenda is lengthy, with ten items to discuss. Everyone received a document yesterday outlining the ten issues. Two of these are discussed at some length in separate memos and the remaining eight are to be presented orally. Other officials, specialists and office managers, will be joining the meeting temporarily as required for particular issues.

Deputy Secretary (DS): *Let us start with the different growth models we have outlined. We then need to have a mandate for how to work in this area. Which growth models should we choose?*

Mr Minister (M): *Yes, we need to support new ventures.*

DS: *Yes, but how do we want to do that?*

M: *What do we think is most exciting – most fun?*

DS: *Well, I think working together with the Innovation Centre could be fun?*

Specialist: *Yes, that might also be the most secure approach.*

DS: *How much money do we need?*

M: *Twenty million would be about right.* [The civil servants at the table smile and look at each other.]

Well, the Minister continues: *we have already got five, so fifteen shouldn't be unrealistic. And if we get less, we do less. …Then there is an idea here I got when I was talking to Christopher*

McLong, the brain researcher. We were at a workshop together in Bystad – a great event! Everyone was so happy, even though we didn't all agree. …How about we gather different kinds of entrepreneurs. We create this relatively informal platform for people to talk together and meet the Minister? And we do this alongside the Innovation Centre, tap into their network?

[People at the table look at each other and nod]

DS: *Yes, we could maybe invite them to dinner?*

M: *Damn! This is going to be a lot of fun. And you guys have done a great job getting this far in such a short time.*

At the end of this discussion the case-worker and his corresponding Office Manager stand up and leave the room. Thirty minutes have gone by and now there are only sixty minutes for the other nine issues on the agenda. As the Deputy Secretary starts introducing the second item on the agenda another Office Manager and case-worker enter the office.

[Fashion]

"When you turn off the tape recorder, his political colleagues claim that [the Minister] 'has been run over by the officials'. But if you look at the way people dress in the Ministry, it looks more like the opposite." (From a newspaper interview with the Minister)

[A new initiative]

A specialist explains how the new initiative came about: *"It started when [the Minister] was in Arend sometime before the summer holiday. Let´s say June. There he saw a fantastic exhibition and thought: 'Shut-up! It rocks in Arend. But no one knows about it. And I´d never be here if I wasn´t Minister.' And then he was like: 'Ohhh, it can´t be right that there is so much art here that the rest of the country knows nothing about.' This is more or less how it started. So he begins to think: 'Why the hell… there has to be a way to give these activities more exposure, so people don't go abroad for these experiences, but come instead to Arend?' This was how he started, what committed him. […] The other thing on his mind is something like … creating awareness among people. He´d like to change their mind sets, so that they become more curious about finding out about the cultural activities out there."*

[Rural Culture: project group meeting]

There are eight civil servants in the room. Three from the Agency – two specialists and an Office Manager – and five from the Department, but one person is still missing. A memo sent to participants explains the outline of the project. Accordingly, inspirational meetings are to be set up in different places in the country, where the Minister will meet people from the area, working in the cultural sector, for an open discussion.

Project manager: *The Minister wants to change mind-sets. How people think about culture. For him this is concrete enough. He wants to have the meetings in odd places – not hotels or something like that.*

Specialist 1 (S1): *Yes, but then we must have time to work towards the main meeting in spring, following the inspiration meetings, to present something concrete.*

Project manager (PM): *Well, we can already start doing that, while the meetings are running. We know what will come out of them.*

Specialist 2 (S2): *Ha, ha. But we need to work out what is to take place at these meetings.*

Specialist 3 (S3): *When it´s this Minister it could be five different formats and participants for the five different meetings. The two previous Ministers have done something similar, but now we can be creative.*

Office Manager 1 (O1): *Yes, and maybe we should announce it with a blog or on Facebook, rather than with the classical featured article?*

S2: *Ahh…. We need more space than that.*

PM: *He wants a featured article.*

O1: *Isn´t that just what he´s been offered?*

S2: *He has talked about doing something with STR (State Television and Radio).*

S3: *Shouldn´t we just send him to the ´Critiques´ – the cultural TV programme? Or is that too dangerous? [laughing]*

PM: *Well, we can´t dictate STR.*

O1: *But he could, for example, give a critique to the inspiration meetings we schedule. Ha?!*

PM: *There is also another idea about working together with the State Trains. The Minister drives around the country to different cultural activities? They've shown interest in doing something*

together. … But it is impossible to do something with them a month from now when the Minister wants to have the first meeting.

A second Office Manager (O2) enters the room.

PM: *If we ask the Minister then there is always something new he wants. We need to be careful about that. … In the document I´ve put that there will be around twenty-five participants. It is supposed to be a mix of entrepreneurs, artists and politicians, people who have 'drive, engagement and skills to get things to happen, something in their heart, local networks, decisiveness, diversity (sex, age, ethnic background, etc.)'.*
S2: *Should there be a moderator?*
PM: *I think the Minister should be moderator, he´s good at that.*
O2: *But there is no substance here. Where is the substance!? We have a meeting with him soon when we need to tell him this.*
PM: *Yes, it has to have value. I can´t bear it if it´s all going to be just talk and nothing happens.*

[Workshop I]
She has years of experience from public offices, but hasn't been in the Department very long. On previous occasions she has always seemed to be rather relaxed and open-minded. But right now her face is red, her back straight, and the eyes do not rest on anything for more than a brief moment: *What is it that you´re looking for? How will you use the information you obtain?* After a few minutes of clarifying my purpose I finally get to ask the questions.

"Yes, I was at the workshop where we tried to frame the project. And yes, we were trying something new the Department had not tried before. I think it worked well, there at the mansion where the workshop was held, and people were surprised by how far we came in one day. There were also some frustrations and confusion: 'what the hell do you know?'; 'can this be done?' and so on. I tried to be active and come up with some ideas. But I could sense that there were some of the superiors who didn´t like it, because in their world it could not be done. Or something like: 'We have tried this before and it didn´t work'. Where I´d have to bow and say:

'That I just don´t know.' We had the first day to come up with ideas and then the Minister came late in the afternoon. I think it was fruitful, but I believe opinions were divided.

And then the Minister came and we were able to present different suggestions. […] But it was a bit frustrating, seen from the officials' perspective that he would recognise or accept all the ideas, but then begin to talk about something completely different. […] This was maybe his way of working, and maybe also his weakness? […]

The second day the idea was that we´d adapt to what the Minister had said. But this was a relatively difficult task, because now we had more to think about. What the hell did we do? Hmm! We worked on and tried to get [the Minister's] ideas incorporated. But at least we came out with a model and some legs for the project to stand on."

[Diversity]

Two project managers sit on the sofa in the Minister's office. One sits on the edge and leans forward, both feet planted firmly on the carpet. The other leans back. An Office Manager also sits on the sofa with them. He holds rolled up papers in his left hand. In chairs on each side of the sofa sit the Minister and a senior official. The Minister leans back and puts his right ankle on the opposite knee. The senior manager slowly pours tea into a cup.

According to two memos sent to the Minister before the meeting, the objective is to better frame two of the latest projects the Minister has initiated. Each has been described as the Minister's 'brain-child', meaning they do not come from anything the civil servants have made him aware of. Instead, they have been initiated by the Minister. The two project managers have previously expressed concerns about not knowing what the projects should involve. This is especially true for the Diversity project, now at the starting stage. But a workshop has been scheduled in the coming weeks to provide content and substance.

What do we mean by Diversity? the Office Manager asks.

Mr Minister responds by talking about two events he recently experienced: *The Diversity project is about user-involvement. At this exhibition I attended, immigrants had been asked to*

choose their favourite national artwork. This is one thing. Then I went to this Bollywood concert. It was completely sold out in minutes! I was among very few native people in the room… People don't know about this, but it's fantastic.

The Office Manager tightens his grip around the papers in his hand, and explains that this is very different from other current projects the Minister has recently started, because with those the Ministry already had activities in place. But in this case the Ministry has very limited experience: *We have never done anything like this before*.

The senior manager puts his teacup back on the table: *Why so defensive? So now we have more possibilities to do what we like. Come on, open up, this is going to be fun!*

The two project managers don´t interfere in the conversation. But one is pale and wide-eyed, while the other puts on a grin and leans further back.

Time runs out and the meeting ends before anyone gets a chance to discuss the second initiative on the agenda.

[Careful]
Specialist: *"For me it felt very natural and fun [to get a researcher into the Department] … another one of Mr Minister's inventions… or… But if there is insecurity then it's because we are always under attack, you see? So, for example, when I have this woman on the phone [an angry citizen had called while we were talking] then I think: 'how the hell can I get out of this in a decent manner?' Because I don't want to… It is not why we are here. […] We're not here to ruin anything for anyone. But when people get so angry, then of course… Therefore … you have to be very careful not to say anything you will regret. Or, I haven't felt that there is something I cannot say. But instinctively you're careful […] about what you can say with respect to what might be made public."*

[Workshop II – Diversity]
"A development / 'value' project that can stretch into the coming year, and be somewhat explorative in its nature – recognising that we, in the Minister´s own words, 'do not yet know,

what is going to be moved' and therefore which instruments (funds, rules, conferences and other things) should come into play." (From a memo sent to participants before the workshop)

November is coming to an end. I park my bike outside a beautiful mansion from the 18th century. This is only the second time the Department has organised a policy development workshop in this manner. The first time was a month ago. I rush into the main building; I am running a bit late. Fortunately, people are still having lunch in the basement so I join them.

It takes time to get people together at a large meeting table on the second floor. Attendees are nine officials from the Department and five from the Agency. When people have taken their seats the Deputy Secretary welcomes everyone and introduces the moderator for the workshop. This is an external consultant, an energetic man in his forties who had also moderated the first workshop. The outlines of the process are introduced to be more or less the same as last time. Accordingly, attendees should work on ideas and plans until the Mr Minister arrives in the afternoon and provides feedback. Then tomorrow we are told that we should work until noon on making the policy more definitive on the basis of today´s discussions.

This workshop is not about creating a story or narrative, but an old-fashioned text to establish the initiative, the moderator explains. He continues: *It isn´t about broadening an already fluffy concept but to give it a certain form. We need to be foolproof. Otherwise the Minister is going to be caught out by journalists*. The moderator claims he wants to learn from the previous workshop, which he thinks was a bit harsh.

He gives a PowerPoint presentation outlining today´s process: *We need to ask what the reasons are for the project and what should come out of it*. *When the Minister arrives, in approximately three hours, he should not be allowed to just throw things back into thin air*. At the end of his speech the moderator walks around the table and gives each person a number between one and four, in the order they happen to sit. The numbers signify the task-groups the members will now become part of.

The groups gather and begin discussions on one of four predefined perspectives: *practitioners*, *supply*, *users* and *framework*. Each perspective is then to be discussed in four stages: *purpose*

and problem; *utility and results*; *method and means*; and *next steps*. I end up in group one, discussing the project from a practitioner's perspective, including artists, journalists and athletes. The most senior person in the group, coming from the Agency, automatically, it appears, leads discussions in the group. She happens to have with her a copy of a similar policy plan from Norway. The groups have one hour. After a short discussion we start making a flip-chart that encapsulates the outcome of the group's work. The flip-chart reflects four categories of general questions the moderator had posed on a slide. It states the following:

- *Practitioners need to better represent the diversity of the population, and recruitment in the sector is too narrow.*
- *Need for a broader concept of aesthetic quality to embrace practitioners' diversity.*
- *Advantages of diversified practitioners should increase social cohesion, cultural growth, and contribute to an inclusive society.*
- *The Ministry should support diversity through institutional contracts, e.g. through recruitment policy and increased visibility of a diversity of practitioners to create different role-models.*

When an hour has passed one representative from each group presents their flip-chart pages to all the other groups. In three of the four groups presentations are handled by managers. I note that the Bollywood event the Minister had attended and mentioned in conversations is reiterated twice already in the first presentation to exemplify 'pockets' of hidden treasures.

When the flip-chart presentations for all the groups are done, two office managers from the Department have already voiced their general criticism of the initiative, concerning how it could have negative effects on quality in the sector and drain funds. Others, for example, a manager from the Agency and a senior manager from the Department, however, point out that the opposite could be the case, i.e. that increasing diversity could hone quality in the sector, and lack of funding could be addressed through private funds.

The Minister is expected to arrive soon and the moderator takes over the scene to prepare people: *We need to be positive when we present to the Minister. But we should not be too open. We present and do not show our doubts, for example, by asking first what he thinks. We should*

rather ask ´yes´ or ´no´ questions. Or when we have finished presenting we can ask: ´Are we missing something?´

The moderator starts drawing on a whiteboard to make his points clearer: *We have made some choices here.* His drawing underlines the different roles of the Ministry as an executing authority in matters relating to the project, and the Minister as a facilitator of the project. It was to be understood that the Minister was not supposed to be a main driver of the project. *There is also the issue of potentially diminishing quality that we need to raise with the Minister. This has simply never been addressed!,* one manager adds.

Participants break up and wait for Mr Minister´s arrival. I get myself some coffee and go for a short stroll around the building. I find human-sized manikins in various places. They are all wearing the most beautiful dresses, fit for royalty and probably worn by royalty at some point. Half an hour behind schedule the Minister enters the room accompanied by his private secretary. They are an amusing duo. The secretary looks more like the Minister´s bodyguard, approximately a foot taller. Everyone is already seated when they enter the room. The Minister is smiling: *I can feel the energy in the room*! The moderator starts explaining to the Minister what is about to happen: *We want to acid test the project and the ideas we have come up with. Are they possible in reality? And w*e *also need to understand which things we want to emphasise.*

My group is the first to present. The manager from the Agency stands up and walks towards a wall where flip-chart pages from every group are now hanging, and starts presenting the group's ideas. *This is damn good*, the Minister bursts out after the manager´s short presentation: *What do you mean by 'role models'?* When the manager has given a short answer, the Minister asks again: *What was the most difficult discussion in the group? Probably to find a balance in a 'carrot and stick' approach*, the manager replies.

When the second group starts presenting ideas about reaching a more diverse audience and supporting a more diverse cultural production the Minister has changed seats and is now sitting right in front of the person presenting. *Super! And then we could apply the role-model idea to what you're saying*, he suggests enthusiastically. He then stands up and starts drawing a flower

with several pillars. He calls it a strategic network exercise. The Ministry is at the core and a pillar represents an actor or a potential stakeholder, e.g. businesses, institutions, NGOs, and media. The Minister claims this could be an interesting exercise for the Ministry to see who they could collaborate with. While this happens the moderator writes key-words from what the Minister is saying on a large flip-chart. When the third group finishes presenting the Minister's ardour has grown further: *There is a different flow now than last time we did this. Not because it is better, but it's more definite.*

The final presentation turns into a discussion between one of the managers and the Minister. The manager challenges the Minister on funding for the project and the potential downgrading of quality that could be the result of the initiative. *According to our previous experience this will be met with an outcry from several stake holders*, she states. Her statement is confirmed by another manager in the room. The Minister replies by pointing towards potential private funds that might be willing to support the initiative. He also explains that he does not see the initiative causing diminishing quality, to the contrary: *Why should it be difficult to combine diversity and quality?* A manager from the Agency gets involved in the discussion: *We should go out and find new talent. It is there to be found...* The Minister is then made aware that it can take a long time to influence the Department's institutions, as their collaboration contracts with the Department are usually only renewed every four years.

Following a short debate, the Minister thanks participants for a job well done: *I want people to think, when they see this initiative unfold – the world becomes bigger. Moreover, we should not exclude looking at ourselves. We should taste our own medicine. I mean look around the table.* The officials smile and look at each other – eleven women and three men, all white and sharing very similar masters´ degrees from humanities or social sciences.

[Covering asses]
 Specialist: "*Our usual work processes, like [processing] questions from Parliament, run according to the conventional hierarchy: up and down all the time. It is the system we are brought up in. We are not used to working differently [like with projects]. So you're afraid to make mistakes. And this system also functions by you covering your ass. So if an answer to*

Parliament is wrong, then it is not my fault, it is my boss's fault. Nor is it his fault because it is his boss's fault. So, in this way it functions by the process of 'cover-my-ass'. And in projects […] where there is no right or wrong, it can be a flop [and a Minister] can get really criticised, then there are people here in the Department that will think it would be good if [a Minister] has said: 'O.K. this is how we do it.' Instead of some civil servant having got a crazy idea that the Minister hasn't approved. So that's how it is."

[Rural Culture]

This is beginning to look like something! The Minister smiles and looks at the project manager, then the Office Manager, and then the senior manager, before turning his attention back to the project manager: *I think it looks good.*

I had arrived one minute before the meeting was supposed to start. The doors to the Minister's office were open. He sat at his computer. I'm sure he was updating his social-media profile. I must have looked puzzled, at least the Minister's Private Secretary addressed me and told me people were beginning to adapt. Meetings with the Minister did not usually start on time. But now the meeting has started and I find myself, yet again in the Minister's office, with the Minister and three officials.

After discussions between the Minister and the project manager the senior manager interrupts: *I think we should have more representatives from the municipality participating at the meetings. From previous experience I think they will be disappointed if they don't get more seats.* But the project manager does not agree, arguing that they already have two seats and that should be enough. Eventually though the Minister seems to take sides with the senior manager.

What do you think about the list of participants?, asks the project manager.
Well, I think that is difficult for me to evaluate. I'll have to trust those putting the list together, the Minister replies.

The senior manager takes a look at the list of participants: *Ha, ha, I know this guy*. He tells a story about the guy and people laugh. I do not quite get the joke but he's a cheerful guy the manager and a smile always seems to be on its way.

The project manager mentions that it is challenging to plan events for the initiative around the Minister's calendar. This causes the discussion to spin off to the Minister's upcoming visit to the Far East. The project manager appears to be annoyed: *Now, back to the project. What do you want to get out of this*?

I want to make cultural growth visible. I want to get concrete ideas, including ideas about potential collaboration. … I can see a catalogue of ideas for internal and external use as output from this, is the reply from the Minister.

Towards the end of the meeting the Minister stands up from his chair to get his iPad: *Did you see this in the newspaper?* The heading reads: '*The Minister is Not Unqualified'*. The media has just begun discussing the Minister's qualifications with regard to allocation of funds and placement of a series of events.

[Own two feet]
The specialist had recently been working on a project. The Minister had been very engaged in the project and frequently in direct contact with project members; the timeline had been short and the assignment different from other assignments the Department had dealt with. All this had somewhat disrupted the usual process of mandates going up and down the hierarchy.

"I was used to delivering into the hierarchy. Now, [working on this project] one was expected to stand on one's own two feet. Everything was moving, including the roles. It was fun, but it was also difficult. […] You needed to act at the same time as you decided what had to happen. [After this experience] I need to incorporate the hierarchy more consciously in my thinking ... and I do."

[Young Consultants]
"I want to gather a group of approximately ten. You should give me surprisingly good advice and sharp recommendations about how young people view topics like media, digitalisation,

sport, entrepreneurship, creative education and cultural institutions. In short, provide me with an insight into what cultural politics means for you who are the nation's future.

I expect that this group of consultants will meet once every three months.
You can apply to be a member of the group. You can also recommend that other people you know should apply.

It should be noted that participation is voluntary and unpaid." (From a public call to potential applicants to form a group of young people consulting Mr Minister)

[Hearing]

After a week of intensive media coverage, which has grown into a regular media-storm during the past three days, the Minister finds himself being cross-examined by members of the political Committee for Cultural Affairs about his decision to provide funding and host events at the Institute for Untamed Creativity. Members of the Committee represent all parties in the Parliament. Several other people are also in the room – media and civil servants. The event is broadcast live on the Internet. At the Department people sit glued to their computer screens following the event.

I will try to answer as well as possible. I can sense … We´ve been here for more than three hours now, so one is getting softer – frankly speaking, says the Minister after intensive cross examinations. He smiles, but the smile quickly fades away, never reaching the tired-looking eyes. But it is already too late. It sounded like a slip of the tongue but the damage is done. The repetitive questioning has had its affect and produced, what can easily be conceived of as inconsistency in the Minister's answers.

[A new Minister takes office]

Mr Minister has resigned. I put on my jacket and tie my shoelaces. I am ready to take off to the Department to see a new Minister accept the keys to the Department. A mail pops into my inbox from my contact in the Department. I take a look. With a new Minister taking over they want to take a break to consider the future process of my fieldwork. I'm asked to put my work in the Department on hold until I'm contacted again.

[Legacy]

Specialist about Mr Minister: *"And then he says: 'Well, I just want the roof on that house over there [the Department] to move. All the while I'm here it should shake and jump up and down'. I think it's a good image of what he actually did."*

[What could have been?]

A couple of months after Mr Minister's resignation I get the chance to talk to him in the Parliament where he has now take his seat as an MP. He looks like himself and his attitude hasn't changed, but the regret becomes apparent as soon as we start talking.

MP: *"Politically I can't bear to think what it could have been. From my point of view, the officials were just about to fathom what I wanted, how we could do it differently – first, the senior managers, then the Office Managers, the specialists and all the way to the student-workers. They were just about to understand it […]. My ambition was to create an innovation culture in the Department […]. I'm positive that it is possible and the fourteen months [in office] showed this. We did it! It was big and small changes. It was structural and it was cultural, that is, it was about habits. Some things I had as clear goals, but other things…"*

- "But do you think your influence will disappear?"

MP: *"Yes, I think there will be some 'business as usual' and people become afraid [again] … but I think it was today, I was reading three articles about [The National Theater] where the headlines were 'we need to open up the theater'. And this is almost a direct citation of what I said they should do and now they say it themselves. […] When I speak about these things I feel it … fuck, how irritating man, but there is nothing to be done about it."*

[Mrs Minister]

Senior official: *"[The new Minister] is an extremely experienced politician and, I think, a very value-based politician. She knows what she stands for."*

[Navel-gazing]

The winter should be coming to an end, but there is no sign of spring, at least not from my window on the second floor of the Department. The infamous winter greyness of the city still

has a grip on buildings, streets, canals and faces. With the resignation of Mr Minister, I feel like I may have lost my legitimacy for being here. After all it had been he who had invited me. I am now one of his legacies, as one official made me aware of. It is a vulnerable situation, isn't it? For some civil servants I am probably a reminder of the defeat the Department felt following his resignation. But I guess my presence has to be tolerated?

At this point the initiatives I have focused on in my observations have been discontinued, finished or postponed. It is almost inconceivable that someone is going to ask me to join a new project, for example. It is just not going to happen, no matter how polite and overbearing everyone is – and they are.

[Asking]

- I´ve heard that you´re starting to develop a new campaign. Can I follow it and observe?
Yes, sure, no problem, answers the senior manager.

[Meat and blood]

The project group for the Reading Campaign consists of five people: project manager (PM), two other specialists (S1 and S2) from the Department and two specialists from the Agency (AS1 and AS2).

People are seated. Except the communication specialist from the Department, for some reason she has already left in hurry. There is coffee and tea on the table.

PM: *Well, I've been appointed the project leader for this initiative. I'm not sure why. I'm not used to this role, so if you have any suggestions as to the process please let me know. I've sent you a memo outlining the campaign, but also containing a few initial ideas. I've also sent you a couple of other documents for inspiration. We have a tight deadline. Mrs Minister has publicly announced that she will have this ready before the summer vacations. The plan is that she will announce the campaign at a public event in seven weeks! The basic idea right now is that we create a 'menu' of ideas the Minister can choose from. This needs to happen as soon as possible.*

S1: *The setup is a bit special here. We have a large steering group for the project, with seven or eight managers from both organisations. Usually, the steering group is smaller than the project group.*

PM: *Yes, true. But should we take a look at the memo together?*

AS1: *I saw the comments from the Deputy Secretary about there being a need for more 'meat and blood' before the ideas are brought to the Minister.*

AS2: *To me it sounded like the 'meat and blood' part was central to him. Rather than adding new ideas.*

PM: *Well, these are just preliminary ideas that I have put together with help from our people in communication. We need you guys to add to them before we take them to the Minister and receive her feedback.*

AS2: *Sure. We will add something in the document.*

AS1: *Hmm… I'm looking at the memo and I start thinking if we should work with the school libraries or The Teachers Union. They've been running something where they just get the children to read for an hour. Just whatever … 'shut up and read'! That's of course how they get better at reading.*

S1: *Ahh … if my boss was here he would say: 'this is not our area'. This would be for the Ministry of Education.*

AS2: *But shouldn't it be about getting people to read better literature? Like the 'hat-women' … and me – I don't read any quality literature. Could we for example work with the headline 'fine literature'?*

S1: *Ha, ha… that will be shot down immediately in the steering group! Hmm… OK let me drop the cynicism. I wrote in the memo something called: 'The Town Reads'. They've, for example, done it in Slashstat…*

AS2: *Yes, they would choose one book that everyone would read and then invite the author to visit. But we have no idea about the effect of this – if it was just an event or if people continued to read.*

S1: *The libraries will always be interested in collaborating with us.*

AS2: *I don't attend libraries.*

AS1: *You're outside the target group!*

PM: *Well, not necessarily.*

AS1: *What is the target group?*

PM: *We make four suggestions in the memo. The steering group will want to limit them to two as you saw in the mail. … But, I just want to emphasise that we need to work quickly. We aim to have a meeting with the Minister in one week's time and the idea-catalogue needs to be ready at that time. But I think we have covered the things I wanted to discuss. As I said at the beginning, I'm not used to this role, so please just let me know about your thoughts regarding the process.*

AS2: *I was talking to my boss before I came here and she said she couldn't see when the project group would have time to work. The plan is so tight and all of us obviously also have other obligations.*

PM: *Yes, there is urgency and an interest in the project. Not only internally. Even the opposition wants to be involved. This will probably be the Minister's key initiative this year.*

[People start packing and prepare to leave the room]

AS2: *I think the digital reading groups are a damn good idea* [stands up].

PM: *Yes, and you seem to be an innovative guy with a grip on things. I'm expecting something from you … don't limit yourself! Shouldn't we just go wild?*

AS2: *OK … you think we should go outside the box?*

And then someone says: *I think we should allow ourselves to go wild. The steering group will function like a filter and make it boring anyway [laughs].*

[Don't ask]

Eleven people are seated around a shiny brown oak table, waiting for the meeting to start. In addition to the seven members of the steering group almost the whole project group is there. I am finding the setting a bit peculiar. My understanding has been that the steering group´s role was mainly to qualify the process and the work of the project group, passing mandates. That it would therefore mainly interact with the project manager. I push my chair away from the table to occupy less space. At my end of the table sits the project group – silent. The steering group consists of seven managers: four from the Department and three from the Agency. The meeting

has been delayed for five days in order to give the project group additional time to outline the initiative.

Suddenly, a senior manager (SM) enters the room. He walks quickly towards the head of the table and takes his seat. He immediately starts talking, thanking the project group for having added "meat and blood" to the latest memo. He then starts explaining the background of the project as being a response, at least partially, to pressure from the publishing sector. The Reading Campaign is a gesture, rather than being about meeting the explicit demands of stakeholders.

SM: *I think the Minister is talking about something that could be a mix of model two and three suggested in the memo you have all received.*

Yes, but do we know if she is talking about literature in general or only fiction? an Office Manager (OM) asks. Nobody around the table can answer this with certainty, but someone notes that Mrs Minister mainly talks about fiction and biographies when she talks about literature. The steering group debates the issue, while members of the project group remain silent.

OM: *We need to be more definite about our goals, so we can be more precise regarding our actions. Why does the Minister want this?*
SM: *Well, we won´t take responsibility for the whole campaign, only the specific initiatives.*
OM: *Shouldn't we ask her about why she wants this initiative?*
- No, I don't think we should. Let´s just present solid initiatives, another Office Manager immediately adds.

New ideas get brought to the brown oak table, but mainly by members of the steering group. Many of them are based on experiences from other countries having done similar things, others relate to how the Ministry's current activities might complement or be adapted to the campaign. At the end of the meeting it is decided that the project group gets three days to revise its proposal before they will be brought to the Minister.

[Silence]

There are ten people in the Minister's office. Six at the meeting table, including the Minister, and four in the sofa chairs. The Secretary pulls out her chair at the head of the table and turns it to the left to face the Minister. On the Secretary's right is the Deputy Secretary. Others sitting at the table are members of the steering group: two Office Managers from the Department and one from the Agency.

The Deputy Secretary starts explaining the purpose of the meeting: *This is the first round where we present ideas to the Minister regarding this campaign. Next time the proposals will have become more precise.*

The Secretary comments briefly and turns the attention towards the Minister: *What does the Minister think?* The Minister does not respond immediately. She breathes calmly and looks down at the pile of documents in front of her. They include a memorandum; rough budget estimates; an overview of similar initiatives in three countries; a summary of current and previous initiatives; and statistical information about national reading proficiency and habits.

Silence.

The silence is eventually broken, by a calm voice spreading slowly around the room. I'm sitting three metres away, finding it difficult to hear what she says. But the sentences are short and precise. (Some claim she doesn't use subordinate clauses.)

[Leadership-style]

Almost three months pass before I get the chance to interview Mrs Minister, though I've been attending meetings and events where she is also present. When I enter the Minister's office I notice that the paintings on the walls have been changed. Now there is a colourful but peaceful painting of green fields and cows, where a 'lonely' ship had sailed before. I shake the hand of Mrs Minister. She is a short lady with a kind face. Her look is soft but still sharp. I understand that before becoming Minister again, she had been preparing her retirement.

I begin by introducing myself and ask her how much she knows about my project. *Nothing*, she replies. When I explain what my project is about and what I've been doing. She looks slightly surprised and asks: *and this is going on in the Department?* I then ask about her view on art and culture. She emphasizes what she has previously stated in newspaper interviews, which is that art has its own value, independent of economic value and use. She also explains her interest in children meeting art and the value of art and culture in building identity and value in local rural areas. I note that she tells me several short stories as example of what she means. And suddenly the 30 minutes I had been allocated are up. But Mrs Minister does not appear to be in any hurry. She talks slowly and never looks at her watch. Instead she continues to explain her five main areas of political focus. *I better have this in the correct order*, she says and walks toward her desk to picks up a piece of paper and reads from it: *One, art should have its own value; two, culture should support democracy; Three, children should meet art and culture to help them develop their own ways to express themselves; four, nurture talents, develop the elite to inspire the young; five, institutions should be in a dialogue with citizens.* Before I leave the Minister's office we agree to meet again soon for another talk.

When the day arrives my first question is asking her to tell me about her leadership-style, or what she wants with her leadership of the organisation.

Mrs Minister: *"Apart from that I don't have any positive feelings attached to the word 'leadership-style'. I have asked to be present, at least every other time, at the joint organisation meetings here in the Department. I have also had the opportunity to say something about my visions and ideas to all the leaders of the Ministry's institutions when we had a leadership seminar a few months ago. And in daily work I try to influence prioritizing and the way we manage and live up to the ambitions I have regarding the Department's work. If I begin with this last part, it is my ambition and expectation that everyone in the [Department] and the Agency view it as the purpose of their work to help citizens approaching [us] to get one thing or another solved... understood in the sense that traditional public administration [is to accommodate] people's everyday life. [...] The normal procedure is that there is a response [from the Department] with references to paragraphs this and that [...]. Sometimes it is difficult to know if*

it is a rejection or what it is. Instead I want [the officials] to pick up the telephone, if something is wrong with the application… or that you pick up the telephone to ask: 'what do you mean'. And I have an example that I have used several times here in the Department…"

[Taking control]

It's simply called 'The Big Meeting Hall'. It's approximately sixty square metres in size. The walls are painted green. The room has eight large white windows, four on opposite sides, stretching from one metre above the ground almost all the way to the ceiling. There are four entrances to the room, placed close to each corner of the room. Two of them are open when the room is not in use so people can walk through. On the two windowless walls hang two large abstract paintings from one of the nation's most influential post-war painters. The paintings are dominated by clear rectangular forms, bright and colourful. From the white decorated ceiling hang three round chandeliers, also characteristic examples of post-war art and design. Equally characteristic are the enticingly modest and light-coloured chairs at a matching oblong rectangular table standing in the centre of the room. The table leaves considerable space between itself and the two window-sides, making the room well-suited for receptions.

We are fourteen at the table, members of the project group and the steering group. The senior manager (SM) sits at the end of the table. Ideas for the reading campaign have been presented one time for the Minister, but there still appear to be considerable unresolved issues, about what the campaign should contain. One attendee is an external consultant (EC), just recently brought in to work with the project group.

SM: *Now it is about what the Minister should announce publicly about the campaign in a couple of weeks' time. I want to thank the project group for their plan, but I'm afraid my ambitions are higher. I want to see more details.*

The senior manager stands up. Before the meeting he had asked for a flip-board and markers. He walks towards the flip-board and writes bullet points for different ways the campaign needs to be publicly communicated in the first and immediate phase. After some debate it becomes clear that members of the steering group want more details about the campaign before discussing the specifics of the communication plan.

SM: *OK I'll give in and we can now address the content of the campaign.*

The senior manager is still standing by the flip-board, holding a marker. A project member starts outlining the content of the campaign.

Office Manager 1: *I'm a bit puzzled. This is not what it says in your document…*

The senior manager moderates discussions and attendees put up their hand up if they want to speak. He looks at the external consultant.

SM: *What do you say?*

EC: *Well, we need to have a better grip about what the campaign is about. Is it about getting people who don't read to read? Is it about quality literature? Or is it also literature that informs? We need to get that from the Minister.*

SM: *It is easy to come up with questions. We need to come up with answers.*

Office Manager 2: *Should we not abstain from making policy while we make a campaign?*

The discussions continue, but people become slightly confused, as new ideas begin to involve fundamental changes to the campaign although still drawing on previously suggested activities.

Office Manager 2: *Are we the best people to do this, to come up with new ideas and suggestions? Should this not be done in the project group?*

EC: *The campaign is about getting people to read … not so much about the media.*

Office Manager 3: *ehhmmm….*

EC: *Yeah OK, for the Minister.*

SM: *We need to think about larger and fewer initiatives…. But let's stop here and thank you for a good discussion*.

People grin as they briefly look into each other's eyes. But there is paleness in the faces of the project group members. The room becomes empty in a matter of seconds.

[Big ideas]

A project group member about the Reading Campaign: "*There is no one in the leadership who gets money for big ideas. […] We just knew that we should draw up a campaign: what have they done in other countries? Can we do something similar?*"

[Summer seminar]

We drive across the landscape. It is the beginning of June, the fields are green and the yellow rape flowers are already blooming. It is nice to get out of the city. We are attending an annual seminar for personnel in the Section for Art and Culture, organised by the officials themselves. The event is social and recreational and includes an overnight stay. It takes place in a folk high-school located less than a hundred kilometres east of the city. Incidentally, hosting the seminar at the school corresponds to the Minister's well-known interest in the folk-school movement.

The school is a beautiful brick building. The oldest part is about 150 years old. In a strange way both the architecture and art on the walls attempt to combine elements from Nordic mythology and Christian religion. The oldest part of the building is shaped like Thor's hammer. The walls are thick and made of stone, there are long corridors and somehow it all resembles monastery. On some of the walls hang large paintings of famous events and scenes from the Bible, but the people in them look much like Vikings and many carry weapons and armour.

The seminar starts as soon as we arrive. First on the agenda is a presentation from the Vice Principal. She tells us how she and those now in charge of the school have, during the last three years, been developing the school. When she finishes, an energetic older man with extensive knowledge of the folk high-school movement takes over. His enthusiasm is contagious. For over an hour he tells us about the history of the school and explains the movement's philosophy. He highlights some of the central concepts which include *enliven, enlighten, historic-poetic, oral-interaction* (as opposed to learning from books), and *the vitality of a common language in forming national culture*.

After the inspiring presentation and a few questions from the audience, people are divided into groups to discuss how they can integrate the folk high-school philosophy into their work in the Department. My group decides to take a stroll in the garden while discussing the issue. Soon it becomes clear that members are not equally fond of the exercise, thinking that it takes adjustments to the Minister's focus and interests too far. Still, all the groups turn back to the seminar and each of them presents ideas and contributes to a discussion about how different ideas from the folk high-school philosophy could influence the Department's current practice.

[Getting to know a Minister]

Office Manager: *"There is this … what to say? Responsiveness … or these ears that grow. Trying to seek or catch all the signals. And then it's something we talk about, without necessarily having the Minister present. But that's what the talk is about at morning meetings and department meetings. And knowledge-sharing also increases. As soon as someone has been out with a minister, or at a meeting with the Minister, or hears the Minister make a speech and things like that, right? I think [all civil servants in the Department] do this automatically, but I look for it: 'How did it work?' and so on."*

[Animals]

I ask a specialist if the civil servants fear their Ministers?

"You need to remember that you're in a political system, which is very close to the [Parliament]. And I don't know if you saw the hearings with [Mr Minister], when he had to resign? It gives a very good picture of how… that is… because no one knew, when he walked in to the hearing that it would end this way. […] You sit together with a group of very dangerous lions or predators and it gives a certain aura. When you're in the Minister's office you can sense that what is being said is electric […] everything is noted… and it's examined."

[Time]
Time approaches.
We shall all have new computers!
The date is not set.
But it will happen in the immediate future.
(If planned testing proceeds as expected).

(From an internal mail)

Chapter VI: Department *in* Anxiety

When the aircraft starts moving, images of plane crashes run through the mind. Some have already happened and others are obviously only waiting for their moment to arrive. Sensing every unevenness on the runway as the plane accelerates, the body stiffens and the pupils expand. The noise is unbearable. But the sound of the flaps being tilted and adjusted is still clearly recognisable. An eternity passes before the wheels fold. In the meanwhile, the slope of the plane is a perpetual concern. Counting the seconds until the seatbelt-lights are turned off. I fear flying, but I desire to travel.

We are always *in* a mood and never outside it. We start from somewhere, never being nowhere, potentially anywhere. In the following chapter we theorise in terms of the Department 'being' in a mood of anxiety, i.e. anxiety encompassing and in play in practice; pre-configuring and planning encounters. The point of origin is an empirical *situation* – context contracted into an event of an encounter between researcher and Department – brought to life by the figurations of the last chapter. Here, the figurations become *concepts* to converse the situation in the Department – getting to know it in a different way. However, making the figurations the point of origin of what follows does not exclude the broader empirical situation being put into play (i.e. experiences and material produced) as it is immanent in the figurations and the thought that moves the text.

It has been made clear that *anxiety* emerged from empirical encounters in/with the Department. It then became an anticipation of an *immanence* affecting how different events in the Department unfolded. In correspondence the Department's anxiety is addressed here as an *organisational mood*. Recall from previous discussions that a mood is a way of being together, influencing how an organisation preconfigures and plans its encounters and thereby how different *modes* – expressions of attributes; things and species we find in the world – come together and are/move together (cf. Flatley, 2008; Spinoza, 1996). A mood is viewed as being relatively stable, but its stability still depends on being collectively and perpetually reproduced in organisational practice. A mood frames a potential of what can become in an encounter. It is argued that an organisational mood strongly pertains to an organisation's *power to be affected*

and *power to act*, which, on the other hand, corresponds to an organisation's *power to entrepreneur* (Hjorth, 2012c, 2013; Hjorth & Holt, 2014). Hence, the main objective of this chapter can be regarded as that of enquiring into the details of the Department's anxious mood to conceive of the Department's organisational power and capacity to entrepreneur.

It follows that an essential catalyser in this theorisation of the Department in anxiety is the affectual framework developed on the bases of Spinozian thought. While the affectual framing presented is already a response to the empirical situation in the Department, the subtle task is to refrain from applying by forcing predefined theory and thought on the empirical experience, but instead to theorise thought and experience beyond a representation of theory (cf. Massumi, 2002; Thrift, 2008), or, if you like, affirm by inventing (cf. Deleuze, 2005; Hjorth, 2012c). Supplementing affectual conversations, the chapter engages with theory from entrepreneurship and organisation studies, drawing on theory discussions in previous chapters.

The empirical situation in the Department did not only spark an idea of anxiety. The encounter also encompassed oscillating forces or *desires*, at work in the Department (cf. Spinoza, 1996). Anxiety, as Kierkegaard (1961) already indicated in 1844 in his seminal work *The Concept of Anxiety* , is an equivocal mood that can evoke movements of both contraction and extraction. Correspondingly it is argued here that two desires are at work in the Department's anxious encounters. Also, that their 'play' is local and contextual, affected by encountering modes. The two desires are coined as *the desire to secure* and *the desire to serve*. They encompass two fundamental dimensions in the Department. As an example, the desire to secure was made explicit with references to the *fear* of making mistakes (fig. 'Covering asses').[34] In Weberian terminology the Department's desire to secure can also be approached from the idea of bureaucracy's 'formal rationality', or procedures that without regard for substantive value calculate the most efficient and the most secure way of reaching their ends (Willmott, 2011). The desire to serve on the other hand, hinges on the very purpose of the Department to serve, in particular its Minister, in the best way possible. Most of the time the two desires can agree with each other. At other times they do not.

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[34] References to the figurations from the previous chapter will be made in this way, i.e. within simple quotation marks and their titles.

Another noteworthy concept, or anticipation, indispensable from the notion of public bureaucracies is Weber's *ethos* of the office. We recall that it encompasses ideas of *non-inclusion* and *ethics of responsibility* (e.g. Du Gay, 2000b; Weber, 1978; Willmott, 2011). But, as Willmott (2011) points out, we know little about how the *ethos* of the bureau emerges and how it is maintained. A claim made in this and following chapters is that the mood of anxiety can be associated with a bureaucratic *ethos* and potentially elucidates its 'movements and rests'. Not because the anxious organisational mood should be considered a source of a bureaucratic *ethos*, but rather that it affects the way it unfolds and develops.

This chapter is structured to correspond to the Department's anxious organisational mood and its oscillating desires to serve and secure and to move this inquiry into the Department's capacity to entrepreneur. I continue by first adding to the concept of anxiety, drawing on Kierkegaard indicating anxiety's equivocality and oscillating forces, but also how it relates to bureaucracy and the public office. Moving on, we inquire into the first of the two desires, i.e. *desire to secure*, driving the Department to anxiously plan and pre-configure encounters towards the (calculably) secure. The desire's association with the organisation's fear of failing is established, followed by an inquiry into encounters informing other critical aspects of a desire to secure. This section is concluded with an elaborative discussion of what a desire to secure 'is' and can tell us about the Department's power to be affected and to act. The inquiry into a *desire to serve* follows a similar design. It finds initial support in the Department's core responsibility to collaborate with different ministers. But as a desire to serve is primarily connected to serving ministers this relation directs the inquiry. Having outlined the two desires, the fourth section argues that practices in the department aim for an equilibrium between the two desires, a place of balance that 'calms' organisational anxiety. In the fifth section we pay special attention to the two Ministers' encounters with the Department, respectively. Their different ways of encountering the Department inform us in two distinctive ways about the Department's capacity to entrepreneur and the critical effects of political leadership on this capacity. To put it differently, political leadership had a decisive influence on the 'play' of the two anxious desires and the Departments capacity to entrepreneur. The chapter concludes with a brief summarisation and discussion of the theorisation the chapter produces.

An anxious mood

Anxiety was a mood in the Department. Kierkegaard famously made anxiety a central mood of human psyche and existence. But also Kant and Schelling before him, argued for a strong connection between anxiety and freedom. Taking Christianity as a point of origin, anxiety emerged as an answer to the possibility of sin and guilt. In the Garden of Eden, following the bite of the apple.

> [Man] discovered in himself a power of choosing for himself a way of life […] Perhaps the discovery of this advantage created a moment of delight. But of necessity, *anxiety* and *alarm* as to how he was to deal with this newly discovered power quickly followed […] [H]e stood, as it were, at the brink of an abyss (Kant, 1963: 56, emphasis added)

Kierkegaard formulates a similar thought in a famous description of anxiety as *a sympathetic antipathy* and *an antipathetic sympathy*. The description implies an ambiguous and oscillating relationship between fear and freedom. It also shows affinity with bewilderedness and dizziness in the face of something unknown or undefined. But anxiety also entails a 'moment of delight', which in Kierkegaard's interpretation of the Story of Creation is an initial *affect* that penetrates security and abundance, clear distinctions and roles in The Garden of Eden. The effect is an evocative notion and longing for freedom. But also an alarming and paralysing notion of sin and shame, i.e. the immanent potential and presence of failure, mistakes and ill will. Hence, in this context, an anxious mood becomes this oscillation of a longing for freedom, including a capacity to create, along with a notion of potential failure and destruction. The two dimensions charge human endeavour.

Even though the Department's mood of anxiety is an induction from a local encounter between researcher and the researched, it is not too difficult to find more general descriptions of public administrations evoking ideas of anxiety. For instance, in comparison to private sector organisations, public organisations are more influenced by the external political environment; they need to comply with particular expectations of fairness, responsiveness, honesty and accountability; they need to address greater goal ambiguity, but with less decision-making autonomy; public sector institutions are also usually more publically exposed and transparent

(cf. literature summaries by Bernier & Hafsi, 2007; Currie et al., 2008; Diefenbach, 2011; M. H. Morris & Jones, 1999; Rainey, 2009; Yang & Pandey, 2009). But exposure and transparency have arguably become an even more critical aspect than ever before, not least considering the spontaneity, responsiveness and reach of contemporary media (fig. 'Careful'). Furthermore, recalling previous discussions, the critique of public institutions is not limited to concrete decisions and actions. The scholarly critique has been relentless and has a long history, as we recall from previous discussions (cf. Chapter II). Each of the above, one could argue, has influenced the confidence and self-identity of civil servants towards 'carefulness' in decision-making and actions.

Anxiety and *the desire to secure*: fear, vulnerability and ambiguity

Anxiety: 'distress or uneasiness of mind caused by fear of danger or misfortune'
Dictionary.com [35]

There was a pervasive desire in the Department to secure encounters. It was at play in practices, decision-making and actions. In the Department there was a desire to secure works to prevent risk exposure by planning and pre-configuring encounters in an attempt to avoid mistakes and failure. The idea of a desire to secure was explicated in several, but varying, references by civil servants to an organisational culture of no tolerance for failure and a need to 'cover your own ass' (fig. 'Covering asses').

Weberian bureaucracy and its *ideal* of a calculative rationality is, to an extent, legitimised by the very ability to minimise the odds of failing. In organisation studies fear of failing is associated with *risk averseness*, usually considered to 'burden entrepreneurial initiatives' in organisations (Sharma, 1999: 146). In corporate entrepreneurship there is considerable evidence that an organisational environment supportive of mistakes is crucial for entrepreneurial performance (e.g. Brazeal, 1993; Burgelman, 1983; Covin & Slevin, 1991; Hornsby, Kuratko, & Montagno, 1999; Zahra, 1993). However, generally, the public sector is considered to be a less forgiving environment for failure and mistakes (e.g. Borins, 2002; Currie

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[35] Accessed: 07/04/2016

et al., 2008). A desire to secure pertains to the perpetual critique of public bureaucracies and their alleged inability to entrepreneur (e.g. Osborne & Gaebler, 1992; Schumpeter, 1943). In a post-industrial world, where dominating metaphors include 'liquidity' and 'networks' (cf. Bauman, 2000; Thrift, 2008), the critique has contributed to the development of new post-bureaucratic forms of organising (see discussions in Höpfl, 2011; Reed, 2011; Styhre, 2007). Hence, a brief connection to the relevant literature immediately indicates that the Department's desire to secure reduces the power of the Department to entrepreneur.

The anxious fear of failing and organisational environment

Claiming a desire to secure responds to a perceived organisational fear of failing, i.e. fear as a critical affect in the Department. Admittedly, this fear took me somewhat by surprise. The civil servant's job is, for example, even in a ministerial department, arguably among the most secure jobs one can have. Hence, the fear of failing in the Department was not the fear of the 'intrapreneur' putting her job on the line (cf. Pinchot III, 1985). Nor was it the fear of the start-up entrepreneur of personal bankruptcy, the death of a business venture, or the loss of a personal dream (Olaison & Sørensen, 2014). How could this anxious fear have emerged?

Many powerful and influential actors follow and observe decisions and actions made in the Department indirectly. The Department itself or the civil servants do not even need to fail to receive external critique. As a political institution, movements in the political environment can turn the Department upside down, especially when they concern the Minister's decisions and behaviour. Mr Minister's resignation serves as an example here. While events leading up to the resignation were very sudden, the resignation subsequently intensified fear and the anxious mood, both because of the perception of some of the civil servants in the Department that mistakes had been made and because of the State Audit auditing the Department's decisions and actions preceding and pertaining to the resignation. Furthermore, decisions and actions of, or concerning, influential subordinate institutions (e.g. The Public Service Radio and The National Museum) could also create considerable challenges for the Department.[36]

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[36] For example, some months after fieldwork in the Department had stopped a decision concerning The Public Service Radio led to considerable political and public pressure on the Minister to interfere.

The Department was a transparent organisation in the sense that its work was well documented and decisions, for example in the development of new initiatives, were usually easily traceable. The obligation to document was innate and case-documents produced in the Department were generally accessible upon request from the public and media interested in particular decisions and activities. But citizens and media were not the only critical observers of the Department. Others included political opponents, State Audit, and various other stakeholders in different jurisdictions interested in practices and decisions made in the Department. Most of these players had every possibility of getting their criticism noticed in the media. Mistakes and failure made on a government level are usually considered interesting news in democracies. It was even argued at one point that the Department was more vulnerable or exposed to public criticism than many other ministerial departments, because the media was involved as a stakeholder in some of the Department's decisions and because many other stakeholders were cultural figures, active in public debates and with easy access to the media.

To further increase anxious intensity and fear of failing, the Department, like other Ministerial Departments, was bound by law on several matters. For instance, when it provided information to the parliament. Here, mistakes resulting in providing wrong or faulty information as a response to MPs' questions could become a legal matter. This would almost inevitably endanger the Minister's position and even that of the civil servants involved. Cases of this kind come up on a regular basis.[37]

Even though we might say that the Department works in the 'shadow' of a Minister, it is not the closed or obscure organisation one might presume. A noticeable criticism of bureaucracies is that they ignore and are unable to adapt to their environment (e.g. Reis & Betton, 1990; Starbuck, 2003). And the idea of post-bureaucracy is, to a large extent, born out of a similar claim (cf. Reed, 2011). Yet, the Department's relationship with its environment was anxious and exposed sensitivity and *vulnerability*. This would be demonstrated, for example, with references to 'nervousness' in the organisation and instinctive 'carefulness' in encounters (fig.

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[37] The most recent ones, however, have concerned other government departments.

'Careful'). Civil servants looked for ways to secure themselves and the organisation to limit exposure and the vulnerability it could produce. In this context, bureaucracy is not a source of insensitivity to environmental influences. It is a response. Fear of failing and perceived vulnerability evoked anxious adaptation and measures to limit failure and critical attention. The Department was everything but insensitive to its environment. But the anxious fear connects to what some political scientists have also observed, i.e. that the considerable interest (e.g. from opposition parties and media) in exposing failure in the public sector is a considerable impediment to innovation and entrepreneurship (Borins, 2002: 467).

Organisational encounters: external players, hierarchy and the power of knowledge

We can look further and closer at practice to explicate how the desire to secure transcended encounters in/of the Department. One was when the researcher had been invited by Mr Minister to enter the Department and do (obscurely-defined) research from inside the organisation (fig. 'Entry'; 'Sickness'). The researcher was apparently unable to speak to the officials' desire to secure and reduce the anxious tension. References to an 'inductive' process without being able to outline a clear focus and potential results enforced the desire to secure and arguably delayed the process of getting access the Department. But one of the few options in this situation was for the Department to stall the process to see if Mr Minister could be persuaded to change his mind.

A second encounter with an external player, or body, was with a consultant during the development of a Reading Campaign (RC) (fig. 'Taking control'). The Department invites the consultant to participate in the development process. The consultant, however, disrupts the process with annoying questions, which could mean delays or make matters more complex for the organisation. Officials might have to go back to the Minister with these questions and get answers that could force them to rethink and take a new approach to the project. Not to mention the possibility of upsetting or embarrassing Mrs Minister with questions she might not be able to answer. This would not secure the tight deadline the organisation was working towards and it could have steered the project into new and unknown territories. That would then render previous experiences less useful and thereby increase risk. The meeting referred to was also the last that the consultant was asked to attend.

Encounters with external actors pose organisational risk in that they are not under the domain and control of the Department, thereby involving unpredictability and chance. It is not in the civil servant's job description to have a researcher wandering around, observing and asking questions. There are no guidelines to follow in that situation. But a rigid idea of bureaucracy and its processes does not sufficiently explain the Department´s aversion. In both cases mentioned above the all-important relationship with the Minister is also of concern, and both examples pose questions regarding how to serve Ministers. In an anxious mood, where encounters are preconfigured and planned with a desire to secure, an organisation will avoid heterogeneous and disruptive affects. This is a risk associated with encountering unknown external modes that may be difficult to control. Hence, the desire to secure is a force that moves towards homogeneity, rather than heterogeneity. Which poses yet another challenge for entrepreneurship if we agree with a number of scholars that heterogeneity has a positive effect on entrepreneurship (e.g. Amabile, 1996; Austin & Devin, 2003; Baldridge & Burnham, 1975; Hjorth, 2012c).

Encounters that can be described as internal to the Department also relate to an anxious desire to secure, to fear and vulnerability. The Department's hierarchic structure and extensive documentation ensures that everyone is easily observed by management, as are mistakes and failure. The size of the Department also makes observation easier. Different sources agreed that top-down control was strong in the Department, even compared with other public organisations. This was made especially clear, for example, during the Development of the Reading Campaign where senior management ended up taking over much of the process (fig. 'Taking control'). A similar situation allegedly also occurred during the development of a new organisational strategy for the Department. In these cases the efforts and influence of others such as project groups is delimited and neutralised to some extent. A tendency to 'cover your ass' has to be put into this perspective, which also entails that the safest actions for a civil servant are those ensuring that one stays in line with management and procedures. Pinchot III (1985) identifies this as resulting in a critical organisational fear, i.e. the fear of not staying in line, which acts as a barrier against organisational entrepreneurship. Also, referring to a strong hierarchical structure and top-down governance, it is frequently argued that the restrictions it

causes to the autonomy of civil servants compared with private sector employees limits the frequency of entrepreneurial endeavours (cf. Diefenbach, 2011).

At the same time, however, the situation in the Department, when it comes to hierarchy and control, is more complex, not least because of the organisation's close proximity to political power and the obligation to collaborate with Ministers. This results in a situation where mandates for decisions and actions must come from the Minister. Due to their hierarchical position the Department's senior officials are positioned in a way that ensures them more knowledge of how to best serve a Minister. In this sense they become both mediators and authorities on the subject at hand. This was especially visible in the development of a new initiative. The popular phrase 'knowledge is power' is apt here. Authority was arguably more substantially related to knowledge of Ministers, or their will, than being about hierarchical ranking. For example, being able to cite the Minister was a trump card that was difficult to beat, and could empower civil servants at any level to make decisions and take action. Hence, this leads us to the important relationship between Department and Minister, and how it relates to an anxious desire to secure.[38]

Encountering Ministers: different roles and ambiguous objectives
Looking towards the relationship with the Minister, a dichotomy of organisational inside/outside reveals its incompleteness. Is the Minister inside or outside the Department? The Minister is not a part of the organisation in the same way as a civil servant is (e.g. in terms of role, employment contract, duration of employment and background). Weber (1978) emphasises the difference between politicians and civil servants as one of different rationalities and ethics, and Du Gay (2000b) picks this up. Accordingly, the politician is supposed to act and lead according to his personal convictions, and take responsibility for them. The good bureaucrat, on the other hand, has to subordinate his own ego and convictions, but is guided by an ethics of responsibility to the office, its rules and role (e.g. Du Gay, 2000b; Kallinikos, 2004; Weber, 1978; Willmott, 2011). But these two modes need to collaborate, and the Department exists for this reason. Central to the collaboration is the development and

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[38] The Department is located in a society renowned for its social equality and mobility, where social status and respect is less of an obstacle than in many other European countries.

implementation of new initiatives. Corresponding to Weber's and Du Gay's distinction between different dominating rationalities and ethics, the two Ministers did not appear to share the Department's anxious mood. This is important considering that moods preconfigure and plan encounters differently and can become a challenge when two modes – Minister and Department – encounter each other and must collaborate to fulfil their roles, obligations and desires.

The differentiation between the mood(s) of Ministers and civil servants is conveyed, for instance, when an official describes Ministers to be different animals, more precisely *political predators* (fig. 'Animals'). The political predator has fought its way to office, through the ranks of its own party, defeating political opponents and winning over public opinion. This is very different from the civil servant, who works behind the scenes as a modest link in a clear chain of command. Even the Permanent Secretary, has typically worked herself gradually up the ranks of the hierarchy of the public bureau and acquired what Weber would connect to ethical dispositions of responsibility (Du Gay, 2011; Willmott, 2011). The description of a predator conveys the anxious intensity and the fear sometimes surfacing in the civil servants' encounters with the Ministers. The officials were generally careful and respectful around the Ministers, discussions tended to be well prepared and conducted on the basis of considerable documentation (fig. 'Silence'). The tension and the desire to secure corresponded to the movement Weber (1978) ascribes to ministers and entrepreneurs, i.e. their 'moving spirit' which is not bound by the same constraints as the civil servants. The mood and 'movements and rests' of ministers are not the same as the Department's.

The different moods of Minister and Department can become a source of considerable *ambiguity* in communication. A meeting with Mr Minister, shows this well (fig. 'Diversity'). A project manager's paleness and passiveness, indicates her anxiety, even fear, and we find out from the Office Manager that it relates to the ambiguity of the project, which pertains to a lack of precision in the framing of the initiative, and the absence of consistent and clear demands from a Minister who may not have comprehended the anxious desire to secure decisions and actions. The Department had not set up anything like this initiative before and there did not

appear to be much to build on, apart from fragmented stories of Mr Minister's personal experiences. The project manager and the Office Manager, thus, stared anxiously into an 'abyss' of potentials. In this case the anxious fear was not only of not being able to comply with the wishes and demands of the Minister, but of having to cope with ambiguity and the risk it imposed; how does one act securely and 'stay in line' in such a situation? Creating something new and undefined, something lacking a clearly defined objective is difficult to plan and manage. It requires the capacity to 'affirm', 'transmute' and 'invent' (Hjorth, 2012b). It is a capacity which does not complement a desire to secure particularly well.

The two workshops for the Diversity and Rural Culture initiatives similarly made evident the challenge entailed in a Minister's 'moving spirit' and the desire to secure and arrest these movements when they began to push beyond the Department's experience and current capacity to act (fig. 'Workshop II'). A civil servant described how, at the first workshop when Mr Minister arrives, the variety of ideas increases (fig. 'Workshop I'). Instead of eliminating ideas by choosing or prioritising he comes up with new ideas. This generated frustration among officials who now had an even greater and more complex task ahead of them to define the initiative. The organisation reacted to this experience in the next workshop on the Diversity initiative. They prepare and preconfigure the encounter by introducing the workshop with a plea from the Minister to give form to and compose something which is hardly more than a concept. Then, while welcoming participants the moderator makes it clear that the purpose of the workshop is to become as definitive as possible, asking the civil servants to develop an 'old fashioned text' with clear focus areas and activities. He also lectures the officials on how to present and interact with the Minister when he arrives. They are, for example, to narrow down the options by only asking ´yes´ or ´no´ questions. If successful, this allows the Department to stay secure within its own ability to develop ideas and to execute them. Hence, the potentiality of the encounter with the Minister has been anxiously pre-configured with a strong desire to secure. The Department wants to learn from their 'mistakes' in communicating with the Minister, by increasing control and to simplify and avoid disruptive affects and comply with the organisational desire to secure.

There is one last example to be emphasised in this context. That is from the development of a Reading Campaign and where Mrs Minister has taken office (fig. 'Meat and blood'). At one point in the process the Minister is presented with a menu of options to choose from. But, as mentioned above, management is careful *not* to pose questions to the Minister that can complicate or upset the process (fig. 'Taking control'). As to why this approach is chosen we get a clear response from a manager stating that the group does not have to take responsibility for the whole initiative, but only for the agreed activities and their execution (fig. 'Don't ask'). Hence, the reasons for the initiative or its legitimacy is not important when the Minister has accepted activities on the 'menu' she is presented with, and if the Department executes accordingly. At this point the civil servants will have done their job. This is in many ways a very clear and logical understanding corresponding to the different role of Minister vs. civil servants. In this particular context it also allows the Department to develop an initiative in a fairly secure and calculative manner securing the boundaries of action. The latter is very important because it allows the Department to stay within the boundaries of its abilities, with previous experience as the point of reference. In the Reading Campaign this led to gathering what was already there, something that had been done or was done in other countries (fig. 'Big ideas'). Schumpeter (1947) would have called this an *adaptive response* as opposed to *creative.*

Desire to secure: a negative will to power

From the above it can be concluded that the Department's desire to secure strongly relates to affects of *fear*, *vulnerability* and *ambiguity*. Accordingly, the organisation plans encounters with the focus on these affects to avoid them. With regard to the already-introduced terminology of affects, the Department's desire to secure is a *negative will to power* (controlling) and aligns itself with *reactive forces* in encounters (cf. Deleuze, 2005). It operates within the anxious mood and does not strive beyond it.

On the contrary, it remains in anxiety, aiming to pacify or avoid insecure encounters. The desire to secure expresses itself as a movement towards simplicity in a vulnerable and complex organisational environment which has to deal with internal and external organisational exposure: changing Ministers with different value sets and ambitions, and a considerable ambiguity about goals. The ambiguity can be the result of a Minister's lack of knowledge and

experience, but it can also be the result of encountering modes in different moods – organising encounters differently. The strong perception in the Department that mistakes and failure will not be tolerated drives and expresses the anxious desire to safeguard encounters. But it is not always possible to avoid unfamiliar, complex and risky encounters, especially not when it has to do with a Minister and her/his demands. In these cases there is a desire to thoroughly manage encounters to the point where mandates from Ministers are clear, but at the same time allowing for the organisation to remain within its current experience and recognised power to act.

Encounters between bodies can evoke passions of *joy* and *sadness* (Spinoza, 1996). But the reactive nature of the desire to secure is a passive *joy*, minimising the organisational power of its *capacity to be affected and to act*, i.e. without it unfolding and expanding. It is a *joy* of homogeneity and familiarity in encounters ('Congratulations! Your ass has been covered'). *Sad* passions, in this respect, encompass unresolved matters, heterogeneity and unfamiliarity – disruption of routines and habits.   Accordingly, the desire to secure provides support to Weberian *ideal type* bureaucracy, of rule-based behaviour and hierarchy.

The desire to secure will not enhance the Department's power to become entrepreneurial. But as we move on, it must be noted that risk and security are contextual perceptions charged by a mood but also by the multiplicity of affects in encounters. Furthermore, Brunsson's (2000) elaborations of organisational change lead to the conclusion that perceptions of risk and security strongly relate to ideological attributes of what is right and wrong, and the confidence one has to make these judgements. At the same time Brunsson's insights, made in the context of politically managed organisations, indicates the importance of the Department's *desire to serve* as another dimension that has to be addressed when events in the Department are theorised.

Anxiety and *the desire to serve*: sensing and responding

Anxiety: 'earnest but tense desire; eagerness'

A senior manager explained that the Department's *raison d'être* was to *serve* the Minister (fig. 'Serve a Minister').[40] The senior official underlined that servicing a Minister includes taking into account the different needs, requirements and value sets Ministers may have. As we know, however, these can vary considerably depending on, for example, the Minister's experience, interests, ideas and political position. If taken seriously providing ministerial service requires a degree of adaptation and flexibility.

However, critics of different eras have serious doubts about the capacity of public bureaucracies to be flexible and not least about becoming innovative and entrepreneurial (e.g. MacIntyre, 1981; Merton, 1940; Osborne and Gaebler, 1992; Schumpeter, 1943; Von Mises, 1969). These doubts have fuelled calls for a transformation of public administration, which during the past few decades have drawn in particular on economic rationality and the so-called enterprise discourse (see discussions in Diefenbach, 2011; Du Gay, 2000b; Hjorth, 2003; Osborn and Gaebler, 1992). An essential part of the transformation that these influential discourses advocate is the separation of policy development and implementation. Accordingly, policy development should be in the hands of politicians and political agents, while implementation should be in the hands of proactive and enthusiastic management agents (cf. Du Gay, 2000b). The aim here is to eliminate the rigid and apathetic bureaucrat and replace them with action-oriented managers (Kovalainen & Sundin, 2012). Drawing on corporate entrepreneurship, this also entails a corresponding call for organic organisational forms, as opposed to hierarchy and bureaucracy (e.g. Cornwall & Perlman, 1990; Sadler, 2000; Slevin & Covin, 1990). The various forms of post-bureaucracies must be considered as a response to this call for more organic forms of organising (cf. Höpfl, 2011; Reed, 2011; Styhre, 2007).

Weber (1978: 1404) had already identified a similar critique of the apathetic bureaucrat without the capacity to participate in processes evoking change or something more radical. Weber, however, attributes the critique to ignorance of bureaucratic practices. A number of contemporary scholars agree, albeit in different ways and to different degrees, and argue for

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[39] Accessed 07/04/2016
[40] The figuration is among those opening the thesis.

the capacity of bureaucratic organisations to adapt, host or drive change, and possibly something more (e.g. Du Gay, 2000b; Hodson et al., 2013; Kallinikos, 2004; Reed, 2011; Styhre, 2007; Willmott, 2011).

The situation in the Department, which included two different Ministers and the development of various initiatives, was arguably a unique opportunity to enquire further into the capacity of a bureaucratic organisation's flexibility and relationship with change and entrepreneurship. The anxious desire to serve became a critical dimension in this inquiry, constituting an opening to entrepreneurship. This opening of a desire to serve depends on at least two aspects, both entrepreneurial capacities in their own rights, namely *sensing* and *responding*.

Organisational encounters: moving beyond the bureaucratic ideal

Critics of bureaucracy tend to speak of and criticise bureaucracy as an *ideal type*, as if it was not highly context-specific (cf. Kallinikos, 2004; Reed, 2011). And this, despite the fact that classical management studies from the likes of Herbert Simon, James March, Michael Crozier and Alain Touraine long ago described organisations as fragile, unstable and weak assemblages of social relations. From this perspective bureaucracy instead becomes a considerable accomplishment, one which does not get established or maintain itself automatically, but has to be maintained and nourished with organisational practices and narratives. Correspondingly, the Department's desire to serve, as a sensitive and responsive desire, cannot be fixed within a bureaucratic *ideal*, as far as it is looking to relate to new modes to sense and respond to, e.g. new Ministers coming and going.

One example of the Department's sensitivity and responsiveness is its move towards post-bureaucratic ways of organising, more specifically, its repeatedly re-established project groups. Most new initiatives, independent of project work, require collaborations between different parts and roles in the organisation. But the very move towards project work started some years ago, prior to this study and the two Ministers taking office. A number of civil servants in the Department had already been through project-management training and certification courses. Nonetheless, organising work as projects was said to depend on the Office Managers and how willing and comfortable they were to establish project groups and have matters addressed in

that manner. But project organising had also been formalised in a manner that fitted the hierarchical structure and did not provide exceptions from the need for mandates from the top or documentation of processes (cf. Hodgson, 2004). But despite the formalisation of project processes, project work was a clear example of the Department's capacity to reorganise. And the practical execution of project work would differ substantially, especially in terms of the degree of autonomy of project groups, depending on the involvement of the steering group, senior management, and even the engagement of Ministers. While the Department's project groups reflected external movements of contemporary organisational discourses, they responded to the Department's desire to be more capable of serving to develop new initiatives. And because of Mr Minister's ambitions, which will be discussed further later in this chapter, their frequency had increased, and the processes themselves changed, not least because of his engagements with them. The Department's encounter with project work showed that this and bureaucracy are not easily dichotomised (e.g. Hodgson, 2004; Reed, 2011; Styhre, 2007). Project management was easily adapted to the Department's rule-based behaviour and hierarchy (e.g. through the documentation of processes and the need for specific mandates), but project work in the Department was still very different from other daily practices. Not only because it included collaboration in an organised group, or having to come up with new ideas, but also because it could require participants to work within jurisdictions they were not usually a part of or they were only loosely connected with. At the same time, participation in projects appeared to be in demand, also judging by civil servants' interest in project-management courses.

Also, with regards to the Department's flexibility, note that not long before this inquiry started, finance operations had been moved from the Agency into the Department. Second, around the same time the internal divisional structure of the Department had been changed. Third, following elections it is not uncommon that jurisdictions are moved between government departments. This had just recently happened in the Department and fairly large jurisdictions had been moved to another Ministerial Department and at least two new ones became a part of the Department. This would mean that civil servants had moved out of the Department, while others had moved in. Fourth, the communication department had recently been

reorganised with a new manager. This meant, for example, increased focus on project work and collaboration between people in communication and other departments.[41] This was especially true during the development of new initiatives, where a representative from communication would be a member of project groups and an active contributor to both content and communication. Fifth, broader organisational changes were taking place in the Ministry's Agency. Smaller Agencies had recently been combined into one Agency that was much larger than the Department.[42] These examples clearly demonstrate what Kallinikos (2004) means when he argues for bureaucracies' *unique capacity to adapt*. However, in this respect he specifically mentions the capacity to move jurisdictions around and the ease with which roles can be redefined. Yet, as we inquire into the Department's desire to serve, it is when we move closer to particular encounters between Ministers and civil servants that we see the most radical organisational responses.

Encountering Ministers and sensing movement

Nutt (2006: 5) argues that '[t]he external environment of a public organisation is littered with political considerations'. For the Department political considerations are an essential matter of performance and survival, as a part of both its internal and external environment. Obviously, this includes the Minister, but the dynamic external political landscape is involved in almost every one of the Department's considerations. Kearney et al., (2008) claim that both corporate and public entrepreneurship is positively related to the organisation's ability to adapt and change with political influence; and furthermore that the relationship to environmental *complexity* is positive. I have already indicated the environmental complexity of the Department, i.e. its multiple stakeholders and critical observers, but at the same time it is also clear that, in that the Department is a politically led organisation, political influence is considerable and critical to its desire to serve.

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[41] At a door to the communication department it was written: 'Project Hotel'

[42] After recent changes in the Agency, which included a number of mergers, the organisational movements were so rapid the staff was equipped with desks on wheels to immediately and efficiently be able to move their workstations around the building – not an uncommon event at the time. Furthermore, once fieldwork stopped, the two remaining agencies of the Department had been merged together into one. This, interestingly, goes directly against the aforementioned movements discussed in Chapter II, pertaining to NPM, towards smaller, less hierarchical and more autonomous agencies.

The movements of the Department become even more agile and spontaneous when we enquire into the Department´s particular encounters with the Ministers. It is here that 'serving' required most sensitivity and responsiveness. The Department spent considerable time and effort learning to know a Minister, and there was a strong conviction that in order to serve a Minister sufficiently, the Department had to know the *person* and its opinions well (fig. 'Summer Seminar'; 'Getting to know a Minister'). Which corresponds to Weber's insights that politicians are guided by ethics of conviction, enveloping both personal and political values (Willmott, 2011). Hence, every new Minister poses an ample challenge for the Department. It marks the beginning of an intensive learning process. The importance of the efficiency of the process was not lessened by the relatively frequent changes of Ministers the Department had experienced during the past few years. It had made the organisation somewhat accustomed to the breaks and the changes a new Minister involved. Still, the importance of the process appeared to intensify the anxious mood of the Department, making it more easily perceptible.

A senior civil servant pointed out that a Minister does not just sit down on the first day and start giving orders. It also became clear that even if the Minister, in this case Mr Minister, had a clear and explicit plan of what should happen before taking office, these plans were to a large extent not carried out. In a newspaper interview Mr Minister himself pointed out that they were made with the knowledge he had at the time, i.e. while not being Minister. The encounter with the Department, along with political circumstances, inevitably provides more detailed insight to the field of potentialities, i.e. what can be done and how much effort it will involve.

In the process of learning how to serve a new Minister the initial step was to inform the Minister thoroughly about the current state of affairs. To establish an initial dialogue, the Department presented Ministers with a ´white-book´ containing the state of affairs in all the Department's jurisdictions and the critical matters requiring the Minister's immediate attention. Indeed, there are always those decisions that cannot wait. In this process and the time that follows, the organisation *listens* carefully to the Minister's words and closely observes response and behaviour. Like many other things in the Department, the process of getting to know a Minister has hierarchical layers, whereas senior management has the most frequent

and intimate access to the Minister, more than Office Managers and specialists. But everyone appeared interested in getting to know about Ministers (e.g. at one point a few of the subordinates explicitly raised concerns about not having had the opportunity to get to meet and know the new Minister).

Knowledge of the Minister is especially important and valuable during development of new initiatives. At an initial meeting of the Rural Culture project group the Minister was the main topic of the discussions, even more than the initiative that was to be developed (fig. 'Rural Culture: project group meeting'). But similar discussions would take place in a number of project meetings. What here appeared to be known about the content of the initiative or the framing of it was mainly based on making sense of the Mr Minister's dispositions and utterances. These later became the main components of the actual initiative. Furthermore, in an interview with one of the project participants, the desire to serve and the sensitivity in play were made plain while explaining how the initiative came about by 'performing' the part of the Minister (fig. 'A new initiative'). The civil servant constructed a short narrative from an omniscient perspective, tracing Mr Minister's line of thought and how it had emerged. The Minister was the central and only character of this narration. Also, during the performance, the civil servant altered her voice, used words and constructed sentences that replicated the Minister´s way of speaking (youthful and somewhat unorthodox). This particular civil servant had spent considerable time with the Minister. The performance was friendly, despite the apparent irony, conveying an image of an ardent Minister, who is easily affected and spontaneous. One who commits to accidental events and communicates a broad concern or challenge without suggesting defined solutions.

Maybe the most curious example of the Department's desire to serve the Ministers, entailing sensitivity and responsiveness, was from the summer seminar (fig. 'Summer seminar'). Mrs Minister had on several occasions underlined her interest in folk high-schools. As a response the civil servants decided to organise their annual summer seminar at one of these high-schools. During the seminar they were introduced to the origin and ideology of the schools. They then discussed finding different potential ways of integrating some of the main ideas and

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concepts of this ideology into their work in the Department. For instance, how they could organise meetings and interaction with citizens and institutions differently, and how these values and ideas could be used in solid policy development projects and campaigns like the Reading Campaign. Notably, the planning of the summer seminar was in the hands of specialists, not managers. Thus, the exercise of integrating this political ideology into the Department's everyday practices was not a 'top-down' but rather a 'bottom-up' exercise.

Ideal (and ecclesiastical) hierarchy, Parker (2009) explains, is an attempt to structure knowledge and confine it. 'For not everyone is holy and, as scripture affirms, knowledge is not for everyone', as stated by the fifth-century theologian Pseudo-Dionysius (ibid.: 1286). No one had the same access to Ministers and the overview of matters as did the senior management. However, developing new policy and initiatives sometimes brought other civil servants close to the Minister and thereby closer to knowledge. But also, like other structures, the hierarchy in the Department 'leaked' through inevitable cracks and gaps. The organisational desire to serve emerged in citations and stories about the Minister. Sometimes it was in a professional context at meetings and in emails, but just as often it was during lunch and coffee breaks. In short, the Minister was omnipresent in the organisation. The centrality of and criticality of knowing the Minister could then also transpose managerial power, especially in the development of new initiatives, thus, becoming a source of increased autonomy for non-managers (fig. 'Own two feet'). As a result it had a puzzling effect on some of the managers when Mr Minister asked to meet the students working part-time in the Department. Meanwhile, to put it in rather provocative terms, there is no reason to discuss with managers if knowledge of the Minister and mandates arrive directly. Similarly, if a specialist had more knowledge of what a Minister wanted from an initiative in development, the hierarchical structure would become more of a formality. This was not usually the case, but there were still examples of this when Mr Minister was in office.

This study has adopted a perspective where entrepreneurship is considered to be in local everyday practice (e.g. Blenker et al., 2012; Spinosa, Flores, & Dreyfus, 1997; Steyaert & Katz, 2004). It is assumed to be inevitably socio-cultural and beyond the confinement of economic

rationality (e.g. Down, 2013; Hjorth et al., 2008; Steyaert & Hjorth, 2003). From here there is no priority given to the elitist entrepreneurs decorating the front pages of popular management journals (e.g. the Gates, the Bransons, and the Musks). The entrepreneurial is a devil of details, rather than a God of great plans. Spinosa et al. (1997: 66–8) speaks of the entrepreneurial skill as 'heightened sensitivity' and likens it to playing a game (e.g. football) while losing all sense of surroundings in the anxious desire to win. Captivation and engagement happens, in particular, when we uncover an anomaly in a situation – intensity. Correspondingly, in the Department there was a heightened sensitivity towards new Ministers driven by a desire to serve. As the organisation became more aware of its Minister's convictions and ideas through a broad and intensive process of the enquiring into the Minister's 'movements and rests' its roles, routines, and even structures could be adapted and changed to enable better and more suitable responsiveness to the Minister's wants (cf. Kallinikos, 2004). However, this was arguably the more common process, which got disrupted with the perpetual anomaly of affects in encounters with Mr Minister, as we will discuss in more details later in this chapter.

To provide one last example regarding how the Department would reorganise itself after getting to know its Ministers, Mr Minister's interests in topics relating to the creative industries, for instance, could clearly be identified inside the organisation by increased activities in these areas and a shift towards these in the managers' focus. This became even clearer after Mrs Minister took office and the focus shifted again. Already, in one of her first newspaper interviews, she distanced herself very clearly from Mr Minister's emphasis on the economic contributions of art and culture, but her emphasis on the so called folk high-schools and civic education (including democratic self-government) materialised in the Department's response whereby civil servants responsible for areas pertaining to the creative industries were assigned to initiatives concerning folk high-schools and civic education.

Desire to serve and its responsiveness to a Minister's will
In the above the Department's desire to serve has been associated with the organisation's ability to *sense* and *respond*. The desire to serve is conceived of as highly relational in its sensitivity and responsiveness to the sitting Minister, though it can involve other environmental and organisational factors. Serving in common language pertains to submissiveness.

Accordingly, the desire to serve does not immediately indicate organisational entrepreneurship. This is a fair assumption, but it is not accurate when it concerns the Department. The desire to serve has to be comprehended, as *openness*. Its anxiety is eagerness in sensing the movements of Ministers and responding to them. This eagerness to encounter and enquire into encounters with the Minister is an opening of the otherwise stabilising anxious mood. The Department becomes open and receptive to affects that may (or may not) disrupt the preconfigurations pertaining to the anxious mood and the desire to secure. Hence, openness here means potentiality. The potential does not have to become actual or used in practice, but while sensing the desire to serve suspends anxious and fearful preconfigurations.

Flowing from its openness, the Department's desire to serve affirms new connections and relationality. Driving it is the eagerness to connect and move *with* a Minister. It is not a question of submissiveness or moving *under*. Instead recall that the two modes relate to different ethics, responsibilities, roles, moods, etc. (cf. Weber, 1978; Willmott, 2011). Just like swimming is not submissiveness to water, but a creative and autonomous way of organising encounters with water. It is learning to move *with,* where learning is the creation of a way.

The immanent relational constitution of the desire to serve is what ultimately determines the Department´s capacity to be affected and its power to act. The Minister's *will to power* and omnipresence in the Department is important here. Sensing and connecting with a Minister with a *negative will* the desire to serve becomes reactive and its responsiveness adaptive, corresponding to Schumpeter's (1947) *adaptive responses*. This is, for example, when the Department's encounters with Ministers produce homogeneous and familiar affects, which allow the Department to stay within its secure ways of operating, its routines and habits. This will not increase the Department's capacity to be affected, as there are no new affects to evoke the increase, or disrupt the organisation's secure ways of acting. Thus, the department's power to act stays the same, remaining within the known and the tested.

More interesting for the entrepreneurial context of this inquiry is the openness encompassed by the desire to serve to an *affirmative will to power* in Nietzsche's terminology. You may recall that it is a will *for* something that *adds* to the world, thus allied with active forces. This

corresponds to encountering modes where different and heterogeneous affects are produced, complemented by the ability of the organisation's desire to serve and find *joy* in heterogeneity and disruptive affects. The organisation's body is here connected to an affirmative will and correspondingly aligns itself with active forces, while becoming immanently affirmative itself. This will increase the Department's capacity to be affected and ultimately it increases its power to act, i.e. beyond previous experience, routines and habits. It is precisely here that the Department, in its desire to serve, moves from adaptive response to *creative* (Schumpeter, 1947).

To sum this already compact elaboration, there is a duality in the desire to serve whereas its capacity to be affected cannot be separated from the will to power, or the desire, of another body, most importantly the Minister's. Encountering an affirmative will of a Minister, allied with active force, *increases entrepreneurial capacity* as far as the organisation finds *joy* in heterogeneous affects and *creatively responds* to them, without being limited by previous experiences. However, to qualify such encounters we need to remember that the Department is in an anxious mood, making secure practices its objective. Encounters with an affirmative will must therefore convey affects that disrupt or counter fear, vulnerability and ambiguity. It follows that now that we have established the two oscillating desires in the Department we move on to discuss anxiety and the desires together, and how they 'play out' in encounters and everyday practice in the Department.

Anxiety and the 'calming' intersection of desires
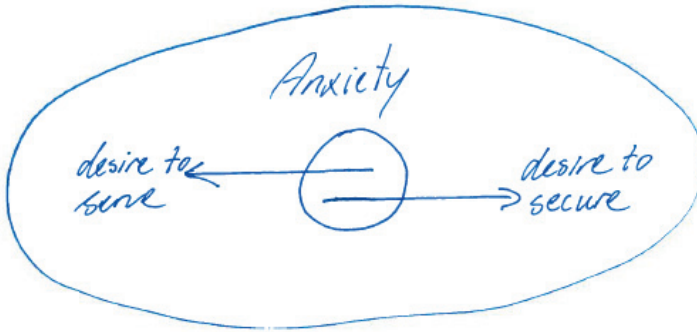
Figure 6.1 *The Department's anxious mood (larger circle) encompassing a 'calming' intersection (smaller circle) between the desire to serve and the desire to secure.*

An organisational mood of anxiety makes no claims about emotional dispositions of civil servants in the Department. Earlier a mood was described as influencing an *organisation's way of becoming in the world.* The Department´s organisational mood of anxiety encompasses two forces: *the desire to secure* and *the desire to serve*. It is always *becoming* because the mood is neither one dimensional, nor static. Despite pre-configurations and plans for encounters there are always elements of interdependencies in any encounter emerging with its affects, constituting a 'moreness' to every event and an unactualised potentiality (cf. Massumi, 2002).

A desire perceives both passions of *joy* and *sadness* (cf. Spinoza, 1996). The tension that charges the Department's anxiety is the play and rivalry of the two desires in each encounter. Figure 6.1 shows the two desires in anxiety and how they can pull in different directions. However, there is an area where they intersect and run as parallels (the smaller circle in the middle). In routine practices, for example, rivalry between the two forces does not intensify the

anxious mood, and it would not be easily conceivable. In such practices the two desires find an equilibrium and calmness where they are both satisfied.

Recall, however, that the Department's desire to secure is a *reactive force* and it responds *adaptively* to encounters (cf. Deleuze, 2005; Schumpeter, 1947). Hence, planning encounters reacts to fear, vulnerability and ambiguity. The desire to serve also encompasses reactiveness and adaptive responses if it is connected to a *negative will*. This makes up for an intersection, or equilibrium, of desires that is *reactive* and responds adaptively to encounters. In the Spinozian terminology it means that the intersection between the desire to secure and serve represents an organisational power of passive affects. Thereby it does not increase the capacity of the organisation to entrepreneur. This means that the *joyful* encounters of the intersection satisfying desires to serve and secure make minimal claims to the Department's capacity to be affected, e.g. encounters are successfully planned and organised without moving beyond previous experiences, tested results, and limited potential damage.

The intersection balances the two desires against each other. Practices in the Department are organised to maintain organisational movements within the calm intersection, minimising anxious intensity. Routinising practices and creating structures is, in this sense, support striving for the intersection of the two desires. Hence, bureaucratic practices of rule-bound behaviour and hierarchy have a vital value, providing the means to select and organise encounters in a calculative manner. But there are still many encounters pertaining to the Department that cannot be planned according to the bureaucratic *ideal* and this is where the calm equilibrium is challenged. It is also the reason anxiety is more easily perceived in non-routine practices like the development of new initiatives. It would also have been difficult to perceive and identify an anxious mood in the Department had this study focused only on the most routine practices.

With a psychological outset Diamond (1985: 663) notes that bureaucracy in organisational theory is often referred to as entailing ritualistic practices, and as such 'aimed at defending the self from anxiety over losing control'. Also, Garfinkle (1967) in a famous ethnomethodological experiment demonstrated that taken for granted routines were a source of security and reduced anxiety for most people. Bureaucratic practices in the Department were a means of

gaining control. They were promises of *precision*, *unambiguity*, *knowledge* (of the files), *continuity* and *reduction of frictions* (Weber, 1978). In this sense, control was key to maintain the intersection of the two desires was and coping with anxiety in an environment in flux (e.g. continuously changing Ministers, new initiatives and critical observers).

When we look at routine and control as means of calming anxiety the negative impact on the Department´s capacity to entrepreneur becomes even clearer. Schumpeter (1934: 86) considered routines and habits hindrances for entrepreneurship and innovation: 'Thought turns again and again into the accustomed track even if it has become unsuitable and the more suitable innovation in itself presents no particular difficulties'. Hjorth (2004: 413) challenges the relationship between control and entrepreneurship somewhat differently, describing control as a managerial strategy, countering or delimiting movement (i.e. counter to rolling). But entrepreneurship is a deviation from control, thus, it cannot be entirely controlled – preconfigured and planned. The controlled intersection of the two anxious desires minimises the capacity of the Department to entrepreneur, because heterogeneous, or entrepreneurial, if you like, affects are resisted and thus does not allow for the desire to serve to affirm passions of *joy* by folding them to active forces or affects, increasing the Department´s power to act and entrepreneur.

Like bureaucracy the equilibrium of the two anxious desires in the Department is an accomplishment in its own right. It requires substantial effort of preconfiguring and planning to avoid the discomfort of an anxious fear, vulnerability and ambiguity. But at the same time it is also clear that the intersection does not capture the entire capacity of the Department to be affected and create new affect. The perpetual practice of balancing between the two desires of securing and serving is that which made anxiety a stable mood. But there were arguably no encounters that affected the organisation more than encounters with the Ministers, with the potentiality of influencing a variety of organisational processes. In this respect, anxiety and the desires become organisational conditions showing an unstable bureaucracy rather than a stable one, where the Ministers could significantly influence the Department's ability to balance and calm the anxious mood. They could complement the balancing of desires with a *negative will*

and desire, or they could jolt the organisation out of its calm equilibrium with an *affirming will* and desire, due to the opening – sensitivity and responsiveness – created by the desire to serve.

The next section will take a closer look at exactly this potentiality in encounters between the Department and the two respective Ministers. However, because of the differences in affects produced in these encounters, the Department's power to entrepreneur was not the same for each of the two periods.

Two Ministers and two anxious but different encounters

This section underpins the claim that encounters between Ministers and the Department explicate how the anxious mood of the Department is charged by the intensity between the anxious desires to serve and secure. They can disrupt the calming intersection between the two desires, and maybe even puncture and disrupt the anxious mood. At least it has to be within the capacity of a truly affirming desire allied with active forces to escape a certain preconfiguring mood. An active force strives for the limits of what it can do, striving for connections to new modes and desires (recall Deleuze's and Guattari's (2008) 'lines of flight'). The two Ministers were indeed very different modes with different movements and rests. Our interest is not in the Ministers personally, and much less to depict them as heroes or villains. Instead it is to keep the focus on their encounters with the Department and how they affect the Department´s responsiveness, its movements and rests, differently. The criticality of this relationship between Ministers and Department emerged, rather unexpectedly, constituting a perspective on entrepreneurial leadership in a bureaucracy. Such a perspective has not been prepared separated from the study´s emphasis on organisational entrepreneurship, but complements and supports it in, what we can call, a relational manner. Hence, emphasising the relation between the political leadership and organisation, and how it affects the Department's mood and desires. Still, this will not stop us from inquiring further into what entrepreneurial leadership in bureaucracy constitutes, before putting the final full stop to this dissertation.

To re-establish the contours of encounters between Ministers and Department, note that the two Ministers were politicians, serving as heads of multiple jurisdictions. They both had valuable experiences, but of different kinds. One, Mr Minister, had worked within the cultural

sector for decades. The other, Mrs Minister, had decades of political experience. Despite their respective extensive experience, however, they could not have expert knowledge of all the Department's affairs. As Heifetz (1994) claims, the 'wicked' problems of the public sector are beyond the capacity of any one person. While the Department is obliged to serve the Minister, the Ministers had an interest in leading the Department in a manner that enabled it to serve them adequately, i.e. in accordance with their ideas, ambitions and decisions.

The two Ministers could not be compared to heads of institutions or CEOs in private companies. For one, the Department already has a Permanent Secretary who administrates resources in the Department. Her responsibility included how the Department was organised into different departments, work processes were designed and work executed. For this reason, most organisational configurations would outlive any given Minister. Secondly, the Ministers answered to citizens/voters with a more complex set of social interests than, for example, the economic interests of shareholders or the interests of customers. A third difference between Ministers and most managers was entailed in the Department's focus on its Ministers, where the Ministers' position and omnipresence corresponded to the position of leader, customer and product, all at the same time. Again, we can refer to Weber´s (1978) seminal description of the Minister as a *moving and entrepreneurial spirit*. If it was Weber's intention or not, he is pretty accurate in describing the potentiality this inquiry conveys about the relationship between Ministers and the Department, i.e. an omnipresent spirit that can move and be moved by the Department. But in the end it was the unique opportunity to observe the differences between the two Ministers' encounters with the Department that revealed the entrepreneurial relevance of its political leadership.

Chaos creator or pilot?
Starting with Mr Minister's encounter with the Department, he himself would recognise that others, i.e. politicians and officials, perceived him as an 'outsider'. His ambitions to establish the Department as 'the most dynamic, the most creative, the most courageous, the most curious, the most internationally oriented' in the world, were indeed unconventional for a Minister in the Department (fig. 'The world's best workplace'). At the same time he showed an awareness of an organisational mood of anxiety and a desire to secure. And after resigning he would, in an

interview, wonder if the organisation had gone back to being 'afraid' (fig. 'What could have been?').

With the entrepreneurial ambitions and a perception of a fearful organisation, Mr Minister did not issue orders to change the Department, nor did he bring in new personnel (beyond one political consultant).[43] Interestingly, when the Minister described his ambitions in an interview, having been in the Department for over a year, he claimed he had never been as explicit about them before. But later I found out they were common knowledge in the Department (fig. 'Rural Culture: project group meeting'). It was yet another demonstration of how everything about a Minister flows inside the organisation. Whatever Mr Minister had indicated to individual civil servants about his ambitions and intentions the anxious organisational desire to serve made sure that this information was efficiently disseminated inside the organisation.

Interviews with senior managers in the Department also confirmed the clear awareness of the Minister's entrepreneurial ambitions and interest in organisational processes. However, it was also explained that these ambitions had not been taken up formally at the top administrative level. It was also made clear by senior managers that changing the organisation was not the Minister's role 'strictly speaking', and that formal attempts to do so would provoke reaction.

Hjorth (2012c, 2004) drawing on De Certeau (1984), has argued that entrepreneurship in the context of formal organisations is *tactical*, i.e. it uses what is already there in order to transform it. Direct opposition and orders will create resistance from those who have had success and done well under the current system (Hjorth, 2012c). Correspondingly a brief look at a selection of encounters between Mr Minister and the Department corresponds to a tactical approach. In other words, the following encounters convey something other than order and strategy. But they also convey affects that arguably counter anxiety and fear:

- *Openness* was conveyed, for example, by allowing a TV-crew to move into the Minister's office to host a TV show, while the Minister moved out and worked from the reception

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[43] Mr Minister claimed himself he had been involved in the re-organisation of the communication department, which had however been underway.

area. Also, inviting a researcher into the Department (fig. 'Entry'), and documentary producers to follow the Minister around at different events.

- *Playfulness* was conveyed, for example, by asking decisions to be made in terms of what would be 'most fun' to do (fig. 'Meeting the Minister').
- *Activism* was conveyed by campaigning in matters that Minister and Department could not regulate.
- *Networking* was conveyed, for example, by organising several discussion platforms and forums without them necessarily being associated with a predefined political agenda, but rather with the purpose of exchanging ideas and creating networks (fig. 'Rural Culture'). Also, by establishing a team of young consultants: a group loosely connected to the Department providing inspiration and ideas to the development of new initiatives (fig. 'Young Consultants').
- A counter hierarchical *informality* was conveyed, for example, by hosting meetings with student workers. Second, by urging all levels of civil servants to be active at meetings with the Minister (fig. 'The world's best workplace').[44] Third, by having a casual way of dressing, which some of the officials appeared to have adopted (fig. 'Fashion').
- *Organisational flexibility* was conveyed, for example, when the Department hosted two 24 hour workshops for the development of two initiatives for the first time and with Mr Minister's participation (fig. 'Workshop I'; 'Workshop II - Diversity'); and having two Deputy Secretaries standing in for the Permanent Secretary for several months (fig. 'Meeting the Minister').

Excessive bureaucratic control, including rigid rules and hierarchy, is usually considered to have a negative influence on entrepreneurship (e.g. MacMillan, Block, & Narasimha, 1986; Zahra, 1991). Entrepreneurship in organisations is instead said to thrive on 'flexibility', 'flair' and 'creativity' (J. L. Thompson, 1999: 210). In the Department routines and habits were challenged during the organisational encounter with Mr Minister and strict hierarchical processes were not

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[44] Meetings with Ministers were usually rather 'hierarchical', where senior managers were more active than members of other hierachical levels (fig. 'Silence').

always followed, while decision-making authority could be given directly to specialists (fig. 'Own feet').

In addition to disrupting the anxious mood and the desire to secure, the encounters with Mr Minister also disrupted the bureaucratic *ideal*. It became more difficult for the organisation to balance its anxiety with rule-bound behaviour and hierarchy, routines and habits. Serving Mr Minister became more anxiously intense. For some civil servants this anxiety became an eagerness to serve, but for others it produced insecurity (fig. 'Diversity'; 'Rural Culture: project group meeting'). In this respect, and even though we can speak of the Minister's omnipresence, counter affects and tactics are first and foremost local practices. They cannot be expected to impact the organisation at all levels simultaneously – not even in the Department.

Routine and safety
An Office Manager in the Department described the Department's recovery after the turbulence of Mr Minister's resignation as having been rather quick, adding there was even a sense of relief after the shock of losing a Minister had passed. In came a Minister with substantial political stature and decades of political experience, including ministerial (fig. 'Mrs Minister'). Mrs Minister immediately contributed with a sense of reassurance and safety to the organisation, a sense of going back to 'business as usual'. The Department's respect for Mrs Minister was palpable in the civil servants' utterances and in encounters with the Minister. Mrs Minister did not show intentions towards changing the organisation, at least not towards it becoming more entrepreneurial (fig. 'Leadership-style'). The Minister complemented the Department's anxious mood, in the sense of calming it, for example, with her proper ministerial ways of being, and clear and traditional political intentions and ideology (fig. 'Mrs Minister'). Mrs Minister was a careful and analytical listener, responding in carved and rigorous sentences (fig. 'Silence'). At times this created self-awareness and insecurity among civil servants. But it did not disrupt calculative and secure approaches to new initiatives. This was for example the case in the Reading Campaign where process and results gradually came subject to detailed observation and control of senior management (fig. 'Taking control').

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A difference in how the two Ministers had to be approached immediately became evident, for example, at the Rural Culture meetings, which continued after Mr Minister's resignation. Mr Minister had acted as a moderator and been an active participant in discussions. He had requested that a number of attendees at the meetings should be cultural entrepreneurs and practitioners, at the expense of fewer seats for politicians and institution leaders. Mrs Minister's approach was substantially different. She did not moderate the meetings. Instead, she would silently listen to everyone's presentations. At the end of the meetings she would summarise discussions, make a few comments and take a few questions. Also, there was an understanding in the project group that the number of entrepreneurs and practitioners now had to be reduced to make space for more politicians or officials.

Mrs Minister did not interfere with *how* the Department came up with ideas or produced results. One comment she made, however, was that the Department should communicate with citizens directly and simply, for example, by using 'plain' language rather than enigmatic legal references. Another comment more characteristic would, for example, be a concern raised about the quality of speeches the Department produced for the Minister. This resulted in the issue frequently being raised in discussions in the Department and then addressed with a more rigid and tight preparation process.

To sum up, encounters with Mrs Minister conveyed solid political experience and craftsmanship. The anxious Department was in secure hands. Organisational and bureaucratic movements to balance the two desires of serving and securing were not challenged in the same way they had been with Mr Minister. Mrs Minister had a clear and consistent cultural-political ideology, familiar to the Department. There would still be ambiguity and intensity associated with developing new initiatives and expected results. However, it was not related to Mrs Minister as such but rather to other circumstances like time constraints. And ambiguity in objectives was an opportunity for the Department to use solid and tested experiences, without challenging its power to act on new risky ideas (fig. 'Big ideas').

Two ways of encountering anxiety

The encounters of the two Ministers with the Department were very different, producing different affects and thus affecting the anxious mood in different ways. The Department was well aware that Mr Minister wanted the organisation to operate differently. Mr Minister's interest in entrepreneurship and organisational processes separated him from other Ministers the Department had previously had to the extent that an Office Manager argued that 'he was sometimes totally indifferent to the result […] It provoked a lot of anxiety'. It is to say that the encounter between Mr Minister and the Department intensified the Department's anxious mood, creating awareness of it, not least because it became difficult or even impossible to reach the calm intersection in between a desire to serve and secure. It proved to be challenging to serve a Minister with organisational entrepreneurial intentions, advocating for the close relationship between process and results. Securing decisions and actions became difficult because Mr Minister did not prioritise security in the same way as the Department, especially not when it came to the development of new initiatives.

Critical aspects pertaining to the Department's desire to secure have been identified as fear (of failing), vulnerability and ambiguity. The Department's encounters with Mr Minister intensified these affects, meaning increasing awareness of them, because they were already there in the anxious preconfigurations of encounters. Both the fear of failing and ambiguity are considered to be critical problems for entrepreneurship in the public sector, increasing risk aversion (cf. Currie et al., 2008). But it is also important to note other aspects of the encounter between Mr Minister and the Department. It was claimed above that the encounter with Mr Minister conveyed affects pertaining to *openness*, *playfulness*, *activism, networking, informality* and *flexibility*. And several of the civil servants looked back on the time with Mr Minster as having been energetic and fun despite anxiety and insecurity (fig. 'Legacy'). For them the encounter infused the Department's desire to serve and increased the power of the organisation to be affected and act.

In other words, the encounter with Mr Minister corresponded to an affirming *will to power* infusing the desire to serve, making it *active* and capable of making alliances with active forces striving beyond the limits of the present state of affairs. In its desire to serve Mr Minister, the

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Department showed its ability to respond creatively, 'outside the range of existing practices', rather than within them (Schumpeter, 1947: 150). The organisation was eager to learn to move with Mr Minister, and as a result experimented with novel responses, including different ways of organising processes and putting them into practice. In this way, creating what in a Deleuze-Spinozian terminology is called *common notions* between Mr Minister and the Department, i.e. notions produced in encounters between different modes that agree with each other in and through difference and in that increase each other's capacity to be affected and act. Correspondingly, we can also conclude that encounters with Mr Minister expended the Department's entrepreneurial capacity.

However, there were also doubts and critical voices. A senior official doubted that Mr Minister ever entirely understood his role as Minister and the respective role of the Department. Another stated that had he succeeded to realise all his organisational ambitions it would have caused problems for Mr Minister's role as a servant of the Parliament. These and other doubts indicated, yet again, that entrepreneurship in the Department is subject to constraints and balancing of movements. Consequently, it can be argued that the encounter with Mr Minister did not only challenge the anxious mood, but it, at times, challenged the non-inclusive *ethos* of the Department (cf. Kallinikos, 2004; Weber, 1978). The Minister's ambitions, the ambiguity and openness in encounters, made claims to an enthusiasm for personal involvement (fig. 'Meeting the Minister') (cf. Du Gay, 2008), demanding something more (human) than the apathetic civil servant. For a public bureaucratic organisation this was bound to intensify anxiety. If the Minister occasionally 'succeeded' in this will not be evaluated in details, other than to say that the civil servants' general awareness and commitment to a non-inclusive approach to matters ran deep in the organisation, also during the development of new initiatives.

Mrs Minister's encounter with the Department, on the other hand, did not jolt the Department out of its anxious but calming equilibrium. But the Department had more control over such situations, because events unfolded more or less as could be expected. For instance, there were no substantial interferences with how the Department worked or requests for

involvement of unfamiliar players or stake holders. Also, the political views of the Minister were clear and in line with what the Department was used to. Correspondingly, Mrs Minister's *will to power* was *negative*, thus, the Department's desire to serve aligned itself with *reactive forces* – forces that would preconfigure and secure encounters before taking action. Accordingly, the Department's entrepreneurial capacity was minimised. Of course the Department kept on developing new initiatives. But with a reference to Schumpeter (1947) the leadership changes did not move the organisation beyond *adaptive response*, i.e. adapting to act within the range of the familiar and tested (fig. 'Big ideas'). There were still tight deadlines and stressful times but risk could be better balanced and calculated than previously with Mr Minister.

Concluding remarks

This chapter follows on from a reading and writing of the figurations presented in a previous chapter, but adds applicable insights and experiences from the Department. The theorising this has produced is induced by an affectual framing (reading Spinoza with Deleuze) and discusse with a selection insights introduced in the second chapter of the thesis. The chapter's analysing and theorising emerged from the identification of the Department's anxious mood and two desires of securing and serving. The desire to secure responds to affects of fear, vulnerability and ambiguity. Correspondingly, the civil servants try to navigate and plan to avoid intensifying these affects in encounters. The desire to secure corresponds to Nietzsche's negative *will* aligning itself with reactive forces. It uses control and avoids unplanned and unfamiliar encounters. Accordingly, the rule-bound behaviour and hierarchical structure of the Department become the means of an anxious organisation to secure and avoid risk. Neither the bureaucratic *ideal*, nor risk aversion are considered to have positive effects on entrepreneurship in organisations (cf. Currie et al. 2008; Diefenbach, 2011; Kearney et al. 2008). In essence, the desire minimises the Department's entrepreneurial capacity.

The anxious desire to serve emerged most clearly in encounters with the Ministers. The desire to serve explicates the Department's sensitivity and responsiveness. It is an opening in that it has the capacity to sense novel and disruptive affects produced in encounters with different bodies. Hence, the sensing suspends anxious preconfigurations and control – at least momentarily. But this also means that the desire to serve is open and sensitive to encounters

with both a negative and an affirmative will to power. Encounters with an affirmative will can catalyse the desire to serve to align itself with *active* forces and affects, including those counter to the desire to secure. This expands the Department's entrepreneurial capacity, the capacity, for example, to be active in unfamiliar situations, to act beyond previous experiences, and to organise in new manners. However, this is not a given because the Department in anxiety without affirmative will strives to balance its two desires in its encounters in a calm and reactive intersection.

The dynamics of the two desires and the important role of encounters with the two Ministers led us to take a closer look at the Ministers and how their encounters with the Department *affected* the organisation and the balancing of the two anxious desires. This showed that the respective encounters with the Ministers differed substantially. Encounters with Mr Minister perpetually disrupted the balancing of the two desires, and the Department-Minister relationship produced affects previously unfamiliar to the Department, corresponding to an affirmative will to power. On the other hand, the encounter with the experienced Mrs Minister did not result in similar disruptions but appeared to provide calmness and security, and the Department could act on the backdrop of previous experiences, corresponding to a negative will to power. In essence, the encounters with the two Ministers affected the Department's entrepreneurial capacity in different ways, increasing it and diminishing it and intensifying and calming anxiety respectively.

Moving on, the study expands on the theorisation of the Department's anxious mood and how it relates to its capacity to entrepreneur, engaging further with relevant insights from entrepreneurship and organisation studies. Thus, we set out to find out how the current affectual theorisation informs theory and the other way around.

Chapter VII: Entrepreneuring and Catalysing Bureaucracy

An inquiry into affects pertaining to the Department entails neither a mechanical description, nor is it strictly organic. It is processual. It is a theorisation of organisational movements. Drawing on Deleuze it is organisational metaphysics, constituted by movement in constant becoming – contextual and dynamic (cf. Kristensen et al., 2014). As a bureaucratic organisation the Department strived anxiously to maintain its stability. But entrepreneurship has here been described with movements that escape control and a reproduction of the same. Entrepreneurial movements recharge, transpose or transmute what has been stabilised, for example, in the form of routines and habits. This is also the power of active forces, allied with affirmative *will to power* (cf. Deleuze, 2005; Hjorth, 2012c, 2015).

In this chapter, the affectual theorisation and model of the Department's anxiety is discussed in more detail in relation to entrepreneurship and organisational theory. This is achieved by linking back to the first two chapters of the dissertation, encompassing a theoretical framing developed in the context of the Department's situation, not least as a public institution with political leadership. The purpose here is to discuss insights and implications from my previous theorising (i.e. analysis with emphasis on performativity) of the Department's anxiety, while connecting with different and relevant organisational dimensions, notably entrepreneurial and bureaucratic, and how these inform the anxious mood of the Department and vice versa. The ensuing discussion follows on from claims made in the previous chapter regarding the anxious mood, the desire to serve and the desire to secure. These permeate encounters and practices in the Department and in that play a significant and dynamic role in the Department's capacity and power to entrepreneur.

We start this chapter by elaborating on the dynamics of the Department's anxious mood in a metaphor. The metaphor emphasises the 'relationality' of the Department's capacity to entrepreneur and the potentially catalysing encounter with its Ministers. Next section starts with a discussion of the bureaucratic *ideal type* inherited from Weber (1978). Here, we look

into how *ideal* bureaucracy relates to the Department's anxious mood. Weber also describes the *ethos* of the bureau. The *ethos* has since been revisited by the likes of Du Gay (2000b), Kallinikos (2004) and Willmott (2011), and is considered to be an essential invention and dimension of bureaucracy. We discuss implications of the bureaucratic *ethos* for the Department and its power to entrepreneur. Moving on, the focus is on how the Ministers' ideas and ideology affect the Department and its capacity to entrepreneur. It is argued that the anxious mood and the bureaucratic *ethos* are decisive for understanding the organisational capacity and the power of the organisation to respond to changing ideas/ideologies. Tightly connected to this, the Department's ability to either adopt ideologies or create *common notions* in encounters with Ministers is considered from the perspective of the three basic dimensions of corporate and public entrepreneurship – innovativeness, proactiveness and risk-taking. The discussion also addresses a few of the most relevant antecedents in corporate and public entrepreneurship. Finally, although the discourse involving affects and organisational entrepreneurship is arguably in its infancy, significant and useful insights exist. Accordingly, before concluding the chapter we look at how some of these (e.g. *tactics* and *weakness*) inform and are informed by the Department's situation.

The catalysing game and the Minister as ball

Before moving further into discussions there is a reason to emphasise the catalysing capacity of the Department, meaning the capacity to act outside a reactive intersection between the desire to serve and the desire to secure. It is important because it is here we can expect to find the dynamic movements of the organisational power to entrepreneur. And it is also here we find hints of what entrepreneurial leadership in the Department could become. But let me unfold this in a metaphor in an attempt to charge and intensify imagination.

An (intimidating) series of thinkers have used a *ball*, particularly a soccer ball, as an example of a quasi-object.[45] Michell Serres started and Bruno Latour later refined the metaphor of a ball to rethink the relation between subject and object. Also, Pierre Levy used the ball to expand on

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[45] The concept 'quasi object' emphasises the ability to resemble an object, but without having to be one, for example, being able to take the position of both an object and a subject.

the connection between individual and collective. But it is Massumi (2002: 71), drawing on Levy, that moves the metaphor 'toward a notion of a collective individuation around a catalyzing point', which is the ball. *Collective individuation*, for Massumi, emphasises the collective process in which we continually *become* subjects and which Deleuze calls *subjectification*. Because Massumi writes in the context of affects and is under a strong influence from Deleuzian philosophy, what follows here flows from Massumi's account – but disassembled and reassembled in relation to the Department in anxiety.

A soccer field frames an organisation and a match. The field is a 'field of potential, rather than a substantial thing, or object' (Massumi, 2002: 72). But other things also charge the match. The goals create two poles of constant tension, perpetually charging the game and its organisation with a double *desire*: to secure one goal and to score in the other. Of course there is no winning without scoring. The field of play and movement is in between the two desires. Thus, the organisational potential of the match is defined in between desires, which, however, can have different priorities: defensive/offensive.

The field is surrounded by spectators, capable of influencing the match, either by infusing the play with bursts of energy or by defusing it and pacifying energy and performance. At times, the behaviour of the spectators can become so dominating that the match stops, either temporarily or indefinitely (e.g. spectators throwing things on to the field, spectators running onto the field, a drone flying over the field towing a racist banner).

Players on the field have positions and roles. But they are ultimately subject to the development of the game. Evan goalkeepers are known to participate in attacks and score goals.

An anxious and fearful team will keep their players at the back of the field, defending. A defensive team keeps the ball towards the back with the defenders and plays it back to the goalkeeper when they get threatened. Before playing the ball forward the defenders will have observed the movements of other players and how they react to the movements of the ball. A good defensive play is strategic and organised. Every player must know their role, including the

area and the opponents they are supposed to guard against. Mistakes can be very costly when you are play defence.

Attacking is different. It is tactical. The attacker spontaneously makes use of momentarily open spaces. Changes in movement and speed are essential for the creation of these spaces – disrupting and dismantling the organisation of the opponent's defence.

The goals, the spectators and the field induce the game, but it is the ball that catalyses action. The ball is the focus of every player and the object of their movements. Performances of teams are ultimately based on the movements of the ball. The ball is *relational*. It can take the position of object and subject. The ball unfolds and actualises the game and the players' performance. Its movements and rests ultimately separate winning from losing, and good from bad. Hence, the ball is the subject of the play. But it is literally an object when a player (subjectivity) kicks it. The players and the match, as an organised process, unfold and become through encounters with the ball, and relations are created. The ball defines the state of the game at each moment, shaping and redefining the roles of players (e.g. a striker finding himself blocking a shot at his own goal line). The ball addresses the players, not as a whole or a subject being. It addresses the players' senses: the body, eyes, ears, touch. 'These separate sensory impressions are synthesised not into a subjective whole but into a state of intensive readiness for reflexive response', for *action* (Massumi, 2002: 74). Encounters with the ball address the capacity of players to be affected and the ball's movements address the capacity of the team to be affected and act. The wholeness and field of potential encompassing the team is not the sum of the players'/subjects' potential. The field of potential is relational and charged by the two poles of desire – securing one goal and attacking the other. If there is one stronger than the other it is because of the teams' *will*, but the teams will is also subject to the movements of the ball. Even the anxious team may be brought out of its defensive approach through encounters with the ball. Imagine a ball with an unfamiliar spin. Suddenly it does not approach players in a straight line; its speed varies and kicking it produces unexpected results. Due to the ball's catalysing effect the team becomes more alert and sensitive, mobile and responsive in

their movements. The team has to abandon its pre-configured strategy to *invent* new ways of shooting/passing/attacking/defending (or it can give up and ask for a new ball).

Anyone who has played soccer, or other activities entailing high physical and psychic intensity, has experienced how one *forgets oneself* in the play. The eager football player is not consciously aware of their posture or the details of their movements. The movements are not the player's *own*. They unfold in relationship to the ball and the movements of other players (moving with the same ball). There is no space for self-reflection when the ball approaches the striker in front of the goal; action is required, guided by a desire to win. There is no space for a conscious contemplation of *how* to act. What ultimately defines action at this moment is the player's power to be affected by the ball, resulting in an action the player may not even have realised he was capable of (e.g. a backward kick in the air).

Let me leave the soccer field here. Meanwhile, it inevitably directs attention for the remainder of the chapter.

Bureaucracy and anxiety

Ideal type and anxiety

The theorisation of the Department in an anxious mood and the desires from the last chapter conveyed an idea of bureaucracy different from the *ideal type* description of a bureaucracy inherited from Weber (1978). However, Weber's *ideal type* still identifies strongly with the Department's practices, not least the anxious desire to secure. Recall that Weber's (1978: 956–958) *ideal* includes the following characteristics:

- A division into *jurisdictional* areas ordered by *rules*.
- A clear *hierarchical system* of governing dividing superiors and subordinates.
- Bureaucratic management based on *written documents*. Processes and activities are therefore *traceable* through documents.
- The bureaucratic office usually demands thorough *training in a field of specialisation*.
- The bureau demands the *full capacity* of the official.

- Bureaucratic office-management follows and can be reduced to *general rules*, more or less stable and exhaustive, embedded in its very nature.

These characteristics can be summarised as practices based on rule-based behaviour and hierarchy (cf. Kallinikos, 2004). Weber (1978) also stressed that as bureaucracy develops towards perfection, towards the *ideal*, the more it becomes 'dehumanised'. But at the same time it succeeds in 'eliminating from official business love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements which escape calculation' (ibid: 975). Neither Weber nor his critics saw dehumanisation as a positive product of bureaucracy, but the elimination of the involvement of personal interests was for Weber a fundamental accomplishment. Still, the perfection of bureaucracy was the construction of an 'iron cage'. Dwelling on this can lead to numbness and indifference according to both Weber (1978) and Schumpeter (1943), while in this regard Merton refers to 'trained incapacity' and 'occupational psychosis' (1940: 562). In the affect-based terminology of this study, *ideal type* bureaucracy corresponds to a dislocation from *joy* and *active* affects, and from potential novel creations. To be affected and create affects, organisational power is minimised with its mechanical movements.

An inquiry into the Department's affectual movements shows well that bureaucracy is never wholly bureaucratic (cf. Reed, 2011; Styhre, 2007). For the Department *ideal type* bureaucracy reflects a set of rules for how it organises itself. However, we need to be careful not to mix rules and *ideals* together with cause. Like in soccer, rules of the game are its formal cause, but not its efficient cause. This means that rules are not its conditions or capacity, but instead a *post de facto* cause, a response to daily practices, habits and routines (Massumi, 2002). Organisations are recursive systems where practice/actions and structure/rules are closely entangled without being the same (Hernes & Bakken, 2003). The anxious mood of the Department becomes a condition of its bureaucratic rule-based behaviour and need for stability, but they do not account for the whole of its practices and even less for its organisational capacity to be affected. There is always a vast field of potential and action in between rule and practice (recall Hodson et al. (2012) regarding chaos in bureaucracies). In the Department, rules and hierarchy contribute to formal obligations of continuity, equality and

consistency. But their local internal effect is that they 'calm' anxiety in an organisation exposed to changing political leaderships and an observant and critical environment, which includes media, politicians and citizens.

After in-depth case studies in the corporate sector and an extensive review of the literature, Styhre (2007) maintains that bureaucracy and its adherence to rules is no hindrance to innovation. Instead, he concludes, rules even enable it, for example, by freeing resources to focus on innovations. Formal rules unfold differently in practice from routines and habits. Thus, Styhre (2007: 189) notes that 'it may be fruitful to conceive of routines as formal or informal scripts that enable a variety of individual performances'. Connecting with the Department scripts come close to how rules and routines unfold in practice, but especially with regard to the development of new initiatives where work follows scripts, and where they are only loosely entangled with action. In the Department 'formal scripts' encompass the necessity for ministerial mandates, documentation and an awareness of jurisdictional areas. But it is the informal part of the scripts that is more important for how things are done. The scripts are subject to the anxious mood, the desire to serve and the desire to secure. In the development of new initiatives, the flexibility of the bureaucratic scripts was demonstrated in that even the form of organising could change, and rule-based processes were disrupted to better secure action or ensure service. Novelty, complexity, ambiguity and time constraints in the development of initiatives frequently disrupted and neutralised routines and habits. And new ways of applying the bureaucratic scripts (formally rule-based and hierarchical) were developed. The Department organising work as projects and workshops, adding new jurisdictions to the organisation and moving resources, supports Styhre's description of contextual and adaptive scripts, as opposed to an organisation clinging to rigid rules and hierarchy. Studying the Department's development of initiatives also supports a perception of bureaucracy as a continuous practice and accomplishment in a dynamic environment. Or, as it has been characterised by advocates, as being many-sided, evolving and diversified (e.g. Courpasson, 2000; Du Gay, 2000b, 2005; Kallinikos, 2004).

Another insight follows from the notion of bureaucratic scripts, rather than a more rigidly rule-based *ideal type*, when we address it in the context of post-bureaucracy. The Department showed its desire to serve, flexibility and responsiveness, taking on different organisational forms, like workshops and projects, which would even develop into more *ad-hoc* ways of organising. This situation in the Department did not support a clear distinction between bureaucratic and post-bureaucratic, or their relationship to entrepreneurship. Project work in the Department showed that a post-bureaucratic form of organising did not automatically solve challenges of entrepreneurship.[46] Project work, as the most widespread organisational form attributed to post-bureaucracy, was not at odds with bureaucracy. It fitted well with tight rules and hierarchical governance (cf. Hodgson, 2004). Different ways of organising in the Department did not directly or independently contribute to, for instance, more experimental solutions or risk-taking. To connect with the Department's power to entrepreneur we also have to be aware of the Department's anxious mood. Thus, establishing new ways of organising would become settled and stabilised and routinised if the Department did not enter into encounters that catalysed its desire to serve, so that its responsiveness could be transposed from adaptive to creative (cf. Schumpeter, 1947). So, thinking with scripts, rather than *ideal type*, accounts in a better way for the Department's ability to reorganise and respond to different Ministers, but they still must be observed in the context of the Department's anxious mood and desires to connect, to bridge a discussion of entrepreneurship.

Non-inclusive ethos and the anxious desire to serve

Paul Du Gay was introduced earlier in this thesis as one of the most influential organisational scholars rethinking bureaucracy, particularly within the public sector. His defence for bureaucracy is charged by a reading of Weber, and responds critically to the enterprising discourse encompassing new public management (NPM) and the extensive 'liberalising' reforms of the public sector, which have been traced back to the early 1980s. For Du Gay (2000b) and some other defenders of bureaucracy, the bureaucratic *ideal type*, as it is most commonly perceived, fails to present and appreciate what is most inventive and historically singular in bureaucracy.

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[46] On organic structures fostering entrepreneurship see e.g. Cornwall and Perlman, 1990; Slevin and Covin, 1990.

In this respect it has been pointed out that hierarchy is actually not a bureaucratic invention, but a much older phenomenon which can be traced at least 1500 years back to the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius, who, while dealing with the properties and orders of angels, presents ontological and political reasons for why organisations (for example the Christian Church) should be hierarchical (Parker, 2009). Also previously mentioned, standardisation and documentation, as essential characteristics of the bureaucratic *ideal*, are just as much a part of post-bureaucratic ways of organising, again, making the commonly perceived dichotomy between bureaucracy and post-bureaucracy highly questionable (e.g. Clegg, 2011; Clegg & Courpasson, 2004; Harris et al., 2011; Kärreman & Alvesson, 2004; Styhre, 2007). Instead, it is in the *ethos* of the bureau that Du Gay (2000b) identifies as the historical singularity that is the invention of bureaucracy and encompasses a particular kind of ethics or 'Lebensführung'. While critics describe it as a violent split of the individual between social and professional being, and between formal and substantial rationality, others see an extension of human capacity (e.g. Du Gay, 2000b; Willmott, 2011). The *ethos* of the bureau encompasses *ethics of responsibility* which entails 'abnegation of personal moral enthusiasm' and 'commitment to the purpose of the office' (Du Gay, 1994: 667). Ethics of responsibility are not bound by calculative rationality. Their commitment is rather to uphold equality and law.

But as we take not of the bureaucratic *ethos*, we should also recall Willmott's (2011) encouragement to view ethics and the *ethos* of the bureaux as processual and dynamic concepts, meaning that they can escape own ideal definitions. This needs to be taken seriously considering that the most influential conceptualisations of bureaucracy are more than a century old. Studying the Department shows that a lot has changed (e.g. mediatisation of society, social complexity, democratic requirements of transparency and new ways of organising) and that to conceive of bureaucracy and its *ethos* requires sensitivity to local movement. The anxious mood is an outcome of such sensitivity.

Not long before Weber wrote his most seminal work, Nietzsche argued for a difference between ethics (living as an active creation) and morals (living by following transcendental

moral values).[47] The same differentiation is active in Deleuze's reading of Spinoza's *Ethics* in active and passive affects – joy and sadness. By connecting bureaucratic *ethos* closely to ethics it becomes a dynamic term, sensitive to local context and duration, and a space for human capacity to unfold beyond transcending rigid moral values (or ideology). An affirming desire drives human agency and living. Desire has the power to transpose affects of *joy* to *common notions* of new and enriching encounters, continually increasing organisational capacity. In this language of affects, a negative desire qualifies reactive or passive affects and corresponds to moral values and minimised power to be affected and to act.

In Kierkegaard (1961), play between ethics and morals unfolds in anxiety, encompassing Christian morals and humans' realisation of freedom. Consequently, an ambiguous difference between good and evil emerges, and with it comes the challenge of choosing – of judgement. In this dissertation we have been moving away from the idea that bureaucracy, as observed in the Department, can be confined within strictly defined structures of rules, roles and hierarchy, i.e. that a joyful and active desire is also involved in movements of the organisation. But how can this be associated with what we know about bureaucracy and its *ethos*? Willmott (2011) and Kallinikos (2004) provide some useful insights here as they conceive of a bureaucratic *ethos* that is contextual and dynamic. Kallinikos underlines how a bureaucratic *ethos* enables organisational flexibility, and in that way extends organisational capacity rather than delimiting it. At its centre is a *non-inclusive* mode of human involvement in organisations. While this clearly corresponds to Weber's (1978) and Du Gay's (2000b) understanding of *ethos*, Kallinikos is more indicative about its entrepreneurial capacity.[48] The non-inclusive decoupling of personal interests and opinions to organisational roles attains that 'roles can be adapted, modified, redesigned, abandoned or reshuffled to address the emerging technical, social and economic demands the organisation is facing' (Kallinikos, 2004: 23). Furthermore, 'non-inclusiveness is bound to produce a relationship between individuals and organisation marked by *selectivity, mobility* and *reversibility*' (ibid.: 24).[49] In other words, there is a distinction to be made between

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[47] For example see discussion in Nehamas (1998).
[48] For Weber, but also Du Gay, the non-inclusive *ethos* of the office included a *sense of duty* that was above the civil servants' personal preferences.
[49] Kallinikos here draws on the writings of Luhmann and Gellner.

a role-based inclusion of bureaucracy and inclusion of the human in its full behavioural complexity. The latter involves the critique of management and the enterprise discourse in Du Gay (2000b) and Hjorth (2003). Here the enterprise has rendered human subjects into 'creative' 'entrepreneurial' resources available for managerial attention.

Now, with regard to the Department's anxious mood civil servants' approach to the development of new initiatives corresponding to non-inclusiveness, even while working on these projects they were not necessarily in a well-defined role or working exactly within their own jurisdiction. Non-inclusion in the Department could not be separated from the tension of knowing that each Minister was there only temporarily and the desire to serve a Minister and the engagement it required. Hence, non-inclusion was a challenge in any new developments and it most probably provoked the sarcasm that perpetually entered discussions in the Department, as an indication of a mismatch between actions and personal opinions. But at the same time, it was an example of how to maintain distance in situations where employees may have felt a pressure to become more personally involved. Which was arguably the case, at times, during the collaboration with Mr Minister. Civil servants would also describe the challenge of non-inclusion and how it was something learned and adopted over time. Being able to detach personal interests, values and opinions was also considered essential for personal 'survival' and organisational sustainability in this environment of hierarchical control and changing political leadership.

Still, I find that the non-inclusive *ethos* in the Department was indicative of a distinct affectual ability to entrepreneur. Without a doubt, we can argue that non-inclusion corresponds to a traditional bureaucratic mode of being and a desire to secure. It immediately evokes ideas of humans as simple instruments to fulfil the goals and aims of bureaucracy, and this would be the case if we could not identify human desire, ambiguity and judgement in bureaucracy.[50] However, non-inclusion in the Department cannot be separated from the desire to serve, which

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[50] Here we can think of one of the most extreme examples used to criticise bureaucracy, i.e. Nazi-Germany (e.g. Bauman, 1989). There is no room to engage with this discussion here other than to question any simplistic causality that might be made between bureaucracy and the collapse of a whole society and the human capacity to empathise and distinguish right from wrong. At least the human capacity for horrific acts and genocide does not appear to be bound by the presence of bureaucracy.

entails the capacity to find *joy* and create *common notions* in encounters with Ministers, sensing and responding to heterogenic affects. This is what the encounter with Mr Minister, in particular, showed. The civil servants were able to sense and respond beyond personal opinions. A non-inclusive approach in the Department was essential for the commitment to serve and collaborate with any minister, making *common notions* possible: of being affected by heterogenic affects, acting and entrepreneuring beyond the anxious equilibrium between the desire to secure and serve – despite the intensification of anxiety it created. Accordingly, it is in the capacity of a non-inclusive approach not to host ideas and objectives outside local encounters that the Department can increase its capacity to entrepreneur. This is also where Kallinikos' (2004) claim for the 'unique capacity' of bureaucracy to adapt makes sense (e.g. changing rules, roles, standards and processes with relative ease). Here, however, with the situation in the Department in mind, it has to be added that this capacity of non-inclusion also encompasses forgetting or acting as if you have forgotten (e.g. previous organisational experiences, previous Ministers and personal opinions). What was not forgotten in the Department was the anxious mood. It was not forgotten because it was not in memory, but permeated organisational practice, movement, bodies and affects. But while anxiety frequently prevented the organisations from exercising the full capacity of a non-inclusive and affirmative desire it also encompassed it and involved it.

At least two questions emerge from this this discussion. Both relating to encounters with the Ministers. One is regarding what is sensed and responded to. The other concerns how the Department moves from passions of joy to *common notions* (cf. Spinoza, 1996), or from adaptive responses to creative ones (cf. Schumpeter, 1947). This will be made clearer.

Sensing and responding: adopting an ideology or creating *common notions*?

The discussions above have addressed two core concepts of bureaucracy – *ideal type* and non-inclusive *ethos* – in the context of the Department's anxious mood and desires. Despite their relevance neither rule-based behaviour and hierarchy, nor non-inclusiveness are found to be ubiquitous hindrances to organisational entrepreneurship in the Department. The development

of new initiatives in the Department does not convey strict adherence to a classic Weberian bureaucratic *ideal*, but are better served by an image of formal and informal scripts, conveying contextual application of rules and procedures, and in that way contribute to the maintenance of a calming equilibrium of the two desires, to secure and serve. A non-inclusive *ethos* corresponds to an impersonal approach to tasks, but also helps to explicate the capacity for doing organisational entrepreneurship. It is one not driven by *personal enthusiasm*, but a desire to serve – sensitivity and responsiveness.[51] Recall the soccer player's unconscious, but exact bodily awareness of his own position and movement and the sensitivity to the tension between him and the approaching ball. Likewise, a non-inclusive desire to serve demands encounters, and qualifies as an opening to heterogenic and active affects that can be created in the encounter with an affirmative will to power.

Different scholars have claimed that critical discussions and accounts of bureaucracy frequently become too simplistic, for instance, by still relying primarily on Weber's *ideal type* (e.g. Du Gay, 2000b; Hodson et al. 2013; Kallinikos, 2004; Styhre, 2007). Doing process research emphasising encounters and affects and process is an attempt to avoid this. This said, it does mean that the Department is transformed into an 'entrepreneurial machine' of sorts. The strength of the anxious mood is its ability to preconfigure encounters, and the ability to respond without being jolted out of its equilibrium. In this respect, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) famously describe the homogenising effect of organisations and institutions as 'bureaucratisation' connected with efforts to deal rationally with uncertainty and constraints. DiMaggio's and Powell's claim was that formal rationality spreads through isomorphic processes (coercive, mimetic and normative) and homogenises structure, culture and output. Responding to this organisational and bureaucratic tendency in the public sector to rationalise and homogenise, i.e. preconfigure and plan encounters, Brunsson (2000) underlines the importance of *irrationality* for public sector organisations to act to drive change. Even though Brunsson does not frame his discussion directly in terms of organisational entrepreneurship, the correspondence is clear. Accordingly, Brunsson shows how novelty in organisational actions, as entrepreneurship, and

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[51] Du Gay (2008) explains the damage of personal enthusiasm in bureaucracy and the public sector, as it is driven by action rationality without regard for professional responsibility and duty.

irrationality, meaning non-calculative approach, relates to strong political and action-oriented ideologies. These ideologies have the ability to 'over-write' calculative bureaucratic processes in decision-making and action. In this way they will suspend the immanent focus on risk and calculative efforts to avoid it. However, Brunsson (2000) remains sceptical, and claims that politically managed bureaux tend to have *a priori* a strong and dominating ideology, which smothers politically infused ideologies and agendas, for example, those coming from Ministers.

Brunsson's insights are especially valuable for comprehending in more details the capacity brought about through the Department's desire to serve – sensitivity and responsiveness to its Ministers. But first, more generally with regards to ideology, Deleuze and Guattari (2008) argue that ideologies circulate through society as clichés, ordering the world into patterns of actions and relations. The most influential ideologies, thus, become common sense. There are arguably not many mainstream political ideologies in national politics. Mrs Minister, for instance, represented a well-known cultural ideology, which encompassed the independence of the arts and cultivation of traditional democratic values. Combined with her extensive political experience the Department did not have problems sensing and responding to her ideas and requests. Her ideology and behaviour did not unsettle or intensify the anxious mood. But neither did they catalyse the power of the Department to be affected or create new affects. Action and processes could remain within previous experiences and decisions could be explored and made in a calculative manner. The leadership of Mrs Minister has to be viewed in this context. By providing the Department with a consistent and recognised ideology, combined with political experience and networks, she contributed to calming the anxious tension in the Department. This did not, however, remove or puncture the anxious mood. Anxiety was still maintained and provoked by other factors (e.g. time constraints, awareness of external observers, hierarchical supervision, ambiguous goals and a researcher running around the organisation). But the soccer team could now play its strong defensive game, attacking only with a few players, while remaining relatively secure against potential counter-attacks.

This description complies with the Weberian idea that bureaucracy is designed to have a capacity to serve and adapt to different ordered and clear political ideologies. In some ways the

encounter with Mrs Minister also appeared to be ideal for the Department in anxiety, even though some of the civil servants would complain about it being almost too conventional, or even boring. But the encounter with Mr Minister made different demands on the Department and disrupted its anxious equilibrium particularly in the absence of a strong and clear ideology.

In Spinozian terms we mortals do not appear to be capable of creating our own ideas entirely alone (i.e. adequate ideas). This is God's prerogative. Our challenge is to create new ideas in and through encounters with other modes. Hjorth and Holt (2014: 86) describe it as a 'challenge of folding the external, the outer forces […] into inner active affections; a force that enables determination to overcome resistance, habit, traces, made investments, and tradition'. This quote captures the entrepreneurial dynamics of the Department in the anxious mood and the encounter with Mr Minister. To capture the disruptive effect of the encounter between Mr Minister and the Department it needs to be noted that a strong and clear ideology was not in place, intensifying anxiety and strengthening tension between the two desires. But at times encounters catalysed the Department's desire to serve beyond the anxious equilibrium, escaping through the cracks of an anxious pre-configuration. In terms of the soccer metaphor previously used, one could say that Mr Minister's will was that the game was played in the offensive. Taken seriously, players moved up to the opponent's side of the field and new moves were demanded to get the ball into the net. In this way more players were involved and made responsible for getting the ball into the net – not only the Minister.

In addition to unfamiliar assignments and continual new ideas and suggestions, Mr Minister aimed for novelty in processes and actions. But for the Department, even though the message was clear, it was difficult to fit into a clear ideological whole. Instead it emerged, for example, as slogans: *The most dynamic! The most creative! The most courageous Ministry!* or by posing complex questions: *how can we make sense of the chaos and create hope in the midst of a financial crisis?*[52] For Deleuze and Guattari (2008) slogans or 'sloganising' was a counter approach to common and ordered ideologies. Mr Minister's slogans were against the common sense and common view of ministerial departments and the public sector more generally as

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[52] The question frames the content of an article co-authored by Mr Minister in an international newspaper and the topic of a workshop/conference hosted by Mr Minister and the Department.

stiff, slow and risk averse (cf. Osborne and Gaebler, 1992). But more importantly, it was not easily ordered by the organisations into less ambiguous decision-making and action.

To serve in the Department meant having to take slogans and other affects in the encounter with Mr Minister seriously despite their unfamiliarity. In the absence of an ordered and familiar ideology, sensitivity had to be heightened and the capacity to be affected increased (you can think of a traveller in an unfamiliar culture). At times this created frustrations and insecurity, in other words, fear. At other times (sometimes at the same time) it became a joyous affair and evoked power to act beyond routines and habits. Instead of being able to adopt an already familiar political ideology and adapt it to the personal characteristics of Mr Minister, both modes, Minister and Department had to learn to organise their encounters anew to create *common notions* (cf. Deleuze, 1988; Spinoza, 1996). *Common notions* cannot be adopted, they have to be invented and neither mode had experienced encounters corresponding to this emerging relationship.

It was not the civil servants' understanding that the Department was put into this world to lead the creation of new ideas or to act on such ideas loosely coupled to or independent of its Ministers. Formally, of course, the Department does not have the legitimacy to be the *cause sui* of new political initiatives. But it does not exclude the ability to generate new ideas in and through encounters with the Minister and to act upon them.

We have arrived at a central, but repetitive, movement in this study. I have affirmed a non-inclusive *ethos* in the Department, an anxious mood, and the power to create *common notions* for doing organisational entrepreneurship. A non-inclusive *ethos* supplements the Department's desire to serve, i.e. to sense and respond to produce *common notions* in the absence of an ordered ideology, but a great deal of anxiety is provoked by ambiguity in encounters with Mr Minister. In the meanwhile, the ambiguity provides space for action, guided by a desire to serve with a capacity to respond and act beyond an anxious equilibrium of desires. There is no familiar predefining ideology influencing perceived *joy* and *sadness* in affects. Instead, replacing ideology with Nietzsche's affirming *will to power* becomes useful

when we enquire into encounters between Mr Minister and the Department. The negative or affirmative *will* is that which qualifies the strength and dominance of *reactive* or *active* forces respectively. Remember, this is not about *good* or *bad*.

Accordingly, in this Deleuzian reading, a familiar, clear and pre-ordered ideology of Mrs Minister corresponds to a negative will to power. As such it will not disrupt or transform the reactive movements in the equilibrium between a desire to serve and desire to secure in encounters. On the other hand, Mr Minister, offering slogans rather than an ideology, encountered the Department with an affirmative will, 'willing' *creativity*, *courage* and *curiosity* and teased out creative responses from the Department's desire to serve, making it occasionally win over the competing desire to secure. 'Occasionally' and 'momentarily' are necessary prefixes in this discussion. We need to stay at the level of the event of local encounters. The focus of the Department, establishing a relationship with Mr Minister had to be on local encounters, as opposed to abstract and ideological. This is also the only way *common notions* can be created between encountering modes where difference in affects is substantial, but gradually works its way to a more general level (Deleuze, 1988). Remember the bee encountering the flower, forming a bloc of becoming: the bee becomes 'pollinator' and the flower becomes 'feeder'. Their power to affect and be affected is increased in the encounter, their *common notions* are not to copy or imitate anything but to become other through the encounter. The *common notions* affirm productive powers. They are the creation of a whole with its own continuum of intensities; a combined emission or production; and conjunctions that transform ('deterritorialises') previous capacities or flows (Hjorth and Holt, 2014). Correspondingly, the *common notions* between Mr Minister and the Department were not about imitating or copying. Instead, they were about sensing the Minister's affirming *will*, adopting its affirmativeness, thus, becoming *creatively responsive* to the disruptive affects of various local encounters, which not only change ideas in the mind, but actions of the body. This was, however, not always the outcome every time in every encounter. As noted, the anxious mood provided substantial resistance to different affects. But also the non-inclusive approach of civil servants is at stake and was a concern of some civil servants. Even though the

boundaries between the roles of Minister and Department are negotiated and dynamic they need to exist. And perhaps they could have been made clearer to limit the anxious tension.

Leaving this discussion, the capacity of the Department to entrepreneur is not considered to be in the perpetual movements of re-balancing anxious desires. In other words, it is not a capacity in balancing, but rather a power and worthiness to move out of balance, which, however, has to be shared and catalysed by the political leadership. This is essentially what entrepreneurial leadership in the Department can do: become the ball that creates intensities and movements mobilising the team to move forward.

Common notions and perceived risk, innovativeness and proactiveness

There is a common perception in scholarly literature that entrepreneurship is inherently risky (Sine, Haveman, & Tolbert, 2005). From the perspective of this study risk pertains to entrepreneurship, because entrepreneurship includes creativity. The Department's anxious mood and the desire to secure, infused by fear, vulnerability and ambiguity, are indications of organisational risk aversion. Risk-taking is considered to be one of three fundamental dimensions of corporate entrepreneurship (e.g. Covin & Slevin, 1991; Miller, 1983) as well as in the derived public entrepreneurship literature (e.g. Currie et al., 2008; Diefenbach, 2011). The other two dimensions are *innovativeness* and *proactiveness*. Risk-aversion is widely considered to be an obstacle to entrepreneurship (Olaison and Sørensen, 2014). Mistakes and failure have important ontological and epistemological aspects in entrepreneurship studies. Regarding the former, ontology, a growing part of entrepreneurship studies, including the European tradition, is based on the claim that entrepreneurial opportunities are created, rather than discovered and the creation of something new implies an inherent link to a degree of risk, but also the potential creation of new knowledge.[53] Hence, epistemologically taking risk may provide new valuable organisational knowledge. Correspondingly, taking risk and failing is also considered to be intertwined with entrepreneurial learning, i.e. entrepreneurs learn valuable lessons from

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[53] See discussion and comparison between the discovery and creation of entrepreneurial opportunities in Alvarez and Barney (2007).

making mistakes (e.g. Hjorth & Johannisson, 2007; Reichenbach & Herrero Rada, 2005) and entrepreneurs themselves describe it as an integral part of the entrepreneurial process (Gartner & Ingram, 2013). In this respect, failing becomes an experience that can limit the risk of failing in the future.[54]

Essentially, it can be argued that there are two ways of approaching a given risk, namely with a preoccupation of avoiding it or to embrace it as an opportunity to learn and experience new things. However, as mentioned above, Brunsson (2000) points towards strong ideology as a way of diminishing organisational focus on avoiding risk. Nonetheless, the strong and familiar ideology of Mrs Minister still allowed the Department to continue its conventional rule-based and hierarchical practices and therefore did not increase its capacity to entrepreneur. However, even though the encounter with Mr Minister intensified the anxious mood and fear, his will, affirmative and alternative approach, could catalyse the desire to serve to dominate the desire to secure, even though it involved risk. On these occasions, *common notions* were created with the civil servants' engagement. This engagement with novel ideas and practices was embraced by some civil servants, who found it new and refreshing, but not everyone agreed all the time, even though they participated. As a result, the perception of risk arguably changed, not least when experiencing the fact that Mr Minister and the Department got away with things previously considered risky. This would also be the perception of Mr Minister when he looks back on his time in the Department and complements the process of *common notions* gradually becoming more general notions (fig. 'What could have been?'). Then again, following his resignation, which in hindsight, some argued, might have been avoided with a more secure approach to events, the organisational desire to secure appeared to grow stronger. Still, it follows that the way the Department approached risk was influenced by its experience of doing novel things that involved risk. Success limited the perception of risk of actions, but in an anxious mood the organisation was also highly sensitive to perceived failure if it became public and as a result the organisation became more focused on avoiding risk.

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[54] 'Fail forward' or 'fail fast' have become mantras in entrepreneurship, for example, in places like Silicon Valley (e.g. https://failforward.org/silicon-valley/; accessed 12/03/2016).

From risk-taking and the situation in the Department to the other two dimensions of public sector entrepreneurship, *innovativeness* and *proactiveness*, there is a strong connection. *Innovativeness* has been described as a quest for, or creation of, novel solutions (Currie et al., 2008: 989). *Proactiveness* has been described as action orientation and implementation of new ideas (Diefenbach, 2011). Considering the situation in the Department, the two terms correspond to encounters where the organisation was doing or producing things it was not used to or familiar with. It has been mentioned how the civil servants continually draw on how they perceive the Ministers, e.g. utterances, movements, actions and decisions. Considering the Department's anxiety and responsiveness, and needing mandates from its Ministers for its actions, innovativeness and proactiveness are something Ministers have to contribute to for the organisation to begin to pick up on or increase. In the encounter with Mr Minister innovativeness and proactiveness were requested. But the requests were mostly demonstrations – performances. It emerged in encounters as a way of acting, making decisions, and in the suggested initiatives. Additionally, Mr Minister's lack of clear definitions, inconsistent responses and stories, left space for proactiveness for civil servants desiring to serve, and the only secure action became no action. But under these circumstances no action would also mean not serving, meaning there would have to be a solid reason for the organisation to avoid action, not to experience *sadness* and a diminishing capacity to be affected.

The innovativeness and proactiveness in Mr Minister's movements in encounters with the Department was that which affected the perception of risk in the Department and made risk-taking more legitimate. In summary, in the encounter with Mr Minister the anxious mood of the Department met a *will to power*, and a counter mood, which involved innovativeness and proactiveness. This *will* did not complement the then current anxious equilibrium of the two desires.

Among commonly accepted antecedents of entrepreneurial orientation (EO) (e.g. Diefenbach, 2011; Kearney et. al. 2008; Kuratko, 2012) is *management support* to entrepreneurial activities (Hornsby et al., 2002). The situation in the Department supports the importance of management support to limit anxious fear and increase the Department's capacity to

entreprener. This does not only relate to the political leadership, but also with the support of senior and middle management. Due to the close connection and frequent encounters with the Minister, senior managers especially were critical 'gate-keepers', conveying different affects/will/ideology from their encounters with Ministers. As a result, resistance from senior management could certainly 'neutralise' disruptive and heterogenic affects, and thereby minimise the Department's capacity to be affected and to act. However, limiting such potential resistance and blockage was, for example, the fact that senior management had to adapt to different roles, i.e. two senior managers sharing the responsibilities of three for a period of several months. Secondly, that Mr Minister, especially, insisted on meeting and involving civil servants at different levels in discussions and decision-making. This may sound like a breach of bureaucratic protocol but that would be taking it too far. The Minister was, however, interested in hearing people's earnest opinions and ideas.

Another antecedent connects to organisational *structure and formalisation* (e.g. Diefenbach, 2011; Kearney et al., 2008). It is not especially meaningful to apply the popular terms *organic* and *mechanic* to describe structure and formalisation in the Department while thinking of process. But connecting with these metaphors, the affectual approach of this inquiry indicates movements and rests in the organisation, attempting to stabilise the anxious mood of the organisation. These repetitive movements of balancing do, however, allow for changeable, incidental and irregular practices. The affectual movements of the organisation and the desire to serve, alternative to organic or mechanic movements, are open to encounters with Ministers jolting the Department out of its anxious balance, corresponding to Deleuze and Guattari's (2008) *lines of flight*, which move away from an ordered place – away from an anxious equilibrium. The way of thinking process in this study conveys an idea of organisational entrepreneurship as taking-off from an organised place – organic/mechanic or post-bureaucratic/bureaucratic – released from an emphasis on degrees of structure and transposed to an emphasis on movement, encounters and affects. But as soon as we accept that even stability is maintained by movement we open up to change and novelty.

The last common entrepreneurial antecedent I want to address here in relation to the situation in the Department is the importance of *autonomy in decision-making* amongst civil servants (e.g. Currie et al. 2008; Diefenbach, 2011; Hornsby et al. 2002). The anxious mood would only provide autonomy in decision-making to organise encounters towards a balance between serving and securing within the boundaries of the hierarchy. But still, in the development of new initiatives, autonomy of project groups and project managers varied. The more autonomous project group(s) had found ways to execute their decisions despite hierarchical governance, and doing so while being conscious of that fact that Mr Minister's *will* was for the organisation to become more creative and courageous. Project groups would display less autonomy in decisions and actions when management became more interested and involved. Eagerness and motivation would lessen and assignments were approached with a grain of irony, expecting suggestions and decisions to be overruled.

Affectual approach, bureaucracy, and entrepreneurship

Affectual and processual theorisation of entrepreneurship and/or organisations is in its infancy. Still, there are already distinguished contributions to the creation of this future field of research (e.g. Hjorth, 2007, 2012c, 2013, 2015; Hjorth & Holt, 2014; Lohmann & Steyaert, 2006; Scott, 2010; Steyaert, 2012; Steyaert et al., 2011). In a seminal text Hjorth (2012c: 177) describes organisational entrepreneurship as *an art of the weak*, conceptualised 'as the *tactical* mode of engaging in transformative affirmation'. 'Weakness' here derives from the fundamental observation that organisational entrepreneurship emerges and develops within something more stable (e.g. structure, strategy, habits and routines). Entrepreneuring as *weak art* is in sensing potentialities in a stable field. Accordingly, the affirmative and the weak do not work with the reactive, negative, or dialectical (Hjorth, 2012c). But entrepreneuring is not *in* opposition, nor does it require opposition. Instead it is a *tactical play* on a stabilising organisation. Hjorth (2004, 2012c) borrows from De Certeau, who explains *tactics* as

> determined by the absence of a proper locus […].The space of a tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organised 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 (De Certeau, 1984: 36–37).

Contrary to tactics, *strategy*

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 [...] can be managed. As in management, every "strategic" rationalisation seeks first of all to distinguish its "own" place, that is, the place of its own power and will [...] (De Certeau, 1984: 36).

It can be tempting to think about Ministers' domination of their Departments in terms of De Certeau's *strategy*, and the organisation as a place of Ministerial power. However, the anxious situation in the Department shows a different picture when inquiring into its organisational power to entrepreneur. As a bureaucratic organisation the Department has its structures, habits and routines, which balance the organisation's anxious mood, maintaining its commitment to continuity, equality and precision. A strategic reinvention or transformation of the organisation for every new Minister would arguably not serve its democratic responsibilities in the long run. In fact, it has to be noted that the Department developed a new organisational strategy, which got finalised during the fieldwork period. In it 'innovation' was one of three main pillars. However, the strategy was an initiative that was not formally related to the then sitting Minister, Mr Minister. Its preparation had started before his time in office and the strategy was supposed to last beyond his term. But apart from this, if a new Minister had proposed a new strategy for how the Department should work it would have to be negotiated and accepted by senior management. It was not the perception within the Department that it was the Minister's role to make formal changes of how the Department operated. This was said to be the responsibility of the Permanent Secretary. Also, the creation of a strategy would require in-depth knowledge of the abilities of the organisation. But this knowledge is arguably not accessible to new Ministers, and would therefore in any case have to be highly influenced by senior management. Senior officials and other managers represent actors who have done well under the current system and would not necessarily be served by strategic changes to organisational status quo. In fact, this potential resistance to a Minister's direct interference in

organisational practice was made clear in interviews with senior management. With this in mind, we also need to note that strategy represents control. It marginalises creativity and entrepreneurial processes into strategical and calculative behaviour (Hjorth, 2004). Entrepreneurship, on the other hand, has here been described as entailing disruptive and catalysing affects and movements. It is a destabilisation and creation of new organisations that haven't been stabilised yet.

It is a well-known saying that politics 'is the art of the possible', that spontaneity and responsiveness is required to create and gain from opportunities.[55] Instead of a strategic approach, the current re-enactment of the situation in the Department and the anxious mood responds to and gains from ideas of *weak* and *tactical* movements that make up organisational entrepreneurship. The anxious mood and the balancing practices allow for sensing and responding, but sudden and lasting transformations are not available. There is an organisational desire to serve, to connect, and ultimately a capacity to create *common notions*. But encounters between Ministers and the Department cannot be expected to be transformative in this context. Spinoza's *common notions* are an articulation of a more practical approach to novel actions resembling De Certeau's tactics. Encounters with new Ministers are charged by an eager desire to serve. But with Mr Minister the encounters can be observed as tactical blows of new affects, emerging in the context of a local situation, not as an ordered general strategy or ideology.

This caused deviation from routines and habits in the Department. But gradually, the Department developed an awareness of the Minister's movement and ambitions. In this process the bureaucratic power of *selectivity, mobility* and *reversibility* Kallinikos (2004) speaks of unfolded, not as structural or strategic changes, but as *re-selection* and *mobilisation* of *joyful* and *sad* passions, taking note of the Minister's *will*. What would have happened if Mr Minister had stayed in office more than fourteen months? No one knows. Potentially the Department would have established and stabilised a different way of pre-configuring and organising its encounters, including a different equilibrium for its desire to serve and desire to secure.

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[55] The phrase is attributed to Otto von Bismarck (1815–1895), Prime Minister of Prussia and the first Chancellor of Germany.

Certainly, there were signs of this happening, also in descriptions from civil servants themselves.

Subsequently, (and this is what Brunsson (2000) does not tell us) the tactical re-organisation of passions of *joy* and *sadness* is what expands or diminishes the capacity of the Department to entrepreneur. An ordered familiar ideology cannot expand organisational capacity to entrepreneur, at least not if it cannot convey the *joy* of creativity, novelty and chance, or embrace risk, for these are not affects of the Department's anxious mood in balance.

Concluding remarks

The chapter started with a metaphor to demonstrate the dynamic power of the Department to be affected and create new affects, and how this power is tied to catalysing encounters of Ministers. But these encounters have the potential to bring the organisation out of the anxious balancing of its practices (e.g. rule-bound behaviour, formal roles, habits and hierarchical governance). The balancing practices certainly support classic bureaucratic demands for equality, fairness and continuity in an environment of changing political landscapes. It was argued that rules are *post de facto* and do not constitute the whole assemblage of 'movements and rests' that is the Department. The rules and even the objectives of a soccer game do not encompass or explain all that is the *play*, e.g. the tensions and 'wills' that direct movement and rest. The same applies to the bureaucratic *ideal type*.

An awareness of the non-inclusive *ethos* in the Department reveals a singular condition of entrepreneurial capacity. A non-inclusive desire to serve is precisely not about personal enthusiasm (cf. Du Gay, 2008).[56] It is a desire to create new connections, while being able to 'forget oneself'. It is the capacity to *become* and *act with* something that is different from oneself – capacity to become *other*. It is the capacity to create *common notions*. But *common notions* in the encounter with Mr Minister were not ordered ideology and they could not be reached strategically or without disrupting the calming equilibrium of the anxious mood. Thus they are conceived of as the creation of an organisational whole with its own continuum of intensities, a combined emission and conjunctions that expand the capacity of the organisation

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[56] Du Gay (2008) shows that a non-inclusive approach in bureaucracy should not be mistaken for (personal) enthusiasm, which he claims is irreconcilable with a bureaucratic *ethos*.

to be affected and act, corresponding to an increase in the entrepreneurial capacity. However, the transformative capacity of *common notions* works through local affects and encounters. In this sense the process is *weak* and *tactical*. At first *common notions* are only local and momentary, even when the encountered mode is the Department's Minister. But with time their influence can become more general and affect the anxious equilibrium more permanently. This development can be described in two ways in the context of the anxious mood and the equilibrium. One is a move of the equilibrium, diminishing the influence of the desire to secure, and potentially moving out of the anxious mood. The other, which is closer to what was observed in the Department, was that the organisation became more capable of moving in and out of the anxious equilibrium.

In the next and final chapter of this dissertation selected insights of this study are discussed and summarised. But apart from the arresting conclusions and summarisations this will inevitably entail, I will also invite movement by drawing lessons from the study from different perspectives and with different, but not entirely unfamiliar, key concepts.

Chapter VIII: Concluding remarks, lessons and encouragements

Spinoza's political philosophy has been inscribed into the institutions of modern capitalist societies in so far as it belongs to the origins of modem democratic republicanism, denying that the state is the guardian or repository of any divinely sanctioned traditions, institutions, or revealed mysteries, and proposing that the laws of the state have to be framed for the benefit of the general good on a basis of equality for all.

Albertsen (2005: 80)

We are now close to the end of this study – this experiment. Despite widespread doubts of its existence the focus of this study has been on the capacity of a bureaucratic organisation, the Department, to entrepreneur. An affectual framework was designed, grounded in Spinoza's and Deleuze's theorisations. It also included drawing on recent writings pertaining to this philosophy in the context of entrepreneurship and organisation studies (e.g. Hjorth, 2014; Hjorth & Holt, 2014; Scott, 2010). The *way* developed to approach the empirical material thinking-process and affects was by re-enacting it as a series of *figurations*, i.e. performing different encounters pertaining to the development of new initiatives and citing selected utterances. Emerging from fieldwork, and from writing the figurations, was the anxious mood of the Department, encompassing the desire to secure and the desire to serve. The anxious mood and the desires have become means of theorising how the Department's capacity to entrepreneur expands and how it gets minimised. This has been done in particular in the context of the development of new initiatives and the Department's encounters with two Ministers.

The study shows that bureaucracy and entrepreneurship are not dichotomies in the Department. There are no ubiquitous hindrances that prevent these from coexisting. This does not, however, mean that it is not challenging. Instead of starting from *ideals* of bureaucracy and entrepreneurship (e.g. as in the context of the enterprise), the Department was, from a research perspective, encountered with a sensitivity for affects and movements. This evoked perceptions of an imminent organisational anxiety. At the same time the organisation revealed

sensitivity and responsiveness to its surroundings which were heightened in encounters with Ministers. And secondly, the organisation showed considerable affectual receptivity for fear, vulnerability and ambiguity.

What follows in this concluding chapter draws on previous discussions. This includes summaries of insights, but also takes different positions and points of view for this purpose. There are two main concluding themes in this chapter. The former and more extensive finalises discussions concerning the capacity of the Department to entrepreneur, which has highlighted the relationship between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy, encompassed by the Department's anxious mood. While addressing the central question of the thesis, rather than coming up with a 'finalised' answer or definition, lessons will be drawn. The three perspectives chosen to frame these lessons come from the emphasis of this inquiry on entrepreneurship in a public bureaucracy, where political leadership emerged as a critical enabler and catalyst for entrepreneurial processes. The first perspective contemplates what can be learned about *entrepreneurial bureaucracy*, perceived as bureaucracy becoming entrepreneurial, from this study. The second point of view captures three lessons about *bureaucratic entrepreneurship*, or entrepreneurship becoming bureaucratic. Narrating a relation between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy in two ways affirms the dynamics of the relationship and that 'a view from nowhere' is not possible. The third framing of lessons learned comes under the heading of *entrepreneurial leadership in public bureaucracy*, drawing on the role leadership can play to affect entrepreneurial capacity in public bureaucracies. Entrepreneurial leadership is, in itself, an undertheorised concept (Hjorth & Gartner, 2012). But here its empirical intensity demands that it be addressed. The second theme of this concluding chapter reflects on experimenting with thinking and doing process research with affects and figurations.

Entrepreneurship and bureaucracy

In the course of this study it has been shown that the relationship between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy, especially in the public sector, is commonly viewed as ambiguous, problematic or non-existent (see also discussions in Du Gay, 2000b; Diefenbach, 2011; Kearney et al., 2008; Merton, 1940; Osborne and Gaebler, 1992; Schumpeter, 1943). Accordingly, in

studies of public sector entrepreneurship, bureaucracy represents an obstacle to entrepreneurial action; for instance, Kearney et al. (2008) claim that a vital objective of public managers wanting to stimulate entrepreneurship is overcoming bureaucratic obstacles. This study responds to this taken-for-granted dysfunctional relationship between entrepreneurship and public bureaucracy and puts it into focus. But in this respect Deleuze's philosophy and his collaboration with Guattari is a seminal example of how re-conceptualisation and re-contextualisation of problems can form novel connections and solutions. For Deleuze and Guattari (2009) a core dimension of (philosophical) thought is to invent new concepts to be able to create new connections, new routes for thinking and doing. This idea has indeed impregnated the inquiry of this dissertation, i.e. to conceive of a relationship between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy in the Department. This was done with solid support and inspiration from different sources to which I am indebted. Let me mention three:

First, the developing European tradition of doing entrepreneurship studies has become a productive and broad space for varying approaches to entrepreneurship that move beyond economic rationality, the enterprise, and heroic ideas of the entrepreneurial individual. It acknowledges the breadth of entrepreneurial action and processes, and reclaims its social context (Steyaert & Katz, 2004). This tradition includes the relevance of local context, cross-disciplines, creativity and imagination, and process (e.g. Hjorth et al., 2008; 2015; Steyaert, 2007). Furthermore, in alignment with this thinking, Hjorth (e.g. Hjorth, 2012c, 2015 and Hjorth and Holt, 2014) has, with force and impact, introduced philosophy of affects to entrepreneurship studies.

Second, bureaucracy has not been without its defenders in recent years. We could talk about a small revitalisation, a counter-response to the often non-nuanced critique. This study is fertilised by a discourse that conveys a more agile and adaptable idea of bureaucracy than that usually attributed to the bureaucratic *ideal*. And that allows for questioning the formation of a dichotomy between bureaucratic (rigid and static) and post-bureaucratic (supple and fluid) forms of organising (e.g. Clegg, 2011; Hodgson, 2004; Reed, 2011; Styhre, 2007), but also between bureaucracy and entrepreneurship. In this inquiry priority has been given to the

conceptualisation of a *non-inclusive ethos* as a pivotal invention and dimension in bureaucracy, corresponding to the situation in the Department (e.g. Du Gay, 2000b; Kallinikos 2004, 2006; Willmott, 2011). Du Gay's defence of bureaucracy through an inventive reading of Weber and his response to influential critics (e.g. MacIntyre, Bauman and NPM reforms) became important here. However, neither Weber nor Du Gay elaborates in detail on the relationship between bureaucracy and entrepreneurship. In fact, Du Gay's perception of entrepreneurship appears to be limited to entrepreneurship under the helm of economic rationality and the *enterprise*.[57] Also, what I find to be missing from Du Gay's reading of Weber is sensitivity for a local context which could show how a bureaucratic *ethos* emerges, is maintained and changes. A non-inclusive *ethos* in the Department does not tell us much about its organisational capacity without noting its relation to the anxious mood and movements, which, for instance, relate strongly to a perception of a critical (mediatised) organisational environment. However, Du Gay, in addition to Kallinikos, Willmott and others, surely contributes to a fruitful and sometimes refreshing conceptualisation of bureaucracy.

Third, while mainstream (managerial) entrepreneurship studies remain critical of bureaucracy and bureaucratic practices, there is considerable interest in identifying the most critical antecedents for entrepreneurial orientation (EO) in the public sector. Some of the most influential solutions proposed have been criticised for dismantling public bureaucracy and its *ethos* (cf. Du Gay's 1991, 2000a, 2000b, 2011) aforementioned critique of NPM and changes in the British public sector). However, this does not exclude the relevance of the growing body of research adopting and adapting insights from corporate entrepreneurs to learn about entrepreneurial antecedents and challenges in the public sector (e.g. Bernier & Hafsi, 2007; Currie et al., 2008; Diefenbach, 2011; Kearney et al., 2008; Klein et al., 2010; Kovalainen and Sundin, 2012). It has been fruitful for this study to connect with the main dimensions of this discourse, especially where the organisation's relation to risk emerges as a perpetual concern in the desire to secure decisions and actions.

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[57] Styhre (2007) claims Du Gay's praise of bureaucracy is better described as raising issues and concerns about work-life balance in contemporary societies, where bureaucracy is presented to be providing answers to a set of work-life challenges.

Emergence and stability of the anxious mood

Preceding the theoretical details of this dissertation the encounter with the Department was the main source of inspiration, evoking questions and providing insights about a relationship between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy. Though the Department could be associated with the Weberian bureaucratic *ideal*, it also immediately appeared as something more and something other. It is this *moreness* of the Department that is of interest and has been re-enacted in the Department's anxious mood. As the process of the study unfolded different aspects of the anxious mood, or its relationality, emanated.

Let me first note two aspects that should be taken into account when pondering the emergence and stability of anxiety in the Department as a central idea for the relationship between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy. These concern the organisation's broader institutional context. The first is political leadership and the political context of the organisation along with the dynamic and changing movements it creates. New Ministers take office, sometimes without any notice at all. They have different agendas, opinions and ways of leading the organisation. In other words, the capacity of the leadership to be affected and create new affects differs. There is never any assurance that a relationship between Minister and Department will be a successful one, or that the encountering modes can adapt so that their movements and rests complement each other. A Minister may, for example, be unable to communicate aspirations in a way the Department can comprehend, or the Department may not have the capacity to actualise a Minister's aspirations. Correspondingly, the process of getting to know a new Minister charges the anxious mood and requires a substantial effort on behalf of the Department. How much, depends on the differences between the movements of the Minister and the Department, and their respective capacities to be affected and create affects.

A second aspect central to the emergence of the Department's anxious mood is the perceived vulnerability of the Department and its officials. This includes vulnerability perceived in the relationship with the Minister, political opposition and citizens. Additionally, emerging in with increasing force in the most recent decades is the contemporary mediatisation of society, fuelled by digitisation, online media and, most recently, social media. The mediatised society enables even the most local, private and isolated incidences to spread globally in a matter of

moments (i.e. 'going viral'*).* Publicly exposing or casting suspicion on public institutions' decisions and actions has become easier than ever before, but defending the organisation against such allegations is not easy, and nor is it something the Department or other public institutions are designed to do. It is the political leadership that is, ideally, publicly responsible and debates matters publically. The same political leadership may last for a very limited time, and it will predominantly defend and take responsibility only for what happens on its watch and while they have it. The organisation may therefore be criticised without anyone defending it if it is not in the interest of the current political leadership. However, as for the Department, the emphasis and skills in public communication were growing and were an integral part of every new initiative.

Accordingly, it is possible to argue that while anxiety perpetually emerges in the Department, the two aspects above indicate that an anxious mood can be a more general condition of politically led public organisations.

Power to entrepreneur

At the beginning of this doctoral thesis I asked the following question:

> *How does the Department's capacity to 'entrepreneur' unfold in the context of an anxious organisational mood?*

As indicated in the question the anxious mood has served as a path to investigate the capacity of the Department to entrepreneur. The mood has been described as that which pre-configures and plans organisational encounters. In the anxious mood there are the two desires at play. Important affects of the desire to secure are *fear*, *vulnerability* and *ambiguity*. The desire to secure is a *reactive force* in that it attempts to pacify and cut off encounters and affects that are disruptive, unexpected or not under control. It is a desire expressed as *lack of*, to use Deleuze-Guattarian terminology. It is always unsatisfied, just as the future is always insecure and unpredictable. Consequently, the *joy* of securing encounters also remains passive and incapable of expanding the Department's capacity to entrepreneur. The anxious desire to secure draws

on its previous experiences, holding onto organisational routines and habits, pulling back towards the original, reductive and negative. It thus seeks control of events.

The desire to serve, on the other hand, encompasses *sensitivity* and *responsiveness*. Servitude would commonly be perceived as a reactive force. But the Department's desire to serve entails *activeness*, as the capacity to ask what something can become. It desires encounters that can increase its ability to serve, first and foremost, the Department's Ministers. Its anxiety is not fear, but an *eagerness* to sense and respond to the *will* of the Minister. But it is the will of Ministers that either affirms or negates the active potentiality of the desire to serve. In other words *the entrepreneurial power of the Department, encompassed by a desire to serve, requires activation of affirmative will, producing affects counter to fear, vulnerability and ambiguity*. As such, the desire to serve is an opening to novel organisational responses that can become new organisation creations. It is not a desire of lack but a desire to *add to the world* (cf. Colebrook, 2002). It has the ability to sense disruptive and unfamiliar affects, and to *creatively* respond to them (cf. Schumpeter, 1947). Thus, catalysed by affirmative will, the desire to serve finds *joy* in affects that disrupt the attuning of the Department's anxious mood when they increase the ability to serve. It is in this capacity that the desire to serve can create *common notions* and becomes something other in and through encounters. An inquiry into the Department's anxious mood and encounters with two different Ministers, also exposed the qualifying effect of a non-inclusive *ethos*. The non-inclusive approach to encounters with Ministers contributed to an ability to relate to different *wills* (affirmative and negative) with different qualifications of joy and sadness. In other words, the Department's perceptions of joy or sadness in encounters were changeable and in that intertwined with the Minister's *will*.

The desire to serve was, therefore, not limited by the anxious mood and the balancing of the two desires, when it acted on *common notions*. Still, the anxious mood provided considerable resistance to movements outside a balance between the desires to serve and secure. Consequently, entrepreneurial practice was strongly related to encounters and processes in close proximity to Mr Minister's affirmative *will* and areas of focus.

Following movements of the Department's anxious mood, in particular its desire to serve, is as close as we will come to carving out a processual answer to the question directing this dissertation. But I also want to stay with these movements a while longer, where 'staying with' means repetitively re-encountering a mode or a situation.[58] Keep in mind that for Deleuze (2013) repetition was difference (and so was Cézanne's Mont Sainte-Victoire). For this I have selected different ways or perspectives, tightly related to the purpose of the study to enquire into entrepreneurship in bureaucratic organisations. These are: *entrepreneurial bureaucracy*; *bureaucratic entrepreneurship*; and *entrepreneurial leadership in/of bureaucracy*. Flowing from the (metaphysical) dynamics and entrepreneurial capacity of the Department, three key lessons are attributed to each perspective, drawing on discussions in previous chapters.

Entrepreneurial bureaucracy

Entrepreneurial bureaucracy suggests staying with a connection between bureaucracy and entrepreneurship that moves through bureaucracy before it approaches entrepreneurship. We can call it *bureaucracy becoming entrepreneurial*. The three key lessons here are closely intertwined capacities or movements coined as s*uspending*, *coping* and *acting*.

Suspending is the capacity of the organisation to suspend routines and habits, including rule-based and hierarchical practices. It also entails suspending calculative rationality focused on risk aversion. Suspending corresponds to a capacity to enter into encounters without a plan and create the openness necessary to drop rules and plans to connect with another mode. Suspension does not mean stopping or not securing, but it is about giving up one's conventional place momentarily, while heightening sensitivity. In the Department encounters with Ministers and the process of learning to know Ministers, explicated the ability to suspend.

Entrepreneurial bureaucracy, flowing from the situation in the Department, ***copes*** with disruptive and surprising affects without resolving into resistance. Instead coping is about sensing affects, despite incompatibility with an organisational mood and established practices. Coping is allowing and supporting the creation of a *space* (cf. Hjorth, 2004), i.e. where rule-based behaviour and hierarchy have been suspended. Coping requires management to

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[58] See Helin et al. (2014b) on 'staying with' things and Massumi (2002) on 'belonging' as a basis for becoming.

withdraw their dominating presence and hierarchical superiority and instead encourage and demonstrate an opening for new ideas and practice. In this sense, coping corresponds to managerial support for entrepreneurial initiatives in public entrepreneurship (cf. Currie et al., 2008). The entrepreneurial bureaucracy also needs to cope with movements 'in and out' of balance, order and control. Thus, coping relies on the ability of civil servants to engage with different organisational forms, perhaps in a manner that is as *non-inclusive* as other engagement with matters of civil service.

Suspending and *coping* are necessary conditions for **acting**, corresponding to responding actively to disruptive and unfamiliar affects in an encounter with an affirmative *will*. Acting creates new affects; hence, it is about the capacity of acting on *common notions*. The Department demonstrated this in particular with its ability to respond to the different Ministers. It was claimed that the intense process of getting to know a Minister will commonly result in the Department adopting a familiar ideological order sensed in encounters with a Minister's (negative) *will*. The Department's encounter with Mrs Minister was an example of this, whereas the encounter with Mr Minister did not produce the same calming affects. It was difficult for the Department to sense ideological order in encounters with the Minister and acquire stability. Instead it sensed an affirmative *will*, 'willing' action without knowing the outcome. Creating *common notions* is an entrepreneurial process and an act in itself, requiring inventiveness and proactiveness. The entrepreneurial process of creating *common notions* and acting upon them requires experience from local encounters, and the experience is used to create new affects. The *common notions* then gradually become more general as organisation members have the chance to perpetually experience and inquire further into disrupting encounters.

Bureaucratic entrepreneurship
The second perspective is *bureaucratic entrepreneurship.* Here we move through entrepreneurship towards bureaucracy: *entrepreneurship becoming bureaucratic*. The lessons are distinguishable from entrepreneurial bureaucracy because of this difference. In other words, in bureaucratic entrepreneurship, entrepreneurship responds to bureaucracy as has

been discussed in relation to the Department's situation. The lessons are *weak, responsive* and *non-inclusive*.

Recall that Hjorth (2012c) identified organisational entrepreneurship as the *art of the **weak***. He points out that actors having done well under established structures and practices have a limited motivation to make changes and, in addition, hierarchy makes 'bottom-up' initiatives difficult. In the context of the Department and bureaucratic entrepreneurship, however, the term *weak* needs to be re-examined and re-emphasised. With changing political leadership and other factors intensifying the anxious mood, there was a strong tendency to cling on to routines, habits and hierarchy. Officials from the Agencies were, for example, surprised by the level of top-down control in the Department. Entrepreneurial initiatives are in an especially weak position in bureaucratic entrepreneurship – even when they come from Ministers. Ministers will usually not interfere in process and the hierarchical control of their Departments. In the Department the established ways of doing things contributed to calming anxiety. However, the Department's encounter with Mr Minister exhibited how a *series* of local encounters, tactical in their spontaneity, gradually expanded the power of the Department to also begin to act spontaneously. This was an example of bureaucratic entrepreneurship as an entrepreneurial process, working from a weak position in local encounters and gradually producing more lasting effects.

While anxiety and bureaucracy make for a weak position and point of origin for entrepreneurship, we recognise the anxious desire to serve as an opening for entrepreneurial activities. Accordingly, Entrepreneurship in bureaucracy is a ***responsive*** process that needs to move from adaptive responses to creative and entrepreneurial responses (cf. Schumpeter, 1947). The Department's bureaucracy was open for entrepreneurial catalysing, but also required such encounters, which in turn connected with the organisational desire to serve. This has been discussed, first and foremost, in connection with encounters between Minister and Department. But it does not exclude entrepreneurial initiatives originating from different encounters if they can connect the desire to serve. Relevant examples from the Department included the re-contextualisation of the Minister's words and the references to

previous situations where the service could have been better to avoid problems. Responsiveness in bureaucratic entrepreneurship does not eliminate the importance of *proactiveness* argued in corporate and public entrepreneurship. But proactiveness becomes a response to catalytic movements that convey proactive affects and thus, themselves, act proactively.

Bureaucratic entrepreneurship operates with a ***non-inclusive*** *ethos*. Personal enthusiasm does not comply with essential values of democracy and bureaucracy (Du Gay, 2000b, 2008). The anxious and entrepreneurial desire to serve has to operate *non-inclusively*. What is lacking in Kallinikos' (2004) account of the *non-inclusive* capacity of bureaucracy is precisely the desire to serve, which is the force that drives responsive entrepreneurship, making the suspension of routines and habits possible. Recall the soccer player's non-inclusion as a lack of conscious self-awareness when the ball approaches. The senses and the catalysing effects of the ball take over. The player and the ball are still in a rule-bound game, but the *virtual* space of potential is in between player and ball. It extends beyond the rules of the game, limited only by the power of the player (involving years of training and millions of years of evolution) and the movements of the ball. The eagerness of the civil servant is not the personal engagement of the start-up entrepreneur, but precisely for this reason the civil servant can be more flexible.

Entrepreneurial leadership in public bureaucracy

Along with *entrepreneurial bureaucracy* and *bureaucratic entrepreneurship*, *entrepreneurial leadership in public bureaucracy* becomes a third way of relating to the question of the Department's entrepreneurial capacity and connecting entrepreneurship and bureaucracy. Entrepreneurial leadership is a concept that emerges from the inquiry into the situation in the Department, which has otherwise emphasised organisational aspects. For this reason, this perspective is given somewhat more space and context than the other two perspectives above.

Contemporary social complexity is such that the public sector continuously 'encounter[s] a class of problems that defy solution, even with our most sophisticated analytical tools' (Roberts, 2000: 1). In such an environment it can be problematic if only a single person (or a few) is allowed at the table, when problems are framed and solutions are invented. Involving civil

servants in the process is not in any contrast to democratic legitimacy but a necessity in a system that has to cope with continuity *and* change. But this also underlines the substantial importance of entrepreneurial leadership in the public sector.

Entrepreneurial leadership is identified here as an important aspect of the relationship between Ministers and the Department. In its anxious mood there are affectual constraints and potential for organising the Department. These are vital for the lessons of entrepreneurial leadership in bureaucracy. For a brief summary, the organisational encounter between Mrs Minister and the Department was fairly smooth and efficient. There was a sense of relief amongst the civil servants when they encountered this experienced politician after having been through an anxiety-provoking period with Mr Minister, ending with his resignation. It did not take much time to adapt to the new leadership, because Mrs Minister did not interfere with how the Department worked, and her political agenda – ideology – was traditional and familiar to the Department. The relationship between Mrs Minister and the Department only occasionally disrupted the anxious balance between serving and securing. Not because of goal ambiguity or directly related to the Minister's orders. Instead, these were things like time constraints, frustrations because of lack of decision-making autonomy, and conflicting opinions. The relationship between Mrs Minister and the Department corresponded to Brunsson's (2000) understanding of strong ideology. The civil servants appeared to have a good idea about where the Minister wanted to go and Mrs Minister's responses were consistent and clear. However, with such clarity and consistency the Department did not have to worry too much about not being able to serve and secure at the same time. They could adapt and reframe previous activities. This meant that the organisational capacity to be affected and to act was not expanding. Adopting a familiar ideology did not disrupt continuity, routines or habits.

The encounter with Mr Minister involved different affectual dynamics and thereby unfolded the entrepreneurial capacity of the anxious mood differently. The Minister had ambitions to make the Department more creative and entrepreneurial. But this ambition was not presented as a consistent and simple ideology, encompassing clear vision or explicit strategy. Mr Minister had what I have called an affirmative *will,* meaning, for example, that his behaviour, the way he

organised encounters, gave priority to, affirmed and found joy in new suggestions and ideas. It is in the relationship between Mr Minister and the Department, but also in the comparison with the relationship between Mrs Minister and the Department, that three lessons of entrepreneurial leadership in bureaucracy emerge. They are described here as *disrupting*, *performing* and *transposing*.

Entrepreneurial leadership in public bureaucracy is conveyed in **disruptive** local encounters, e.g. as slogans, unexpected spontaneity and responses. Perpetual disruptions of an entrepreneurial *will* gradually create more detailed but complex perceptions and ideas in the organisation about entrepreneuring. In the Department this process, at times, jolted the organisation out of its anxious balance, sheltered by routines, rule-based behaviour and hierarchical governance, while gradually expanding the Department's capacity to entrepreneur. In disruptive encounters the bureaucratic and adaptive scripts for responsiveness are missing. This can either produce counter reactions (protest) or the need to drop routines and habits to create reactions. However, *tactical* spontaneity in encounters makes resistance difficult. Resistance requires planning if it is to protect order and balance anxiety. Otherwise resistance contributes to and heightens disruption, disorder and thus the intensification of anxiety. Disruptions of entrepreneurial leadership in bureaucracy make use of an organisational desire to serve, making it open to disruption, as long as they are conveyed in a *joyful* or playful manner. Disrupting connects to Hjorth and Gartner's (2012) claim that entrepreneurial leadership involves *moving and being moved*. This underlines the importance of encountering modes to sense each other's movements. Entrepreneurial leadership also has to include sensitivity and responsiveness to the organisation's responses to disruption.

Rather than creating and presenting a plan for entrepreneurship encounters between entrepreneurial leadership in public bureaucracy invites **performance**. There is a need for examples and the facilitation of experiences outside of routines and habits in order to provoke entrepreneurial responses. Indeed, for the Department this intensified anxiety and the organisational mood became more perceptible. But the need for entrepreneurial performance should also be considered in the context of the lack of confidence reported in public

administration (Tullberg, 2002) and the importance of confidence for entrepreneurial endeavours (Kearney et al., 2008). Performing entrepreneurial acts conveys confidence. Mr Minister and the Department began to do different things in different ways and 'got away with it', as one civil servant pointed out, much to the organisation's surprise. Entrepreneurial leadership in bureaucracy demonstrates that action can be a way of making decisions and moving forward. Entrepreneurial leadership demonstrates the suspension of a desire to secure and that serving sometimes has to move beyond securing and respond beyond adapting. Again, entrepreneurial performances in bureaucracy require repetition, frequency and time to create *common entrepreneurial notions* beyond isolated moments.

The third and possibly most radical lesson about entrepreneurial leadership in public bureaucracy emerging from the situation in the Department is an attempt to **transpose** leadership, to have it seep throughout the organisation. In popular management terms transposing relates to delegating. The entrepreneurial leader's responses are perceived as changing and equivocal at times. But this still leaves civil servants with the space and the challenge to invent. In this way leadership transposes onto civil servants, notably, without the context of simple ideological ordering to guide decision-making and action. Surely, in the Department this occasionally created frustration and resistance, but it also evoked inventive action if confidence was in place. Transposing leadership does not only mean passing challenges or involving senior leadership, but also the different layers of the hierarchy. In the Department, communication from Mr Minister did not always go through senior management before reaching other civil servants. In corporate and public sector entrepreneurship rigid hierarchical order is frequently negatively related to entrepreneurship (e.g. Covin & Slevin, 1991; Kearney et al., 2008). Hjorth and Gartner (2012) also maintain that entrepreneurial leadership contradicts hierarchical governance because hierarchy limits organisational interaction. In the Department cynical remarks amongst civil servants reflected limited autonomy and influence. However, the entrepreneurial leadership has to make an effort to suspend hierarchical order. Not altogether but, for example, by directly communicating and collaborating with different people in different hierarchical layers. This can transpose

leadership, provide autonomy and challenge people to participate in inventing or doing new things.

Entrepreneurial leadership in public bureaucracy, in the affectual language of this thesis, emerges in encounters as an *affirmative and entrepreneurial will catalysing an eager organisational desire to serve*. It is a desire that has a capacity to sense different and disruptive affects of a will qualifying a movement from adaptive to creative responses. The relevant encounters create affects of joy, counter to anxiety and fear. This could jolt the Department out of its rule-bound behaviour and hierarchical habits. The power of the Department to entrepreneur expanded in encounters, *disrupting* the anxious organisational balancing, *performing* entrepreneurship and *transposing* leadership and autonomy. Entrepreneurial leadership in public bureaucracy is a *tactical* practice, serving one blow after the other to create a space for the connecting organisational whole to become a motor in events. In that the Department's anxious mood is not fixed or permanent, the desire to serve is not bound by the anxious mood, and neither, then, is the Department's potential power to entrepreneur. Its field of potential extends beyond anxiety. But the anxious mood is still strong and relatively stable, and the desire to secure is valuable. Therefore, both entrepreneurial leadership and organisation must allow for and lead movements of the two desires back and forth between doing entrepreneurship and the calming equilibrium of bureaucratic control.

	Entrepreneurial bureaucracy	Bureaucratic entrepreneurship	Entrepreneurial leadership in bureaucracy
Lessons:	Suspending; Coping; Acting	Weak; Responsive; Non-inclusive	Disrupting; Performing; Transposing

Slogans:	Bureaucracy has the capacity to suspend rule-based and hierarchical practices; to cope with disruption; and to act in the moment of the encounter, suffused by a desire to serve.	Entrepreneurship occupies a weak position in bureaucracy; it operates in a responsive environment; and its capacity to adapt is suffused by a non-inclusive desire to serve.	Entrepreneurial leadership disrupts routines and habits; its movements perform different and entrepreneurial affects; and it transposes leadership down the organisation. But all this, with an awareness of an organisational mood and desires.

Table 8.1: Three dimensions of the relationship between entrepreneurship and bureaucracy, including lessons and 'sloganised' summaries.

By staying close to the situation in the Department I have attempted to offer a different idea about entrepreneurship and public bureaucracy. What has been described as the anxious mood in the Department responds to a tension emerging from organisational practices and behaviour, which influence came as a surprise to the researcher. An anxious mood was not what I was looking for. Similarly, I stand by the use of the term *desire*. Despite outbursts of sarcasm there was an eagerness to do a 'really good job' when it came to, for example, the development of new initiatives. A lot of time and energy was put into developing those. People were rushing in and out of meetings and juggling several balls at the same time, especially senior management, office managers and project managers. Yes, there were structural challenges, for example, relating to top-down management, which delayed action, diminished autonomy and intensified anxiety. However, when these structural practices were themselves challenged by entrepreneurial leadership or external constraints it brought out the extensive capacity of the organisation to sense and creatively respond. Not because it was easy, and this is why I argue that it intensified the anxious mood, but because there was an earnest desire to

serve the Minister and what a Minister stands for in a democracy. For the Department to limit this anxious intensity that holds back the capacity of the organisation to entrepreneur, an awareness of the anxious mood is where we need to start.

Implications to method (figurations)

This doctoral thesis has enquired into an encountered situation in the Department by thinking and doing process. Admittedly, there is a touch of anxiety surrounding this statement. Neither is there any one way of thinking and doing process research, nor is there a way of writing and observing without arresting meaning, at least momentarily (cf. De Cock and Sharp, 2007; Helin, et al., 2014b; Steyaert, 2012). To create a way for this study I have drawn on ideas pertaining to process philosophy, non-representational theory, entrepreneurship and organisation studies.

I have framed my approach to process and to this enquiry as an *experiment* and thereby as one contextual answer to the call for experimentation in process and entrepreneurship studies, especially when it comes to absorbing process, rather than just accepting it (e.g. Hjorth et al., 2008, 2015; Steyaert, 2012). In particular Steyaert's (2012) plea for experimentation provided a direction for doing process research which, for this study, became relevant in an effort to create a *way* to enquire into processes pertaining to the Department. Steyaert, writing in the context of organisational entrepreneurship, refers to Karl Weick claiming the importance of an emotional side to theorising process, with implications for how we state problems. But more importantly he lets himself be inspired by non-representational theory, including its focus on mobile everyday practices and the inescapable performativity of doing research, which needs to be affirmed (where can it lead us?), rather than forgotten or denied. Correspondingly, Steyaert, in a Deleuzian fashion, argues for the creation of multiplicities as a way of doing process research, i.e. to be on the move, perpetually stepping aside and creating a series of moves. In this sense, writing the series of figurations and the theorising flowing from them can be perceived as a creative response to Steyaert's plea to experiment.

While developing the figurations and emphasising affects, two critical dimensions or opportunities emerged. I have touched on this before in Chapter III, but I revisit this discussion here, now that things have been presented. The first pertains to the process of writing. Both

entrepreneurship and public sector bureaucracy have strong, even iconic, *ideal types* (e.g. the heroic entrepreneur and the rigid and dehumanised bureaucrat). It is arguably easy, as a researcher, to get caught in these static ideas and their acquired common sense and simplicity. In an attempt to think beyond these calls for, what Deleuze and Guattari would call a *deterritorialisation*, or to transform space so that something 'other' can start to take form, surely, attention to the local practices is a step in this direction, as is the attention to affects. But writing figurations, in the way that it was done here, helps further to direct attention to local events. We can call this writing for the sake of eventness and for singularity in events, i.e. to keep everyday life and living in the accounts, in the research, and to move close to events, while at the same time keeping the quality of a series and their relations (cf. Hjorth, 2003; Steyaert, 2004). Writing is here assisted by intuition and a longing for truth. It becomes an affirmation rather than a confirmation of the already established, or a generalisation. Writing figurations offers the opportunity to *stay with* and interrogate the event and its relationality (e.g. to bodies and things). And perhaps, in that, the researcher manages to forget himself (the 'I') his prejudgements and analytical categories, and instead takes the place of others (and others and others). Hence, the experience of writing the figurations was the experience of giving space to 'how something happens'. This is not always easy. It is challenging to let go of oneself, even momentarily. This includes letting go of practical research objectives (e.g. pertaining to contribution and clarity) and predefined analytical categories (e.g. emerging from scholarly literature or previous experience). Regarding the former, one cannot deny one's own presence and influence on writing, but the researcher has to own up to this, i.e. to his own intuition and imagination, by using it to tell others how things happened and how they happened to others. For the latter challenge, it helps to start writing figurations early on, as the experience is close and intense. This is at a time when the researcher should still be re-searching and analytical categories have not consciously emerged.

The second dimension pertains to the opportunities that emerge with figurations as a performative way of communicating research. Writing is a way of organising the encounter with readers. Writing the figuration is an organising that still leaves space for the readers to make their own connections. Here writing with affects also involves providing the reader with an

opportunity to encounter affects with a bearing upon the situation in the Department. This means prioritising showing before telling and to write for the movements that stabilise or destabilise, rather than to describe different structures. It means that the researcher attempts to delay and temper any urge to give meaning to things and events. It also means that he is less in control of the reader's experience and assumptions. In this dissertation I must accept that a reader may have a different perception of what went on in the Department than those encompassed by my analysis and discussions. In fact, a researcher should learn to celebrate this potential and see it as an expansion of his work. Commonly, entrepreneurial and organisational analysis will not leave much space for disagreement or different conclusions. Instead, we will frequently see analysis and argumentation in qualitative accounts presented in a controlled manner by carefully designed descriptions and citations tightly connected to rigorous and consistent interpretation.

Now, did I do all of the above? Well, the more important point is that this is what can be learned from the experiment. But I also learned that experimenting with process takes time, not only the developing of a way of doing process research, but also figuring out a balance between experimentation and more common practices of research. Making figurations is an analytical move in itself, but in an organisational study of entrepreneurship we also expect engagement with theory and other accounts of entrepreneurship. In other words, it is not enough just to *deterritorialise* to give form to something new. To move or even transform a field you will need to connect and interact, work with established concepts and structures. Accordingly, some translation has to take place; in this case, for example, between the figurations, terminology of affects, entrepreneurship and bureaucracy. If we want radical process research to be taken seriously, this responsibility is not to be taken lightly.

Finally, *process is how process does*, say Helin et al. (2014b). This dissertation is the outcome of a process. Had the process been different the outcome would have, indisputably, also been different. In experimenting there is no room for ressentiment or guilt. Therefore, rather than wondering about how things could or should have been done differently to get to where we

are, it is instead worth thinking about what could guide future action, future re-search. Next time, I suggest:

- You get out.
- You find (or create) a space where there is movement.
- You stay with the movement.
- You dare to interrupt and push, even if things are still moving.
- You speak to people. But that is not enough. You must observe what they do.
- You take note of moods and affects.
- You always write, but you don't forget to experience.
- You write figurations: connected to events and independent of each other; change your style and perspective repeatedly.
- You read your figurations and compare them to your more general perceptions.
- You select the most boring, the most mundane, the funniest, the most shocking, the most tragic, etc., depending on the moods and the sensed affects of encounters.
- You continue to work with your figurations, infuse them with vitality, maintain their loose relationality (avoid mergers). Add some pictures, even.
- You 'apply' theory, only to watch it dissolve, when the movement and the vitality of the multiplicity becomes almost unbearable.

Good luck!

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