Creativity in a Box

Creativity and Routines in a Symphony Orchestra

By

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Abstract

Title	Creativity in a Box. Creativity and Routines in a Symphony Orchestra
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Authors	Virginie Bracq & Leonie Salzmann
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Purpose	The purpose of this study is to provide a more profound knowledge of how routines impact creativity when studying a Symphony Orchestra. This includes the exploration of obstacles hindering individuals to be creative as well as enabling factors that enhance creativity within the context of routines
Methodology	Following an interpretivist tradition, our qualitative study uses an abductive approach on a single case organization. We gathered our empirical data by conducting thirteen semi-structured interviews and through observations of rehearsals and concerts of the Swedish Symphony Orchestra.
Theoretical Framework	Our theoretical framework outlines previous studies regarding the effects of routine on creativity. Furthermore, we explain the role of creativity in a musical context and highlight several routines in the Symphony Orchestra. Then we link those notions to the role of leadership and hierarchy.
Conclusion	Our findings reveal that musicians in the orchestra can be creative within several constraints. Routines and repetitiveness do not hinder creativity. Our findings suggest four ideal-typical dimensions of how musicians view their creativity while having constraints limiting their artistic freedom. By looking inside the box, we have noticed other kinds of hindrance such as tradition, time and hierarchical structure. Finally, we analyzed the notion of enabling directive leadership as a nuance to autocratic leadership styles and its possibilities to enhance creativity in the orchestra.
Key Words	Creativity, Routine, Orchestra, Hierarchy

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Virginie Bracq & Leonie Salzmann

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List of frequently used terms

Brass section - brass instruments (Horn, trumpet, trombone, tuba)

Concertmaster - lead violinist of the Orchestra placed on the first desk in front of the conductor

Conductor - "brain of the orchestra", technical and artistic leader of an ensemble

Section leader - a musician who leads a section with greater responsibility

Sections within the orchestra - four groups that compose the Orchestra: Strings, woodwind, brass and percussions

Solo player - a musician in a smaller section performing alone, typically in a woodwind section

String section - bowed instruments (Violin, Viola, Violoncello, Double Bass)

Symphony Orchestra - a large ensemble composed of musicians (50-100) playing different instruments performing classical music

Reeds - part of the mouthpiece of woodwind instruments to create sound through vibration, typically made out of wood or synthetic material

Tutti player - musician playing within a bigger section with the goal of exactly playing like the section leader, typically within a string section

Woodwind section - woodwind instruments (Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon)

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1 Introduction

It is 9:15 on a Monday morning, and as every day during the week, Olivier has just brought his children to school before work and starts the day at the concert house with a cup of coffee. After a warm-up on his instrument, the rehearsal begins. Today is a calm day for him with long waiting periods as there are a lot of breaks in the music for his instrument. The week starts with a new program and a new conductor for the weekly concert on Thursday, and after five hours of rehearsal, he will spend the rest of the day practicing the new program. Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday morning will look approximately the same as this Monday. After the weekly concert, Olivier will use his spare time to practice and spend time with his family before a new week starts on Monday with a new program and a new conductor. Since he has been part of the orchestra for fourteen years, he has played most of the pieces by now.

1.1 Background

Symphony Orchestras - the epitome of musical art enjoyment, cultural creation, and professional individuals contributing to this experience - seem to be driven by embedded routines. Olivier's routine suggests that this process is repeated weekly. Furthermore, this example indicates that the work in the orchestra is thoroughly planned and scheduled, which leaves little room for deviation. Olivier's experience is significant for our project, as we are talking about the influence of routines on the creativity of individuals. The Symphony Orchestra, as an organization, lends itself to our study as it is particularly fascinating to investigate the creativity of individuals in an organization that is operating in the artistic field and, therefore, is assumed to be creative. Our empirical findings should also apply to organizations in other sectors and branches. As external and internal structures drive organizations and routines that might restrict employees' creativity and require them to adapt to these settings, the tension of creativity and routines can be seen in all organizations.

Over the past sixty years, authors and intellectuals have provided different aspects to the topic of creativity. The increasing popularity and complexity of this subject have resulted in multiple definitions of creativity. According to Amabile (1988), creativity is defined as an individual act, "a production of novel and useful ideas by an individual or small groups of individuals working together" (1988, p. 126). On the other hand, other authors, such as Hargadon & Bechky (2006), describe creativity as a collective effort where interactions allow creative outcomes. Moreover, musicians use repetitive tasks to warm up their instrument, master it, and perform to

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the utmost level. The daily warm-up routine on the instrument is also shown in Olivier´s example - he starts the working day by warming up his instrument. Furthermore, seen from Olivier´s anecdote, routines such as the weekly schedule, weekly concerts, and repeatedly performed repertoire can be found in the orchestra. The musicians then contribute as individuals to the collective effort of achieving the weekly goal - creating and interpreting a musical piece to perform in front of an audience.

The impact of routine on creativity divides authors as well. One common approach regarding routines and creativity is that routines hinder creativity. Ford (1996) expresses that routines can limit, block and constrain creative outcomes. Other authors disagree with this point of view and argue that repetitive tasks and routines are not mindless tasks but rather performed (Feldman, 2000). Hargadon & Becky (2006) agree with this theory by adding that routines allow fleeting moments during the day, leading to creative ideas. As Olivier's anecdote shows, the work in the orchestra is subjected to several routines, which, with Ford's (1996) argument, could lead to the claim that work in the orchestra cannot be creative because the routines, entailed in the work, hinder creativity. This viewpoint leads to another contradiction. When thinking about creativity and music - musicians are often associated with the idea of being creative (Sovansky, Wieth, Francis & McIlhagge, 2016). Lund & Kranz (1994, cited in Goncy & Waehler, 2006) have shown that the personality traits associated with a creative person are similar to the personality traits associated with a musician. However, in their study, Limb & Braun (2008) are differentiating between musicians that compose and musicians that play pre-written music, such as performers from a Symphony Orchestra. Moreover, Olivier expressed that by now he knows most of the music that the orchestra performs after years of practice and experience. He can be considered an expert in his domain. Nonetheless, being an expert can lead to an automatic execution of performing tasks which may not require creative thinking (Sovansky et al., 2016). This tension of being a musician working in a creative environment which is characterized by repetitive tasks and routine is being discussed in the following chapters.

Our interest in this research field has its origin in our shared passion for classical music and our fascination with the work of professional musicians, especially in the orchestra. As we both grew up learning to play an instrument, singing in choirs, and playing in non-professional orchestras, the fascination with orchestral musicians emerged. Choosing a Symphony Orchestra as the company with which we write our thesis, is a result of our passion for art. Through a private contact, we were able to connect with the Swedish Symphony Orchestra, who were

enthusiastic about the subject of our study from the very beginning and helped us realize this idea. This allowed us to observe and analyze this unique working environment. This thesis enables us to further develop our knowledge regarding creativity and its link to routine in this context, supplementing the theoretical knowledge gained during our Master's program.

1.2 Problem Statement

Through our chosen organization, we aim to gain better knowledge about how repetitive tasks and routines affect the creativity of musicians by analyzing how musicians experience their creativity in the orchestra. The study of a Symphony Orchestra is fascinating as musicians have a reputation for being creative. At the same time, this institution is filled with repetitive tasks that might hinder their creativity.

When observing a Symphony Orchestra, it is possible to question the creative aspect as the work might seem somewhat repetitive. Numerous studies have addressed the topic of creativity and routines (Sonenshein, 2016). Still, few have addressed the creative element of orchestral work as musicians are generally seen as creative individuals. In an orchestra or any other musical context, the work of a professional musician is therefore automatically considered creative, exciting, and diverse. It is seldom questioned how musicians, who have learned to express themselves as free artists through their music, find their way into orchestra life's daily routine.

Since authors disagree on the extent to which routines affect creativity, this is even less incorporated into the work of orchestral musicians. The literature nevertheless distinguishes between musicians engaged in creating novel music and musicians who play pre-written music from the sheet. Since classical orchestral music is not concerned with improvisation and novel music generation, orchestral musicians belong to the second group mentioned. Hence, their creative nature is questioned by several authors, which we will explain in more detail in the following chapter. Furthermore, we want to address the influence of the prevailing hierarchical structure within the orchestra. Therefore, we will draw upon the relationship between a leader (conductor) and the team (orchestra) as it seems that members of the orchestra accept its very hierarchical structure.

We aim to contribute to the study concerning the connection between routine and creativity, and we want to apply this to an environment that is regarded to be creative by society. As there is little literature regarding this matter, we want to contribute to further knowledge about orchestral work.

1.3 Research Purpose and Guiding Questions

This research aims to contribute to the knowledge of creativity and how routines influence creativity within an orchestral context. Our main object is to show a different perspective on the study of orchestras by challenging the creative aspect of this field. While other creativity studies focus on finding creativity outside the box, we want to look inside the box and examine the hindrances that put creative freedom in a box and explore enabling factors that increase creativity, although limited by constraints. Our study aims to contribute to the existing literature regarding creativity concerning the example of the orchestra. This means that we not only want to contribute theoretical knowledge to the study of routine and creativity in the context of a Symphony Orchestra but also highlight a more general tension between routine and creativity in any organizational context. By outlining the interplay of routines and creativity, we want to provide insights into this matter's practical and theoretical levels. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to address the tension created by routines and to challenge the question how creative the work in an orchestra for the individual musicians is.

Based on this research purpose, we aim to answer the following research questions:

- *How do routines influence the creativity in a Symphony Orchestra?*
- *What are enablers and constraints of creativity in a routinized context?*

To answer those questions and fulfill the purpose of our research, we will investigate how the musicians of the Swedish Symphony Orchestra interpret the way routines of their profession impact their artistic freedom and creative nature. Previous research on creativity, particularly in the orchestral context, the routine aspect of this profession, and its influence on the individual´s creativity, has little emphasis. Instead, previous research mainly focuses on the individual creativity of musicians and lacks consideration of the impact of the routinization of this profession. By exploring the musicians' perceptions of the consequences of routines in the orchestra and their effect on their creativity, we try to understand how standardized interactions and repetitive tasks can impact creativity. Furthermore, based on our findings, we also want to provide recommendations on enhancing creativity while being constrained.

1.4 Thesis Outline

Our focus will be on analyzing and discussing the question of how routines can influence these creative individuals and studying possibilities of how creativity can be enabled in all circumstances. Our thesis consists of six chapters to answer the research questions presented above. The first chapter introduced the reader to the problematization of our study and outlined the research purpose with our guiding questions, which we intend to answer. The second chapter presents the theoretical background while drawing upon existing literature on the topic. Therefore, we will dive deeper into the existing knowledge of creativity and routines and apply this to a musical and, later on, orchestral context. Chapter three is dedicated to explaining our study's chosen methodology approach by introducing the single case study and describing the data collection and analysis process while also highlighting the credibility aspects of our research. In the fourth chapter, we analyze our collected empirical material and its findings by presenting our data alongside our initial interpretations. Chapter five discusses our empirical findings while referring to our literature review discussed in chapter two. Finally, we will conclude and summarize the main findings of our thesis, highlight our theoretical contribution, provide recommendations for further research on this matter, and elaborate limitations of our study.

2 Literature Review

The following chapter introduces the theoretical background of our study. Moreover, we will present the main theoretical concepts relevant to our study. The concepts will further on be discussed and applied to our empirical data. Our main goal is to expose the interplay between creativity and routine first in an organizational context and later on in a musical context that combines creative individuals and routine environments. We will start this chapter by defining the idea of creativity and its various aspects. Then, we will link the idea of creativity in the context of routine, showing possible positive and negative impacts while referring to different authors.

Furthermore, as the concept of leadership surfaced from our empirical data, we will also show how hierarchy and leadership can influence creativity. Following, we will discuss the concept of creativity in the context of musicians and will therefore dig deeper into the nature of musicians. Then, we will introduce the idea of creativity in an orchestral context. Finally, as pronounced hierarchy rules the orchestral world, we will link leadership and creativity notions to an orchestra.

2.1 Views on Creativity

For the past seventy years, many authors and intellectuals have focused their studies on creativity and its different aspects. There exist numerous definitions of creativity and theories around this theme. We will however only focus on specific authors' opinions. The decision of studying certain theories was made due to the possibility to link it with musical studies. We are also using the following views as they have been a reference in terms of creativity for many years. In this section we distinguish multiple approaches to creativity that are based on different assumptions. Starting with Amabile's theories on individual and group creativity as well as Ford's view on creativity, this last approach will be differentiated with other assumptions brought by Drazin, Glynn, & Kazanjian (1999). This distinction shows the different points of view regarding what creativity is. After this presentation, we will focus on creativity as a process and how organizational resources can alter creativity with Fortwengel, Schüßler & Sydows (2017) theories. Finally, we will focus on convergent and divergent thinking as we believe this notion will bring a new aspect to our study in terms of creativity and routine.

Amabile (1988) is a pioneer in studying organizational creativity and its impact on management and the shift in creativity from an individual level to a group and organizational level. The author argues that it is necessary to find the right balance between the internal work

environment and individual/group creative processes (Amabile & Pratt, 2016). Furthermore, she argues that individual creativity is not enough and that individual creativity should rather be combined with three other organizational levels. The first component is the motivation and aspiration to be creative, and secondly is the use of resources and practical skills. She also affirms that the environment has an important impact on the creativity of individuals, meaning a supportive environment will foster creativity (Amabile, 1988). According to Amabile, creativity can be defined as "the production of novel and useful ideas" (1988, p.740). Ford's (1996) theory goes in the same direction by saying that the creative outcomes are the ones that are novel and valuable. These definitions can be contrasted with the point of view of several authors. Drazin, Glynn, & Kazanjian (1999) argue that creativity is "the *process* of engagement in creative acts, regardless of whether the resultant outcomes are novel, useful, or creative" (p.287). This process orientation and sensemaking orientation give a new perspective to research regarding creativity. This theory does not aim to understand how to increase the level of creativity but to understand how to develop meaning and motivate and engage employees in the creative process. Drazin, Glynn, & Kazanjian (1999) have set three levels of the sensemaking frame: intrasubjective, intersubjective, and collective. The intrasubjective level or individual level corresponds to understanding different situations and consequences that will determine their future actions. The intersubjective level represents the influence of others facing the same problem on individuals' answers. Finally, the collective level explains the shift from the second to the third level through conflict. In fact, the interpretation of an event or a situation can differ from one individual to another. Thus, negotiation and compromise are needed, which can create new creative outcomes. This theory involves the individual behavior and sensemaking to produce innovative ideas and the group engaged in the creative process.

Another interesting theory of *process* studies of organizational creativity has been brought by Fortwengel, Schüßler & Sydow (2017). Building on other theories, Fortwengel, Schüßler & Sydow (2017) add two alternative perspectives. The first perspective, the strong process approach, sees organizational creativity as constantly changing and becoming where creativity is considered a resource for an organization. Secondly, the moderate process approach is an alternative where organizational creativity can be noticed as a practice and organizations are resources for creativity (Fortwengel, Schüßler & Sydow, 2017). We will focus on the second alternative for our thesis, which can also be seen as a practice-based approach to creativity. This approach highlights the importance of practices that correspond to recurring behavior patterns where structures mediate our actions. Fortwengel, Schüßler & Sydow (2017) argue that

structures impact our behavior while, at the same time, our efforts are moving and changing structures. Furthermore, in the context of creativity, it is essential to give freedom, constraints, and rules to change the structure with their new practices. It is argued that "routines free up resources that may be used for novel purposes, amongst them the development of creative ideas, processes, and products" (Fortwengel, Schüßler & Sydow, 2017, p.10).

Lastly, the concept of convergent and divergent thinking has been studied since 1950. Schaefer, (forthcoming) describes *convergent thinking* as the production of one single rational and logical solution to solve a problem. However, there is a second possibility to resolve an issue, which is *divergent thinking*. It consists of generating multiple and unexpected ideas in order to obtain different alternatives and solutions (Schaefer, forthcoming). Furthermore, convergent thinking is usually associated with uncreative ideas whereas divergent thinking would help to stimulate individuals' capacity to find innovative and creative responses. Artists are usually associated with divergent thinking as their high level of knowledge in a certain domain helps to create various creative solutions. This theory will be further elaborated when discussing creativity in part 2.2 regarding creativity in a musical context.

2.1.1 Creativity and Routines

As shown in the previous section, creativity is a broad topic where authors find themselves in disagreement with one another on its definition, effectiveness and difficulties to put into practice. We distinguish two approaches to creativity that are based on different assumptions. The first one sees creativity as something novel and innovative. According to Ford (1996), creativity refers to something novel and valuable simultaneously. Furthermore, many authors brought in their perspective on creativity by adding concepts such as collective creativity and its importance to generate new ideas (Harvey & Kou, 2013). Having a diverse group of individuals can positively impact the generation and evaluation of creative ideas. The second approach corresponds to authors that view creativity more as a process that does not need to be new. For the purpose of this thesis, we will follow this approach and use the definition of creativity brought by Drazin, Glynn, & Kazanjian (1999, p.287) stated above: "the *process* of engagement in creative acts, regardless of whether the resultant outcomes are novel, useful, or creative".

To understand the interplay between routines and creativity, it is necessary here to clarify what is meant by the term "routine". This term is also widely used and while a variety of definitions

have been suggested, we will use the definition suggested by Feldman & Pentland (2003, p.95), who define organizational routines as "repetitive, recognizable patterns of independent actions, carried out by multiple actors". The influence of routines on the creativity of individuals has been studied by scholars and has two main contradicting fields of thoughts. The first way of thinking believes that creativity is an alternative to routine (Madjar, Chen & Greeberg, 2011). Creativity and routine are independent variables where habitual actions constrain creativity (Ford, 1996). Ford (1996) argues that routines and conformity are constraints for creativity and innovation. He states that institutional forces - made of habitual actions - limit and encourage basic choices, meaning non-creative actions. Furthermore, he concludes his statement by saying, "I extend this model by arguing that creative and habitual actions represent competing behavioral options" (Ford, 1996, p.1130). Looking deeper into Madjar, Chen & Greeberg (2011), we have noticed that creative behavior is always presented as the opposite solution chosen over routine work. They introduce readers to two different types of creativity: radical and incremental (Madjar, Chen & Greeberg, 2011). Radical creativity represents a new, diverse, and revolutionary idea. Incremental creativity implies fewer changes, mainly a modification of an existing practice. For those authors, it is necessary to find ways to encourage employees to modify and stand out from their routine to generate creative outcomes. For example, conformity might seem more manageable, less risky and give a sense of security to employees. However, if they are willing to take risks by avoiding routine they could be more creative (Madjar, Chen & Greeberg, 2011).

A contrary way of thinking views routine as an enabler for creativity, notably during fleeting moments while performing a repetitive task (Hargadon & Bechky, 2006). Authors supporting this point of view see creativity as incremental (Madjar, Chen & Greeberg, 2011), focusing on the collective aspect and its multiple interactions (Amabile, 1988). With those different theories in mind, Hargadon & Bechky (2006) argue that creativity is a rare phenomenon, usually a momentary collective effort. Furthermore, routine and repetitive tasks allow employees to start social interactions, leading to the creation of new ideas and procedures. Following this mindset, Tschmuck (2012) argues that repetitive patterns leave a trace in employees' memories, which allow them to reapply when they learn in different appropriate situations, which means that having a repertoire of routines has a positive effect on employees' reactions to a problem. Another aspect of routine positively influencing creativity, was brought by Sonenshein (2016), who claims that "creativity is endogenous to and an outcome of routine performances." (p.75). Moreover, stability and repeated tasks have been studied to determine their impact on creativity.

Feldman defines routines as "repeated patterns of behavior bound by rules and customs and that do not change very much from one iteration to another" (2000, p.611). This definition is followed by an explanation of the role of this routine. She argues that routines are performed and not mindlessly followed, just like actors would perform their lines in theater or like musicians would give life to notes on a sheet of paper for it to become music. Perry (1988) argues that the pejorative aspect of routine can understand the tension between creativity and routine. Instead, those two notions should be used in full realization of their advantages and drawbacks. He expresses that "the full range and consequences of creative work engender standard procedure for exploring it, which become routine" (Perry, 1988, p.47). Therefore, creativity and routine go hand in hand and should not be seen as different entities. While studying the topic of routine, we have identified that structures in an organization are a part of it and can impact creativity. Routines such as strict hierarchical structure can hinder and at the same time foster creativity, which we will discuss in the following section.

2.1.2 Influence of Leadership in the Context of Creativity

It is generally acknowledged that creativity can be strongly influenced by criteria notably the allocation of hierarchical power between superiors and subordinates. Both concepts of leadership and creativity have been analyzed by many authors who have found them challenging to define. Alvesson, Blom & Sveningsson (2017) argue that in the past, leadership was defined by style and behavior, whereas more recently, it would be through traits such as task orientations and different skills. They further express that leadership can be explained as influencing meanings, ideas, and understandings. Furthermore, Alvesson & Sveningsson (2016) have described leaders as guides who can inspire their subordinates or followers regarding their commitment, engagement, and vision. This aspect of the guidance is followed by Alvesson & Spicer (2011), who argue that effective leadership needs people who are ready and willing to be followers. We have chosen to present two different theories of leadership: transformational and transactional. Bass (1985) described a transformational leader into four categories, charisma, where followers identify with the leader through their values, actions, and hopes. The second criterion is inspirational leadership which shows the ability to appeal to and aspire through their vision. Then intellectual stimulation is the third criterion. Finally, the transformational leader holds the role of a coach or mentor by considering followers' needs. Bass (1985) distinguishes between a transformational leader and a transactional one, which considers the constructive interaction between followers and leader and considers actions more. Those different profiles in leadership all have something in common, the impact on their

subordinates. Leadership can help motivate a team to become more creative. At the same time, it can also hinder creativity by creating more constraints. To illustrate this notion, authors Lin, Mainemelis & Kark (2016) argue that leaders have a dual role in the creative process of their employees. On the one hand they need to create a safe environment to encourage employees to be creative, generate ideas and foster their innovative side. But on the other hand, they must also routinely reject a lot of those ideas. This duality highlights how leadership can hinder and foster creativity at the same time.

The two leadership styles presented above, transactional and transformational, can sometimes be seen as competitive approaches. However, both have a positive correlation with creativity. Hughes, Lee, Newman & Legood (2018) argue that the characteristics of a transformational leader enable employees to be more creative. Intellectual stimulation, for example, can motivate followers to develop critical thinking and explore new ways of solving problems, leading to creativity. Moreover, the aspirational vision of this leader can also be transmitted to followers, which can motivate them to become more creative. Different and more modern leadership theories can be used to encourage and develop creativity, such as autonomy, allocated resources, and building followers' confidence (Hughes et al., 2018). It is then argued that newer theories such as empowering leadership and authentic leadership strongly correlate with creativity.

Even if authors have found a positive correlation between the system of rewards used in transactional leadership and creativity (Hughes et al., 2018), it has also been seen as a hinder to creativity. Instead of using inspiration and charisma for motivation, transactional leadership uses reward as motivation. This technique is supposed to engender creativity (Hughes et al., 2018). However, as those rewards are considered extrinsic motivation and not intrinsic, they are deemed to stifle creativity.

As we have seen, leadership can impact creativity in a traditional organizational context. However, our study focuses on the impacts of routine on the creativity of musicians, which is why we will further discuss those theories in a musical context.

2.2 Creativity in a Musical Context

Musicians are, in general, associated with possessing a high level of creativity (Sovansky et al., 2016). Therefore, it is rarely doubted that music is a creative field of human activity. As presented above, different authors offer different perspectives on creativity, but the relevance of these theories related to music remains less clear (Huovinen, 2021).

In their study, Spiel & von Korff (1998) focused on people's different professions and their implicit theories of creativity. The authors concluded that the conception of creativity might indeed be richer for artists compared to other professions such as politicians and scientists. However, as creativity is generally considered the foundation to create innovative musical work (Sovansky et al., 2016), many authors distinguish musicians based on their actual work. They mainly differentiate whether they compose and therefore create something novel or whether they play pre-written music from the sheet (Limb & Braun, 2008). Another common distinction between musicians is one of experts and non-experts. Experts are described as people who hold extensive skills or knowledge in a particular area due to year-long training (Sovansky et al., 2016). An expert level is reached after several years of practice (Ericsson & Charness, 1994). Experts are believed to have an increased ability to store information in their specific area of expertise and have a more pronounced ability to organize their knowledge and perform their primary tasks (Bédard & Chi, 1992). However, being an expert may also be detrimental as their performance may be automatic, thus, paying less attention to the actual task. Therefore, they may also have trouble describing accurate details of the task and how to perform it. Music experts might become fixated on different music items, making them stuck on a specific way of thinking. Though, to execute expert tasks, memory abilities and clear motor skills are required to perform the task. Based on their research using divergent thinking tasks to measure, it may be concluded that expert musicians show more extensive creativity than non-experts (Sovansky et al., 2016).

What distinguishes music experts from experts in other professions was studied by Limb & Braun (2008), who researched neuro-functions of musician's brains and found different brain activations when creating and making music. The study implicates a "distinctive pattern of changes in prefrontal cortical activity that underlies the process of spontaneous musical composition" (Limb & Braun, 2008). Sovansky et al. (2016) support the idea that creating music leads to a different kind of experience than musicians playing pre-written music. Music experts who do not compose music appear to be hindered by their expertise as they might experience more fixation, and those who create music show increased divergent thinking. Based on the interaction of music creation and music expertise, these expertise practices are key factors that influence creativity. Due to the excessive training, musicians may show convergent and divergent thinking, which halts the performance of the task (Gibson, Folley & Park, 2009).

As trained musical experts with advanced divergent thinking potential, musicians in an orchestra contribute collectively to a common musical creation of mainly pre-written music. The following section elaborates further on this process.

2.2.1 Creativity in a Symphony Orchestra

Musical institutions have been a metaphorical example in organizational studies for years. As a prototype organization, Weick (1992) has suggested Jazz bands to illustrate prototypical learning and innovation based on improvisation. Building on this comparison, Barrett (1998) elaborates further on the Jazz band as a differentiation to bureaucratic organizational models, where people perform routine, repetitive tasks and procedures. The Jazz metaphor may provide an alternative to the bureaucratic approach as improvisation, due to personal interpretation, and unstructured tasks, be seen as enhancing innovative ideas.

Jazz and classical music differ in various ways, the most vital one, however, is the use of spontaneous, surprising, unrehearsed, and new creation of musical material by Jazz players. Contrary, classical music makes use of clear instructions of what to play and how to play it. Jazz ensembles and Symphony Orchestras - two musical institutions used by numerous authors in the literature of organizational studies are fundamentally different institutions. As performing arts organizations, Symphony Orchestras preserve the musical heritage of composers of the past, present, and future (Lehman, 1995). Members of the orchestra are professional musicians who perform western classical music together for a living. The orchestral work is characterized by these talented individuals performing together as a unit under the direct supervision of a conductor (Allmendinger, Hackman & Lehman, 1996). According to Ciccarello (2017), creativity in an orchestra is a collaborative process that is achieved by the repertoire and the composer they choose to play, the way conductors lead them, and how members of the orchestra respond to the prevailing leadership style. Creating art may also be viewed as a collective process in which representatives of sections or individual musicians bring ideas to the artistic program. This can be linked with the concept of convergent and divergent thinking, as trained individuals contribute collaboratively to one common goal - to deliver a high quality performance while considering the performance tradition of the composer´s period of time. Cohesion between musicians is necessary to obtain harmony, notably through nonverbal communication and improvisational coordination (Sawyer, 2006). The author uses this term to describe the process of a musician improvising, for example, to hide a mistake such as a wrong note or change of tempo without talking to each other. Ultimately, the author confirms his

argument by saying, "the key characteristics of group creativity are improvisation, collaboration, and emergence" (Sawyer, 2006, p153). Jazz bands are often used to illustrate ideal learning and innovation opportunities for organizations. Symphony orchestras, however different they may be to Jazz bands, do seem to create certain improvisational elements and creative potential even when performing driven by embedded routines.

2.2.2 Role of Leadership in a Symphony Orchestra

Authors often use the relationship between conductor and musicians to illustrate leadership and management in organizations (Hunt, Stellout & Hooijberg, 2004). The metaphor of an orchestral conductor is frequently used in the literature (Sardais, Lortie & Coblence, 2019), and musical organizations are considered leading examples of leadership behavior in organizational studies. However, this romantic image of this relationship mainly relates to tradition, culture, and knowledge that have been lived for decades. Nowadays, the orchestra leaders need to show a complex set of behavioral skills, far more than this romantic image. The traditional image of a conductor also referred to as "Maestro," is this of a charismatic leader - very talented but autocratic. The status of a Maestro is based on the nature of the industry where conductors lived out their power position. Sardais, Lortie & Coblence's (2019) study shows that musicians and conductors can be described as disciplined, however, creative activities are often considered resistant to strictness. As the leadership style is rooted in discipline, the goal is that they set themselves free from it. Krause's (2015) study on leadership and power research in the orchestra aligns with these results as the conductor's leadership behavior was described as using their power. The study has shown that power through position is most frequently used in the orchestra. A possible explanation for that is the constellation of the orchestra with a need for directive leadership and insurance of coordination while maintaining intrinsic motivation for the musicians. Sardais, Lortie & Coblence (2019) argue that the leader's aim should be to renew routines set in time. They suggest that conductors need to act in a way that musicians feel that they are given direction while at the same time communicating the feeling that they are free, even though musicians of the orchestra mainly do not experience this freedom individually. Hunt, Stellout & Hooijberg (2004) describe this phenomenon as effective teamwork, as the orchestra operates as a team but allows individuals to express solo passages with the team's support in the background. Furthermore, they suggest that professional Maestros need to possess a set of behaviors that consists of different roles. These various roles are those of an expert musician, a teacher, colleague, psychologist, politician, and charismatic leader, and they

argue that only those conductors can be seen as good examples who possess these abilities and therefore can meet the challenges of the multifaceted orchestral environment.

According to Sardais, Lortie & Coblence (2019), conductors should not demonstrate leadership through different acts of authority but let the orchestra play free when authority is not necessarily needed and conduct the orchestra during critical moments. Therefore, the Maestro takes on the role of an interpreter of the music who wants to achieve a vision and the musician tries to apply this vision. The conductor should provide parameters on how to interpret the music. The musicians make creative choices individually and as a group to meet the conductor's interpretive idea. In the context of creativity, the interpretation and artistic direction lie within the conductor. However, "the way musicians solve the challenges of balance, intonation, phrasing, and handing off melodies to one another is an additional important aspect of the creative process" (Hunt, Stellout & Hooijberg, 2004).

According to the description mentioned above, musicians of a Symphony Orchestra may be classified as music experts. With their expert knowledge and years of extensive practice on their instrument, orchestral musicians may thus be ascribed to more significant creative potential. However, as expert knowledge and skills may also result in the automatic execution of actions (Sovansky et al., 2016), it is to be questioned how orchestral musicians then can make use of their creativity in the orchestral life.

2.3 Chapter Summary

In the foregoing chapter, we have pointed out that the idea of creativity differs widely in its definition by various authors. We showed several definitions and also highlighted which definition we will build our thesis on. Moreover, our theoretical review demonstrates that there are contradicting views on how creativity is influenced by routine: there is a present assumption that creativity is hindered by routine and that routine and creativity cannot co-exist. With this perspective, routines limit choices which lead to non-creative actions. The contradicting assumption is that routine is an enabler for creativity and that routines are performed and not mindlessly followed. As many factors can influence creativity in a routine environment, we explained the notion of leadership and its influential power on creative processes. As our study is based on a Symphony Orchestra, which is an organization acting in a creative environment, we narrowed the idea of creativity down to musicians, and furthermore to the Symphony Orchestra. Therefore, we established links between collective creativity and working in a musical ensemble by addressing Sawyer's (2006) argument. Finally, we also applied the influence of leadership on creativity to an orchestral context and we have elaborated the

relationship between conductor and musicians as this is a common example for leadership styles in organizational studies.

3 Methodology

This chapter describes the methodological foundation our study is based on. Providing a transparent view of the chosen method and the design of our study should help our readers understand how we reached our conclusions. The main objective of this chapter is to outline and substantiate the chosen research approach and methodological choice, as well as the philosophical grounding we were inspired by. Then, we will present our case study more in-depth and introduce the characteristics of a Symphony Orchestra. Furthermore, we explain why we chose this sample for the empirical data collection, then describe how we first collected and then analyzed our data. Finally, we will critically reflect on the quality of our study to ensure the credibility and trustworthiness of our research.

3.1 Methodological Choices and Research Approach

This study aims at examining how routines influence creativity. More precisely, we investigate how orchestral musicians make sense of their creativity in the context of the repetitiveness and routinization of their profession. Therefore, we study if and how musicians feel limited in using their creativity in their daily work in the orchestra. To reach our research objective, we have chosen to conduct a qualitative case study since we are studying a social phenomenon that emphasizes social interactions and individual sensemaking. Our methodological choice aligns with Rennstam & Wäterfors' (2018) suggestion of conducting qualitative research when studying a social science topic, as most social science topics can not be explained and investigated through numbers.

Moreover, qualitative methods, such as interviews and observations, provide explanations of human interaction-related phenomena (Alvesson, 2010), which is most suitable for our study as we aim to understand a phenomenon based on the meaning of the individuals involved (Merriam, 2002). Hence, we will follow an interpretivist tradition to understand if and how the individual musicians' creativity is affected by their profession's routine and the repetitiveness of their work. Interpretivism assumes that there is no objective social reality. Reality is rather determined by constructing individual meaning and social contexts (Sandberg & Targama, 2007). By taking the interpretivism point of view and assuming that reality is constructed through social interpretation, we acknowledge that in our case study, the meaning of creativity and the influence of routines on the individual's creativity is based on a subjective reality,

influenced by the interpretation and sensemaking of a socially constructed reality (Prasad, 2018).

Furthermore, as a variant of the interpretivist tradition, our study aligns with the symbolic interactionism's tradition. We were particularly interested in the individual experiences and perceptions of being an orchestra member while conducting interviews and observations. Our research aims to identify different meanings of routine for orchestra musicians and its impact on their creativity by analyzing data from semi-structured interviews, observations and theoretical concepts. Therefore, placing our study in the symbolic interactionism tradition is appropriate for our study. It assumes that each individual has a different meaning and interpretation of a phenomenon that can be subjective and influenced by social contexts (Prasad, 2018). In our case, the impact of routine on the creativity of the musicians. We argue that our study will contribute to the discussion on routine and creativity and will build some theory. However, we do not intend to generalize the interpretation of how musicians' creativity is impacted by routine.

Moreover, our study addresses the interrogation behind the assumptions that routines can not be creative. Therefore, we can say that we follow a critical theory tradition to a certain extent. We will critically analyze specific expectations towards musicians and suppositions regarding creativity in a day-to-day routine (Prasad, 2018). Consequently, it is essential for us to be able to give a voice to orchestra musicians at the same time as addressing this topic from a more theoretical approach. We, therefore, focus on orchestras as a case study but will also address at the same time a theoretical problem.

Our study follows an abductive research approach as we will be shifting between empirical findings, observations, and existing theory, allowing us to expand our understanding of empirical and theoretical phenomena (Dubois & Gadde, 2002). While inductive research approaches focus on the generation of theory, deduction deals with the falsification and verification of theories. The abductive approach, as a combination of inductive and deductive aspects, aims to generate or modify theory through the incorporation of existing theory to modify existing or build new theory (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2007). Thus, we make use of existing literature, such as theories regarding the study of creativity, routines, leadership, and music. With the knowledge of these existing theories in mind, we still tried to be open to surprises that might emerge from our empirical data. When analyzing our data, we were able to extend, adapt or contradict existing literature (Alvesson & Kärremann, 2007).

3.2 Case Study

Our study is based on a single-case organization, specifically on a Swedish Symphony Orchestra. We will not mention the exact name of the orchestra throughout this thesis to protect confidentiality and anonymity. By studying a single-case organization, we were able to conduct a more in-depth analysis of a social phenomenon than the study of multiple-case organizations (Bell, Bryman & Harley, 2019). Within this chosen organization, we could better understand how repetitive tasks and routines affect the musical creativity of musicians by analyzing how musicians reflect and experience their creativity.

Compared to other orchestras, Symphony Orchestras are characterized by their size, containing up to one hundred musicians playing instruments categorized into four sections. The term "orchestra" is used to describe any group of musicians who make music together, not necessarily performing classical music. Furthermore, the word "orchestra" does not say how large the group of musicians is. The main classification criteria of different orchestras are the number of musicians and the instruments included. For example, Chamber Orchestras are characterized by a smaller ensemble of musicians, mainly containing strings. However, a Symphony Orchestra also includes winds, brass, and percussion (Allmendinger, Hackman & Lehman, 1996).

Based on the study, the Swedish Symphony Orchestra was founded in a Swedish city in 1991. It comprises ninety full-time musicians from approximately seventeen countries. Their reputation is well known internationally for their musical quality and genre variety. Each week, musicians interpret a new musical piece conducted by a different conductor from all over the world. This Symphony Orchestra performs traditional classical music repertoire but also performs contemporary and modern works, such as movie soundtracks.

Figure 1: Structure of a Symphony Orchestra
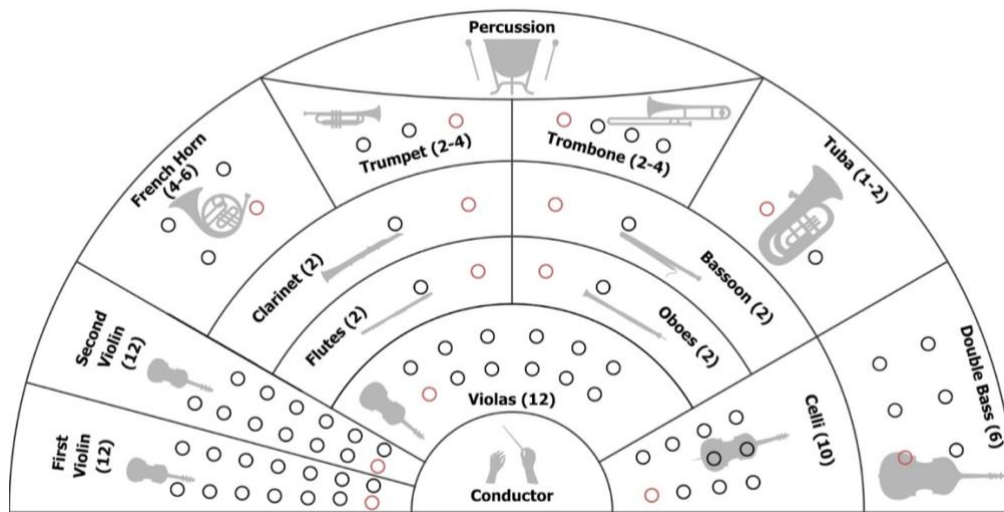
Source: Gollackner, P. (2022)

This image illustrates a typical seating arrangement of a Symphony Orchestra. However, the exact seating arrangement differs between orchestras, countries, and musical compositions that require specific arrangements. There are different traditions on how the seating arrangement of the instrument groups occurs - this illustration shows the current seating arrangement of the Swedish Symphony Orchestra on which our thesis is based. The four instrument sections are visible on the image and circled in red, each section leader. As the image shows, the conductor is placed in the middle of the first row. The concertmaster is placed on the first desk closest to the conductor as the leading violin and part of the first violin section. The first violinists are seated behind the concertmaster´s desk. After the semicircle arrangement, the second violins are placed next to the first violin group. The viola group and the celli section are located at the other end of the semicircle. The double basses are placed behind the celli, supporting the string section. Behind the second violin, the woodwinds are spread over two rows - flutes and oboes first and clarinets and bassoons behind them. It is important to note that the leaders of each instrument are always positioned next to each other. Behind the woodwinds are the brass instruments - in the following order: french horns, trumpets, trombones, and tubas. The percussionists form the back row of the semicircle.

3.3 Data Collection

To collect empirical material, we chose as a primary source the conduction of semi-structured interviews with musicians of the Swedish Symphony Orchestra, combined with observations during rehearsals and concerts. As we are interested in the personal effect of routine on their

creativity, the choice of semi-structured interviews felt appropriate so musicians could build on their answers and revisit topics. Thus, we facilitated discussions and obtained insights regarding their interpretation of our study. We wanted to encourage musicians to share their experiences and feelings to answer our research question, which led to rich, detailed data (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2007). Additionally to the interviews, we used observations as a data collecting method to follow the argumentation that interviews, combined with observations, are well suited for studies within the interpretive tradition as we are trying to understand human interpretations of a social phenomenon (Prasad, 2017). An advantage of this combination was that we were able to somewhat objectify what was said in the interviews through observations. For example, when interviewing the Maestro, we attended a rehearsal the following day, which he conducted. Thus, we were able to verify his answers and analyze our empirical material on a deeper level.

As we are both passionate non-professional musicians, we already had some knowledge regarding orchestral music functioning. Following Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill's (2007) thoughts regarding the potential gains of preparation before an interview, we used our previous musical experience to increase credibility in the professional musicians' eyes. We then conducted two first interviews to test our questions` flow of the answers and their relevance. We improved our questionnaire for the remaining interviews to be more precise and aligned with our research questions. Before each of our interviews, we made sure that all participants knew the aim of our research. We tried not to give away too many details about our study to not bias their answers and explained further information at the end of each interview. Before the beginning of the interview, we also ensured that they agreed to be recorded, knowing that we would refer to them only with synonyms. Having this discussion is vital to make the musicians feel comfortable sharing their feelings with us and encourage a positive relationship between interviewers and interviewees (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2007).

We conducted thirteen interviews with musicians of the Swedish Symphony Orchestra over a five-week time frame. The interviews were mainly conducted at the premises of the orchestra and lasted between thirty to eighty minutes. We were both present at each interview and conducted it together. One of us focused more on the questions to be asked and the other one on observing the interview setting and taking notes regarding any significant details such as body language and facial expression. Having both interviewers present during the interviews enabled us to generate higher quality in the conversations, leading to a more in-depth analysis.

After conducting the interviews, we were allowed to attend two orchestra rehearsals, each lasting for around four hours, and two concerts. We observed, listened, and took notes of a typical working day in the orchestra while seated in the audience hall, having an excellent overview of the whole orchestra. Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill (2007) refer to this observation concept as participant observation. However, our level of participation was limited in involvement, as we were solely listening and observing the atmosphere, the communication, and the rehearsal process. At the beginning of the rehearsal, we were introduced to the whole Symphony Orchestra. As we did not have the chance to interview every musician, our project was not familiar to everyone working in the orchestra. The clarification of our role and the purpose of our participation classifies us as what the authors call "observers-as-participants" (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2007, p.288). Furthermore, we were present at the event - the rehearsal, which the authors refer to as participating. Although we were not formally involved in the rehearsal, we talked to our study participants during rehearsal breaks.

As we arrived early to the rehearsal, we could also observe the arrival time of the musicians and staff members, their warm-up on their instruments, and other processes which take place before the rehearsal starts. Furthermore, we observed the interaction and interplay between conductor and orchestra and specific procedures during rehearsals. In fact, after interviewing the conductor, it was essential for us to see his words put into practice. This observation allowed us to see the musicians' routine, how the orchestral hierarchy works in practice and how the process of working on a musical project occurs. It also allowed us to see the orchestra's communication channels and how a new project is approached. We observed how the conductor rehearses with the orchestra, makes corrections and takes decisions, and whether he involves the musicians in his decisions. When attending the concerts, we listened to the creative outcome of the rehearsals and how the musicians performed on stage with a full audience hall. The combination of interviews and observations allowed us to understand and analyze the orchestral work with its processes even more. It helped us better understand what was said in the interview when observing the actual work setting.

The interviewees were sampled based on their orchestral membership. The authorization to contact musicians of the Symphony Orchestra was given to us by a contact person of the Swedish Symphony Orchestra's management. It was important for us to provide diversity, so the interviewees differ in age, gender, instrument, role in the orchestra (leading position or not), section, and length of orchestra membership. We were interested in how musicians make sense of their creativity when playing in the orchestra. We aimed for a diverse sample to get distinct

answers, not biased by similar experiences when playing the same instrument in the same position with the same orchestral belonging. In a qualitative study, it is recommended to choose the sample purposive, especially when working with a small sample (Merriam, 1994; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2007). The following table lists our thirteen interviewees and shows their gender, age group, position and section in the orchestra, and length of membership (see Table 1). This table should provide a good overview in preparation for Chapter 4, as we will be referencing the interviewees when analyzing the empirical material. To ensure that confidentiality and anonymity are maintained, names were changed, and we have revealed only vague positions of the musicians.

Table 1: Anonymized List of Interviewees: Members of the Swedish Symphony Orchestra

	Name (Synonym)	Gender	Age Group (in years)	Position / Section
1	Richard	Male	30-40	Conductor
2	Anna	Female	50-60	Leader at Woodwind Section
3	Helen	Female	30-40	String section
4	David	Male	50-60	String section
5	George	Male	30-40	Leader at Brass section
6	Caroline	Female	50-60	Leader at Woodwind Section
7	Anthony	Male	30-40	Leader at Woodwind Section
8	Gavin	Male	30-40	String Section
9	Mary	Female	40-50	Leader at String Section
10	Hannah	Female	20-30	Woodwind Section
11	Jacob	Male	40-50	String Section
12	Olivier	Male	40-50	Brass Section
13	Luke	Male	60-70	String Section

Source: Own representation.

3.4 Data Analysis

Following the data collection process, we had to make sense of our collected material and chose a sorting and analyzing strategy. Due to the number of semi-structured interviews consisting of talks jumping back and forth between topics and observation notes, our qualitative research was characterized by "a certain amount of disorder" (Rennstam & Wästerfors, 2018, p.71). Moreover, as the collected data consists of thirteen informative, reflexive talks, some of which lasted more than one hour, and several additional observations, we were not able to analyze all of the collected empirical material due to the extensive amount of complex data (Rennstam & Wästerfors, 2018). Hence, we had to reduce the collected data to manageable and find an appropriate coding strategy to analyze the material.

After conducting the interviews, we used our recordings to transcribe the conversations. We divided this task and spent time reading each other's transcripts to double-check the information. According to Rennstam & Wästerfors (2018), there are several ways and approaches to coding data. We have decided to use Strauss and Corbin's (1998) coding method to categorize our data. Their coding procedure can be divided into three stages: *open coding denotes, axial coding*, and *selective coding* (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The first stage, *open coding denotes,* identifies key concepts, terms, or metaphors that interviewees used. While reading through our transcript, we identified frequently used themes and vocabulary.
For example, creativity, routine, and hierarchy appeared regularly. Then, after finding those general categories, we read through the script again to find elements that we could link to those key concepts. We related what was said during the interviews to the categories mentioned above. The second stage, *axial coding,* allowed us to create sub-categories to group the remaining data. For example, some musicians perceive their job as not creative; however, they try to find possibilities to be creative nevertheless. Therefore, we added sub-categories on how musicians experience their creativity in the orchestra. At this point, we narrowed our data to keep the information that would help us answer our research questions. Finally, *selective coding* enabled us to only focus on the relevant material. For example, few musicians mentioned other projects next to the orchestra. We will use this information; however, we won't dig deeper into those projects as our research focuses on their job inside the orchestra.

After coding our data, we reached the most critical stage of the analysis process, which Rennstam & Wästerfors (2018) refer to as the "dialogue with our data" (p.189). We chose to analyze our data by following the excerpt-commentary units, a common model developed by

Emerson, Fretz & Shaw (1995). We intend to refer to statements made during the interview and will interpret and discuss these. Doing so enables us to argue between empirical material and analytical theory (Rennstam & Wästerfors, 2018). We picked this method to enhance the link between the theory and our findings. We will show this by stating an analytical point, providing an orientation to introduce a statement, presenting the empirical material (empirical excerpt), and concluding with an analytical comment (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). Reflecting on our data allows us to interpret statements and ensure that we understand them correctly.

3.5 Credibility, Limitations and Reflexivity

To ensure the trustworthiness of our research, it is essential to stay reflexive and consider generalization, credibility, and limitations. The first limitation that we would like to address is the choice of a single-case study. Eisenhardt (1989) argues that at least four different case studies are needed to make a theory and create general concepts. Thus, we cannot generalize our findings regarding other Symphony Orchestras or all musicians from this single point of view. Therefore, we do not intend to generalize but rather address our research questions throughout this particular orchestra. However, our study allows us to gain a more profound understanding of this organization and "concrete, context-dependent knowledge" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 223), which can be advantageous.

We want to draw attention to another limitation regarding our pre-understanding of the topic. The previous knowledge of researchers can influence the interpretation of the data (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). Understanding a particular topic or organization can influence the point of view and how the data makes sense. As we both adore music and the orchestral world, it was essential for us to distance ourselves and stay reflexive during the data collection process and following the data analysis. As we were conducting every interview together, we always tried to question our interpretations and make sure that we challenged our opinion and not let our pre-knowledge influence our analysis.

Moreover, we also used the benefit of working in pairs to consider possible different perspectives and interpretations. We tried to stay critical and aware of its subjectivity during the transcription of the interviews and the interpretation of our data. Musicians' answers could have been affected by different emotions on a particular day or certain personal experiences that might have altered their answers. Following Schaefer & Alvesson's (2017) thinking, we

considered that source critique is a crucial element in avoiding interpretation errors. Thus, we tried to stay critical throughout our thesis, particularly during the analysis.

To increase the trustworthiness of our study, we considered multiple criteria. We think that our interpretation of the source was as close to reality as possible as we made sure to avoid "participants' biases" (Robson, 2002). The interviewees were aware that their names would be changed. The orchestra would remain anonymous and only be referred to as a "Swedish Symphony Orchestra" to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. Furthermore, we only asked questions regarding their day-to-day work-life, so our participants did not have any sensitive information to share about the organization. We argue that their answers were honest. Therefore, ensuring confidentiality helped us counter these participants' biases. We also want to argue that the observations strengthened our trustworthiness, as we observed the participant's answers put into practice.

Regarding "participants error" (Robson, 2002), we want to highlight that most of our interviewees were not native English speakers. Therefore, feelings and statements could have been expressed differently in their mother tongue (Bryman & Bell, 2003), and deviating interpretations might occur. However, English is the common working language in the orchestra, so it can be assumed that the interviewees knew how to express themselves well in English, limiting the impact of those deviations.

Lastly, we would like to recall that our study considers only thirteen interviews and a few observations, which means different conclusions could have emerged from a more extensive qualitative study. Moreover, this study lasted for a few months, meaning that time can be considered another limitation. Qualitative studies require time which could have affected the results of our research questions. With that being said, we ought to state that our study will consider all limitations and biases to ensure our findings will be as solid and reliable as possible. Additionally, by staying reflexive throughout all different processes of writing this thesis, we made sure to increase the credibility and trustworthiness.

4 Analysis

In the following chapter, we will present our empirical material. First, we will show how musicians perceive routines when working at the Symphony Orchestra. We will also highlight the importance of the individual daily routine as part of the musician's routines. Then, we will present four ideal-typical dimensions of creativity within the routines which emerged from our interviews. Furthermore, we will point out constraints found in the orchestra, limiting the possibilities for the musicians to be creative. Finally, we will present factors that enable creativity within the constraints of the orchestra.

It is important for us to mention that the meaning and conception of creativity and routine are highly individual and depend on various factors such as the musician's personality, characteristics, and upbringing. As mentioned earlier, we will rely not only on the analysis of the interviews but also on our observations. As we were allowed to attend rehearsals and concerts, we were able to get a great insight into how the creation process of musical pieces and typical working days in the orchestra occur. The observations of the rehearsals were particularly fascinating, as we, as the only guests in the audience at the orchestra's concert hall, were able to watch the musicians working and playing and thus observe how they approached the task and how they communicated with each other.

4.1 Routine in the Symphony Orchestra

The Symphony Orchestra, which consists of several sections of different instruments, is structured hierarchically: the conductor - as the leader, who unifies the musicians of the orchestra and may be considered as the brain. This position is followed by the concertmaster. The concertmaster sits to the conductor's left, closest to the audience in what is called the first chair. The concertmaster is playing the first violin and leading the strings - might be seen as the orchestra's heart. Following these metaphors, the orchestra can be described as the body guided by the heart and the brain. Each section of the orchestra holds a section leader, and in the case of the wind sections, the section leaders are responsible for the solo positions. When observing the Swedish Symphony Orchestra rehearsing, this hierarchical structure was visible not only in the specific places where section leaders and conductors were placed. It was also evident in the communication - if something was not working smoothly, it was primarily the section leaders who spoke to the conductor and raised their voices. In general, however, the conductor made corrections, and the musicians applied them to the best of their ability, in the spirit of the Maestro's interpretation of the musical work.

The rehearsal approach also seemed very routinized - first, the Maestro let the orchestra play the weekly musical piece and gave the musicians the freedom to first suggest their interpretation of the musical composition. Then, after a first run-through, individual passages were picked out by the conductor and rehearsed separately - from the end back to the beginning. But this rehearsing routine is not the only routine found in the orchestra. There is also the weekly schedule of rehearsing days and concerts. David describes a typical week in the orchestra as follows:

> *"Yes, we have a routine, because every day is more or less the same: beginning, rehearsing, finalizing. And at the end of this period, which is about four days, we have a concert. And that is the end of the process. And the following week, one more time from the beginning. Another program, another conductor, another soloist, and so on." (David)*

As can be seen from this quote, the orchestra's weekly routine is approximately the same from week to week. Although there is a weekly change of conductor and repertoire, it seems that these regular changes have also become a somewhat rhythmic, routinized pattern. Olivier also mentions that due to his many years of orchestral experience, he has already played most of the compositions and is, therefore, familiar with them:

> *"But it is usually just sitting and playing. So yes, it is pretty standard. We work from ten until two, so it is not such a long day, but then you are supposed to practice by yourself. And especially when you are a bit more experienced like I am now, most of the pieces you play in the concert - you have played them before in your career. So it becomes kind of a routine because you know the pieces." (Olivier)*

These quotes show that the musicians recognize multiple routines in their daily work and know that orchestra work is subjected to several routines and repetitive tasks. One of the significant routines is the weekly schedule - starting on Monday with rehearsing days and a weekly concert on Thursdays.

As a physical and mental preparation for intense rehearsing hours, the warm-up routine on the instrument is crucial. Our results show that warming-up the instrument before the rehearsal is particularly essential when pursuing the job as a professional orchestral musician. The warm-up routine differs between the musicians and differs from each instrument´s requirements. Each instrument has different needs that need to be considered to be able to play perfectly when the rehearsal starts. For example, wind players need to warm-up their instruments so the tuning of

the instrument can be correctly adjusted to the orchestra's tune. For strings, finger movement is vital so the musicians can perfect the technical aspect of the composition. Therefore, the musicians have their individual warm-up routine, which significantly influences their way of playing. During our observations, we witnessed this process as well: long before the rehearsal started, most of the musicians had already taken their places on stage. The time before the rehearsal seemed a bit chaotic to us - musicians, managers, and other orchestra staff were running back and forth between the stage and the backstage area. Additionally, it was very noisy because the musicians were playing their instruments and people were talking to each other. However, it almost felt like a performance during these chaotic minutes as everyone seemed to know exactly what to do.

When asking the interviewees about their warm-up routine and its influence on their way of playing in the orchestra, it was apparent that this routine is vital for themselves and for their job. Caroline views her routine as an essential factor in her profession, it gives her the feeling of security and stability:

> *"My routine helps me to have a frame - and the frame helps to have security to rely on, if I have some difficulties, I do the same, and then I am prepared. This routine is very important to me. If I never had any routines, there would be chaos. I would not be able to play because it is like doing a sport, the muscles need to be trained and I need to be trained." (Caroline)*

Moreover, Jacob considers his warm-up routine as necessary as it helps him to better concentrate during the rehearsal:

> *"If I am warmed-up, I can focus so much better during the rehearsal. I am so much more invested because I feel confident on my instrument, because I know I have played the scales. So the warm-up helps a lot." (Jacob)*

As part of the daily work routine, the individual routine seems to influence the musicians positively. The individual warm-up routine is only considered necessary and vital to pursue their profession. As musicians who have been used to warming-up their instruments since their early childhood before starting to practice, rehearse, or before concerts, this routine is important - mentally and physically. Fingers have to be warmed up, muscles have to be trained and technical characteristics of the instruments, such as the reeds of the woodwinds, which change depending on the room temperature, have to be played in.

4.2 Ideal types of Creativity

As our findings have shown, the orchestra musicians perceive the routines of their work as crucial. For the most part, it is regarded as an essential aspect that enhances the musicians' ability to pursue their profession. However, how musicians deal with these routines varies individually. Emerging from our interviews, we have identified four ideal types on how the musicians make sense of their creativity within orchestral routines: (1) *mechanical dimension*, (2) *emotional dimension*, (3) *problem-solving dimension*, (4) *dimension of being creative externally*. We will further elaborate these dimensions in the following sections.

4.2.1 Mechanical Dimension

Musicians with this point of view do not feel that they can be creative within the routines that are part of the orchestra´s nature. They feel like they are constrained by the section leaders, the time pressure to perform a high quality concert with little time to rehearse. Several traditions that are ruling the classical music world limit the artistic freedom of musicians as they need to adapt their performance to these expectations.

Jacob highlights the problematization of our study when pointing out the tension of creative individuals working in the orchestra:

> *"It is funny that you are interviewing an orchestra about working in a creative field - and it is, in terms of the arts, but in terms of creativity it is pretty low. Just out of necessity, because you have one hundred people that need to make a concert happen quickly. We have a different concert with different repertoire and a different conductor every week, we do not rehearse that much. So it is kind of like a Music Factory. It is a creative field, but you hire a bunch of highly trained people, and you just feed music into this machine, and it just comes out." (Jacob)*

This statement shows that even though working in a creative field, the work in the orchestra might be minimal in terms of creativity. Constraining factors, such as time pressure to perform a concert with a different repertoire every week, conclude that professionals working in the orchestra produce music without bringing too much creativity into this process. Mary´s point of view aligns with this statement as she indicates that the orchestra, although operating in a creative field, is limited to several constraints. She raises the metaphor of the orchestra fitting in a box, constrained by several frames:

"I mean I love it, it pays well and it is great, our hours are also fabulous - I love it.
But it is more just like playing everything just as close to exactly as it is written on
a page and that to me is not that creative. There is some creativity in how I get there
in the practice room, I mean you are playing the music, and the music sounds
different and there are certain characteristics in the music. But that is still fitting
within a box, I can not decide." (Mary)

Mary reflects on her decision making power, which is very limited due to the fact that the musicians are playing pre-written music. Furthermore, she points out that the main goal of the orchestra is to play the music as close to as it is written in the composition.

Similar to Jacob´s previous comparison of the orchestra with a Music Factory, Caroline compares the work in the orchestra to the work of a mechanic as trained musicians have internalized how to play scores:

"I would not even say that a lot of musicians in this orchestra have a creative job,
you know, because it is like a mechanic. you just play what you have learned and
how to do this with the music." (Caroline)

These quotes indicate that the creativity of the musicians is very restricted in the orchestra. Musicians describe their work with metaphors like "music factory", "restricted", "within a box" and "mechanic". Although it is evident that the interviewees are passionate about their job, they rarely consider it an opportunity to live out their creative nature but rather view themselves as mechanics executing a learned, automatic task. They mention that once musicians have learned how to play music, it becomes automatic and is reproduced within the context of the orchestra.

4.2.2 Emotional Dimension

In contrast to these musicians who consider their creative possibilities in the orchestra as quite limited, other musicians argue that the view on the repetitiveness of their work is a matter of mindset and perspective. Musicians with this point of view feel that it is different every time they make music as they create something. Music is a language that allows them and forces them to always interpret musical pieces differently.

Concerning this, Anthony argues even if routines are present and they are playing the same piece, each time is different due to various interpretations and emotional transmissions:

> *"There are a lot of routines, but it depends on how you approach it. I mean, there are some things that you have to do in order to be able to play, for example in my case checking my reeds and practicing the parts, studying the score and being prepared. But also the fact that we maybe do not look too much inside ourselves, where we kind of blame the people around, not making it special when actually, if you look at the same thing with a different perspective, every time, it is always different." (Anthony)*

Going in the same direction, George adds to this quote that if he puts his mind to it, he always views his profession as diverse and creative:

> *"Even though some parts are very boring, it is very creative, I try to find meaning with what I have to work with. Always. It might look very uninteresting, but I try to find the productivity of that. I have what I have in front of me. So yeah, it depends on what you want to do with that and how you tackle the job." (George)*

George further adds to his statement:

> *"I mean, the repertoire changes. And the way of playing different repertoire can be very different. So, I need to practice different things. And I try to be flexible, so it does not get into a routine, I need flexibility. And I need a little bit of variation to keep the spark going." (George)*

Lastly, David highlights that creativity is embedded in their nature as musicians as it lies in the role of their profession to create music. Therefore, making music is always creative:

> *"It is music. It is all music. It is everything, does not matter where and in which group situation, it should not be different. Actually, you are as creative as you are. And even if they could force you to only play in an orchestra, you can not kill creativity. You will do whatever you feel like doing even in those conditions. Because it is nothing you can stop. If you can kill it, then you can leave it (laughing)."(David)*

These statements show that the musicians with this point of view feel like they can express their creativity with the music they produce, no matter in which setting. As they are musicians who have trained the technical aspects of their instruments, they can concentrate more on transmitting emotions when playing. Every musical composition is different; no matter how many times the same piece is played, each time is different. It can never be the same twice, as music is a language, a way of expression, and musicians seek new interpretations with their creative nature. This dimension considers any music as creative, whatever the situation, group, or setting. How the routines of the profession are being approached is a matter of mindset, which either blocks creativity or naturally allows musicians to make music together.

4.2.3 Problem-Solving Dimension

Another aspect of dealing with creativity in the orchestra is the dimension of problem-solving. With this approach, the musicians refer to their role in the orchestra as problem-solvers. This includes the aspect that the musicians have to transform black dots on a white sheet of paper into music, but it also includes dealing with all kinds of difficulties, hindrances, and limitations. Olivier views hinderers of creativity, like routines, the conductor, and other guidelines that restrict freedom, as a chance to be even more creative as he sees this need for problem-solving as an enabling factor of creativity:

> *"The conductor and the scores and everything are so hindering, but I think the more you are hindered in a way, the more creative you have to become, you know, put yourself in the music. ... So I think less choice brings more creativity in a way."* (Olivier)

He further notes:

> *"I think the essence of creativity is problem-solving. You have a problem. In my case it is how we make this symbol on the paper become music. I think it is easier to be creative when you are more constrained, then you have to think harder."* (Olivier)

Following this mindset, Helen expresses the creative aspect of her profession, notably when engaging in the process of performing a musical piece. She refers to risk-taking and experimenting during rehearsals, which increases the creativeness of her work:

"In my opinion, I think my work is super creative. I mean, I am trying to actively engage everyday regardless if the result is good or not, I personally like to take a lot of risks and try to experiment during the rehearsal so I think I am quite creative, yeah. I would say we are creating something, whether it is to the satisfaction level is another question but I think we are creative in our work." (Helen)

The statements show how musicians, some of whom feel limited by hindrances, make sense of their creativity. The quotes suggest that the more restricted the musicians are, the more creative they have to be. Limitations and obstacles result in musicians having to think about dealing with them and creating solutions. Furthermore, they also believe difficulties during rehearsals, such as intonational issues, are problems that need to be solved. Finding solutions to various problems, experimenting with possible, innovative solutions and taking risks is considered a creative process by the musicians in this dimension.

4.2.4 Dimension of being Creative externally

A fourth dimension of how creativity is experienced in the orchestra is to view the orchestra as a stable job, where creativity is limited. However, this stability allows musicians to be externally creative in other projects, such as chamber music, solo concerts, teaching, or other hobbies like drawing or crafting to express their creativity. Therefore, it is not viewed as a hindrance as the combination of various musical settings provide a very diverse profession.

Luke, as a musician, does not feel fulfilled with only the job in the orchestra. When asked how creative his work in the orchestra is, he answers:

"Often not so creative, it depends on everything, but the work exactly in the orchestra is not so creative. But you can do something on the side." (Luke)

Furthermore, Luke compares his experience as a violinist to the repetitive work in an industry where there is no room for creativity or artistic freedom:

"Sometimes, I think like I am in the industry, when you are doing the same thing all the time, it can not be like that. Creativity could be easier, could be better. I think the creativity is bigger when we go home and play chamber music. I am not someone who is happy with just this job. I am playing everywhere." (Luke)

While Luke is feeling limited in terms of his creativity in the orchestra and lives out his creativity in other projects externally, George and Olivier can express their creativity in the orchestra as well as in external projects:

"I try not to think like that, of course, it is my steady job, which allows me to do music. I do a lot of things on the outside of this work. I play in other orchestras, and I teach, but I try not to think of it as now I go do my job." (George)

"I do try to do chamber music and solo things. And we also did in January a solo concert with my section, it was really nice. So that was a big thing to work here to have some of your own input into it, because you can decide for yourself, I mean, apart from that you have to play the right notes. So it is a nice balance between doing things for yourself and being part of the collective." (Olivier)

Other musicians, such as Gavin, participate in those side projects to make full use of their potential:

"I mean, I produce a lot of music with a good friend of mine, and we DJ and that is the stuff that I do outside of the orchestra. I think it is more stuff outside the orchestra that I feel like, I get spurred on to be creative in my life." (Gavin)

Mary and Olivier's statements correlate with this view. They argue that orchestras are a stable factor in a musician's life, and they use other projects outside the orchestra to express themselves freer:

"People reach out to chamber music and do teaching. And that is kind of their creative outlet. You see a lot of musicians that have a side thing like a quartet, or they play jazz or something like that. And that is the creative outlet." (Mary)

"Yeah, lots of musicians do that, I think, to be able to express themselves more freely than in the orchestra. So I think it is very good to have something on the side also, to not stagnate. But it is different for everyone. Some people like to just have stability." (Olivier)

When reflecting about the orchestra being a stable job, an additional aspect within that dimension arose. Anna appreciates not being forced to be decisive all the time. She points out that she can carry out her decision-making capability in other projects besides the orchestra:

> *"I do not need to decide everything, and that is good. At other projects, I need to be decisive." (Anna)*

This is also supported by Olivier, who goes even further with an explanation, why he does not want to be creative all the time:

> *"It takes a lot of energy to be creative. Sometimes, the brain wants to take it easy, relax." (Olivier)*

This approach to the musicians' creativity indicates that working in the orchestra can limit creative possibilities. We have found a recurring pattern of musicians using external projects, such as chamber music, to express their creativity more freely. Moreover, some musicians argue that they enjoy not having to be decisive all the time in the orchestra and that they do not always have the need to be creative, as this takes a lot of time and energy. They can follow instructions during their job and use their spare energy on other projects. Yet, they enjoy the work in the orchestra. The musicians value that they are not forced to be creative all the time, which gives them the freedom to pursue their creative nature in various projects.

4.3 Obstacles Hindering the Creativity in the Orchestra

In the following section, we will present different constraints musicians are faced with in the orchestra. Since the orchestra is hierarchically structured and a lot of emphasis is placed on this hierarchical construct. Our findings show that this hierarchy limits the creative freedom of the musicians. Furthermore, as this hierarchical construct implies aggravated communication paths which seem pretty time-consuming, the communication during rehearsals when working on musical pieces has emerged as an obstacle. Another obstacle for being creatively free in the orchestra is playing within a tutti section.

4.3.1 Hierarchy as an Obstacle to be Creative

The previous chapter showed that a Symphony Orchestra is very structured and contains several rules and embedded traditions. The hierarchical order is present and well respected. The head

of the orchestra is the conductor, the concertmaster and the section leaders follow this position. There is also a hierarchy within the sections between the first chairs and the other section members. This structure can influence the creative freedom of the musicians.

Jacob expresses a lack of artistic freedom when working in an orchestra. When musicians study their instruments, they are used to interpreting musical pieces in their way. Still, when working in the orchestra, this is rarely possible - the musicians rather have to follow orders. Therefore, there is only a slight possibility of making suggestions and actively contributing to the creation process:

> *"But that is one of the hardest things I think about when getting a job in an orchestra after being in school. Because when you are in school, and you are in the school orchestra, everybody has ideas, and there is not that hierarchy. And then you get into a job. And I remember when we got our jobs, and you just shut up and play." (Jacob)*

Then, he compares his work in the orchestra to the military with strict rules and routines. This comparison highlights the discipline and the respect the musicians have for this traditional hierarchical order. Speaking up is only in rare situations acceptable:

> *"It is like the military. The way it is, there is a clear chain of command, like, music director, concertmaster, principal bassoon, all the principal strings, and you should keep your mouth shut. Unless it is not working, and you can bring it up, but you really do not talk." (Jacob)*

Helen also feels impacted by the hierarchical order taking a significant role in the orchestral tradition. She explains when creating music together in the orchestra, the individual musician needs to accept not being the one deciding but rather follow orders:

> *"In general, from my perspective, we, especially in the string section, are educated in a way that it is a solo instrument and trying to develop our artistic direction during our studies. And then, you come to the institution, like any kind of work, and you are not the only one who is deciding how you want to do it. There is a conductor, there is a concertmaster, there are other sections, there are so many things you need to do in order for you to kind of create something together." (Helen)*

Similarly, Anthony explains that no matter what the individual opinion is, the conductor's point of view is superior, which outlines the rigid hierarchy once again:

> *"In a way, I think, even if I have a very different idea from the conductor, let's say I really hate him, and I think he is terrible, and he is destroying the music. Because sometimes it is challenging when you have so different opposite ideas, it can be like, `you have to do that`, because in a way it is part of your job, you are there to bring the conductor´s idea of the music." (Anthony)*

Anthony´s vocabulary when illustrating authority is very strong as he uses the words "hate", "terrible" and "destroying". This language correlates with Jacob´s vocabulary when using the phrase "you should keep your mouth shut" and "shut up and play". This implies that authority is negatively viewed by musicians who aspire to be creatively free.

George also feels controlled by the conductor in certain situations, depending on the conductor´s personality and leadership style:

> *"We are controlled by conductors sometimes, ... Some others are very controlling, and want to control everything. It is very different, since we have almost every week a different conductor." (George)*

Jacob further describes the conductor's role in the orchestra as follows:

> *"They are running the show for the orchestra." (Jacob)*

Following this point of view, Luke adds that conductors possess more creative possibilities as they have the freedom to make decisions and realize their vision. He compares his role as a string player with no leading position to the role of a follower who, with his musical and technical expertise, carries out the conductor´s vision:

> *"When I play I am playing what the conductor says. And then he is the creative one, isn't he? And I will just have to follow him and do what he says. And if I am technically and musically good, I can do that." (Luke)*

Similarly, David argues that leaders have the power to implement creative ideas. He refers to the concertmaster as the heart of the orchestra, who has more creative possibilities than others:

> *"The concertmaster is the so-called heart of the orchestra. So this person must have more creativity than others in order to draw the orchestra with. I think so, because that is why we also have leaders in each group. That is why there is a concertmaster, there is a conductor, in that order." (David)*

This statement indicates that concertmasters need to be more creative than others as they have to motivate the whole orchestra to be entirely engaged in the music. In his opinion, the task of leaders in the orchestra is to make sure to lead the others in an inspiring way.

Gavin highlights the impact of the leader's personality that can affect the decision-making process:

> *"It depends on the person who is conducting, I think some people have their own ideas about how it is supposed to be. And I think some of them definitely think that there is actually a lot of virtue in being very, like `no, I have thought about every single thing that is in this music, whatever you have to say, it is not my way, So I do not want to hear about it'. ... And, you know, they are trying to protect their vision. And their vision is based on their ego, finding their way through some work." (Gavin)*

This quote shows that certain leadership styles can hinder the musician´s creativity as conductors do not always include the musician´s visions. Their creative possibilities might then be negatively affected by this structure as they can not be decisive and mainly have to follow orders.

Mary raises the point that the number of people working in the orchestra complicates the opportunities for individuals to bring in their ideas:

> *"There are too many people and not enough time. And it is more on the conductor, I think, who has creative ideas and wants to change things that we have been doing before. And then I would say the concertmaster has the most creativity. Within solos, there can be some creative people." (Mary)*

Mary´s quote aligns with the previous statements as she allocates conductors, concertmasters and soloists the most creative freedom in the orchestra.

We have also noticed the influence of the position on the creation process during our observations. In general, the conductor talked and gave suggestions, and the musicians tried to carry his vision out. At first, we thought that the conductor allowed the musicians to bring in suggestions when asking several questions. Still, we quickly realized that these questions were mainly rhetorical. The conductor asked the group "do you have any questions" but then continued rehearsing without waiting for an answer or allowing musicians to speak up. This example illustrates the difficulty of participating in decisions.

Moreover, Jacob talks about strict routine and time management in the orchestra. The limited rehearsal time is valuable because a new concert needs to be performed every Thursday with an often challenging repertoire. Considering various opinions is time-consuming and would negatively influence the rehearsing time as the primary focus lies in carrying out a high-quality, weekly concert:

> *"It is just the time [this is an issue] and you can not really be talking so much. The conductor's addressing issues and then mostly we just play." (Jacob)*

This excerpt indicates that the creative source lies in the hands of solo players, concertmasters, and conductors as they are seen as the technical and artistic leaders. Conductors interpret the music and lead the orchestra towards their vision. Concertmasters should support this vision and engage the other musicians to carry it out to the best of their ability. The reduced possibility to actively engage in the creation process leaves musicians often with the image of just following the conductor's orders. The struggle to express their musicality can be seen as an obstacle to the musician's creativity in the orchestra.

4.3.2 Long Communication Paths and its Influence on Creativity

The hierarchical order of the orchestra naturally results in a communication path that runs through this hierarchical construction - from the individual sections to the section leaders to the concertmaster, finally reaching the conductor. As the previous chapters indicate, conductors communicate their expectations, and musicians adapt those visions into their music. However, as this communication path seems quite time-consuming, the musicians repeatedly pointed out that non-verbal communication among musicians prevails during rehearsals.

Jacob highlights that section leaders and conductors are the ones communicating verbally. For the others, non-verbal communication is a primary way of communicating:

"Because we do not talk on stage. So as a principal player, you can talk to the conductor, but almost never do still. And within the group, we just do not talk on stage. Very limited. It is like a very non-verbal kind of work. So yeah, it is strange that way. There is no indication at all. So everything has to be tradition, and just knowing, just like observation." (Jacob)

Following this quote, Mary describes how they do communicate with each other on a verbal basis when things are not in order and can not be solved through non-verbal communication. According to her, when something does not work out, the first step is to consult with the section itself and think of possible solutions. If the section can not solve the problem, the section leader consults with another section leader who is also affected by the problem. This also illustrates the hierarchical order mentioned in the previous section.

"And on breaks, if we have issues just with for example intonation on certain long notes that we were holding with the cellos, or something else that is not working, I will first talk to the section and ask them, `what do you hear?` `Maybe you can try to play more soltaso or try to blend more.` So during a break, I will talk to the principal cellist and consult with him and if we do not find a solution, we talk to the conductor. So in the breaks you have to address that and then take it in the rehearsal. And even if the suggestions do not work, sometimes you just have to move on. But that does not sound like creativity either. It is more just trying to make things work on a fundamental level." (Mary)

An orchestra can have up to one hundred musicians, meaning that discussing issues and considering ideas of all hundred musicians would be a rather chaotic process. Helen´s statement shows that communicating with each other is difficult due to the time pressure and limited rehearsal time:

"So you always kind of discuss and you hear what is going on, but in the orchestra it can sometimes be a little bit more difficult. Because it is a larger group of people. So sometimes, we have difficulties communicating, because it takes time, if the message is passed on from the front, or from the conductor. And also we do

not have many opportunities to talk about many things, since we do not have that
much time." (Helen)

Following this statement, Hannah adds that musicians usually need to compromise their creativity as the number of musicians makes communication more difficult:

"In the orchestra I am not the only one and it is like communication with other
instruments. So always, it is compromising. I can not force my idea too much
because music is not only playing my instrument inside of the orchestra, so we
compromise our creativity in the orchestra pretty much." (Hannah)

These quotes show that the orchestra's hierarchy causes mainly leading positions to communicate verbally in the orchestra. In general, there is not much talking during rehearsals. The musicians primarily communicate non-verbally through their music with each other. Communication is also limited by time and more difficult because of the number of musicians in the orchestra. Due to these obstacles, not every musician may contribute to the creation process with ideas and interpretations.

We were also able to substantiate statements during the rehearsal. It was mainly the conductor who spoke, either to the whole orchestra as a unit or to the section leaders. However, as soon as the conductor interrupted the rehearsal or finished conducting a piece and there was a short break, each section immediately started whispering to discuss issues like intonation, phrases, or bowing of the strings. In general, we observed that there was little talking and that communication occurred mainly through gestures and facial expressions. During the rehearsal the musicians seemed highly concentrated, and parts of the musical piece were only re-played when something did not work, if it was out of rhythm, or the intonation was out of order. We also observed that the section leaders communicated with each other, made decisions together, and then passed on information to their respective sections. This scenario, however, happened rather quickly during short breaks; most of the time, there was not much talking. The communication also seemed different in each section and depended on the instrument and size of the section - for example, in the first string section, bowing updates were passed on from the concertmaster's desk back to the last row of the first violin. In another section, for example, the bassoon section, issues could be handled, as it seemed to us, rather quickly as it only consists of two musicians. Though woodwind soloists need to be aligned, we observed short exchanges throughout the section leaders.

4.3.3 The Role of Tutti Players in the Orchestra

One way of being creative in the orchestra is to perform solos, where the musician can bring their personality and musical interpretation to the performance. By leading the melody, soloists have a different possibility to explore their artistic freedom and be creative. However, an essential part of the orchestra are tutti players who aim to play as homogeneously as possible. Many tutti players feel constrained by this as the main goal is to play exactly as their leader without contributing individual ideas. Interviewees often draw upon the example of the string section as being creatively challenged because of its structure. This is portrayed in the following statement:

"In the string section, even though they do not agree with the concertmaster, what they are doing, they just need to follow. So they have no freedom. I mean that is their job to just follow and support the concertmaster. They can not do many other things than what they do in the front." (Hannah)

Hannah outlines the role of tutti players. According to her, their main goal is to support and follow the concertmaster, which leaves them no creative freedom. Anna assumes to have more creative freedom as a woodwind solo player:

"I think we have more freedom because we are not that many, just three in our group and then violins are fourteen people. And if you are in the end row in the violin, you can not be creative, because that is one body together, and they should play the same." (Anna)

Helen and Luke, both tutti players in a string section, support the previous statements when being asked how much artistic freedom they have:

" As a tutti player, I do not have so much room to decide things over." (Helen)
"That is not much, not for string players. No, there is a big difference between winds and strings, I think. I do not feel any artistic freedom when we play symphony, not at all. But you know the clarinet player can do something because it is much much easier for him to do what he wants." (Luke)

Jacob adds another aspect of the tutti players. As a string player with a supportive role, he does not play the melody and has to follow his pairs; thus, he perceives this work as not creative:

> *"You get in an orchestra, and then you are just a puzzle piece, and you have to fit. And that is a different skill. But it is not necessarily creative. It might be different for solo wind players, because every note, every sound they make is a conscious decision. And it is a solo, and it is just them alone, so they can be free, and everyone will listen to them and react to it. But, when you play a supportive instrument, like us, it is different, we are sort of the plumbing of the orchestra." (Jacob)*

Jacob uses the metaphor of a puzzle piece having to fit in, when describing the role of a tutti player. Again, this statement outlines that musicians need to compromise their ideas and follow other people's interpretations. Jacob also differs between soloists and tutti players, as soloists make conscious decisions when performing a solo. Tutti players need to follow these solos and react to them within the whole tutti group.

This excerpt shows that when musicians can not be artistically free, it affects their creativity. The hierarchy restrains musicians from expressing themselves and suggesting creative ideas to their peers. Furthermore, the difficulty of communicating with each other represents a significant constraint. Limited time and traditions such as respecting the hierarchical order make it difficult to communicate issues and improvements. Every week, there is a concert, and the typical communication paths need to be respected. The orchestra's structure is another obstacle to being creative, as tutti sections are more constrained in expressing their artistic freedom. The structure and traditional hierarchy are also ascribed to the musical composition. The differentiation of first, second, and other parts in the scores leads to a natural differentiation in the hierarchical order. The first parts have more solos and therefore more decision-making power, and tutti sections need to support other melodies and play as one body.

4.4 Enabling Factors for Creativity in the Orchestra

While we have identified several obstacles that limit the creativity of musicians, we have also found possibilities to be creative within these constraints. The following section will outline enabling factors that positively influence the musician´s creativity while having limitations. While we have already presented four possibilities of musicians experiencing their creativity in

the orchestra, the following enabling factors additionally emerged from our interviews. They can be applied to all four ideal-typical dimensions.

4.4.1 Non-verbal Communication

As stated in the previous chapter, non-verbal communication is the primary way musicians communicate with each other. Verbal communication is very time-consuming due to the hierarchical order of the orchestra. But as music is considered a language, which is often more sufficient for musicians than talking to each other, musicians react to each other's ideas based on what they hear through music. The way they make music and play phrases is so expressive that verbal communication is not always necessary. Communicating with other senses is one way of being creative in the orchestra.

Hannah explains that without having a conversation, she can hear other people's ideas and then react appropriately in the way she is playing a phrase:

> *"Without conversation, I can notice if someone has a different idea. And if something inspires me, I react in a certain way. And by phrasing, like how someone plays, I can feel, I can notice what the person wants. Sometimes it is even more clear than words, so that is the number one communication by music - the one with music." (Hannah)*

Anna supports this statement when claiming that the musicians are constantly being creative when playing as music is a way of communicating emotions between musicians but also communicating with the audience during concerts:

> *"Music is a language. So, when we play together, we give this something to each other. And you can hear an articulation that we are practicing with this, we are doing this all the time when we are playing. We are creating music, creating feelings together, so that is creative to me. But we have to work and get a result. And in that moment that is creative - to get a result and not necessarily what and how I would like it or if I think the tempo should be faster or slower." (Anna)*

Anna´s quote illustrates how playing together creates feelings and emotions. By articulation and different styles of playing, they communicate with each other, which Anna considers highly creative. The musicians in the orchestra work together towards a common goal - to perform

concerts in front of an audience. And in the way they play together, they communicate with each other - suggestions and reactions through music.

Furthermore, we observed that the conductor used metaphors during rehearsals to illustrate his vision. For example, he asked the musicians to play "like there are cushions on the wall" or "like a whale call." We could hear changes in intonation and differences in playing when the orchestra tried to adapt these metaphors to express emotions with their instrument. This observation strengthens the previous statements. The musicians work a lot with metaphors, which they then try to reproduce with their music. This performance should then transmit this metaphorical feeling - and it seemed like the musicians appreciated metaphors to work with and create certain images when playing.

4.4.2 Soloists and their Creative Freedom in the Orchestra

Many musicians talk about creative freedom when the scores contain solos. Solos are usually found in the scores of section leaders. Musicians can interpret the phrase according to their musicality when playing a solo, typically a variant of the melody. This form of expressing their feelings, making suggestions, and being supported by the rest of the orchestra, allows musicians to express the phrase in line with their emotions - in agreement with the conductor´s vision and other section leaders.

Anthony, a woodwind soloist, mentions the difference between solo and tutti players when reflecting on his artistic freedom. He argues that his position allows him to have more creative possibilities as he has to take responsibility for certain parts and has more freedom to create solos:

> *"I think especially in an exposed position like mine, you have more chances [of being creative], and you have to take some responsibilities or play out some things. So yeah, definitely you have more freedom." (Anthony)*

He further noted:

> *"If you play tutti violin, you know, you have to fit in the group. It is very different. ... In that way, I also feel that I am more free. I mean, I like it. I do not get bored." (Anthony)*

Anthony´s statement indicates that tutti players have less artistic freedom than soloists and section leaders. We previously mentioned the puzzle piece metaphor when referring to

orchestra musicians, especially tutti players. Anthony uses a similar phrase when explaining the main task of a tutti player - to fit in the group. His position as a section leader and a soloist allows him to take responsibility, this freedom enables him to be more creative. He emphasizes that he does not get bored due to the freedom he has on his instrument. The argument of having more freedom as a soloist aligns with Helen´s statement, a tutti player, who outlines that leadership roles are freer and allow musicians to be more creative:

> *"I would say the concertmaster or the solo players have a little more artistic freedom than the tutti players, because sometimes they play with the orchestra as a soloist. And of course, they are the ones who are making the decisions. So, it is definitely more creative." (Helen)*

Helen refers to this freedom as decision-making power. Leading positions in the orchestra are in charge of the section, making decisions, playing, and interpreting solos. Hannah and Olivier are both section leaders of the wind section. They are reflecting on their position as follows:

> *"When I play the solo I have more freedom, I can kind of push my idea or push my interpretation to the conductor or the orchestra, so I am more free." (Hannah)*

> *"I am a bit more free because I am alone on my part. No one else is playing my part. ... You are a bit more free maybe as a wind musician too. ... I guess we have a lot of solos." (Olivier)*

Hannah and Olivier argue to have more artistic freedom as they have more opportunities to bring in their suggestions and interpretations due to the position and the fact that they play more solos and actively create those.

Robert, the conductor, assigns soloists also more creative freedom, as solo players suggest an interpretation of a musical piece in the way they interpret it first. The role of the conductor is then to either give the musicians space to create freely or express precisely how it should be done, based on the Maestro´s interpretation.

> *"Of course, if they have a solo part, they should propose what they have to propose. And then everybody should go along with it. But if you are a tutti violinist, and you are just sitting there playing a mild idea, you might not be able to put your idea*

forward, then you have a conductor who either wants to follow exactly what they
want, or give space to them to be able to put more information in it." (Richard)

These quotes reveal that section leaders, concertmasters, and conductors in the orchestra have more freedom to contribute to the outcome with their ideas and interpretations. It assumes that musicians who can shape individual phrases feel less restricted in their creativity. According to their vision and leadership style, conductors then agree with this suggestion or request the musician to play a phrase differently. This indicates that the hierarchical construct of the orchestra mainly allows leaders to express themselves creatively. Furthermore, the composition of the musical pieces enhances a hierarchical structure. It gives leaders more artistic freedom, as it is written in an order that aligns section leaders and first parts the solos and melodies.

4.4.3 Orchestral Culture and its influence on Creativity

Symphony Orchestras follow ancient traditions respecting the rules and traditions of classical music. As every orchestra has a unique culture, each section also has its characteristics - with different hierarchical structures and various communication strategies, which may also be due to each instrument´s technical construction.

David views these differences as a source of creativity since the orchestra creates music together as one unity. When asked if the differences in the instruments influence the way sections can unfold their creativity and have more or less artistic freedom, David agrees that each instrument holds differences. However, he believes that these differences nurture creativity. According to him, the natural differences of the instruments, for example, how a sound is produced, do not affect creative possibilities:

"Each instrument has its particularities, and this influences the way we have to
work with it, but after we learn how to handle our instruments, the differences
should not be as apparent, they should not be a problem. They should be just an
asset. Because creativity comes from differences. So I see it as a positive value not
that we can not understand each other. We have different cultures. A culture of
playing, or a culture of how to understand the music, to do things and how we are
used to doing them, and they used to do things differently. But this is not possible
in an orchestra, we need to do music in the same way, according to the conductor,
because he is the one who gives us his culture, how to do it, how to play it, how to

handle it. Of course, there is a big difference between wings and strings, because they are using their breath to create a sound, to create music. We do it with other tools, but we breathe together with them. Actually, everybody breathes together. It does not matter how you create your sound - you have to breathe together, that is the most important thing." (David)

David´s quote illustrates how the musicians in the orchestra work together - he emphasizes that the differences in the instruments are a source of creativity. The orchestra breathes together as they make music together, and even if wind players need their breath to create a sound, strings also breathe with them as one unity that creates, breathes, and plays together.

Olivier adds to this point of view that, especially in small details, musicians can be creative:

"I think it is in the small details that you can really do as you want [talking about artistic freedom] because you have your scores, and it is just dots on the paper, it is not really music yet. So you have to think - how do you make the notes become music?" (Olivier)

This statement indicates that musicians, no matter how restricted they are in the orchestra, can always be creative, as they are responsible for creating a sound, a performance. Possibilities to be creative are, in his view, little details, as the musicians need to turn written scores into music. Gavin and David agree with the previous statement when they emphasize that creativity can be enabled through small details, such as body gestures, expressions, communication with each other, or through breathing:

"I think that understanding, for example, how to move my body in order to produce the sound that I make, that is creative, yes, that is creative." (Gavin)

"It does not have to be something big you do, and it can be smaller things - in your expression, your way of communicating, and your way of breathing. Some little things, and then you influence the others surrounding your group. And by influencing your group, you can influence another group and so on. That is the way music is created." (David)

David adds to this statement:

"In the individual plan, you have quite a big freedom to create and to do music in your own way. Because that is the exception and in good orchestras by the way, all the musicians are really really good and they use a personal touch to make the music. So, this is just normal behavior for a musician." (David)

David´s statement explains that individual musicians can influence their surroundings positively when being engaged, active and also focus on little details that can then influence the creativity of the whole orchestra as everyone will be affected by it. He reflects on the creative nature of musicians who want to be creative and therefore try to bring in personal touches to create music.

Lastly, George views constraints as a limitation and a matter of mindset. There are certain traditions the orchestra has to follow and respect when interpreting musical compositions, such as the time epoch the piece was composed. Therefore, the interpretations relate to these traditions, which can be seen as a limitation. George states that he tries to be creatively free within this structure:

"Well, it is for sure, limited. I mean, not in a bad way. I mean, we are limited to what is on the page and what is written. But beyond that, you set the limitations yourself basically, I would say. It is really about doing what is written in a way, in a creative way, with creative freedom. There are certain traditions you have to learn about and respect, I think, that can change as well, you know, we do not play Baroque music now, as we did in the 70s. It always changes. But being as creative free as possible, yeah. Within the structure." (George)

These extracts show that musicians, who are creative by the nature of their profession as artists, feel restricted in their creativity by the requirements of the orchestra. However, the interviewees mention several possibilities to be creative within those restrictions. They emphasize that non-verbal communication in the orchestra is one of these possibilities. When creating music together, the musicians interact through their music and body language. Another enabling possibility lies in solo and leadership positions, as they have more responsibility and freedom to suggest and create musical phrases that align with their interpretation of the music. Furthermore, the culture of the orchestra, especially in each section, holds various enabling possibilities. Especially the energy that the individuals are showing is crucial as they can positively influence each other to be more engaged and active in the creation process, even

when limited to certain constraints. Finally, the orchestral culture and its way of interpreting respects traditions and composers. Naturally, this results in limiting the interpretative possibilities of the orchestra. But within these limitations, there is also a certain amount of freedom to create this music and be artistically free. How much influence these limitations have is then a matter of mindset and how they are dealt with.

4.5 Summary of the Findings

Our analysis showed several embedded routines in the orchestra that influence the musician´s creativity. Furthermore, we have presented four ideal-typical dimensions in which musicians of the Swedish Symphony Orchestra make sense of their creativity while being influenced by the routine and repetitiveness of their work: *(1) mechanical dimension, (2) emotional dimension, (3) problem-solving dimension, (4) dimension of being creative externally.* The four dimensions have a distinct approach to creativity. While musicians within the mechanical dimension feel constrained, other musicians do not view routine as a hindrance. Moreover, they either feel unaffected by routines as it is a matter of mindset and perspective, or as an enabler to push them to be even more creative, inside or outside the orchestra. However, although routine does not hinder creativity in the orchestra, we have found several obstacles in the orchestra that hinder the musician´s creativity, such as the hierarchical construct, its impact on the communication in the orchestra, and the limited possibilities to explore artistic freedom when being a tutti player in the orchestra. Finally, we showed enabling factors that positively influence the creativity of orchestral musicians. The tension between constraints being enabler and obstacles to creativity deserve specific attention.

5 Discussion

In this chapter, we connect the empirical material to our research questions by exploring the interplay between creativity and routines in the orchestra. As we have delivered an empirical answer to our research questions with the analysis, we will further discuss the answers in the following chapter with a view to the literature. Then, we will argue how Sonenshein´s (2016) theory of routine and creativity can be applied to our results and how we were able to expand his study with our empirical findings. In doing so we will reflect on four ideal-typical dimensions of creativity which emerged from our interviews with existing theories. We will provide enabling factors of creativity to add to the literature. Finally, we will present another contribution to the literature by introducing the notion of enabling directive leadership.

5.1 Looking inside the Box

We dedicate the first part of our discussion to the research question on *how routines influence the creativity in a Symphony Orchestra?*. In our literature review, we have outlined that the definition of creativity varies widely. Our findings show that also amongst the musicians, the perception of what can be considered as creative differs. To clarify these different perceptions, we want to draw upon the System Theory, developed by Csikszentmihalyi (1990), to define creativity by the field and the grammar of a domain. The System Theory considers creativity as a process that is generated, developed, and evaluated interactively. The components of this theory comprise the *individual or the group*, who articulate an idea, and the *field* (influential people such as experts and professionals), which evaluate a presented idea. The third component makes the *domain*, also referred to as the *grammar*, which consists of rules, values, and knowledge of the field (Schaefer, forthcoming). When applying this theory to the orchestral context, the group level consists of the musicians of the orchestra who suggest ideas, such as presenting a melody or interpreting musical phrases. Furthermore, this idea is evaluated by the orchestra's field and domain - the orchestra members, the conductor, and other professionals in the audience who evaluate this idea and interpretation. We want to use this theory in the context of our findings and argue that while there is a stable domain and field, minor variations are being introduced each time a musician plays something. The process in which musicians try to interpret, make sense, and suggest how to perform the piece of art indeed contains an adequate level of creativity. Our findings show that by offering interpretations, musicians of the orchestra make use of incremental creativity as they express their creativity by playing in a certain way or delivering certain emotions to a pre-written musical piece. This finding goes alongside the

view of Madjar, Chen & Greeberg (2011), who describe incremental creativity as implementing minor changes or modifications to an existing practice.

Additionally, we have found similarities with Drazin, Glynn, & Kazanjian (1999) view on creativity. They argue that creativity can be seen as a collective sensemaking process that can result in creative ideas. Our empirical data also shows that the creativity of the individual musician might be limited to a certain extent. However, it can be increased within the group when the environment supports different ideas, interpretations, and spontaneous changes. Hence, group dynamics and a supportive environment greatly influence how creative individuals choose to be. When musicians give themselves entirely to the music and play phrases in a way that is inspiring, other musicians can react to that, adopt it or play a variation of it. The dynamics of the individual affect the people around, which ultimately affects the whole orchestra. Our empirical results also correlate with Hargadon & Bechky's view (2006) regarding collective creativity. They argue that collective effort is crucial to being creative. Working in an orchestra requires the maximum amount of collaboration and collective effort, which results in the creative interpretation of music.

Our findings show that routines indeed affect creativity. However, we have noticed from our data that routines and creativity are not competitive behavioral options, as Ford (1996) states, but complement each other. As an example of this complementary combination, Caroline says that routines help her have a frame and give her the necessary security to be comfortable being her creative self in the orchestra. Following this finding, we also want to nuance Madjar, Chen & Greeberg's (2011) theory, arguing that creativity is an alternative to routine. On the contrary, our results correlate with Sonenshein (2016), who acknowledges that routine performance and creative performance go hand in hand and who further argues that "creative outcomes are just as dependent on the familiar" (Sonenshein, 2016, p.753). This illustrates that repetitive tasks build a foundation which allows individuals to be their creative selves.

However, while our findings align with Sonenshein´s (2016) study, and we argue that routines impact the musicians but do not hinder their creativity, we have found other constraints that limit the creativity of orchestral musicians to a certain extent. Due to the constraints we have found several distinct analytical patterns on how musicians experience present routines of their work and make sense of their creativity within those routines.

Firstly, one typical pattern we have found in how musicians make sense of their creativity in the orchestra is that the work in the orchestra can not be creative due to the repetitiveness of the tasks and the routine that determines the orchestral life. As presented in our findings, individuals with this point of view describe themselves as mechanics and compare the work in the orchestra to a Music Factory. For this reason, we refer to this aspect as the mechanical dimension. Interestingly, when describing organizations, Morgan (1997) uses eight distinct metaphors to highlight specific aspects of organizations. The one metaphor we want to outline here is the one of a "machine," which outlines the aspects of efficiency, quality, and timeless production of processes made in a machine. This metaphor is linked to the idea that organizations consist of mechanically interrelated parts. The metaphor of being a mechanic in the orchestra may also be described as the execution of automatic, learned processes. These musicians compare their work to that of a mechanic. They have learned how to master their instrument technically, have the routines initialized, possess the required knowledge on how to interpret musical pieces from different time epochs appropriately, and almost perform the musical compositions automatically. This can also be linked to Bédard & Chi (1992). They argue that when reaching a certain level, experts have internalized their tasks with the necessary skills so that the task execution occurs automatically.

Secondly, emerging from our interviews, a distinct approach of musicians in the orchestra is, what we refer to, the emotional dimension. Musicians sharing this perspective find creativity in the feeling of playing and are not affected negatively by the routines, but consider them as rather necessary and constructive. Musicians with this mindset feel that with their production of sounds, they are always creative. It is in their nature to interpret musical compositions when playing and do not execute a task, but create an emotion and a language. This can be linked to several neuro-functional studies which suggest that musicians possess greater potential to be creative as different brain activities were found when expert musicians play music (Limb & Braun, 2008; Sovansky et al., 2016; Spiel & Korff, 1998). Musicians experiencing the emotional dimension do not feel like they are performing the same musical composition twice as each performance is different from the previous or the next one. They are bringing a new perspective to a melody written by a composer many years ago, and this is how they are being creative. This possibility within routines can be linked to Feldman & Pentland's (2006) point of view. The authors argue that routines can be performative as they are not mindlessly followed, but performed purposefully. Within routines the human factor is associated with emotions and unpredicted thoughts and actions, which can modify routines and allow creativity.

Another way of experiencing creativity in the orchestra has emerged from our interviews. This approach considers any obstacles and hindrances as problems that need to be solved. The problems to be solved are problems on different levels. On a meta-level, the main problem is to create music from written down black dots on a sheet of paper and play it exactly as the tradition demands. Other problems deal with issues such as intonation, rhythm, or harmony. And then, there are also problems such as dealing with various leadership styles, sections, but also with restrictions, and guidelines. This problem-solving dimension considers routine not an alternative to creativity, but as a necessity to find creative solutions to various problems. The thought of problem-solving goes along with divergent and convergent thinking. Schaefer (forthcoming) argues that divergent thinking is a component of creativity as a possibility to solve problems. The generation of unexpected ideas for alternatives and solutions stimulates a person's capacity for creative and innovative responses. Constraints, limitations, and other problems - some of which are due to routine, lead to increased creativity as innovative solutions need to be generated. Routine can then be viewed as a support for creativity. Problems and limitations can then be seen as an opportunity to be creative, as they stimulate the need for innovative ideas and force employees to develop creative problem solutions. The link to pronounced divergent and convergent thinking abilities of musicians is also made by Gibson, Folley & Park (2009). They argue that musicians show these traits due to their excessive practice on their instruments.

Finally, we have distilled a fourth dimension from our findings, which we refer to as the dimension of being creative externally. This aspect views routine as enabling for other creative endeavors. Within this dimension, it is accepted that the work in the orchestra, due to constraints, can not always be creative but provides stability and therefore provides the freedom to live out the musician´s creativity in other projects.

5.2 Creativity in a Box - Obstacles and Enablers for being Creative

As we have discussed in the previous section, the musician´s creativity in the orchestra is limited due to several constraints. In this section, we will elaborate the constraints of routines that may impede creativity. Furthermore, we will present an image that illustrates our findings. Finally, we will introduce the notion of *enabling directive leadership.*

5.2.1 Constraints for being Creativity

The different constraints mentioned in the previous chapter imply reduced possibilities to be creative in the orchestra. Musicians in the orchestra play existing music that should sound almost exactly as it is written. As mentioned in the literature review, Limb & Braun (2008) distinguish between musicians creating their music and musicians playing already written pieces. Sovansky et al. (2016) support the idea that composing corresponds to creating something novel, thus, something more creative. Our findings also show that knowing the scores and the idea of what it should sound like, limits the creative possibilities to a certain extent. We want to refer to this constraint as *tradition*, as it implies also the performance tradition with the way of playing in regard to the composer´s epoch and its musical style. Lehman (1995) refers to orchestras as being guided by the respect of ancient tradition and musical heritage that can not be changed. Schaefer (forthcoming) describes those traditions as being part of paternalistic leadership. It represents an authoritative figure that is taking care of its followers and making decisions for subordinates. In the orchestra, following the Maestro's decisions is an important part of the musical tradition. Hence, it can be a hindrance for musicians that need to comply with traditions.

Another aspect concerning the possible obstacles in an orchestra that can hinder creativity is the matter of *time*. Musicians have highlighted that there is a weekly performance with a new program. They have less than one week to rehearse, practice, and prepare for the concert. With those strict deadlines, performers explained that there is little time to suggest ideas to the conductor and be creative, in terms of trying out different approaches, suggestions or interpretations. As Amabile (1998, p.82) argues, "managers who do not allow time for exploration or do not schedule in incubation periods are unwittingly standing in the creative process." This quote expresses the need to provide enough time for employees to be able to be creative. As there is very little time for discussions in the orchestra, superiors make the decisions and lead those, the others have to follow. Furthermore, Shalley & Gilson (2004) support Amabile's argument and add the notion of autonomy that should be given to employees to allocate their time and let them do the work in their way. With the obligation to deliver a high quality performance every week but at the same time having a strict timeline, creativity seems to be limited within those constraints.

An additional interesting finding within the orchestra´s structure is the *leadership and hierarchical* order of this profession. We were surprised to find out that musicians view hierarchy as highly important and necessary for a proper functioning of the orchestra. However, it seems like leading positions are the ones capable of being the most creative, which can hinder

the creativity of the rest of the musicians in non-leading positions. In the literature review, we wrote that authors such as Sardais, Lortie & Coblence (2019) use the orchestra as an example of efficient leadership where the conductor and musicians behave in a strongly disciplined manner. We can confirm this argument with our findings, as many interviewees express respect for authority and hierarchy. Some musicians also argue that without hierarchy, there would be chaos, and hierarchy is especially needed when about one hundred trained professionals have to perform a weekly concert under time pressure. Due to time reasons, it is not possible for every single person to state their interpretation. Which is also why musicians value the hierarchy of the orchestra. Furthermore, Krause (2015) brings a new dimension to leadership by arguing that conductors make use of their power to direct and give directions. However, as Sardais, Lortie & Coblence (2019) mention, conductors do not have to use the authority to get results, which seems to not be the case in the orchestra. During our observation, we noticed that the atmosphere was highly tense. It was very silent initially, and musicians were waiting for directives. Richard, the conductor, confirmed this observation when he explained that by the end of the rehearsal, musicians exhale in relief as they did not "breathe" for the past three hours. We can conclude that musicians' creativity can be constrained by the hierarchy of the orchestra, like employees of a company can be limited by their superiors.

While we have identified three main constraints that limit the possibilities in the orchestra to be creative and "keep it in a box," our findings show that one common pattern of musicians making sense of their profession is the one of musicians describing themselves as "mechanics." Within this aspect, the mindset can be viewed as a hindrance to being creative. This obstacle to creativity can be linked to the mechanical dimension of how musicians make sense of their creativity in the orchestra. Weick (1995) describes sensemaking as how employees comprehend their environment and how this interpretation affects organizations. If musicians make sense of their role in the orchestra as a "mechanic", then it will affect their creativity. In fact, how individuals make sense of their work in the orchestra by playing the same music over and over again can affect their creativity and result in automatic or mechanical reactions. This can be referred back to Sovansky et al. (2016), who explain the role of being an expert and how this high knowledge can lead to automatic tasks.

Figure 2: Creativity in a Box: Routines, Constraints and Enabling Factors for Creativity
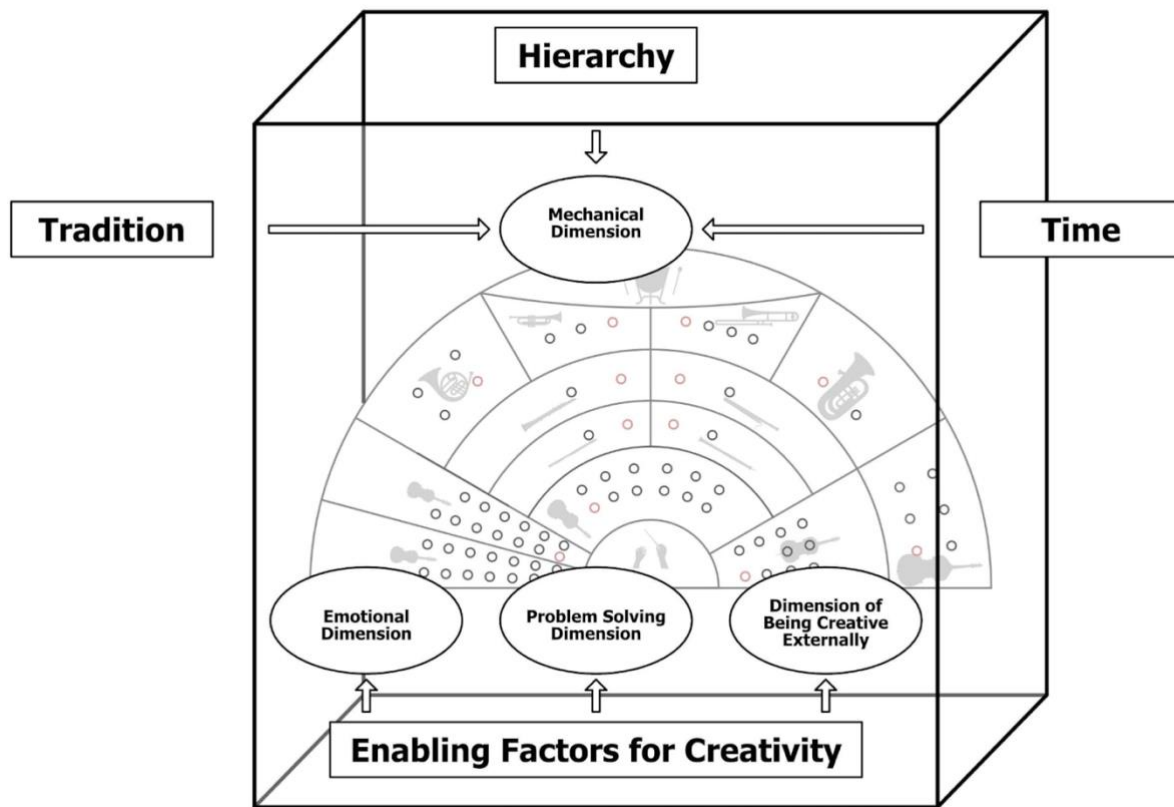
Source: Gollackner, P.(2022)

Figure 3, created to illustrate our research by Gollackner (2022), demonstrates our findings. The orchestra, limited by the constraining factors of time, tradition, and hierarchy, allows individuals to act creatively within the box frame. Within this box, the interplay of routines and creative individuals leads to the identified ideal-typical strategies for how individuals deal with the limitations and routines of their work. The first dimension, the mechanical dimension, is too influenced by the constraints and is therefore considered as being not creative. The three other dimensions, the emotional, problem-solving and dimension of being creative externally, allow orchestra musicians to find different creative aspects in their work while having several constraints.

5.2.2 Enabling Directive Leadership

While we have already argued that leadership and hierarchy can be seen as impediments to creativity, leadership also holds an opportunity to foster creativity. Since the sections in the orchestra have different leaders, leadership styles and cultures, and the conductor at the top of the hierarchical construct changes weekly, there are different opportunities for leadership styles.

In general, as mentioned before, the musicians in our study agree that the hierarchy in the orchestra is highly important and necessary to avoid chaos. Conductors who are inspiring, encouraging, and value suggestions are viewed as a source to increase the creativity in the orchestra. This perception can be linked to Hughes et al.'s (2018) argument for a transformational leadership style, which enables employees, through intellectual stimulation, to develop critical thinking abilities and innovative problem-solving strategies. This also goes along with our findings - the more conductors allow creativity and encourage musicians to participate in the process instead of only following one's interpretation, the more creative the work in the orchestra eventually is. Hunt, Stellout & Hooijberg (2004) describe that conductors set the interpretative idea of the musical piece, and the musicians try to achieve this vision with their individual creative choices as they "solve the challenges of balance, intonation, phrasing, and handing off melodies to one another" (Hunt, Stellout & Hooijberg, 2004). Our empirical material shows that the musicians feel the same way since the performance lies in their hands. This example shows that musicians still can be creative through phrasing and intonation. The hierarchical structure can be an example of a limited factor for the creativity of individuals. However, as highlighted in the analysis chapter, leader positions such as section leaders or soloists allow musicians to be more creatively free. This aligns with Hunt, Stellout & Hooijberg (2004), who argue that teamwork in the orchestra enables certain musicians to express themselves with the support of the rest of the orchestra. Moreover, following Alvesson, Blom, & Sveningsson´s (2017) approach to leadership, we can argue that leaders can empower followers to be creative. Our findings support that statement, as section leaders encourage supportive instruments to bring new perspectives and interpretations to their performance. Thus, tutti players are also capable of changing details of their interpretation to be creative and freely approach music.

We have also found in our study that the leadership style used in the orchestra resembles the characteristics of directive leadership. This notion can be defined by leaders setting stricts goals, clear directions and expectations (Martin, Liao & Campbell, 2013). This style of leadership helps reduce tasks and role ambiguities and increase task proficiency as well as quick execution of decisions (Lorinkova, Pearsall & Sims, 2013; Mukherjee & Mulla, 2022). In the orchestra, musicians in leading positions are the ones with decision power leaving the remaining musicians with the task to follow their orders. Due to this hierarchy, musicians are capable of performing a new musical piece every week. Moreover, directive leadership is known to be the reference for improving performance on core tasks by monitoring performance and providing

feedback (Martin, Liao & Campbell, 2013). In the Symphony Orchestra, conductors are capable of expressing their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their facial expression. Nonetheless, this leadership style is not correlated with creative skills as subordinates are expected to follow their tasks and comply with instructions from a superior. We would like to point out that in the directive leadership context of the orchestra, musicians manage to be creative through the emotional, problem-solving and external dimensions discussed above. Thus, we wish to nuance directive leadership by adding the notion *enabling directive leadership*. It consists of the possibilities within directive leadership that enable individuals to be creative and express themselves.

6 Conclusion

This study sought to explore how repetitive tasks and routines affect the musical creativity of musicians by analyzing how musicians experience and reflect on their creativity in the orchestra. More generally, we investigated in which ways creativity can be affected in an organization filled with routine and rigid traditions.To illustrate that, we reached our objectives and answered our research questions. In the following, we will outline the findings of our study and will point out our theoretical contributions. Finally, we will demonstrate the limitations of our research and end our thesis with humble suggestions for possible future research on this matter.

6.1 Empirical Findings

As outlined in previous chapters, there is a common disagreement on how routines and creativity influence each other. We want to highlight that all musicians in our case study agreed that routines are necessary for their profession as without their routines they would not have reached their expert level. Without repetitive behaviors, they would not be able to perform or play as professional musicians, as the musical practice requires a lot of repetition. Routines are then positively impacting the creativity of musicians as without the knowledge earned from repetition; they would not be capable of being creatively and artistically free. Nonetheless, how the musicians make sense of those routines differs from one individual to another. From this perspective, we have identified four ideal types of how musicians deal with their creativity in the context of routines: *mechanical dimension, emotional dimension, problem-solving dimension,* and the *dimension of being creative externally*.

Firstly, orchestral traditions, such as the hierarchical order, limit the creative possibilities as musicians are more cautious about raising their voices and making suggestions in the orchestra. Only section leaders, especially concertmasters, are supposed to talk to the conductor, which can impair musicians from expressing their ideas. Furthermore, the hierarchical order in the orchestra and the prevailing leadership style also limit the creative freedom of the musicians to a certain extent. Another constraint we found is the matter of time, as the orchestra's schedule only allows a very limited amount of time to prepare for the weekly performance. The pressure of time, competition, and the aim of delivering a high-quality performance can hinder musicians from actively engaging in the creation process. There is not enough time to consider multiple opinions, but instead, the musicians follow orders from their leaders. The ambiguity between

how routine is needed to be creative but at the same time hinders artistic freedom represents the complexity of this topic.

Knowing that orchestras contain several different routines and repetitive tasks, is it still possible to be creative? For most musicians, the answer is "yes". We have found four common strategies within the orchestra that demonstrate how musicians make sense of their creativity in the orchestra. The first dimension considers the work in the orchestra as not creative, and musicians refer to themselves as mechanics who reproduce pre-written music in the way they have been educated. The emotional dimension does not feel limited by constraints as the musicians create music, which is always considered to be creative as it is simply creative to create a sound together and transmit emotions through non-verbal communication. According to this view, it is a matter of mindset on how the routines and constraints are approached. Repetitiveness does not impact creativity as every time; a different interpretation leads to a different musical experience. The third dimension, the problem-solving dimension, views any restrictions as an enabler to be even more creative. Those ambiguities are due to individual interpretations of creativity and the wide range of roles and positions in the orchestra. Finally, the last dimension we have distilled is the one of being creative externally. A large part of the orchestra represents tutti players who are requested to follow their leaders, stick to the scores and create harmony. In this setting, some musicians agree that their creativity is very limited. Thus, they express their creativity externally in other projects such as quartets or chamber music, where they have the possibility to express themselves more freely.

Moreover, we found that not all individuals aspire to be creative. We encountered musicians who were thankful for routines as sometimes following them does not require much thinking, but more executing. Being creative takes energy, and the musicians in our study seemed to appreciate the possibility of being creative but not being forced to be decisive and creative all the time.

To sum up, all this led us to conclude that routine can hinder and foster creativity simultaneously. Our findings align with Sonenshein (2016), who considers a duality of routine and creativity. We argue that it is possible to be creative within an environment of multiple routines and repetitive tasks and that routine can push individuals to be even more creative. However, although routine can enhance creativity, our findings show that it is framed by the factors of hierarchy, orchestral tradition, and time that limit the creative possibilities to a certain extent.

6.2 Theoretical Contribution

At the beginning of our study, we highlighted the problematization we attempt to contribute to - the interplay between routine and creativity and its effect on creativity. Multiple authors have studied these topics intensively. Notably regarding the definition of creativity (Amabile, 1998; Drazin, Glynn, & Kazanjian, 1999; Schaefer, forthcoming), but also how creativity can be negatively affected by routine (Ford, 1996; Madjar, Chen & Greeberg, 2011) or, on the contrary, positively impacted by it (Feldman, 2000; Hargadon & Bechky, 2006; Sonenshein, 2016; Tschmuck, 2012). Moreover, we have found extensive research on how musicians have all characteristics of being creative individuals (Koutsoupidou & Hargreaves, 2009; Sovansky et al., 2016; Spiel & von Korff, 1998). On that note, we looked deeper into the orchestral environment as it contains several routines and rigid structures as well as focusing on the impact of hierarchy and leadership (Hunt, Stellout & Hooijberg, 2004; Sardais, Lortie & Coblence, 2019). However, the effect of routines on creativity has not extensively been studied in a creative environment that is assumed to enable creativity, so we focused our research on the Swedish Symphony Orchestra as orchestras are organizations with several embedded routines and structures but are also considered to amplify creativity.

Therefore, through the insights that we received from this orchestra, our study strengthens existing studies on the complementary effect of creativity and routine. In the long run, we argue that routines are necessary to gain knowledge and stability which can enable creative possibilities. We also want to highlight the connection between problem-solving and creativity. In a state of limitation, problem-solving methods are required to dissolve the situation. Creative thinking abilities are needed to find innovative solutions to various problems. Furthermore, our study contributes to previous knowledge by illustrating that authoritarian leadership can hinder creativity which is why we emphasize on enabling directive leadership. We want to highlight that a hierarchical structure that allows employees to contribute ideas and include them in the process, positively correlates with creative thoughts and behavior.

Finally, our study brought a new dimension to the literature on directive leadership in the orchestra. We nuanced the notion by adding the concept of *enabling directive leadership*. Having a leader that gives instructions, clear goals and makes decisions (Lorinkova, Pearsall & Sims, 2013; Martin, Liao & Campbell, 2013; Mukherjee & Mulla, 2022), which can be seen as an obstacle, does not hinder creativity. Most musicians of the orchestra argue that their profession is highly creative within directive leadership.

6.3 Limitations

As in other studies, our research is also characterized by several limitations. The first and most obvious limitation is that we conducted a single case study, which means that our findings and results refer to only one organization. We have already discussed several limitations of our research in chapter three, but we want to emphasize additional limitations worth mentioning with the final findings in mind.

Although the tension of routines, artistic freedom, and creativity is also present in other professional orchestras, some of the aspects we found in our study are unique to this orchestra due to prevailing traditions and cultures. Musicians would sometimes compare their current experience with other orchestras they previously worked in. This also showed us the importance of considering various cultural aspects, especially in terms of hierarchy and the way musicians are integrated into interpreting musical pieces. Therefore, our findings tend to represent a Scandinavian mindset in terms of hierarchy. We assume that the importance of hierarchy would be even more influential in other countries than Sweden.

Another limitation is the individuality of our study. Although we have addressed a general problem, it still depends on the person, how it is dealt with and how significant the tension is individually. For this reason, it is challenging to generalize our findings. Furthermore, as we interviewed people in different sections with different hierarchical positions and roles, the views on this matter also varied. Whether being part of the string section who has to play as one body or as a solo wind player - the experience, although fundamentally the same, nevertheless is different within the orchestra depending on the instrument they play and their position in the orchestra.

Finally, as an organization with artistic nature, the Swedish Symphony Orchestra could represent not only other orchestras but also organizations from all industries. The challenge of being creative within routines is not a problem unique to orchestras but can be found in all different types of organizations. However, we would like to emphasize that the artistic environment is not the only difference from other organizations. It is also essential for us to say that one of the main goals of the orchestra, apart from providing concerts for society, is the internal goal of playing something precisely as it is written and as the playing tradition demands. This difference in purpose also challenges comparing the orchestra with other organizations.

However, many similarities have made it possible for us to infer from the orchestra to other organizations and vice versa.

6.4 Further Research

With this study, we managed to present a deeper understanding of how routines can impact creativity. However, we have found several forms of constraints which we have identified as obstacles to creativity. We then have distilled several possibilities of being creative within these constraints in an orchestral context. We believe that it would be interesting to further research the impact of these constraints that limit the creativity in the orchestra, especially the impact of orchestral tradition on creativity.

Another suggestion for further research would be to investigate the same topic with multiple orchestras to compare and generalize theories regarding the impact of routines. We also would like to suggest that this research could be done in various countries. Some traditions, such as hierarchical order within an orchestra, are even more embedded in the orchestral culture in certain countries, which can lead to different answers and results.

Finally, as we have elaborated distinct possibilities to be creative in the orchestra while having constraints, it might be useful to do more profound research on these possibilities and also apply them to other organizational contexts to increase awareness of the interplay of creativity and routine and emphasize on enabling factors. Although our case study should represent other organizational contexts and the orchestra lends itself as an excellent example to study the tension between creativity and routines, our research can not be fully adapted to any other organization. Therefore, it might be of interest to test these identified possibilities in other organizational contexts. More profound research on how creativity can be fostered in the context of routines, repetitive tasks and structures, would contribute to the study of creativity.

7 References

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