PhD Dissertation

PhD program in Management XXXIII Cycle

Management of Tensions and Paradoxes
in the Cultural & Creative Industries

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Introduction

Tensions, contradictions and paradoxes have become the «new normal» in today's volatile, dynamic and complex landscape (Putnam et al., 2016). Cultural and Creative Industries (CCIs) - "consisting of individuals and organizations engaged in processes and activities related to conceiving, producing and distributing creative products" (Jones et al., 2016, p. 752) - are particularly affected by multiple tensions, such as art versus business, novelty versus familiarity, autonomy versus collaboration, change versus stability (Lampel et al., 2000; DeFillippi et al, 2007; Friedman, Jones, 2011; Jones et al., 2016). Novel approaches to manage tensions have been often envisioned by creative workers, offering a template for organizations operating in other knowledge-intensive industries (Lampel et al., 2000; Wu & Wu, 2016).

My dissertation deals with several types of tensions encountered in the context of CCIs. It is articulated in four chapters: each dedicated to a specific paper. In particular, the dissertation consists of a systematic literature review paper, two empirical papers and one supplementary book chapter.

The first chapter of the dissertation is a systematic literature review (e.g., Hadida et al. 2015) on the typology of tensions in CCIs. Despite a great proliferation of studies centered on exploring competing demands in CCIs in the past two decades (e.g., Lampel et al., 2000; DeFillippi et al., 2007), the literature on tensions and the literature on CCIs are only loosely integrated. Many concepts related to tensions, such as duality, paradox, trade-off, are used interchangeably in the creative industry literature leading to confusing responses. The systematic literature review provides a consolidating themes-based framework, based on six core themes of innovation, creativity, entrepreneurship, identity, labour market and public policy, with the aim to guide future research. The chapter contributes to the cross-fertilization between the literature on tensions and the literature on CCIs.

Acknowledging the widely debated tension between art and business in CCIs, the second chapter of my dissertation seeks to explore how creative entrepreneurs manage this tension in the process of creative entrepreneurship - "a means by which artists achieve autonomy and secure income" (Svejenova et al., 2015, p. 184). If on the one hand creative entrepreneurs need to be creative and artistic, on the other hand, they need to survive and make profit out of their art. This tension is important to be investigated considering that 70% of creative entrepreneurships fail because of bad financial planning, lack of understanding of the market and poor cash flow. Tensions are reflected in micro-practices of everyday life

(Jarzabkowski & Lê, 2017; Schneider et al., 2021). Recently, there has been an emerging practice turn in entrepreneurship (e.g., Thompson, 2020), suggesting that "no description or explanation of features of entrepreneurial life is possible without the 'alternate' description and explanation of how entrepreneurial life is actually lived in and through practices" (Thomson et al., 2020, p. 247). Recognizing the importance of practices in creative entrepreneurship, the purpose of the second chapter is to explore the practices used by creative entrepreneurs to deal with the tension between art and business, assuming there is one, and other challenges of creative entrepreneurship. In particular, two research questions are asked: *What practices do creative entrepreneurs adopt to manage the tension between art and business, if there is one? What other challenges arise in the process of creative entrepreneurship and what practices do creative entrepreneurs adopt to deal with them?* To respond to these research questions, the chapter adopts a multiple case studies method in the setting of the European film industry. It conducts 25 semi-structured interviews with founders, cofounders and employees of several film production companies located in Europe. The chapter reveals that creative entrepreneurs do not perceive the tension between art and business as such. They consider the two poles as compatible and in need of integration in every creative project. An unbalance between artistic side and monetary side of a project generally leads to a poor financial return. In addition, the chapter unveils organizational and industry-level challenges that creative entrepreneurs have to deal with in the process of creative entrepreneurship; and the most common organizational practices that creative entrepreneurs adopt to manage them. The chapter contributes to the literature on tensions by shedding more light on how and when individuals make sense of the 'rules of the game' (Hargrave, Van de Ven, 2017; Miron-Spector et al., 2018; Cunha et al, 2019). It contributes to the practice tradition by uncovering the micro-practices that creative entrepreneurs put in place to manage the conflicting demands of creative entrepreneurship (e.g., Jarzabkowski & Lê, 2017; Schneider et al., 2021). Furthermore, the chapter contributes to the literature on creative entrepreneurship by adopting the practice turn of entrepreneurship (e.g., Thompson, 2020).

The third chapter deals with the tension between temporary and permanent organizing in the cultural institution of Venice Biennale and its Venice International Film Festival (VIFF). In particular it investigates how the governance interface between the permanent cultural organization as project owner (i.e., Venice Biennale) and one of its temporary project delivery organizations in the form of an annual film festival (i.e., VIFF) is managed for autonomy, flexibility and innovation. The chapter also explores how the organizational identity of the

owner influences choices made about the interface between the temporary and permanent for the project governance of an annual film festival. To fulfil these purposes, an exploratory case study approach (Yin, 2015) to enable theory elaboration (Fisher & Aguinis, 2017) is adopted. We collected data from multiple sources, including a participant ethnography and photo-ethnography of the 76th Venice International Film Festival (2019), several archival data, media coverage, and supplementary semi-structured interviews with the key organizational actors such as the President of the Biennale, Director General and Deputy Director. The chapter uncovers the aspects of interpersonal governance approach such as relative autonomy, dialogue, trust, and a solid and empowering owner organization allowing for a successful interaction between the owner organization interfacing with its inherent temporary project organizations. We suggest that the governance approach both influences and is influenced by the organizational identity: a flexible, interpersonal approach to governance allows to fulfil the innovative identity of the Biennale and, at the same time, the key traits of research, experimentation and innovation, comprised in the organizational identity of the Biennale, influence the governance approach. The chapter contributes to the project organizing literature (e.g., Bakker, 2016; Stjerne, Svejenova, 2016), and project governance in particular (Ahola et al, 2014; Winch & Leiringer, 2016; Ul Musawir et al, 2020).

Recent research on CCIs has stressed the dark side of these industries: creative workers often face precarious working conditions, uncertain nature of employment, material and existential hardships, blurred boundaries between work and personal life (Ekman, 2015; Wright, 2018; Cinque et al., 2020). The current COVID-19 pandemic has produced a profound psychological and professional impact on cultural workers, showing the fragility of this sector, based on extensive human interaction, but also providing an occasion to rethink cultural workers' current existence. Observing the impact of the current pandemic, the fourth chapter makes a qualitative inquiry on psychological resilience and work reorganization of cultural workers during the COVID-19 lockdown. Our empirical findings show an overall improvement in the cultural workers' resilience after they lived the first lockdown in virtue of several resource endowments but foremost in virtue of their personality and experience built before the COVID-19 times. The precarious working conditions in the CCIs rendered cultural workers prepared to face adversities. The chapter contributes to the CCIs' research and the psychological resilience literature by studying a still underexplored impact of the COVID-19 adversity on both personal and professional spheres of cultural workers' lives, exploring the

development of their resilience over time, and showing how individual resilience is reflected in cultural workers' narration about their life lessons learned.

In essence my research confirms the contradictory nature of CCIs. It shows how tensions and contradictions are constantly present within the creative context. The tensions do not require a solution but a balance. Both contradictory poles (e.g., art and business) are necessary for successful cultural projects. Several scholars (e.g., White & White, 1993; Alexander, 2020) suggest that since the Romantic vision of the artist raised in the 19th century, which transformed the production of art from patronage and academic systems to market systems, artists have become vulnerable to poverty. My dissertation shows how with time creative workers have managed to deploy various practices to confront the challenges of creative entrepreneurship. At the organizational level, cultural organizations have managed to balance various competing demands, often making them part of their identity (e.g., both tradition and innovation in the Venice Biennale), and to successfully move ahead.

Without any further indulgence, I invite you to read the dissertation.

Chapter I. Tensions in Cultural & Creative Industries: A Consolidating Review and Framework[1]

ABSTRACT

Tensions constitute an ongoing and recurring aspect of organizational life. Cultural and creative industries are particularly affected by various tensions. Being templates for other knowledge-intensive industries, they provide an overview and offer guidelines on how to deal with tensions. Although an extensive number of studies uncovers different tensions present within the context of cultural and creative industries, the literature on tensions and creative industries have grown separately. This study reviews and analyses the typology of tensions that can potentially arise in the cultural and creative industries. Furthermore, tensions and similar concepts such as paradox, dilemma, trade-off are often used interchangeably leading to confusing responses. This study uncovers how the tensions in creative and cultural industries are conceptualized in the business and management literature. The study provides a consolidating framework of tensions based on the most recurrent themes in the creative industry literature, namely innovation, creativity, entrepreneurship, identity, labour market and public policy. The proposed framework organizes existing contributions on tensions in creative and cultural industries, connects various tensions related to each theme and offers areas for future research.

Keywords:

Tensions; paradoxes; cultural industries; creative industries; systematic literature review

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[1] This chapter is based on the solo-authored paper with the same title. The paper was presented at the 36th EGOS 2020 Pre-Colloquium Workshop, Researching through Paradox Theory: Interdisciplinary Thinking to Understand and Address Competing Demands and the 37th EGOS Colloquium 2021, Sub-theme 09: Unpacking Paradoxical Nestedness across Level of Analysis.

INTRODUCTION

Tensions, contradictions and paradoxes have become the «new normal» in today's volatile, dynamic and complex landscape (Putnam et al. 2016), experienced by almost all organizations at different levels to varying degree (Bloodgood and Chae 2010).

Cultural and creative industries (CCIs) - "consisting of individuals and organizations engaged in processes and activities related to conceiving, producing and distributing creative products" (Jones et al. 2016) - are particularly affected by multiple tensions and their practices have been considered as templates for organizations operating in other knowledge-intensive industries (Lampel et al. 2000; Eikhof and Haunschild 2007; Townley et al. 2009; Wu and Wu 2016). Despite a great proliferation of studies centered on exploring competing demands in CCIs in the past two decades (e.g., Lampel et al. 2000; DeFillippi et al. 2007), the literature on tensions and the literature on CCIs are only loosely integrated. In addition, many concepts related to tensions are often used interchangeably in the literature on CCIs leading to confusing responses.

Therefore, the objectives of this study are:

(1) clarify the difference between tensions and related concepts, such as paradox, contradiction, trade-off/dilemma, dualism, duality, dialectic;

(2) synthesize and analyse various types of tensions present in the context of CCIs;

(3) identify areas for future research.

The overarching question of the paper is: *What kind of tensions can potentially arise in Cultural and Creative Industries?*

The study conducts a systematic consolidating literature review (e.g., Pittaway et al. 2004; Briner and Denyer 2012; Hadida et al. 2015; Adams et al. 2016) in order to develop a consolidating framework enabling the future conversation between scholars.

This study considers both cultural and creative industries in order to cover an extensive number of relevant studies. The notion of "creative industries" derives from "cultural industries". The term "cultural industries" traces its genealogy back to earlier work in the Frankfurt School in the 1930s and 1940s (Garnham 2005; UNCTD 2013) but it was coined for the first time by Adorno and Horkheimer (1979) to highlight the commodification of cultural products. Cultural industries were associated with industrial production and mass distribution

of cultural products and because with times the value chain of cultural products had evolved the notion of creative industries seemed to be more appropriate. The formal shift from cultural to creative industries took place in 1998 in the United Kingdom when the Creative Industries Task Force Mapping Document (CITF) defined creative industries as "activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (Cunningham 2002; Garnham 2005). The previous research on CCIs has referred to several types of tensions such as control vs autonomy (Bloodgood and Chae 2010; Beech et al. 2012; Lewis 2012), freedom vs collaboration (e.g. Paris et al. 2019), flexible specialization vs vertical integration (Lampel et al. 2000; Bloodgood and Chae 2010), formal vs informal (Bloodgood, Chae, 2010), precariousness vs love for profession (McRobbie 2004; Lee 2012; Butler and Stoyanova Russell 2018), art vs business (Lampel et al. 2000; Lane 2010; De Valck 2014; Lavie 2015; Paris et al. 2019), novelty vs familiarity of products (Lampel et al. 2000; Messeni Petruzzelli and Savino 2015; Jones et al. 2016), creative work vs routine work (DeFillippi et al. 2007; Tschang 2007), identity struggles (DeFillippi et al. 2007; Hackley and Kover 2007; Beech et al. 2016; Paris et al. 2019), creative authenticity vs national authenticity (Jones and Smith 2005), tension between policymakers and creatives (O'Connor and Gu 2010), exploration vs exploitation (Pick et al. 2015; Wu and Wu 2016), addressing existing demand vs creating new demand (Lampel et al. 2000; DeFillippi et al. 2007). The presence of the above tensions in CCIs is partly due to a strong market uncertainty caused by a symbolic, experiential, aesthetic nature of cultural product offerings, characterized by the principle «nobody knows» (Caves 2000).

Despite an identification of the above tensions, several scholars (Townley and Beech 2010; Knight and Harvey 2015) have called for a more nuanced view of the inherent tensions in cultural production, without putting an emphasis on one approach over another (e.g., synergy over trade-off) (Cunha and Putman 2019). Following this direction, Wu and Wu (2016) have conducted a systematic literature review on the exploit/explore tension in creative industries, however a synthesis and schematization of all discussed tensions in the creative industry literature requires further investigation.

The framework of tensions in CCIs introduced in this paper illustrates the most recurrent themes entailing different tensions and the connection between these themes. The foundation of the framework is given by the themes of innovation, creativity, entrepreneurship, identity, labor market and public policy. The proposed framework allows for reviewing the

existing literature on tensions in CCIs and provides areas for future research across different management disciplines. In the following section the adopted methodology is outlined.

METHOD

This paper offers a consolidating account of research on tensions in CCIs. Yet, the goal of this literature review is not to catalogue every work that refers to tensions in CCIs, but to analytically classify the extent literature and to find the recurrent patterns. Some preliminary steps have been executed before undertaking the data collection (e.g., Denyer and Tranfield, 2015).

Preliminary mapping of the field

The preliminary mapping of the field has been conducted by reading approximately 40 most cited articles found with the search string (paradox* OR tension* OR contradiction* OR dualit*) AND («creative industr*» OR «cultural industr*» OR «creative entreprise*» OR «cultural entreprise*» OR «creative entrepreneur*» OR «cultural entrepreneur*»). The search identified the themes such as types of tensions, solutions in terms of management practices and individual responses to tensions, inputs/causes and outcomes/consequences of tensions. In order to limit the scope of the research and analyse the selected theme in depth, it was agreed with an expert in the field to focus on the typology of tensions in CCIs.

Another preliminary step was to clarify the difference between tensions and other similar concepts such as paradox, contradiction, duality, trade-off or dilemma, dualism, dialectics, compromise. Concepts need to be sufficiently clear to facilitate communication between scholars, enhance scholars' ability to empirically explore the phenomenon, and allow for creativity (Suddaby 2010). Differentiating between concepts related to tensions is vital to enable such communication. Often these concepts are hard to distinguish as some of them have become umbrella concepts encompassing organizational contradictions and tensions or expressing approaches to respond to them (Cunha and Putman 2019). Table 1 summarises some common definitions of these concepts.

Table 1. Definition of tensions and related concepts

Concept	Definition
Tension	• Stress, anxiety, discomfort, or tightness in making choices, responding to, and moving forward in organizational situations (Putnam et al., 2016).

Contradiction	• Competing elements, such as contradictory demands, goals, interests, perspectives (Miron-Spector et al, 2017).
	• Bipolar opposites that are mutually exclusive and interdependent such that the opposites define and potentially negate each other (Putnam et al., 2016).
	• Contradiction lies at the heart of paradoxical tensions (Schad et al., 2016).
Paradox	• Contradictions that persist over time, impose and reflect back on each other, and develop into seemingly irrational or absurd situations because their continuity creates situations in which options appear mutually exclusive, making choices among them difficult (Putnam et al., 2016).
	• Contradictory, yet interrelated elements (dualities) that exist simultaneously and persist over time (Smith, Lewis, 2011; Cunha, Putman, 2019).
	• Managing paradox seeks both/and alternatives that may foster novelty, creativity, long-term sustainability. Decision: try to find synergies between the two (Lewis et al., 2014)
	• It is a persistent contradiction between interdependent elements (Schad et al., 2016).
	• Paradox is an on-going process reflecting cyclical dynamics (Quinn, Cameron, 1988).
Duality	• Opposites (A and B) that exist within a unified whole (Smith, Lewis, 2011).
	• Interdependence of opposites in a both/and relationship that is not mutually exclusive or antagonistic (Putnam et al., 2016).
	• Denotes the twofold character of an object of study without separation. Duality resembles dualism in that it retains the idea of two essential elements, but it views them as interdependent, rather than separate and opposed (Farjoun, 2010).
	• Dualities emphasize an interdependent relationship between contradictory elements (Schad et al., 2016).
Dualism	• Opposite poles, dichotomies, binary relationships that are able to create tensions, but can be separated (Putnam et al., 2016).
Trade-off/ Dilemma	• Competing choices, each with advantages and disadvantages such that no clear preference or dilemma exists; paradoxical when a choice between them is temporary and tension resurfaces (Smith, Lewis, 2011; Lewis et al., 2014).
	• It also indicates an approach of selecting one maximizing option (Lewis et al., 2014).
Compromise	• Contradictory elements resolved through an integration of both options. It also indicates an approach of blending options into a single, new alternative (Lewis et al., 2014).
Dialectics	• Interdependent opposites aligned with forces that push-pull on each other like a rubber band and exist in an ongoing dynamic interplay as the poles implicate each other. Focuses on the unity of opposites and the forces or processes that connect them (Putnam et al., 2016).

- Contradictory elements (thesis, anthesis) resolved through integration (synthesis), which over time will confront new opposition (Smith, Lewis, 2011).
- Opposing elements as a thesis and antithesis. In dialectics the synthesis meets a newly emerging anthesis, while the tension in paradox persists (Schad et al., 2016).

Figure 1 shows the concepts graphically, highlighting the umbrella nature of tensions (Putnam et al. 2016) and the intrinsic nature of contradiction present within the concepts. Dualism denotes two contrasting elements that can be separated. Duality is different from dualism due to its interdependent nature of opposites. Duality, and not dualism, characterizes the nature of paradox. Other concepts, namely paradox, trade-off/dilemma, compromise, dialectic offer an approach on how to respond to different tensions.

Figure 1. Tensions and related concepts
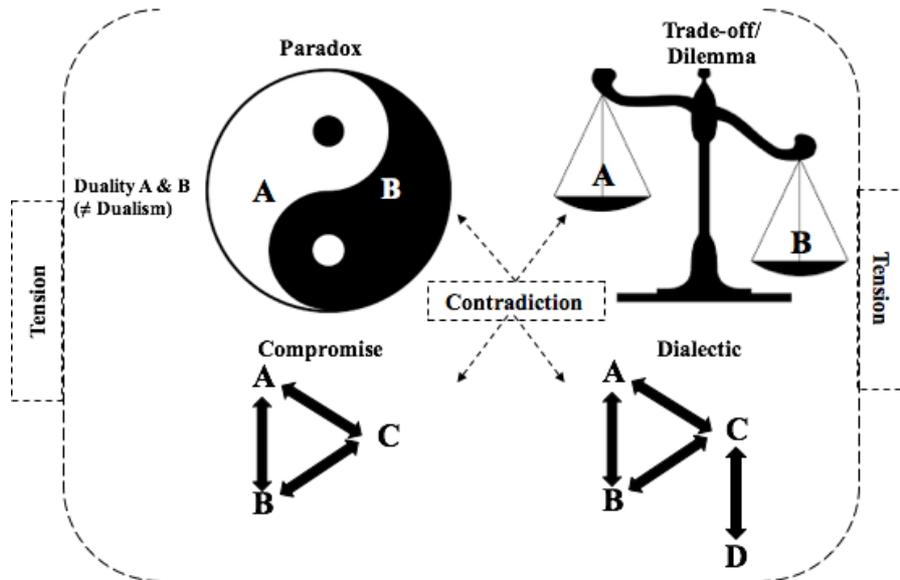
Data collection and analysis

The review involved several stages:

(1) The keywords were identified together with another scholar in the field based on a preliminary search stage and brainstorming. They included tension, paradox, trade-off among others.

(2) The keywords were constructed into search strings. Search strings were composed of two parts: one related to tensions and another to the context of CCIs. The search strings were progressively analysed from the most basic to the most complex. The most basic was composed by the stings (paradox*) AND («creative industr*» OR «cultural

industr*» OR «creative entreprise*» OR «cultural entreprise*» OR «creative entrepreneur*» OR «cultural entrepreneur*»). In total eight searches were undertaken. This was done with the aim to comprehend what concepts were used by the scholars of CCIs and to identify new articles related to each specific keyword. Table 2 indicates the last search string that was searched for, linked with the Boolean operator (AND).

Table 2. Last search string

Theme	Search String
Tension and related concepts	paradox* OR tension* OR contradiction* OR tradeoff* OR trade-off* OR dilemma* OR dualit* OR dualism* OR dialectic* OR compromise*
Creative Industries and related concepts	«creative industr*» OR «cultural industr*» OR «creative entreprise*» OR «cultural entreprise*» OR «creative entrepreneur*» OR «cultural entrepreneur*»

(3) The search strings were used in two citation databases: Web of Science – Social Science Citation Index and SCOPUS. Table 3 summarizes the process using the last search string, illustrated in Table 2.

Table 3. Results of the last search string

Exclusion Criteria	Inclusion Criteria	Resulting Scopus	Resulting WoS
Raw Count		297	241
All other areas	Areas: Business & Management (& Accounting in Scopus)	83	84
Other languages	English language	81	68
Non-ABS Listed Journals	Only ABS listed journals, conference proceedings, book chapters, reviews	60	51
New results with respect to the previous search		2	
New relevant results		1	

(4) The citations were reviewed according to the inclusion and exclusion criteria indicated in Table 4 and Table 5.

Table 4. Inclusion criteria

No.	Criteria	Reason for Inclusion
1	Categories: Business & Management in WoS; Business & Management & Accounting in Scopus	Examine studies relevant to business and management
2	Timeline: all available years	Ensure coverage of all relevant studies
3	Study type: only ABS listed journals, conference proceedings papers, book chapters, reviews	Capture all empirical evidence
4	Language: English	Ensure accessibility of studies

Table 4. Exclusion criteria

No.	Criteria	Reason for Exclusion
1	Categories: all others except Business & Management in WoS; Business & Management & Accounting in Scopus	Examine studies relevant to business and management
2	Study type: Non- ABS listed journals	Exclude low-quality studies
4	Language: other except English	Ensure accessibility of studies

 (5) Using the inclusion and exclusion criteria articles were separated into three groups according to their pertinence to the topic: those highly pertinent and relevant, those of some pertinence and those of little pertinence. The studies of little or no relevance are those that, although found through the search process, do not address the concepts of tensions, paradoxes or any other concepts in CCIs. For instance, studies might explore the creation process, knowledge transfer, entrepreneurial training without mentioning any involved types of tensions or paradoxes and not referring to the context of CCIs. The studies of medium relevance are those that implicitly or just partly allude to tensions of some phenomena (e.g., knowledge breadth vs knowledge depth, conflicts of the dual leadership). The studies of high relevance are those that explicitly mention some tensions or other concepts in the CCIs; they might either use tensions or other concepts to theorize, use them to advance management and organization theories or phenomena (De Keyser et al. 2019). The studies of high and medium relevance were fully reviewed contributing to the sample of 54 sources.

(6) Forward citations of the three most relevant articles (i.e., Caves 2000/2003; Lampel et al. 2000; DeFillippi et al. 2007) were reviewed providing additional 28 results (Table 6).

Table 6. Forward citations of the three most influential studies on tensions in CCI

Source	WoS	Scopus	Google Scholar
Caves, 2000			4996
Caves, 2003	83	93	411
Lampel et al., 2000	232		686
DeFillippi et al., 2007	133	158	368

(7) Two main tables were built. The first included the following information: source, authors' keywords, abstract, summary, document type, industry and usage of concepts (e.g., tension, paradox, contradiction, trade-off/ dilemma, duality, dualism, dialectic, compromise). The second summarized the most relevant sources and main contributions. Table 8 illustrates some relevant studies.

(8) Studies were classified based on concepts (e.g., paradox, dilemma) and key themes they were referring to (e.g., innovation, creativity). Then, the most recurrent themes were selected to formulate the focus and analyse and integrate the literature (Jones and Gatrell 2014).

(9) Sections were written after reviewing the relevant literature and developing the tables.

RESULTS

Evidence base and general overview

Our final sample consists of 82 studies: 66 articles, 9 book chapters, 4 books, 3 conference papers up to April 2020. The top nine journals in terms of the topic coverage are Organization Science (6), Organization Studies (4), Journal of Organizational Behaviour (4), Creativity & Innovation Management (4), Human Relations (4), Management Decisions (4), Industry and Innovation (3), Journal of Business Research (3), Organization (3). Other journals covered two or one relevant articles.

Concerning the industries, an extensive number of studies (34) refer to multiple CCIs (e.g., DeFillippi et al. 2007; Lange et al. 2008; Bloodgood and Chae 2010), as many of them are conceptual papers. The most studied industries are film and television (8), video game (6), performing arts such as opera, theatres, stand-up comedy (5), music (4), fashion (4), architecture (4), design (4), press and book publishing (4), haute cuisine (3), advertising (2),

museums (2), media agency (1), artistic perfumery (1). Studies that refer to both creative and more traditional industries (e.g., Belenzon et al. 2019) are included too if they provide important insights on the topic. Table 7 and figure 2 classify studies by industries.

Table 7. Classification of studies by industries

Industry	Sources	No.
Multiple	Caves, 2000; Lampel et al., 2000; Zhang, Zhou, 2006; DeFillippi et al, 2007; Chaston, 2008; Lange et al., 2008; Reid & Karambayya, 2009; Bloodgood & Chae, 2010; Deere-Birkbeck, 2010; O'Connor & Gu, 2010; Lange, 2011; Moeran & Pedersen, 2011; Bhansing et al., 2012; Huang & Wei, 2012; O'Brien, 2013; Ekman, 2015; Kemppainen-Koivisto et al., 2015; Knight & Harvey, 2015; Pick et al., 2015; Jones et al., 2016; Musial et al., 2016; Slavich, & Svejenova, 2016; Wu & Wu, 2016; Ikhsan et al., 2017; Zanoni et al., 2017; Eisenbeis, 2018; Lange, 2018; Radomska, Wolczek, 2018; Belenzon et al., 2019; Cnossen et al., 2019; Dalpiaz & Cavotta, 2019; Edwards, 2019; Janssens & Steyaert, 2019, Wright, 2018.	34
Film & TV	Palmer et al., 2001; Alvarez et al., 2005; Jones & Smith, 2005; Svejenova, 2005; Ferriani et al., 2007; Durand & Hadida, 2016; Stjerne & Svejenova, 2016; Maier, 2017.	8
Video games	Cohendet & Simon, 2007; Tschang, 2007; Hotho, Champion, 2011; Cohendet & Simon, 2016; Musial et al., 2016; Zhao et al., 2018.	6
Performing Arts	Voss et al., 2000; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006, 2007; Beech et al., 2012; Butler & Stoyanova Russell, 2018.	5
Music	Beech et al., 2016; Umney, 2017; Carr, 2019; Panayiotou et al., 2019.	4
Fashion	Mills, 2011; Abecassis-Moedas & Benghozi, 2012; Marcella, Rowley, 2015; Leclair, 2017.	4
Architecture	Bos-de Vos et al., 2016; Manzoni & Volker, 2017; Gaim, 2018; Gaim, 2019.	4
Design	Vint, 2010; Andriopoulos & Lewis, 2009; Gotsi et al., 2010; Austin et al., 2018.	4
Press & Book publishing	Lewis, 2012; Heebels et al., 2013; Ekman, 2015; Zhenggang, 2017.	4
Haute cuisine	Svejenova et al., 2007; Messeni Petruzzelli & Savino, 2015; Slavich & Castellucci, 2016.	3
Advertising	Hackley & Kover, 2007; Round, Styhre, 2017.	2
Museums	Coblence, Sabatier, 2014; Mikes, & Morhart, 2017.	2
Media	Contu, 2014.	1
Artistic Perfumery	Endrissat et al., 2016.	1
Total		82

Figure 2. Classification of studies by industries
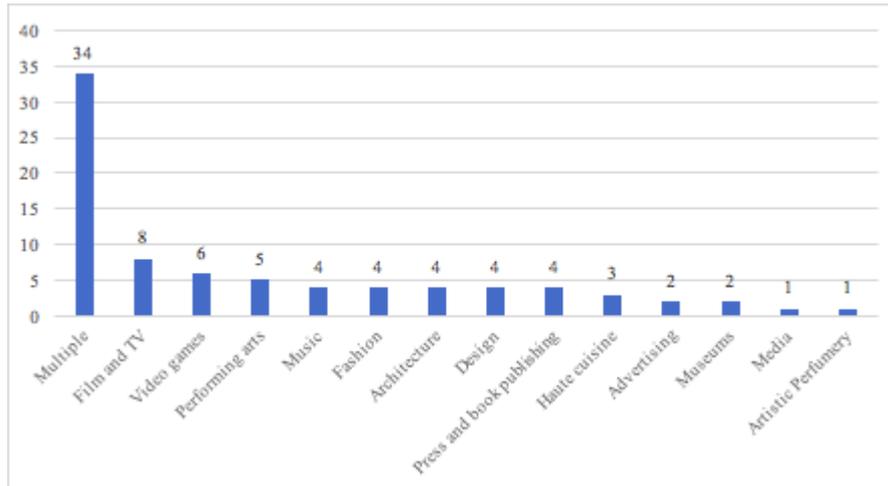
As figure 3 attests, the interest in the topic of tensions in CCIs appeared and started spreading around 2000. The two peaks occurred in 2007 and 2016. These three points in time indicate the publishing of three special issues. In 2000 there was a special issue titled "Cultural Industries: Learning from Evolving Organizational Practices" published by Organization Science. In 2007 there was another special issue on "Paradoxes of Creativity: Managerial and Organizational Challenges in the Cultural Economy" published by the Journal of Organizational Behavior. The third special issue "Misfits, Mavericks and Mainstreams: Drivers of Innovation in the Creative Industries" was published by Organization Studies in 2016.

Figure 3. Documents by year
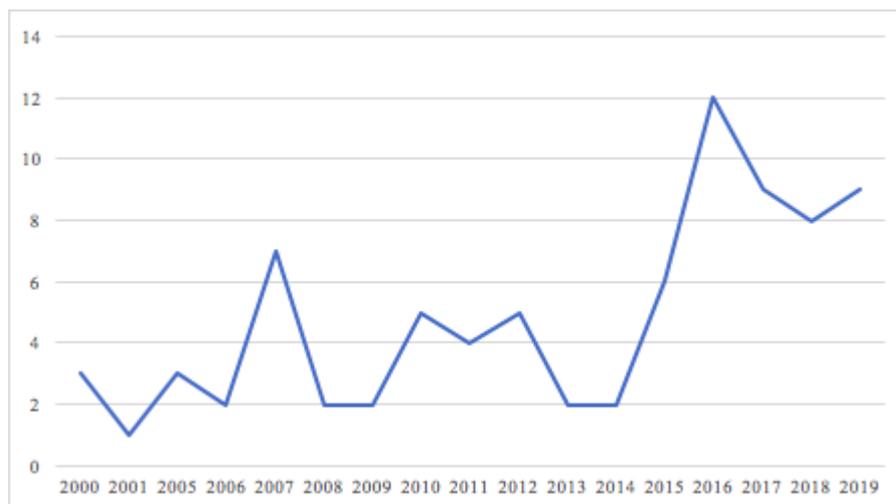
In the process of reviewing the literature, it could be noticed that some studies discuss about tensions, polarities, competing demands of CCIs as their primary focus, whereas other studies discuss about tensions and related concepts in relation to specific themes. For instance,

Lampel et al. (2000) belong to the first category. The authors mention five polarities that managers of CCIs have to deal with, namely: artistic values versus economic values, novelty versus familiarity of cultural products, satisfying existing demand versus extending the market, going for vertical integration versus flexible specialization, having creative systems supporting and marketing cultural products but not supressing individual inspiration. Following the same line, DeFillippi et al. (2007) explore four paradoxes of creativity, considering them as tools enabling the balance between creative and routine work. The four paradoxes of creativity are the difference paradox of crafting or standardizing policies, the distance paradox of whether to couple or decouple routine work, the globalization paradox of whether to reconcile or separate local and global arenas of activity, and the identity paradox of creating individual or collective identities, reputations and careers. There are also studies that focus on specific themes and look at them through the lenses of tensions, paradoxes, contradictions. For example, Lewis (2012) investigates the news process in the context of journalism through the tension between professional control of media workers and open participation of users. Although the journalists are not willing to abandon their control, the way towards open participation is embarked upon. Jones and Smith (2005) stress the importance of location and local products in the film industry through the tension between creative authenticity – being faithful to the creative nature of project - and national authenticity - showing the value of nationhood. Jones et al. (2016) respond to the question of who drives the innovation by examining the tension between novelty and familiarity of creative products. Table 8 summarises some relevant papers. Not all papers are included for the sake of space.

Table 8. Extract of relevant papers

Source (10)	Main Contribution
Lampel et al. (2000)	The study identifies 5 polarities managers of cultural industries must deal with: (1) reconcile expression of artistic values with the economics of mass entertainment, (2) seek novelty that differentiates their products without making them fundamentally different in nature from others in the same category, (3) address existing demand while trying to extend and transform the market, (4) balance the advantages of vertically integrating diverse activities against the need to maintain creative vitality through flexible specialization, (5) build creative systems to support and market cultural products but not allow the system to suppress individual inspiration.
Jones & Smith (2005)	The article highlights the importance of location and local products. In exploring the tension between creative authenticity and national authenticity of a film, the study finds out that national identity is important for the success of cultural products.

DeFillippi et al. (2007)	The study focuses on how individuals and organizations balance competing demands of creative and routine work in cultural industries, pervaded by paradoxes of creativity. Individuals and organization can respond through the difference paradox of crafting or standardizing policies, the distance paradox of whether to couple or decouple routine work, the globalization paradox of whether to reconcile or separate local and global arenas of activity, and the identity paradox of creating individual or collective identities, reputations and careers.
Tschang (2007)	The study suggests that business and production interests currently drive the rationalization of video game production. However, the need to satisfy consumers' continually evolving tastes and game developers' inclinations to be creative also creates tensions with these rational forces. Different actors balance these tensions differently. Studios can balance these by shifting between more and less innovative products. Publishers may enhance their portfolio by hiring highly creative designers into their stable. New products can be created through the recombination of existing ideas from different sources into new products.
Lange et al. (2008)	The study answers to the question of how to govern creativity. It highlights the potential for self-governance of creativity and creative industries thanks to communities of practice.
Bloodgood & Chae (2010)	The study demonstrates the importance of organizational paradox for organizational learning and how it should be managed integratively, shifting dynamically between poles.
Lewis (2012)	The study responds to the question of how much control should be given up by media workers and by that explores the ongoing tension between professional control and open civic participation, enabled by digital technologies, in the news process in the context of journalism. The study highlights the reluctance of journalists to open up to civic participation, although the possibility of a hybrid logic of adaptability and openness might resolve this tension.
Knight, & Harvey (2015)	The authors uncover the exploit/explore paradox nested at three levels of knowledge, learning and motivation. Organizational processes help manage paradoxes. Importance of simultaneous management of competing demands.
Wu & Wu (2016)	Literature review on how creative industry organizations achieve alignment ambidexterity and adaptability ambidexterity. Processes and practices of internal orientation and external engagement help manage paradoxes.
Jones et al. (2016)	By acknowledging the inherent tension of creative industries between novelty and familiarity, the authors explore the question of who drives innovation. Four types of agents are identified, namely mavericks, misfits, mainstreams and amphibians.

Tensions and related concepts in CCIs

It has been uncovered that, beside the keywords identified at the beginning, the literature uses a great variety of terms to discuss about tensions, such as struggles, conflicting needs, challenges, competing objectives, opposing imperatives, liabilities, constraints, polarities,

competing logics, pressures, conflict, gap, creative abrasion. For instance, Lampel et al. (2000) refer to the terms "opposing imperatives", "polarities", "dilemmas", "tensions" in the same study exploring organizing practices in cultural industries. DeFillippi et al. (2007) in their study on paradoxes of creativity adopt the terms such as "paradoxical challenge", "dilemma", "contradictory tension", "competing demands", "duality", "dilemma". Lange et al. (2008), while exploring the governance of creativity, refer to the tension between autonomy and professionalization but also to the paradoxes of creativity, developed by DeFillippi et al. (2007).

Despite some terminological confusion, executing eight searches adding each time additional keyword related to tensions and similar concepts, it was possible to uncover what concepts were used the most. Table 9 illustrates studies employing specific concepts. The majority of studies (63) were referring to the concept of "tension", followed by "paradox" (29) and "trade-off"/ "dilemma" (24). This confirms the umbrella nature of "tension". It is important to mention that although the search string was supposed to help identify the studies referring to specific keywords, the manual refining was necessary to understand if one study was referring to one concept or another. Many studies were referring to two or more concepts to explore the same tension, which highlights the terminological confusion in existing studies.

Table 9. Tensions and related concepts in CCIs

Concepts	Studies
Paradox (29)	• Difference paradox between crafted and standardised policies (DeFillippi et al., 2007; Lange et al., 2008);
	• Distance paradox between coupling and decoupling routine work (DeFillippi et al., 2007; Lange et al., 2008);
	• Globalization paradox between reconciling and separating local and global arenas of activity (DeFillippi et al., 2007; Lange et al., 2008);
	• Identity paradox between individual and collective identities, reputations and careers (DeFillippi et al., 2007; Lange et al., 2008);
	Identity paradox between distinctiveness and inclusion (Svejenova et al., 2007; Gaim, 2018);
	Paradox of identity work (Gotsi et al., 2010);
	• Paradox of "fabricating authenticity" between "fabrication" and "authenticity" in cultural production (Jones & Smith, 2005);
	• Organizational paradoxes between control and autonomy/flexibility (Bloodgood, Chae, 2010; Cohendet & Simon, 2016);

- Organizational paradox between differentiation and integration (Bloodgood, Chae, 2010);

- Paradox between formal and informal (Bloodgood, Chae, 2010), paradox between regulated labour market and informal social norms (Umney, 2016);

- Exploitation vs exploration paradox or novelty vs standardization (Andriopoulos & Lewis, 2009; Knight, & Harvey, 2015; Wu &Wu, 2016; Radomska & Wolczek, 2018), innovation paradox between novelty and familiarity (Jones et al., 2016);

- Paradox between novelty and usefulness (Gaim et al., 2019);

- Paradoxes of innovation (Andriopoulos & Lewis, 2009): profit vs breakthroughs, tight vs loose coupling, discipline vs passion (Gaim 2018);

- Structural paradox between individual professionalisation, competitiveness and innovation climate (Lange, 2011);

- Paradoxical tension between institutionalism and creativity/creative autonomy (Kemppainen-Koivisto et al., 2015; Lange, 2018);

- Paradox of extreme work between sacrifices and never-never land (i.e., unrealistic promises) (Ekman, 2015);

- Paradox of emotion management – maintain relations with employers but accept low payment (Butler & Stoyanova Russell, 2018);

- Paradox between enthusiasm for work and precarious labour market (Wright, 2018);

- Paradox between what is creative work and who is qualified as a creative (Zanoni et al., 2017);

- Paradox of creativity between art and business (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007; Reid, Karambayya, 2009; Musial et al., 2016; Maier, 2017; Gaim, 2018);

- Logics paradox between utility and aesthetics (Svejenova et al., 2007);

- Paradox of knowledge creation: flexible decentralized expertise vs managerial attitude (Cohendet, Simon, 2007);

- Paradox of competing for work: strategic intent paradox (aiming at winning while investing in other strategic goals), design intent paradox (selling on envisioning promise while remaining a credible service provider) (Manzoni, 2017);

- Paradox between a general positive economic situation and development of a start-up ecosystem in CCIs (Eisenbeis, 2018).

Tension (63)	- Tension between creative and national authenticity (Jones & Smith, 2005); - Tension between creative autonomy and professionalization (Lange et al., 2008; Lange, 2018); - Tension between individual inspiration and supportive creative systems (Lampel et al., 2000); - Tensions between institutionalism and creativity (Kemppainen-Koivisto et al., 2015); - Tension between moral economy and labor competition (Umney, 2017);

- Tension between formal regulation and informal social norms (Umney, 2016);
- Tension between creative way of working vs formality (Cohendet & Simon, 2007);
- Tension between professional control and open participation (Lewis, 2012);
- Tension between trust and control (Hackley & Kover, 2007);
- Art vs mass entertainment values (Lampel et al., 2000; Voss et al., 2000; Hackley & Kover, 2007; Reid & Karambayya, 2009), culture vs commerce (Heebels et al., 2013; Gaim, 2018; O'Connor & Gu, 2010; Mikes & Morhart, 2017), creativity vs economy (Leclair, 2017), artistic logics vs economic logics (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007), creative endeavour vs business practices (Mills, 2011), art vs commerce & economy & business (Alvarez et al., 2005; Eikhof, D. R., & Haunschild, 2006; DeFillippi et al., 2007; Bloodgood & Chae, 2010; Wu & Wu, 2016; Bhansing et al., 2012), creative aspiration vs financial resources (Maier, 2017), intellectual & social capital and economic capital (Radomska, Wolczek, 2018); aesthetics and economy (Austin et al., 2018);
- Tension between rationalization and creativity (Tschang, 2007);
- Tension between creativity and performance (Ferriani et al., 2007; Gaim, 2018);
- Tension between innovation and efficiency (Abecassis-Moeda & Benghozi, 2012), or between creativity and efficiency (Cohendet, Simon, 2016);
- Tension between growth and cultural innovation (Coblence & Sabatier, 2014);
- Tension between novelty and familiarity of products (Lampel et al., 2000; Messetti Petruzzelli & Savino, 2015; Jones et al., 2016; Wu & Wu, 2016; Slavich & Castellucci, 2016);
- Paradoxical tension between exploitation and exploration (Wu & Wu, 2016; Ikhsan et al., 2017; Andriopoulos & Lewis, 2009); nested explore/exploit tensions (Andriopoulos & Lewis, 2009) of knowledge (control of existing knowledge vs introducing knowledge sharing and cooperation), learning (project-oriented nature of tasks vs the need for long-term improvement) and motivation (the pursuit of the new at odds with exploitative pressure to reproduce existing work) (Knight & Harvey, 2015);
- Tension between existing demand and new demand (Lampel et al., 2000; Wu & Wu, 2016);
- Tension between managers and employees in the process of explorative innovation (Hotho & Champion, 2011);
- Tension between directors and producers (Svejenova, 2005);
- Tension between creative and non-creative work (Round, Styhre, 2017), creative and routinized work (Lange, 2011; Hackley & Kover, 2007);
- Tension between creative and analytical mindsets (Marcella, Rowley, 2015);
- Tensions between being creative and being industrious (Round & Styhre, 2017);
- Tension between creatives and "suits" (Hackley & Kover, 2007);
- Tension between policymakers and creatives (O'Connor, Gu, 2010);

- Tensions arising during company's development (Panayiotou et al., 2019);
- Internal identity tensions (Gotsi et al., 2010; Beech et al., 2012; Beech et al., 2016);
- Tensions due to morally tainted cultural resources between offended audience and supportive audience (Dalpiaz, Cavotta 2019);
- Tensions caused by complexity and lack of managerial capabilities (Landoni et al., 2019);
- Tension between old and new practices (Palmer et al., 2001);
- Tension between temporary and permanent organizing (Stjerne & Svejenova, 2016);
- Tension between passion and discipline (Gaim, 2018);
- Tensions in the process of knowledge creation due to the individual differences (in skills, ideas and ways of seeing a task/problem, communities and status, etc.) (Contu, 2014);
- Tensions caused by management of creativity (DeFillippi et al., 2007);
- Inherent tension between the imagined and the realized in artistic practice (Maier, 2017);
- Tension between coordination and creative freedom (Endrissat et al., 2016);
- Tensions between centralized administrative control and decentralized flexibility (Ekman, 2015);
- Tension between vertical integration and flexible specialization (Lampel et al., 2000);
- Tension between pleasure and obligation (Ekman, 2015);
- Tension on an emotional level in terms of engaging with multiple employers, negotiating pay and dealing with conditions of financial precarity (Butler, N., & Stoyanova Russell, 2018);
- Tension between emergent strategy (flexibility) and planned actions and standard planning process (Radomska, Wolczek, 2018);
- Tension between the "soft" collective organizational form of the cooperative (neo-cooperatives) and the "hard" business laws to which the cooperative must adhere ("traditional cooperatives) (Kemppainen-Koivisto et al., 2015);
- Professional - participatory tension between professional control and open participation (Lewis, 2012);
- Conformity versus differentiation tensions (Zhao et al., 2018);
- Tensions over IP rules (Deere-Birkbeck, 2010);
- Tensions between producers, creators, users and other rights holders caused by policies and regulations around copyrights (Edwards, 2019);
- Tension between markets and civil society (Edwards, 2019);
- Tension, in trade fairs and festivals, around the role of the commodities: commodities are special kinds of manufactured goods, services or creative products exhibited therein (Moeran & Pedersen, 2011);

	• Organizational tensions within the temporary organization, between temporary and permanent organizations and between project team and the field's funding institution (Stjerne & Svejenova, 2016);
	• Tensions in the temporary organizing related to time pressure, continuous collaboration (i.e., retaining the same project team for the sequels and the need for a continuous innovation), budget (i.e., tension between the permanent organization's expectations for higher returns and the project team's hopes for bigger budgets), public funding (Stjerne & Svejenova, 2016);
	• Tension in competing for work between aiming at winning while investing in other strategic goals (Manzoni & Volker, 2017);
	• Tension between predictability and randomness of organizational members' actions and interactions (Gaim et al., 2019).
Contradiction (14)	• Contradictions of cultural policy (O'Brien, 2013);
	• Contradictions faced by creatives in their profession roles: contradictions of bureaucracy, arising from the internal management and organization of creative work in agencies and contradictions of collegiality, arising from the relations between creatives within and without agencies (Hackley & Kover, 2007);
	• Contradictions between 'fabrication' and 'authenticity' in cultural production (Jones, Smith, 2005);
	• Inherent contradictions between individuals motivated by creative invention and those motivated by creative reproduction (Knight & Harvey, 2015);
	• Contradictions of extrinsic motivators that can both undermine and support creativity (Musial et al., 2016);
	• Contradiction between novelty and familiarity of products (Lampel et al., 2000);
	• Contradiction between a big room for investment in the (e.g. Chinese) cultural industry (demand space, scale space, content space) and its insufficient cultural industrial investment (Zhang, Zhou, 2006);
	• Contradiction between artistic and commercial goals (Mikes & Morhart, 2017), creative work and humdrum commerce (Alvarez et al., 2005; Leclair, 2017), contradictory logics of culture and the economy (Moeran, Pedersen, 2011);
	• Seemingly contradictory exigencies of organizing creative people and creative work (Endrissat et al., 2016);
	• Contradictions of competing for work (Manzoni & Volker, 2017).
Trade-off/dilemma (24)	• Dilemmas of managing creativity (DeFillippi et al., 2007);
	• Development dilemma – if training programs (creative vs business-oriented) provided to small creative firms result beneficial (Chaston, 2008);

- Dilemma between commerce and culture (Mikes & Morhart, 2017), artistic excellence vs commercial viability (Reid & Karambayya, 2009), personally satisfying output vs output demanded by market (Chaston, 2008), managerial vs creative values (Leclair, 2017), economic/aesthetic trade-offs (Austin et al., 2018);
- Trade-off between professional and commercial goals in the value creation (Bos-de Vos et al., 2016).
- Trade-off between managerial approaches of young and old CEOs (Belenzone et al., 2019);
- Trade-off between autonomy and commercial viability (Cnossen, 2019), autonomy and control (Hotho & Champion, 2011);
- Dilemmas of creative identity (Hackley, Kover, 2007);
- Dilemma of development in light of digital transformation (Zhenggang, 2017);
- Dilemma facing the fast-changing technology and market environment, (Huang & Wei, 2012);
- Dilemma between work requiring analytical skills vs creative skills (Carr, 2019);
- Dilemma between a general positive economic situation vs development of flourishing start-up ecosystem (Eisenbeis, 2018);
- Dilemma between sustainable practices and commercial ones (Vint, 2010);
- Dilemma between efficiency and high innovativeness (Abecassis-Moedas & Benghozi, 2012); organization and innovation (Hotho & Champion, 2011);
- Dilemma between personal and professional identities (Hackley & Kover, 2007);
- Dilemma between crafted or standardized organizational practices (i.e., difference paradox) (Lange et al., 2008);
- Personalized dilemma over pursuing declared, formal work (Umney, 2016);
- Dilemmas experienced by managers in cultural industries – 5 polarities (Lampel et al., 2000);
- Trade-off between exploration and exploitation (Ferriani et al., 2007; Hotho & Champion, 2011);
- Trade-offs associated with values-based relationships: firms that invest resources in developing a relationship with one constituent may jeopardize relationships with other constituents (Voss et al., 2000);
- Attachment–detachment dilemmas in temporary organizing (Stjerne & Svejenova, 2016).

Duality (13)	- Career duality between choosing work requiring creative and less creative, analytical skills (Carr, 2019); - Duality of copyrighting policy between the civic priority of public access to creative work with the market-driven principle of rewarding private interests (Edwards, 2019);

	• Dualities characterizing remote collaboration: creative work vs routine, freedom vs constrain, trust vs control, artistic excellence vs cost effectiveness, collaboration vs competitiveness, emotional vs relational, closeness vs remoteness (Palmer et al., 2001);
	• Dual executive leadership (Reid & Karambayya, 2009; Bhansing et al., 2012);
	• Dualities of creativity (DeFillippi et al., 2007): processes-outcomes, individuals-collectives, and permanent-temporary creativity units (Slavich, Svejenova, 2016).
	• Exploit-explore duality (Wu & Wu, 2016);
	• Duality between creativity and economic efficiency (Radomska,Wolczek, 2018); service quality and economy (Bos-de Vos et al., 2016);
	• Idiosyncrasy–isomorphism duality (Alvarez et al., 2005);
	• Duality of identity expression and image manufacturing (Svejenova, 2005);
	• Duality between the macro-institutional structure and the micro-dynamics where the creative practice is situated (between macro/micro individualism and societism) (Contu, 2014).
Dualism (4)	• Ontological dualism between individualism and societism (Janssens & Steyaert, 2019);
	• Jones & Smith (2005) cite Jeffcut and Pratt's 'essentializing dualisms' (Jeffcut and Pratt, 2002, p. 227) between the concept of 'creative/cultural/artistic' on the one hand, and 'economic/business/industry' on the other;
	Dualisms between artistic, creative or expressive interests of "innovators" and corporate or commercial interests of managers (Hotho & Champion, 2011);
	• Dualism between coordination and creativity (Endrissat et al., 2016).
Dialectic (5)	• Dialectic of Enlightment is a book written by two members of the Frankfurt School, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno that coined the term 'culture industry' in 1947 to describe the role of media in contemporary society (Moeran & Pedersen, 2011; Jones et al., 2016);
	• Dialectical tensions arising during the company's development between order and disorder with no predetermined end state (Panayiotou et al., 2019);
	• Internal and external dialectic between personal and professional identities (Hackley & Kover, 2007);
	• Dialectic between temporary and permanent organizing (Stjerne, Svejenova, 2016).
Compromise (7)	• Identity compromise - "the "authentic" self - expressed in song writing - compromised by taking the song to the band" (Beech et al., 2016);
	• Business versus cultural innovation compromise - "the need to create and capture value can be compromised by the necessity to generate and distribute products that demonstrate cultural innovation" (Coblence & Sabatier, 2014);

Art vs commerce compromise: "Filmmaking is a compromised art form. It's a 50-50 split, art and commerce." (Ferriani et al., 2007);

Mikes & Morhart (2017) clarify the notion of "artistic compromise" as a combination of artistic and financial goals in a win-lose or lose-lose relationship; and then they introduce a new concept as a conjunction between pure entertainment and pure culture (Mikes & Morhart, 2017);

- The flow of commodities is "a shifting compromise between socially regulated paths and competitively inspired diversions" (Moeran & Pedersen, 2011);
- Compromise of own values with those of external constituents (Voss et al., 2000);
- Compromise between a strict hierarchical order and decentralized creative activities of the communities of specialists (Cohendet & Simon, 2007).

Most recurrent themes related to the tensions in CCIs with respective levels of analysis

Analysing the relevant citations, a manual thematic analysis was developed. Many themes have been uncovered in relation to tensions in the CCIs. The following themes, based on their frequency in studies, have been identified: innovation, creativity, (cultural & creative) entrepreneurship, public policy (including urban development, issues with IP rights), identity, labour market (work, career), networking and collaboration, business development and growth, leadership, human resource management, business model, power, calculative practices, values, boundary work, location, authenticity, organizational learning, institutionalism and legitimacy, categorization, big data, sustainability and ethics, organizational culture, temporary organizing. Many studies discuss various themes simultaneously, however, in order to provide some clarity, the topics have been distinguished. Here we discuss six most recurrent themes, namely innovation, creativity, entrepreneurship, identity, labour market and public policy, as the majority of studies refer to them. Results with respective levels of analysis are presented in Table 10.

Innovation is one of the most recurrent and discussed themes entailing tensions in CCI. Tensions between exploitation and exploration (Knight and Harvey 2015; Wu and Wu 2016; Radomska and Wolczek 2018), so called paradoxes of innovation (Andriopoulos and Lewis 2009), are experienced at multiple levels of analysis. For instance, Knight and Harvey (2015) argue that the exploit/explore tension is nested at three levels of knowledge (i.e., managers balance control of existing knowledge with introducing knowledge sharing and cooperation), learning (i.e., managers reconcile the project-oriented nature of tasks with the need for long-term improvement) and motivation (i.e., the pursuit of the new is at odds with exploitative

pressure to reproduce existing work). Wu and Wu (2016) argue that processes and practices of internal orientation and external engagement help creative industry organizations (CIOs) combine exploration with exploitation and, therefore, achieve alignment and adaptability types of ambidexterity. Besides the tension between explorative and exploitative imperatives, at the individual level, creatives can also experience the dilemma between making informative decisions based on sustainable practices or those based on financial constraints (Vint 2010). Again, at the individual level, the tension between different organizational actors can occur when a creative organization embarks on explorative innovation (Hotho and Champion 2011). Managers and employees can have a different perspective on innovation as strategic change. Effective duality management can avoid tensions and organizational strain. At the organizational level the tension between opposing requirements of growth and innovation can be detected (Coblence and Sabatier 2014). Drawing on the case of the Louvre museum, Coblence and Sabatier (2014) find out that transforming the business model from a growth-oriented towards innovative one can be a powerful solution to deal with the tension between growth and innovation. Cultural and creative organizations can also experience the tension between innovation and persistence (Stjerne and Svejenova 2016). At the industry level, the idiosyncrasy–isomorphism duality (Alvarez et al. 2005) and dilemmas caused by the fast-changing technology (e.g., digital transformation) (Huang and Wei 2012; Zhenggang 2017) are discussed in the literature. With regard to the idiosyncrasy–isomorphism duality, Alvarez et al. (2005) argue that managing artistic pressures for distinctiveness versus business pressures for profits drives filmmakers' quest for optimal distinctiveness. This quest seeks both exclusive (unique style) and inclusive (audience-appealing) artwork with legitimacy in the field. With regard to dilemmas caused by the fast-changing technologies, Huang and Wei (2012) argue that modularization can help creative industries solve this dilemma so as to realize efficient and effective operation and then obtain long-term competitiveness. At the product level the tension between novelty and familiarity (Lampel et al. 2000; Jones et al. 2016; Slavich and Castellucci 2016), or novelty and tradition (Messeni Petruzzelli and Savino 2015), distinctiveness and inclusion (Zhao et al. 2018), efficiency and innovation (Abecassis-Moedas and Benghozi 2012) are observed. Although there is a tension between novelty and familiarity of cultural products, the recombination of familiar elements from different sources can result into new products (Tschang 2007).

Creativity is another recurrent theme that the scholars of CCIs discuss in relation to tensions. DeFillippi et al. (2007) explore the paradoxes caused by the challenge of organizing

and managing creativity at multiple levels. They uncover that individuals and organizations respond to the tension between creative and routine works through the difference paradox of crafting or standardizing policies, the distance paradox of coupling or decouple routine work, the globalization paradox of reconciling or separating local and global arenas of activity, and the identity paradox of creating individual or collective identities. Tensions between the imperatives of creativity and economic viability (Wu and Wu 2016), or art and commerce/rationalization (Tschnag 2007; Maier 2017), institutionalism and creativity (Kemppainen-Koivisto et al. 2015), creative work and creatives (Zanoni et al. 2017) are observed at multiple levels. By conducting a literature review on creativity, Slavich and Svejenova (2016) stress that managing creativity involves managing interconnected processes as well as dualities, such as processes-outcomes, individuals-collectives, and permanent-temporary creativity units. At the individual level, tensions between art and business (Lampel et al. 2000; Gotsi et al. 2010; Musial et al. 2016), exclusivity (unique style) and inclusivity (audience-appealing) (Alvarez et al. 2005), creative and non-creative work (Round and Styhre 2017) are discussed in the literature. For instance, Round and Styhre (2017) stress the importance of supporting organizational practices in order to balance the needs of creatives and other organizational members or between creative and non-creative work. At the organizational level tensions between the advantages of vertically integrating diverse activities and the need to maintain creative vitality through flexible specialization (Lampel et al. 2000; Cohendet and Simon 2007) are detected. Tension between creativity/art/aesthetics and economy/efficiency (Eikhof and Haunschild 2007; Cohendet and Simon 2016; Leclair 2017; Austin et al. 2018) are also observed at the organizational level. Eikhof and Haunschild (2007) find out that the economic logic generally crowds out the artistic logic in German theatres despite public subsidies. Austin et al. (2018) propose to solve an economic/aesthetic conflict through the concept of conversation (i.e., openness to others and acceptance of the other's otherness) and the concept of ensemble (i.e., desired, enhanced state of collaboration). At the organizational level there is also a tension between coordination and creative freedom (Endrissat et al. 2016). At the macro level the governance of creativity is an important topic posing the question of whether creative industries should be self-governed (Lange et al. 2008). In addition, tension between creative systems able to support and market cultural products but not suppress individual inspiration persist in the context of CCIs (Lampel et al. 2000).

With regard to entrepreneurship, at the individual level there is a trade-off between creative entrepreneurs' motivations of autonomy and commerce (Cnossen et al. 2019),

creativity/art and business (Eikhof and Haunschild 2006; Mills 2011). Analyzing fashion designers' responses to the creativity-business tension, Mills (2011) uncovers three basic enterprise orientations capturing creative entrepreneurs' motivation, aspiration and sense of self: creative enterprise orientation (CEO) - if a creative entrepreneur is motivated by a desire for self-expression and recognition rather than by a desire to make money; creative business orientation (CBO) - if a creative business person is motivated by the need for autonomy and making a living out of his work; fashion industry orientation (FIO) - if a creative entrepreneur is mainly motivated by a desire to participate in the fashion industry. Eikhof and Haunschild (2006) stress how the bohemian lifestyle helps entrepreneurs in CCIs bridge the gap between artistic work and economic need for self-management. At the individual level creative entrepreneurs can experience a tension caused by mobilizing morally tainted cultural resources which inevitable leads to the tension between their supportive and offended audiences (Dalpiaz and Cavotta, 2019). At the macro level there is a debate, based on a structural paradox, about how to guarantee an individual professionalization, competitiveness and provide an innovation climate to creative entrepreneurs (Lange et al. 2011; Lange 2018). Eisenbeis (2018), uncovering the regional dilemma between maintaining a general positive economic situation and developing a flourishing start-up ecosystem, highlights the importance of locational factors for creative entrepreneurs and start-ups such as availability of specific specialists, technology infrastructure, positive atmosphere and mentality and proximity to higher education institutions, innovation and research centres. At the multiple levels, Durand and Hadida (2016) uncover the impact of the director-producer logic combination on artistic and commercial performance while Svejenova et al. (2007) find out four mechanisms through which institutional entrepreneurs in CCIs initiate change. The four mechanisms are creativity generating continuous flow of new ideas, theorization taking stock of these ideas, reputation within and outside the field that endorses ideas as worthy of attention and dissemination that brings ideas to the public domain.

The public policy theme discusses tensions in CCIs at the macro level. In relation to the public policy and creativity, Lange et al. (2008) investigates the tension between autonomy of creative production and professionalization and highlights the potential for self-governance of creativity and creative industries thanks to communities of practice. Umney (2016) stresses the tension between formal regulation and informal social norms and how this tension impacts on working conditions. Policy makers face a duality between the civic priority of public access to creative work with the market-driven principle of rewarding private interests for their effort

(Edwards 2019). They also face a dilemma between maintaining a general positive economic situation and investing in the development of a flourishing start-up creative ecosystem (Eisenbeis 2018). However, subsidizing art is not always beneficial for creativity. Eikhof and Haunschild (2007) find out that the economic logic tends to crowd out artistic logic despite the public subsidizing of German theatres. On the other hand, Chaston (2008) explores the development dilemma - if training programmes provided to small creative firms result beneficial. His study finds out that creative firms are more interested in fulfilling their creative inspirations than enhancing their business performance, the finding that has important implications for the public expenditure. In general, there are tensions between policymakers and creatives as they speak different languages (O'Connor and Gu 2010) which can cause tensions over IP rules (Caves 2000; Deere-Birkbeck 2010) and lead to contradictory cultural policy (O'Brien 2013). There is also a contradiction between the need for investment in the cultural industry and the effective, insufficient cultural investment in some countries such as China (Zhang and Zhou 2006). Because firms with younger CEOs are considered to be more creative than those with older CEOs, Belenzon et al. (2019) suggest the reallocation of assets from firms owned by older CEOs to firms owned by younger CEOs by the regional financial development.

With regard to identity, creative individuals often experience identity ambiguities between being creative and industrious (Gotsi et al. 2010 Round and Styhre 2017), their personal and professional identity (Hackley and Kover 2007). The internal tensions might occur between the current self and the aspirational self, the self and the undesired version of self, the self and close collaborators and the self and the audience (Beech et al. 2012; Beech et al. 2016). Creatives can make sense of a situation by constructing, modifying or deconstructing a sense of identity (i.e., identity work). Ethnicity can act as a source of creativity in creatives' identity work (Zanoni et al. 2017). Creatives often experience the duality of identity expression and image manufacturing in their career path (Svejenova 2005). Identity struggles can also be experienced at the macro level when in the process of realizing a creative project there is a tension between creative authenticity and national authenticity (Jones and Smith 2005).

In relation to the labour market, the literature uncovers the paradox between enthusiasm for creative work and precarious working conditions of creative individuals (Wright 2018), the paradox of extreme work between sacrifices and often unrealistic goals (Ekman 2015), the emotional tension between having to engage with different employers providing jobs but at the same time accepting precarious financial conditions for the sake of maintaining those

relationships (Butler and Stoyanova Russell 2018), the ongoing tension between professional control and open participation of audience (Lewis 2012), the tension between different career decisions (Carr 2019) and the tension between moral economy and labour competition (Umney 2017) at the individual level. At the organizational level, paradoxes of competing for work in creative firms have been uncovered such as a strategic intent paradox - aiming at winning while investing in other strategic goals - and a design intent paradox - selling an envisioning promise while remaining a credible service provider (Manzoni and Volker 2017). At the organizational level there might be also tensions of the work practices in the process of knowledge creation due to individual differences in skills, ideas and ways of seeing a task/problem, communities and status (Contu 2014). The tension between formal regulation and informal social norms and how solidaristic social insurance system has a paradoxical effect of weakening social norms around working conditions is explored at the macro level (Umney 2016).

The above discussed themes are often related to each other and many studies refer to several themes simultaneously. Connections between them are explored in the next paragraph and graphically illustrated in Figure 4.

Table 10. Most recurrent themes related to the Tensions in CCIs

Theme	Studies with levels of analysis
Innovation	*Individual Level* • Tension between managers and employees as the company wants to embark on explorative innovation (Hotho & Champion, 2011). • Dilemma in the decision making process between sustainable practices and commercial practices, run by profit (Vint, 2010). *Organizational level* • Tension between innovation and persistence in the interplay between temporary and permanent organizing (Stjerne & Svejenova, 2016). • Tension between the requirements of growth and those of cultural innovation (Coblence, & Sabatier, 2014). *Industry Level* • Dilemmas related to innovation of creative industries facing the fast-changing technology (e.g., digital transformation) (Huang & Wei, 2012; Zhenggang, 2017). • Idiosyncrasy-isomorphism duality (distinctiveness vs business pressures) (Alvarez et al., 2005). *Product level*

- Novelty vs familiarity of products (Lampel, Lant, & Shamsie, 2000; Jones et al., 2016; Slavich & Castellucci, 2016), tradition vs innovation (Messeni Petruzzelli & Savino, 2015), inclusion vs distinctiveness of products (Zhao et al., 2018).
- The recombination of existing ideas from different sources into new products (Tschang, 2007).
- Tension between efficiency and innovation (Abecassis-Moedas & Benghozi, 2012).

Multiple Levels

- Paradox of innovation: exploitation-exploration tension (Knight & Harvey, 2015; Wu & Wu, 2016; Radomska, Wolczek, 2018; Andriopoulos & Lewis, 2009).

Creativity

Individual Level

- Paradox between artistic work and business interests (Musial et al., 2016), artistic values with economics of mass entertainment (Lampel et al., 2000).
- Identity tensions between "creative" self and "business identity" (Gotsi et al., 2010).
- Micro theory of creative action: artists seek exclusive (unique style) and inclusive (audience-appealing) artwork with legitimacy in the field (Alvarez et al., 2005).
- Tension between creative and non-creative work (Round & Styhre, 2017).

Organizational Level

- Tension between vertical integration and flexible specialization of activities (Lampel et al., 2000; Cohendet & Simon, 2007).
- Tension between creativity and economy (Leclair, 2017), creativity (flexibility) and efficiency (Cohendet & Simon, 2016).
- Paradox of creative production: economic logics tend to crowd out artistic logics despite of public subsidizing of German theatres (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007).
- An economic/aesthetic conflict can be solved through conversation (i.e., openness to others and acceptance of the other's otherness) and the concept of ensemble (i.e., desired, enhanced state of collaboration) (Austin et al., 2018).
- Tension between coordination and creative freedom (Endrissat et al., 2016).

Macro Level

- Governance of creativity (self-governance or not) (Lange et al, 2008).
- Tension between creative systems able support and market cultural products but not suppress individual inspiration (Lampel et al., 2000).

Multiple Levels

- Paradoxes caused by the challenge of organizing creativity: difference, distance, globalization, identity (DeFillippi et al., 2007).

- Managing creativity involves managing interconnected processes as well as dualities, such as processes-outcomes, individuals-collectives, and permanent-temporary creativity units (Slavich & Svejenova, 2016).

- Tension between the imperatives of creativity and economic viability (Wu & Wu, 2016), art vs commerce (Maier, 2017), rationalization (rational needs of production and commercial interests) and creativity (Tschang, 2007).

- Paradox between what is creative work and who is qualified as a creative (Zanoni et al., 2017).

- Paradoxical tensions between institutionalism and creativity (Kemppainen-Koivisto et al., 2015).

Entrepreneurship	*Individual Level*

- Trade-off between the motivations of autonomy and commercial viability of creative entrepreneurs (Cnossen et al., 2019).

- Three orientations of creative entrepreneurs in relation to the level of creativity-business tension: creative enterprise orientation (CEO), creative business orientation (CBO), and industry orientation (IO) (Mills, 2011).

- Bohemian entrepreneurs bridge the gap between artistic work and economic need for self-management helped by their bohemian lifestyle (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006).

- Tension caused by mobilizing morally tainted cultural resources by cultural entrepreneurs (active opposition of offended audience vs supportive audience) (Dalpiaz & Cavotta, 2019).

Macro Level

- The importance of locational factors for entrepreneurs and start-ups within the creative industries such as an "availability of specific specialists", "technology infrastructure", "positive atmosphere and mentality" and the "proximity to higher education institutions, innovation and research centers" (Eisenbeis, 2018).

- Structural paradoxes between individual professionalization and competitiveness of creative entrepreneurs (creative autonomy) on the one hand and innovation climate provided in social contexts and professional scenes on the other (Lange et al., 2011; Lange, 2018).

Multiple Levels

- The impact of the director-producer logic combination on artistic and commercial performance (Durand & Hadida, 2016).

- Institutional entrepreneurs initiate change through 4 mechanisms: creativity that generates continuous flow of new ideas; theorization that takes stock of these ideas; reputation within and outside the field that endorses ideas as worthy of attention,

and dissemination that brings ideas to the public domain. The four mechanisms lead to logics and identity paradoxes (Svejenova et al., 2007).

Public Policy *Macro level*

- The potential for self-governance of creativity and creative industries thanks to communities of practice (Lange et al., 2008).
- Tension between different languages of policymakers and creatives and the need for economic development agencies to act as intermediaries between the two (O'Connor & Gu, 2010).
- Contradiction between a huge room for investment in the cultural industry (demand space, scale space, content space) and its insufficient cultural industrial investment (Zhang, Zhou, 2006).
- Tensions over IP rules (Caves, 2000; Deere-Birkbeck, 2010).
- The allocation of intellectual property rights must balance the civic priority of public access to creative work with the market-driven principle of rewarding private interests for their effort (Edwards, 2019).
- Contradictions of cultural policy (O'Brien, 2013).
- The development dilemma - either training programmes provided to small creative firms result beneficial (Chaston, 2008).
- Regional financial development can moderate the relationship between a CEO's age and a firm's performance by facilitating the reallocation of assets from firms owned by older CEOs to firms owned by younger CEOs (Belenzon et al., 2019).
- The regional dilemma between a general positive economic situation and the development of a flourishing start-up ecosystem (Eisenbeis, 2018).
- The economic logics tend to crowd out artistic logics (paradox of creative production) despite of public subsidizing of German theatres (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007).
- Tension between formal regulation and informal social norms and how solidaristic social insurance system has a paradoxical effect of weakening social norms around working conditions (Umney 2016).

Identity *Individual Level*

- Ethnicity as a source of creativity in creatives' identity work (Zanoni et al., 2017).
- Identity ambiguity: being creative or being industrious (Gotsi et al., 2010; Round & Styhre, 2017).
- Internal tensions (e.g., between the current and aspirational self, between the self and undesired version of self, between being artistic and pragmatic, between the self and the community, between the self and the audience) (Beech et al., 2012; Beech et al., 2016).

	• Tensions between personal and professional identities of creatives (Hackley & Kover, 2007).
	• Duality of identity expression and image manufacturing along the career path (Svejenova, 2005).
	Product Level
	• Tension between creative and national authenticity of cultural products; importance of national identity for the success of cultural products (Jones & Smith, 2005).
Labour Market	*Individual Level*
	• Paradox of extreme work between sacrifices and never-never land (often unrealistic promises) (Ekman, 2015);
	• Paradox between enthusiasm for creative work and inequalities/precarious labour market (Wright, 2018).
	• Tension on the emotional level – in terms of maintaining relationships with multiple employers but accepting conditions of financial precarity (Butler & Stoyanova Russell, 2018).
	• Ongoing tension between professional control and open participation in the work (Lewis, 2012).
	• Tension between the moral economy and labour competition imposed by agents on function musicians (Umney, 2017).
	• Dilemma experienced by those struggling with career decisions involving analytical abilities or creative ones (Carr, 2019).
	Organizational Level
	• Paradoxes and management approaches of competing for work in creative firms: a strategic intent paradox - aiming at winning while investing in other strategic goals, a design intent paradox - selling a promise while remaining credible (Manzoni & Volker, 2017).
	• Tensions in the process of knowledge creation due to the individual differences in skills, ideas and ways of seeing a task/problem, communities and status, etc. (Contu, 2014).
	Macro level
	• The impact of tension between formality and informality of regulations on work conditions (Umney, 2016).

Themes-based framework of tensions in CCIs

The consolidating framework, illustrated in Figure 4, attempts to highlight the links between the most recurrent themes in the literature on tensions in CCIs. Next to each theme, several types of tensions are indicated.

Innovation has a direct link with creativity. CCIs are "pioneers of innovation" (Wu and Wu 2016) and "drivers of development" (UNCTAD 2013). Managing creativity is fundamental to achieve a continuous innovation in CCIs (Lampel et al. 2000; Slavich and Svejenova 2016). The ongoing quest for innovation is triggered by creators' needs for creative expression, audiences' continuous desire for new experiences and importance of innovation for the society (Jones et al. 2016). Having to ensure a continuous innovation, CCIs are confronted by competing imperatives of art, creativity, aesthetics, autonomy on the one hand and business, commerce, efficiency and control on the other hand (Jones et al. 2016). However, as suggested by DeFillippi et al. (2007) and cited by Wu and Wu (2016): "the tension between the imperatives of relentless creativity and economic viability must be resolved when any single new product is offered" and offering a new product is at heart of innovation. Several scholars (Tschang 2007; Messeni Petruzzelli and Savino 2015; Cohendet and Simon 2016) suggest that innovation captured by production of new products is created through a combinative creativity, that is, a recombination of existing ideas from different sources into new products. Anderson et al. (2014) conceptualize creativity and innovation as part of the same process. Perry-Smith and Mannucci (2017) clarify that creativity scholars focus on the idea generation while innovation scholars focus more on the idea implementation. The authors connect creativity to innovation through four phases of idea journey process consisting in generation, elaboration, championing, and implementation. Overall, the above studies highlight the connection between creativity and innovation and how the first is an essential source of the second.

Innovation, creativity and entrepreneurship are also tightly connected in CCIs. Creativity and innovation are of essence for any type of entrepreneurship as they provide entrepreneurs with ideas. However, they are even more relevant for creative entrepreneurs as they operate in a context governed by creativity (Durand, Rao and Monin 2007; Koch et al. 2018). Individuals working in CCIs are often motivated be the need for autonomy, creativity and art (Eikhof and Haunschild 2006). They tend to disregard any economic or external motivation (Austin et al. 2018). Due to the importance they give to the values such as creativity, art, aesthetics and autonomy (Lampel et al. 2000; Voss et al. 2000; Hackley and Kover 2007; Cnossen et al. 2019) and due to the intrinsic characteristics of CCIs such as precarious working conditions, creatives generally become entrepreneurs forming a new paradigm of "creative

entrepreneur". Creative entrepreneurs are concerned with the creation and exploitation of creative or intellectual capital. They invest in their own talent, becoming employers of themselves.

Entrepreneurship is also connected to identity. Creative entrepreneurs often display identity struggles, they question themselves and their work (Hackley and Kover 2007; Gotsi et al. 2010; Beech et al. 2012; Beech et al. 2016). Struggles can occur between their personal creative self and professional business identity (Hackley and Kover 2007; Gotsi et al. 2010), the current self and the aspirational self, the self and the undesired version of self, an authentic self and an "entertainer" to satisfy the audience. Creatives can also experience identity tensions in relation to others (Beech et al. 2012; Beech et al. 2016).

Identity is connected to the labor market. Carr (2019) uses the term "career duality" to indicate the struggle of creatives in career decision between jobs requiring either creative skills or analytical skills or both. Svejenova (2005) mentions the duality between identity expression and image manufacturing along the authentic career path. Creative workers experience the tension between love for their work and precarious working conditions (Butler and Stoyanova Russell 2018; Wright 2018). Butler and Stoyanova Russell (2018) in their research find that freelance creative workers cope with the economic precarity by accepting to be paid a little to maintain good relationships with their promoters. Creatives often make enormous sacrifices with the purpose to reach often unrealistic promises, a "never-never land" (Ekman 2015). They experience the tension between pleasure and obligation, which makes them question their identity, work and career choice. Umney (2017) suggests that creative workers straddle market and moral domains, experiencing the fierce competition characterizing their sector. Tensions at work can also happen in the process of knowledge creation due to individual differences in skills, ideas, opinions communities and status (Contu 2014).

Labor market and public policy are also tightly connected. Policy makers can decide on important questions such as ensuring more formal regulation or informal social norms with an impact on working conditions (Umney 2016), investing in a general positive economic situation or the flourishing CCI ecosystem (Eisenbeis 2018). As there are often tensions between policymakers and creatives, O'Connor and Gu (2010) suggest promoting the intermediation by economic development agencies able to incorporate both economic and cultural logics. Belenzon et al. (2019) highlight the role of regional financial development in facilitating the reallocation of assets by moving them from firms owned by older CEOs to firms

owned by younger CEOs, the latter considered to be more innovative. In addition, policymakers decide the intellectual property rights' allocation among different actors, bearing in mind the civic priority of public access to creative work and the principle of rewarding private interests (Edwards 2019). In general, recognizing the central role of CCIs in generating economic wealth, policymakers can promote the innovation spirit of CCIs by providing them with more resources and creating beneficial conditions.

It is important to mention that not only themes close to each other in the framework are connected. Distant themes are also linked and discussed in existing literature. For instance, Lange (2011) in his article on the structural paradox between autonomy of creative production and professionalization (i.e., the transformation of an occupation into a profession or the transition towards paid work that is subject to binding quality standards) embraces three themes: labour market, entrepreneurship and innovation. The author stresses the importance of "scenes" - informal, communicatively established social constructions, based on the local narratives and the self-descriptions of entrepreneurs, that serve as atmospheric stimulation for many people endeavouring to feel connected to a specific urban place where they can launch their own entrepreneurial project. Again, Lange (2018) in his article highlighting the professionalization of creative entrepreneurs and their dependence on professional scenes, refers to the labour market due to the discussion of professionalization, entrepreneurship as creative entrepreneurs constitute the subject of the study, and urban policy as it is responsible for promoting the professional scenes. Chaston (2008) in his study of the developmental dilemma centred on understanding if the training programmes provided to creative firms result beneficial, connects two themes of public policy and entrepreneurship. The connection between the themes of public policy and entrepreneurship can be also found in Eisenbeis (2018) who demonstrates the relevance of the factors such as availability of specific specialists, technology infrastructure, positive atmosphere and mentality, proximity to higher education institutions, innovation and research centres for creative entrepreneurs. In his study the author highlights a main challenge for regions consisting in overcoming the dilemma between investing in a general positive economic situation and developing a flourishing start-up ecosystem in CCIs. Eikhof and Haunschild (2007) touch upon the topics of creativity and public policy when discussing the paradox of creative production between economic and artistic logics and how the former crowds out the latter despite public subsidies. Svejenova et al. (2007) in their study on how an institutional entrepreneur can initiate change, besides the theme of institutional change, refer to the themes of entrepreneurship, creativity, identity. They

identify four mechanisms through which the change occurs, namely creativity, theorization, reputation, dissemination. Therefore creativity, conceptualized as a continuous flow of ideas, is the first step towards the change generated by an institutional creative entrepreneur. The four mechanisms lead to the logics (i.e., utility vs aesthetics) and identity paradoxes (i.e., pursuit of both distinctiveness and inclusion by the entrepreneur). Creativity and identity are also connected in the study of Gotsi et al. (2010) discussing about the identity tension of creative individuals between their creative self and their business identity. Therefore, the above studies highlight that there can be different connections between the most recurrent themes identified in this study.

Figure 4. Themes-based framework of tensions in CCIs

- Creativity/art vs commerce/rationalization (Tschang, 2007; Maier, 2017)
- Creative vs routine work (DeFillippi et al., 2007; Round & Styhre, 2017)

- Novelty vs familiarity (Messeni Petruzzelli & Savino, 2015; Jones et al., 2016)
- Exploitation vs exploration (Andriopoulos & Lewis, 2009 Knight & Harvey, 2015)

- Autonomy/art vs business motivations (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006; Cnossen et al., 2019)
- Individual professionalization, competitiveness and innovation climate (Lange, 2011; Lange, 2018)

- Tension between formal regulation and informal social norms (Umney, 2016)
- Tensions over IP rules (Caves, 2000; Deere-Birkbeck, 2010)

- The current self vs aspirational self, the self vs undesired version of self, being artistic vs being pragmatic, the self vs the collective (Beech et al., 2016; Round & Styhre, 2017)
- Creative authenticity vs national authenticity (Jones & Smith, 2005)

- Enthusiasm for creative work vs inequalities/unrealistic promises (Butler et al., 2018; Wright, 2018)
- Professional control and open participation (Lewis, 2012)

DISCUSSION, DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH AND CONCLUSIONS

CCIs are recognized as an exemplary context to explore tensions at different levels of analysis. Management and organizational practices of managers operating in CCIs are considered as templates for firms in other knowledge-intensive sectors (Lampel et al. 2000; Wu and Wu 2016). Therefore, in order to integrate the literature on tensions with that on CCIs and to provide a more nuanced view of inherent tensions in cultural production (Townley and Beech 2010), the motivation of this study was to uncover all possible tensions existing in the context of CCIs and to explore how these tensions are conceptualized in the business and management literature. Wu and Wu (2016) have conducted a systematic literature review on the exploit/explore tension in creative industries, however an overview of all discussed tensions in

the creative industry literature has not been done yet. The concept of tension is often used interchangeably with other similar concepts such as paradox, contradiction, trade-off/dilemma, duality, dualism and compromise. Thus, these concepts have been clarified beforehand and identified in the literature on CCIs.

This study produces the consolidating review of tensions in CCIs which outcome is the themes-based framework illustrated in Figure 4. The foundation of consolidating framework consists of the following themes: innovation and creativity, entrepreneurship, identity, labor market, public policy. Overall, the consolidating framework unveils the complexity and variety of tensions in CCIs present at different, often nested levels.

The study suffers some limitations that can provide a roadmap for future research on tensions in creative industry literature. In the process of consulting the literature on tensions and related concepts, some gaps have been identified which deserve some further attention:

- There has been too much focus on synergy over trade-offs, the trend that risks emptying paradox of its emergent, surprising and often uncontrollable effects (Cunha and Putman 2019).
- Four types of paradoxes, namely learning, belonging, organizing, performing have been considered as a research paradigm (Lewis 2000; Smith and Lewis 2011; Schad et al. 2016; Cunha and Putman 2019). However, there might be other types of paradoxes and tensions that do not fit into the four categories.
- Relationships (nested, multiple, knotted paradoxes) warrant further attention (Cunha and Putman 2019).
- Dynamics of paradoxes and tensions deserve more attention (Miron-Spektor et al. 2017; Cunha and Putman 2019).
- Individual approaches to respond to tensions should be explored (Schad et al. 2016; Miron-Spektor et al. 2017), together with the dark, dramatic or difficult dimensions of people's self-reflexivity (Beech et al. 2016).
- Responses rather than solutions to paradoxical situations and tensions should be uncovered in order not to treat paradox as a problem or a tool (Putnam et al. 2016; Cunha and Putman 2019).
- Latency, salience and persistence of tensions and paradoxes should be further researched (Hann and Knigh 2019).

- Power and strong processes in managing tensions and paradoxes should be further examined.

- Paradoxical nature of grand challenges is another important trajectory of research.

The focus of this study is limited to exploring the typology of tensions in CCIs. Therefore, other themes such as solutions or responses, causes and consequences of tensions should be explored by future research. In relation to responses to tensions in CCIs, different approaches have been suggested. The integrative approach consisting in reconciling the competing demands has been the most recommended by existing studies (e.g., DeFillippi et al. 2007; Knight and Harvey 2015). It means that the paradoxical perspective to manage tensions in CCIs is preferred over the approaches based on trade-off, dialectic or compromise. Ambidexterity (Wu and Wu 2016; Ikhsan et al. 2017), hybrid logic of adaptability and openness (Lewis 2012), effective duality management (Hotho and Champion 2011), cultural mediators (O'Connor and Gu 2010; Heebels et al. 2013), practices of bricolage (Messeni Petruzzelli and Savino 2015; Pick et al. 2015), supportive organizational practices (Round and Styhre 2017), business model innovation (Coblence and Sabatier 2014; Landoni et al. 2019), identity work (Beech et al. 2012; Beech et al. 2016) can help achieve the integration of competing imperatives. Approaches can vary depending on levels of analysis and actors involved (e.g., Tschang 2007; Jones et al. 2016). With regard to causes, tensions can appear, for example, as a result of an institutional entrepreneurship that brings new ideas in contrast with the old ones and therefore provides a potential for a change (Svejenova et al. 2007). In terms of outcomes, tensions can be sources of innovation (e.g., Petruzzelli and Savino 2015), new category formation (Jones et al. 2012), organizational learning (Bloodgood and Chae 2010).

This study does not put too much emphasis on one approach over another, as suggested by Cuhna et al. (2019). However, based on existing literature, it proposes the usage of term "tension" being the broadest, umbrella concept (Putnam et al. 2016; Cuhna and Putnam 2019) encompassing other concepts within it. For instance, the tension between art, aesthetics and creativity on the one hand and business, economy, commerce, financial viability on the other hand (e.g., Lampel et al. 2000; Voss et al. 2000; Eikhof and Haunschild 2006; Mikes and Morhart 2017; Gaim 2018) has been also described as the paradox of creativity (e.g., Eikhof and Haunschild 2007; Reid and Karambayya 2009; Musial et al. 2016; Maier 2017; Gaim 2018), contradiction (e.g., Alvarez et al. 2005; Moeran and Pedersen 2011; Leclair 2017; Mikes and Morhart 2017), dilemma or trade-off (e.g., Chaston 2008; Reid and Karambayya 2009;

Leclair 2017; Mikes and Morhart 2017; Austin et al. 2018), duality (e.g., Bos-de Vos et al. 2016; Radomska and Wolczek 2018), dualism (e.g, Hotho and Champion 2011) and compromise (e.g, Ferriani et al. 2007; Mikes and Morhart 2017). The tension between exploration and exploitation (Andriopoulos and Lewis 2009; Wu and Wu 2016; Ikhsan et al. 2017) has been described as the innovation paradox (Andriopoulos and Lewis 2009; Knight and Harvey 2015; Wu and Wu 2016; Radomska and Wolczek 2018), trade-off (Ferriani et al. 2007; Hotho and Champion 2011) and duality (Wu and Wu 2016). The usage of term "tension", thus, should be privileged. Other terms, especially paradox, trade-off, dialectic and compromise, should be used keeping in mind their meaning and approaches to tensions. Paradox is about fostering synergies between two contrasting elements, trade-off is about selecting a specific option among the two competing, compromise implies finding the third option while dialectic denotes the synthesis between competing elements which over time will confront new opposition. Refer to Figure 1.

Our framework shows some links existing between the most recurrent themes related to tensions in CCIs. Future studies can enrich the framework by uncovering more tensions related to these themes and other connections between these themes. In addition, tensions related to the identified, but not being part of the framework, themes (e.g., networking and collaboration, business development and growth, leadership, human resource management, business model, power, calculative practices, values, boundary work, location, authenticity, organizational learning, institutionalism and legitimacy, categorization, big data, sustainability & ethics, organizational culture, temporary organizing) can be explored by future reseach. In particular, over the last couple of years, the theme of grand challenges and sustainability has become extremely important to investigate. The trend will intensify due to the pandemic Covid-19 and its produced social and economic consequences.

The framework offers a static picture of tensions. However, as stressed by Schad et al. (2016), tensions are dynamic and persistent. Future research should delve more into the dynamics, salience, latency and nested nature of tensions. For instance, the tension between art and business is persistent along the process of creative production and career of creative individuals. Yet, some questions arise such as: *Does the salience of one imperative over another change over time? What are the conditions of this change?* Bloodgood and Chae (2010) in their study suggest shifting dynamically from one pole to another. Future research should uncover when and how this shift should happen to reap major benefits of creative process for all those operating in CCIs.

Creative industries are generally distinguished from the rest of industries. Scholars refer to them as those characterized by creativity, individual talent, aesthetics, innovation, original offerings (Caves 2000; Paris and Mahmoud-Jouini 2017). However, there are also inter-industry differences between different creative industries. Performative arts such as theatrical performances, live music concerts might be characterized by different tensions as compared to those present in the video game industry. Different nature of tensions can then translate in different management approaches and dynamics. Future research should explore the heterogeneity of creative industries by comparing and finding the difference in tensions within creative industries.

This study performed an integrative literature review by applying a focused approach to uncover missing puzzles in the research domain. However, taking into account some principles of the problematizing review (e.g., "not accumulating but problematizing" and "the ideal of reflexivity"), which primary aim is to "re-evaluate existing understandings of phenomena" (Alvesson and Sandberg, 2020, p. 1297), some underlying ontological and epistemological assumptions of the literature on tensions in CCIs have to be revaluated. One of the common paradigmatic assumptions is the presence of tensions in CCIs. However, some of the research questions that should be asked are: *Are the tensions always present in CCIs? Why is the field of CCIs so obsessed with tensions and paradoxes? Did the presence or absence of tensions in CCIs change over time (e.g., Renaissance, Romanticism)? Could it be an historically specific phenomenon associated with the Romantic movement and that earlier periods of market capitalism such as during the Italian Renaissance (Jardine, 1996) did not express this tension? Are the tensions in CCIs seen by the researchers or by the informants? Are they socially constructed or inherent?* Assuming there are the tensions in CCIs, *how are they practiced in the real world? Can some tensions in CCIs be dormant and some other be salient? If yes, how do creative individuals and creative organizations organize for the salience of tensions?*

The existing literature on tensions in CCIs has not focused much attention on the mental models of creatives. Every action is anticipated by individual mental models. Several scholars (Gotsi et al. 2010; Beech et al. 2012; Beech et al. 2016) highlighted the role of identity work – a set of processes serving to construct a sense of identity - as a response to tensions. However, how we look at tensions is different from how we see ourselves and the former aspect remains unexplored. While the traditional literature on tensions and paradoxes has stressed the importance of cognition exemplified by the concepts such as "paradoxical frames" and

"paradox mindset" (Schad et al. 2016; Keller and Sadler-Smith 2019), to the extent of our knowledge only Gaim (2018) with his colleagues (Gaim et al. 2019) have acknowledged the importance of paradoxical thinking for the emergence, management and even existence of paradoxical tensions in the creative industry literature. By exploring how individuals make sense of and manage paradoxical tensions present in the context of architectural firms, Gaim (2018) reveals that this process involves an intricate interplay between individuals' emotional, cognitive and behavioural dimensions. The author stresses the concept of a "paradox perspective" as a way to reframe tensions, blend seemingly conflicting strategies, and shift the emphasis of managing from control to coping. Future studies need to explore the following research questions: *How are the tensions in CCIs individually perceived? What is the perception of tensions in relation to others' perception? How do the perceptions influence the real presence and management of tensions?,* as "the perception of paradox is inextricably linked with the inherent probability of potential paradoxes" (Hann and Knight 2019).

The study hopes to encourage researches to use the consolidating framework to delve deeper into the tensions of CCIs. In addition, we encourage practitioners to consult the above framework to keep a global perspective on tensions they might experience at micro, meso and macro levels of analysis in the creative context. In line with the recent studies on tensions and paradoxes (Keller and Sadler-Smith 2019), we suggest that practitioners should be aware of the role of cognition and metacognition - "thinking about thinking" - in embracing and managing the tensions inherent in the context of CCIs. The study presents also important insights for the teaching of creatives regarding the different domains where tensions can arise. However, tensions uncovered in this study do not belong only to the context of CCIs, but they are increasingly present in other knowledge-intensive industries currently rethinking their businesses to incorporate the aspects of flexibility, art, creativity, aesthetics and experience. Being aware of the tensions that this change might entail managers can get ready to face the variety of challenges along their journey.

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Chapter II. How Entrepreneurial Practices Balance Art and Business: Insights into Creative Entrepreneurship in the European Film Industry[2]

ABSTRACT

Relying on the literature on tensions and contradictions and the theory of practice, coupled with the literature on creative industries, this study uncovers how creative entrepreneurs balance the tension between art and business and respond to other challenges of creative entrepreneurship. The multiple case studies method is adopted by examining founders, co-founders and main employees of film production companies in Europe. We reveal the perception of creative entrepreneurs towards the relationship between art and business. We explore different organizational and industry-level challenges experienced by creative entrepreneurs and uncover the organizational practices they adopt to deal with the identified challenges. The research contributes to the phenomenon of creative entrepreneurship deserving further exploration, to the literature on paradox and contradiction by exploring the micro-foundations of tensions, to practice-based studies by highlighting the agency of creative entrepreneurs in adapting practices necessary to deal with conflicting demands of creative entrepreneurship.

Keywords:

Creative industries, creative entrepreneurship, art and business, tensions, practices

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[2] This chapter is based on the paper with the same title co-authored with Kerem Gurses. The paper was presented at WOA 2019, AOM 2020 (Entrepreneurship Track), 36th EGOS Colloquium 2020, Sub-theme 22: Creative Industries Revisited: Addressing Invisibilities, Inequalities, and Injustice. It is undergoing a second round of peer review.

INTRODUCTION

Two decades of creative entrepreneurship research have passed but still relatively little is known about this field of inquiry (Bürger & Volkmann, 2020; Chang & Wyszomirski 2015; Dobreva & Ivanov, 2020; Schulte-Holthaus, 2019). Different terms have been used in the literature such as arts, cultural and creative entrepreneurship, but "no consensus on conception of entrepreneurship in the creative industries across disciplines and borders has been achieved either in academic research nor in policy making" (Schulte-Holthaus, 2019; p. 100). Nevertheless, several scholars attempt to make a definitional distinction. Hausmann and Heinze (2016) identify the difference in the scopes of the three terms. "Arts entrepreneurship" is defined more narrowly and refers explicitly to the artistic field of the cultural industries, whereas "cultural entrepreneurship" and "creative entrepreneurship" are usually defined more broadly and address all segments of the cultural and creative industries. This paper employs the term of "creative entrepreneurship", considering the formal shift from cultural to creative industries occurred in the late 90s in the United Kingdom (Garnham, 2005). Drawing on existing definitions (Dobreva & Ivanov, 2020; Hausmann & Heinze, 2016; Gehman & Soublière, 2017; Svejenova et al., 2015), we define creative entrepreneurship as a process undertaken to discover, evaluate, and exploit a commercial business opportunity related to cultural and creative products and services that encompass a cultural value within the cultural and creative industries, and through which artists achieve autonomy and secure income.

Creative industries - those industries that supply goods and services associated with "cultural, artistic, or entertainment value" (Caves, 2000, p. 1) - are characterized by tensions such as art versus business, novelty versus familiarity, tradition versus innovation, autonomy versus collaboration, change versus stability (DeFillippi et al, 2007; Friedman & Jones, 2011; Jones et al., 2016; Lampel, Lant & Shamsie, 2020). Although much progress has been done in studying tensions, paradoxes and contradictions at the levels of fields and organizations, how individuals deal with them constitutes a topic deserving further exploration (Cunha et al., 2019; Gaim, 2018; Miron-Spector et al., 2018; Pache & Santos, 2010; Smets et al., 2015).

The most crucial and debated tension in the creative industries is between art and business. Creative entrepreneurs - artists that "get things done" (De Bruin, 2005, p. 144) - have to combine economic values with creative values (e.g., Banks, 2010; Lampel, Lant & Shamsie, 2000; Werthes et al., 2017). Since the rise of the Romantic ideology in the 19th century, artists have been often considered as geniuses, pursuing art for art's sake. The production of art was

transformed from patronage to market systems, making artists vulnerable to poverty (Alexander, 2020; White & White, 1993). This tension between artistic aspect and monetary aspect can become a source of stress, precarity and hardship (Cinque, Nyberg & Starkey, 2021; Ekman, 2015; Wright, 2018).

Tensions are reflected in micro-practices of everyday life (Jarzabkowski & Lê, 2017; Schneider et al., 2020). Recently, there has been an emerging practice turn in entrepreneurship, suggesting that "no description or explanation of features of entrepreneurial life is possible without the 'alternate' description and explanation of how entrepreneurial life is actually lived in and through practices" (Thomson et al., 2020, p. 247). Stemming from the fact that most of the characteristics of creative entrepreneurship derive from the general entrepreneurship theory (Hausmann & Heinze, 2016), we extend the application of the practice turn in entrepreneurship to the context of creative entrepreneurship. Practices constitute the heart of practice theories (Hui, Schatzki & Shove, 2016; Thomson et al., 2020), however the power of individual action should not be neglected (Alkemeyer & Buschmann, 2016; Jarzabkowski & Lê, 2017; Schneider et al., 2020; Smets et al., 2015;). Acknowledging that to date, there has been relatively little empirical analysis of entrepreneurial processes in artistic settings (Bergamini et al., 2018), the purpose of this study is to explore the practices used by creative entrepreneurs to balance the tension between art and business and to respond to other challenges of creative entrepreneurship.

In particular, the paper focuses on the European film industry, an important sub-sector of creative industries. The film industry has been widely researched by prior studies (Alvarez et al., 2005; Delmestri, Montanari & Usai, 2005; Durand & Hadida, 2016; Hadida et al., 2021; Mathieu & Strandvad, 2009; Salvemini & Delmestri 2000; Svejenova, 2005), whose findings have been often extended to the whole creative industries (e.g., Durand & Hadida 2016). The film industry is characterized by a high degree of complexity and uncertainty (Lampel, Lant & Shamsie, 2000). For almost 100 years, it has been ruled by the Hollywood studios (Finney, 2016; Hadida et al., 2021). In 2019 in the European Union, the estimated market share for US films increased from 62.6% to 68.2%, while the market share for European films decreased from 29.3% to 26.2%. In contrast to the consolidated Hollywood film industry, the European film industry is highly fragmented, consisting of a large number of small film production companies (Durand & Hadida, 2016; Svejenova, 2005). The European film industry largely relies on public subsidies, whereas the Hollywood studios count predominantly on private investments (Finney, 2016). The European film industry is more art-driven, in contrast to more

commercially driven Hollywood cinema. The auteur system with the film director at the core who embraces the artistic logic is central to European productions, rather than the US ones, where producers play a much more prominent role (Delmestri, Montanari & Usai, 2005; Durand & Hadida, 2016). Considering that moviemaking in Europe has been historically ruled by personal values at odds with demand-induced analytical frameworks (Alvarez et al., 2005) and that it has been characterized by the polarization of the artistic and business logics for historical, cultural, and legal reasons (Durand & Hadida, 2016), this paper responds to the following research questions:

(1) What practices do creative entrepreneurs adopt in the film industry in Europe to balance the tension between art and business, if there is one?

(2) What other challenges arise in the process of creative entrepreneurship in the context of European film industry and what practices do creative entrepreneurs adopt to deal with them?

To investigate the above research questions the study adopts a multiple case studies method. 25 semi-structured interviews with founders, cofounders and employees of the European film production companies constitute our primary data source. In this paper, we present the perception of creative entrepreneurs of the relationship, rather than tension, between art and business. In so doing, we challenge the paradigmatic assumption of the CCIs research, which is the necessary presence of tensions in this field. We uncover the challenges of different nature experienced by creative entrepreneurs; and we report the most common organizational practices that creative entrepreneurs adopt to manage arising challenges of creative entrepreneurship.

The study contributes to the literature on tensions by shedding more light on how and when individuals make sense of the "rules of the game" (Cunha et al, 2019; Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2017; Miron-Spector et al., 2018). It contributes to the practice tradition by uncovering the micro-practices that creative entrepreneurs put in place to manage the conflicting demands of creative entrepreneurship (Jarzabkowski & Lê, 2017; Schneider et al., 2020). In addition, the study contributes to the literature on creative entrepreneurship, which is still in its infancy (Bürger & Volkmann, 2020; Gehman & Soublière, 2017; Hausmann & Heinze 2016; Noonan, 2021).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Tensions in creative industries

Over the last 20 years, the cultural and creative industries have become increasingly important, growing at an above-average rate (Konrad, 2013). The term "cultural industries" traces its genealogy back to earlier work in the Frankfurt School in the 1930s and 1940s (Garnham, 2005); however, it was coined for the first time by Adorno and Horkheimer (1979) to highlight the commodification of cultural products. Cultural industries "produce experience goods with considerable creative elements (i.e., consisting of stories and styles, and serving the purposes of entertainment, identity-building and social display)" (Peltoniemi, 2015, p. 41). They are associated with industrial production and mass distribution of cultural products.

Over times the value chain of cultural products had evolved and the notion of "creative industries" seemed to be more appropriate. The formal shift from the cultural to the creative industries took place in 1998 in the United Kingdom (Jeffcutt & Pratt, 2002; Paris & Mahmoud-Jouini, 2019). The Creative Industries Task Force Mapping Document (CITF) defined the creative industries as "activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (Cunningham, 2002; Garnham, 2005; Paris & Mahmoud-Jouini, 2019). The development of the creative industries was part of the trend toward a more neoliberal cultural policy and an increased interest in commercial culture (Chang & Wyszomirski, 2015; Essig, 2017). The spread of the creative industries' concept emphasized the economic scale and significance of arts, entertainment, and cultural activities. In general, the arts and the cultural industries can be seen as subsets of creative industries because they depend on creativity and derive value from this creativity (Jones, Lorenzen & Sapsed, 2015).

Many classifications of the creative industries exist. The most common are provided by UNESCO (1983), WIPO (2003), Americans for the Arts (2005), Kea (2007), UNCTAD (2008), DCMS (2013) (Jones, Lorenzen & Sapsed, 2015). WIPO's (2003) definition is the most narrow, as it excludes a range of event-, education-, and heritage-based industries. UNESCO (1986) is broad, including cultural heritage, environment/nature and socio-cultural activities. DCMS (2013) and UNCTAD (2008) include IT, software and specialized design services. However, Schulte-Holthaus (2019, p. 100) argue that the creative industries cannot be grasped by a certain set of industries, but "by a logic of value creation that emerges from creative work more narrowly and from creativity more broadly".

Creative industries are pervaded with many tensions and contradictions (DeFillippi et al, 2007; Friedman & Jones, 2011; Jones et al., 2016; Lampel, Lant & Shamsie, 2000; Peltoniemi,

2015; Peris-Ortiz et al., 2019; Sinapi, 2020; Stroem, Olsen & Foss, 2020). For instance, Lampel, Lant and Shamsie (2000) delineate five polarities present in the creative industries. These are artistic values versus mass entertainment, product differentiation versus market innovation, demand analysis versus market construction, vertical integration versus flexible specialization, and individual inspiration versus creative system. Peris-Ortiz et al. (2019) identify four main paradoxes in the literature on creative industries such as the paradox between standardization and creativity, the paradox between culture and creativity or tradition and innovation, the market paradox between familiarity and novelty and the paradox between intangible, symbolic nature of cultural goods versus tangible and material one. Sinapi (2020) invites to acknowledge a series of tensions, such as the tension between the objective of cultural value creation and the need for economic value generation, the tension between creation and sustainability, tensions initiated by the multiplicity of stakeholders of the cultural organisation and tensions aroused by the profound mutations of the institutional and economic context of the sector and its inherent extreme uncertainty.

Creative industries have to ensure continuous innovation (e.g., Jones et al., 2016; Wu & Wu, 2016; Stroem, Olsen & Foss, 2020). Stroem, Olsen and Foss (2020) identify the managerial, entrepreneurial, innovation-related and network-related tensions that cultural entrepreneurs encounter when managing innovation. Managerial tensions concern the opportunity that cultural entrepreneurs have today to do everything for themselves, by themselves. For instance, an artist strives to balance the tensions between creative and mundane work, autonomy and control. Other managerial challenges range from managing working conditions, such as low pay, long working hours, insecurity and the uncertainty of networking, and feelings of victimization and anxiety. New technology, financial management and project management pose additional managerial tensions. Entrepreneurial tensions, that comprise entrepreneurial identity, entrepreneurial content and entrepreneurial context, relate to founding, developing, and innovating artistic products and productions into a sustainable business. Innovation-related tensions refer to continuous innovation challenges due to inherent tension of generating novelty. Network-related tensions mean that, on the one hand, networking requires time, money and competence, and on the other hand, that entering and participating in a network can be rewarding for identifying customers and for profitability.

Peltoniemi (2015), by reviewing 314 cultural industries' studies, summarize the management challenges and industry dynamics of creative industries. Within the management challenges, the author mentions the tension between artistic and profit goals, and inferior

working conditions (e.g., low wages, long working hours, structured job insecurity, unfair work allocations). With regard to the industry dynamics, the author argues that cultural industries are inhabited by majors and independents. Majors tend to go with proven solutions while independents handle specialized styles and new artists. There might be a tension between cultural diversity and industry concentration so that concentration results in cultural homogeneity. Although flexible specialization creates opportunities for specialized independents, major corporations still control access to audiences. Finally, there are challenges related to digitalization and its effects on industry structure and creativity.

Independently from other types of tensions, in this paper, we focus on one of the most crucial and debated tensions in the film and creative industries between art and business. We believe that most of the managerial and industry challenges of creative industries result from this inherent tension.

The tension between art and business in creative entrepreneurship

Before the 19th century, many artists were supported by patronage and academic systems without having to worry about the monetary side of their art. However, with the rise of the romantic vision of the artist, the production of art moved to market systems (Alexander, 2020; White & White, 1993). Although the artists became autonomous and free to comply with their own vision of the art, without responding to certain individuals and institutions, they also became financially vulnerable.

Richard Caves (2002) in his famous book "Contracts between Art and Business" discusses the imperative *art for art's sake,* implying that artists choose low paid creative work over better paid humdrum labor. The competition with other would-be artists depresses the average wage earned from creative work. Caves, reporting the study of McLain (1978), claims that 80% of artists in a regional art Center of New Orleans depends on non-art income and more than a third of their art-related incomes stem from art-related activities rather than sales or rentals of art.

Alexandre (2020) claims that the research on artists is limited, however two aspects are clear: first, artistic careers are risky and precarious and, second, artistic careers are poorly paid. Banks (2017), by showing an average income for artists, finds that artists are paid less than other professionals with similar levels of education and training, most of them do not make a

living from their art and they often have a side job or art-related job in teaching or art administration (Gerber, 2017).

A means by which artists achieve autonomy and secure income is known as creative entrepreneurship (Svejenova et al., 2015). Creative entrepreneurship is not just a discrete event but a dynamic process (Baron, 2007; Shane et al., 2012). However, to date "there has been relatively little empirical analysis of entrepreneurial processes in artistic settings" (Bergamini et al., 2018, p. 319). Creative entrepreneurship is often intended as a flow of consecutive projects, given the project-based nature of creative enterprises. For instance, Bergamini et al. (2018) identifies two main stages of entrepreneurial process in the performing arts: (1) from first inception to performance and (2) from the first production to recurrent performance. Artists that try to make a living out of their art are called creative entrepreneurs. Creative entrepreneurs are motivated by the need for self-expression, artistic freedom (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006), creativity and passion (Florida, 2002; Endrissat et al., 2016; Gaim, 2018; McRobbie, 2015), "higher objectives" (Bergamini et al., 2018). They see their work as a calling (Cinque et al., 2020) and pursue their art despite material and existential hardships. As a matter of fact, creative entrepreneurs are opposed by the business logic having to deal with precarious working conditions, uncertain nature of employment, blurred boundaries between work and personal life (Cinque et al., 2020; Ekman, 2015; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007; Wright, 2018).

To overcome the challenges of creative entrepreneurship, creative entrepreneurs search for creative solutions and practices. In the next paragraph, we discuss the practice theories and the practice turn in (creative) entrepreneurship.

The practice theories and the practice turn in (creative) entrepreneurship

The practice theories denote a body of ideas that supposes that practice is central to social life (Hui, Schatzki & Shove, 2016; Nicolini, 2017). For the last two decades the practice theory has been used in many fields such as education, sociology, art, history, political science, organization studies, and for the reinterpretation of many organizational phenomena including learning, entrepreneuring, sustainability, migration, organizing. This expansion spread various practice-related labels and reinforced the institutionalization and legitimation of the field (Corradi et al., 2010, Hui et al., 2016; Gherardi, 2016).

Despite the growth of the practice theory's conceptual repertoire since the 70s, there is not any unified theory of practice (Corradi et al., 2010; Gherardi, 2016). Different definitions

of practice exist. For instance, the term "practice" can be referred to as "the coordinated activities of individuals and groups in doing their real work as it is informed by a particular organizational or group context" (Cook & Brown, 1999, p. 390). Gherardi (2000, pp. 220-221) claims that "practice is the figure of discourse that allows the process of knowing at work and in organizing to be articulated as historical processes, material and indeterminate." Orlikowski (2002, p. 249) argues that "knowing in practice...highlights the essential role of human action in knowing how to get things done in complex organizational work." In addition, Carlile (2002, p. 447) stresses that "in the practice-based approaches, it is crucial to be able to observe what people do, what their work is like and what effort it takes to problem solve their respective combinations of objects and ends."

Nevertheless, a shared proposition by the practice theories is that practices consist in organized sets of actions and that a nexus of practices forms the basic domain of study of the social sciences. Practice theories put forward an alternative ontological position in which social phenomena (e.g., entrepreneurship, leadership, organizations, strategy) occur within and are aspects or components of the nexus of practices (Hui et al., 2016; Thomson et al., 2020). Besides denoting an organized set of actions, practices also highlight the embeddedness of human activity in social and material context and the unfolding character of action and sequences of performances (Hui et al., 2016).

The role of practices has recently acquired its importance in the entrepreneurship literature. Thompson (2020) highlights the emergence of 'entrepreneurship-as-practice' research community whose key statement is "Entrepreneurship is neither science nor art. It is a practice." The practice tradition views entrepreneurship as an unfolding process – 'entrepreneuring' – that emerges in and through the nexus of practices. Hence, the practice tradition views practices as constitutive of entrepreneurial identities, structures, power, organizations and actors. Given the importance of practices in entrepreneurship, we believe in the important role of practices in the context of creative entrepreneurship.

Constituting the center of the practice-based studies, practices seem to negate the power of individual action (Alkemeyer & Buschmann, 2016). However, in line with several scholars (e.g., Alkemeyer & Buschmann, 2016; Whittinghton, 2010) we believe that the role of individuals in generating and adapting practices is fundamental. Several scholars of the practice theory (e.g., Smets et al., 2015; Jarzabkowski & Lê, 2017; Schneider et al., 2020) have stressed how most of existing studies are characterized by the downward flow of influence from the

macro- to the micro-context, leaving the role of individuals in generating and adapting practices to respond to conflicting demands under-researched.

Scholars of the cultural and creative industries also recognize the role of creative entrepreneurs' agency (Alvarez, 2000; Alvarez et al., 2005; Svejenova, 2005). For instance Alvarez et al. (2005, p. 866) report that "some institutions result from successful attempts of extraordinarily creative, innovative, and productive individual actors who have the vision and genius not to accept or fine-tune existing ways of doing things but rather to consciously change the boundaries of what is possible". Mavericks, who disobey established conventions, represent extreme case of uniqueness in a creative industry (Becker, 1982). Maverick film directors tend to deviate from ordinary practice and are characterized by a highly artistic approach to film-making. Svejenova (2005) examines the role of authenticity work - the set of actions and interactions, which the creative individual undertakes to achieve a distinctive and true-to-self identity and image over time and across audiences in the creation of a creative career. One of her premises is that individuals are increasingly considered the owners and agents of their trajectories, capable of enacting their professional lives in weak situations that are ambiguous. Given this research, we believe that the role of creative entrepreneur is essential to balance art and business and to manage other challenges of creative entrepreneurship.

Although creative industries comprise various sub-industries such as visual arts, literature, film, music, dance and theater (Schulte-Holthaus, 2019), we believe that the tension between art and business is more acute in the film industry and particularly in the European film industry context due to a perpetual shortage of financing. Thus we direct our focus to the European film industry.

The European film industry as a representative sector of the creative industries

The film industry has been widely used by the previous creative industry research as a representative sector of the creative industries (Alvarez et al., 2005; Durand & Hadida, 2016; Hadida et al., 2021; Mathieu & Strandvad, 2009, Salvemini & Delmestri, 2000; Svejenova, 2005). It is over 100 years old and for most of its existence has been dominated by Hollywood majors (Hadida et al., 2021; Kerrigan, 2017). According to the European Audio visual Observatory (EAO, 2021), the European audiovisual market is worth about 130 bn EUR. In most European territories, Hollywood produced films are attracting 70 per cent of the audience. Only 10 per cent of Europe's films are shown in a secondary territory beyond their national border.

Finney (2016) argues that the Europe's cultural relationship to cinema is fundamental to understanding the European film industry. In the US, the focus from the early stages was on commercial elements, while European filmmakers were more focused on creative and artistic elements (Kerrigan, 2017). Unlike producer-centered Hollywood cinema field, the auteur system, with the director as the core figure in filmmaking, is predominant in Europe (Alvarez et al., 2005; Delmestri, Montanari & Usai, 2005; Durand & Hadida, 2016; Svejenova, 2005).

The European film industry, which considers films as cultural goods, largely depends on public subsidies and presales to television that "snuffle out market-driven entrepreneurialism" (Finney, 2016, p. 71). It is fragmented, characterized by the presence of small independent film production and distribution companies (Finney, 2016; Svejenova, 2005). In the film industry, "suffering from a chronic absence of profit" (Peltoniemi, 2015, p. 53), work is organized around projects (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1998). DeFillippi and Arthur (1998, p. 134) argue that "in the film making, no capital investments convert to fixed assets, no revenues are retained, no structure or positions are permanent, and no returns to learning accrue for future projects." However, in the last ten years successful corporate publishing models have started to emerge leading European cinema to achieve a critical mass and regain the lost position at the box office (Finney, 2016).

The film industry is a "volatile meeting place of art and commerce, often depending on contradictory elements to fuel its progress" (Finney, 2016, p. 1). It requires "integration (coupling) of business and artistic inputs" (Alvarez et al., 2005; Baker & Faulkner, 1991). While art puts pressures for exclusivity and idiosyncratic style and movies, business means gaining legitimacy and thus generate profit. However, acceptance and inclusion in the cinema field leads to standardization of practices and isomorphism (Strandgaard Pedersen & Dobbin, 1997). In order to fulfil the need for idiosyncrasy – artistic differentiation - with the need to obtain resources from the field, optimal distinctiveness can provide a solution (Alvarez et al., 2005). In order to investigate how to obtain commercial success and achieve artistic merit in project-based cultural industries, Delmestri, Montanari and Usai (2005) examine the effects of relational stability and reputation. Their findings reveal that commercial success is favored by a director's strong vertical ties (with producers and distributors) and economic reputation, while artistic merit is positively affected by a director's weak horizontal ties (with other creative partners) and artistic reputation.

Overall, the European film industry is a fertile ground for exploring the artistic and business logics due to historical, cultural, and legal reasons (Durand & Hadida, 2016). We believe this context is appropriate to study the following research questions:

(1) What practices do creative entrepreneurs adopt in the film industry in Europe to balance the tension between art and business, if there is one?

(2) What other challenges arise in the process of creative entrepreneurship in the context of European film industry and what practices do creative entrepreneurs adopt to deal with them?

METHODOLOGY

Given the nature of our research questions, the study opted for a qualitative case study methodology (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Yin, 1994). A qualitative case study is "an empirical research that primarily uses contextually rich data from bounded real-world settings to investigate a focused phenomenon" (Barratt, Choi & Li, 2011, p. 329). The current section clarifies the research design, discusses the data sampling, the data collection and the data analysis.

Research design

The qualitative research approach allows for the investigation of complex, processual dynamics and human interaction (Gioia et al., 2013). It provides the basis for understanding new theories that might help explain a phenomenon, letting new and inspiring perspectives emerge.

Our purpose was to build on existing concepts in the practice theory, the research on tensions and contradictions, and the creative industries literature to develop a more comprehensive framework for understanding what kind of practices creative entrepreneurs adopt to manage the tension between art and business and other tensions of creative entrepreneurship. In this respect, the analysis aimed at elaborating theory, rather than at generating a completely new theoretical framework (Fisher & Aguinis, 2017; Ketokivi & Choi, 2014). Successful theory elaboration requires a balanced and simultaneous investigation of the general theory and the context with the aim to reconcile the general with the particular (Ketokivi & Choi, 2014). In general, theory elaboration treats the general theory as malleable.

The multiple case studies method was adopted (Eisenhardt, 1989; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Yin, 1994) by exploring several film production companies in Europe. This approach

allows for studying the dynamics present within single setting and enables a replication logic (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). It can also "augment external validity and help guard against observer bias" (Barratt, Choi & Li, 2011, p. 329). Qualitative research strategies such as case studies, interviews are considered suited when applying a practice approach (Claire et al., 2020). By conducting a systematic literature review of the entrepreneurship as practice field, Claire et al (2020) discovered that, although the largest group of research favored (quasi-) ethnography, a substantial amount of studies drew on semi-structured interview methods.

Data sampling and data collection

The film industry constitutes a research setting of this study. It is one of the most important creative industries, pervaded with different paradoxes and tensions. Thus it constitutes a perfect setting to investigate the research questions. The research design involves 10 film production companies in Europe, of which 7 are located in Italy, 2 in Belgium and 1 in Germany. For the purpose of this study, a combination of purposive and convenience sampling was used (Marshall, 1996). First, with respect to the representation of the sample, purposive sampling was applied. Young, independent, small film production companies, managed by one/two founders in Europe, prevalently in Italy, were contacted in October 2019. Out of 12 contacted companies, 5 responded and agreed to take part in the research. Through convenience sampling, other 5 film production companies who were in the personal network of the principal investigator of this study were contacted. Overall, the cases that would predict similar results were chosen (Barratt, Choi & Li, 2011; Yin, 1989). The number of ten cases is reputed to be sufficient in order to process cognitively the information (Eisenhardt, 1989).

To improve the likelihood that informants could remember past events, film production companies that were founded relatively recently were selected. Seven out of ten film production companies have been founded since 2012; some of them are still in the process of launching their first film projects. The remaining three companies were founded in 1996, 2004, and 2008. This allowed to incorporate both retrospective and real-time data.

Interviews

Different data sources, such as interviews, observations and online archival data (e.g., corporate documents, newsletters) were collected for the purpose of triangulation and increased internal validity (Gibbert et al., 2008). Qualitative data provide an evidence on people's lived experience, going beyond snapshots of what and how many to grasp why and how things

happen (Huberman & Miles, 1994). The primary source was given by 22 semi-structured, practice-based, face-to-face interviews with the founders, co-founders and employees of 10 film production companies (shown in Table 1). Additional three interviews were collected with: (1) a production manager of one of the most important film production companies in Italy producing documentaries; (2) a founder of a film production company in Belgium; (3) a founder of a film production company in the US.

Following Corbin and Strauss (2014), we continued collecting data until we judged that theoretical saturation was reached. The interviews ranged from 40 to 100 minutes in length. The first interview took place in January 2019 and the last in July 2020. Table 1 provides more information on the timeline of the interviews.

We described the topic and the purpose of research to each informant via mail and face-to-face before each interview. First, we asked the informants the background information about themselves and their film production companies. Among other questions, we asked about the challenges and difficulties experienced in their professional role, in managing their companies and in the market in general; and the practices they adopted to balance the tension between art and business and to respond to other challenges of creative entrepreneurship. A practice-based interview methodology "aims at understanding specific practices that entrepreneurs enact (or do not enact) when starting and growing their firm" (Claire et al., 2020, p. 291).

The interviews with Italian informants were conducted in Italian and then translated into English, whereas the rest of interviews were conducted directly in English. All the interviews were recorded and transcribed. Detailed notes were taken during each interview. At the end of each interview, the author's impressions were written down.

To improve the triangulation of the study and the confidence in research findings two investigators were involved.

Table 1. Description of primary case data

Case	Business description	Launch date, place	Founder interviews and Date	Team members' interviews and Date	Archival documents
8 Production	8 Production is an independent film production company with the aim of experimenting in the audio-visual field, through the contamination of languages and genres. 2 cofounders: Nicola Papagno and Laura Catalano; 10/11 team members	2013, Rome (IT)	2 Summer 2019; Spring 2020		7 (official company website)

Amira 3	Amira 3 is a film production company born with the aim of creating a new reality for the enhancement of cinema in Sicily and throughout southern Italy. 4 cofounders: Davide Vigore, Giovanni Rosa, Andrea Valentino, Paolo Previti; 1 team member	2012, Enna (IT)	4 1 in Winter 2018; 3 in Spring 2020	1- Project Manager & Business Developer Spring 2020	4 (official company website)
Bridge Film	Bridge Film deals with film productions and strategic consultancy for audiovisual communication. 2 cofounders: Cristian Patanè, Giuseppe X, 0 team members	2016, Rome (IT)	2 Winter 2019; Spring 2020		2 (from Giffoni film festival website)
Insolita Film	Insolita Film is a film production company that conceives and develops audiovisual works, films, events and artistic initiatives nationally and internationally. 1 founder: Nicoletta Cataldo; 1 team member	2018, Rome (IT)	1 Autumn 2019	1: Responsible for platform CHIAK-in Spring 2020	4 (official company website)
Movie Factory	Movie Factory is a film production and distribution company focused on the research and creation of designer products. Founder: Francesco Paolo Montini, 0 team members	1996, Rome (IT)	1 Spring 2019		2 (official company website)
Viola Film	Viola Film is specialized in independent production and executive production of original and innovative products for cinema, television and the web. 2 cofounders: Alessandro Passadore and Eric Welbers; 5 team members	2016, Rome (IT)	1 Spring 2019	2: Project Developer, Producer Spring 2020	4 (official company website)
Potemkino	Potemkino is a film production company with a solid international reputation for its expertise in combining high quality fiction with inventive formats and international financing. Founder: Peter De Maegd; 6 team members	2008, Brussels (BE)	1 Autumn 2020	2: Producer of VR; Producer of national content Autumn, October 2020	2 (official company website)
Creative & Line Production	Creative & Line Production deals with all the tasks and brokerage that Producers need to hire permanent staff for; It deals with shared workforce & talent. Founder: Kathleen C. Vancauwelaert; 4 team members	2019, Brussels (BE)	1 Autumn 2019		3 (official company website)
Victus Film	Visctus Film is a film production company that produces tv commercials, tv series, short and feature movies; offers service production. Founder: Ben Blascovic; 2 team members	2014, Munich (D)	1 Autumn 2019	1: Production manager, script writer Summer 2020	6 (official company website)
Vivo Film	Vivo Film is an independent production company with a catalogue of over 40 films,	2004, Rome (IT)	1 Feb 2020		

presented and awarded at the most
prestigious festivals worldwide.
2 cofounders: Gregorio Paonessa
and Marta Donzelli

Data Analysis

Data analysis followed prescriptions for grounded theory building (Bruscaglioni, 2016; Corbin & Strauss, 1990), elaborating a theory through a continuous interplay between data analysis and data collection. Constructs were adjusted as additional data were collected through the addition of question to an interview protocol. An important principle of grounded theory is that concepts constitute the basic unit of analysis: incidents are taken as potential indicators of phenomena, which are given a conceptual label.

Abductive reasoning was applied, involving the modification of different theoretical concepts and phenomena, such as creative entrepreneurship, tensions, paradoxes, and practices, in order to reconcile them with contextual idiosyncrasies (Ketokivi & Choi, 2014). Two types of analysis were followed, namely within-case and cross-case (Eisenhardt, 1989). Within-case analysis helped become familiar with each case and let unique patterns of each case emerge. Cross-case pattern search started once the within-case analysis was completed. It helped see evidence through multiple lenses. Different pairs of cases were compared to identify similar and diverse patterns. After that, multiple cases were analyzed looking at the same constructs and searching for similarities or differences.

The data were analyzed with NVivo 12 software. Three types of codes were identified: open, axial, and selective (Bruscaglioni, 2016; Corbin & Strauss, 1990). In the open coding phase, meaningful nodes were identified and were given conceptual labels. In this phase, the data were kept open through the process of fragmenting the text and the codes derived possibly from words and phrases used by the informants (Bruscaglioni, 2016). In particular, coding 25 interviews, 116 open codes and subcodes were developed, covering themes such as business opportunities, practices, context, comprising the impact of COVID-19, division of roles, role of producer and director, tensions and challenges at individual, organizational and industry levels, organizational identity, organizational structure.

In axial coding, categories were related to their subcategories. In particular, the categories, set up in the open coding, were aggregated in macro-categories, or connections were made between categories. 16 axial codes emerged in this phase, among which tensions

and challenges, organizational practices, different stages of artistic career, organizational identity, organizational goals, organizational structure and the role of producer and director. Figure 1 shows an NVivo coding uncovering the sub-codes of the most important axial codes for the purpose of this research (Bruscaglioni, 2016).

Figure 1. The NVivo coding scheme

Name	Refe...	Files
▼ ◯ Art & Business	53	19
◯ Compatibility of art and business	13	10
◯ Incompatibility between art and...	1	1
◯ Poor return of art projects	5	4
◯ Business opportunity	21	6
▼ ◯ Business practice	35	11
◯ Adapting a specific business mo...	2	2
◯ Adapting to new market reality	2	1
◯ Coproduction	5	5
◯ Diversification	5	4
◯ Events to enhance innovation	1	1
◯ Executive production	1	1
◯ Family support	1	1
◯ Financing by private investors	3	3
◯ Focusing on social impact	2	2
◯ Having savings from other proje...	2	2
◯ Having serene film sets	1	1
◯ Investment in equipment	1	1
◯ Look from a bigger picture	1	1
◯ Networking platform	2	2
◯ Opening of a new hub	1	1
◯ Producing commercials	4	4
◯ Producing documentaries	1	1
◯ Producing international content	4	3
◯ Producing local content	1	1
◯ Production services	2	1
▼ ◯ Public subsidies	6	5
◯ Clear accounting management	1	1
◯ European funds	1	1
◯ Renting & provision of service	4	2
◯ Sales contracts	1	1
◯ Several projects in pipeline	6	4
◯ Short films as promotion	3	3

Name	Refe...	Files
◯ Side projects	3	3
◯ Sustainability practices	1	1
◯ Team working	7	5
◯ Think in advance of some aspects	9	6
◯ United intentions	4	2
◯ Change in the nature of projects	22	11
▶ ◯ Context	65	24
◯ Division of roles	48	14
▶ ◯ First approch with the film industry	2	2
▼ ◯ Individual practices	2	2
◯ Having cinema related jobs	1	1
◯ Having multiple jobs	3	3
▶ ◯ Launch of film production company	68	20
◯ Organizational goals	11	10
▶ ◯ Organizational identity	40	21
▶ ◯ Postlaunch of film production com...	64	23
◯ Role of director	3	1
▼ ◯ Role of producer	26	13
◯ Being involved in the whole proc...	5	4
◯ Company as a tool	3	2
◯ Entrepreneur	1	1
◯ Give artists a dignified life	1	1
◯ Guarantee economic sustainability	1	1
◯ Having the gut feeling	1	1
◯ Identication with the company	1	1
◯ In charge of the dualism betwee...	1	1
◯ Matchmaker	5	4
◯ Mirror of the company	4	4
◯ Multi-faceted figure	1	1
◯ Producer as an artist	1	1
◯ Psychologist	2	2
▶ ◯ Structure of the company	20	5
▼ ◯ Tensions and challenges	24	13

Name	Refe...	Files
▼ ◯ Access to state funding	7	5
◯ limitation in genres	1	1
◯ Bureaucracy and slow administr...	13	7
◯ Cash flow problems	4	4
◯ Closed system	2	1
◯ Competition	2	1
◯ Continuity	3	2
◯ Distribution	7	5
◯ Economic sustainability	3	2
◯ Funding	2	2
◯ Hardship of creative worker	4	3
◯ Long life of projects	4	3
◯ Make financial investment choices	2	2
◯ Manage multiple roles	1	1
◯ Market changes	2	1
▼ ◯ Reach an agreement	4	4
◯ Tension with creatives (film di...	2	2
◯ Set work vs office work	1	1
◯ Work vs private life	2	1

In selective coding, we unified several categories around some "core" categories. To identify core categories, we asked ourselves the question of: What is the main analytic idea

presented in this research? In this phase, categories were linked to sub-categories but at a more abstract level of analysis (Bruscaglioni, 2016). For the purpose of this paper we decided to focus on three core categories, namely (1) the relationship between art and business; (2) other challenges of creative entrepreneurship; (3) practices to manage challenges of creative entrepreneurship. A three-stage process of theoretically informed coding is showed in figure 2. This data structure shows how theoretical constructs are grounded in the data.

Figure 2. Coding structure

Examples of open codes	Axial codes	Selective codes
Compatibility of art and business "They go together." "Compatible but you need to know how to do it." *Incompatibility of art and business* "Probably incompatible."	Balancing art and business	Art and Business
Poor return of art-house projects. Need to do something more commercial to grow.	(Poor) return of art projects	
Financial: cash flow, economic sustainability, funding, financial decision-making, continuity; *Relational:* difficulty in reaching an agreement with creatives, tensions between those working in the office and those working onsite; *Inherent in the project:* time and high budget	Challenges at organizational level	Challenges of creative entrepreneurship
Financial: accessing public funds *Administrative:* bureaucracy and slowness *Distribution* *Market changes:* increased competition, new ways to reach the audience	Industry-level challenges	
Planning before project initiation, managing multiple projects in pipeline, collaborating externally and internally, diversifying, applying for public subsidies, financing by private investors.	Business practices	Practices to face the challenges of creative entrepreneurship
Matchmaker, mirror of the company, multifaceted figure.	Agency of creative entrepreneurs - Role of producer	

It is important to stress that our theoretical preconceived knowledge played an important role in the theorizing process and coding (Bruscaglioni, 2016; Corbin & Strauss, 1990). However, a priori constructs were considered as tentative (Barratt, Choi & Li, 2011).

After completing the coding, the data were displayed in a form of tables and sections of findings were written (Hubermann & Miles, 1994).

FINDINGS

In this section we present the findings of our research. First, we focus on the balancing act between art and business and discuss if creative entrepreneurs perceive art and business as a tension. We also report the creative entrepreneurs' perceptions about the profitability of artistic projects. Second, we present a typology of creative entrepreneurship challenges. Then, we conclude with showing the organizational practices creative entrepreneurs adopt to tackle the challenges of creative entrepreneurship and we include a brief discussion of the producer's role which highlights the role of agency in practices, one of the blind spots in the conversation on the turn to practice (Gherardi, 2016).

Art and Business

Balancing art and business

Our findings reveal that the term "tension" is misleading when referring to the concepts of art and business in the film industry. Most creative entrepreneurs – founders, cofounders and main employees of the film production companies – agreed on compatibility between art and business.

> *They might seem incompatible, but they are not. The important thing is to find a balance between the artistic part and the productive part.* (Founder 1, 8 Production)

> *The two have to be balanced. The creative aspect must be balanced with the economic sustainability to ensure the project stands up.* (Project Manager, Amira 3)

Most informants argued that art could not survive without monetary support. Good films require technical skills of several people and "a collective work is expensive" (Project Manager, Viola Film). Creative entrepreneurs claimed the symbiotic relationship between art and business at the heart of creative entrepreneurship.

> *One is the soul of another. The idea that art is independent from entrepreneurship is a bit naïve. Art must live on business and business must live on art.* (Junior Producer, Viola Film)

The alignment between the artistic side and the business side results is high-quality projects. Talking about one of his projects, the founder of Potemkino reported: *"The cool thing was that the creative side was completely in line with the business side and we landed where we wanted to be - a high quality film that premiered at most important international film festivals."*

One of the founders of Vivo Film confirmed the importance of balance between art and business and, as result of this balancing act, the birth of high-quality projects:

> *It's important to mention that, more and more, not consecrated names manage to reach a large audience putting together forms of cinema d'auteur with a typical entertainment language. The moment you manage to put these two things together, the works of Cuarón, "Parasite" by Bong Joon-ho, "The Shape of Water" by Guillermo del Toro come out.* (Founder, Vivo Film)

Some creative entrepreneurs argued that the relationship between art and business created a stimulus for artistic projects. Low budget led to creative solutions, bricolage and improvisation.

> *For the cultural aspect it is a stimulus. I know that I have financial difficulties and therefore I always have to think about artistic ways to overcome them.* (Founder 3, Amira 3)

> *Let's say that an artist who makes art should never think about business… But when you make the cinema you have to enter these dynamics. It is also an extra stimulus.* (Founder 2, 8 Production)

Overall, most creative entrepreneurs stressed the compatibility between art and business. By looking at art and business as compatible and by trying to incorporate both artistic and business elements in their projects, creative entrepreneurs conceptualized the art and business duality as a paradox - contradictory yet interrelated demands that exist simultaneously and persist over time. The alignment between two aspects leads to successful film projects. In the next section we show that when one aspect is prevailing it causes either a poor artistic result or a poor commercial return.

(Poor) return of art projects

Several informants argued that purely artistic projects did not pay off. Partly because they did not consider the market dynamics and the audience's taste.

> *In our little experience, the more experimental projects… gave a very little economic return. (Founder 2, Amira3)*

The economic sustainability of a new-born film production company is often at stake. At the beginning of artistic careers, creative entrepreneurs must produce artistic projects to show potential investors what they are capable of. First projects are often financed by creative entrepreneurs' own financial sources, without providing any profit.

> *There is also a question of sustainability but very often this sustainability, especially at the beginning...the first projects we developed were at a loss.* (Project Manager, Amira 3)

The previous two sections show that there should be a balance between artistic part and business part in each film project. If art prevails business, there is a risk of low financial return and if business prevails art, the creative aspect suffers. As one of the founders of Amira3 stated: "*I would not be interested in having only a company without producing films. Otherwise, I would have founded another type of company. I would have opened a Sicilian restaurant in Trastevere. For sure, I would have earned a lot more.*"

The next section unveils the organizational and industry-level challenges of creative entrepreneurship.

Challenges of creative entrepreneurship

Challenges at organizational level

The most common challenges that creative entrepreneurs have to face in running their enterprises can be related to three aspects: (1) financial - concerning cash flow, economic sustainability, funding, financial decision-making and continuity; (2) relational - difficulties in reaching an agreement with creatives but also tensions between the onsite (set) work and office work; and (3) inherent tensions of a project due to its nature and long life.

Financial challenges

Financial aspect plays a crucial role and poses several tensions. Each film project requires a budget, which is often anticipated by a film production company itself. While answering the question of what the biggest challenge in managing their film production company was, creative entrepreneurs mentioned the problem of cash flow. For instance, the founder of Movie Factory stated: *"The tension stems from managing the cash flow. In a small film production company, you have this moment of cash flow that is frightening. It's scary and sometimes you say: "Enough, I shut everything down.""*

The problem of economic sustainability of creative enterprises represents another financial challenge for creative entrepreneurs.

Being able to make a living from cinema is complex. It is not very sustainable, especially if it is limited to the sphere of short films and documentaries. Cinema begins to be sustainable with fictional projects. (Founder 2, Amira3)

Funding is also challenging. Several creative entrepreneurs reported that the cost of a project often exceeded its funding sources. For some projects (e.g., Virtual Reality) there might be limited funds.

It is very difficult in Italy to support projects only with Italian funding. Projects cost a lot more than what you can pull up from Italy. (supplementary interview, Project Manager, DocLab)

There is less money for my projects. A lot of countries do not have money for VR or animation yet. (VR Producer, Potemkino)

Financial challenges imply the necessity to make smart investment decisions. However, financial decision-making is also a challenge per se. Creative entrepreneurs reported:

A challenge is to decide on what projects and with what talents you want to work and to make decisions about projects you want to get involved in. (Producer of local content, Potemkino)

Then, there is the problem of continuity. For instance, the founder of Potemkino reported: *"I guess what we have not established yet is continuity. For example, if one of two films is postponed, we don't have any financial reserves and our company starts being fragile. We are always working at the bottom, which is very uncomfortable."* A co-founder of Amira3

stressed: *"It is a work that does not have continuity and therefore we work on couple of projects a year. Meanwhile, each of us is doing other works."*

Relational challenges

Relational challenges consist in difficulties to reach an agreement. Most creative entrepreneurs experienced some sort of tension among creative workers involved in a project. While film directors often think in terms of "art for art's sake", producers think in terms of marketability of that art. The founder of Viola Film reported: *"There are tensions with film directors and actors. We (producers) want a film to be commercial, while a film director wants to take unknown actors and so on."*

The director says, "I still need some time to make a beautiful film" and the producer says, "What are you saying?" (not allowing for any extra time). So that's the tension. (Founder, Movie Factory)

Different approaches and opinions on certain aspects can cause relational tensions.

You realize that you have a certain approach. For example, my type of approach is very analytical, linked to analyzing costs and benefits. But when you meet other people, it can create tensions. (Project Manager, Amira3)

Challenges inherent in the project

The third aspect causing tensions at organizational level is inherent in the nature of film projects. Film projects are time-consuming. Their extensive lifecycle burns budget and provokes many doubts concerning the feasibility of the projects.

The life of a project is always very long. From when a project is set up until the end of a project, 3-4-5 years can pass. (Founder 2, Amira3)

The long life span a project can cause despair of creative workers working on it and, ultimately, its abandonment.

The problem is that things take a lot of time. The time from an idea to the greenlight of a project is sometimes 2 years or even 10 years. So it's very hard to be continuous, believe in a project, keep talking about it. (Founder, Victus Film)

Industry-level challenges

At the industry-level, creative entrepreneurs reported the challenges of financial, administrative, distribution and market nature.

Financial challenges

One of the biggest industry-level challenges, connected to the financial challenge at organizational level, consists in accessing public funds. The film industry in Europe relies heavily on public funds. However, many creative entrepreneurs stressed the difficulty to access them. This difficulty can be caused by the legal form, limited power, size of the company that requests the funding.

> *Cinema should not live on public funding only, but obviously it cannot do without it. There is a contradiction of terms. When independent cinema makes a request for public funds, it competes with large productions. I, an unknown director, cannot compete with productions of Garrone, Sorrentino (well-known Italian film directors).* (Founder 3, Amira3)

Several creative entrepreneurs were convinced that the State did not want to take too much risk and invest in less known, small independent film production companies.

> *They always protect the same (film) production companies.* (Founder 3, Amira3)

> *Major problems? They are linked to access to public funding. Public funding is given either to everyone but just a little, or to big production companies.* (Founder, Bridge Film)

Another problem related to public funds is their influence upon a project's creative choices. For instance, the Project Manager of Victus Film stressed that some genres could not get financed by public funds as they implied a high risk: *"If you finance a comedy, nobody will get offended, this is politically safe. If you do a Tarantino movie, many people could say "Oh, but this is inappropriate..." People in charge of film foundations...don't want to take any risk. That's why there are so many limits on what you can do."*

The founder of Creative & Lines Production reported that public funds were killing creativity as different strategies had to be applied to get them, such as the choice of local artists, specific locations.

I didn't want to go into the tax shelter and regional funding because I think being state funded kills creativity. (Founder of Creative & Line Production)

Administrative challenges

Another substantial industry-level issue raised by informants was bureaucracy and slow administration, partly connected to the challenges of getting public funds. A cofounder of 8 Production reported: *"The main tensions are institutional and bureaucratic ones. We have to deal with Ministry, revenue agencies, INPS, INAIL, SIAE. Everything is extremely complex, processes are slow and full of papers.*" Her co-founder added: *"Tenders in Italy are annoying at the level of bureaucracy…The ministerial call is not very difficult but the delivery times…You have to consider slowdowns."*

Creative entrepreneurs of other film production companies confirmed:

We clearly clash with the bureaucratic world. (Founder, Viola Film)

On the one hand, you have storytelling, filmmaking with the best technology, great minds and then, on the other hand, you have the bureaucratic, institutional, slow, harassing, invasive aspect. (Project Manager, Viola Film)

Distribution and market challenges

One of the most recurrent challenges stressed by creative entrepreneurs was distribution.

The market is closed and unfortunately the ways of approaching the distribution companies seem elitist. You have to get there for who knows what recommendation. There are dynamics that don't work. It is something structural. (Founder 3, Amira3)

Distribution can be even harder for specific film formats, such as Virtual Reality.

We don't have a lot of distribution. There are some festivals, but they are very limited. The market of people using VR at home is quite limited… (VR Producer, Potemkino)

Although new ways of distribution, such as streaming service platforms, represent a partial solution to the problem of traditional distribution, they also lead to market changes, which constitute additional challenges on their own.

All the production companies are moving from traditional TV channels and cinema towards streaming. There is a real shift in how you reach the audience. The biggest

challenge for the next years is that the entire market will change and become super digital, super streaming. (Project Manager, Victus Film)

The Project Manager of Victus film added that streaming service platforms increased a market competition: *"If everybody wants to go into streaming, you have to compete with hundreds of different companies every day."*

Practices to face the challenges of creative entrepreneurship

Business practices

Creative entrepreneurs reported various business practices to face organizational and industry-level challenges of creative entrepreneurship. Seven most common business practices were: (1) planning before project initiation, (2) managing multiple projects in pipeline, (3) collaborating externally and internally, (4) diversifying (5) applying for public subsidies, (6) financing by private investors.

Planning before project initiation

Many informants highlighted the importance of deliberating in advance, before project initiation, of several aspects such as means of financing, distribution, hiring talents, submission to festivals. We call this practice - planning before project initiation.

> *When you about to create a project, you must have clear ideas from the start about the forms of financing, distribution strategies.* (Founder 2, 8 Production)

> *You develop a project thinking about public funding opportunities. It is a bit paradoxical, but it is true.* (Founder 2, Amira3)

> *If I know in advance that my film will be sold to a certain distributor, then I can produce it. However, those who do not have this certainty know that their product will probably not make any screening in the cinema, etc.* (Founder 3, Amira3)

Managing multiple projects in pipeline

Creative entrepreneurs started to manage several projects in pipeline to face financial and inherent challenges of film projects. Having several projects at different stages of development increases the chances of economic sustainability.

The only way to have sustainability is to make several projects in parallel with different stages of progress. So, when you are close to finishing one project, another one must already be born. (Founder 2, Amira3)

You do several things at the same time, otherwise it is not economically sustainable. (supplementary interview, Project Manager, DocLab)

Collaborating externally and internally

The external collaboration with other companies and internal collaboration within the company constitutes another key practice of creative entrepreneurs. Regarding the external collaboration, many informants highlighted the importance of partnering with other companies (i.e., resorting to co-productions) to deal with financial challenges. Several informants highlighted the chance to access European funds thanks to co-productions.

Our cash flow is based on co-productions that we do with other countries. (Producer of local content, Potemkino)

There are funds like Eurimage which are only for co-productions. (supplementary interview, Project Manager, DocLab)

Regarding the internal collaboration, team-working constitutes a crucial practice of creative entrepreneurs to deal with both relational and financial challenges of creative entrepreneurship.

The pressure is there but the team is important because it lightens up many worries. (Founder, 8 Production)

You should have a working group able to understand these two aspects (i.e., art and business). (Project Manager, Amira3)

Creative entrepreneurs mentioned the alignment of interests when working on a project. A cofounder of Amira 3 claimed: "*When interests are aligned, the rivalry disappears, the director begins to understand that the producer has financial difficulties and the producer understands that there are some artistic needs.*"

Several creative entrepreneurs advised to have consultants to solve any relational issue. A cofounder of 8 Production stressed: "*Get advice from many consultants. We have a job consultant for employees, a job consultant for cinema...*"

Several informants stressed the importance of relationships in aligning art and business.

The world of cinema is a world that relies heavily on interpersonal relationships. I deeply believe in this union. It's not that you can't earn money if you do art. The two must go hand in hand. (Founder 2, Amira3)

Diversifying

Diversification was another recurrent practice of creative entrepreneurs to supplement to financial challenges. For instance, it involves producing film projects of different nature, including commercial spots.

We decided to do some commercials that could provide us with some cash flow. (Founder 2, 8 Production)

Another solution is to diversify and this is what we do with our company. We do not only make cinema but also other projects related to the audio-visual field. We create commercials, set-ups, multimedia exhibitions. (Founder 2, Amira3)

In addition, diversification includes offering various services to other companies such as rental of equipment, executive and service production, organization and management of events.

I have diversified the management of my company. One thing I've done that changed the economic structure of the company was to have a whole department of IT rental and data management. (Founder 1, 8 Production)

I've done a lot of production service for foreign companies in need to shoot in Italy. (Founder, Viola Film)

Applying for public subsidies

Although accessing public funds constitutes a challenge, it also constitutes a practice to tackle the financial challenges of creative entrepreneurship.

There are very useful tools of Ministerial support that you can start using while you are shooting, automatic contributions... (supplementary interview, Project Manager, DocLab)

The production that succeeds is the result of public funding. (Project Manager, Amira3)

Financing by private investors

The European film industry heavily relies on public funds, however, many creative entrepreneurs stressed the importance of private investors. For instance, the founder of Insolita created the platform called Chiakin with the aim to connect private investors and artists: "*I am more inclined towards private investment than public investment. I don't believe in public calls.*"

> *We ended up with private companies because we no longer believe in public tenders. They make you believe that this is a job for rich people, and I assure you that it is not.* (Project Manager, Insolita Film)

Other business practices, used to a lesser extent by creative entrepreneurs, were: (1) making use of novel technologies and innovation, (2) producing specific content (e.g., social, local, international), (3) producing prepaid documentaries, (4) relying on family support, (5) accumulating savings from other projects, (6) investing in equipment, (7) establishing sales contracts, (8) creating side projects around the main project to extend its life, (9) exploiting the potential of the web, (10) organizing workshops, (11) hiring external consultants when a project requires the workforce, (12) adapting a business model.

For instance, several creative entrepreneurs decided to focus on projects with social themes. Social topics allowed them to establish important collaborations. The founder of 8 Production argued: *"Having social themes allows us to deal with different associations, foundations and to create a network helping the project move forward."*. Many creative entrepreneurs believed that their success laid in their business model. The founder of 8 Production stressed the importance of a business model stating that: *"We have created a business model allowing us to survive. IT rental and data management changed the economic structure of our company. We do the image control: project back-ups and live colour correction on set."*. The founder of Potemkino reported: *"We founded a company without a business model. There was an idea: let's make movies, that's it. Now it is very clear what our business model is. The business model is the core. Just to give you an idea, we have a small rule here – we don't produce projects where the producer is also a director."*.

The above practices helped creative entrepreneurs manage both the relationship between art and business but also other challenges along the process of creative entrepreneurship.

The role of producer was widely discussed by creative entrepreneurs. Therefore, the next section explores its multi-faceted role and importance for managing various challenges, highlighting the role of agency in the practice turn of entrepreneurship.

Agency of creative entrepreneurs – role of producer

When talking about the role of film producer, creative entrepreneurs mentioned several interesting aspects. A film producer oversees the whole process of preproduction, production and postproduction of a film.

> *I like to follow the project...follow all its steps together with the director.* (Founder, Movie Factory)

> *I'm really involved in the whole process, starting from nothing.* (Producer of local content, Potemkino)

A film producer facilitates the life of an artist and guarantees an economic sustainability of the project.

> *It is the role of producers to put artists in contact with the real world. Our great responsibility is to give these people a dignified and sustainable life with their art.* (supplementary interview, Project Manager, DocLab)

> *My image of producer is to produce interesting projects in which I am artistically reflected and to guarantee economic sustainability.* (Founder 2, Amira3)

A film producer has to oversee a dualism between art and business, having a gut feeling about various aspects of film production.

> *In my opinion, a producer who takes charge of this dualism is fundamental.* (Project Manager, Viola Film)

> *The most important thing for me is the gut feeling. It is rather subjective but it works.* (Producer of local content, Potemkino)

Creative entrepreneurs gave various labels to a film producer, such as multi-faceted figure, matchmaker, mirror of the company, psychologist, artist, entrepreneur. For instance, the founder of Insolita claimed: *"The figure of producer in Italy is multi-faceted. He/she must know how to do many things: public relations, have good organizational skills, knowledge, reputation."*

As a matchmaker, producer puts various aspects together.

Being a producer is not about being a good fundraiser but it is about having the feeling to recognize a good script, a good director and with that to make money. He is a matchmaker. (supplementary interview, Founder, Be Revolution)

Producers, who are often the founders, represent the face of film production companies.

I mean my films, my company is my mirror. It's an imprint. (Founder 1, Amira3)

The company is the image of its producer. (Project Manager, Viola Film)

Producers must deal with people, putting different visions together. The founder of Movie Factory claimed: "*You have to be a psychologist. They are all dear friends but when they see the contract...*"

The role of producer involves the role of an artist and an entrepreneur. The founder of Potemkino stated: *"If you understand risks and numbers you are an entrepreneur, if you understand creativity and risk you are an artist, if you understand numbers and creativity maybe you are a scientist."*

In sum, the role of producer oversees many functions and is crucial to sustain all the business practices necessary to manage the relationship between art and business and other challenges of creative entrepreneurship.

DISCUSSION

The aim of this article has been to explore the business practices creative entrepreneurs adopt to balance the tension between art and business and solve main organizational and industry-level challenges of creative entrepreneurship. We uncovered six most common business practices that we discuss in distinct paragraphs.

Planning before project initiation

The practice of planning before project initiation helped informants deal with financial challenges, inherent in the project organizational challenges, and distribution and market challenges at industry level. In particular, planning several aspects in advance revealed to be an important practice to face the organizational challenges related to cash flow, economic sustainability, funding, financial decision-making, continuity and the industry-level challenge of accessing public funds. Being prepared in advance could guarantee creative entrepreneurs a

better use of resources and time. As a matter of fact, planning before initiation was helpful in managing time and budget consuming projects, which constitute the inherent challenges of the projects. In addition, the distribution aspect was also dealt with in advance by several creative entrepreneurs.

Managing multiple projects in pipeline

The practice of managing several projects in pipeline helped creative entrepreneurs face financial and inherent challenges of film projects at organizational level. The reliance on more than one project helped distribute the risks among projects and guarantee a certain amount of financial sustainability. At the industry level, managing multiple projects in pipeline can reveal to be a successful, although indirect, practice to deal with the financial challenge of accessing public funds and the administrative challenge related to bureaucracy and slow administration. It constitutes an indirect practice to deal with the industry challenges because it does not solve the problems of accessing public funds and slow administration by themselves. However, working on more than one project, can allow some projects to be more efficient and successful in terms of accessing public funds and getting them more quickly.

Collaborating externally and internally

Collaborating externally with other partners and internally within the company constitutes an important practice to deal with the financial challenges at organizational level such as the problem with cash flow, economic sustainability, funding, financial decision-making and continuity. In addition, the internal collaboration and the effort of aligning the conflicting interests can solve the relational challenges at organizational level.

Diversifying

The diversification practice in terms of different types of projects and different activities executed by a creative enterprise constitutes another good practice to manage the financial challenges at organizational level. As in the case of working on multiple projects, the diversification distributes the risks among different projects and/or activities and can provide some cash flow to the company and, thus, guarantee its economic sustainability and continuity. As a consequence, the practice of diversifying can supplement the inherent challenges of the projects – their long life and intensive budget expenditure.

Applying for public subsidies

The financial challenges at the organizational level, such as lack of cash flow,

issues with economic sustainability, funding and continuity, can be partly tackled by applying and, consequently, accessing public subsidies. Public funds constitute the primary funding source of the European film industry, without which the financial sustainability of the film projects would be highly undermined. Public funds are also indispensable to manage the inherent challenges of the film projects, especially the requirement of a big budget.

Financing by private investors

The practice of getting financed by private investors constitutes another important practice to deal with the financial challenges of creative entrepreneurship in the European film industry at the organizational level. Many creative entrepreneurs acknowledged the problems related to public funds such as the difficulty to access them, the slowness and inefficiency of the administration, and the public funds' influence over the creative and artistic side of the projects. To reduce the reliance on public funds and avoid the problems related to them, several creative entrepreneurs tried to get the financial resources from private investors.

The above business practices revealed to be important to balance the artistic elements with the business elements in the creative entrepreneurship, considering that most of the tensions in the film industry stem from the duality between art and business (Hadida, 2010). Other business practices, used to a lesser extent by creative entrepreneurs, were uncovered such as making use of novel technologies and innovation, producing a specific content, producing prepaid documentaries, accumulating savings from other projects and many others. We limited our study to the six most commonly used practices. They are used to solve multiple challenges of creative entrepreneurship. These six practices are also the most generalizable and applicable to other contexts. By contrast, the additional practices discussed in this paper are more specific to the empirical context of the European film industry. Table 2 summarizes the identified challenges of creative entrepreneurship in the European film industry at different levels of analysis and the corresponding practices to tackle them.

Table 2. Challenges and practice of creative entrepreneurship in the European film industry

Level of analysis	Nature of challenge	Practices to respond to a challenge

All levels	*Art vs Business*	• Balancing act **Main practices** • Planning before project initiation • Managing multiple projects in pipeline • Collaborating internally and externally • Diversifying • Applying for public subsidies • Financing by private investors **Additional practices** • Making use of novel technologies and innovation • Producing specific content (e.g., social, local, international) • Producing prepaid documentaries • Relying on family support • Accumulating savings from other projects • Investing in equipment • Establishing sales contracts • Creating side projects around the main project to extend its life • Exploiting the potential of the web • Organizing workshops • Hiring external consultants when a project requires the workforce • Adapting a business model • Agency of creative entrepreneurs - Role of producer
Organizational	*Financial* • Cash flow • Economic sustainability • Funding • Financial decision-making • Continuity	**Main practices** • Planning before project initiation • Managing multiple projects in pipeline • Collaborating internally and externally • Diversifying • Applying for public subsidies • Financing by private investors **Additional practices** • Making use of novel technologies and innovation • Producing specific content (e.g., social, local, international) • Producing prepaid documentaries • Relying on family support • Accumulating savings from other projects • Investing in equipment • Establishing sales contracts • Creating side projects around the main project to extend its life • Exploiting the potential of the web • Organizing workshops • Hiring external consultants when a project requires the workforce • Adapting a business model • Agency of creative entrepreneurs - Role of producer
	Relational • Difficulty in reaching an agreement with creatives	**Main practice** • Internal collaboration **Additional practice** • Hiring external consultants

	• Tensions between those working in the office and those working onsite	• Agency of creative entrepreneurs - Role of producer
	Inherent in the project • Long life of a project • Big budget expenditure	**Main practices** • Planning before project initiation • Managing multiple projects in pipeline • Diversifying • Applying for public subsidies **Additional practices** • Making use of novel technologies and innovation • Producing specific content (e.g., social, local, international) • Producing prepaid documentaries • Accumulating savings from other projects • Investing in equipment • Establishing sales contracts • Creating side projects around the main project to extend its life • Exploiting the potential of the web • Organizing workshops • Hiring external consultants when a project requires the workforce • Adapting a business model
Industry	*Financial* • Accessing public funds	**Main practices** • Planning before project initiation • Managing multiple projects in pipeline **Additional practice** • Producing specific content (e.g., social, local, international)
	Administrative • Bureaucracy and slow administration	**Main practice** • Managing multiple projects in pipeline **Additional practices** • Producing prepaid documentaries • Establishing sales contracts • Adapting a business model
	Distribution & Market • Difficult access to traditional distribution • New ways of reaching the audience with new means of distribution (e.g., streaming service companies) • Increased competition due to new ways of distribution	**Main practice** • Planning before project initiation **Additional practices** • Access new means of distribution (e.g., streaming service companies) • Making use of novel technologies and innovation • Producing specific content (e.g., social, local, international) • Producing prepaid documentaries • Establishing sales contracts • Exploiting the potential of the web • Adapting a business model

The contribution of our study is threefold. First, we contribute to the literature on paradox and contradictions by exploring the management of situated tensions at the micro level (Cunha

et al, 2019; Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2017; Miron-Spector et al., 2018). The research on paradox and contradictions recognizes that competing logics can cause tensions at the levels of field, organizations and individuals. However, while the macro levels have been extensively explored, we still do not have a complete understanding of how individuals deal with the tensions caused by conflicting logics (Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2017; Miron-Spector et al., 2018; Pina e Cuhna et al., 2019). Thus, in this study, we focused on each individual creative entrepreneur and shed light on how they coped with these tensions. Our findings confirmed the symbiotic relationship between art and business, rather than a tension between the two aspects. This finding is in line with the research perspective according to which art and business are viewed as complementary rather than mutually exclusive (Peltoniemi, 2015). Art and business represent a constant duality present in the film industry (Hadida, 2010), however the response to this duality can vary. Our informants valued a combination of art and business. By embracing this duality, they viewed art and business as a paradox - contradictory yet interrelated demands that exist simultaneously and persist over time (Gaim, 2018; Smith & Lewis, 2011).cHowever, we could also argue that our study challenges the main assumption of the cultural field, which is the existence of tensions. Tensions are often seen by the researches rather than the informants and they tend to be socially constructed rather than inherent. The perceived compatibility of art and business by our informants shows that the notion of tension is problematic.

Previous research has asserted that the film industry suffers from a chronic absence of profit and no capital investments converted to fixed assets (e.g., DeFillippi & Arthur, 1998; Peltoniemi, 2015). Our study suggests that an unbalanced project, in which one aspect - either art or business – is prevailing, can result in a poor economic return.

The study uncovered common organizational and industry-level tensions of financial, relational and inherent nature experienced by creative entrepreneurs. Although the list of challenges is not exhaustive and some challenges overlap, they still constitute a good overview of the most recurrent challenges that creative entrepreneurs face along the process of creative entrepreneurship. Several scholars outline management and industry challenges present within the creative industries (Peltoniemi, 2015; Peris-Ortiz et al., 2019; Sinapi, 2020; Stroem, Olsen & Foss, 2020). However, our study uncovered the tensions of creative entrepreneurship and the common practices to manage them.

Second, we contribute to the practice theories and the practice turn in (creative) entrepreneurship. Recently, researchers (Jarzabkowski & Lê, 2017; Schneider et al., 2020)

have stressed that paradoxical tensions are reflected in individual micro-practices. In particular, Schneider et al. (2020) urged to use the practice perspective on tensions to study individuals' practices when they respond to tensions. Following these recent calls, this study identified the common business practices creative entrepreneurs adopt to balance the tension between art and business and solve other challenges of creative entrepreneurship. This study examined also the agency of creative entrepreneurs, producers in particular, and their importance in managing various tensions and aspects of creative entrepreneurship. In so doing, we highlight the importance of human action in line with practice-based studies (Orlikowski, 2002; Jarzabkowski, 2004; Whittinghton, 2010; Gherardi, 2016; Fortwengel, Schüßler, & Sydow, 2017) and creative industries' studies (Alvarez, 2000; Alvarez et al., 2005; Svejenova, 2005). Through practices, creative entrepreneurs can produce, reproduce and transform structures (Giddens, 1984; Fortwengel, Schüßler, & Sydow, 2017). However, the question of whether practices have agency has been a blind spot in practice theories (Gherardi, 2016). Our study supports the theorizing of those scholars, suggesting that practice theories go beyond dualities of agency/structure, mind/body, action/thought and individual/collective. This implies the consideration of creative entrepreneurship as a nexus of practices (Hui, Schatzki, Shove 2016; Nicolini, 2017; Thomson et al., 2020).

Our third contribution is to the creative entrepreneurship literature (e.g., Svejenova et al., 2015) by introducing the practice turn to describe and explain "how entrepreneurial life is actually lived in and through practices" (Thomson et al., 2020, p. 247). Most of the characteristics of creative entrepreneurship derive from the general entrepreneurship theory (Hausmann & Heinze, 2016). Therefore, we decided to extend the application of the recent practice turn in entrepreneurship to the context of creative entrepreneurship. Several scholars explored various tensions in the context of CCIs (e.g., DeFillippi et al, 2007; Friedman & Jones, 2011; Jones et al., 2016; Lampel, Lant & Shamsie, 2000). In line with Stroem, Olsen and Foss (2020), our study highlights the importance of an understanding of the complexities faced by cultural entrepreneurs. Our study differs from other studies because, besides unveiling different challenges of creative entrepreneurship, we uncover the most recurrent practices to tackle them along the process of entrepreneurship in artistic settings, the context which remains scarcely researched (Bergamini et al., 2018). Several challenges of creative entrepreneurship that were identified in our study can also be found in the general entrepreneurship. For instance, the financial challenges at organizational level related to the lack of cash flow, economic sustainability, funding, financial decision-making and continuity, are often the challenges

faced by the entrepreneurs operating in other contexts. In addition, the relational challenges are typical of other types of entrepreneurs. The main six practices of planning before project initiation, managing multiple projects in pipeline, collaborating internally and externally, diversifying, applying for public subsidies and financing by private investors can result useful to general entrepreneurs to face the challenges of traditional entrepreneurship.

The limitations of this study also deserve elaboration and provide opportunities for future research. The study aimed at elaborating a theory, which might seem "subjective". However, we adhered closely to the data and analyzed them in depth to give some "objectivity" to the results (Gibbert et al., 2008; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). To ensure the construct validity the preliminary findings were reviewed by key informants and peers (Gibbert et al., 2008). Multiple cases were chosen to enable comparisons between the cases and to contribute to a better theory. With regard to empirical generalizability, we limited our study to a European film industry, mainly Italian one. In order to ensure the external validity we provided some details on the study's specific contextual circumstances and the rationale for the sample selection (Gibbert et al., 2008). Other national settings and creative industries can be explored by future research. To ensure the theoretical generalizability, we examined more general theoretical implications of our study (Ketokivi & Choi, 2014). We tried to combine the situational groundedness with the sense of generality by applying the theory elaboration approach to satisfy the rigor and practical relevance of the study. Another limitation of the study laid in the data sample. Although the number of interviews was not very high, we reached a theoretical saturation so that additional interviews were not providing new data. In addition, some interview questions were retrospective. This limitation was partly mitigated by the combination of retrospective and real-time questions. We decided to maintain our focus on the main six practices. However, we encourage future studies to enrich our findings and to explore other practices of creative entrepreneurship. The process of emergence of new business practices in creative industries can be further investigated. Tensions and paradoxes are often nested and dynamic (Cunha & Putman, 2019; Miron-Spektor et al., 2018); it would be interesting to explore them simultaneously at different levels of analysis taking the longitudinal perspective. In particular, in the process of conducting our research, we uncovered several individual challenges of creative entrepreneurs such as discontinuity, precarity, insecurity and underpayment of their artistic careers. Some of creative entrepreneurs experienced problems with work and life balance, sexual abuse, stress and anxiety. To deal with some individual challenges creative entrepreneurs engaged in various work arrangements and searched for art-

related jobs, such as teaching and consulting. Although, the challenges and practices at individual level were not the focus of our study, we encourage further work on them. Finally, we assumed, following the wide-spread assumption in the creative field, that the CCIs are pervaded by tensions. Future research should question this paradigmatic assumption and ask: *Why is the field of CCIs is obsessed with tensions and paradoxes?* Are the tensions always present in CCIs? *What is the difference between different CCIs in terms of the presence/absence and influence of tensions?*

CONCLUSIONS

This study uncovered business practices creative entrepreneurs employed to balance art and business and manage other recurrent challenges of creative entrepreneurship. In so doing our study contributes to the literature on tensions, practices and creative entrepreneurship. The study provides relevant managerial implications for the training of creative entrepreneurs by contributing to their self-awareness and understanding of what practices might help throughout the entrepreneurial process, thus, minimizing the level of uncertainty connected with the start-up and development of a business. The study can also provide useful insights for other knowledge-intensive industries where specific paradoxes and dynamics of creative industries are increasingly present.

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APPENDIX OF CHAPTER 2

TABLE 1

Opinion of creative entrepreneurs about the relationship between art and business

Company	Position	Opinion of creative entrepreneurs about the relationship between art and business
8 Production	Founder 1	Compatible *They might seem incompatible, but they are not. The important thing is to find a balance between the artistic part and the productive part. If the artistic part is predominant over the rest, you won't probably make a good project. If the business and marketing part is predominant over the project, clearly the artistic part won't work.*
	Founder 2	Compatible *Let's say that an artist who makes art should never think about business. But when you make the cinema you have to enter these dynamics here. It is also an extra stimulus. In our case, it's obvious that we do both.*
Amira 3	Founder 1	Compatible *Even if it is an artistic product, it is a product. You have to sell it. Even if you make art house films.*
	Founder 2	Compatible *Compatible but you have to know how to do it. The world of cinema is a world that relies heavily on interpersonal relationships. I deeply believe in this union. It's not that you can't earn money if you do art. The two must go hand in hand.*
	Founder 3	Compatible *They are complementary. For the cultural aspect it is a stimulus. I know that I have financial difficulties and therefore I always have to think about how to overcome them and I always do it in an artistic way. So sometimes the economic problem can be a stimulus to improve the cultural product.*
	Founder 4	Compatible *They could be compatible but from an artistic point of view you always think you are making a product well and you don't think you are doing business.*
	Project Manager	Compatible *The two have to be balanced.* *The creative aspect must be balanced with respect to economic sustainability to ensure the project stands up.*

Bridge Film	Founder 1	Compatible *One is the manifestation of the other, they are two sides of the same coin, this was what Marx said.* *When I hear an idea, consciously or unconsciously, I know that the idea has to sell.* *Cinema goes hand in hand with finance. It is an inevitable marriage.*
Insolita Film	Founder	Compatible *In my opinion things are connected: if I want to collect good money, I need to commit myself to do something beautiful.*
	Project Manager	Compatible *Of course they are compatible. I strongly believe in the Chiakin project. Just see the practical examples. The union between art and business can work when you - business - want to stand out from the others and to do so you need a cultural impact and a social impact.*
Movie Factory	Founder	Compatible *They travel together and, somehow, you have to carry on both of them.*
Viola Film	Founder	Compatible *They go absolutely together. I can make art only if I do business. If I only do art and I loose everything then it's better if I do something else. If I make art and I manage to cover the costs, then I do both.*
	Junior Producer	Compatible *They are one another's soul. To me, the idea that art is independent from entrepreneurship is a bit naïve. Art must live on business and business must live on art. These are two essential aspects.*
	Project Manager, Assistant	Compatible *Yes, of course (compatible). As long as it will be necessary to have a certain technical level in making movies. It takes a lot of money to make a good film. When we say little money is tens, hundreds of thousands of euros. Cinema must necessarily live with money and with many other people. It is inherent. Collective work is expensive.*
Potemkino	Founder	Compatible (talking about a successful project) *The cool thing was that the creative side was completely in line with the business side and we landed where we wanted to be a high-quality film that premiered at most important international film festivals. This is when creativity and business work in a good way.*
	Producer of local films	Probably incompatible *Probably not. It is an exercise that everybody has to do within an industry. If you as me personally, it has been a battle to find a balance between my work and my private life.*
	Producer of VR	Compatible *I think they are compatible. I got to know a lot about gaming, which is more commercial projects but at the same time you also have very niche products. They use a different business model than films. The last two years I found out that it is super interesting to translate the gaming business models into films. I think if we could translate it more in the film industry, that would be good.*

Creative & Line Production	Founder	Compatible *I want art come first in the decision making. If someone writes a film I will be the first to say "this is not really good, let's change this." - this is the creative point of view. But the other point of view is that if you are going to do it only in Belgium, it's not going to end up somewhere in LA. So it's all this kind of strategy.*
Victus Film	Founder	Compatible *So it is hard to say because it is a philosophical question what is "art" and there are many opinions about it. For me art should touch people's life, people's thinking, give certain feelings. The second thing is that of course I want to make movies that make money because I need to live, I need to set up and raise a company and I think it does not exclude art. This combination is the best. Making movies only because it is art it is too expensive.*
	Producer, writer	Compatible *It depends on your audience. Generally I would hope that the two go hand in hand if you work internationally...* *Obviously you have to keep an eye on the market. There is no point in doing any movie if nobody is gonna watch it. I would say it is mostly complementary.*
Vivo Film	Founder	Compatible *Cinematographic art and arthouse cinema should be synonymous.* *It's important to mention that more and more the names that are not consecrated manage to reach a large audience putting together forms of auteur cinema with a typical entertainment language. The moment you manage to put these two things together, the works of Cuarón, "Parasite" by Bong Joon-ho, "The Shape of Water" by Guillermo del Toro come out.*

Extract of interview questions

1. When, how and with what motivation did you start working in the film industry?

2. With whom were you interacting and sharing your ideas at the beginning of your career?

3. When and why did you decide to create your own film production company?

4. Who and what helped you found your film production company?

5. How did the division of roles take place in your film production company?

6. What are the key contacts that today facilitate the growth of your company?

7. How do you see yourself now with respect to your initial goals?

8. What are the key traits of your film production company? What distinguishes your film production company from the others?

9. Do you identify with your company? How important is your person in running the company?

10. What kind of tensions do you and your film production company face?

11. How do you manage them? (in terms of practices)

12. Do you find business and art two incompatible or rather complementary logics in your job?

13. Have you ever felt any pressure from the business side and how did you deal with it? What about the pressure from the artistic side?

Chapter III. Project governance and owner organizational identity: The Venice Biennale case [3]

ABSTRACT

There is now a considerable body of work on managing the governance interface in project organizing, yet there has been little consideration of how the organizational identity of the project owner might shape the design of that interface. This is important, because organizational identity is known to shape various aspects of organizing, so we might expect it also to shape the design of the project governance interface. We explore this question through a case study of how the Venice Biennale owner organization governs one of its temporary project events – the 2019 Venice International Film Festival. Through our empirical fieldwork, based on multiple data sources including a participant ethnography of the 76th Venice International Film Festival and semi-structured interviews, we found that the organizational identity of the project owner organization influences choices made for the governance of a delivery project. The study contributes to theory on project governance by highlighting the importance of owner organizational identity for the design of the governance interface in project organizing and identifying the importance of an interpersonal approach to governance interface design for an owner organization with an identify of innovation and experimentation on its delivery projects.

Keywords:

Project governance, governance interface, owner organizational identity, festival projects

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[3] This chapter is based on the paper with the same title co-authored with Graham Winch and Natalya Sergeeva. The paper was presented at the 37th EGOS Colloquium 2019, Sub-theme 66: Temporality and Project-based Organizing; BAM 2020, Project Experience Track; EURAM 2021, Project Organising General Track. It is undergoing a second round of peer review.

INTRODUCTION

Project governance has been a growing area of research interest over the last few years (Ahola et al., 2014; Müller & Lecoeuvre, 2014; Joslin & Müller, 2015; Ul Musawir et al., 2020). Project governance can be broadly defined as the management of project management (Too & Weaver, 2014). It is "a system by which a project is directed, controlled, and held to account" (Ul Musawir et al., 2020, p.7). Project governance is "the framework, functions and processes that guide activities in projects, programme and portfolio management" (PMI, 2008). It implies a constellation of frameworks, structures, processes, policies and other elements which can overwhelm an organization with bureaucracy and rules.

However, research in the field is conceptually fluid (Ahola et al, 2014; Ul Musawir et al, 2020) and it remains true that "we still know little about how governance arrangements actually work in practice, and which approaches are more appropriate in which contexts" (Winch & Leiringer, 2016, p. 277). We start from the position that one size does not fit all in project governance as in other areas of project organizing (Shenhar, 2001). In particular, there are concerns regarding appropriate project governance modes for less traditional, innovation-driven organizations, operating at the interface between the permanent owner organization and the temporary project delivery organization (Bakker, 2016; Stjerne & Svejenova, 2016; Sergeeva, 2019) which deserve further exploration.

The role of organizational identity - the members' shared beliefs about the central, enduring, and distinctive characteristics of the organization (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Whetten, 2006) - in aligning the governance interface between the permanent owner organization and its projects has not been adequately explored in the project organizing literature. Organizational identity is relational and consciously self-reflexive (Fiol et al., 1998; Hatch & Schultz, 2002; Ravasi & Schultz, 2006). It is influenced by how members believe the organization is perceived externally and by their beliefs and assumptions about idiosyncratic patterns of behaviour (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006). This paper aims to uncover the role of owner organizational identity in the governance interface.

We propose to do this by investigating the project governance approach of an exemplar cultural institution, the Venice Biennale, driven by the spirit of research, experimentation and innovation. In particular, the purpose of this study is to explore the governance interface between the permanent cultural organization as project owner and one of its temporary project

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delivery organizations in the form of an annual film festival, and to uncover its governance approach enabling the organization both to innovate and to remain truthful to its identity. It will thereby contribute to the development of theory in project organizing research by 1) investigating how the governance interface is managed for autonomy, flexibility and innovation and 2) how the organizational identity of the owner influences choices made about the interface between the temporary and the permanent for the project governance of an annual film festival.

The Venice Biennale is one of the most important cultural institutions in the world founded in 1895 operating in six cultural sectors through annual or biennial festivals and exhibitions. Considering its history and organizational structure, the Venice Biennale constitutes an ideal case to study the governance interface between permanent cultural organizations and their annual festival projects (Uriarte et al, 2019). In particular, the study looks at the Biennale Foundation as owner organization, and the 76th edition of the Venice Film Festival, held in 2019, as the project organization.

The next section provides the theoretical background on project governance, highlighting the importance of investigating flexible modes of governance in organizations that aim to foster innovation, followed by a section on the under-researched role of organizational identity in project governance. The subsequent section outlines the study's methodology, overviewing the Venice Biennale as an empirical research site. Then it presents findings and concludes with discussion and contributions.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Project governance: Towards an informal approach

Project governance can be broadly defined as the management of project management (Too & Weaver, 2014). It is "a system by which a project is directed, controlled, and held to account" (Ul Musawir et al., 2020, p.7). Project governance is "the framework, functions and processes that guide activities in projects, programme and portfolio management" (PMI, 2008). It implies a constellation of frameworks, structures, processes, policies and other elements which can overwhelm an organization with bureaucracy and rules. Within the research literature on project governance there is a lack of both conceptual clarity and empirical granularity on how project governance gets done on projects (Ahola et al, 2014; Pitsis et al.,

2014; McGrath & Whitty, 2015; Winch & Leiringer, 2016; Ul Musawir et al., 2017; Sergeeva, 2019; Ul Musawir et al., 2020).

However, there are indications of what the elements of the governance interface might be. Müller (2014a) defines project governance as the use of systems, structures, processes, procedures, policies, roles and responsibilities to allocate resources and coordinate or control activity in a project. DeFillippi and Sydow (2016) suggest that project governance mechanisms can be summarized into "four R's": responsibilities that reflect contract-based governance; routines; roles representing administrative control; and relationships reflecting social modes of governance. Winch and Leiringer (2016) further propose project assurance, project coordination and asset integration into existing operations as owner capabilities for the governance interface. Perhaps Too and Weaver (2014) provide the most extensive analysis. They argue that a governance structure includes portfolio management, project sponsorship, and a project management office (PMO). Other authors add stage-gate processes (Merrow, 2011), the three lines of defence for project controls (Hone et al., 2011) and project boards (Lechler & Cohen, 2009). See Winch et al (2022: figure 8.3) for an integrative model of this literature, while Merrow (2011) shows the importance of these governance mechanisms for the performance of megaprojects.

Across this diversity there is a consensus that capabilities for the management of the governance interface require levels of specialization, formalization and standardization in organization design – in a word, bureaucracy (Mintzberg, 1979). However, in order to govern effectively, the owner organization needs to design a set of both formal and informal structures and processes. On the one hand, project governance has to enact sets of practices that are reliable and repeatable across projects (Müller et al., 2014a) which requires a certain formalization and standardization of processes, on the other hand, complex and unique projects require flexibility (Gulino et al., 2020; Sergeeva, 2019).

Following this line of thought, several scholars suggest that flexibility is the key to enable successful project governance in order to cope with risks, changing circumstances and project uniqueness (Müller et al., 2014a; Müller et al., 2014b; Müller et al., 2016; Lappi et al., 2018). To what extent flexibility in the governance framework should be granted is another question, conditional on several factors. First, the context of the project matters (Ul Musawir et al., 2017). Furthermore, different levels of governance require different types of flexibility

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– the lower levels of governance require flexible methods and processes while the higher levels of governance require flexibility in people's mindsets (Müller et al., 2014b).

Müller et al. (2014b, 2015) identify several organizational enablers of effective governance including self-responsible and self-organizing individuals, flat and decentralized organization design and a culture of open discussion. Too many formal rules and policies can increase complexity with the negative effect on project performance (Sohi et al., 2019). This literature suggests that bureaucratic approaches to project governance may have their limitations, and that for some owners, non-bureaucratic, flexible and inter-relational approaches may be more appropriate. An important aspect influencing choices of governance interface design may be owner organizational identity.

The role of owner organizational identity in project governance

Organizational identity is the members' shared beliefs about the most central, enduring, and distinctive traits of their organization (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Whetten, 2006; Gioia et al., 2013). It answers the questions of "who we are as an organization" and "what we do as a collective" (Nag et al., 2007). The formation of organizational identity is a complex process (Gioia et al., 2010), influenced by the membership in group, industrial and organizational fields (Rao et al., 2000) and the role of founders and leaders (Hannan et al., 2006; Scott & Lane, 2000, Voss et al., 2006) who give sense to other members (Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991). While the role of organizational identity in constructing strategic capabilities and resources has been widely recognized (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Glynn, 2000; Maitlis & Lawrence, 2003; Voss et al., 2006), its role in project governance remains scarcely researched. There is a gap in the existing knowledge in understanding the connection between the owner's organizational identity and the owner's choice of governance approach in project organizing.

Glynn (2000) relates the crafting of a cultural organization's identity to the crafting of strategic capabilities and resources by proposing a model explicating how the construction of core capabilities lies at the intersection of identification and interpretive processes in organizations. Through the process of identification, organization members identify themselves with their organization, while the process of interpretation helps strategic issues become noticed and associated with a set of resources. Studying organizational identity in relation to firm performance, Voss et al. (2006) stress how consensus about identity helps members with strategic decision-making, resource acquisition and their organizations' internal

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processes. With regard to governance capabilities, Golden-Biddle and Rao (1997) highlight the role of organizational identity in constructing and enacting directors' roles, shaping interactions among board members and managers. Despite some evidence about the impact of organizational identity on governance, its role in aligning objectives between the permanent owner organization and its projects in the project organizing literature has not been adequately explored.

Gulino et al. (2020) explore governance as a dynamic capability of the San Francisco case of the Itaipu as the owner organization of social housing complex developing projects. They showed how the owner organizational identity transformed from the traditional culture of working in isolation to a more inclusive and open organization fostering cooperation between all parties involved. Sergeeva (2019) conducted narrative interviews with senior practitioners in project settings and found that, from their perspective, more flexible and collaborative project and corporate governance stimulates innovation. These findings have important implications for shaping an organizational identity that merit much further empirical investigation.

For these reasons, this study focuses on the under-researched role of owner organizational identity in the governance interface between an owner organization and its projects. If an organization values considerably its identity and if its identity is based on certain principles, such as creativity, research and innovation, there is a need for an appropriate governance approach (Sergeeva, 2019; Sergeeva & Ali, 2020). In contrast to a highly formalised, bureaucratic and processual project governance, this study investigates an alternative approach to governance that allows an organization to constantly innovate and change itself while at the same time remaining stable and faithful to its identity over many years.

METHODS

In order to answer the research questions, we use the qualitative research approach as it allows for the investigation of complex, processual dynamics and human interaction (Gioia et al., 2013). We chose an exploratory case study approach (Yin, 2015) to enable theory elaboration (Fisher & Aguinis, 2017) and to examine the governance of the Venice Biennale as our empirical domain. A case study is appropriate because it attempts to examine a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context in conditions pertinent to the phenomenon of the inquiry.

We selected the Venice Biennale because it acts as an extreme case demonstrating an outstanding success and a perfect setting to focus on the governance interface between the two principal organizational elements of the Biennale - the Biennale Foundation (i.e., the permanent part) and the annual or biennial festivals and exhibitions (i.e., the temporary part). In particular, we focus on the Venice International Film Festival (VIFF) for the temporary part as a specific form of temporary project organizing (Uriarte et al., 2019). Film festivals are influenced by the shadow of the past and future projects in which different stakeholders' interests are involved (Sydow & Braun, 2018).

The Venice Biennale research case study

The Venice Biennale was founded as an Exhibition of Contemporary Art in 1895 and became immediately one of the most important art exhibitions of the world. In the 1930s the Venice Biennale was transformed into an autonomous body passing from the control of the Municipality of Venice to that of the national Italian government. Thanks to the increased funding and the effort of the then President, new cultural sectors were created (Music, Cinema, Theatre) and the Biennale took on a multidisciplinary nature. In particular, the Venice International Film Festival (VIFF) was born in 1932 and from 1935 onwards it became annual.

During the war period, the activity of the Biennale was interrupted: the VIFF was suspended from 1943 to 1945. A period of institutional changes culminated in a new Statute in 1973. A "democratic" Governing Council (19 members) was set up, composed of representatives of the Government, the most important local authorities, the major trade unions, as well as a staff representative. This Governing Council elected the President and appointed the Department Directors.

The 1980s and 1990s were years of reforms for the Biennale. A new President recognized the urgent need for the autonomy and independence of the festival. With the reform of 1998, the Biennale governance changed to become a public entity operating according to private law. The Board was reduced from 19 to 5 members. The President was given clear definition and instructions. The limitation to only one appointment for Artistic Directors was abolished, meaning that Artistic Directors could be reappointed for several years to come. This change was especially important for the Artistic Director of the VIFF to ensure some continuity and stability in film programming.

In 2004 the statute was revised to give the Biennale even more autonomy and entrepreneurial orientation. It was renamed to the Biennale Foundation (Fondazione della Biennale di Venezia). The former President of the Biennale explained one of the reasons behind this reform: *"The Biennale has the evident public goal – compensate for a relative dearth of instruments of access for the public and a deficiency in the number of instruments or research and experimentation in the fields in which it operates"*.

Data collection

The data regarding the owner and its temporary annual film festival, The Venice Biennale case study, were collected from multiple sources: (i) a participant ethnography of the 76th Venice International Film Festival including photo-ethnographic observation; (ii) archival data from the Historical Archive of Contemporary Arts (ASAC) and the Biennale Library, (iii) media coverage, (iv) supplementary semi-structured interviews with the key organizational actors.

An ethnographic study, which helps understand the micro dynamics of specific processes responding to the questions of "how" and "why" (Van Maanen, 2011), was conducted from August 24 to September 5, 2019 for a total of 150 hours of participant observation. The first author worked as a runner to assist the Venice Production Bridge (VPB) team but had a chance to observe and work on other duties during the 76th VIFF. The VPB, launched in 2015, constitutes a bridge between different industry professionals. It is a constellation of events articulated into four main initiatives, besides other panels, meetings, conferences and screenings.

Field interviews took place during 2019. We followed purposeful sampling in choosing our informants. We chose informants who would be most able to inform us on our research questions concerning the governance approach of the Biennale and the role of organizational identity in the governance interface between the Biennale Foundation and its VIFF. The preliminary interview took place with the President in early spring of 2019. Among the discussed topics were: the identity and fundamental values of the Biennale, the President's role and the structure of the Biennale, discussion of the VIFF in comparison with other major film festivals. The interviews with the Director General and the Deputy Director (who is also the Head of Legal and Institutional Affairs; Human Resources; and manager of ASAC) took place in November 2019. While with the President the narrative interview was conducted (Sergeeva & Winch, 2020), with the General Director and the Deputy Director semi-structured interviews

were performed. Semi-structured interviews contained questions such as: *Which key organizational members are at the top of the Biennale Foundation and which are at the top of the VIFF? How does the interaction between the Biennale Foundation and its Film Festival take place? How is the alignment of objectives guaranteed? Which are the offices that deal with transversal functions for all cultural sectors? Does the Biennale use project portfolio management, program management practices? How do they work? Does the Biennale have a project management office?* In addition, questions about the key values, features, and tensions of the Biennale were asked. This allowed us to comprehend the importance that the organizational identity of the Biennale played in its governance interface. Prior research has identified top managers as critical players who have "important insight into an organization's identity, unique access to knowledge of organizational structures, strategies, and actions" (Corley & Gioia, 2004, p. 180).

We tried to reach other members of the Biennale, but because of the flooding in autumn 2019, the change in the top management team in January 2020, and then the COVID-19 outbreak, it became impossible to continue formal fieldwork. However, many informal conversations with both employees of the Biennale and cinematographic experts were held.

With regard to the secondary data, we employed theoretical sampling, pursuing data relevant to the themes and grounded theory emerging in the ongoing analysis (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). We examined the historical sources offered by the Biennale Library, ASAC and different catalogues (i.e., mainly paper catalogues of the 76th VIFF and online catalogues and newsletters of other years) related to the Cinema sector. Other sources of internal and external communication and media coverage have been analysed, acting as important supplements to triangulate the results. The data sources are indicated in Table 1.

Table 1. Data sources and their use in the analysis

Source	Type of Data	Objective in the analysis
Ethnographic Participant observation	147-150 hours before and during the festival (August 24 – September 5; 10/11 working hours per day).	Gain an understanding of internal dynamics of the VIFF and its interaction with the Biennale Foundation.

Photo-ethnographic observation	Over 200 photographs taken by the first researcher; around 130 photographs taken by the VPB photographer.	Analyze the festival's space and socio-materiality through which the Venice Biennale maintains its identity.
Informal Interviews	Constant informal talks with the team members of the VPB and other employees and participants of the 76th edition of the VIFF.	Understand the previous experience, contractual conditions of the Biennale's temporary and permanent employees.
Interviews	3 interviews with key organizational actors of the Venice Biennale: -President (95' of non-recorded interview) -Director General and organizational manager of the Cinema sector (20' of informal talk and 48' of recorded interview) -Deputy Director, Top Manager of Legal and Institutional Affairs, HR, responsible of the Historical Archive of Contemporary Arts (20' of informal talk and 48' of recorded interview).	Gain an understating of organizational identity of the Biennale, its organizational structure, its governance and its management of tensions.
Archival Sources	-Materials on the organizers and managers of the Venice Biennale and its cultural sectors. Corporate reports regarding the organization of the offices. Financial statements. -All available press releases and documents related to the cultural sectors, available on the official website of the Biennale.	Comprehend the formal organizational structure and governance of the Venice Biennale. Explore the organizational identity, the interaction between project owners (i.e., the President, the General Director) and project managers (I.e., artistic directors).
	-Material on the history of the Venice Biennale. Happy 75th – a brief introduction to	Contextualize the interplay between temporary and permanent

| the history of the international film festival by Peter Cowie.
-Newspapers (more than 200 articles). | organization structures within a specific historical moment. Gain insights on how media reports on the organization and identity of the Venice Biennale. |

Data analysis

Data analysis followed prescriptions for grounded-theory building (Corbin & Strauss, 1990), elaborating a theory through a continuous interplay between data analysis and data collection. Data analysis consisted of three phases (Hubermann, Miles, 1994): (1) data reduction in which the mass of qualitative data (e.g., interview transcripts, newsletters) was manually transcribed, and analysed with NVivo; (2) data display in which an organized, compressed assembly of information was displayed in a form of tables or discourse; (3) drawing conclusions. We employed the following methods: (i) contextual analysis of the archival data, media coverage and field notes from the ethnography to comprehend the organizational structure of the Biennale and its internal dynamics; (ii) thematic analysis on interview data to identify emerging patterns (Yin, 2009).

Interview transcripts, field notes from ethnographic observation, official documents (e.g., Statute, organizational structure and functions of the Biennale), newsletters, press releases, media articles were analysed in NVivo. The NVivo analysis led to the emergence of open, axial and selective codes (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). In the open coding phase meaningful nodes were identified, given conceptual labels and grouped in categories and subcategories. In particular, 88 codes and subcodes were identified. In axial coding categories were related to their subcategories. 10 axial codes emerged from coding all the data at hand, including categories such as the Biennale's permanent and temporary elements, its employees, organization of the VIFF and the organizational structure of the Biennale; governance interface; identity of the Biennale and others. Not all axial codes were necessary to answer our research questions (e.g., tensions within the Biennale), thus in the end we reduced the number of axial codes to eight.

In selective coding we unified several categories around some "core" categories, through a process of grouping codes into increasingly abstract concepts. To identify core categories, we asked ourselves questions focused on areas such as (1) corporate governance

and organizational identity of the Biennale; (2) permanent and temporary elements in the Venice Biennale; (3) the governance interface between festivals and permanent owner organization; and (4) the role of organizational identity in the governance interface.

A three-stage process of theoretically informed coding is showed in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Coding structure
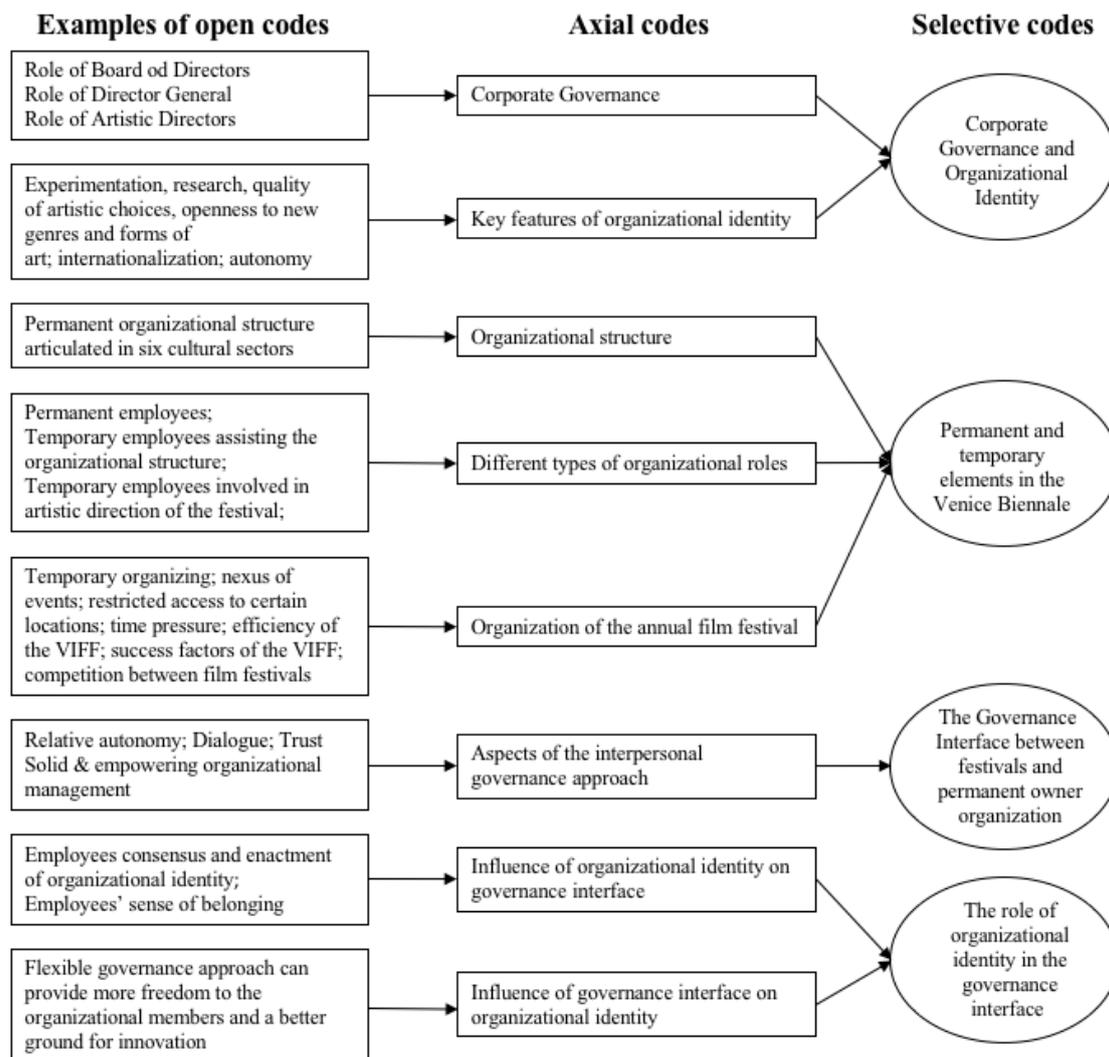
FINDINGS

The next section explores the corporate governance and the most central components of the organizational identity of the Biennale. Then, we discuss the permanent and temporary elements of the Venice Biennale and the governance interface between the Biennale Foundation and the VIFF. Important aspects of the Biennale governance approach are identified. Finally, we stress the role of organizational identity in the governance interface.

Organizational identity of the Biennale Foundation as Event Project Owner

The Board of Directors (BoD) is accountable for the corporate governance of the Biennale Foundation. The composition of the BoD is reflective of the importance given to the stakeholders of the Biennale. It consists of the President, the Mayor of Venice, and three members nominated respectively by the Regione Veneto, the Consiglio Provinciale di Venezia and private backers. The President is nominated by the national Minister for Cultural Affairs. The BoD defines the strategic objectives of the organization, and the timing and modes within which the strategic objectives are executed. The General Manager is in charge of the execution of strategic objectives. The BoD appoints and dismisses the Artistic Directors of the cultural sectors of the Biennale and its Director General. Among other functions, the BoD allocates funds to the cultural sectors on the basis of their proposed projects as shown in Figure 2. This level of governance is highly formalized involving accountability for public funds but is also designed to articulate a strong artistic organizational identity.

Artistic Directors and Curators, being fully responsible for artistic choices of their sectors, constitute the key actors at the project governance level. They prepare and carry out the activities of the sector of their competence within the program approved by the BoD and the resources assigned to them by the board itself (article 13 of the revised Statute 2004). The BoD coordinates between projects of different sectors , supported by the Director General. Figure 2 illustrates the organizational structure of the Venice Biennale showing the link with its Artistic Directors. In effect, they are the project managers of a Biennale event.

Figure 2. Organizational structure and artistic directorship of the Venice Biennale
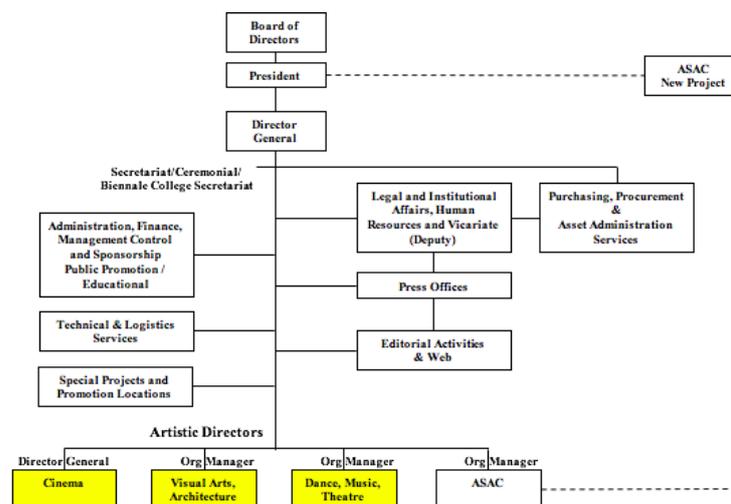
The Venice Biennale has a strong organizational identity existing "for more than 120 years as one of the most prestigious cultural institutions in the world" (https://www.labiennale.org/en/history, accessed 16.12.2020). The reforms of the 1980s and 1990s changed the governance of the Biennale in a profound way. The Biennale became a public entity operating according to private law and entrepreneurial principles, allowing it to fulfil its organizational purpose. The company statute of 1998, revised in 2004, indicates the mission of the Biennale, which is *"to promote the study, research and documentation in the field of contemporary arts on a national and international level through stable activities, events, experiments, projects."*

The key central and distinctive features of the Biennale's organizational identity are: (1) the spirit of experimentation, research, quality of artistic choices, and openness to new genres and forms of art; (2) internationalization; (3) autonomy. This is demonstrated in the following quotations:

The key words describing the Biennale, forming its essence, are - Venice, international, contemporary arts. It is about the research through international exhibitions and festivals on contemporary arts in the city of Venice. (Interview, Director General)

The spirit of experimentation is profound:

As the statute indirectly indicates, the mission must be carried out "in spirit of research", making it a place of knowledge within a relationship of free dialogue conducted through choices that are devoid of third-party interests. (Internal document, President, 2019)

And:

If we go back to the essence that we described before - "promoting research in contemporary arts at the international level in Venice" - that is our DNA! To do that you need to be open to the world. For example, we put Netflix films in to competition, so what? Are they films? – Yes. Do people watch them? – Yes. (Interview, Director General)

This was also supported by "*It is in our DNA to experiment"* (Interview, Deputy Director).

Festivals and exhibitions by the Biennale reflect the ideals of the Biennale itself (Cowie, 2018, p. 22). In fact, the claim of experimentation is constantly present in the speeches of

Artistic Directors and curators of the cultural sectors of the Biennale. For instance, the curator of the 58th International Art Exhibition in his opening speech stressed:

> *An exhibition is above all an experiment: like the works that it gathers together, it cannot be reduced to being 'about' this or that subject. Instead it stages a range of possibilities, testing how a group of artworks might behave within a particular environment and under particular conditions, how they might handle different types of stress and what kind of frictions they generate in response.* (Curator of the 58th International Art Exhibition of the Venice Biennale, 2019)

The spirit of research is connected to the quality of artistic choices and its dominance over commercial choices. In the interview with film historian Peter Cowie, Alberto Barbera, Artistic Director of the Venice Film Festival argued:

> *Since we are not so involved in the commercial side, we can really be faithful to an idea of quality. We choose our selection only on this premise. We chose our film because we think it is a good film, and no other elements are taken into consideration.* (Cowie, 2018, p. 159)

The spirit of experimentation and research is also related to the openness to new genres and forms of art of the Biennale. Paolo Baratta, former President of the Biennale, during the 75th Venice Film Festival reported:

> *The Festival presents a profusion of works by great auteurs, and is marked by a further new opening up to genres, as part of its commitment to tracing works of high quality and vitality without preconceived classifications.* (Source: archival document)

In 2019, in occasion of the 76th Venice Film Festival, the former President confirmed: *"The Venice Film Festival has become a point of reference for cinema all over the world. In this spirit we have set out to open up to new genres, avoiding any condescension and embarking on bold explorations".* The same year in his opening speech, the Artistic Director of the Biennale Arte stated: *"As they say, don't expect anything but be open to everything, because the purpose of art is to offer pleasure and recognition, not boredom and intimidation."*

Because the openness, research, experimentation and quality of artistic choices are fundamental values of the Biennale, even the censorship law is not applied to film screenings during the Venice Film Festival (Art.16, statute 1998), except for those under the age of 18.

For the 75th edition of the Venice Film Festival (2018), the Venice Biennale commissioned the film historian Peter Cowie to write a history of the VIFF. He summarised the spirit of research and experimentation of the Biennale that *"must, for la Biennale, always be discovered and put on display"* (Cowie, 2018, p. 22).

The second central component of the Biennale's organizational identity is internationalism. From the start, the Venice Biennale established itself as an international cultural organization attracting people from all around the world. The formal names of each sector of the Biennale include the adjective "international". On the occasion of the 58th International Art Exhibition, the President declared:

> *First of all, we are a complex international exhibition in which numerous exhibitions promoted by participating countries dialogue with each other, and, together, dialogue with the international exhibition we organize in collaboration with our Curator. In turn, our exhibition must be open and without any boundaries.* (Source: archival document)

Internationalism is not only reflected in the international participation of artists, industry professionals, visitors, press but also in the international approach and mentality of the Biennale organizers.

Autonomy is another essential component of the organizational identity. Although this trait is not explicitly stated in the mission, key organizational members and corporate documents stressed its importance. The autonomy of the Venice Biennale has a double nature: the autonomy of Artistic Directors in their artistic choices and the autonomy of the Biennale organization from any political, governmental influences:

> *The key trait of the Venice Biennale is autonomy both in defining programs and in giving ourselves the rules. Autonomy has two faces: (1) programming, which is left to the Artistic Directors, (2) autonomy of organization and management.* (Interview, Deputy Director)

This is reinforced by the President:

> *The autonomy given to La Biennale is not simply a facilitation granted in order to achieve greater efficiency, but is instead one of its primary raison d'être...These obligations inform the operative decisions of the Biennial venture. The pursuit of turnover is not the primary objective of its autonomous management; if anything, it is*

an ancillary factor compared to its primary mission: cultural autonomy. (Source: archival document)

Therefore, it is evident that autonomy is an essential component of the Biennale's organizational identity contributing to achieve the cultural autonomy and therefore research and experimentation in contemporary arts.

Permanent and temporary elements in the Venice Biennale

Through a participant ethnography and supplementary interviews with several key organizational actors of the Venice Biennale, we discovered the importance of distinguishing the agents from the structure. While the formal organizational structure of the Venice Biennale with the Biennale Foundation as its owner and the six cultural sectors are permanent, roles within the Biennale and the organization of the annual and biennial festivals comprise both temporary and permanent elements.

Organizational structure

Organizational structure of the Venice Biennale articulated in six cultural sectors is a permanent structure. Since the origin of the Biennale, the intent was to turn the Art Exhibition into a permanent multidisciplinary cultural organization. *"The cultural sectors are absolutely permanent with stable organizational procedures. We create unique products with an industrial method of production"* (interview, Director General*). Article 13 of the statute 1998, revised in 2004, confirms:

> *The Society of Culture (since 2004 - the Foundation) has a permanent sector of research and cultural production, represented by the historical archive of contemporary arts (ASAC), and six sectors aimed at the development of permanent research activity in the fields of architecture, visual arts, cinema, music, dance and theatre, as well as, at the definition and organization, at least every two years, of events of international importance...*

Therefore all the procedures remain quite stable over time:

> *Every year the procedures are always the same, refined with some innovations. The constant search for effectiveness and efficiency leads us to build a path of progressive*

adjustment. For instance, art and architecture exhibitions are managed in the same way. (Interview, Director General)

All the functions of the Venice Biennale are transversal to all its cultural sectors. However, each sector is different and, to guarantee its functioning, professionals and collaborators with specific knowledge and skills are employed on a temporary basis. Thus:

> *The idea is to have central services that are available to everyone. Then there is a specialized staff dedicated to each activity. So, profiles can be specialized for industry experience and specific ones are always temporary.* (Interview, Deputy Director)

Different types of organizational roles

The Deputy Director reported (interview) that in 2018 the Biennale had approximately 110 permanent employees, 118 temporary employees and other 200 temporary role-specific professionals and collaborators.

Based on the permanent/temporary dimension of roles, the three types of employment status were observed: (1) permanent employees, (2) temporary employees assisting the organizational structure and (3) temporary employees involved in artistic direction of the festivals. This categorization is the result of the relationship between the festival artistic directorship and the Foundation directorship present within the Biennale. This relationship forms the key trait characterizing the Biennale – its double autonomy, specified in the previous paragraph:

> *Biennale is made up of the permanent workers who oversee the permanent organizational structure, then there are the assistants of Artistic Directors, such as selectors, that have the collaboration contacts related to the development of Artistic Directors' projects. Then, of course, we have the temporary organizational part - the security guards, cleaning, ticket office - employed for the duration of the Film Festival and it would make no sense to have permanent employees for these functions.* (Interview, Director General)

All top Foundation managers are employed on the permanent basis to guarantee the functioning of the Venice Biennale. Temporary employees assisting the organizational structure join the organization during the "hot" periods of exhibitions and festivals. They are

hired on the temporary basis in order to optimize the costs and ensure the most efficient way of functioning:

> *Being elastic constitutes an organizational strength as it helps optimize costs. You must keep the fixed costs for essential functions, while temporary functions can have temporary contracts. The fact of temporariness implies the optimization of resource management.* (Interview, Deputy Director)

Another group of temporary employees are those within the temporary annual/biennial festivals. Artistic Directors can be appointed for maximum four years by the BoD with the possibility of being reappointed. In this case, the reason for temporary contracts is the necessity to produce highly artistic, innovative and creative exhibitions and festivals. The nature of art, architecture, music, theatre and dance exhibitions is such that it is extremely difficult for Artistic Directors to re-propose a completely different programme in one or two years, so these are generally appointed once.

> *There is no limit on Artistic Directors, but it is very difficult to imagine that the same Artistic Director re-presents an exhibition with a different subjective vision on the world of contemporary art within two years.* (Interview, Director General)

However, the Artistic Director of the VIFF constitutes an exception. The Director General explained that it was preferable to have this Artistic Director for multiple annual mandates to guarantee the continuity of programming:

> *Instead, cinema needs continuity in programming. Every year the film festival is built around the constellations (referring to the film sections).* (Interview, Director General)

It should be noted that temporary employment does not always imply one-time employment. From conversations with the employees of the VIFF as part of the ethnography it was discovered that some of them had already worked for the Biennale. For instance, employee A of the VPB explained that she had been working for the Biennale for 7 years. Before joining the VPB team she worked for the Dance Sector at the Biennale. Employee B explained that she was working for the VIFF on a temporary basis - from May to September. She also explained that it was her third time and that she was hired as a collaborator, employed by an external company which won the contract with the Biennale.

Some temporary employees of the VIFF circulate and work for other film festivals during the year. Generally, these individuals have a high level of professional expertise (e.g., cinema programmers). For instance, employee C reported that he was working for the Venice Film Festival every year for approximately six months, alternating with the Rotterdam Film Festival where he was employed to organize a coproduction market. He further explained that he had been already working for the Biennale for many years; for a certain period of time he used to work for the Art Sector of the Biennale. Employee D reported that she was also alternating between the Venice Film Festival and the Berlinale Film Festival.

In general, it could be observed that there were many temporary employees and collaborators at the Biennale who worked seasonally, assisting certain initiatives every year. Usually, these employees and collaborators had already worked for other sectors of the Biennale or collaborated with the heads/coordinators of the Biennale on other occasions (e.g., other film festivals). Highly skilful and professional people were often circulating and working for other festivals.

Although the permanent and temporary elements – structures and agents - of the Venice Biennale have been identified, it is important to stress that key organizational members do not perceive temporariness versus permanency as an important duality. The only duality that matters for them is the one between Foundation directorship and artistic directorship (Figure 2).

Organization of the annual film festival

The VIFF constitutes the heart of the cinema sector of the Biennale. Although cultural sectors of the Biennale are permanent, its festivals and exhibitions are forms of temporary organizing from an organizational perspective. They are temporary events organized at a specific place (i.e., Venice) for a specific period of time and then replicated in subsequent editions over time.

Although the VIFF is held for approximately 10 days in late August or early September, its preparation starts already in January/February (Interview, President). Organizational efficiency of the Venice Biennale is paramount. During the VIFF, around 52 world premiere screenings take place every day and, in such circumstances, time is precious (Interview, president). Technicians work at night to ensure a perfect work flow the day after. The President

spoke of an "organizational frenzy". The President pointed out that the film industry had no time available, and everything was managed according to a strict time-schedule.

Context is another paramount factor in the management of the VIFF (Interview, President). Besides relying on its own strength, the Venice Biennale must rely on the city's infrastructure (e.g., public transport, hotels) and Venice is not the easiest context. It should also not be forgotten that there is competitive pressure from other film festivals (e.g., Cannes, Berlinale), or a "war" as stressed by the President of the Biennale, and the VIFF builds its reputation on attracting the best cinematographers and industry professionals deciding to announce their premieres.

The Governance Interface between festival projects and the Biennale Foundation

The success of the Venice Biennale is highly dependent on its collaboration with Artistic Directors. Using the concept of the governance interface, the relationship between the Biennale Foundation, and therefore its organizational management, and its festivals and exhibitions, and therefore the Artistic Directors, is fundamental in the context of the Venice Biennale. To ensure this collaboration, the following aspects of the governance approach of the Biennale are reported: the relative autonomy of organizational management and artistic directorship; the dialogue and trust between them; and a solid and empowering organizational management providing all necessary support to artistic directorship.

Thus, the first governance aspect, and a central feature of the organizational identity, of the Venice Biennale is its relative autonomy. The autonomy of the Biennale has a relative nature and a double face implying the autonomy of its organizational management from any political and governmental influences and the autonomy of artistic directorship from any influence regarding the artistic choices. The core of the organizational identity of the Biennale is to promote the research and experimentation in contemporary arts, which inevitably requires the autonomy of artistic choices made possible by the corporate autonomy of the Foundation. Organizational management and artistic directorship do not dictate the rules of the game for the other part. Their relationship is based on a dialogue:

> *Artistic staff respond to Artistic Directors of respective cultural sectors while organizational staff respond to organizational managers of cultural sectors. An Artistic Director does not enter into the merits of the organization. Obviously, there must be a*

dialogue…… The goal is to leave him (Artistic Director) the maximum freedom. (Interview, Director General)

This dialogue is central to governance allowing for a successful interaction between the organizational management of the Biennale and its Artistic Directors. *"The dialogue built with Artistic Directors allows for a lasting relationship with its best fruits"* (Interview, Director General). In terms of roles, organizational managers work at the interface between the permanent organizational structure and the temporary organizational structure led by the artistic directorship of the Biennale. The Director General reported: *"Organizational managers are the first line of dialogue with Artistic Directors."*

The VIFF is different from other sectors because its organizational manager is the Director General. This is to fulfil quickly the requests of the VIFF Artistic Director. Due to the limited time in which the film festival takes place, the processes have to be quick and smooth and, therefore, there is no need for an additional intermediary between the Director General and the VIFF Artistic Director.

> *The dialogue with an Artistic Director of the cinema sector is direct. The Artistic Director of cinema is the one who needs the most immediate answers due to the festival's needs. There is no need for a mediation between the general management and the artistic directorship. This is an organizational factor because only the Director General has the spending power and there are no internal delegations. Any mediation can cause slowdowns. Therefore, a dialogue with an Artistic Director must be established directly with the Director General who has an immediate power to decide and give life to projects.* (Interview, Deputy Director)

Trust is another important aspect of the governance approach. Trust is related to the principle of the relative autonomy of the Biennale. Considering that the management of the Biennale does not interfere with the artistic choices of Artistic Directors and vice versa, trust has to be ensured between the two.

> *The relationship between organizational management and artistic directorship is fully based on trust. The challenge of art and architecture is that these tasks last about two years; for cinema, dance, theatre the scenario lasts four years to develop a project. It is a dialogue built with an Artistic Director that allows the establishment of a lasting relationship producing its best fruits.* (Interview, Director General)

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Another aspect is a solid and empowering organizational management of the Foundation that creates necessary conditions for Artistic Directors to envision and create their artistic projects. Organizational management of the Venice Biennale enables Artistic Directors to operate and do "the research" in their cultural sectors.

Our Artistic Director must be enabled to make choices not dictated by economic interests…He says: "that is important for me" and we ask: "what do you need for that?" The goal is to leave him (i.e., Artistic Director) a maximum freedom. (Interview, Director General)

The Biennale does not have a PMO, to define, maintain, guarantee project standards and keep best practices – these are all internalized by the Artistic Directors and their teams. The Director General reported that everybody within the organization was reasoning in terms of best practices and was aware of his tasks and timing:

There is no single person who does not reason in terms of PMO. Here, every year we know very well that we go to war: there is a time to prepare the battle, to enter the battle and to come back home at the end of the battle. This applies to everyone without any excuses. (Interview, Director General)

The role of organizational identity in the governance interface

The Venice Biennale can be considered as having multiple identities as a cultural institution governed by private law. On the one hand it holds an artistic identity represented by the spirit of research, experimentation, autonomy, artistic choices; on the other hand it has a managerial identity represented by its entrepreneurial management.

Organizational identity plays a fundamental role in the governance interface of the Venice Biennale. Key organizational members and Artistic Directors, on several occasions (e.g., opening of the festival or exhibition), stressed the central traits of the Biennale, confirming their consensus on the organizational identity of the Biennale – experimentation, internationalism and double autonomy.

Employees of the Venice Biennale declared and continuously manifested their strong sense of belonging and pride in being part of the organization. Even the first author, as an ethnographer, could experience the same feeling: she felt a part of one of the most important

cultural institutions in the world, not only as an external observer and spectator but as a team member helping with the organization of the VIFF. It was a feeling of privilege and exclusivity.

On several occasions, organizational members acted in line with the spirit of the Biennale. For instance, internationalism – one of the key values of the Venice Biennale - was supported by large numbers of international press and the international selection of films at the VIFF. Consensus and identification with the Venice Biennale helped organizational members create a dialogue and align potentially competing goals between the owner organization and its festival projects.

However, it is not only organizational identity that influences the governance interface for the Biennale but also the other way around. A more flexible, relational approach to governance provides more freedom to the organizational members both permanent and temporary. It allows for research, experimentation and innovation that constitute the key values of the Biennale identity. Considering that the primary mission of the Biennale is to carry out the research, experimentation and innovation in contemporary arts, success is based on the cultural achievement rather than economic achievements of the Biennale. A flexible, relational approach to governance provides a better ground to accomplish innovation and, therefore, to fulfil the fundamental values of the Biennale.

The governance interface at the Biennale can be called interpersonal because it is based on the interpersonal relationship between organizational management and artistic directorship of the Biennale. Organizational management of the Biennale provides Artistic Directors with necessary resources, in line with the allocated budget, to implement Artistic Directors' projects. Both organizational management and Artistic Directors are autonomous in their choices from any kind of influence, however, to achieve a common goal – a successful delivery of artistic projects - they need to have a culture of open discussion, dialogue and trust, which enforces the organizational identity of the Biennale. These aspects extend and apply to all organizational employees and collaborators of the Biennale - motivated, responsible and mindful individuals enabling the interpersonal governance of festivals by the Biennale.

DISCUSSION

This paper explored the interpersonal governance approach and the role of the owner organizational identity in the governance interface of the Venice Biennale, a cultural organization driven by spirit of research, experimentation and innovation and working at the

interface with its temporary festival organizations. The empirical fieldwork examines the governance and organizational identity of the Biennale case study. In particular, two levels of governance were uncovered within the Biennale: corporate governance represented by the BoD and project governance represented by the Artistic Directors. The organizational identity of the Biennale includes the key features of (1) experimentation, research, quality of artistic choices, openness to new genres and forms of art, (2) internationalization and (3) autonomy.

The study showed the importance of distinguishing organizational structure from organizational participants to comprehend the concept of permanency and temporariness in project organizing (Winch, 2014). While the whole organizational structure articulated in cultural sectors functioning through festivals and exhibitions is permanent, three categories of organizational participants were discovered, namely permanent employees, temporary employees assisting the Biennale Foundation directorship and temporary employees assisting the artistic directorship. Temporariness did not imply one-time employment though: many were employed for the purpose of the festival seasonally over the years or switched from one cultural sector to another along their career.

Figure 3. Aspects of the interpersonal governance approach of the Venice Biennale
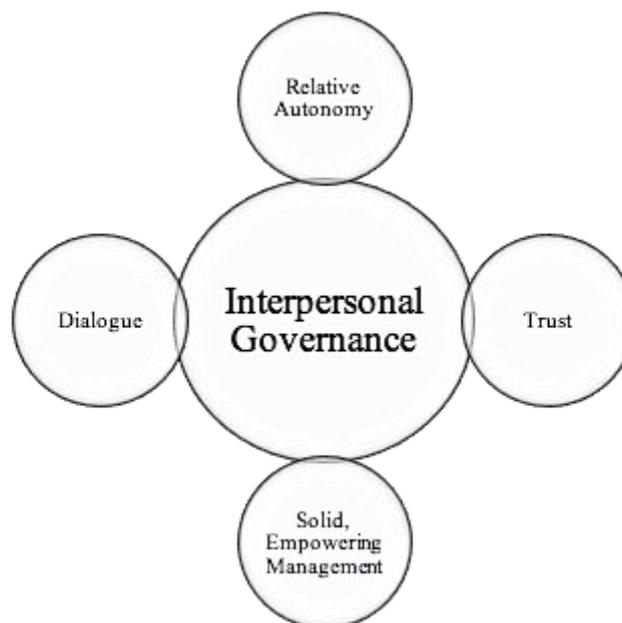
Empirical findings revealed several aspects of the Biennale governance approach. Successful delivery of cultural projects by the Biennale depends largely on the relationship

between the permanent organizational management and the temporary artistic directorship. Aspects such as relative autonomy, dialogue, trust, and solid and empowering management as shown in Figure 3 enable interpersonal governance and allow for successful interaction between the owner organization interfacing with its inherently temporary project organizations. This interpersonal governance means that the human dimension of the project governance dominates the procedural one (Müller et al., 2014a). The procedural dimension is inherently bureaucratic, being enabled through clearly defined processes, roles, and responsibilities. The human dimension includes people's willingness to accept responsibility and collaborate for the good of the organization and thus, this dimension allows for flexible responses to changing circumstances (Müller et al., 2014a; Müller et al., 2014 b). This study supports the recent theorizing on project governance (e.g., Gulino et al., 2020; Sergeeva, 2019) according to which more flexible governance is indispensable to enable innovation on projects.

The Biennale is a cultural institution that promotes and creates unique projects every year. Its organizational identity includes the enduring traits such as research, experimentation, openness and innovation that extend and apply to the identity of its projects. Such an owner organizational identity demands a flexible, relational approach to governance, which in turn influences the successful delivery of a project. This interpersonal approach to governance is based on trust and considers project managers as stewards working for the benefit of the organization (Joslin & Müller, 2016; Müller et al., 2017; Turner, 2020). Our study showed the employees' sense of belonging to the organization, the aspect that contributed to the maintenance and reinforcement of the organizational identity of the Biennale. The employees were aware of the fundamental values of the Biennale and were enacting behaviours in line with these values. This study suggests that the project governance approach both influences and is influenced by the owner's organizational identity. A flexible, interpersonal approach to governance allows fulfilment of the innovative identity of the Biennale and, at the same time, the key traits of research, experimentation and innovation, comprised in the organizational identity of the Biennale, influence the governance approach.

We have, therefore, established the interpersonal approach to managing the governance interface on projects as an alternative governance interface design choice compared to the bureaucratic design one that is well established for large engineering and information systems projects (Merrow, 2011; Winch et al, 2022). While we have developed empirically the interpersonal approach in the context of cultural event projects, we suggest that it is an

appropriate option to projects across all sectors, including construction (Gulino et al, 2020: Sergeeva, 2019) where creativity, innovation and flexibility are emphasized, rather than efficiency and effectiveness. The model presented in Figure 3 then forms a template for the interpersonal governance of the governance interface in project organizing.

CONCLUSION

Contribution to theory

Our study makes two main contributions to project organizing research: 1) by investigating how the governance interface between the temporary and the permanent for the project governance of an annual film festival is managed for autonomy, flexibility and innovation, and 2) by exploring how the organizational identity of the owner influences and is influenced by the governance interface. We respond to the calls (Sergeeva, 2019; Winch & Leiringer, 2016) to delve more into "how governance arrangements actually work in practice, and which approaches are more appropriate in which contexts" by exploring the governance interface of one of the most important cultural institutions in the world – the Venice Biennale. The study responds to the calls of Bakker (2016), Von Danwitz (2018), and Sydow and Braun (2018) to study project governance in the interplay between projects as temporary organizations and the permanency of hierarchical coordination within organizations. It contributes to the temporary organizing research (e.g., Bakker, 2016; Stjerne, Svejenova, 2016) and, more specifically, to the literature on festivals that are still under-researched (Rüling & Pedersen, 2010; Uriarte et al., 2019) by exploring the interplay between permanent and temporary in cultural organizations.

Limitations and future research directions

The limitations of this study also deserve elaboration and point to directions for future research. Different methodological and theoretical stances can be adopted by future research to understand the governance interface in project organizing. For instance, the governance interface can be researched in terms of the distance paradox (DeFillippi & Sydow, 2016). The distance paradox, related to the attachment-detachment dilemma, represents a debate regarding the extent to which a project organization should be decoupled from, or embedded within, a wider organizational context. Therefore, the literature on tensions and paradoxes (Smith et al.,

2017) can provide valuable insights on how to manage the conflicting interests and align goals between the owner organization and its delivery projects.

A second interesting line of enquiry would be to develop the research on project ecologies (Grabher, 2002; Grabher & Ibert, 2011). These are normally defined as geographically specific (e.g. London and Rotterdam for architecture), but the relatively short duration of cultural event projects such as film festivals means that temporary staff travel from festival project to festival project. Venice/Rotterdam and Venice/Berlin were two trajectories identified in our research.

In terms of method, this paper builds on a single case study. Although the Venice Biennale represents an extreme case of a highly successful cultural organization and a perfect case to study the governance interface due to a clear delineation between the permanent organization and the temporary one, the multiple case study-based research can provide comparative insights. Other forms of projects, such as R&D projects and architecturally led construction projects, for which flexibility is more valuable than control, can be explored by future research. The study is based on a limited number of interviews, although multiple data sources support our theorizing. Finally, this paper pursued a qualitative, field-based study in order to study the governance approach and the role of organizational identity. Future studies can implement large-scale quantitative studies to measure the impact of organizational identity on project outcomes.

Practical implications

The study is of practical value as it helps better understand how to improve the governance approach and governance capabilities in cultural organizations and their projects whether festivals, seasons, productions, or the like. In particular, the study highlights several aspects of the interpersonal governance approach to enable innovation and the importance of a coherent owner organizational identity with which organizational members identify and enact their behaviour to solve conflicting goals inside their project delivery organizations.

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APPENDIX OF PAPER 3

FIGURE 1

NVivo Coding

Name	Re...	Files
▼ ◯ Biennale's permanent & temporary eleme...	4	2
▼ ◯ employees	2	1
◯ big workload	5	1
◯ different types of organizational roles	12	5
◯ employment at other cultural sector...	6	2
◯ employment at other film festivals	4	2
◯ international team	2	1
◯ permanent employment	2	1
◯ recurrent employment	8	2
◯ temporary employment	5	2
▼ ◯ organization of the VIFF	4	3
◯ awards	2	2
◯ competition between film festivals	4	3
◯ efficiency of the VIFF	3	2
◯ hierarchy between screenings, secti...	1	1
◯ importance of collaboration	5	1
◯ importance of cultural mediation	1	1
◯ innovation of the VIFF	1	1
◯ last minute organization	3	1
◯ market for the world cinema	1	1
◯ occuring problems	12	1
◯ organizational stress	5	2
◯ preparation of locations	3	1
◯ press as the second arm of the festi...	2	2
◯ restricted access to certain locations	6	1
◯ selection criteria of films	2	2
◯ showing of world premiers	1	1
◯ snapshot of the present	1	1
◯ success factors of the VIFF	7	4
◯ time pressure in organizing VIFF	2	2
◯ various events	5	1
▼ ◯ Venice Production Bridge	11	4
◯ activities of the VPB	3	1

Name	Re...	Files
◯ multifaceted participants	2	2
◯ selection criteria of films	1	1
◯ success criteria of the VPB	1	1
◯ team meetings	4	1
▼ ◯ Virtual Reality	5	2
◯ co-creation	1	1
▼ ◯ organizational structure	7	4
◯ elastic organizational structure	1	1
◯ President	2	2
▶ ◯ concept of creativity	5	3
▼ ◯ Corporate Governance	1	1
◯ Artistic Directors	5	3
◯ Board of Directors	2	1
◯ Deputy	2	1
◯ Director General	5	2
▼ ◯ description of the Biennale	2	2
◯ Biennale - in perpetual motion	1	1
◯ Biennale as a cultural mediator	1	1
◯ Biennale College	4	3
◯ Biennale is an institution	1	1
◯ Biennale's objectives	7	5
◯ history of the Biennale	2	1
◯ nexus of events and exhibitions	4	2
◯ professionalism	1	1
◯ public institution governed by public law	3	3
▼ ◯ governance interface	2	2
◯ collective idea of PMO	1	1
◯ dialogue	3	2
◯ relative autonomy	7	4
◯ solidity of organizational structure	6	2
◯ transversal functions	1	1
◯ transversal management by objectives	1	1
◯ trust	2	1

identity of the Biennale	5	3
articulation in 6 cultural sectors	5	4
authority of the Biennale	1	1
city of Venice	3	2
employees' enactment of Biennale ide...	4	2
experimentation	2	2
hospitality	1	1
independence	2	2
innovation of forms	2	1
internationalisation	9	7
no business involved	1	1
openness	4	4
quality of artistic choices	6	3
reputation	1	1
space of dialogue	5	5
spirit of research	4	3
importance of the city's infrustructure	2	2
important aspects of audio-visual market	6	3
jury's sensibility	1	1
tensions within the Biennale	10	5

FIGURE 2

Relationship between organizational identity, governance and project outcome

TABLE 1

Important changes and organizational reforms in the history of the Venice Biennale

	Important changes, organizational reforms of the Venice Biennale
1893	The Biennale was founded.
1895	The first Biennale Art Exhibition was held and conceived as a recurrent event.
1930	The Theatre sector was established.
1932	The Cinema sector was established.
1934	The Music sector was established.
30s-50s	Cultural institution within the Fascist cultural organization.
1973	The Parliament approved the organization's new statute, according to which a "democratic" BoD was set up comprising representatives from the Government, important local organizations, major trade unions, and a representative of the staff. The Board was to elect the President and nominate the sectorial directors.
1980	The Architecture sector was added.
1998	The legislative reform transformed the Biennale into a legal personality in private law and renamed "Società di Cultura La Biennale di Venezia".
2004	The President of the Biennale, in order to give more autonomy to the Biennale, pushed for a change and the Venice Biennale was renamed: "La Fondazione della Biennale di Venezia".

TABLE 2

Data Table

Axial codes	Representative quotes
Corporate Governance	"The Board of Directors is appointed by decree of the Minister for Cultural Heritage and Activities and is composed, in addition to the President of the Foundation, by: a) the mayor of Venice, who assumes the vice-presidency of the Foundation; b) the President of the Veneto region or his delegate; c) the President of the Province of Venice or one of her delegates; d) members designated, in number from one to three, who initially confer, as individuals or cumulatively, at least 20 per cent of the assets of the Foundation and who ensure an ordinary annual contribution for the management of the Foundation's activities of no less than 7 percent of total state funding." (Statute 2004) "(Duties of the board of directors). - 1. The Board of Directors: a) draws up and adopts the Articles of Association and its subsequent amendments; b) defines, also on the basis of the opinions given, for each sector of intervention, by the Technical-Scientific Committee referred to in Article 11, the general guidelines which must inspire the management activity of the Foundation, and adopts the multiannual programmatic document which determines the strategies, priorities and objectives to be pursued, the related intervention programs of the Foundation itself, the organization of exhibitions or events, as well as the stable activities of study, research and experimentation;" (Statute 2004)
Key features of organizational identity	**(1) Experimentation, research, quality of artistic choices, openness** "It is in the DNA itself to experiment." (interview, Director General) "An exhibition is above all an experiment: like the works that it gathers together, it cannot be reduced to being 'about' this or that subject." (press release, Artistic Director of the 58th International Art Exhibition) "A festival can promote quality without prejudice of genre. It can foster new talents, keep up the interest in formal research and experimentation, and on the other hand maintain the commitment of cinema to tackling fundamental questions relating to the human condition, to society and politics, in its various genres." (press release, President of the Venice Biennale)

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"f we go back to the essence that we described before - doing research in contemporary arts at an international level in Venice - this is our DNA. To do this you need to be open to the world." (interview, Deputy Director)

"Identity is article one of the statute: research in the field of contemporary arts through international exhibitions and festivals. This law coincides with the spirit of the founding fathers who imagined a contemporary exhibition having a city that dialogues with countries." (interview, Director General)

"If our project has been rooted in a faith in certain basic values, among them quality, independence and courage." (press release, President of the Venice Biennale."

"The goal of the Artistic Director of cinema sector is to rationalize and to reduce the quantity because the quantity does not make the quality, it rather damages it." (interview, Director General)

"I believe that the attention given to minority artists as a consequence of these preoccupations must develop in the direction of further openness, rather than along the ambiguous pathways of the celebration of local identities." (press release, President of the Venice Biennale)

(2) Internationalization

"The aim of the Festival is to raise awareness and promote international cinema in all its forms as art, entertainment and as an industry, in a spirit of freedom and dialogue." (The VIFF regulations)

"If we go back to the essence that we described before - doing research in contemporary arts at an international level in Venice - this is our DNA." (interview, Deputy Director)

"Venice itself comes up with something new, the Venice Biennale, founded in 1895 and now the World's oldest international art fair. The current edition, which opened on June 10, is more international than ever, with 76 participant nations, 34 of them at the Arsenale and the Giardini, the Biennale's main venues, and the rest scattered around the city." (Media Article, Time International (Atlantic Edition). 6/25/2007, Vol. 169 Issue 26, p 97-99. 3p.)

(3) Autonomy

"If our project has been rooted in a faith in certain basic values, among them quality, independence and courage, the pegging of the festival to La Biennale has proved

decisive in favouring its pursuance with the indispensable continuity and coherence." (press release, President of the Venice Biennale)

"More than ever, the process of expanding our eyes and our minds is facilitated if it takes place in an environment in which people can breathe independence and trust, and creating trust is our long-term objective." (press release, President of the Venice Biennale)

"It is a permanent cultural institution which enjoys the full operative independence. There are no influences and what counts is the quality of choices. People at the top of the Venice Biennale are nominated by the Ministry of Cultural Heritage but they are independent from any political influence and enjoy a full artistic freedom. Taking the case of Artistic Directors, once nominated, they are completely responsible for their artistic choices and are governed by the art quality rather than by commercial success." (interview, President of the Biennale)

"Then as now, we consider this method, which was founded on our independence and that of the Curator, the most effective one for making our exhibition an instrument of knowledge, imperfect yet dynamic, able to navigate the complexity, aware of the ambivalence which lies within every phenomenon but without repudiating it through ambiguous remedies." (press release, President of the Biennale)

"The key features are autonomy both in defining programs and in giving oneself the rules. Autonomy has two faces: autonomy of programming left to the artistic directors, and autonomy of organization, of giving oneself the procedures to function." (interview, Deputy Director)

Organization al structure	"The Biennale has a permanent structure of research and cultural production, specialized in the field of contemporary arts, represented by the Historical Archive of Contemporary Arts (ASAC) and by six sectors coordinated with the ASAC which, on the one hand, preside over development permanent research activity in the respective six artistic fields: architecture, visual arts, cinema, music, dance and theatre." (field notes) "The sectors are absolutely permanent, they have stable organizational procedures. (showing the organizational chart of the Biennale) (interview, Director General) The President of the Venice Biennale reminded that the Biennale is different from other cultural organizations as it is articulated in six different sectors. (field notes)

"There is a well-structured permanent structure but that must then grow by force. The fact of being elastic is the organizational strength because in the meantime it helps to optimize costs. You have to keep the fixed costs for the functions that are necessary, instead the temporary functions have temporary contracts. But above all, flexibility with respect to the practical need for the skills to be acquired." (interview, Deputy Director)

Different types of organizational roles	"You have a temporary contract because this is what the statute says, but in truth all the organizational managers are the permanent executives to guarantee the autonomy of operations, to make the machine work. Then these structures are helped by temporary functions for the exhibition purposes; they have to change from exhibition to exhibition to build specific project groups." (interview, Deputy Director)

"The Biennial is made up of 100 permanent workers, these are the workers who oversee the permanent organizational structure; then there are the assistants of the artistic director, the selectors - these have the collaboration contacts related to the development of the project of artistic director... Then of course we have the temporary organizational part: the film festival masks, security guards, cleaning staff, ticket office are used for the duration of the exhibition and would not make any sense to have these employees on a permanent basis." (interview, Director General)

In terms of organizational actors, three broad categories could be identified: (1) permanent actors – those that constitute the core actors of the organization, such as the President, the Board of Director, the Director General, some top managers (although they also have a rotation and change after their mandate is expired); (2) temporary actors assisting the artistic directorship – employed for the duration of the festival/exhibition; (3) temporary actors assisting organizational management and employed for the duration of the festival. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

Some employees have been employed in the past to work in other cultural sectors of the Biennale. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

"The idea is to have central services that are available to everyone. Then there is a specialized staff dedicated to each activity. So the profiles can be specialized for the experience in the sector and the specific ones are always temporary. Last year

there were 110 permanent staff, 118 temporary employees and then around 200 employees, specific professionals." (interview, Deputy Director)

Previous employment at other cultural sectors

Coordinator X explained that she had been working for the Biennale for 7 years already. Before joining the VPB team she worked for the Sector of Dance at the Biennale. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

L., one of the VPB collaborators, said that he had been working for the Biennale for seven years; before the VPB, he was working in another department of the Biennale. He explained that he was a selector, assisting the head of the VPB in programming and selecting projects for the VPB (so mostly artistic assistance). (fieldnotes from participant observation)

On a tour I asked N. about his work. He explained that he has been working for the Biennale for many years already. For a certain period he also used to work for the Art Sector of the Biennale. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

Employment at other film festivals

A new collaborator J. joined the team. He is from Germany and has already worked for other film festivals; he also knows N. and the organizers of the Virtual Reality section with whom he worked for other film festivals. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

On a tour I asked N. about his work...He explained that he was working 6 months a year for the Biennale and then going to the Rotterdam Film Festival to organize the coproduction market. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

E. alternated between the Venice Film Festival and the Berlinale Film Festival. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

P., the head of the Venice Production Bridge, is employed by the Biennale on the permanent basis, being responsible for this unit; however, he also works for other film festivals. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

Recurrent employment

On a boat I met A., the girl working in the accreditation office. A. explained me that she worked temporarily from May till one week after the closure for the VIFF. It was her third time and she was an external person, employed by a company located

in Bologna that won the contract with the Biennale. This company offered its collaborators annually. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

I had a small talk with two collaborators of the VPB team, L. and L. They explained to me that this was not their first time they worked for the VIFF. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

C., the main coordinator of the Venice Production Bridge office, has been working in the team from the very beginning since the initiative of the Final Cut was born 7 years ago. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

Organization of the annual film festival	**Timeline** The hottest time of preparation / stress for the Artistic Directors begins as early as the months of January and February. (interview, President of the Venice Biennale) **Importance of context** The President stressed the importance of creating a right context that could facilitate the management of the VIFF. In addition to relying on its own strength, the organization must rely on the city's infrastructure (e.g. transport, hotels). (interview, President of the Venice Biennale) **Competition between festivals** The President spoke about the war between the Festivals (those in Telluride, Colorado, those in Toronto and New York that are just a few days away from the VIFF). (interview, President of the Venice Biennale) "The Cannes Film Festival may be more famous, but in recent years, its older cinematic cousin, the Venice International Film Festival, has become a launchpad for Oscar contenders." (Media article, Forbes.com. 9/4/2018, p 6-6. 1p. 7 Color Photographs.) **Efficiency and time pressure** "The constant search for effectiveness and efficiency leads us to build a path of progressive adjustment." (interview, Director General) The President emphasized the efficiency of the VIFF. During the film festival around 52 screenings take place every day and in such circumstances the time is precious and highly important. People work at night to ensure a perfect work flow the day after. The President spoke of an "organizational frenzy". (interview, President of the Venice Biennale) **Restricted access to certain locations** Very exclusive events are accessible only for the Gold accreditations. (fieldnotes from participant observation) In the end of the meeting, VR team asked VPB team for an access to certain locations. VPB team agreed and asked some access to other locations too. There was an exchange of favours/collaboration. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

Success factors of the VIFF

"The number of accredited journalists is one of success factors of the VIFF." (interview, Deputy Director)

"There were 1,200 registered journalists in Toronto, and we have 3300 here." (interview, Director General)

Short- term success indicators of the VIFF are: (1) the number of tickets sold; (2) the presence of foreign journalists (about 1500 every year). Medium-term success indicators are the number of awards won in the career of young film-makers/producers who have been selected and financed in the context of the activities of the Biennale College (given the "cultural" investment on young people). Long-term success indicators are given by (1) a good reputation, (2) prestige. The President mentioned that the fact that certain films had won the Golden Lion (Leone d'Oro) and consequently managed to win the Oscar is a sign of success (e.g., film ROMA). (interview, President of the Venice Biennale)

Nexus of events

At 10.30 a panel with EU commissioners took place. During the panel some important aspects of the audio-visual market were discussed, such as the protection of IP, cocreation, coproduction, different distribution channels, importance of good content. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

At 15.30 a seminar on gender equality took place. The president of the Biennale started the seminar by stressing the need to fight for gender equality and to be proactive and do something. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

From 17.00-19.00 an important event was held where layers of the Constitutional Court, together with important representatives of the Biennale (President, Director General, Deputy Director) discussed about the prisoners and how to guarantee them a certain level of decent life. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

Venice Production Bridge is an initiative which aims to develop the film market. It is composed of the four main events: (1) Vanice Gap Financing Market, which are work in progress film projects; (2) Final Cut in Venice is the workshop for films in post-production from Africa and Arab countries; (3) Book adaptation rights market – an occasion on which international publishers coming from various countries have a chance to meet producers in one-to-one meetings and sell the adaptation rights; (4) European Film Forum. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

Aspects of the interpersonal governance approach	**Relative autonomy**
	"The key features are autonomy both in defining programs and in giving oneself the rules. Autonomy has two faces: (1) autonomy of programming left to the artistic directors, (2) autonomy of organization, of giving oneself the procedures to function." (interview, Deputy Director)
	"Today there are many public and private cultural institutions. What is the point of maintaining a cultural institution in the public sphere? The idea lies in the autonomy to define programs free from the logic of the market, corporatism, of any influence." (interview, Deputy Director)
	"The subjectivity of the curator or the artistic director tells us so... He says "this is important for me" and we ask, "what resources do you need for it?" The goal is to leave them a maximum freedom" (interview, Director General)
	"The artistic director does not intervene in the organization management." (interview, Director General)
	"Here we do not respond to Rai or anyone else, we reply to the artistic director who makes the choices. This is not business; this is autonomy of choices." (interview, Director General)
	"It is a permanent cultural institution which enjoys the full operative independence. There are no influences and what counts is the quality of choices. People at the top of the Venice Biennale are nominated by the Ministry of Cultural Heritage but they are independent from any political influence and enjoy a full artistic freedom. Taking the case of Artistic Directors, once nominated, they are completely responsible for their artistic choices and are governed by the quality of art rather than by commercial success." (interview, President of the Venice Biennale)
	"Then as now, we consider this method, which was founded on our independence and that of the Curator, the most effective one for making our exhibition an instrument of knowledge, imperfect yet dynamic, able to navigate the complexity, aware of the ambivalence which lies within every phenomenon but without repudiating it through ambiguous remedies." (press release, President of the Venice Biennale)
	Dialogue
	"So the artistic staff and the organizational staff...The artistic director does not intervene in the organizational management. Obviously there must be a dialogue." (interview, Director General)

"The challenge of art and architecture is that these tasks last about two years; for an exhibition of cinema, dance, theatre - the scenario is four years to develop a project. So it is a dialogue built with the artistic director that allows the establishment of a lasting relationship with the best results." (interview, Director General)

"The dialogue between the artistic director and the Director General must be direct because the Director General has the immediate power of decision." (interview, Deputy Director)

"The aim of the Festival is to raise awareness and promote international cinema in all its forms as art, entertainment and as an industry, in a spirit of freedom and dialogue." (Regulations of the VIFF)

"All of the artists in this exhibition were selected because in some way their work acknowledges the open-ended character of this exchange. It takes seriously art's role as a catalyst for inviting and inciting dialogue." (press release, Artistic Director of the art sector)

Trust

"This is the solidity with which we present ourselves in front of the artistic director. We ask "what do you want to do?" And then we try to do it in the best possible way. This is the relationship of trust." (interview, Director General)

"The relationship between the organizational management and the artistic directorship is fully based on trust." (interview, Director General)

Solid & empowering organizational management

"It is in the DNA to experiment . This is why we must have structures with people who are ready to dialogue with the artistic directors to understand how to do things. Putting a VR section wasn't easy. Our technicians, our Director General understood what was needed and then figured out the best way to set things up." (interview, Deputy Director)

"This is the solidity with which we present ourselves in front of the artistic director. We ask, "what do you want to do?" And then we try to do it in the best way. This is the relationship of trust." (interview, Director General)

"We must constantly talk, understand how to do what the artistic director wants to do efficiently and effectively, without spending resources, and in some cases say "sorry, but unfortunately for this there are no resources."" (interview, Director General)

"Business has nothing to do here. There is an institution that makes available the economic resources of which a large part is generated by its own actions rather than by public funds." (interview, Director General)

"Let's talk about the art exhibition. Art today has a huge interest. Our artistic director must be placed in a position to be able to make choices not determined by economic interests. Artistic director's choices will impact the art market. Business means to do everything without wasting energy and economic resources..." (interview, Director General)

Collective idea of PMO

"No, we are all ... there is no one who does not think in terms of PMO. This is our modus operandi. Here, every year, we know that we go to war. There is a time to prepare the battle, to go into battle and to go home at the end of the battle. And this is absolutely transversal, there are no excuses." (interview, Director General)

"Look, project portfolio management and program management… if you mean management by objectives, this is transversal to everyone. Everyone has a budget; everyone knows times and methods. Here there is the ethics of goals and results; this is absolutely transversal and independent of the hierarchical levels." (interview, Director General)

Influence of organizational identity on governance interface	**Consensus of organizational members on key features organizational identity**

Many employees in their daily actions and interactions enforces the key features of the Venice Biennale and its film festival. For instance, selectors of films, were basing their choices on the quality of art, innovation and experimentation, which constitute the fundamental features of the Biennale identity. (fieldnotes form participant observation)

Enactment of organizational identity

"We planned and shaped a new reality, following a constant line and a few simple principles, while everything around us was changing." (press release, President of the Biennale)

C. and L., team members of the Venice Production Bridge (VPB) had a meeting with Russian delegates, however a problem occurred. Two Russian delegates - Director General and Deputy Director of a film production company in Russia - were trying to organize an accreditation and daily passes for some delegates (i.e.,

ambassadors). The VPB team members replied that they would need a list of names with professional position and documents of the delegates. However those people were ambassadors and their names with the documents could not be sent to the VPB office but to the security. VPB collaborators did not want to make any exceptions; It felt like the coordinator C. wanted to defend the identity of the Biennale, while Russian delegates stressed the importance of the presence of ambassadors. The Russian delegates mentioned that the ambassadors were responding to the President of the Russian Federation and only the Ambassy could directly send their documents to the Security Protocol of the Biennale and not to the VPB office. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

Employees' sense of belonging

While working for the VIFF, the first author felt a part of the Venice Biennale and the VIFF. She also noticed the sense of identification and belonging of other employees, independently from their permanent or temporary employment. (fieldnotes from participant observation)

Influence of governance interface on organizational identity	"The Biennale Foundation has a legal personality under private law and is governed by the civil code and by the provisions implementing the code itself." (Statute, 2004) The fact of being subject to private law allows for flexibility, organizational efficiency and quick decision-making of the Venice Biennale. (fieldnotes from participant observation; interview with the President of the Venice Biennale) This flexible governance approach – based on relative autonomy, dialogue, trust and solid organizational management – provide more freedom to organizational management and artistic directorship of the Biennale, and foster the spirit of research and innovation, which constitute the key features of the Biennale identity. (fieldnotes from participant observation; personal reflections)

Chapter IV. The COVID-19 Pandemic, Cultural Work and Resilience: "The Darkest Hour Is Just Before Dawn"[4]

ABSTRACT

This chapter explores how cultural workers positively adapt and reorganize their personal and professional lives in times of the COVID-19 pandemic – an ongoing adversity worth being explored. Based on 26 interviews and numerous informal conversations with cultural workers operating in different cultural and creative industries, our qualitative research reveals feelings, work reorganization practices, prospects for the future and lessons learned during and after the first COVID-19 lockdown (Europe, March-May 2020). We show an overall improvement in the cultural workers' resilience after they lived the first lockdown by virtue of several resource endowments but foremost by virtue of their personality and experience built before the COVID-19 times. The chapter reveals how the usual precarious working conditions in the cultural and creative industries have helped cultural workers prepare to face adversities during their career. The chapter contributes to the psychological resilience literature, as it deals with some of the underexplored impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, such as: adversity in both personal and professional spheres of cultural workers' lives; the development of their resilience over time; the reflection of individual resilience in cultural workers' narration about their life lessons learned. The chapter also explores one of the frontiers in the current research on cultural and creative industries.

Keywords:

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[4] This chapter is based on the book chapter with the same title co-authored with Luca Giustiniano.

INTRODUCTION

Cultural and creative industries (CCIs) host activities that have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent (DCMS, 2001). They have been often viewed as templates for other organizations (Lampel et al., 2000; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007; Townley et al., 2009; Wu and Wu, 2016). Cultural workers are considered the motor of CCIs. They are characterized by creativity, flexibility, adaptability to constant challenges, improvisation and bricolage (Duymedjian and Rüling, 2010). Recently, research into the dark side of CCIs stressed the precarious working conditions of cultural workers, working under conditions of stress, anxiety, hardship and blurred boundaries between work and personal life (Ekman, 2015; Wright, 2018; Cinque et al., 2020). The unexpected COVID-19 outbreak has produced a profound psychological and professional impact on cultural workers, showing the fragility of this sector, which is based on extensive human interaction.

COVID-19 has spread across the globe at an unprecedented pace. Since the COVID-19 outbreak, world, the EU and national governmental bodies have adopted serious measures, such as large-scale quarantines, travel restrictions and social-distancing measures. In September 2020, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) announced that CCIs were among the most affected by the current crisis, with jobs at risk ranging from 0.8 to 5.5% of employment across OECD regions. The International Labour Organization (ILO, 2020) revealed the contrast between massive job losses in hard-hit sectors, such as arts and culture, and the positive job growth evident in a number of higher skilled service sectors, such as information and communication, suggesting that this divergence will tend to increase inequality within countries. In December 2020, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2020) reported some dramatic estimates: ten million lost jobs in the film industry; the reduction of staff by half in one-third of art galleries; more than $10 billion in lost sponsorships in the music industry in six months of lockdown; and the reduction of the global publishing market by 7.5%, as a consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic.

In the light of the unexpected global emergency, the purpose of this chapter is to explore cultural workers' psychological resilience – a capacity and a process of individuals to bounce back from adversity (Fletcher and Sarkar, 2013) – and reorganization of their professional lives. Drawing on 16 cultural workers interviewed prevalently from Italy, we answer the following

research question: *How do cultural workers positively adapt and reorganize their work during and immediately after the first COVID-19 lockdown (Europe, March–May 2020)?*

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Psychological Resilience

The concept of resilience has been extensively used in COVID-19 times. It derives from the Latin *resalio/resilire*, which means to jump back.

Existing studies conceptualize psychological resilience either as a personality trait, a process or an outcome. For instance, Bonanno (2004, pp. 20–21) defines psychological resilience as "the ability of adults in otherwise normal circumstances who are exposed to an isolated and potentially highly disruptive event . . . to maintain relatively stable, healthy levels of psychological and physical functioning . . . as well as the capacity for generative experiences and positive emotions." The author highlights that resilient individuals are those that report little or no psychological symptoms and evidence the ability to continue fulfilling personal and social responsibilities and to embrace new tasks and experiences.

Many scales to measure individual resilience, intended as a trait, exist. However, in the early 90s, resilience started being conceptualized as a process. For example, Luthar et al. (2000, p. 543) refers to psychological resilience as a "dynamic process encompassing positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity". The processual view implies that resilience can change with changing circumstances and over time. Recent research (e.g. Giustiniano et al., 2018; Lombardi et al., 2021) proposes to consider resilience as composed of two interrelated dimensions: adaptive and reactive resilience. The former requires the capacity to absorb the impact of a negative incident, whereas the second implies the capacity to look at the negative incident as a source of learning.

Despite its numerous definitions in the psychology research literature, resilience is based around two core concepts: adversity and positive adaptation (Fletcher and Sarkar, 2013). Adopting a holistic view, we define resilience as a capacity and a process of bouncing back from adversity.

Previous literature stresses the importance of several resource endowments, such as personality (Dunn et al., 2008), social support (Brennan, 2008), and material and work

resources (Bonanno et al., 2007) to face an adversity. With regard to personality, protective factors such as self-esteem (Kidd and Shahar, 2008) and positive emotions (Tugade and Fredrickson, 2004) have been stressed as beneficial for harnessing individual resilience. This book chapter intends to unveil the supporting resources that help cultural workers face the COVID-19 adversity.

Psychological Resilience of Cultural Workers

CCIs account for 5.3% of the European Union's GDP and 7.5% of the EU's employment (European Commission, 2018). Cultural workers constitute its driving force, by virtue of their creativity, skills and talent (DCMS, 2001). According to the DCMS (2001) classification, a creative worker is someone who is creatively occupied but not necessary employed (e.g., a script writer without a contract) or employed but not necessarily creatively occupied (e.g., an accountant in any of creative industries).

Although culture is increasingly recognized as a key enabler for sustainable development (UNESCO, 2019), the evidence suggests that cultural workers have to deal with precarious working conditions. They often accept low pay, long hours, insecure employment, material and existential hardships, and blurred boundaries between work and personal life (Gill, 2014; Ekman, 2015; Wright, 2018; Cinque et al., 2020).

Despite precarious and insecure working conditions, extant studies highlight cultural workers' need for artistic freedom and autonomy (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006), creativity and passion (Florida, 2002; McRobbie, 2015; Endrissat et al., 2016; Bennett, 2018; Gaim, 2018). Cultural workers have a great capacity to improvise – get involved in a spontaneous process of creation (Vera and Crossan, 2004) – using available rather than optimal resources (Giustiniano et al., 2018). Research suggests that cultural workers continue to persist despite hardship (e.g., Cinque et al., 2020). However, to the extent of our awareness, there is relatively little research that directly explores the resilience of cultural workers. Our intuition is that creative workers might be used to stress and insecure work, experiencing challenges on a constant basis. They tend to focus on solutions rather than problems. Our book chapter aims to investigate the impact of COVID-19 on the psychological and professional lives of creative workers, a subject that is particularly relevant as COVID-19 still appears full of "unknown unknowns" and the post-pandemic era to come is characterized by even higher uncertainty.

METHODOLOGY

A qualitative research approach is adopted for the purpose of this book chapter. There are several reasons why we went for a qualitative approach. First, the nature of COVID-19 adversity is not yet fully understood. Second, a holistic approach of resilience, intended as both capacity and process, requires a qualitative approach. Third, the nature of our research question demands a qualitative approach. Qualitative data provide evidence on people's lived experience, going beyond snapshots of what and how many to grasp why and how things happen (Huberman and Miles, 1994).

For the purpose of this book chapter, a convenience sampling was used: cultural workers who were in the personal network of one of the authors of this chapter were contacted. All the informants were Italian, despite their geographical location. Therefore, we kept the insights of two informants located in Spain and Germany as we reputed them similar to the informants located in Italy. In total we conducted 26 semi-structured interviews with 16 cultural workers working in different CCIs, such as film, performing arts and fashion, 9 of which were follow-up interviews. Although this constitutes a relatively small sample, we judged that the necessary theoretical saturation was reached (with the involvement of the 15th informant) as all the relevant categories were identified (Corbin and Strauss, 2014). The two waves of interviews – from 27th March 2020 to 12th May 2020 (i.e. phase I) and, then, from 19th May 2020 to 30th July 2020 (i.e. phase II) – were performed to comprehend the change in the informants' personal and professional lives during and after the first phase of lockdown. The interviews were conducted via Skype or Zoom. They were all recorded and manually transcribed. In addition, many informal conversations with several experts in the CCIs back the findings of this book chapter.

The interviewees were not affected physically by COVID-19 and none of their close relatives or friends were affected either. This constitutes a limitation of this chapter, as we could not observe and interview people who had experienced the emergency at first hand.

Table 1 reports the interview data maintaining the anonymity of informants.

Table 1. Data

Informant	Gender	Age	Industry	Profession	Date and length of interview	Rounds of interviews	Location of the informant
1	Male	30–35	Film	Film Director, Film Producer	27/03/2020 51' 23/05/2020 43'	2	Italy
2	Male	30–35	Film & Theatre	Actor	27/03/2020 31' 19/05/2020 26'	2	Italy
3	Male	45–50	Film	Executive Producer	08/04/2020 44' 21/05/2020 43'	2	Italy
4	Female	40–45	Fashion	Creator, Fashion Designer	10/04/2020 36' 08/07/2020 77'	2	Italy
5	Male	35–40	Film	Film Director, Cameraman	23/04/2020 48'	1	Italy
6	Male	40–45	Fashion	Designer, Owner of a brand	24/04/2020 37' 03/06/2020 24'	2	Italy
7	Male	40–45	Film	Special Effects Specialist	01/05/2020 75' 25/06/2020 33'	2	Italy
8	Male	35–40	Film & Theatre	Teacher, Sound Technician	12/05/2020 32' 10/06/2020 28'	2	Italy
9	Male	30–35	Film	Film Director, Film Producer	01/04/2020 34' 26/05/2020 25'	2	Italy
10	Male	40–45	Film	Teacher, Film Producer	05/05/2020 54'	1	Italy
11	Female	25–30	Film	Film Producer	08/05/2020 47'	1	Italy
12	Female	25–30	Film	Assistant	08/05/2020 58'	1	Italy
13	Male	35–40	Film	Film Director, Film Producer	12/05/2020 44'	1	Italy
14	Female	30–35	Film	Project Developer	08/05/2020 60'	1	Italy
15	Male	25–30	Film &Video	Program Manager	07/04/2020 30' 27/05/2020 22'	2	Germany
16	Female	40–45	Journalism	Writer	09/04/2020 28' 30/07/2020 56'	2	Spain

The data analysis aimed at elaborating theory, rather than at generating a completely new theoretical framework (Fisher and Aguinis, 2017), building on existing concepts in psychological resilience research to develop a more comprehensive understanding of how cultural workers adapt in the face of COVID-19. We performed a thematic analysis on interview data to identify emerging patterns (Yin, 2009). The most important categories, such as resilience and feelings of cultural workers, work reorganization practices, their perception of the upcoming future and life lessons learned, contribute to the themes of this chapter.

FINDINGS

This section reports the main findings of the chapter. In particular, we describe the feelings experienced by cultural workers during and immediately after the first lockdown. During the lockdown the following process took place: (1) cultural workers experienced a moment of reflection and (2) then, they started adapting to new circumstances. After the lockdown cultural workers felt stronger and eager to restart their work. Different types of supporting resources were uncovered. Regarding their professional life, during the lockdown, cultural workers worked on some backlog work, work that could be performed from home or they tried to transfer their work online. After the lockdown, they reported new solutions and opportunities created by digital technology and online interaction. In addition, cultural workers' prospects for the future and life lessons learned are reported.

Resilience and Feelings of Cultural Workers

During the lockdown, most cultural workers started experiencing a profound state of reflection. Informant 1 reported:

> *I was shaken by Nature and how much it could flourish without our intrusion. In the first week of lockdown, I noticed that birds were flying at a lower level, there were more bees, there was more nectar in flowers. All this made me emerge in a profound meditation mode...I am having a moment of reflection, creative inspiration.* (Informant 1)

Informant 9 explained that being able to stop and reflect could be considered as a gift:

> *It is a moment of reflection. Having to stop without wanting or asking for it is a great gift.* (Informant 9)

Several cultural workers (e.g., Informant 3, Informant 14) stressed their ability to adapt to new circumstances.

> *I spent the first few weeks thinking that I would like to go back to life before and then I got used to it. It was impressive to think we all got used to it.* (Informant 14)

Beside perpetuating in the reflective state, cultural workers described their feelings as stable, lucky, conscious, sad, acceptive and adaptive to changes.

In line with the resilience literature (e.g., Bonanno et al., 2007; Brennan, 2008; Dunn et al., 2008; Martínez-Martí and Ruch, 2017), our empirical findings unveiled the strengths and supporting resources of our informants. The following categories were uncovered, namely personality, interpersonal relationships, work and material resources. With regard to personality, many informants perceived the following traits as their strengths: curiosity (Informant 1); self-awareness, self-criticism, optimism (Informant 2, Informant 9); being a dreamer (Informant 9); adaptability (Informant 3); positivity, hope (Informant 16, Informant 5); resiliency (Informant 5); instinct, concreteness, knowing what you want (Informant 6). Informant 7 stated that faith was also helping him in overcoming the emergency. Informant 3 stressed how the decision to feel good or bad is a part of our DNA, implying that despite adverse events you can always decide how to feel. Informant 2 confirmed the same:

The only thing you can control is whether to be strong or weak. It is something you have to decide. (Informant 2)

Interpersonal relationships with a family or colleagues were considered as important supporting resources. Cultural workers in a relationship reported:

I am happy because I am in a happy relationship with my wife. (Informant 15)

I feel quite lucky, my husband is my reference point, he gives me strength. (Informant 4)

Cultural workers without a partner were feeling more frustrated than those with a partner. For instance, Informant 16 reported:

I feel frustrated... Of course, I have learned how to be alone, but I miss a person next to me. (Informant 16)

Collaboration with colleagues acted as a relevant resource (Informant 5, Informant 8).

Employment was reported by some informants (e.g. Informant 8) as an important work resource during the COVID-19 lockdown.

Material resources such as good living conditions and material support acted as an additional supporting factor for cultural workers.

I am fortunate to live in a large house. (Informant 3)

I must admit that I am in a privileged position. I have a family that can help me in times of financial difficulty and not everyone has the same luck. (Informant 2)

In the follow-up interviews, cultural workers announced that they felt stronger than in the first phase of the lockdown (i.e. during the lockdown). They were anxious to restart their work.

I feel risen from the ashes... (Informant 1)

My state of mind is of restart. (Informant 2)

I feel stronger psychologically because I was tired and now I am more lucid and rested. (Informant 3)

Those cultural workers that continued working during the lockdown (e.g. those working for streaming service companies) declared they felt more relaxed after the lockdown as they learned to manage the increased workload, longer working hours and to separate better their life from their work.

I am more relaxed for the fact that I can have more flexibility at work. (Informant 15)

Work Reorganization of Cultural Workers

The following changes have been observed among informants: their work, whenever possible, went online, their working infrastructure switched to smart working. Any physical activity was suspended. One cultural worker decided to close his company and reopen a new one once the emergency was over. Cultural festivals and teaching also went online.

Now there are no film festivals, no teaching. Actually, it is a big change to have festivals online. I am a bit afraid that people will get used to this change. (Informant 9)

Many cultural workers mentioned that they were in a waiting mode, working on some backlog work or some activities that could be performed from home, such as reading screen plays (Informants 4, 11), writing (Informants 5, 11), teaching (Informant 8) and training online (Informant 2).

Cultural workers that suffered the least were those working for big companies, such as streaming service companies. Informant 15 reported:

More people are spending their time in streaming and now we see a huge increase in subscription... I mean for streaming it is a huge potential, which needs to be managed properly. (Informant 15)

In the second wave of interviews, cultural workers reported more concrete solutions to their problems. For instance, Informant 1 decided where and how to open his new film production company. Informant 9 dedicated his time to writing screenplays, applying for public funds and thinking of launching a new digital platform to screen short movies. This finding is in line with some recent studies defending the paradoxical nature of resilience: on the one hand cultural workers tried to understand and adapt to new circumstances, on the other hand, they looked at the jolt as an opportunity to learn and do something new (Giustiniano et al., 2020; Lombardi et al., 2021).

I am thinking of opening a new film production with a new formula this time: digital, focused on documentaries, based in Ireland. (Informant 1)

I have used my time wisely: I wrote 2 scripts, applied for a public fund...I want to organize a festival online and launch a new digital platform for short movies. (Informant 9)

Informant 7 reported that: "there is more concreteness in the work".

Informant 2, an actor, announced that he invested his time heavily in training and getting ready for the post-COVID-19 period.

I continue to invest heavily in acting...even if things are at a standstill. An actor must always keep training, keep a relationship with agencies, understand what is around, talk to colleagues. (Informant 2)

An executive producer of a big film production company in Italy mentioned that his company was using the time to invest in the training of the whole crew.

These courses cost 400 euros per person, but they (i.e. crew) *did them for free. They did 4 hours of general safety and then a course on COVID-19.* (Informant 3)

Cultural workers that did not deal with online interaction and smart working in normal times started rediscovering opportunities created by digital technologies.

Remote work opportunities are emerging. These are normal things, not artistic, in the field of communication and distance learning. (Informant 2)

Our findings revealed an interesting, although quite predictable fact: cultural workers were already used to unstable, challenging and precarious working conditions even before COVID-19. They reported their experience as freelancers, working on projects with unstable and low wages. These conditions contributed to building their resilience before facing the adversity of COVID-19.

I've never had a long contract, I've always had a project contract. I have been precarious for 25 years and now I have signed the contract for the first time and a planetary disaster has happened. (Informant 3)

Being a freelancer and coming from the cinema, I am used to working with a small crew, with little money, unlikely situations where anything can happen. (Informant 12)

In support of the recent creative industry literature (Gaim, 2018; Cinque et al., 2020), we found that cultural workers persisted with their job despite hardship.

Work gives me satisfaction. If someone told me: from tomorrow you can no longer think about work, what would I do? (Informant 3)

Looking Ahead

Cultural workers reported the harm caused by the pandemic to CCIs. For instance, the film industry and theatre require a human interaction, without which it is hard to move on. Informant 2 reported: "Theatre is like a disco; it requires people." Informant 3 confirmed: "One metre of social distancing is impossible to respect in the cinema."

The fashion industry was also badly hit. Two informants stated that they could not see any benefits brought by COVID-19 but only harm, as their collections remained unsold.

I was not ready for this. I have already produced the collection and now it is in stock. (Informant 6)

The company is closed and there are many unsold goods. The collection 2021 was not sold and who knows if we are going to sell it in 2022. (Informant 4)

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Many cultural workers were comparing the pandemic to the war, however with some connotation of hope.

> *After the plague there was a Renaissance. After the war there was a Neorealism. There will be a new phase, a new spring.* (Informant 9)

> *I think about the rebirth of cinema after the war. I wonder who knows if we will not have a post-pandemic cultural rebirth.* (Informant 12)

Despite visible damages, cultural workers did not despair and communicated their expectations of a better future. Many were convinced that entering market conditions would improve after the emergency.

> *After the crisis, starting conditions will be similar for everyone. The production system will change as it did in 2008 with the digital.* (Informant 1)

> *There is a great enthusiasm, everything is questioned. It is a starting point.* (Informant 9).

COVID-19 made cultural workers aware of the opportunities created by digital technologies and online interaction. One informant mentioned that he was in the process of launching his streaming platform for short movies, an idea that came to him during the lockdown. He also announced the idea of creating an online festival and carrying out an online dubbing of a film. Another interviewee, a film director and producer, told of his idea of creating a new film production company with the focus on digital. A programme manager of a big streaming service company stated that subscriptions sky-rocketed enormously during the lockdown.

However, informants reported that the benefits of technology had to be balanced with its risks. Informant 9 stated:

> *Technology is useful for work but not for close contacts. It works for work without emotions...* (Informant 9)

Cultural workers working in the film industry were envisioning the death of cinemas due to streaming service companies.

> *On the one hand, I'm worried about distribution. I'm afraid that cinemas will die.* (Informant 12)

Overall, cultural workers hoped that COVID-19 induced people to care more about the CCIs.

> *What would your quarantine look like without music, cinema, books? In great moments of crisis, perhaps, what keeps you company the most is a book and not a new dress. I hope someone has realized that we exist.* (Informant 12)

Learned Life Lessons

This brief section unveils the life lessons learned by cultural workers during and after the first COVID-19 lockdown. During the home confinement the biggest life lessons related to the themes of time, luck, simplicity, relationships and society. Cultural workers realized the importance of a better use of their time, which did not imply the need to rush but, on the contrary, to clear their lives of unnecessary meetings and occupations and to have more time to focus on what mattered. Cultural workers acknowledged the necessity of not procrastinating over important things. Yet, time does not need to always be productive. As conveyed by one informant, even an empty moment can make a lot of sense. Several cultural workers reported that they felt very lucky to live in a contemporary society. One informant communicated an enhanced civic sense. Cultural workers started appreciating more their relationships and simplicity. Many realized that they liked staying at home, without being bored. Their imagination and dreams were keeping boredom away. COVID-19 gave time to rediscover old passions.

After the first COVID-19 lockdown, life lessons were around topics of risk, time, relationships, opportunities. Cultural workers stressed once again the preciousness of time and relationships. However, a small change compared to phase I could be noted: life lessons in the phase II were more concrete, positive and action-oriented. Cultural workers learned the importance of being positive, transparent and direct; being able to risk, follow one's own instinct and search for new opportunities.

> *You must be willing to risk everything, always.* (Informant 1)
> *It is important to consider new opportunities. I do not want to wait. But there is time, no need to rush and run after people.* (Informant 9)

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Our chapter advances novel insights into CCIs by exploring cultural workers' feelings and well-being, work reorganization practices, and lessons learned during and after the first COVID-19 lockdown that took place in Europe. Our evidence confirms that cultural workers encounter various unexpected events during their artistic careers. Their days have an unpredictable pattern. However, the COVID-19 pandemic found everyone unprepared. Our findings reveal the role of several resource endowments in helping cultural workers face the adversity. In line with previous studies on psychological resilience (e.g. Bonanno et al., 2007; Brennan, 2008; Dunn et al., 2008; Martínez-Martí and Ruch, 2017), we uncover the importance of personality traits (e.g. self-awareness, self-criticism, optimism, positive thinking, faith), interpersonal resources (e.g. social support from family, colleagues), material resources (i.e. living conditions) and work resources (i.e. employment). Cultural workers engaged in improvisation, using the available resources rather than planned ones (Giustiniano et al., 2018; Giustiniano and Cantoni, 2018).

This book chapter confirms the presence of psychological resilience in cultural workers. Most of them were in a reflective, contemplative mode in the first weeks of lockdown, followed by the acceptance and adaptation to new circumstances. Resilience implies a positive adaptation and reaction to an adversity. Our book chapter is in line with the recent research suggesting that resilience has a paradoxical nature, e.g. "gardening" – understanding, preparing and adapting to the unique environment – vs "learning" – looking at the jolt as an opportunity to learn something new (Lombardi et al., 2021). Resilience requires paradoxical actions involving the capacity to maintain normal functioning in extraordinary times (Giustiniano et al., 2020). Our chapter shows that, in the first phase of lockdown, cultural workers suspended activities requiring social interaction, living in a waiting mode and dedicating their time to the backlog of work, creative work from home and coming up with a plan. In the second phase of lockdown, most of the creative workers were satisfied with how they spent their home confinement, they reported more concrete plans and creative solutions. They looked at the pandemic as an opportunity to grow. The importance of digital platforms, online interaction and remote work opportunities were highly acknowledged by cultural workers that decided to push their businesses in that direction. In terms of prospects, cultural workers reported the harm caused by the pandemic to the CCIs, however they were proactively getting prepared for the

future. The future, that this time would be different, but would still require creativity and adaptability of cultural workers, quite used to challenging conditions. In addition, we examined what lessons cultural workers learned during and after the COVID-19 lockdown. Most of them were based around the topics of time, relationships and society. COVID-19 provided a chance to appreciate the importance of own time and relationships, caring more about societal issues. After the lockdown, the life lessons were more positive and action-oriented, reflecting the improvement in cultural workers' resilience.

This book chapter contributes to the research on CCIs (e.g. Gaim, 2018; Cinque et al., 2020;) and the individual resilience literature (e.g. Fletcher and Sarkar, 2013; Giustiniano et al., 2020) by (1) exploring the impact of COVID-19 on cultural workers' personal and professional lives; (2) by applying a holistic view of resilience intended as both a paradoxical capacity and a process; (3) by revealing the role of several resource endowments in helping cultural workers to overcome severe adversities; (4) by stressing how the past experience with challenging working conditions contributes to the spirit of adaptation of cultural workers.

The insights of this chapter can be of relevance for cultural workers to improve their self-awareness about the paradoxical nature of resilience (i.e. requiring adaption to new circumstances but also the search for new opportunities) and resources necessary to positively adapt and react to adversities. In line with previous studies (Giustiniano et al., 2020; Lombardi et al., 2021), we suggest looking at improvisation as an important capacity to empower individual resilience. The chapter can be interesting for other professionals who are facing personal and professional challenges due to COVID-19. We believe that such pandemic times induced many precarious, project-based workers to rethink their usual ways of working and made them appreciate the use of digital technology and online interaction, the changes that will persist after COVID-19.

Further work may continue our research in the upcoming phases of COVID-19, exploring the second lockdown that occurred in autumn 2020, or the recovery phase after vaccination. CCIs have always been characterized by creativity and innovation. They constitute a fertile ground to explore new ways of organizing and COVID-19 provided plenty of occasions for rethinking what the future of CCIs would look like.

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Conclusion

This thesis is born out of fascination for the CCIs and the ambiguities and tensions they are surrounded with. The primary aim was to answer the global question of how different participants of the CCIs dealt with the tensions these industries entailed.

In particular, by performing a systematic literature review, the first chapter of my dissertation explored the typology of tensions in the CCIs. In so doing, it attempted to create a cross-fertilization between the literature on tensions and contradictions, and the creative industry literature, that have been loosely integrated so far. The chapter provided a consolidating framework based on the most recurrent themes in the creative context such as innovation, creativity, entrepreneurship, identity, labor market, public policy. The themes-based framework unveiled the complexity and the variety of tensions in CCIs. The connections among the identified themes were explored. Furthermore, the chapter proposed several research areas to be explored by future research. Following the integrative approach to the literature review (i.e., aiming at identifying the missing puzzles), the below research problems can be targeted:

- Although the study tried to be exhaustive, other less common themes (e.g., networking, leadership, legitimacy, sustainability) and the tensions related to them can be further explored.

- The dynamics, salience, latency and nested nature of tensions in CCIs deserve further research work. Scholars could ask: *Does the salience of one imperative over another change over time? What are the conditions for this change to happen? Can some tensions in CCIs be dormant and some other be salient? If yes, how do creative individuals and creative organizations organize for the salience of tensions?*

- Instead of focusing on the typology of tensions, future research could examine causes, responses and consequences of the tensions in CCIs at different levels of analysis.

- Inter-industry differences of CCIs should be explored. Some creative industries can entail different tensions, consequently requiring different responses and leading to different consequences.

- The perception and cognition of tensions and how they impact on the same existence and management of tensions should be further explored. The concepts such as "paradoxical thinking", "paradoxical mindset", "paradoxical frames" should be taken into account when studying the tensions of CCIs and other contexts.

However, taking a step back and applying a problematizing approach to the literature review, I proposed to question some of the main ontological and epistemological assumptions of the literature on tensions in CCIs, such as the existence itself of tensions in this context. The questions that should be asked by future research: *Are the tensions always present in CCIs? Why is the field of CCIs so obsessed with the tensions and paradoxes? Did the presence or absence of tensions in CCIs change over time (e.g., Renaissance, Romanticism)? Could it be an historically specific phenomenon associated with the Romantic movement and that earlier periods of market capitalism such as during the Italian Renaissance (Jardine, 1996) did not express this tension? Are the tensions in CCIs seen by the researchers or by the informants? Are they socially constructed or inherent?* Assuming that there are the tensions in CCIs, *how are they practiced in the real world?* This last question led to the second chapter of the dissertation.

The purpose of the second chapter was to explore the practices that creative entrepreneurs adopt to balance the tension between art and business, assuming that there is one; and explore other challenges and practices to deal with them in the process of creative entrepreneurship. Despite two decades of creative entrepreneurship research have passed, still relatively little is known about this field of inquiry (Bürger & Volkmann, 2020; Chang & Wyszomirski 2015; Dobreva & Ivanov, 2020; Schulte-Holthaus, 2019). Drawing on existing definitions (Dobreva & Ivanov, 2020; Hausmann & Heinze, 2016; Gehman & Soublière, 2017; Svejenova et al., 2015), I defined creative entrepreneurship as *a process undertaken to discover, evaluate, and exploit a commercial business opportunity related to cultural and creative products and services that encompass a cultural value within the cultural and creative industries, and through which artists achieve autonomy and secure income*.

The most common tension of the CCIs is the tension between art and business (e.g., Banks, 2010; Lampel, Lant & Shamsie, 2000; Werthes et al., 2017). Several scholars suggest that this tension raised with the Romanticism since the production of art was transformed from patronage to market systems, making artists vulnerable to poverty (Alexander, 2020; White & White, 1993). However, artists struggled to make profit out of their art in different historical moments.

Stemming from the fact that the literature on tensions and contradictions have strongly encouraged to examine the individual management of tensions, rather than studying tensions, paradoxes and contradictions at the levels of fields and organizations (Cunha et al., 2019; Gaim, 2018; Miron-Spector et al., 2018; Pache & Santos, 2010; Smets et al., 2015), the second chapter aimed to fulfil this purpose in the context of CCIs. Tensions are reflected in micro-practices of everyday life (Jarzabkowski & Lê, 2017; Schneider et al., 2020). I applied the practice turn in entrepreneurship to the context of creative entrepreneurship, since most of the characteristics of creative entrepreneurship derive from the general entrepreneurship theory (Hausmann & Heinze, 2016). In addition, relatively little empirical analysis of entrepreneurial processes in artistic settings has been done so far (Bergamini et al., 2018), therefore this constitutes another point in support of my research.

In terms of methodology, the second chapter adopts a qualitative multiple case studies method based on 25 semi-structured interviews collected with founders, cofounders and employees of the European film production companies (Alvarez et al., 2005; Delmestri, Montanari & Usai, 2005; Durand & Hadida, 2016; Hadida et al., 2021; Mathieu & Strandvad, 2009; Salvemini & Delmestri 2000; Svejenova, 2005).

The chapter uncovered the perception of creative entrepreneurs towards the relationship, rather than tension, between art and business. One of the unexpected findings of the second chapter was the absence of tension between art and business, challenging one of the paradigmatic assumptions of the CCIs research, which is the necessary presence of this duality in the creative context. The informants of my research perceived art and business as complementary. They did not make use of the world "tension", which showed that the notion of tension could be misleading. Other important findings of the chapter related to organizational and industry-level challenges of financial, relational and inherent nature experienced by creative entrepreneurs. Several scholars outlined management and industry

challenges present within the creative industries (Peltoniemi, 2015; Peris-Ortiz et al., 2019; Sinapi, 2020; Stroem, Olsen & Foss, 2020). However, besides uncovering the tensions of creative entrepreneurship, the chapter discovered the common practices to manage them, such as (1) planning before project initiation, (2) managing multiple projects in pipeline, (3) collaborating externally and internally, (4) diversifying (5) applying for public subsidies, (6) financing by private investors.

The second chapter makes three main contributions. First, it contributes to the literature on tensions by shedding more light on how individuals, rather than organizations and institutions, deal with tensions (Cunha et al, 2019; Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2017; Miron-Spector et al., 2018). Second, it contributes to the practice tradition by uncovering the micro-practices that creative entrepreneurs put in place to manage the conflicting demands of creative entrepreneurship (Jarzabkowski & Lê, 2017; Schneider et al., 2020). While previous research has extensively explored various tensions in the context of CCIs (e.g., DeFillippi et al, 2007; Friedman & Jones, 2011; Jones et al., 2016; Lampel, Lant & Shamsie, 2000), this chapter uncovers the most recurrent practices to tackle them along the process of entrepreneurship in an artistic setting, the context which remains scarcely researched (Bergamini et al., 2018). Finally, the third contribution is to the creative entrepreneurship literature, which is still in its infancy (Bürger & Volkmann, 2020; Gehman & Soublière, 2017; Hausmann & Heinze 2016; Noonan, 2021). Considering that most of the characteristics of creative entrepreneurship derive from the general entrepreneurship theory (Hausmann & Heinze, 2016), the chapter extended the application of the recent practice turn in entrepreneurship (Thomson et al., 2020) to the context of creative entrepreneurship.

The third chapter investigated the relationship between the permanent owner organization and the temporary festival organization in one of the most renowned cultural institutions in the world. In particular the third chapter examined the governance interface between the Venice Biennale and its Venice International Film Festival (VIFF).

The chapter is based on an exploratory case study of the Venice Biennale, drawing on multiple data sources, including a participant ethnography of the 76th edition of the VIFF. It unveiled the importance of an owner organizational identity, based on key traits such as creativity and innovation, that encouraged an inter-personal, non-bureaucratic, approach to designing governance interface. In addition, the aspects such as relative autonomy, dialogue,

trust, and solid and empowering management enabled interpersonal governance and allowed for successful interaction between the owner organization interfacing with its inherently temporary project organizations.

The third chapter went beyond the examination of tensions and practices within a cultural context. It uncovered the necessary conditions for cultural organizations to maintain the desired relationships in place, such as the relationship between tradition and innovation, art and business, permanency and temporariness. This chapter highlighted the importance of a particular kind of project organizing which relies on interpersonal relationships rather than formalized, bureaucratic routine and practice. It supports the recent theorizing on project governance (e.g., Gulino et al., 2020; Sergeeva, 2019) according to which more flexible governance is indispensable to enable innovation in projects.

The third chapter makes two main contributions to project organizing research (e.g., Bakker, 2016; Von Danwitz, 2018, Stjerne & Svejenova, 2016; Sydow & Braun, 2018) and, more specifically, to the literature on festivals that are still under-researched (Rüling & Pedersen, 2010; Uriarte et al., 2019). First, it investigated how the governance interface between the temporary and the permanent for the project governance of an annual film festival is managed for autonomy, flexibility and innovation. Second, it examined how the organizational identity of the owner influences and is influenced by the governance interface.

Finally, given the COVID-19 pandemic, it became crucial to understand how this emergency was affecting the CCIs and people working within these industries. Out of this intention an additional chapter was born. In particular, the fourth chapter examined the psychological resilience - a capacity and a process of bouncing back from adversity – and work reorganization practices of cultural workers in times of the first COVID-19 wave. Based on numerous interviews with cultural workers operating in different CCIs, the chapter uncovered an overall improvement in their resilience after they lived the first lockdown. The chapter supported the theorizing according to which resilience has a paradoxical nature, made of "gardening" – understanding, preparing and adapting to the unique environment - and "learning" – looking at the jolt as an opportunity to learn something new (Giustiniano et al., 2020; Lombardi et al., 2021). The chapter showed that, in the first phase of lockdown, cultural workers suspended activities requiring social interaction, living in a waiting mode and dedicating their time to the backlog of work, creative work from home and coming up with a

plan. In the second phase of lockdown, most of the creative workers reported more concrete plans and creative solutions. They looked at the pandemic as an opportunity to grow. The improvement in the cultural workers' resilience happened by virtue of several resource endowments, their personality and experience built before the COVID-19 times. The precarious working conditions in the CCIs helped cultural workers face adversities during their career.

The fourth chapter contributes to the research on CCIs (e.g. Gaim, 2018; Cinque et al., 2020;) and the psychological resilience literature (e.g. Fletcher and Sarkar, 2013; Giustiniano et al., 2020) by (1) exploring the impact of COVID-19 on cultural workers' personal and professional lives; (2) by applying a holistic view of resilience intended as both a paradoxical capacity and a process; (3) by revealing the role of several resource endowments in helping cultural workers to overcome severe adversities; (4) by stressing how the past experience with challenging working conditions contributes to the spirit of adaptation of cultural workers; and (5) by unveiling the reflection of individual resilience in cultural workers' narration about their life lessons learned.

In conclusion, the dissertation lies on the intersection of arts and management. Overall, it contributes to the research on CCIs and creative entrepreneurship, the literature on tensions and paradoxes, the practice theories, the project organizing research, and the psychological resilience research by uncovering the complexity and variety of tensions within these industries (chapter I); by examining the most common practices to deal with the relationship (rather than tension) between art and business and other challenges of creative entrepreneurship (chapter II); by proposing the inter-personal governance approach for cultural organizations operating at the interface between the permanent owner organization and the project, festival organization, and that value innovation, creativity and experimentation (chapter III); and by examining the psychological resilience and work reorganization practices of cultural workers in times of the COVID-19 pandemic.

On a final note, I hope this dissertation can spur interest of the research community and encourage further scientific research on related topics.