Working in Tandem

A Longitudinal Study of the Interplay of Working Practices and Social Enterprise Platforms in the Multinational Workplace

by
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Abstract

Social technologies are argued to create considerable value to organizations due to its potential to change work (minimize or remove hierarchical organizational structures), increase productivity (reducing the time spent on email correspondence, information search, and collaboration by moving these processes to a shared and transparent platform), and provide global online connectivity among employees, regardless of time and place, amongst others.

The mean to reach these goals is platform adoption. Implicit in the adoption goal follows that employees will need to use the enterprise platform in particular ways, namely in a content-contributing, participating and knowledge sharing manner. However, the mechanisms through which the employees' working practices offline interplay with their interaction practices online remain underexplored.

This thesis aims to contribute to our understanding of the implications of the social technology use in the work settings, and through this, how value is created in organizations. If enterprise platforms shall replace established ways of working or increase employees' productivity at work, social enterprise platforms needs to studied closely with employee's daily work, their working and interacting practices, working processes, and other technologies used for working. In order to get this empirical insight were two closely related research questions asked in this thesis:

1. How do consultants' working practices interplay with the company's social enterprise platform?

2. How do consultants' working practices in contextual offline settings interplay with their interaction practices online?

The theoretical approach in this thesis follows the practice-turn that has emerged as an approach for studying strategic management, organizational decision-making and managerial work, and focuses on the micro-level of social activities, processes and practices that characterize organizational strategy and strategizing.

Through a longitudinal, in-depth study of the multinational consultancy firm offering technology and consultancy services, I explore the relationship between the use of company's social enterprise platform and the working and interacting practices of consultants.

To:

The five totem poles of women in my life - my grandmothers Lilly and Clara, my mother Bitten, my beloved daughter Selma, and my best friend Pim; and to all single moms.

Contents

List of tables

List of figures

List of illustrations

List of photos

Acknowledgements

Earning a PhD has been for me, as for most PhD students, a *rites-des-passage* (Van Gennep 2011), starting with the problematic separation from the known and familiar world, to a transition, shifting between scratching my head and aha! moments, jumping back and forth between theoretical perspectives and topics, and finally, re-entering society.

I am a lucky girl to live in Norway and to have this unique opportunity to study in-depth the topics that are close to my heart—social technology and working practices around the world. I never actually planned to take a PhD when I finished my studies in Social Anthropology at the University of Oslo in 2000; it was one of those things in life that just happened. In 2009, I worked as a consultant for my client Statnett on their social enterprise platform, and I realized that there wasn't much literature on the topic to benefit from. Shortly thereafter, I accidently saw an announcement from the NETworked POWER project seeking a PhD Candidate who was researching the potential of social technologies for creating innovation within and between organizations. I had no other choice but to apply for the position, and here I am.

First of all, I want to thank Professor Thomas Hylland Eriksen at the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Oslo for providing feedback on my project proposal when I was applying for the PhD candidateship and for writing me a recommendation letter while he was stuck with the natives down in Bologna.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

> *(…) how can a firm effectively reorganize or reengineer its operations without understanding the work that its employees do? The obvious answer is; "It can't". Yet lack of knowledge does not appear to stop organizations from trying. How can computers and microelectronics change the economy or restructure the way organizations do business without changing the nature of work? The obvious answer is, they can't. Yet this fact is hard to detect in the burgeoning literature on information systems (Barley 1996b, x).*

Introducing the Research Topic

Social technologies or social enterprise platforms are today introduced to organizations to capitalize on employees' knowledge because knowledge is seen as a critical value and asset to organizations (Fulk and Yuan 2013, Hansen, Nohria, and Tierney 2005, Grant 1996). Technology was early understood to play a key role to facilitate knowledge flows (Thompson, Scott, and Zald 2009, Løwendahl 2005, Berggren et al. 2013) and internal knowledge-sharing processes. Social enterprise platforms are implemented to replace or expand traditional intranets in order to facilitate employees' knowledge flow across departments, entities and countries (Chui et al. 2012, McAfee 2009, Cook 2008). These platforms is characterized by Web 2.0 features such as interactivity, social networking, group collaboration, co-creation, blogs, tags, personal profiles and file sharing (documents, videos, links and more). Social enterprise platforms are inspired and sometimes complete copies of public social media platforms or social networking sites (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, and others) and their features and functionalities. For example, utilizing the ability to share, create and co-create content, interact with others, or build social networks by connecting with or following other individuals in such a way that contributions and interactions are globally visible to others and persistent over time (Tredinnick 2006, McAfee 2009). Transparency (fully open for everyone to observe others participations) is seen as a master key with social enterprise platforms where everyone can in democratic senses take part in and observe other's communications and interactions (Chui et al. 2012, McAfee 2009, Cook 2008). The information model (how information is structured) in these platforms is people-centric: knowledge is understood to reside within individuals, and by establishing social relationships with knowledgeable others, the individual connects and gains access to that knowledge. Establishing connections or relationships with other company members will therefore be a stepping-stone to this person's insights or competence.

Social enterprise platforms are said to represent a new paradigm for organizations' strategic collaboration and knowledge management (Gurteen 2012) and enable structural changes (hierarchy, rank, unequal power distribution and more) since the technologies are by nature democratic (Cook 2008), allowing everyone to interact, share, and connect regardless of physical locations (Friedman 2005). The opportunity to create structural changes in organizations is seen in the technology's ability to improve vertical and horizontal communication since individuals can approach and connect with others without going through

hierarchical levels or formal paths (Cook 2008, McAfee 2009, Chui et al. 2012). The consultancy company McKinsey argues that social technologies[1] have a huge potential to boost employees' productivity by reducing or replacing, on average, 28 weekly hours of email, telephone conversations, information searches, and internal collaboration (Chui et al. 2012). Professional workers spend 38% of their time searching for information (McDermott 1999). By replacing established one-to-one interaction, collaboration, and communication practices (email, telephone, face to face interactions) with a collective many-to-many social enterprise platform, the time employees spend on email correspondences, information searches, and one or few to one or few collaboration will be released to other productive tasks. By directing conversations and correspondences from closed channels to a collective and open enterprise platform, all employees should benefit from a shared knowledge pool and gain easy access to relevant coworkers and their specialized competences (Chui et al. 2012, 8). In these senses, social enterprise platforms are argued to change work (Cook 2008), revolutionize the workplace, and create considerable value (Tapscott, Williams, and Herman 2007):

> Overall, we estimate that between $900 billion and $1.3 trillion in value can be unlocked through the use of social technologies in the sectors we examined. Two-thirds of the value creation opportunity afforded by social technologies lie in improving communications and collaboration within and across enterprises (Chui et al. 2012, 1).

However, some scholars question if new social enterprise platforms are merely a fad (Bechina, Arntzen, and Ribiere. 2012, Davenport 2008, Levy 2009) that will meet the same challenges groupware and Knowledge Management (KM)-systems did during the eighties and the nineties where research point to a consistent pattern that most employees did not use these platforms (Karsten 1999b, McKinley 2005, 246).

The assumptions of social enterprise platforms' potential for organizational success (minimizing or removing hierarchical organizational structures, reducing time spent on email correspondence, information search and collaboration in closed channels by moving these activities to an open platform, establishing connections among individuals regardless of geographical location) face some challenges.

Firstly, because in order for these platforms to spark their expected success follows a premise that employees need to take the social enterprise platform into use because only employees' use of the platform can accomplish organizational changes (Orlikowski 1992b). Thus, the mean to reach the overall goal is platform adoption. Implicit in this adoption goal follows that employees will need to use the enterprise platform in a particular way, namely in a content-contributing, participating and knowledge sharing manner (e.g. the studies of Khidhir, Samir, and Santhanam 2012, Paroutis and Al Saleh 2009, Othman and Siew 2012). However, a substantial body of literature demonstrates that technological information systems (IS) is interpreted differently by

[1] Please note the McKinsey report focuses on social technologies in light of the "extended enterprise," i.e. improved communication and collaboration between enterprises, between customers and enterprises, and between employees within enterprises. Thus, their predictions are not limited to the workplace alone. This is also valid for McAfee (2009) who states that "Enterprise 2.0 is not just about intranets and does not take place solely behind the firewall; it encompasses extranets and public web sites as well" (p. 73).

users (Karsten 1995, Orlikowski 2000) and used differently in different contexts (Rolland and Monteiro 2002, Suchman 1987, Naidoo 2008). Using the social platform in one particular manner could therefore be difficult.

However, with the focus on platform-adoption follows a focus on how the organization can increase the number of platform users, an employee's degree of participation, and their content sharing frequency. Organizations are advised on how they can spark more of the desired use and users (Mann 2013), and numerous tips for how the organization can create this are listed: management need to be role models, supervisors should lessen their control, bottom-up processes are necessary to empower employees, nurturing of trustful environments (McAfee 2009, Cook 2008), or that the organization needs to provide training (Cook 2008). The success of KM was said to depend on high participation and contributions from all organizational members for the intranet to serve as a knowledge-sharing environment (Stenmark 2002). However, even when the organization did have a "knowledge sharing culture" this was found not to make the intranet a knowledge-sharing environment (Stenmark 2002, 11).

The relatively scarce research available on social enterprise media in organizations (Steinfield et al. 2009, Ardichvili, Page, and Wentling 2003, DiMicco et al. 2008) suffers from a sample selection bias in that they have studied mainly platform users and/or active contributors. For example, 15,000 individuals are community members in Ardichvili, Page, and Wentling (2003) study of Caterpillar Inc., yet the remaining 45,000 employees classified as non-users are ignored and left out of the analysis. Similarly, only 15% (50,000) of IBM employees in the Steinfield et al. (2009) study are platform members, a number that is corrected downwards to 30,000 by DiMicco et al. (2008), and less than half of these use the enterprise platform during a month. Despite large samples from big companies such as Caterpillar Inc. and IBM, the majority of employees in these companies do not use them, yet their findings are claimed to be valid for how to engage no-users. I address this first issue by including platform-users and no-users in my study, and by studying how social enterprise platforms are used by knowledge professionals in their daily work.

Second, there is an underlying assumption that tendencies and models from the social media landscape in the public discourse are valid and applicable for corporate settings (Schneckenberg 2009). Co-creating and engaging tendencies observed in distributed communities (e.g. Linux, Wikipedia) and in the social media landscape (e.g. Twitter, Facebook) are sought copied to the workplace (e.g., Faraj, Jarvenpaa, and Majchrzak 2011) where a top-down introduction of social enterprise platforms are expected to be used in an engaging, bottom-up manner. However, there are some key differences between the Internet and the organization. Firstly, individuals who willingly contribute and create content in distributed communities do so in their spare time, regardless of company-membership (Forte and Bruckman 2005). The public online sphere differs from corporate settings in that working structures and communication processes between employees are different from that of peers in web communities (Schneckenberg 2009). Secondly, organizations do not have the mass of people that Wikipedia or YouTube and the Internet have (Levy 2009). The organizational world is much smaller, lacking the benefit of viral effects (rapid distribution of information or content to a large number of individuals) (Levy

2009). Thus, the probability that organizations will enable a mass of people to actively participate in social enterprise platforms might be difficult because there are fewer individuals to engage in the first place. Hence, assuming with no further notice that models in the public sphere are valid and applicable for organizational contexts is therefore a potential pitfall with the introduction of social enterprise platforms. By illustrating with empirical insights, I point to key differences between the social media landscape and the workplace.

A third assumption is that social platforms have a potential for employees to establish relationships or connections with co-workers located elsewhere (McAfee 2009, Cook 2008). Research into social networking sites in the public discourse (boyd 2008, Chatora 2010, Ellison 2007, Ellison, Steinfield, and Lampe 2011) and social software in the workplace (Steinfield et al. 2009) have shown a consistent tendency to connect with those colleagues employees already know and work closely with, such as reconnecting with previous acquaintances rather than establishing new relationships (Steinfield et al. 2009, 252). One exception is the study by DiMicco et al. (2008) which finds the opposite: employees connected with colleagues they did not know. However, the individuals in their study was chosen "based on their high level of site activity" (714), where the user's connecting-motivation was listed to be personal satisfaction (716), career climbing (716), and to gather support for their projects at work (717). Besides this exception, research shows that when individuals are online, they communicate almost exclusively with others they know offline (boyd 2009, Subrahmanyam et al. 2008, Chatora 2010, boyd 2008). Also, Subrahmanyam et al. (2008) found in their study that social network software bridged online and offline social networks. This questions the potential of social platforms for establishing connections between people that do not already know each other. However, little research has studied the link between offline (contextual) and online (virtual) interaction in regard to the workplace, and such studies are called for (Subrahmanyam et al. 2008). I address this third assumption by presenting comprehensive data of employees' offline and online working and interaction (engaging and meaningful communicative actions between two or more individuals) practices (shared understandings, cultural rules, languages and procedures that guide and enable human activity (Giddens 1984)).

A fourth assumption is that these platforms will increase productivity among knowledge workers in complex organizations (Chui et al. 2012). However, companies and organizations have changed dramatically in the last century, and work was in the past less differentiated and it was easier to know what people did simply because it was less to know (Orr 1996). Work today is highly complex and invisible (Suchman 1995, Orr 1996). Despite this are knowledge workers often described as a homogenous group whose work involves abstract thinking, defined as self-managed employees who need to use 'their discretion and expertise to make adjustments to respond to changing situations'(Kuvaas 2006). No clear definition of knowledge workers are provided in the literature (Trygg 2014, Webster 2002, Brinkley 2009). Knowledge workers are typically spoken of as having higher education and a high degree of autonomy (freedom and independence in work) (Mazmanian, Orlikowski, and Yates 2013) and in terms of individuals who are "thinking for a living" (Davenport 2005). It is seldom acknowledged that knowledge professionals' work not only differs from one to the next, but that employees have different

information and technology needs (Davenport 2011). Professional services[2], for example, are highly heterogeneous and difficult to define in general terms (Løwendahl 2005). Consultants in particular are extremely heterogeneous and difficult to define in general terms (Løwendahl 2005). Organizations' social enterprise platforms should therefore assist a heterogeneous workforce and a number of different work tasks. 'Knowledge work' and 'knowledge worker' remains umbrella terms that signals a certain type of work yet the constructs are too general to do a fine-tuned analysis of knowledge work problem's characteristics and there is surprisingly sparse literature on the definitions and measurement of these constructs (Brinkley 2009). Brinkley (2009), for example, found that knowledge work is far more complex than how it is approached in the literature. Brinkley (2009) found the more cognitive complexity in a knowledge worker's work task, the more it had to be developed through experience and human interaction (Brinkley 2009, 30). Also Løwendahl (2005, 36) found that it is typical for consultants' services to be largely intangible and developed in close interaction with the client. A main characteristic for consultants as a profession is the strong component of face-to-face interaction with the client providing services that cannot easily be stored Løwendahl (2005, 35). Ekstedt et al. (1999) found in their cross-sectional study of 25 organizations that insights the employees gained in various projects were context-dependent and impossible to encapsulate in a database in any meaningful form. This challenges the premise of the social platform's ability to create a "knowledge-pool" available for all employees to benefit from. It also questions what kind of knowledge can be written down, shared, made available, and re-used by others in social enterprise platforms.

Moreover, images of work today also ignore that most work involves other people (Barley 1996b, xii, Yanow 2006, 1250, Orr 1996, Barley and Kunda 2001). Few work tasks are today truly independent of one's work (Barley 1990, 69) and social interaction is a core dimension in working practices (Trygg 2014, 43). In order to understand the workplace we therefore also need to study social employees' social relationships (Ettlinger 2003, Trygg 2014). Despite these insights, we still work with concepts developed for an industrial economy (Barley and Kunda 2001) characterized by an occupational structure and thus assuming implicitly that work is something one has rather than something one does (Barley 1996b). Hence, we need constructs that better capture the dynamics and processual dimension in working practices where interacting with others is a key dimension. "Because field studies force researchers to encounter the mundane activities that constitute contemporary work, they are likely to generate concepts that can serve as more ecologically attuned building blocks (…)" (Barley and Kunda 2001, 86). With new theoretical constructs, studies can potentially resolve previous puzzles because they produce more concrete images of organizing (Barley and Kunda 2001, 87). With a longitudinal and qualitative research methodology, I was able to shed new light to previous studies (Orlikowski's (2000, 1992b) study of Lotus Notes which I will return to in the next section) and begin the development of new theoretical constructs by directing my focus on knowledge

[2]Service organizations alone consist of three distinct types: 1) Knowledge-intensive organizations (professional service firms (e.g., consulting), non-professional services (e.g., restaurants) and products (e.g., computer software)), 2) Labor-intensive organizations (Services (e.g., fast food) and products (e.g. handmade carpets)) and 3) Capital-intensive organizations (Services (e.g., air transport) and products (e.g., aluminum, cars)) Løwendahl (2005, 23).

working processes. This approach enabled me to reveal critical differences in work problems that knowledge professionals solve while working and I show how social enterprise platforms interplay with problem solving processes.

A last assumption of the potential of social technologies for the organization is that only job-related communication among platform-users is deemed important. Social talk is listed as one of the potential risks with social technologies (Chui et al. 2012), where employees might spend excessive time "chatting" about non work-related topics. Some enterprises have forbidden non work-related conversations in company platforms, while others have censored critical opinions (Chui et al. 2012, 12). Distinguishing the social from the professional in employee conversations will be difficult since the interpretation of 'social' is normative (Giddens 1984) and because a key fundament in interpersonal communication is the social aspect (Brinkley 2009, Goffman 2000 [1959]). Conversations about life (social) and work (professional) are an interchangeably related practice during the workday (Orr 1996). It could also be difficult to distinguish social from work talk because the conceptual model in social media sites such as Facebook, by which enterprise platforms are inspired (McAfee 2009), are informal and contain social elements embedded to stimulate the user's engagement and participation. Emoticons and like buttons, for example, are technical features copied from Facebook and implemented in social enterprise platforms to motivate engagement and, thus, informal conversations and interactions. Hence, a tendency observed in the public discourse is copied to the workplace, yet the underlying drivers are sought changed to better fit organizations. I direct my attention to this issue by studying what kind of content the platform engages the most, how conversations around social and work aspects are interrelated in everyday working practices, and how the need for privacy (the ability of an individual to withdraw from attention and to protect or reveal personal information selectively (Karahasanovic et al. 2009)) and trust (having faith to others' actions) is witnessed in employees' interaction patterns and strategies within the company's transparent social enterprise platform.

Research Objectives and Research Questions

If enterprise platforms shall replace established ways of working or increase employees' productivity at work, it seems logical to study social enterprise platforms closely related to the knowledge workers' daily work, their working and interacting practices, their working processes, and other technologies used for working, because technology and technology-users cannot be separated and studied in isolation (Suchman 1987, Orlikowski 2007, Orr 1996). The objective need to fully and not partly uncover how people actually get on with their work inside organizations (Whittington 2003, 118).

From the perspective of strategy in practice is strategy something organizations do rather than something they have (Whittington 2003, 2006). If social technologies or platforms shall improve organizations performance, we need to study those who are acting out strategy in practice: the employees whose productivity is sought improved by social technologies in the workplace. Our research attention therefore needs to be directed to 'the internal life of processes - to the practices by which work is actually done by a close attention to the work done by people

inside organizational processes (Brown and Duguid 2001). Hence, not only do we need to bring work back into our studies (Barley and Kunda 2001), but we also need to bring it into our studies of technologies sought used for working purposes in organizations. Studies of work (Barley and Kunda 2001), different types of work-related interactions (Weeks and Fayard 2007), studies that ask new questions to provide insights of what people do during their working hours (Ailon 2013), studies of organizational mechanisms at play in organizations (Dokko, Kane, and Tortoriello 2013), and studies that provide rich descriptive data of work in the context of workers (Barley 1996b), are called for. Rather than replicating previous studies on KM and social enterprise platforms, I therefore take a step back to find out how the social enterprise platform interplay with employees daily work. More specifically, I ask two closely related research questions in this thesis:

1. How do consultants' working practices interplay with the company's social enterprise platform?
2. How do consultants' working practices in contextual offline settings interplay with their interaction practices online?

Practices are understood as shared routines, traditions, norms and procedures for working, thinking, acting, and using 'things' (Whittington 2006, 619). This definition stresses that practices are related to an individual's actions— to agency – to reflexive agents. Two specific actions are highlighted in the research questions; working and interacting. More specifically, I follow the second stream in practice studies that takes explicitly on board the whole apparatus of practice theory with a focus on everyday activity and that is typically concerned with specific explanations for that everyday activity, how the dynamics are generated, and how they operate in different contexts and over time, and with intended and unintended consequences addressing 'how' questions (Feldman and Orlikowski 2011, 1240).

This Study's Contributions

My contribution is theoretical, empirical, and practical.

Theoretically, I contribute to the practice-turn in strategy research (Whittington 2006), which has the individual's interactions as the unit of analysis. Strategy as practice has emerged as an approach for studying strategic management, organizational decision-making and managerial work (Jarzabkowski 2005, Golsorkhi et al. 2010). It focuses on the micro-level of social activities, processes and practices that characterize organizational strategy and strategizing, and follows the practice turn that is witnessed in contemporary social sciences (Golsorkhi et al. 2010). I contribute by shedding new light to previous practice research on KM systems. My findings suggest that Orlikowski (2000, 1992a) ignores key aspects in her study of the groupware Lotus Notes, namely the correspondence of what the employee did for working and in what degree Lotus Notes provided opportunities to make the employees work smarter because agents are reflexive, knowledgeable and autonomous beings (Giddens 1984). I was able to offer an alternative explanation than Orlikowski reached in her study of Lotus Notes, because, while her focus was directed to individuals interacting *with* materiality or technology, I directed my focus to what employees do for working, how they work and interact with each other and how these working and interaction practices are enacted *via* (or due to) materiality.

Orlikowski's object of study is the structures individuals enact (take into use) when using technology. Hence, her focus is directed at how individuals interact with and interpret technology, typically one specific technology—Lotus Notes—and explains the individual's different Lotus use with reference to the social structure in which the individual is working. Orlikowski's analytical lens is thus directed to two main dimensions: (1) the human-machine relationship and (2) the platform use-social structure relationship. However, she does not fully take into consideration how Lotus Notes corresponded with what employees did during work (actual tasks and problems they solved when working), to what degree other individuals was needed for the employee's work, and the context in which employees was working.

One explanation for Orlikowski's analytical focus is that her research strategy was to provide a much needed perspective to previous research streams showing that technology does not embody structures that users will decode or interpret in intended ways (Orlikowski 2000, 421). Another explanation for her focus could be that Orlikowski's (2000, 1992a) theoretical approach builds further on structuration theory (Giddens 1984). Although Giddens discusses social interaction with other individuals in his text and writing, inspired by the micro-sociologist Goffman (2000 [1959]), the time-geographer Hägerstrand (1975) and late Wittgenstein (1972) amongst others, he captures in the model of the 'duality of structure' (Giddens 1984, 29) only the abstract dimensions or drivers at play between the individual and the social structure (Aaksvaag 2008). The model of the 'duality of structure' in structuration theory (Giddens 1984, 29) outlines the underlying logic, rules, and drivers present in social structures (Aaksvaag 2008), but do not say much about individuals motivations or the subjective ballast that individuals bring with them (Thompson 2012, 199). Thus, social interaction among individuals and working practices among these individuals are lacking in both Giddens and Orlikowski's models. Although structuration theory unites two schools of hermeneutic thought by viewing the individual and the structure as intertwined, individuals' actions in the theory are largely organized by institutions (Barley and Tolbert 1997).

Because of these limitations I therefore choose to return to structuration theory (Giddens (1984, 1990) and include elements left out of the model of the 'duality of structure' (Giddens 1984, 29), but that Giddens does address explicitly in his writings by adding an empirical dimension to the 'duality of structure' model. I add an empirical dimension to 'the duality of structure' that includes the employee's daily work, which in different degrees is related to other individuals in shared work-contexts and to other technologies used for working, working practices, and social interaction patterns in the workplace. By using unutilized gaps in structuration theory, it becomes possible to expand our analytical lens from the individual to individuals, to the highly sought interplay of working and interacting practices of social enterprise platforms.

Additionally, with my empirical dimension I was able to address elements from Giddens (1990, 1991, Giddens and Pierson 1998) later work on modernity that surprisingly few scholars have employed. I therefore also contribute to the literature by employing parts of Giddens's work (place/context, being together in co-presence (time-space), and the disembedding mechanisms that characterizes modernity) that typically have been under-explored and called for (Jones and

Karsten 2008) by examine the interplay of employee's offline and online interaction practices. Giddens argues that with the introduction of new mass media follows 'disembedding mechanisms' (e.g., English as a universal language, "lingua franca" or anomie (lack of norms)), because closeness to others is no longer related to geographical contexts where individuals interact in the presence of others in real-time. With new media, peoples' interactions are moved to abstract or online global spaces, without the trustful mechanisms that individuals nurture in time by being close together on a daily basis. I empirically describe actual structuration processes—relations that took shape in a structure can exist "out of time and place" independent of the context in which they are created (Giddens 1984)—that take place, rather than replicating others work by only using structuration theory as a theoretical departure. This is a limitation in most work from information systems scholars who use structuration theory (Jones and Karsten 2008, Whittington 1992). My study also contributes by addressing the research gap "unintended consequences" (that designers or implementers may not have considered in their plans) which may provide insights on why information systems projects often fail to achieve the benefits expected from them (Jones and Karsten 2008, 149).

The study of social media in organizations is in its infancy, and much empirical research is needed on the role social technologies play in organizational processes (Treem and Leonardi 2012). Strategy in practice has methodological implications and methods that especially allow for observation and longitudinal and processual dynamics of practices, routines and actions of individuals are encouraged (Golsorkhi et al. 2010). With my methodological approach (mixed methodology, longitudinal, ethnographic fieldstudies, key informant methodology, in-depth open ended interviews, social network data, and more), I was able to come close to actual practice while employing a broad range of methodological tools which is recommended for gaining "holistic" data (Moore 2011). This enabled me to obtain a "thick" description (Geertz 1973) of employees' working practices, what problems they solved at work, their problem-solving processes, what technologies they need for doing work, and how the social enterprise platform corresponded with these. By being close with the employees I developed trustful relationships with individuals in the company, and I was able to observe over time their daily working practices (e.g. the pattern of sitting physically close to important colleagues in the work place; the overlapping small talk about social life and work life; and the processes of assisting others as a key practice, which they did not interpret as 'knowledge sharing' but simply as getting work done). These insights would not have been revealed by surveys or through interviews alone. Hence, my study's approach corresponds well with the methodological encouragement of strategy of practice and with the encouragement of enterprise media research to choose objects of study that have a staying power beyond a specific platform (Treem and Leonardi 2012, 178).

I also contribute empirically by providing longitudinal and rich descriptive data of social enterprise platforms and knowledge-professionals' daily working processes in a multinational company with data from Africa and Europe. The literature of technology in countries in Africa, Asia, and India is scarce, and the literature as such is characterized by a Western bias: the West is studied by the West (Walsham 2001, 4).

I contribute to practioners working in organizations by providing hands-on insights of social platform's strengths and limitations. This information is urgently needed because many organizations are implementing these social platforms today (McKinsey&Company 2013). Yet, among the few other scholars studying social enterprise platforms (Wagner, Vollmar, and Wagner 2014, Steinfield et al. 2009, Soyland and Herstad 2011, Treem and Leonardi 2012) none have studied these platforms longitudinally, in-depth, and qualitatively from the perspective of the employee in a multinational organization.

This thesis is organized as follows; I present the theoretical perspective chosen for this study in the next chapter, followed by chapter three, where I present the key characteristics with social enterprise systems because scholars who study technology in organizations are criticized for not describing the platforms they study (Leonardi and Kallinikos 2012, 2, Monteiro and Hanseth 1996). In chapter four, I present my methodological approach and the contexts I am studying. Chapters five and six are empirical and analytical chapters where I present findings that concern working and interaction practices and the interplay of these practices with the social enterprise platform needed for answering the first research question. Chapters seven and eight are also empirical and analytical chapters where I present findings needed for answering my second research question. The findings from these empirical chapters are discussed and theorized in chapter nine. The thesis closes with limitations in this study, advice for designers, implementers, and managers, and offers suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2: Theory

> *Ethnographers are more and more like the Cree hunter who (the story goes) came to Montreal to testify in court concerning the fate of his hunting lands in the new James Bay hydroelectric scheme. He would describe his way of life. But when administered to the oath he hesitated; "I'm not sure I can tell the truth… I can only tell you what I know" (Clifford and Marcus 1986, 8).*

Introduction

A practice approach provides the conceptual tools needed in this study because it acknowledges that a close interplay of individuals' practices (shared routines of behavior, norms, and procedures) are essential for working, thinking, acting, and using things (Whittington 2006, 619). Strategy as practice focus on the micro-level of social activities, processes, and practices that characterize organizational strategy and strategizing (Golsorkhi et al. 2010). Giddens (1984) structuration theory is one of the three main sub-approaches in the practice turn in strategy research (Whittington 2006). Structuration theory (Giddens 1984) has been extensively employed in information system (IS) studies with more than 300 papers identified using the theory directly, and 200 indirectly, in top journals (Jones and Karsten 2008, 136). The theory should be applicable to any aspect of Information System (IS) research studying the relationship between IS and organizations (Jones and Karsten 2008, 138).

I begin this chapter by problematizing the constructs 'knowledge' and 'technology' followed by a discussion 'knowledge work' and 'knowledge worker'. This is followed by a presentation of the main practice approaches to technology (Orlikowski 2000, 1992b, DeSanctis and Poole 1994, Callon and Latour 1981) before I present structuration theory Giddens (1984) and Giddens' understanding of modern society (Giddens 1990, 1991). Because social enterprise platforms are used by employees regardless of time and location, there is a section included about virtuality. I end the chapter by pointing to research agendas that are called specifically for in structurational research, followed with my theoretical departure.

Knowledge

There are many highly diverse understandings of 'knowledge' (Alvesson and Kärreman 2001). Two main theories on 'knowledge' are identified in the knowledge management (KM) literature: the commodity view and the community view (Stenmark 2002). While the first understands 'knowledge' to be universal and context-independent, the second is closely tied to the context it is part of and based on individual experiences. 'Knowledge' and 'information' in the KM-literature are often used interchangeably (Stenmark 2002), yet there are some main differences between the two constructs.

According to Tsoukas and Vladimirou (2002), one main difference between the concepts 'data', 'information', and 'knowledge' is that data requires minimal involvement, while information are context-based arrangements. Knowledge is understood as "the judgment of the significance of events, problems, issues, and items derived from a particular context and/or theory" (Tsoukas and Mylonopoulos 2004, 8). 'Knowledge,' from this point of view, presupposes values and beliefs, is closely related with action (Tsoukas and Vladimirou 2002, 976), and therefore inextricably tied to the individual and his or her current contexts (Wenger 1998, Suchman 1987, Cox 2007). From this perspective, 'knowledge' will always require interpretation by the reader (Cox 2007) and individuals' interpretative frameworks thus cannot be transferred, and are therefore difficult to upload in a technological platform (Stenmark 2002). Similarly, content in a KM or enterprise platform will always be interpreted differently based on the 'eye of the beholder.' This position is, by and large, taken in the literature on organizational learning, and by scholars arguing that 'knowledge' cannot be separated from learning processes (Wenger 1998), because learning takes place in close interaction by co-working in a shared community (Orr 1996). Nicolini (2011) and others (Orlikowski 2002) have turned away from the concept of 'knowledge' and returned to Polanyi (1967) theories on implicit knowledge. These scholars use the concept of 'knowing' to denote the processes of what we do and who we are.

Polanyi's (1967) work on tacit knowledge, was a response to positivism in which Polanyi presented a false account. Positivism refers to an epistemological position characterized by causal laws that assume the unity of natural and social science methods (Jones and Karsten 2009, 590). Positivism argues that universal laws in the objective world can be predicted and controlled by employing scientific methods that lie in empiricism, via observation and measurement. Thus, science could determine cause and effect (Jones and Karsten 2009, 590). According to Polanyi, knowledge is a subjective experience occupied by tacit knowledge: intuitive and unarticulated insights that cannot be communicated, understood, or used without the 'knower'—the person. Polanyi's work about human knowledge is occupied by tacit knowledge; knowledge that cannot be articulated can be illustrated in Geertz's (1983) work, which explains how a symbol has several meaningful layers automatically decoded by the interpreter to be meaningful. For example, knowing how to ride a bicycle without reflecting upon it once learned.

Nonaka (1994) theorized further on Polanyi's ideas. However, Nonaka classified knowledge into implicit and explicit (codified) characteristics, a distinction intensively criticized by scholars such as Adler (1995) because it treats explicit knowledge as separable from implicit knowledge—which was Polanyi's main point. Moreover, Nonaka is criticized for not distinguishing 'information' from 'knowledge,' and "the theory might therefore at best be regarded as a theory of *semantic information creation* rather than of knowledge creation" (Gourlay 2003, 8). Nonaka's theory can be placed in the corner of the KM tradition that sees knowledge as a commodity (Stenmark 2002)—as something extractable from the knower.

Knowledge as an objective truth is today argued to be epistemologically outdated (Alvesson and Kärreman 2001, 998), yet many scholars still speak of knowledge-sharing (Wang and Noe 2010), distinguish between different types of knowledge, such as explicit or implicit (Nonaka

1994), strategies for managing knowledge (Hansen, Nohria, and Tierney 2005), the knowledge-search and knowledge-transfer problem (Hansen 1999), knowledge hiding (Connelly et al. 2012, Cerne et al. 2013), or knowledge networks (Wang et al. 2013, Hansen 2002).

I position myself in the research stream that perceives individuals as knowledgeable and reflective actors (Giddens 1984) and use 'knowing' in preference of 'knowledge' to stress that the processes of what we do and who we are is processual and situated in historical, social, and cultural contexts (Nicolini 2011, Tsoukas and Mylonopoulos 2004, Lave and Wenger 1991, Feldman and Orlikowski 2011, Orlikowski 2002).

Technology

The concept of technology has been used in the literature in a variety of manners (Orlikowski 1992a). To begin with, technology was defined due to its *scope*—a 'hardware' view (Orlikowski 1992a, 399)—that focused on machinery, hardware, and equipment used in productive activities. However, this definition excluded tasks, techniques (Woodward 1958), and knowledge utilized when humans engage in productive activities and value creating processes (Thompson, Scott, and Zald 2009). The construct was therefore extended to include individuals engaging with technology, thereof the construct 'social technologies' (Orlikowski 1992a). Yet, the definition was still generic—universal—which made it difficult to compare different types of technologies, how individuals made different use of the same technology, or how individuals changed or ignored it (e.g. used technology for different purposes than intended or work-arounds).

Thus, a definition that could better encompass technology's *role*—its complexity, individuals' use of it, and technology's potential for creating effect or change—was sought. Three different perspectives followed in definitions of 'technology' (Orlikowski 1992a, Badham 2005). The first view sees technology in positivistic and deterministic terms. Technology is understood to create changes in societal and social structures (Bernstein, 1978). The second approach takes the opposite view by seeing technology from the individual's perspective, arguing that people make their own unique sense of any technological device by using it in a manner that is meaningful to them (Bijker 1997). This relativistic and social constructivist view in many ways echoes Polanyi (1967). The third approach unites the two extremes by arguing that both technology and human action play key roles, and that neither can be dismissed because they are interchangeably related. This approach is the starting point for practice scholars who study organizations and technology (Orlikowski 2007, Orr 1996, Suchman 2007, Barley 1996a). I understand 'technology' as physical and/or digital materials or computer systems that are inextricably related to the individual who is using these (Giddens and Pierson 1998, 82) because the social and the material are inextricably related (Suchman 1987, Orlikowski 2007, 1437).

Knowledge Work and Knowledge Workers

Social enterprise platforms are implemented in organizations for use by knowledge workers as a work tool in their everyday work (communicate with colleagues, find information relevant for work, assist other colleagues' work-related questions, etc.). Knowledge workers were

discussed in the sixties and seventies by scholars such as Drucker (1969) and Bell (1973), yet the knowledge worker phenomenon came into being already before the Second World War and became a major trend by the 1920s (Cortada 2009, xv). Thus the concepts 'knowledge work' and the 'knowledge worker' have evolved parallel to societal changes, yet no clear definition of 'knowledge work' and 'knowledge worker' are provided in the literature (Trygg 2014, Webster 2002, Brinkley 2009, Løwendahl 2005, Alvesson 2004).

Today, there are three main perspectives of knowledge work and knowledge worker's characteristics observed in literature (Trygg 2014): Reich (2010), Florida (2004), and Alvesson (2004). The main difference among these scholars, concerns what kind of competencies a knowledge worker posits (Trygg 2014). Reich (2010) stresses the individual's skills and competencies are most important for a knowledge worker, and Florida (2004) argues that creativity is essential, while Alvesson (2004) stresses interpretation in his approach. Despite their different approaches, they all list the task of solving problems in their understanding of what knowledge workers do.

Name	**Robert Reich**	**Richard Florida**	**Mats Alvesson**
Key concept	Symbolic-analytic work	The creative class	Knowledge workers
Sector	Knowledge-intensive industries	Symbolic-analytic services	Knowledge-intensive companies
Assignment	Identifying problems, problem solving, and strategic-brokering activities.	Discovering new strategies and components. Problem solving and seeking out new, innovative solutions.	The ability to interpret and make qualified speculations. Problem solving.
Key words	Competence, welfare	Creativity, urbanity	Knowledge, companies, experts
Professions or occupations	Researcher, engineer, accountant, computer programmer, technician, PR, lawyer, investment bankers, planner, developer, analyst, consultancy, art director, journalist, publisher, university professor.	Computing, mathematician, engineer, research, arts, design, entertainment, sport, management, finance, law, technical.	Law, accounting, management, engineering, computing, IT, PR, investment banking, bio-tech, high-tech.
Key book	The Work of Nations. Preparing Ourselves for 21st-Century Capitalism (1991) New York: Vintage Books	The Rise of the Creative Class: and How it's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life (2002). New York: Basic Books	Knowledge Work and Knowledge-Intensive Firms (2004). Oxford: Oxford University Press

Table 1: Three main research streams that discusses knowledge work and knowledge workers. Source: The table is adapted from Tryg (2014:181). All three scholars list problem-solving as a key work task for knowledge workers.

Alvesson (2004) argues that knowledge work concerns the capabilities for problem solving and ability to interpret and adjust to new challenges where deliverance and assistance is often characterized by a high degree of uncertainty. It is seldom acknowledged that knowledge

professionals' work differs (Davenport 2011, Alvesson 2004) or that also management has become highly differentiated (Barley 1996b, xii). Brinkley (2009) found in their study of the UK's work force that knowledge work is far more complex than often approached in the literature. For example, the more complex a work task, the more it must be developed through experience and human interaction (Brinkley 2009, 30). Following my theoretical positioning of pursuing 'knowing' in preference of 'knowledge' to stress the processual dimension mentioned in the previous section, I am inspired by Brinkley's (2009) approach: to direct my focus at what knowledge workers actually do while knowledge working (68). I am also inspired by Alvesson (2004), who stresses that 'knowledge workers' and 'knowledge work' are diffuse yet complementary constructs (38), meaning that the aim should be to focus on the problem-solving process. Thus, I follow him when I focus on the processes of identifying, defining, interpreting, and solving varying degrees of complex problems when working.

The Practice Approach in Studies of Technologies in Organizations

The three different approaches to 'technology' described previously are, in many ways, mirrored in the structure-actor dilemma that characterized the social sciences in the 19th century. The structure-actor dilemma concerned the social structure's potential to direct individuals' actions. If the structure had deterministic attributes, it reduced the individuals to passive beings without the ability to act on their own (a positivistic view). The opposite view saw individuals as active and reflexive beings choosing their own actions (a constructivist view). Giddens developed structuration theory to address these extremes of the structuralist and hermeneutic schools of thought (Cohen 1989, Giddens and Pierson 1998, Larsson 2012).

An offshoot to the positivistic and social constructivist view on technology, and to the structure-actor debate, was the concept of 'practice.' This was introduced as the elementary unit of analysis in organizations, denoting reflexive individuals—agents—or agency (that chooses their own actions) on one side, regulated by institutionalized norms, ideologies and routines on the other (Styhre 2011). 'Practices' are shared routines of behavior, norms, and procedures for working, thinking, acting, and using things (Whittington 2006, 619). This definition stress individuals' reflexivity. The practice approach deals with social phenomena at a high level of abstraction (Jones and Karsten 2008) and the practice landscape, its terminology, and the constructs are a rough and abstract academic terrain[3] (Leonardi and Kallinikos 2012, Styhre 2011, Jones and Karsten 2008).

Practice perspectives are still in their infancy, with no coherent, unified 'practice theory,' only a body of highly diverse writings by thinkers who adopt a loosely defined 'practice approach' (Bräuchler and Postill 2010, Whittington 2006, Cetina, Schatzki, and von Savigny 2005, Golsorkhi et al. 2010) where two main research strategies among practice scholars are observed

[3] Giddens (1984), for example, links functionalism, evolutionism, and positivism, and his structuration theory alone draws from a wide variety of theoretical traditions: symbolic interactionism, dramaturgy, phenomenology, ethnomethodology, structuralism, psychoanalytical theory, functionalism, and Marxism (Turner 1986, 970).

(Pozzebon and Pinsonneault 2001): those that seek predictions, such as Pozzebon and Pinsonneault (2001), or those that seek meaning from the processes, such as Orlikowski (2000).

Social theorists Foucault (2012), Bourdieu (1977), and Giddens (1984) are the main inspirers in the three main sub-approaches to practice theory that have gained ground within organizational studies (Feldman and Orlikowski 2011). Practice scholars have different objects of study, and three main streams of studies are observed in the literature (Feldman and Orlikowski 2011, 1240). One stream has an empirical focus on how people in organizations act by asking 'what' research questions. A second stream follows practice theory with a focus on everyday activity, typically concerned with specific explanations for that everyday activity, how the dynamics are generated, how they operate in different contexts and over time, and with intended and unintended consequences addressing 'how' questions. Key scholars within this stream of study who have advanced specific practice-based theoretical perspectives are Giddens (1984, 1979), Bourdieu (1980), Lave (1988), Latour (1987), De Certeau (1984), Orlikowski (2000, 1992b), and Whittington (1992) amongst others. The third stream follows a philosophical focus directed on the role practices play in producing organizational realities and is concerned with learning and knowledge, collective doing, and cognition in practice by answering 'why' questions. Because I ask two closely related 'how' questions in this thesis—(1) How do consultants' working practices interplay with the company's social enterprise platform? (2) How do consultants' working practices in the contextual offline settings interplay with their interacting practices in the online social enterprise platform? I therefore join the second stream of practice scholars who implement the apparatus of practice theory, because I am interested in employees' everyday work and how their working practices interplay with social enterprise platforms and other technologies or platforms used for working and interacting.

These three streams of practice-approaches share an understanding of seeing individuals' actions colored by the context they are part of, and they reject dualisms between elements that have often been treated dichotomously (for example, technology or social structures determine individuals actions or use, or vice versa) (Feldman and Orlikowski 2011, 1242). However, a practice take on technology (seeing technology as an interchangeable part of an individual's and/or organization's actions) introduces a new theoretical challenge; namely, how does one study technology when technology cannot be separated and studied in isolation? Scholars have tried to cope with this paradox by developing theoretical constructs that seek to study technologies without dismissing the context of which it is a part. This is not yet settled and four main constructs have sought to do this: socio-materiality, materiality, socio-technical systems, and agency.

Sociomateriality

Orlikowski's (1992a) understanding of 'technology' or material artifacts builds on Suchman (1987) construct of 'sociomateriality,' which stresses that the social and the material are "inextricably related—there is no social that is not also material, and no material that is not also social" (Orlikowski 2007, 1437). Technology, or materiality, is dual: "the outcome of coordinated human action, and hence, inherently social, 'being' created and changed by human action, [but] also used by humans to accomplish some action" (403), a relationship that

Orlikowski (1992a) labels the duality-of-technology (Jones and Karsten 2008). 'Technology' from this view can only exist in relation to the individual. Orlikowski (2007) has advocated the term sociomaterial practice to stress that all materiality (things, machines, artifacts, etc.) are inextricably tied to any social practice (Styhre 2011).

Materiality

Critics argue that 'sociomateriality' are 'black boxes': useful for analytical reasons, but too general and imprecise in actual empirical studies (Styhre 2011, 386). Mutch (2013) criticizes the concept for being an umbrella term covering a variety of approaches of the relationship between the social and the material. As Leonardi and Kallinikos (2012, 29) have pointed to, materiality is not necessarily tied to physicality (physical artifacts, machines, or things). Information systems (e.g., Google, Facebook, email clients), have no physicality. This point is stressed in Leonardi and Kallinikos (2012, 29) definition of materiality as "the ways the physical and/or digital materials are arranged into particular forms that endure across differences in place and time."

Socio-technical Systems

Critics (Mutch 2013) have suggested the traditional concept of 'socio-technical systems' is more helpful than 'sociomaterial practice' in that 'socio-technical systems' refer to and specify the systems involved in a given study and more adequately cover the broader context of practice (Mutch 2013, 28). While 'sociomaterial practices' influence and are being influenced by abstract social structures (e.g., roles, hierarchies, power), 'socio-technical systems' refers to the entire organization of work (e.g., abstract institutional constructs and overlapping patterns of sociomateriality) (Leonardi and Kallinikos 2012, 41).

Agency

Styhre (2011, 386) suggests a way out of the 'blackboxing' of the 'social' and the 'material' is via the agency-concept; "To be agent means to be capable of exerting some control over the social relations in which one is enmeshed" (Sewell cited in Styhre (2011, 386)). A human agency approach sees people's work not determined by the technologies they employ. Rather, an agent acts with and against his or her structures. The concept of agency is further refined into 'social' and 'material' agency (Leonardi and Kallinikos 2012, 42). While 'social agency' refers to "coordinated human intentionality formed in partial response to perceptions of a technology's material agency" (42), a definition that can be traced back to Giddens (1984) theorizing, includes 'material agency' non-human entities (e.g., artifacts) to act absent human intervention, which is the cornerstone in actor network theory (ANT) (Latour 1987).

At this level of theorizing, the literature offers some main perspectives of technology or materiality, either a socio-technical approach inspired by actor network theory (ANT) (Callon and Latour (1981)), or practice versions of structuration theory (Giddens 1984), for example, Orlikowski's Technologies-in-practice approach, or DeSanctis and Poole's (1994) 'Adaptive structuration theory' (AST). An option to combine the different approaches at different stages in the analysis has also been proposed (Walsham 2001, Naidoo 2008). From my perspective, these approaches have some key limitations that I will now point to.

Practice Theories of Technology in Organizations

ANT sees materiality as equal 'partners' or actors as humans (Callon and Latour 1981)). ANT argues that neither the social nor the technical is privileged, but equally related in networks consisting of people, organizations, agents, machines, and other things that constitute the world (Naidoo 2008). Thus, both individuals (humans) and non-individuals (objects, artifacts, constructs) are identified as actors, and their connections or relationships are mapped into a non-hierarchical network. This fundamental premise in ANT has been criticized intensively for seeing objects as equal partners to individuals because 'things' are understood as having intentions (Aaksvaag 2008). Furthermore, because actors in ANT are mapped in non-hierarchical networks where all parts are understood as equal partners the theory does not consider 'power' in any robust manner, or the interplay of power and action (Aaksvaag 2008). ANT has also methodological implications because the theory is centered on seeing (observations). Dialogues and contexts in ANT studies are largely left out because context is understood as integrated in the individual's interactions (Røhnebæk 2014, 87). This departs from qualitative disciplines as, for example, social anthropology which involves 'engaged listening' (Røhnebæk 2014), or participatory observations, and where contextualized interpretation is seen as the central analytical strategy (Lien 2012, Eriksen 2013).

Adaptive structuration theory (AST) was developed by DeSanctis and Poole (1994) to describe the emergence and use of group decision support systems. They focused on advanced technologies in regard to organizational changes, in particular to structures that technology provides and to structures that emerge as humans interact with them (DeSanctis and Poole 1994, 121). AST focus on the duality in the types of structures that are provided by technologies on one hand, and the structures that actually emerge in human action as people interact with these technologies on the other (University of Twente, 2014). However, assuming that technologies provide emerging and stable structures (that can be studied in isolation) has been criticized because it assumes technologies are static with determined structures for users to decode/read (Orlikowski 2000, 406).

Orlikowski (2000) proposes "an extension to the structurational perspective on technology that develops a practice lens to examine how people, as they interact with a technology in their ongoing practices, enact structures which shape their emergent and situated use of that technology" (Orlikowski 2000, 405). Using her model, 'Technologies-in-practice' (2000), Orlikowski illustrates that people make use of the same technology "across various contexts and practices" (420) in varying manners because of different drivers and practices that individuals enact (act with/upon) in the social structure of which they are a part. Orlikowski's research strategy was to provide a perspective of previous research streams showing that technology does not embody structures that users will decode or interpret in intended ways (Orlikowski 2000, 421). This contribution resulted in an acknowledgement of the social and material as inextricably related which was a much needed next step in research of technologies in organizations. However, the 'Technologies-in-practice'-model have some critical limitations, because Orlikowski (2000, 1992a) explains individuals' technology use in structurational terms (Thompson 2004, Thompson 2012, Monteiro and Hanseth 1996).

Orlikowski's 'Technologies-of-practice model' builds further on Giddens (1984) model of the duality of structure, but Giddens' model (yet not his text and writings) ignores the presence of other individuals. Other individuals are only present in the model as abstract dimensions of the interplay of agency and structure that come into play when individuals use technology. This is also an observation by Thompson (2004):

> Although Giddens' 'dimensions of the duality of structure' is an important aspect of his thought, many IS studies have tended to focus almost exclusively on this model, in isolation from the broader canvas of his ideas. It is argued that such an approach offers an unbalanced and incomplete view of social interaction, which reflects neither organizational realities, nor Giddens' wider theoretical position. (3)

By focusing on the interplay of structural elements and an individual's platform-use, Orlikowski overlooks interaction and the individual's personal motivations (Thompson 2004) for using a specific technology in her model. This becomes evident when Giddens' model of the duality of structure and Orlikowski's model of Technologies-in-practice are presented next to each other (Figure 1):

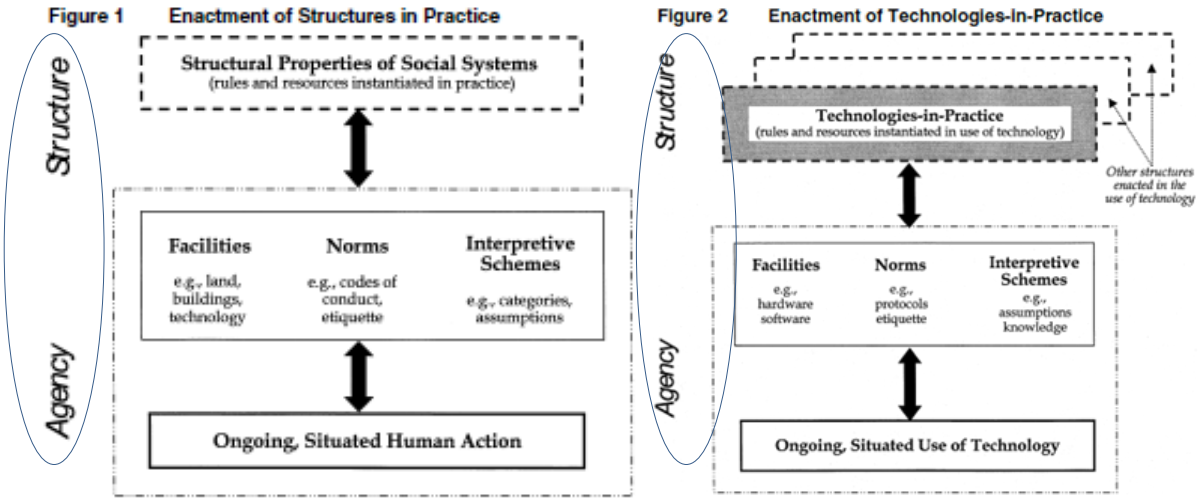

Figure 1: Comparison of The duality of structure vs. Technologies-in-Practice. **The model to the left is Orlikowski's (2000, 410) starting point, namely Giddens (1984) model of the 'Duality of structure' (that I will describe in the next section). To the right is her 'Technologies-in-practice' model (Orlikowski, 2000, 410). I have added the oval circles (around agency and structure) for analytical reasons which I will build on further in my proposal below and in this thesis. The figures are extracted from Orlikowski (2000:410).**

Orlikowski (2000) develops a version of Giddens' (Giddens 1984, 29) structuration theory to address technologies in organizations. However, the "tools mediate consultants' perceptions through interpretive schemes, norms, and resources, and the way in which the use of the tools reaffirms these modalities tends to *presume* motivated agents" (Thompson 2012, 192). Orlikowski never pursuits what might be the different personal motivation for *using* Lotus Notes among the individuals in her study. Moreover, she examined Notes in terms of employees work roles: "her resulting view of "human actors" in terms solely of their organizational 'roles' as "developers, users, and managers" leads to an underestimation of those other influences at

work which are bracketed out of Giddens' structurational model (Thompson 2004, 23-24). Nor does she analyze or discuss Lotus Notes

> (. . .) in any detail beyond referring to it as 'the technology' or 'Notes,' the functions of the applications. This is particularly upsetting considering that Lotus Notes is a versatile, flexible application level programming language (…) What is required, then, is a more detailed and fine-grained analysis of the many mechanisms, some technical and some not, which are employed in shaping social action. (Monteiro and Hanseth 1996, 329)

More specifically, Orlikowski (2000, 1992b) characterizes the individual's Lotus Notes use in her Zeta case in terms of a *structure with a learning orientation*. However, Notes made it possible to expand how the customer staff at Zeta already worked in that the platform offered opportunities to create better overview on history and status than before. Thus, Lotus made the Zeta customer support staff's work easier. Similarly, the Iris programmers moved their established working practices into Lotus Notes, making their daily work more effective, accessible, and easier. Orlikowski, however, explains this in terms of working in *a cooperative structure*. Furthermore, the technical Alpha consultants that worked with implementing Lotus to the organization used the platform in ways that expanded how they already worked; Orlikowski explains this with reference to *a structure of collective problem solving*. Also, the second sample of Alpha consultants used Lotus to expand how they already worked, making their own work more productive and easier. Yet, Orlikowski again explains this as a *structure of individual productivity*. The final sample in the Alpha case did not use Lotus, and Orlikowski points to personal *status and billable-hour structure* as key reasons. However, not using Lotus Notes cannot be explained with reference to a billable-hour structure where individual drivers trump collective ones, because *all* the other individuals in her three cases used Lotus Notes in ways that differed by degrees and expanded their established working practices, making them more effective.

Thus, the theoretical model she is setting up is the triangle 'man (agency) – machine (Lotus Notes) – structure', illustrated in the following figure (Figure 2):

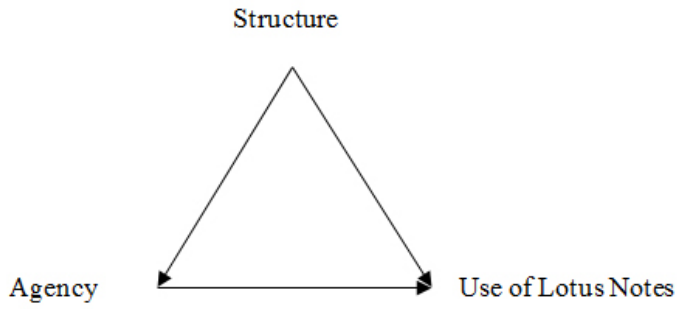

Figure 2: Orlikowski's (2000, 1992) focus on agency, structure and use of technology for working (Lotus Notes). **Elements in the social structure are enacted in her technologies-in-practice model.**

However, what she ignores is the mediating dimension of how agency and employee's use of technology for working is related to the employee's working tasks and practices, illustrated in the following figure (Figure 3):

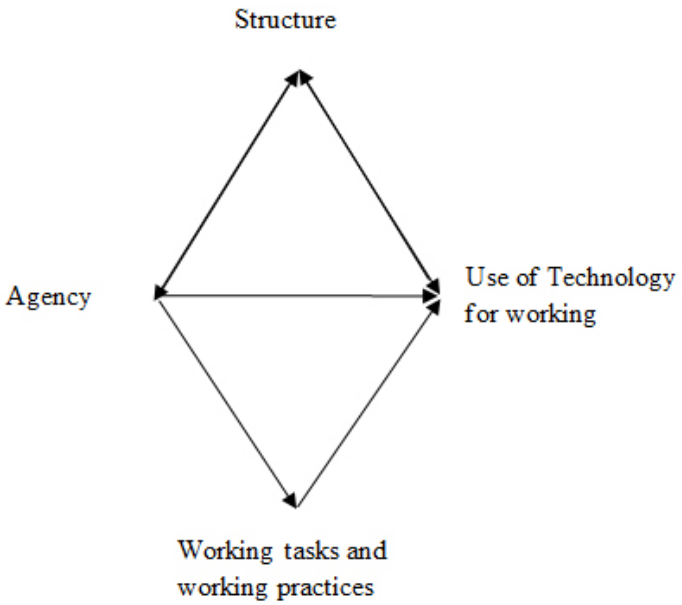

***Figure 3: The mediating correspondence that Orlikowski overlooks*. I suggest that Orlikowski's (2000, 1992) lack a key dimension in her study of Lotus Notes, namely the mediating correspondence of what the employee did for working and Lotus use**

One key reason for this, as I see it, is that Orlikowski does not take fully into consideration that some employees' working practices benefitted from what Notes enabled them to do, while for others, the software simply did not assist their working processes. One key reason for why Orlikowski overlooks these elements is that the model for her theory is a top-down approach colored by structuration theory's view of action as largely organized by institutions (Barley and Tolbert 1997). As said, Giddens' (1984) model of the duality of structure outlines the underlying logic, rules, and drivers present in social structures, yet says little about the subjective ballast that agents bring with them (Thompson 2012, 199). This is also a key limitation in Giddens' model of the duality of structure (Aaksvaag 2008) that Orlikowski develops further.

Orlikowski proposed a model to illustrate that technology does not embody predefined structures, because individuals use technology differently. In 2000, this view inverted the research orientation (Orlikowski 2000, 421), but now it is time to take the next theoretical step that adds complexity to previous models because work and technology have changed dramatically with time. In parallel, technologies have advanced. Technology has become a social, ubiquitous, and integrated part of our everyday lives (Khanna and Khanna 2012, Wellman and Haythornthwaite 2008) as the majority of us are connected to the Internet by mobile devices (Duggan and Smith 2013a, Smith 2014b), and it makes little sense to study one single platform or the man-machine relationship in isolation as Orlikowski (2000) or DeSanctis and Poole (1994) do. Thus, it makes less sense to study how a person uses Lotus Notes, a social enterprise platform, or Facebook without including dimensions of how the application is used for working in employees' everyday settings, characteristics of the work-problems the employee solves when working, the work context, who the user approaches and interacts with via technological platforms, and other technologies used for working.

More specifically, I suggest two theoretical advancements to the studies of technologies in the workplace: Firstly, we need to include the daily work of employees and include a close study of their working tasks. Secondly, we need to include other individuals in shared working contexts in our study of technologies for work purposes because, as shown, much work is closely related to other individuals (Orr 1996, Trygg 2014, Løwendahl 2005) where organizational boundaries have become blurred (Ailon 2007). As said, the practice field is a melting pot and no clear theoretical fundament is created to gather around. I choose to return to Giddens (1984, 1990) structuration theory and include elements left out of Giddens' model of the duality of structure (Giddens 1984, 29), but that he does address explicitly in his writings. Additionally, I add dimensions from his later work on modernity that surprisingly few scholars have employed. By using these unutilized gaps in structuration theory, it becomes possible to expand our analytical lens from the individual to individuals, to the highly sought interplay of working and interacting practices of social enterprise platforms. I will now present Giddens (1984) structuration theory.

Structuration Theory

It is often, mistakenly, stated in the literature that Giddens himself does not address technology—"Giddens does not explicitly address the issue of technology in his structuration paradigm" (Orlikowski 1992a, 405). Yet, a close reading of his work reveals that he mentions technology explicitly several times. As examples, he comments that co-presence—being together—is possible with electronic communication when people are talking together via the telephone (Giddens 1984, 68), when he explains his understanding of technology; "Technology does nothing, except as implicated in the actions of human beings" (Giddens and Pierson 1998, 82), when he speaks about Morse code (Giddens and Pierson 1998, 99), and when he discusses expert systems in modern society (Giddens 1990, 27). Technology to Giddens can only be understood in terms of the individual's actions (Giddens and Pierson 1998, 82).

Because of the high level of abstraction in structuration theory, characterized with concepts and theorizing from his agenda of uniting two schools of human thoughts, I will present the key concepts in the theory first individually, and briefly, for reader-friendly reasons before I discuss the theory in more detail.

Agency

Agency is the action of humans. Individuals, or agents in Giddens' and practice scholars' vocabulary, are knowledgeable beings characterized by three types of consciousness, inspired by Freud's concepts ego, super-ego, and id: discursive (things that can be articulated by the individual), practical (elements that are needed for participating in social life, yet not reflected upon because it is taken for granted), and unconscious motives/cognition (personality, a human's basic and instinctual drives) (Giddens 1984, 7). I use the term 'individuals' in preference to 'agents' or 'actors' in this thesis only for reader-friendly reasons to minimize the abstractness typical of practice theories. Thus, individuals as agents are reflective, knowledgeable, and highly autonomous.

Power

Power is a capability manifested in actions (Jones and Karsten 2008, 133) as normative sanctions and interpreted in communication (Giddens 1984, 29).

Social Structure

Social structure is comprised of rules (implicit or explicit formulas for action) and the resources (what agents themselves brings into this action as knowledge, abilities, etc.) that both enable and restrict an individual's actions (Giddens 1979, 69). Social structure consists of individuals' conscious actions, yet an individual's actions are restricted by the structure (i.e., the other individuals). This is labeled the duality of the structure. The duality of structure confirms established practices, yet opens the door for changes because individuals are knowledgeable. Mutual dependency stems from the fact that social structure and human agency are two sides of the same coin. Structure is a 'virtual order' in that it orients the conduct of individuals (Giddens 1984, 17). Structure to Giddens are rules (and resources) that, in social reproduction, 'bind' time' (Giddens 1979, 63). Structure "thus tends to include two elements, not clearly distinguished from one another: the *patterning of interaction*, as implying relations between actors or groups; and the *continuity of interaction* in time" (Little 2012). However, as said, the model of the duality of structure (Giddens 1984, 29) illustrates abstract dimensions that the individual navigates from and with. Other individuals are not present in this model, yet are in his texts.

Structuration

Individuals' actions occur within the contexts of existing social structures, governed by norms and rules distinct from those of other social structures. However, relations that take shape in a structure can exist "out of time and place" independent of the context in which they were created. For example, when meeting your manager in the grocery store, the same norms and codes of conduct at play in the working structure are drawn upon by the individual in the grocery store. Giddens labels this process 'structuration.' Giddens uses 'structuration' in preference to 'practice.' Yet, Whittington's definition corresponds well with Giddens' reasoning; practices are "shared routines of behavior, including traditions, norms, and procedures for working, thinking, acting, and using things." (Whittington 2006, 619), and I will use them interchangeably in this thesis.

Social Systems

System(s) consist of reproduced relations between actors or collectives. While social structures are made of time and space (ref. the grocery example above), social structure systems, on the contrary, are reproduced across time and space (Giddens 1984, 25).

Routines

Relationships that took shape in the past are confirmed in the duration of everyday activities and life. Daily routines are integral for individuals and structures, and individuals have a motivational commitment for routines which are not only founded in traditions or habits, but fundamental to the predictability of an individual's daily interactions with others who are physically co-present (Giddens 1984, 64). Giddens (1984) is critical of theories of codes, probably because of his rejection of structuralists' claims of symbols as structures having

embedded meanings outside the control of the individual. Giddens stresses that signs are different from symbols. He argues that signs only exist as the medium and outcome of communicative processes in interaction, and that it therefore always needs to be understood in its relation to domination and legitimation (as will be shown in his model at the end of this section). In this reasoning, Giddens is inspired by the late Wittgenstein (1972, 2000) and his theorizing of language-game. According to Wittgenstein, language is always tied to social practice, and thus, to routines. For example, when a mother points to a green apple and says 'green' to her young child, the child knows that 'green' is not another word for 'apple,' but rather denotes the color of that particular apple because of language-games. Language-games concern "language and the actions into which it is woven" and connected by family resemblance in Wittgenstein (2000) thinking.

'Routinization' is the "the habitual, taken-for-granted character of the vast bulk of the activities of day-to-day social life; the prevalence of familiar styles and forms of conduct, both supporting and supported by a sense of ontological security" (Giddens 1984, 376). Routines also play an important role in maintaining or reproducing social systems. Systems are maintained in two manners: social and system-mechanic-integration (28).

Social Integration
Social integration refers to reciprocity between actors in co-presence (face-to-face), and thus, in real-time.

System/mechanic Integration
System integration concerns reciprocity between actors who are physically absent in time or space. Reciprocity travels across time-space (co-presence) among those who are physically absent in time or space (co-presence).

Temporality and Spatiality
"Temporality is the state of existing within or having some relationship with time" (Oxford University 2014c). Giddens is drawing on the philosopher Heidegger (2011 [1927]) (Thompson 2004, 6) in his reasoning on temporality. Heidegger's term for the human existence—being—is *Dasein*, simplified as "being there." The human being is not an isolated subject distinct from objects, but inseparably and always in the world (Korab-Karpowicz). Structuration regards three types of temporality: durée (day-to-day life), dasein (presence) or the individual's life span, and longue durée-time (the existence of social institutions/systems). Durée-time is reversible because daily life has a flow, yet it does not lead to anywhere so 'time' in day-to-day life is constituted only in repetition (Giddens 1984, 35). Individuals' life spans, however, are irreversible and denote life's direction from birth to death. These two types of temporality intersect with each other, but they also interplay with the third type—longue durée of institutional time—which is also reversible. Giddens relates these types of temporalities to the individual's self-motivation; "The self cannot be understood outside 'history' – 'history' meaning, in this case, the temporality of human practices, expressed in the mutual interpolation of the three dimensions I have described" (Giddens 1984, 36).

As mentioned, social structure guides and limits individual's actions. By daily interaction are individuals socially integrated by reciprocity between actors in co-presence (place-time). Yet, social structure's rules have the ability to exist independent of the context in which they were created (e.g., the grocery example above) and can thus exist virtually "out of time and space" and are tied to system integration. For example, speaking on the telephone makes it possible to 'come together' as face-to-face interaction space provides, despite not being co-located. This is an important distinction, although he himself is vague on this point, because it reveals that 'place,' to Giddens, concerns co-presence and co-location, while 'space' concerns co-presence, regardless of geographical context.

Time-space

Time, following the reasoning of 'temporality' above, does not refer to clock time in structuration theory, but to co-presence, or real time (here and now). Time, thus, is inextricably related to both space (co-presence) and place (or context which is the term Giddens prefers), by being together and thus related to social integration, habits, and routines through everyday life, and to the human need for meaning and ontological safety. Giddens' understanding of 'space' builds further on the micro-sociologist Goffman's (2000 [1959]) work. 'Space' points to the importance of face-to-face interactions for meaningful and turn-taking conversations and social interactions that take place through everyday language. The number of people who can be part of face-to-face encounters is strictly limited (Giddens 1984, 67). Being together also enables the opportunity to signal to others when one chooses to withdraw from and to be absent in the conversation. Giddens (1984, 86) argues that face-work (social facial cues) is fundamental to social integration in time and space.

When people stand far from each other, they not only have to shout, but conversation partners also miss important facial expressions. 'Enclosure' refers to a group that withdraws when conversation partners talk privately in front of others. Unfocused attention happens when individuals are aware that others are present and listening, even those standing behind (72). This leaves diffuse cues to navigate interactions. All social interaction is situated in (tied to) time and space. Thus, co-presence is also possible with electronic communication, Giddens argues (68) as, for example, when people talk together via telephone. Because all social interaction is situated interaction (86), are response cues (how to respond) normative—dependent on the conversation rules in the specific context (76).

Place

'Place,' as ordinarily used by geographers, cannot be used "simply to designate a point in time as a succession of 'nows'" Giddens (1984, 118). 'Place(s)' are the physical settings of social activity as situated geographically, or 'locales.' This means the concept of presence—or, rather, the mutuality of presence and absence—must be understood in terms of spatiality as well as temporality**.** Spatiality, for example, provides settings for interaction by organizing rooms in a house. A room with no doors provides no opportunity to leave or enter. Thus, Giddens acknowledges that the physical world affects action; "You can't just walk straight through a wall" (Giddens and Pierson 1998, 82). Two concepts are related to contextual place: locale and presence availability that in turn are related to social integration and social systems.

Locales

However, place is not simply a 'point' in space, but closely related to its temporality (time) and spatiality (space) (Giddens 1984, 118). Giddens turns to the time-geographer Hägerstrand (1975, 1978) who studied everyday social practices and introduced the construct 'locales.' 'Locales' relates the individual and his/her mobility and communication to physical properties of the surrounding world. With movement in time comes movement in place. Thus, the individual's space for action is constrained by his or her 'interactionspace' (Figure 4):

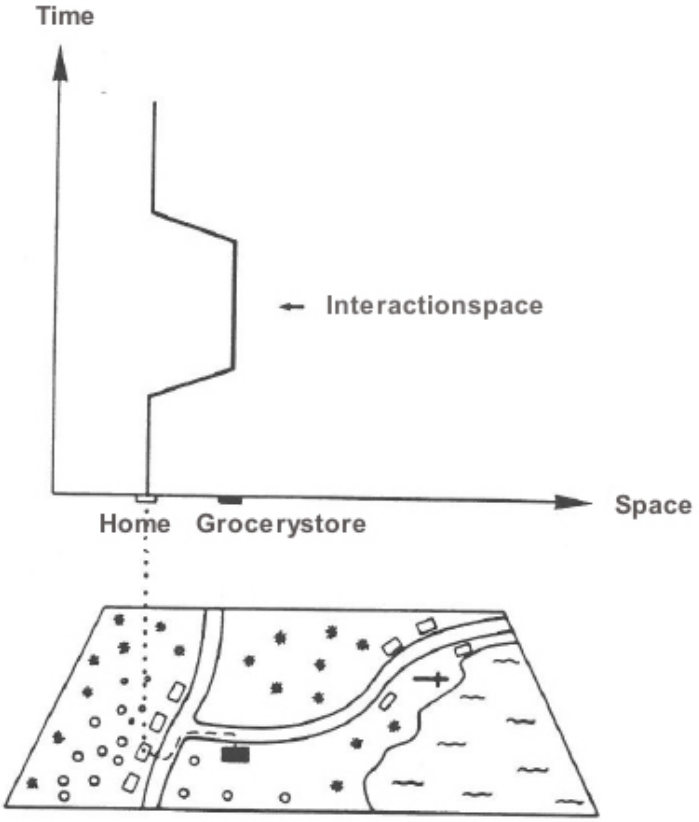

Figure 4: Interactionspace. The illustration exemplifies the project of going to the grocery store. The person's interactionspace illustrates in time and space where the person is located at each point in time. The dotted line at the map shows the movement from home to the grocery store. The figure is adapted from Ellegård (1990, 11, in Trygg (2014, 36). My translation

Giddens (1984, 117) stresses that this take from Hägerstrand is limiting, because all constraints are also opportunities for action. Locales then, in Giddens' vocabulary, refer to the use of space to provide the settings of interaction, which in turn is essential for contextuality (Giddens 1984, 118). For example, the rooms in a house or two streets that enable a street corner are internally organized as 'stopping places' with features in the settings that, in a routine manner, constitute meaningful interaction (119). A bus stop, for example, provides a physical space that people can enter when they are waiting for the bus. The creation of the bus stop demands individuals to 'come together' in co-presence (123).

However, locales need a fuller description, Giddens argues, and he introduces the concept 'regionalization' to capture his reasoning fully. What is needed is to include the notion of boundaries in the construct of 'regionalization,' which describes the form of the boundaries that

define a given region (Giddens 1984, 121). Most locales are separated by boundaries between regions by physical or symbolic markers such as emblems or entry signs.

For example, a room in a house or a street corner are both 'locales' which are internally regionalized, and these regions are of critical importance in constituting contexts of interactions (Giddens 1984, 118).

Presence Availability

The physical properties of the body and the context it moves in give social life a serial character, limiting the modes of access to 'absent' others across space. A street corner, for example, enables the opportunity to meet individuals passing by in real time, in co-presence (Giddens 1984, 118). Yet, logically, you will not meet people that are not passing by during your stay on the corner. Thus, who you meet relies on the presence or absence of others.

Types of Trust and Ontological Security

With trust and tact as basic properties, the rituals of day-to-day life are coping mechanisms for ontological security that assist people with meaning in their lives (Giddens 1991).

Giddens (1984) sees two categories of trust: personal and abstract systems. Face-to-face interactions or co-presence is key for the development of personal trust. Personal trust is the fabric of social activity and depends on certain specifiable connections between people and their day-to-day social contexts (Giddens 1984, 60). Trust, in regard to abstract or expert systems, is as described in the 'Expert system' section below, have individuals no other choice than trusting systems developed by experts. Lastly, Giddens points to basic trust in regard to personal identity in relation to building trust in others (ontological security) (Nandhakumar 2002). Predictable routines provide individuals with ontological security that underpins their personality (Jones and Karsten 2008). Anxiety, trust, and everyday routines of social interactions are closely bound up with one another, where the rituals of day-to-day life are coping mechanisms for ontological security that assist agents with meaning in their lives (Giddens 1991).

Modernity

Giddens argues that modern society "evolved due to an intensification of particular modes of thoughts and behavior, and the extension of the related institutions of the modern age" (Walsham 2001, 14). Thus, Giddens does not see modernity as an abrupt change from previous periods, a point he stresses by using the term "high modernity" (Walsham 2001, 14). Modern society has two key characteristics according to Giddens (1990): a time-space distantiation, and the disembedding of social relations from local contexts (Walsham 2001, 14).

Time-space distantiation

In traditional society, interaction between people is related to living close to each other. This is of key importance in the duree of everyday life and social integration. With modernity, however, the main keys for social interaction, meaning, and ontological security—typically present in village life in traditional society—are removed from being together face-to-face, in co-presence in a shared context, and without this local "protective cocoon" (Giddens 1990). With the

introduction of mass media and interactive media, time-space stretches further and further away and is no longer related to closeness (co-presence).

Modernity's disembedding mechanisms

With modernity follows two specific disembedding mechanisms: symbolic tokens and expert systems.

Symbolic token

Giddens identifies the abstract concept of money as an example of a symbolic token and notes its significance in the emergence of an international financial system (that is now critically dependent on IS for its operation). Symbolic token refers to "media of interchange that can be passed around without regard to the specific characteristics of individuals or groups that handle them at any particular juncture" (Giddens 1991, 22). For example, money, English as a common language (lingua franca), and the Internet where individuals' activities are moved to an abstract or online global space that once were embedded in particular places.

Expert systems

Expert systems are systems of technical or professional expertise (Giddens 1990, 27) that are not present in time and space. Giddens (1990) states that when entering a car, you enter:

> (. . .) settings which is permeated by expert knowledge, involving the design and construction of automobiles, highways, intersections, traffic lights and many other items. Everyone knows that driving a car is a dangerous activity, entailing the risk of accident (. . .) I have minimal knowledge of the technicalities of modes of road building, the maintaining of the road surfaces, or the computers which help control the movement of the traffic. When I park the car at the airport and board a plane, I enter other expert systems, of which my own technical knowledge is at best rudimentary. (Giddens 1990, 28)

Individuals in modern times have no other option than to trust these experts systems although they have no knowledge of how they operate.

Electronic Communication

With the advent of writing, information could be stored over time and new systems of power generated. Electronic communication alters the way people communicate with each other and how society is organized. Before the electronic communication of Morse code, people had to carry information from one point to another (Giddens and Pierson 1998, 99). Thus, with electronic communication, information could travel regardless of co-presence (time) and co-location (place).

Change

Giddens suggests that structures (traditions, institutions, moral codes, and other sets of expectations—established ways of doing things) are generally quite stable, but can be changed, especially through the unintended consequences of action, when people start to ignore them, replace them, or reproduce them differently. From the perspective of structuration theory, organizational change is a joint effect of the actions of individuals interacting with institutional

structures (e.g., business strategies, information systems, etc.) (Pozzebon and Pinsonneault 2001, 206).

Structuration Theory Summarized

Giddens model of the duality of structure is presented in Figure 5.

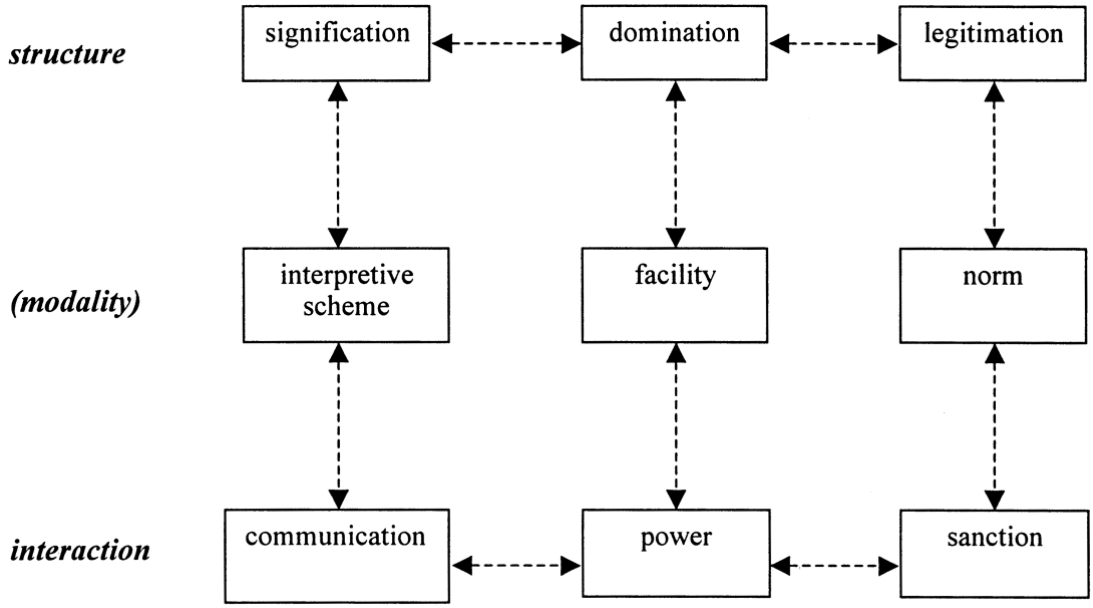

Figure 5: Giddens (1984:29) model of the duality of structure.

The duality of structure meet at the level of modality with regard to three dimensions of structure: while signification deals with meaning and thus language, domination deals with power, and legitimation deals with moral order as norms, standards, or rules (Larsson, 2012). This model describes the abstract and key drivers, or action formulas, for the individual, yet, as said, it says little about the key constructs in the theory that I presented in detail in this section. Thus, by only using this model and ignoring the other key dimensions in the theory, scholars risk obtaining an incomplete view of social interaction. According to Thompson (2004):

> Although Giddens' 'dimensions of the duality of structure' is an important aspect of his thought, many IS studies have tended to focus almost exclusively on this model, in isolation from the broader canvas of his ideas. It is argued that such an approach offers an unbalanced and incomplete view of social interaction, which reflects neither organizational realities, nor Giddens' wider theoretical position. (3)

This is, as said, valid also for Orlikowski, who develops her model of Technologies-in-practice from Giddens' model of the duality of social structure.

As said, Giddens developed structuration theory to unite two schools of thought in social theory. He solves the structure-actor dilemma by uniting the two as two sides of the same coin; structure and the individual are inextricably related (Aaksvaag 2008, 142). A key point in the theory is that individuals are reflexive beings that choose their actions. At the same time, individuals' actions are restricted by norms, values, and rules that social structure—other individuals—hold. For example, the individual is free to choose how to respond to others in a conversation, yet if

s/he violates the conversation norm the group holds, s/he will be sanctioned by the others (e.g., confronted or left out from the conversation). Norms are rules and conventions that constrain behavior and enable interaction between humans based on personal notions of what is sanctioned (Pozzebon and Pinsonneault 2001, 206). Giddens turn to Goffman (2000 [1959]) when he stresses that face-to-face communication (co-presence) are crucial for meaningful interaction and communication because it adds the social cues needed to establish meaning and reduces social distance among the conversation partners. Moreover, Giddens (1984) is inspired by the late Wittgenstein (1972) that states language is always tied to social practice, and thus, to the daily routines that socially integrates the individuals. Thus, the communication partners interpret the others interactions and communication by social cues and knowing what a word refer to (e.g. apple and not the color of that specific apple) which is a learnt practice.

In this sense, individuals' actions occur within the context of existing social structures, governed by norms and rules distinct from those of other social structures. Daily routines are integral for individuals and structures, and individuals have a motivational commitment for routines, which are founded in traditions or habits, and fundamental to the predictability of individuals' daily interactions with others who are physically, co-present (Giddens 1984, 64). Reciprocity in social relationships travels across time-space among those who are physically absent in time or space, and social structure is therefore not empirically grounded (Aaksvaag 2008). Thus, relations that take shape in a particular structure can exist "out of time and space" independent of the context in which they were created, a process that Giddens labels structuration. For example, when meeting your manager in the grocery store, the same norms and codes of conduct at play in the working structure apply. There are not any predefined or given elements in the grocery store (e.g., a line only for managers or the specific white collar dress your boss was wearing) that could explain why you greet your boss in the store as you do at work. In other terms, there is nothing in the material world (the store) that embodies a prescribed set of rules for how you should respond. The norm and rules for how you address your boss are created by you at work, and these rules travel across 'time and place'—come into play regardless of the context they were created (the work place).

Similarly, in regard to any object or technological platform, there are no predefined and hidden rules that you need to decode or interpret in a prescribed manner because you create these rules in relation to other individuals. Giddens describes structuration theory as ontological rather than epistemological (1984, xx) because people are reflexive beings. From this follows that the social science cannot be built on the same principles as the natural science because there are no universal laws in society (Giddens 1984). Thus, any object will have different meanings to different people, and things will therefore also be used in different manners. Similarly, online spaces or technological platforms do not provide universal norms that are valid for everyone.

However, Giddens concept of social structure does not capture the limitations set by the physical world, which is a weakness of the theory (Aaksvaag 2008, 140), despite that Giddens does acknowledge that the physical world affects action by stating "You can't just walk straight through a wall" (Giddens and Pierson 1998, 82). To better cope with this weakness, Giddens develops the construct of social system, which denotes the empirically observable patterns

created when certain interaction patterns become standardized and are recursively repeated across time and space (Aaksvaag 2008, 140). These system(s) consist of reproduced relations between actors or collectives. While social structures are made of time and space, social structure systems are instead reproduced across time and space (Giddens 1984, 25). Routines play an important role in maintaining or reproducing social systems, either as a form of social integration (i.e. reciprocity between actors in the context of co-presence (face-to-face) and thus in real time) or as system integration (i.e. reciprocity between actors who are physically absent in time or space). Giddens argues that social interactions are necessarily situated in a co-presence (i.e. being together). Modernity's disembedding characteristics result in relationships being increasingly stretched away from its original context and from the protective cocoon of being in a co-presence (Giddens 1990). This has implications for individuals' feelings of ontological security and safety. However, Giddens also states that co-presence is able to be achieved not only by being physically together, but also possible by using ICT that creates intimacy (e.g. the telephone). In this lies a paradox, because the importance of physical place does not matter in regard to structuration processes (e.g. the conversation rules when meeting a manager in a context outside the work place). Rules in a social relationship that once were created in a co-presence are being applied regardless of the physical place. However, following the logic of structuration, the same conversation rules should be implied when meeting your manager in an online/virtual space that enables co-presence (e.g. talking on the telephone). Giddens' thoughts about place; time-space; routines; co-presence; social and mechanical integration; and social systems and modernity's disembedding mechanisms are all elements that are not captured by his model of 'the duality of social structure.' The model only describes the dual relationship between the individual and the social structure.

Structuration theory's definition of social structure as both the medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices differs from other theories. For example, institutional theory focuses on organizing rather than on structure (Weick, 1995). Institutional theory uses the construct 'enactment' to describe how people's actions bring structures and events into existence and sets them in action, confirming the essential recursiveness of social life as constituted in social practices. In institutional theory, the institution sets bounds on rationality by restricting the perceived opportunities, and where Weick turns to social psychological explanations, Giddens turns to interpretive schemes, manifested in the agent's unconscious (Barley and Tolbert, 1997). In the reasoning of both, action is largely organized by institutions (Barley and Tolbert, 1997), in that the theory outlines the underlying logic, rules, and drivers present in social structures, yet says little about the subjective ballast agents bring with them (Thompson 2012, 199). I will in this thesis use both the constructs 'enactment' and 'social structure'.

Before I present my theoretical departure, I will present some key insights from the literature regarding virtuality. Giddens' theories on time-space-place are important constructs in the analysis of my findings in regard to my second research question that examines employees interacting practices across offline and online work settings.

Virtuality

The concept ‘virtual reality’ derives from computer science, and was first used to denote simulations or imitations of things and actions. “A virtual reality is a three-dimensional, computer-created, simulated space, rendered in real time based on the user’s movements and the perspectives” [my translation] (Loeffler and Anderson 1994, 13). Different from two-dimensional media (e.g., film), virtual reality is not static but experienced and created in real time. Thus, a digital or virtual space replaces physical place, yet the time aspect is the same—interactions are done mainly in real time. Despite that the term is used today to signify real events; there is still a tendency to think of virtual as less real than reality itself (e.g. media richness theory (Wu et al. 2008)).

‘Virtual,’ in the management literature, is described in a variety of manners (Watson-Manheim, Chudoba, and Crowston 2002), and denoted by a number of different work environments, yet the most highlighted characteristic of ‘virtual’ is spatial differentiation (Jensen et al. 2009, 102): the opportunity to work regardless of time and geographical place. Watson-Manheim, Chudoba, and Crowston (2002) observed that ‘virtual’ is discussed in the literature in terms of discontinuity. Discontinuities are gaps or lack of coherence in aspects of work, such as work settings, tasks, and relations with other workers and managers. Discontinuities come in two forms, they argue, as temporal (breaks in logical successions, e.g., when a consultant moves from one project to another), or as cross-sectional (lack of coherence in an individual’s work, as when one reports to different managers about different tasks, e.g., workers working with tasks that are outsourced from others located elsewhere, yet have a manager in co-presence). Within this framework is a virtual worker with discontinuous organizational affiliation, work group membership, or physical or temporal locations (Watson-Manheim, Chudoba, and Crowston 2002, 194).

Social enterprise platforms in organizations are sought used by employees regardless of the location of their department or entity and regardless of clock-time. Because the platform is stored online in the cloud, it is accessible regardless of time and place (i.e., you can log on to a Facebook account from anywhere with an Internet connection). The coordination problem with virtual teams or workers is well known from the literature, with numerous studies showing that distant others fail to coordinate, and communication is characterized with misunderstandings, “incomplete messages,” and conflict (Bailey, Leonardi, and Barley 2012).

Distinctions of work from everyday life are observed in terminology in the public discourse regarding work-place (spatiality) and work-time (temporality) (e.g., home office or home work, telework, working long hours, work-life balance, overtime). Flexible work designs enable the opportunity to work in ways not framed in how work has traditionally been organized: entering and leaving the work place, beginning and ending the work time. It is argued these changes have been possible due to advancement in information communication technology (Halford 2005, Orlikowski and Yates 2002). Changes in technology advancement are typically used as explanations for changes in the work place. However, it could equally be that the nature in work and thus working practices has changed. Western society has undergone a variety of changes over the past hundred years, and the service sector now generates more wealth than the

manufacturing sector of the economy (Dekas et al. 2013). Ten years ago, seventy-two percent of the US work force was employed in some form of white-collar or service work (an increase of 28 percent since 1940) (Barley 1996a, 406). Interpersonal skills and the ability to collaborate in distributed, cross-functional teams appear to be more important than in the past (Barley and Kunda 2001). A key dimension in social interaction is reciprocity and social trust. This suggests that changes in the nature of doing work bring dimensions we tend to explain with advancement in technological development (i.e., the ability to work regardless of time and place).

Spatiality-place

Olson and Olson (2000) are skeptical of technology's potential to replace face-to-face interaction. Co-location, they argue, provides spatiality of human interaction and access to shared spaces for group interaction (e.g., meeting rooms, the coffee machine, etc.). Olson and Olson (2000) find in their study of employees working in an automobile company, located in three different geographical contexts, that employees preferred face-to-face interactions with an overview of the context versus communicating via telecommunication (video and/or audio meetings) (153). They also explain that technology used for communicating with others located elsewhere was of very low quality (poor sound and picture quality, technical problems, time lag, etc.) (154), therefore, their findings could be biased due to this. Veinott et al. (1999), however, found that people speaking English as their second language performed significantly better when they had video compared to only audio. The spoken word was understood better when visual gestures could be added. Effective communication requires that communication partners have some level of common ground (Clark 1996). Such common ground, or shared practices and social cues, as Giddens would have put it, helps the individual to immediately understand. Participants in conversations usually establish common ground on the fly, based on the cues available at the moment (Olson and Olson 2000, 157). Interestingly, Olson and Olson (2000) found that people who had a well-established common ground communicated well even with poor media (161). This corresponds well with Giddens' concepts of rules and norms existing out of the time and place in which they were created, and suggests that space (co-presence) can be "bridged" or expanded by certain types of communication technology. Giddens himself mentions telephone conversations as an example to this (Giddens 1984, 68). Nandhakumar (2002), one of the very few that has used Giddens' ideas of modernity on ICT, finds in his study of virtual teamwork in the multinational work place that hierarchical status was reproduced in communication in virtual spaces. The abstract systems (ICT) did not provide emotional satisfaction to people who responded to this by trying to create trust relationships through face-to-face encounters (Nandhakumar 2002, 52). They needed to build working relationships in the conventional way before virtual teamwork, explaining that "until we have a real good drink and a good meal and good social chat at length we are not going to be a 'real team'. . .we can then use the technology to maintain it [the relationship]" (Nandhakumar 2002, 52).

Interestingly, Rocco et al. (2001) found that if strangers who normally communicate only through email gather for a team building exercise prior to work, they outperform strangers who have no prior meeting. Furthermore, they do as well as groups who meet face-to-face throughout work (In Zheng et al. 2002, 141). Zheng et al. (2002) pursued this finding in a study

where they tested the correlation between different features in communication media and development of social trust on 200 undergraduate and graduate students. Although one limitation in their study was that the sample was drawn from the same place (University), therefore the students were "similar" in many ways (e.g., student-role, speak the same language, come from the same place or country), their study of the relationships between interactivity, visual presentation, and personal information with the development of social trust offers some important insights.

Their results clearly show that people who text-chatted benefitted from various kinds of prior activity that focused on social/personal information. "It appears from the analysis of the various pertinent features in these media conditions, that seeing the partner (even a still photo) is very effective by itself, independent of whether personal information is explicitly disclosed or there is any attention paid (by being interactive rather than static)" (Zheng et al. 2002, 145). Trust was found to be highest when people had met first, but engaging in a text chat beforehand about social things, a "getting acquainted" session was nearly as good in establishing trust (145). Having a photograph was also found to be effective, nearly as strong as the social chat or meeting in person. Having a static photograph of the partner was found to be effective in establishing trust, whereas a text-based, static information sheet of personal information was not. The personal dimension in the development of trust and social relationships is clearly important. Establishment of 'trust without touch' stands in opposition to Giddens (1984) theorizing that stresses the importance of co-presence to create trustful relationships. Co-presence implies being bodily in the same context.

Temporality-time

Most research has focused on the spatial aspect of mobility in communication technologies, yet "collapse of space is bound to have implications on the existing temporal boundaries" (Prasopoulou, Pouloudi, and Panteli 2006, 277). Prasopoulou, Pouloudi, and Panteli (2006) found in their study of mobile communication that by answering work-related phone calls during their private time, employees began to have a sense of long working hours even when they were away from the office. Gradually, employees allowed work to invade their private time (280), and people became accessible to colleagues who were previously distant in social terms as far as not calling on the landline number in the evening (281). Work phones were prioritized to be answered in preference to friends' calls, and although many felt this frustrating, they chose not to turn off the phones. After intensive work periods, many of the respondents became aware of the temporal boundaries in work and non-work and developed strategies to protect their time (282). Two strategies for dealing with temporal boundaries in work have been identified (Perlow 1999): a segmenting strategy (physically separate work and non-work life) and an integrating strategy (intertwining work and non-work activities and the absence of definite boundaries between the two spheres) (Prasopoulou, Pouloudi, and Panteli 2006, 282). Phones are found to transcend social distance, and Prasopoulou, Pouloudi, and Panteli (2006) found that by choosing not to turn the mobile phone off, the restructuring of temporal boundaries between private and work time and mobile phones changed temporal order (281).

The tendency for work practices to require social interaction and the expectation that technology enables work to be done regardless of time and place challenges Giddens (1990) theorizing of modern society, which he argues is characterized by a time-space distantiation and the disembedding of social relations from local contexts (Walsham 2001, 14).

Research Agendas in Future Structurational Research

Jones and Karsten (2008) criticize many IS scholars using structuration theory as a general starting point with only a "few exceptions that engage more closely with more than a few features of Giddens' work" (144). Studies that employ other parts of Giddens' work, which has been under-explored, such as "the ongoing (re)production of structure and ongoing ontological security (as contributors to "resistance" to change) and recognition and investigation of unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences (that designers or implementers may not have considered in their plans) may provide insights on why information systems projects often fail to achieve the benefits expected from them" (Jones and Karsten 2008, 149). Moreover, Giddens' work on modernity raises a number of themes that are underexplored in research and that would be highly valuable to study (Jones and Karsten 2008, 133). Jones and Karsten (2008, 148) point to a substantial agenda to be pursued in future structurational research:

> (. . .) studies that build on rather than repeat earlier research, studies that seek to explore structuration in more depth, studies that address aspects of Giddens's work that have been mostly neglected in information system research, studies that address structurational processes in broader contexts than just the specific organizational setting. (148)

Giddens' ideas to place and time rely on being together in co-presence and in co-location, where working practices are routinely integrated by individuals' day-to-day interactions. However, systems' mechanic integration concerns reciprocity between actors who are physically absent in time or space, suggesting that relations, once established, are integrated despite not being in co-presence and thus having a 'virtual order.' This is also observed by Jones and Karsten (2008):

> From an IS perspective, these concepts [social and system integration] would seem particularly significant in view of the role of information technology in the changing temporal and spatial character of modern organizations. Interestingly, this is recognized by Giddens in one of the very few references to information technology in his structurational writings, where he notes that 'mediated contacts that permit some of the intimacies of co-presence are made possible in the modern era by electronic communication' (Giddens 1984, 68). This suggests, therefore, that IS may facilitate social integration without co-presence. (133)

In Giddens' work about modernity (1990a), he discusses how social relations are disembedded in modern societies—'lifted out' from local contexts of interaction and restructured across indefinite spans of time-space (21). He also refers to two specific disembedding mechanisms: symbolic tokens and expert systems, in which IS may be implicated.

My Theoretical Departure and Contribution

My thesis addresses the abovementioned gaps related to exploration of the structuration process concerning social relations across time, space, and place (the link between offline and online interactions in the enterprise platform) in-depth, employing parts of the theory which have been largely under-studied, more specifically the concepts of time, place and space, and the unintended consequences of online, virtual social enterprise platforms. This thesis also addresses the call for studies of the link between offline (contextual) and online (virtual) interaction in the workplace (Subrahmanyam et al. 2008).

As mentioned when I discussed IS versions of structuration theory (e.g., Orlikowski (2000)), their main focus is directed to individuals interacting *with* materiality or technology. I, however, turn my attention to how individuals work and interact with each other and how these working and interaction practices are enacted *via* (or due to) materiality. Thus, rather than directing my focus on one specific platform—the social enterprise platform—and study user patterns with reference to structural norms and rules as Orlikowski (2000, 1992b) did, I take a step back and direct my focus on employees' daily work and the context in which social enterprise platforms are used—the workplace. If we want to study social change, or the lack of it, we need to begin with agency (Lauring 2013). This makes it possible to study how working practices interplay with the social enterprise platform. Hence, I return to Giddens (1984) structuration theory and to his discussions about modernity (Giddens 1990, Giddens and Pierson 1998), and I add an empirical dimension of working and interacting practices to the duality of structure in Figure 6.

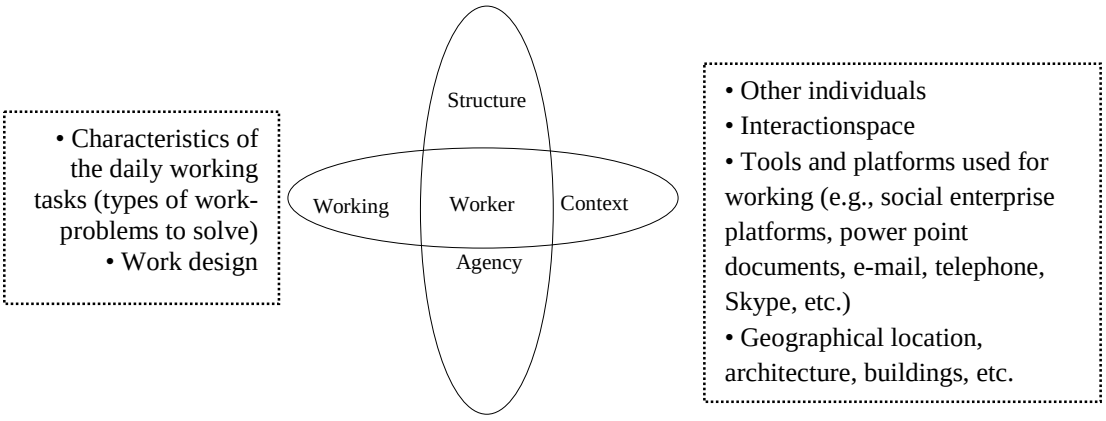

Figure 6: My theoretical departure. My theoretical proposal adds a dimension to Giddens' (1984, 29) 'duality of the social structure': what the employee's daily working task is like on one side (left wing in the framework) and the physical context for daily problem-solving with others on the right (right wing in the framework).

The elements in the framework have the following characteristics:

Agency and Structure: 'Agency' and 'structure' are dual and follows Giddens' (1984) model and theorizing that individuals are knowledgeable and reflexive in their actions, yet restricted by the shared rules, values, and norms in their everyday life in the social structure. Norms are rules and conventions that constrain behavior and enable interaction between humans based on

personal notions of what is sanctioned (Pozzebon and Pinsonneault 2001, 206). Power and hierarchical differences are implicated in the actions of human beings. The duality of structure meets at the level of modality with regard to three dimensions: signification deals with meaning and thus language, domination deals with power, and legitimation deals with moral order as norms, standards, or rules. Everyday practices are shared routines, traditions, norms and procedures for working, thinking, acting and using things (Whittington 2006).

Worker: The framework proposes a bottom-up approach from the perspective of the individual, the 'worker,' in the center of the horizontal dimension in the framework. The worker is also placed in the vertical center, tied to the modalities of interpretation, "power-premises" (facility), and normative sanctions in the duality of social structure.

Working: The left wing in the framework denotes workers' daily working practices, or the degree of complexity in what s/he does for work (e.g., answering clients at a call center, implementing document management systems to an organization, risk analysis, programming, etc.). Work design is how jobs, tasks, and roles are structured, enacted, and modified, as well as the impact of these structures, enactments, and modifications on individual, group, and organizational outcomes (Grant and Parker 2009). Work is the process of completing tasks and is, most often, measured by the clock (Kjaerulff 2010), in addition to being conducted in terms of economic exchange between employee and employer (Giddens, Duneier, and Appelbaum 2012). Working is the dynamic process of doing work.

Context: The right wing in the framework denotes the physical context in which daily work takes place. The connection between working and context is processual and dual. Interacting with other workers is part of contextual practices and these others are located in a shared context (e.g., when other colleagues are working in joint projects, the worker might ask questions on the fly if needed, or consultants approaching other workers they work closely with on a shared project). Social interactions are engaging and meaningful communicative actions between two or more individuals. Social interactions are always situated interaction (Goffman 2000 [1959], Giddens 1984) and form the basis of social relations. Similarly, technologies the worker uses for working purposes (e.g., document management systems), written material (e.g., yellow sticky notes or reports), landline phones, and others are represented in the right wing in the framework. The social enterprise platform is explicitly listed since I will examine in particular how it corresponds with the daily work of employees. As stated earlier, I define technology as physical and/or digital materials or computer systems that are inextricably related to the individual who is using these (Giddens and Pierson 1998, 82) because the social and the material are inextricably related (Suchman 1987, Orlikowski 2007, 1437). Thus, technology is related to other individuals that are needed for doing work and the interaction-patterns that evolve across platforms and formats. Technological systems are thus the scene or stage where the individual's interactions unfold. 'Technology' from this perspective is processual and created by the individuals' actions. Technological platforms the employees use for working and how the platforms are used are likely to differ from employee to employee, depending on the work tasks of the employee, local practices in the social structure, and other individuals.

The framework proposes a bottom-up approach when studying technologies the organization's members should use during their workdays. The empirical dimension makes it possible to closely study the social enterprise platform—or any other new technological platform used by employees in the work place—from the perspective of the employee and how the new platform interplays with employees' established working and interacting practices and their daily work in which new technology typically seeks to capitalize. With the introduction of this empirical dimension, I pursue structuration theory's concepts of 'time,' 'space,' and 'place' by examining the context in which employees spend their daily work, what they do for working, and their working practices, which will assist me in answering my first research question: *How do consultants' working practices interplay with the company's social enterprise platform?*
The insights I get from answering my first research question enable me to examine my findings and analyze them closely with employees interaction practices in their offline working contexts and their online interaction practices, where Giddens' concepts of social and mechanical integration will be elaborated by answering my second research question: *How do consultants' working practices in contextual offline settings interplay with their interaction practices online?*

My insights will add into Giddens' theorizing of trust and ontological security in modern society when relations are "lifted out" and disembedded in the enterprise platform, and the unintended consequences with social enterprise platforms that Jones and Karsten (2008) call for as urgent for IS-designers, -developers, and -implementers.

One contribution of my theoretical approach is its acknowledgement of 'work' as processual and conducted in close interaction with other workers (Orr 1996, Yanow 2006, Brinkley 2009, Løwendahl 2005). In this respect, this study contributes to the practice turn in strategic management (Whittington 2006). A second contribution is that by starting inductively with the individual, it is possible to follow interaction and work problem solving tendencies among individuals in exploratory manners across offline places (context/place) and online (virtual) spaces, through a number of technological devices and platforms, a number of different internal organizational structures, yet also across the organization's borders, which Whittington (2006) calls for. A practice approach enables me to do this, because my attention is not limited to employees' use of one specific technology—the social enterprise platform—or a specific communication device, but to employees' working practices and their interaction patterns (or the lack thereof) that emerge across a variety of technological platforms. My third contribution is that I use parts of structuration theory that are more aligned with the time we live in, where technology is an integrated part of individuals' workdays and lives and their social interactions. By employing parts of the theory that discuss place, space and time, and modernity, which are constructs that very few IS scholars to date have employed (Jones and Karsten 2008), I contribute to the literature by opening a new dimension to practice studies of technologies in the work place.

My research questions and theoretical departure require a robust research design where the monograph is the most proper format to employ in this thesis. Before presenting my research design and methodological tools, I will end this chapter with a brief section on the critics of structuration theory.

Critics of the Structurational Approach

Some critics have argued that structuration theory black-boxes social mechanics and leaves little analytic and concrete assistance of understanding of what is going on 'beneath the blanket' (Archer 1996). Archer claim describing structure in terms of an individual's actions is problematic, and argues that the theory faces the difficulty of being applied empirically (Archer 1995). Others have suggested that the theory should be understood as a way of thinking of the world, and Giddens himself (Giddens and Pierson 1998) acknowledges that the theory is philosophically oriented. The theory has also been criticized for its inability to explain historical change (Naidoo 2008). Giddens says change can only be unintended because of habits, routines, and memory traces (what people know). Monteiro and Hanseth (1996) criticize the theory for not being able to study the relationship between people and technology, which is problematic for IS studies. They justifiably criticize organizational scholars studying technology using structuration theory for lacking detailed descriptions of the technologies that are being studied. Monteiro and Hanseth (1996) state:

> What is required, then, is a more detailed and fine-grained analysis of the many mechanisms, some technical and some not, which are employed in shaping social action. We are not claiming that structuration theory cannot deliver this (. . .). But we suggest that most studies conducted so far (. . .) are lacking in describing, with a satisfactory level of precision, how specific elements and function of an IS relate to organizational issues. (Monteiro and Hanseth 1996, 329)

Because of this, Monteiro and Hanseth (1996) turn to the framework offered by ANT. Another option, that I choose, is to employ structuration theory and provide the details and fine-grained analysis that Monteiro and Hanseth (1996) call for. The next chapter is therefore dedicated to provide such fine-grained analysis of social enterprise platforms.

Chapter 3: Social Enterprise Platforms

> *Groupware like Lotus Notes, NCR's Cooperation, and Digital Equipment's TeamLinks are excellent examples of less structured information-sharing technologies. This new technology allows teams in different locations to share documents electronically, to discuss issues on-line, and to capture and distribute key information easily (Davenport 1994, 130).*

Introduction

Since social enterprise platforms provide one of the settings studied in this thesis, a close description of these platforms' key characteristics and how they differ from previous knowledge management systems is needed. Scholars who study technology in organizations are criticized for not describing the platforms they study (Leonardi and Kallinikos 2012, 2, Monteiro and Hanseth 1996). Less than five percent of all articles in top American management and organization studies journals are found to consider the role and influence of technology directly (Orlikowski and Scott 2008a).

This chapter begins by presenting the key differences between knowledge management and social enterprise systems. After this I will discuss social enterprise platforms' following key characteristics each in turn: (1) the semantic web (information and content is automatically directed to the user based on the user's previous user-history in contrast to previous versions of the web where the user approached information), (2) a social information architecture (how information is structured in the platform), (3) algorithms (what the user sees/gets of information is based on the user's interaction and the given time the user drops by (e.g., the wall at Facebook), (4) big data (large datasets with detailed information of users interactions (e.g., what s/he has clicked on, commented, or liked) and (5) the 'Like' functionality (that denotes the functionality seeking to stimulate social, informal, and personal motivation by liking (), enjoying, and recommending content).

Knowledge Management Systems

While knowledge management denotes managerial and organizational initiatives, knowledge management systems were "developed to support and enhance the organizational knowledge processes of knowledge creation, storage, retrieval, transfer, and application" (Alavi and Leidner 2001, 114). Broadly speaking, KM systems refer to computer systems that enable collaboration and co-creation between individuals through technological features such as wikis, discussion forums, shared virtual spaces, document repositories, and more. There are several different types of KM systems: expert systems, groupware, document management systems, decision support systems, database management systems (Alavi and Leidner 2001), or simulation systems (Gupta and Sharma 2004). The very definition of groupware depends on how the organization moulds it to the specific context, when the matching of the artefact and the multiform practices of the actor involved takes place (Walsham 2001, 103)

The first KM systems were different types of groupware introduced in the eighties (Davenport 1994). Lotus Notes 1.0 was released in 1989 and kicked off the concept of groupware: networked collaboration, messaging, group scheduling, centralized contacts, and organized libraries of documents (McLean 2007) (Illustration 1):

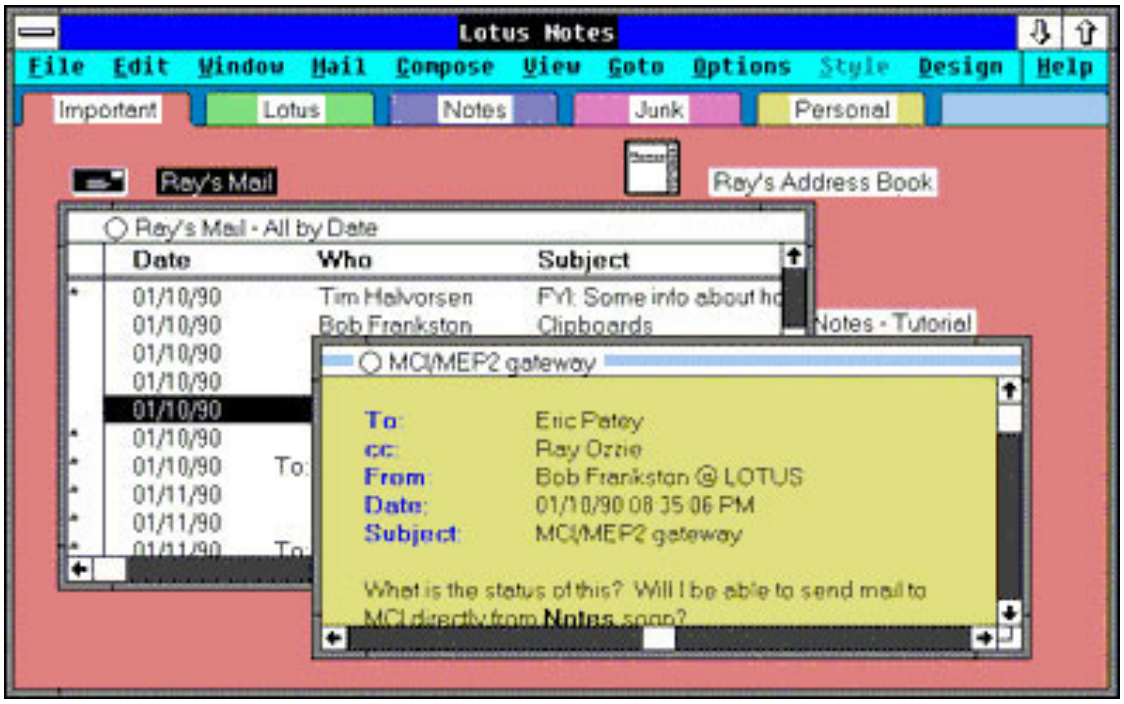

Illustration 1: Lotus Notes 1.0. The first groupware Lotus Notes 1.0 was released in 1989. Screen shot from McLean (2007).

Lotus Notes worked as a system of building blocks for creating integrated, custom corporate applications (McLean 2007). Groupware provided virtual, online spaces where several individuals could interact in opposition to the one-to-one electronic communication (e.g., email, telephone). Davenport (1994) noted in 1994 that Groupware, as for example Lotus Notes, had the opportunity to allow teams in different locations to share documents electronically, to discuss issues on-line, and to capture and distribute key information easily. (130). Interestingly, the opportunity to interact in a shared space regardless of time and place highlighted by Davenport twenty years ago is, in many ways, echoed today in descriptions of the potential of social enterprise platforms. This questions whether the theoretical differences between KM systems and social enterprise systems are as substantial as often presented, in that KM initiatives sought to connect "people so they could think together' (McDermott 1999, 104).

Knowledge management systems are often spoken of as systems in the past (e.g., (McAfee 2009), but these platforms are by no means dead, and scholars today study the overlapping field of knowledge management systems and social media or platforms, still often using Nonaka's (1995, 1994) knowledge creation theory (e.g. Wagner, Vollmar, and Wagner (2014), Ray (2014)).

Social Enterprise Platforms

Parallel to the development of the World Wide Web and advancement in technology, were KM tools adding increasingly more social layers (openings for social interaction with content (e.g., share, "like," comment, etc.) to the technologies, making it difficult to set a clear cut border between KM technologies and newer social technologies or platforms in organizations because the functionality in later KM systems and social platforms largely overlaps. In later versions, KM tools included a social layer, labeled social KM (Gurteen 2012), Enterprise 2.0 (McAfee 2010, Cook 2008), or social enterprise media (Leonardi, Huysman, and Steinfield 2013). Common to these systems are collaborative or cooperative[4] technologies, denoting interactions among users and not one-way actions in databases or information search. Thus, a key point is the aspect of individuals interacting or collaborating with each other, (e.g., providing answers or comments to others' questions or calls for help, sharing insights that could be in the interest of others, and creating discussions with several partners.

Another key point is that these platforms are mainly, although features as online chats and video conversations, asynchronous media, based on the written word where questions, discussions, sharing, feedback, and comments make it possible to study the text comprehensively before replying because it is not tied to time and place, as, for example, oral conversations done face-to-face or via telephone. Moreover, a characteristic of social software is that it should be simple to use with neither major technical impediments nor a steep learning curve (Schiltz, Truyen, and Coppens 2007). Social software, thus, differs tremendously from the first knowledge management systems in its usability.

McAfee (2009) coined the concept of Enterprise 2.0 in 2005, defining the concept as; "the use of emergent social software platforms by organizations in pursuit of their goals (…). Enterprise 2.0, then, is about how organizations use the newly available ESSP's [emergent social software platforms] to do their work better" (McAfee 2009, 73). However, this definition says little about how the software can reach organizational goals. Leonardi, Huysman, and Steinfield (2013) define enterprise social media as:

> Web-based platforms that allow workers to (1) communicate messages with specific coworkers or broadcast messages to everyone in the organization; (2) explicitly indicate or implicitly reveal particular coworkers as communication partners; (3) post, edit, and sort text and files linked to themselves or others; and (4) view the messages, connections, text, and files communicated, posted, edited, and sorted by anyone else in the organization at any time of their choosing. (2)

Both McAfee (2009) and Leonardi, Huysman, and Steinfield (2013) point to technical features in their definitions. None of them include workers intended to make use of the platforms, how workers will benefit from using them, and the contexts in which the platforms are intended to be used. Because of this shortage, reminds their definition of the knowledge management thesis

[4] Termed 'samhandlingsteknologi' in Norwegian.

that was “strong on optimism and normative prescription, while weak on power and agency” (Thompson 2005, 170).

What is lacking in McAfee (2009) and Leonardi, Huysman, and Steinfield (2013) definitions, because social software integrates various aspects of group interaction (different types of online interaction and different modes of communication) (Schiltz, Truyen, and Coppens 2007, 98), is the core idea in social network sites, namely the opportunity to “support users’ ability to form and maintain a wide network of social connections” (Ellison, Steinfield, and Lampe 2011, 3). The opportunity to form and maintain social connections can be useful and helpful for employees in their daily work by communicating and interacting with other knowledgeable colleagues. Social network sites allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system (Ellison 2007, 211).

In addition to technical differences in knowledge management systems and social enterprise platforms, is the underlying reasoning in both that these platforms enables organizations to manage and/or facilitate employees’ knowledge. However, the definitions of enterprise media should, I argue, implement the notion of a user’s profile and social relationships which are included in the definitions of social network sites, as the common shorthand description of enterprise platforms is often “Facebook at work” because the software mimics some core functions found in social network sites (e.g., Facebook), while adding features specific to use within a business (e.g., share an idea, vote for an idea, etc.) (Carr 2012).

Because social media technologies are modeled[5] on the concept of establishing connections—social relationships—between individuals and to grow a network of connections (Ellison 2007, 191), they rely on the theoretical concepts ‘social capital’ and ‘social network.’ Social relationships or social capital are key concepts in social network analysis. Social network analyses study patterns of social structures and relations between people, rather than the individual actor (Wasserman and Faust 1994), where a social network is defined as “a set of nodes and the set of ties representing some relationship or absence of relationship between the nodes” (Brass 2012, 5).

Granovetter (1973) theory of “The Strength of Weak Ties” explains that people are more socially involved with close or strong relations than with peripheral, or weak, relations. However, since close connections or friends tend to move in the same circles, information from strong relationships will overlap greatly with what one already knows. Thus, it is the weak relationships or connections that will provide new information to a group and are most valuable because they provide information from individuals one only can reach through our close friends or connections. McAfee (2009, 88) develops this reasoning further when he frames the benefits of social enterprise platforms’ potential to reach out to knowledge workers the employee does not know - potential coworkers. Potential ties, McAfee (2009, 83) argues, that are bridged by

[5] There are several differences between social media applications, yet common to them is the underlying premise of connecting with friends (e.g., Facebook a.o.) or others (e.g., LinkedIn, Twitter, Instagram, a.o.) and to interact in online spaces.

weak ties, are the colleagues that will keep the knowledge worker from reinventing the wheel at work.

The Semantic Web

The early period of the web is often referred to as Web 1.0 or the 'Web-as-information source' characterized by a more passive one-way sender model, followed by Web 2.0 as the 'Web-as-participation characterized by two-way interaction' (Song 2010), typically exemplified with the introduction of social media. The concept of Semantic Web was coined by Tim Berners-Lee and denotes a web of data that provides a structure that enables meaningful content of web pages where software can readily carry out sophisticated tasks for users (Berners-Lee, Hendler, and Lassila 2001, 3). Semantic, as opposed to form (syntax), content in web pages, provides a common framework that allows data to be shared and reused across applications, enterprise, and community boundaries. For example, a news article can be shared to several other sites.

The semantic Web is sometimes used as a synonym for "Web 3.0" with its main characteristic being that the computer is generating new information rather than humans. While Web 2.0 is seen as enabling user participation, Web 3.0 is seen as triggering users' cooperation (Barassi and Treré 2012). Typical for Web 3.0 is that the computer system itself suggests new friends, contacts, or products to purchase. Simplified, in Web 3.0, different computer systems exchange data between themselves to provide relevant content to the user. For example, many email clients are programmed to analyze the text in emails to provide personalized and relevant ads or news articles for the user when he or she enters the Internet; "Our automated systems analyze your content (including emails) to provide you personally relevant product features, such as customized search results, tailored advertising, and spam and malware detection. This analysis occurs as the content is sent, received, and when it is stored" (Google 2014).

Social Information Architecture

Information architecture is the practice of designing structures in software (Brown 2010) where information is designed into semi-structured (smaller) environments. The information architect constructs the relationships between any piece or group of content where the basic unit of information structure is the node (Garrett 2003). The nodes in the information architecture can be arranged in many different ways, but they mainly fall into a few classes: hierarchical, matrix, organic, or sequential (linear) (Garrett 2003, 97). The folder logic of a PC desktop typically uses a hierarchical model where content is organized into folders (or "doors") and sub-folders (or "rooms"). The virtual space is designed in manners to provide a spatial-sense of where the user is located within the structure. The information architecture in social software, however, is built on the principle that groups are self-organized rather than having a structure or organization imposed (Schiltz, Truyen, and Coppens 2007). The architecture is thus more flat and built dynamically around your actions—what you do—more than "where you belong" (e.g., department membership, etc.).

Furthermore, the information model or architecture in social platforms is built on a people-centric principle, as will be elaborated below, based on people in preference of content or place alone, which was the model in traditional intranets (e.g., a navigation menu with meaningful categories to hint to users what static content the menu-categories provided underneath). Social

media are built around constructs as identity, conversations, sharing, presence, relationships, reputation, and groups (Kietzmann et al. 2011). Algorithms in social media and software present content based on the users' interaction patterns. Thus, social platforms are centered around a dynamic "here and now," "structure-less" principle. Such organic information structures present challenges for users to find their way back to the same piece of content again (Garrett 2003, 99). Thus, organic structures challenges findability—the capacity of an object to be found through search or browsing (Rosenfeld and Morville 2002).

However, if social enterprise platforms shall replace the traditional intranet, they must be more than a social media platform with social and interactive elements (networking, social plugins, blog posts, etc.).The social intranet is also thought to be the place where employees upload and share documents useful for other colleagues. Furthermore, social enterprise space will also be the place employees find important information regarding their employer and other company-related information previously available in static intranets.

In Jive Business Software, the software or platform studied in this research, the user can personalize and choose what information blocks or elements s/he wants on his or her own front page. Illustration 2 at the next page shows only 1/3 of the opening page for a user who works mainly from the local entity and is one of the individuals that worked with implementation and launching the enterprise platform in the entity. This person is a highly active user who has chosen a number of information blocks on the first page (which is continued in length "below the fold"), therefore the screenshot is not representative for most other employees. With that said, the platform does present a number of default blocks requiring most users to scroll down quite a bit, but the screenshot nonetheless gives a first impression of a platform that seeks to combine features from social media applications, document management systems, and information-portals:

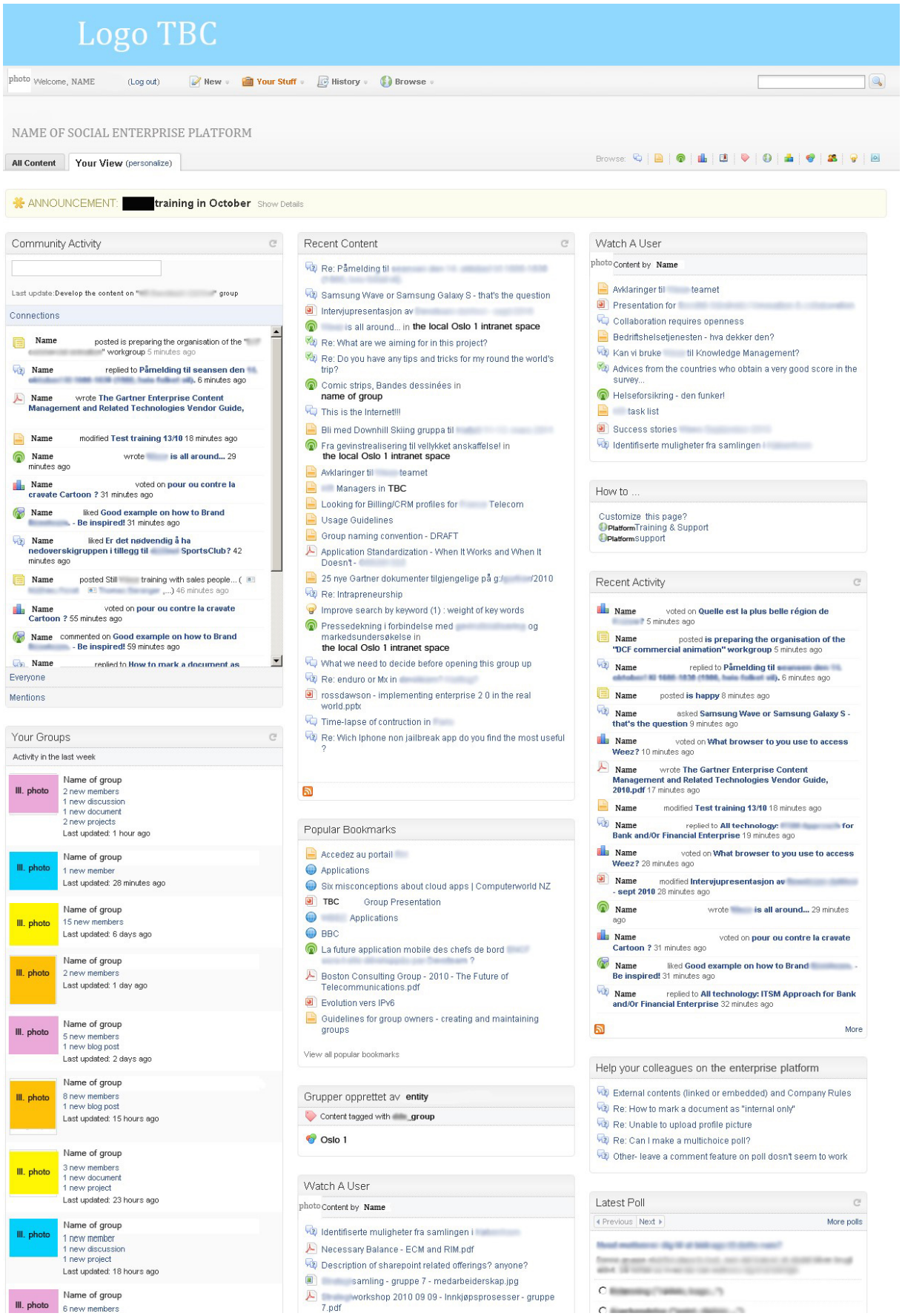

Illustration 2: Excerpt from the opening page in TBC's social enterprise platform. All content is anonymized. The screenshot is from October 2010 and based on Jive software version 4.5.2.

The information structure in the opening pages of the enterprise platform is personalized according to this specific platform-user showing a variety of: polls; overviews of projects; current popular documents; colleagues asking for help; the groups the person are member of; activities-feeds from individuals the person follows; announcements and information concerning what is new in the platform; recent documents uploaded on the platform; and so forth. The information is presented as blocks that the user has chosen, though some of these are set by default. As the screenshot shows, the information structure are clearly different from traditional intranets that, by and large, look like and are modeled on static Web 1.0 principles with strict horizontal and vertical navigation menus and information blocks that offer no opportunities to provide any feedback or comments. I will now elaborate on three key principles for the information structure and model in social enterprise platforms: Algorithms, Big Data and the 'Like' economy.

Tracking and Measurement Algorithms

Typical for social media applications are algorithms. Algorithms are detailed series' of instructions for carrying out an operation that aims to provide the users relevant content (Agichtein et al. 2008). While Google uses their PageRank algorithms as a way of measuring the importance of website pages to provide relevant search (Orlikowski and Scott 2008b), Facebook uses algorithms developed to display and rank content on the news feed: EdgeRank and GraphRank. EdgeRank is the Facebook algorithm that decides which stories appear in each user's newsfeed and is based on at least three core principles: Affinity (content based on how close the relationship between the content sharer and the content receiver is), weight (the degree of feedback the shared content has received) and time delay (new content trumps old) (Bucher 2012, 1167). GraphRank, however, "seeks to show users highly relevant application stories based on the other connections they've made on Facebook. So if a user plays Words With Friends, they are more likely to see a friend's story about another word game than a story from an arcade shooter game" (Darwell 2011).

Algorithms are major keys in social media and social enterprise platforms and represent a fundamental new dimension to earlier knowledge management systems. The algorithms in social networking sites and enterprise platforms are designed around the core principle of establishing connections or relationships between individuals because the individuals can benefit (gain relevant knowledge) from being connected in a social network (Burt 2004). Similar to Facebook,[6] which recommends people you might want to have a friend-connection with, most enterprise platforms recommend interesting and relevant colleagues and topics you might want to follow. This follows social network's graph theory (Wasserman and Faust 1994), where your position and participation decide the degree of influence you have in a network and sorts relevant content[7]. Social platforms capture a social network's structure, and the interactions among network members are based on a social graph. The social graph provides a

[6] This technological feature is not restricted to social networking sites. Online shopping provides 'others who bought this also bought that,' (e.g., Amazon.com), 'if you liked this song/film/book you probably also like this.' Even many online academic journals provide suggestions for new articles to read based on the article you just downloaded.

[7] A possible unintended consequence of social technologies in the work place could thus be that active contributors gain more influence than less active users.

map of the personal connections of a person or a group, which, combined with other data—such as topics these individuals discuss—can be the basis for inferences about groups and individuals. Social graphs capture important information about which group members contribute most and have the greatest influence (Chui et al. 2012, 8).

The automation of individuals and content with shared or similar characteristics and the users' previous actions are explicit in the enterprise platforms model. Jive Business Software uses

> a powerful 'genius' feature that analyzes your business relationships, expertise, and areas of interest based on your behavior in the community. It then uses that data to recommend relevant content, people, and places that you have not yet seen in the community. The more you and others interact in the community, the better the recommendations you'll receive (Jive 2013).

Social enterprise platforms therefore differ from the earliest KM systems by providing social and semantic technical features that approach employees as "knowledge carriers" by placing the individual at the center of the information model and not content uploaded or shared in isolation. Such a people-centric information model views knowledge as inextricably tied to individuals, in many ways following Polanyi (1967)'s reasoning, where the key is to establish connections with knowledgeable individuals rather than only accessing documents shared by individuals.

Small, Yet Big, Data

Social software algorithms, that are easily, instantly, radically, and invisibly changed (Gillespie, Boczkowski, and Foot 2014), provide large datasets of the user's behavior (e.g., what the user has 'Liked,' commented on, page-views, search strings, etc.). Such big data concerns two closely related phenomenons: the access to large datasets with detailed information about user patterns that new technology provides, and activities related to gathering, storing, comparing, analyzing, and presenting these datasets. More than being 'big,' big data is about the capacity to search, aggregate, and cross-reference large data sets (boyd and Crawford 2012).

Employees in organizations are expected, if not requested, to use the social enterprise platform during their workday. Hence, individuals do not have the same choice for site-membership as one typically has in the social media landscape. Privacy is understood as the ability for an individual to withdraw from attention and to protect or reveal personal information selectively (Karahasanovic et al. 2009). Privacy is an individual right—even in the workplace. A substantial amount of legislation exists, at least in the EU, which governs data protection, surveillance, and privacy at work (see CIPD 2009, e.g., Data Protection Act, 1998). Privacy is regarded as a process of a "selective control of access to the self or to one's group" (Altman 1975, 18). Privacy and the ability to regulate the degree of privacy are therefore seen as important requirements for individuals. However, the challenge in any virtual space is that it is impossible for people to fully monitor and difficult for the employee to keep track of which data is or is not stored in the system (Agre and Rotenberg 1998). Detailed user-data might provide the organization with insights that challenge employees' privacy.

What I label ‘small, yet big, data’ challenges employees’ privacy at work, particularly in two senses. Firstly, because the access to detailed user data operates alongside contexts of unequal power distribution (as hierarchical differences in rank, e.g., employee-manager). The datasets with detailed information of employees’ user-behavior, or lack thereof, raise privacy concerns in that the employer may use and analyze the detailed user-data collected by new technology for surveillance. Secondly, detailed data in enterprise platforms becomes, due to the platform’s transparency, visible to other workers. High participation or the absence of being in the platform and not contributing with any content becomes visible to everyone else in the organization.

Technical features in social media applications and social software are updated regularly, and there are reasons to believe the implementation of social functionalities in enterprise platforms will grow in parallel with the development of other social media functionality in the public discourse. More visibility of others’ interactions is an example of what might come into the next versions of enterprise platforms. For example, it is currently possible to see if and when a person has read the message you sent at Facebook, Snapchat, or WhatsApp.

Gartner predicts the next wave in the development of social business software will be horizontal integration of computer systems in the work place (e.g., document management systems, travel expense systems, and other systems used for working) (Cannell 2013) which will provide even more detailed data on employees’ actions.

Enterprise platforms provide a collective space for communication and social interaction, yet employees work in a number of local contexts characterized by their unique practices. This leads to the question: What should the universal communication norms that direct employees when both working practices and conversation norms are context-specific, be? Facebook, for example, differs from the organizational world in that informal interaction is the norm (Ellison, Steinfield, and Lampe 2011). To boost informal interaction and engagement in these platforms, users are nurtured by social buttons, emoticons, and the like economy.

The Like Functionality

The social media that social enterprise platforms are inspired by have built-in features (e.g., social buttons;👍) which seek to motivate certain user behavior, more specifically, social, informal, and positive interactions and conversations. Gerlitz and Helmond (2013) conceptualize the ‘hits and links’ that are central measurements for user engagement, which, in turn, provide the detailed big data discussed above as a ‘Like economy.’ Gerlitz and Helmond (2013) state that

> (…) there are limits to Facebook’s enclosure of sociality in most notably in the current absence of the widely requested Dislike button as a critical counterpart to the Like button (…) the Like economy is facilitating a web of positive sentiment in which users are constantly prompted to like, enjoy, recommend and buy as opposed to discuss or critique (1362).

The conceptual model in Facebook that Gerlitz and Helmond point to is for nurturing people’s liking, enjoying, and recommending of content, rather than critical comments, feedbacks, or

discussions. The highlight of positive and informal content and interactions stands in direct opposition to the underlying premise in the predictors imagined potential that social platforms offer; "The goal of social platforms is business productivity rather than pure entertainment" (Carr 2012). Chui et al. (2012) argue that sociability (to participate for socializing reasons) could be one of the risks with introducing social platforms to the organization:

> One risk is the possibility of abuse, such as excessive employee time spent "chatting" about non-work-related topics on internal or external social networks or using social media to attack fellow employees or management. Enterprises have taken different approaches to handling this risk, from forbidding non-work-related conversations or censoring critical opinions to welcoming the critiques and engaging in public conversation with the critics (Chui et al. 2012, 12).

However, as mentioned in the introduction in chapter one, removing the social and informal part of conversations could prove difficult. Firstly, because conversation coordinates social interaction and is characterized by turn-taking regulated by norms (Giddens 1984, Goffman 2000 [1959]). What is considered 'informal' and 'formal' will therefore vary since there are no universal rules in conversations (Giddens 1984, 76), nor do individuals have a common ground by default (Clark 1996). This means that employees will bring very different sets of communication rules when they interact in online social enterprise platforms.

Secondly, social platforms seek to benefit from the engagement that social media platforms have shown, yet the underlying principle in social media is informal interaction, which social buttons  seek to nurture. Furthermore, emoticons (icons of different smileys or moods  ) are used to add social cues (Skovholt, Grønning, and Kankaanranta 2014), which are crucial in face-to-face interactions and conversations (Goffman 2000 [1959]). Emoticons are mostly used to express emotion, to strengthen a message, and to express humor (Derks, Bos, and Von Grumbkow 2008). However, formal guidelines advise employees to limit their use of emoticons in workplace communication (Wolf 2000). A recent study of emoticons in the work place (Skovholt, Grønning, and Kankaanranta 2014) found that emoticons served two main functions: as joke/irony markers and hedges (as softeners and strengtheners) to contextualize and modify utterances by providing information to aid in the interpretation of the utterance, and they were also found to organize social relations. Employees used emoticons to downplay potentially threatening directives. Rather than presenting requests, corrections, and rejections directly, employees may modify these speech acts with emoticons so they appear less imposing, impolite, and authoritative (Skovholt, Grønning, and Kankaanranta 2014, 13-14).

Social enterprise platforms are modeled on social media applications (typically Facebook) in the public discourse—where user engagement is sought transferred to enterprise settings. Yet, several of the main drivers in these sites (informal conversation, 'Likes,' emoticons, and social buttons) that spark informal and social engagement among network members, are by many organizations adjusted, forbidden, or manipulated (controlled and sanctioned by management) to consist of only work-related conversations. Paradoxically, the same effect (engaged and

active users that interact, participate and co-create) is sought, yet the main drivers that provide this user-engagement are tried changed.

In summary, despite the differences in the different social enterprise software offered, they share some common characteristics: content is stored in the cloud (making content accessible as long as you have an Internet connection), a people-centered information model is used, a Facebookish 'Like' functionality that nurtures positive rather than negative or critical interactions and feedback (e.g., thumb down, which YouTube provides) is used, algorithms that provide relevant content and connections to the user based on calculations are used, tags, group membership, individuals one follows, and providing dynamic content, etc. are all offered. The description of the social enterprise platform in this chapter is an important backdrop for the analysis in chapter five and six where I analyze how the social platform corresponds with employee's working practices, answering the first of my two research questions. This chapter about the social technology was also important for the analysis in chapter eight where I analyze the link between online and offline interaction practices, answering my second research question. I will now present the methodology I have used in this study in detail.

Chapter 4: Methodology

> *An isolated outrigger canoe had no meaning without knowing who built it, who had the right to sail it, and who performed the necessary magical spells employed during its use. The cardinal field work rule, therefore, should be to see reality from "the native's point of view" (Weiner 1988, 4).*

Introduction

Because the intention of this study was to get a comprehensive insight into the interplay of knowledge professionals' daily work and their workplace's social enterprise platform, a mixed methodology was chosen. A mixed methodology (combining quantitative and qualitative tools, e.g. a survey combined with ethnography (Moore 2011, 668)) is recommended for gaining "holistic" data (Moore 2011). Holistic data, or thick description, is understood as the cardinal rule in anthropological fieldworks (Eriksen 2013, Weiner 1988, Malinowski 1978). A mixed methodology proved to be a fruitful approach for answering my research questions, and a practice approach in strategy encourages longitudinal and in-depth studies of individual interaction practices (Cetina, Schatzki, and von Savigny 2005). Because theory development is closely related to the methodological debate about the ability for qualitative methods' small sample to generalize from a micro to a macro level which is a continuous discussion in science (Andersen 1997, Gerring 2004, Lieberson 1991), I will begin with a brief discussion of what case studies are, generalizability, and the potential for theory development. The discussion is followed by a presentation of the company I have studied. After this, I present the study's research design—the blue print that guided me through the process of collecting (constructing), analyzing, and interpreting my observations. This research project implies the collection of personal and confidential information, and is approved by the Privacy Issues Unit at Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD) (NSD Project no. [anonymized]). This approval ensures that collection, safeguarding, storing, and reusing of personal data in my study all comply with ethical standards and legal requirements.

Case Study Methodology, Generalizability, and Knowledge Claims

There is no unified definition of what a case study is (Andersen 1997, 126). Yin (2012, 13) defines a case study as an "empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (13). Gerring (2004, 342), however, defines a case study as "an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units" (342). Hellevik (1991, 124) argues that data collected through a case study will be problematic to generalize, a view that equalizes representativity with numbers of observations and draws attention away from logic and analytical inferences. Hellevik's argument concerns the difficulty to test hypotheses with a small N—only a few entities—a hypothetic-deductive approach typical for quantitative studies that seeks to test causal effects by confirming or rejecting already established hypotheses. Inductive-deductive interferences do the opposite by asking different questions that bring non-statistical answers rather than confirming or rejecting already

established knowledge claims. Yet, Hellevik's reasoning follows a common prejudice of mistaking equalizing generalizability of data with volume. Generalizability is not a question of small or large Ns, but a question of logical and analytical inferences (Andersen 1997, Yin 2012)—factors that are the cornerstone in all research. Quantitative methodology is clearly useful when theory about a phenomenon is established, yet when theory is not established, it provides little help in revealing the major keys that interplay in the object of study, which in turn can be tested and measured when enough insights are in place. While quantitative research concerns the systematic investigation of phenomena via statistical and mathematical models answering what, where, and when questions, provides qualitative methodology an in-depth understanding of why and how elements correspond. Thus, a large N enables statistical generalizability, rejecting elements from the analysis rather than confirming universal laws. A qualitative methodology provides a certain set of categorical assumptions that, in turn, need to be approached by analytical logic. Yin (2012) uses the concept of 'analytical generalization' to illustrate the contrast to 'statistical generalization'. Similarly, qualitative methodologies provide in-depth insights of major keys that are at play when actions or phenomena do occur, yet one will never know if all the major keys are observed, nor be able to isolate them. Quantitative and qualitative approaches reach different types of conclusions on behalf of the different types of data, and one cannot draw inferences from one of them to the other; they must be interpreted within their logical framework.

Furthermore, case studies can be either exploratory or explanatory (Yin 2012). An exploratory case study is descriptive and inductive in form, and is applicable when knowledge and theory are lacking about a given field. An explanatory case study, however, is preferable when there are established theories and knowledge, providing a deductive focus. This distinction is important, yet often communicated poorly in research, because this choice denotes a study's potential to develop theory and other general assumptions. Thus, case studies are not singular phenomenon's with common characteristics, they are either theoretical or non-theoretically-oriented (Andersen 1997, 56). Despite that, a focus on meaning and process is a general feature for both types of case studies, seeking exploratory case studies to explore or develop concepts, while explanatory case studies have a descriptive orientation. For example, the classic studies of Lysgaard (1967) 'Working community' and Penrose's (2009) study in the sixties of the 'Growth of the firm' are theoretical case studies because they bridge theory in two senses: re-interpreting earlier studies, and establishing concepts that stand independently by defining classes of phenomena and not only insights that are relevant to the Hercules Powder Company—a specific case study. Penrose's study provided important constructs (slack, internal resources, focus on growth rather than on size, etc.) that are valid independently of the Hercules Powder Company, and the study therefore assists theory development and analytical generalizability.

Ethnography

A note about ethnography is needed because of the research questions I ask. Ethnography is the close study of groups' and peoples' everyday lives in their social settings (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011) and typically involves the development of close connections between the

ethnographer and the subject and situations being studied (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). Although ethnography and anthropology are often used interchangeably in the literature, they have different traditions, both idiographic (aiming to document the particular facts of past and present lives) and nomothetic (aiming to arrive at general propositions or theoretical statements). Ethnography has an idiographic inquiry, (which is different from history and archaeology due to its direct observations of living people rather than written records or materials from the past), while anthropology, in contrast, is a field of nomothetic science (Ingold 2008). Ethnography is not *a* method, but has methods. Most ethnographers and anthropologists swing back and forth between these approaches, like a pendulum with an unidentifiable beginning or end (Descola 2005). De Certeau (1984) insists on the importance of studying not just what is done, but also how it is done, something that requires close anthropological attention (615). This corresponds well with a practice approach in strategy research that encourages longitudinal and in-depth studies (Cetina, Schatzki, and von Savigny 2005). I was educated as a social anthropologist prior to my doctoral program in strategy. Despite a close overlap, cultural anthropology was traditionally a dominating approach in the US (concerned with culture, artifacts, and more inspired by Boas, Mead, Benedict, and others), while British and French social anthropology was dominating in Europe (concerned with social organization and process inspired by Leach, Radcliffe-Brown, Barth, and Levi-Strauss) (Eriksen 2001). I position myself in the latter stream, in the domain of social anthropology. While the anthropology of organizations is a recent branch in Europe, it is widely taught in the US and is thus more institutionalized (Gallenga 2013). The task of social anthropology is to understand and explain how societies or organizations work, where the goal is to arrive at general propositions or theoretical statements.

Choice of Case Study Design

The topic—the interplay of social enterprise platforms and modern working practices—chosen in this study, is contemporary with little research to build on specifically. That said, previous research conducted on similar empirical topics (knowledge management, social platforms, social media studies, modern work, etc.) and research using closely related theoretical approaches (technologies-in-practice studies and other scholars employing structuration theory studying ICT systems in the work place) provide a useful starting point. I seek to contribute with empirical insights on how people in organizations act and use technology, and the social enterprise platform in particular, in their everyday work.

Thus, I have an exploratory approach that seeks to provide exploratory answers. With these considerations in mind, my methodological (exploratory case study) and theoretical (structuration theory) choices are a good match for my object of study and my aim of providing analytical generalization.

Choice of Company

My single case study is one company represented by six entities from four countries (Norway, Denmark, the UK and Morocco), with two researchers gathering and analyzing data[8]. The

[8] As I will return to during the section about field studies, I have worked closely with a senior researcher from Sintef.

company, anonymized as Tech Business Company (TBC), is a French listed medium to large multinational, knowledge-intensive organization with 5000+ consultants, located in 20+ countries in Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa, with several entities in the different countries, and with more than €500 million in turnover in 2011. The company was chosen for this study of several reasons.

Firstly, because the company operates where information communication technology and business intersect, and offers services spanning consultancy (1/3 of TBC's work force) and technology (2/3 of the company's work force) with a shared service portfolio. Having a shared service portfolio should mean the different entities have specialized fields and domains of expertise that would be relevant for other TBC professionals working in the other entities. As an example, for employees in Denmark working with cloud computing topics, or the process of facilitating a large project for the health industry, it would be reasonable to expect it to be relevant for employees working on similar projects yet located in different entities.

Secondly, TBC professionals are what the literature define as knowledge workers or knowledge professional (Kuvaas 2006, Mazmanian, Orlikowski, and Yates 2013, Davenport 2005, Alvesson 2004) solving complex ICT-related tasks during their workday. To gain insights into how the services that TBC offers clients daily by TBC professionals, I wanted to study the consultants who actually provide the services rather than the managers (although managers were also interviewed and, as with administrative staff, observed).'Consultant' derives from the French term 'consulter' and the Latin 'consultare' that means to advise, consider, think, debate, and discuss (Oxford University 2014a). Thus, the core unit of my analysis in this thesis is consultants who provide the services TBC capitalizes on daily. Employees are also the ones that McKinsey (Chui et al. 2012) and others (McAfee 2009, Cook 2008, Leonardi, Huysman, and Steinfield 2013) envisage to gain benefit from social platforms.

TBC planned to introduce a global social enterprise platform as a replacement to local intranets and local initiatives (e.g., yammer). Thus, I had the opportunity to enter the organization before the platform was launched and follow the organization in time-lapses for three years. This allowed me to: 1) do a pilot study before they launched the social enterprise platform, 2) get to know the organization and people well, who in turn provided me with better access to the field, 3) capture change in people's use of the enterprise platform and their other technologies for working (e.g., e-mail), and 4) grow social trusting relationships with key informants. The latter was especially important for getting access to the field in Morocco, a country that is listed below the middle at worldwide trust-scales, while the Nordic countries are placed at the top (Wike and Holzwart 2008, Uslaner 2009). Trustworthy key informants with a strong reputation in TBC who had personal contacts at other entities opened many research-doors for me. Thus, I entered the field vertically via entities and not horizontally via the parent company. The latter would easily categorize me as one from the parent company, and therefore from a higher hierarchical level, which in turn could limit what people shared with me. I met with TBC's top management in Paris in March 2011. They were very positive towards my research and provided formal permission to enter the company.

Third, TBC was chosen because their overall goal with introducing a social enterprise platform was in line with the industry's take on the benefit these technologies provide the work place. TBC introduced the enterprise platform (Jive Business Software) in 2010/11 to

> better utilize the knowledge capital of TBC professionals and build professional networks, develop competence by following others more skilled, find out what others were doing, make work tasks easier to find and share, and make work with colleagues in other business units easier (from TBC's implementation strategy).

Jive Business Software is one of the best known players in enterprise social platforms, ranked by Gartner as a leader in the business field (Carr 2012). I will now present the research design in detail.

Pilot and Research Preparations

A pilot was run in one (Oslo 1) of the six entities involved in this study in May 2010. The aim of the pilot was to gain domain knowledge, establish contact with key informants (that assisted me with getting access to the other research sites when I returned to do the first field study a year later). During the pilot, the TBC's strategy and business model was analyzed, and meetings were conducted with the three TBC individuals who would be part of the project, to gain insights for planning the research design, preparing the interview guide, conversing with employees, attending departmental meetings, etc. A survey was also conducted during the pilot, partly based on my first impression of key elements, and partly to get an overview of the central ICT systems that TBC professionals employed for working, their company external online user patterns, their working contexts, work roles, how work problems were solved, etc. Because the social enterprise platform was yet not launched, a survey also provided an opening to examine employee expectations of the new technology. These insights would give TBC some critical cards at hand in regard to what kind of difficulties they might meet when they launched the enterprise platform (e.g., spend resources on training, etc.), and we implemented a section at the end of the survey to provide this data, because research is a reciprocal process (Pettigrew 1990). A technology acceptance model (TAM) was employed to capture the expectation of the new technology to be launched. TAM is commonly used (Chung et al. 2010), and a section in the pilot survey employed items from TAM that measure how users come to accept (perceived usefulness) and use (perceived ease-of-use) a new technology.

The answer rate was 79% of the Oslo 1 sample (100 employees), made up of 72.2% men and 27.8% women, which is representative for the consultancy industry. Interestingly, several of the key findings analyzed and discussed in this thesis were identified during the pilot study.

Choice of Entities

The choice of entities and participators is related to whom the participant listed as close colleagues in a network map they received at the end of the interview. Participators were contacted per email with information about the research project (Appendix 1), in compliance with the NSD. The participators had to sign the consent letter before the interview started. Several of the participators from Morocco were contacted per telephone and were sent the

information letter after the conversation and brought a signed consent to the interview. Interviews were conducted in the participators office space (at TBC or at the participator's client), or at cafés close to their client. Some (one in 2011 and one in 2012) of the participators from Norway wanted to be interviewed at Sintef.

To gather structural network data about whom the 27 participants approached for help and advice during their working day and which co-workers approached them with work-related problems, they received a 'colleague-map' to fill out at the end of the interview showing photographs and names of employees at their entity. Icons of both men and women were left open so the participant could fill in individuals not listed (e.g., from other entities). Thus, a roster method network design was used (Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 46). The participants were therefore contacted through a snowball method, starting at one of the Norwegian entities with the first participant randomly selected from the middle of the employee list. People listed by the participants as important co-workers were then randomly chosen as additional participants.

One criticism of this snowballing method is that only TBC professionals of one type were interviewed, namely those connected to each other. However, because few of the listed individuals were employed at other TBC entities, the snowballing had to be started over twice (to reach Oslo 2, and to reach Morocco), providing us with more diverse participants and perspectives. Moreover, several of the participants commented, when asked to mark colleagues in the colleague-map that individuals important to their work were missing from the map simply because they were not employed by TBC, but at clients or other consultants hired for projects. This is typical for consultants in professional service firms where work is performed in client contexts (Løwendahl 2005).

Thus, entities selected for the study were therefore a result of snowballing, but it was also a deliberate choice to include Morocco, which was not listed in the network data. Because an early finding showed French as a dominating language in TBC's enterprise platform, I wanted to include a unit that spoke French yet that was not the parent company. By including a French entity could risk gaining data that said more about asymmetrical relations between the parent company and its subsidiaries which was not the topic for this study. I also wanted to include units located far from Western Europe where the other entities included in this study were located (Norway, Denmark, and England) to see what role a larger geographical distance played. Morocco is a pre-colony to France, and French remains Morocco's unofficial third language (in addition to Moroccan Arabic and Berber). It is taught universally and serves as Morocco's primary language of commerce and economics. Two entities in Morocco in North Africa were therefore chosen. The numbers of employees in the six entities were the following (listed in Table 2):

Place	Number employed
Copenhagen, Denmark	130
Oslo 1, Norway	100
Oslo 2, Norway	30
London, UK	85
Rabat 1, Morocco	180
Rabat 2, Morocco	30

Table 2: Entities in this study's sample. Six entities from four countries covering all the main services that TBC provided are included in this study.

My Methodological Toolbox

As said, strategy in practice has methodological implications, which require the researcher to be close to actual practice while employing a broad range of theoretical and methodological tools. Methods that especially allow for observation, longitudinal and processual dynamics of practices, routines, and actions of individuals, are encouraged (Golsorkhi et al. 2010). Social anthropology studies practice in detail through participant observations of everyday life. The goal is to gain an in-depth understanding—thick descriptions (Geertz 1973) of horizontal layers (finding out what is beneath what people are saying and doing). Geertz uses the wink as an illustration of the concept. While a thin description would describe the wink as simply a contradiction of the eyelid, a thick description of the same wink would include the communicative and embedded meaning, and thus, place the wink into a larger holistic (the whole is more than the sum of its parts) frame that is inextricably tied to its context. This interpretation of meaning is unavailable if the researcher is unfamiliar with the cultural coding (the wink). Hence it is a strong requirement in social anthropology to experience the people we study close at hand to gain "thickness" in our data and hermeneutic interpretation.

A mixed methodology requires a combination of data-collection techniques or triangulation. Triangulation is typically understood as using multiple methods in the study of the same object (Denzin 1970, 301). Triangulation were used in the analysis to get a more complete understanding of the complexity of the object of study, rather than as "supporting evidence." Thus, rather than seeing my different methodological tools as providers of a large dataset in the end, they are each one slice of the holistic cake that together assisted me with "thickness." An understanding of the interplay of the data gathered and the context the data were derived from was an important starting point for the data-collecting process. This understanding was developed during the pilot study. The methodological tools and data sources are the following:

- Ethnographic field-studies
- Participatory observations[9]
- Open ended in-depth interviews
- Key informant methodology

[9] At the places I did not do field studies (UK, Oslo 2, and Denmark).

Other data sources used in this study are:

- Self-reported digital competence
- Self-reported colleague map/network
- Document analysis*
- Survey during the pilot study*
- Enterprise platform analysis
- Enterprise content analysis
- Analysis of online interaction practices in the social enterprise platform
- Analysis of social relationships in company-external social networking sites

*are tools employed only in the pilot study. One exception is the document analysis where a close analysis of TBC's privacy consent was pursued in the follow up studies in 2012. I will now present each of these methodological slices or tools, and data sources, and how they contribute with dimensions to each of the two research questions I ask.

Field Studies

Viewing work and use of technology and practices closely related to and part of their local contexts requires research methods that access "situatedness"—those that draw on observation, with whatever degree of participation, in generating data (Yanow 2006). This is why, and how, regrounding theorizing in work practices has methodological implications for organizational studies: participant-observer and ethnographic methods enables returning to the field - to its observational origins - for focusing it again on what it is that people actually do in organizations. Such interpretive methods call for fine-grained observational, conversational, and/or documentary detail (Yanow 2006). Observation mixed with real-time interviewing is recommended for studying work practices (Barley and Kunda 2001, 85).

No theoretical preferences or a priori hypotheses were constructed before the data gathering process. The pilot study gave guidance for what direction to pursue, however, the following research process was still open-oriented. The goal was to independently identify theoretical constructs, relationships, and patterns as the interviews and field studies proceeded. As the process continued, interesting patterns evolved. Some of these patterns led to new questions and sometimes previous interviewees were contacted again to reveal insights that evolved over time. Though I had the employees' potential barriers for taking the social enterprise platform into use in mind, I never focused on the platform in isolation. Rather, I was interested in providing a deeper understanding of the processes into how employees solved work-related problems and how the enterprise platform interplayed in these processes.

An anthropologist's most important research tool is field work (Eriksen 2001). The traditional criteria is being in the field for a longer period of time. However, how long it takes to reveal this 'point of view' cannot simply be tied to a clock-time aspect, and several anthropological studies have made nominal contributions despite not spending years in the field. Examples are Barth's nominal models based on a weekend on a fishing boat (Eriksen 2013). It is not the length of a study that is key; it is what can be processed when being in the field. Doing fieldwork is time-intensive and requires full attention from the researcher to listen and observe, thus, it is

a very demanding process. (Eriksen 2013). Ethnographic studies of work practices need to be done in normal work situations, in the context where work is part of the activity (Orr 1996, 10).

I did a three week field study in May/June 2011 in Oslo 1 in Norway (my home town) and a three week field study in Rabat 1 and Rabat 2 in Morocco in July 2011. Because I only had the opportunity to do fieldwork at half of the six entities included in my study, I chose to do participatory observations in these settings: one day in London, three days in Copenhagen, and one day and an afternoon at Oslo 2. These observations took place between and after the field studies in 2011. I repeated the field studies one year later, where I spent three new weeks at Oslo 1 in May 2012, and three weeks in Morocco July 2012, where most of my field-time was spent at the Rabat 1 entity. Although one intention of returning to the field after one year was to see if the employees used the enterprise platform in any different manner than the year before after becoming more familiar with it, another intention was to follow up on elements revealed during my analysis in the winter of 2011 and spring 2012. Privacy issues for example, were one such issue. I had observed that content shared by and of employees (e.g., profile pictures) who had terminated from TBC remained in the enterprise platform. I therefore pursued this in the follow-up studies in Norway and Morocco where I contacted employees that had terminated to get insights of the company's procedures concerning privacy when people end their jobs. I also spoke with employees who recently started their job at TBC to reveal enterprise platform membership procedures. For example, when joining a social networking site, the user has to sign a consent that describes privacy issues, inform about what kind of data the site will track and store, etc. Returning to the field in 2012 was a breakthrough in my work, especially in regard to Morocco, where trust is perhaps even more important than in Norway (where employees are governed by comprehensive laws). The act of returning was perceived as a respectful gesture, and sensitive elements more in the background in 2011 moved to the forefront in 2012 (e.g., conflict in work settings, discrimination, power, management styles, etc.).

Getting field access. Access to the field is an ongoing process linked to field relations (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). Since most companies are reluctant to allow researchers in with free access to their employees and company information, they need a strategy to gain access. While some go as far as to apply for a job (Gallenga 2013), I took on a student role in addition to using my own background as a consultant and concept developer to be perceived as someone with experience of what a consultant's work day consists of and as someone to discuss IT issues with—an access strategy also recommended by de Jong, Kamsteeg, and Ybema (2013). Using participant observation, the researcher develops ongoing relationships with individuals and, in a field diary, notes systematic observations on groups' and individuals' everyday lives in their social settings (Emerson et al. 2011). When being in the field there is a strong demand to keep an analytical distance (to not "go native"—become one of them (Wadel 1990)). Thus, strategies for making the familiar strange (de Jong, Kamsteeg, and Ybema, 2013) was through a constant reflection on the field and as well as employing an analytical distance and by having in-depth domain knowledge. A solid insight of what TBC delivered to clients gained during the pilot study equipped me to reveal which statements I needed participants to

elaborate on and which were irrelevant. Another "keep-distance" strategy was to turn down Facebook and LinkedIn invitations from TBC professionals.

Communicating in the field. My French skills from secondary school needed to be freshened up, so I listened to a French-course whenever walking or travelling. However, my French never got to a reasonable level which turned out to be a benefit more than a drawback because then I was classified as non-French by employees. Morocco was under French colonial power until 1956, a suppression that in many ways was still an issue among Moroccan people and not only TBC employees. Additionally, since my appearance could easily be interpreted as being French, and thus represent the parent company, it was a huge benefit not to speak French. The Moroccan TBC participants varied highly in their English skills: some spoke well, some only basic, and others did not speak a single word. The interview guide was translated into French, and Google translate was used during the interviews or other conversations if words were difficult to understand. The participants I interviewed were encouraged to answer in French if that was more comfortable for them (because the 27 interviews were recorded).

Being in the field. At the entities I did field studies, the entity's community manager posted on the enterprise platform about me being present at their work place and that I was there because I was researching on their social enterprise platform. In the contextualized settings, I worked with others, with my laptop in the shared main office space. By employing a vague persona and following the participants' dress code, I neither symbolized management nor appeared as an outsider. In time, the TBC professionals seemed to forget my role, and my impression is that the TBC consultants I met in the field interpreted me as a colleague and a friend they could discuss work with and trust. I came in early and went home late. Coffee and lunch breaks were a particularly important space for informal conversations and for getting TBC professionals to share their insights and thoughts. Several informal meetings and talks with consultants, managers, and middle managers were done during the workday, which provided the best understanding possible. These informal conversations were not recorded, but are notes in my field diary.

Documenting from the field. In addition to the customary written field diary, I used video to capture personal reflections in a 'visual' field diary. By using video, I could document as processes occurred in the field rather than trying to reconstruct them at a later point in the light of interpretation (Emerson et al. 2011, 17). I used the video camera to blog personal ethnographic notes in my visual field diary (Photo 1). I used video, by filming myself in my contextual surroundings, as a methodological tool in two particular ways: as visual ethnographic notes in a video field diary and as a tool for sharing my notes and reflections in the field with my research colleague located at home. The video camera was thus as a reflexive partner and added important contextual descriptions to the later analysis. My written and visual field diaries complemented each other.

Photo: 1. Me video-blogging in Morocco.

As I have mentioned, I have been collaborating closely with another researcher, Marika Lüders, in my project. Marika is senior researcher at the independent research organization SINTEF. Marika is the project manager of the NETworked POWER project that my PhD is part of, and she performed nine of the 27 interviews in 2011 that I will describe below. Having an extra pair of analytical eyes on the data has been extremely fruitful. Moreover, our different academic backgrounds enabled us to ask different types of questions that neither would have devised alone. When I was performing field studies in 2011, I uploaded the video clips and the field diary in the cloud (Dropbox) and shared them on a daily basis with Marika in Norway. This enabled feedback about elements of interest for me to pursue further. Marika was therefore a reflexive assistant who minimized the risk of biased interpretations of the recordings (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011, Gallenga 2013).

Open-ended In-depth Interviews

The sample in this study is what the literature typically defines as knowledge workers doing knowledge work as I described in chapter two. More specifically, the sample are the consultants providing services that TBC offers to clients. As already tapped into, there were 27 open-ended, in-depth interviews with TBC employees conducted from May-September in 2011. The interview guide is enclosed in Appendix 2. In June and July 2012, four of the participants from Norway and four from Morocco were interviewed again to see if the employees used the enterprise platform differently after a year had passed and to follow up new elements revealed during my analysis. These persons are marked with an * in Table 3 below. The interview guide used in the follow up interviews is enclosed in Appendix 3. All these interviews were recorded, transcribed verbatim, and anonymized. The interviews lasted approximately one hour, and the participants received a gift card as an incentive.

As mentioned, six entities, located in four countries, are in this study: Copenhagen, Denmark (six informants), London, UK (four informants), Oslo 1 and Oslo 2 in Norway (three and five informants, respectively) and Rabat 1 and Rabat 2 in Morocco (seven and two informants, respectively). The sample is made up of nine woman and 18 men aged 22-59 years. The gender difference is representative in that most ICT consultants in the industry are men. All the entities involved in the study, except from Rabat 2, are located in the capitals of their countries. In several of these countries, there are more entities than what are included in this study. All the main services that TBC offers clients were covered in the interviews of the following people (all names are fictional and cannot be traced back to any of the participants). None of the key informants or informal interviews and conversations with employees during the field studies are listed in Table 3.

	Who	Gender	Age	Place	Perceived ICT competence	Language, Country
1	Thomas	M	Forties	Oslo 1	Very high	Norwegian Norway
2	Jan*	M	Forties	Oslo 1	Very high	
3	Erica*	F	Forties	Oslo 1	Very high	
4	Anna	F	Forties	Oslo 1	Very high	
5	Sander	M	Thirties	Oslo 1	Very high	
6	Jo	M	Fifties	Oslo 2	Low	
7	Morten*	M	Forties	Oslo 2	Low	
8	Anders*	M	Thirties	Oslo 2	Very high	
9	Claus	M	Forties	Copenhagen	Very high	Danish Denmark
10	Lise	F	Fifties	Copenhagen	Low	
11	Tommy	M	Thirties	Copenhagen	Very high	
12	Lone	F	Thirties	Copenhagen	Very high	
13	Kim	M	Forties	Copenhagen	Very high	
14	Ulrik	M	Thirties	Copenhagen	Very high	
15	Abdo	M	Twenties	Rabat 1	Very high	Standard Arabic/Moroccan Arabic/Berber /French Morocco
16	Hamza*	M	Twenties	Rabat 1	Very high	
17	Maha*	F	Thirties	Rabat 1	Very high	
18	Nabil*	M	Twenties	Rabat 1	Very high	
19	Rhita	F	Twenties	Rabat 1	High	
20	Marwa	F	Thirties	Rabat 1	Very high	
21	Hafsa	F	Forties	Rabat 1	High	
22	Walid	M	Twenties	Rabat 2	Very high	
23	Tarek*	M	Twenties	Rabat 2	Very high	
24	Ben	M	Thirties	London	Very high	English UK
25	Elizabeth	F	Twenties	London	Very high	
26	David	M	Fifties	London	Very high	
27	John	M	Thirties	London	Very high	

Table 3: Overview of the 27 employees that is included in this study. **All names are fictional.**

Key Informant Methodology

Key informant methodology played a major role in my access to the field. Key informant methodology is based on obtaining information, over time, from individuals who know the community well (Pelto and Pelto, 1978). To be chosen as a key informant requires a broad knowledge of the company, its services, and its people. Key informant methodology is also an excellent way to recover information about past events or ways of life that are no longer observable. The method requires sufficient time to build a trustful relationship. My choice of key informants fell on persons with in-depth insights of the social enterprise platform, TBC's strategy, the employees at their entity, and the organization as a whole. Contact was established with two key informants in Norway during the pilot study in Oslo 1 in 2010, and contact was made with two key informants from Morocco during the first field work in 2011. To provide anonymity, the organizational membership of key informants is not revealed. The key informants provided critical insights to this study.

Digital Competence

To make sure low digital competence was not related to non-enterprise platform use or could be related to the findings in this study, the 27 participants received a self-report form that was handed out at the beginning of the interview (Appendix 4). Twenty-two of the 27 participants scored 'Very high' on digital competence, two scored 'High,' and three scored 'Low.' The digital competence test had five quick questions with a five-level Likert score, based on items used by Chung et al. (2010).

Social Network Data

I was inspired by Krackhardt (1987, 118) in the collection of the structural network data about whom the 27 participants approached offline for help and advice during their working day, and which co-workers approached them with work-related problems. At the end of the interview, they received and completed a 'colleague-map' showing photographs and names of employees at their entity. Icons of both men and women were left open so the participant could fill in individuals not listed (e.g., from other entities). Thus, a roster method network design was used (Wasserman and Faust 1994, 46). This Social Network Analysis (SNA) data was further coded in UCInet for the sake of visualizing the qualitative findings and as a between-method triangulation. However, as said, several of the participants commented, when asked to mark colleagues in the colleagues map that individuals important to their work were missing from the colleague map simply because they were not employed by TBC, but at clients or as other consultants hired for projects. Thus, paradoxically, the missing network data reveals one important finding, namely that individuals employed elsewhere play key roles for TBC employees' work.

The complete dataset (the 27 participants listed together with the 391 TBC colleagues that the 27 persons listed as important colleagues) was used as class material in a PhD course arranged by Århus Business School, August 2011. However, I have chosen to use the network data only as a back-drop to my analysis, because it says little besides one-way structural relationships and is therefore used only as a note about collaboration patterns in TBC. Hence, the network data was a supplement to the interviews and observations, an approach that network scholars have

recently called for (Brügger and Jensen 2012, Zeller 2012) because this mixed, between-method triangulation is argued to gain a more processual approach.

Analysis of Online Interaction Practices in the Social Enterprise Platform

Two functionalities in the social enterprise platform was studied in detail: the networking and the group functionality. In social network sites, newsfeeds with updates from contacts are regarded as important motivators for dialogue and interaction between participants (Burke, Kraut, and Marlow 2011). Who the 27 participants' followed and who followed them (the networking functionality, similar to friends on Facebook or Followers on Twitter), the 27 participants' group memberships (similar to groups on Facebook or LinkedIn), and who the other group members were, were mapped and thoroughly analyzed.

Of note are some geographical differences among the entities in using the social networking features of the enterprise platform. Few of those interviewed in the UK, and eight out of nine participants in Morocco, did not use this feature. Thus, half of the informants (14 of the 27) did not use this networking functionality. One explanation for this, also given by several of the participants, was usability related; that the news feed did not provide insights of colleagues' work, but more technical updates as when a person uploaded or edited a document etc. Another explanation is that employees address company-external sites where they have access to other individuals with whom they share specialization (e.g., LinkedIn or Quora.com).

Enterprise Platform and Content Analysis

The entire platform (all the entities in TBC's 20+ countries) was thoroughly analyzed in regard to its technical features (information architecture, interaction design, search, information model, etc.), and in regard to the content (content posted, discussions taking place, what blog posts received many likes and which none, community managers' interference, etc.) in regular time lapse because I also had access to the platform when I was not in the field settings. I pursued elements from the platforms (e.g., discussions, 'likes,' etc.) in conversations and informal meetings with consultants and managers. Hence, I could capture interactions that span online and offline settings. Platform-user statistics were extracted on a monthly basis from November 2010 to May 2012, and for the month of May 2013.

Social Relationships in Company-external Social Networking Sites

Because I wanted to see if there was a pattern between the listing of the 27 participants' go-to colleagues and the number of connections in the public social media landscape, I gathered the number of social relationships/contacts in Facebook and/or LinkedIn/Videao of all 27 participants interviewed. This data is, similar to the social network data covering the employees' go-to network, not used in-depth in this thesis for no other reason than not being of any particular relevance for the questions I address.

Data Analysis

Anthropologists often use the concepts of 'emic' and 'ethic' during the data gathering process and during analysis. While 'emic' investigates how those studied think and act from an individual point of view from inside, 'ethic' denotes the shifts from local observations,

categories, explanations, and interpretations to those of the anthropologist, from outside (Eriksen 2001). In research using ethnographic fieldwork the applications of an insider-outsider comparison are very relevant and practicable (Xia 2011).

The data analysis process took place in five phases. First, the data collection, which involved moving back and forth, including new dimensions along the way, and sometimes contacting the participant at a later stage with follow-up questions. Second, the recordings were listened to repeatedly, the field diary was read a number of times, and the video recording was viewed again and again while searching for themes, taking notes, and developing analytic categories and constructs. Third, Marika and I individually reviewed the interviews several times to identify overall themes and findings, coding and analyzing them with NVivo 8 to look for key patterns, similarities, and differences. I coded more than 240 nodes that were sorted into main topics (e.g., power, work model, pay model, user patterns, language, work place, problem solving, etc.), yet coding in a standardized computer system did not allow for a "dynamic" analysis, and I therefore used it as an "assistant tool" in addition to my field notes. The main findings were then discussed in depth with Marika. Fourth, I classified the 27 participants in an excel sheet, where I coded each one in relation to the main categories that had emerged from the data and the mapping (which entity they perceived as most similar or different than themselves, number of speak-to colleagues, etc.). Finally, the findings were presented to the TBC professionals who were involved as insiders (Brannen and Thomas, 2010) to validate the findings, which they did.

Methodological Choices

McGrath et al. (1982) sees the research process as dilemmas rather than choices. McGrath et al argues that all research strategies have methodological weaknesses and that "it's not possible, in principle, to do good research" (70). One way to cope with these dilemmas is to use multiple methods, selected from different classes with different vulnerabilities (101). From a holistic point of view, one major benefit with my research design is that I have a solid and thick description that provides me with an extensive fundament to reveal major keys in the interplay of modern work practices and their materialities used for working. Studying the close interplay of work, practices, and collaborative technologies where everyone is expected to write down and share their insights with others, comment on others' sharings, and connect with others whom they share some work characteristics with, requires fine-grained observational, conversational, and/or documentary detail (Yanow 2006, 1746). I have opened many different methodological windows, yet I have not "measured broad," but "measured depth." Thus, my data has a processual character by having an emphasis on action as well as structure over time (Pettigrew 1990), which is important since I employ a practice approach. As a strategy to deal with my data complexity, I used several of the routes to structure understandings in longitudinal field research as proposed by Pettigrew (1990, 282), (e.g., identifying analytical themes which cut across the data, using techniques of data reduction and display, being clear about the unit of analysis—for example, I analytically operationalized my key concepts and my sample at an early stage—making prescriptive statements as an aid to analytical generalization and explicitly stating the varieties and sequencing or research output. The different methodological tools have

provided data that has its different strengths; observations provided access to group processes, interviews provided depth. Observations offline provided insights to those online (interactions and communication in the enterprise platform), and vice versa. Rather than focusing on one type of data (e.g., social network data), I believe my mixed methodology has provided data that offers a holistic view representing a solid picture of modern working practices today and how social enterprise platforms correspond with these practices.

A Closing Note about the Historical Context of this Study

A closing note about some key elements at play in the historical setting that TBC was part of during this study need to be included (Pettigrew 1990). The European TBC entities in 2011 noticed at close hand the global finance crisis in 2010. From the entities included in this research, Copenhagen and Oslo 1, were, in particular, colored by this crisis in the economy that put extra pressure on the entities to land new contracts and on consultants to bill more hours. Oslo 1 had an especially hard time because they had an internal economic decline in addition to the industry financial crisis. Many employees ended their working contract at Oslo 1 during the field study in 2011, and when I returned to the field in 2012, four of the five informants in Oslo 1 had either already terminated or resigned from their employment contract with TBC. Due to the field study methodology, I had close contact with a number of other employees, so the validity of my research was not weakened by the high rate of dismissals. On the contrary, important issues for my research were revealed due to this. For example, the procedures for how content tied to the employee in the enterprise platform were dealt with in regard to privacy issues and how the surrounding critical context became visible due to the transparency of the social enterprise platform. Many employees who left wrote ‘thank you all for great moments at work, I’m beginning here or there’ posts where colleagues—many of whom did not know the person terminating—wrote comments expressing emotion at the loss of the colleague, good luck in the new job greetings, and that they would meet at conferences and work for clients in the future despite not working together at TBC anymore.

I will in the following four chapters present the findings from this study.

Chapter 5: Working Practices

How people work is one of the best kept secrets in America
(David Wellman in Suchman 1995, 56).

Introduction

This chapter is the first of four empirical and descriptive chapters where I present my findings. This first chapter describes (1) the employees' working contexts, (2) the offline (contextual) working and interaction practices with others when the employee needs assistance in work-related matters, which provides insights of a close connection between the constructs 'working' and 'interacting,'. (3) The technologies the consultants employ and how these interplay with working practices, (4) the characteristics for the work problems they are solving which assist with developing constructs that are more fine-tuned than 'knowledge work' and 'knowledge workers', and (5) how working time, space and place are interrelated. These elements are related to the empirical dimension highlighted in Figure 7 below in red:

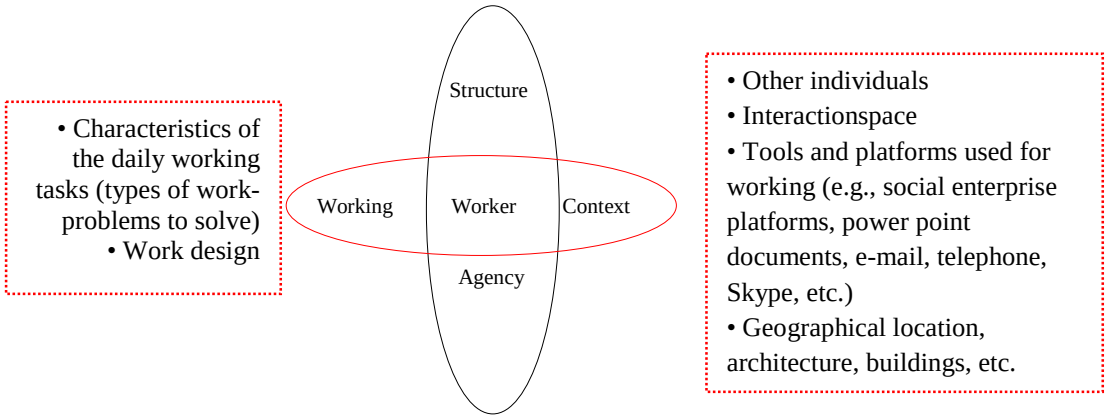

Figure 7: The elements discussed in this chapter are highlighted in red in my framework.

The insights presented in this chapter will provide the background needed to address the first of the two research questions: *How do consultants' working practices interplay with the company's social enterprise platform?* This chapter provides the in-depth background needed to fully answer that question and will provide insights into how the social enterprise platform corresponds with employees working practices. This is important because work technologies should be modeled on representations of work and designed in ways that represent the user's working processes (Suchman 1995, 61).

Working Contexts

The analysis of TBC consultants' daily work reveals seven main working contexts. These contexts provide seven work-types that I label out-housers, in-housers, over-lappers, distant workers, fixed sited teleworkers, teleworkers, and nomads.

Out-housers

Jo, in his fifties, meets me downstairs where he uses his key card to let me in to his client's building. We have spoken through email, and this is the first time we meet in person. On our way to his office, he explains how the building is organized, points to who sits where, and tells me that he has been on this project for the past five years. Characteristic for out-housers is that they are working in the clients' context. Jo has been employed at Oslo 2 for ten years, and before that he worked twenty years in a specific ICT-industry. That's where he met other Oslo 2 consultants. He collaborated with them on a shared project and they asked him to join the Oslo 2 office, which he did. Almost all the employees interviewed in this study got their work contract at TBC via personal channels. Jo explains:

> Jo: So, this is my office. I share it with my boss, but today she has the day off. She is the project director [for the client], and we have travelled around and presented the project a number of times.
> Lene: Your boss?
> Jo: Yes, she is my boss here at the client's, so, of course, I feel that she is my boss when I am here.
> Lene: On our way to your office you said you have been working for this client for the past five years?
> Jo: Well, that's not really true. Actually, this project started in 2003 [8 years ago], but this is how it is in a nutshell. I started with one project but it got changed along the way, and then they needed to merge different IT systems and new sub-projects came along in the process.

Jo knows the client's business models, the industry the client is addressing, and the IT systems common in this branch. The working contract between Jo and the client is facilitated by Oslo 2. Jo's manager plays a facilitative role between him and the customer. Jo's work, as with most consultants, is billed, measured, sold, and rewarded on an individual and hourly basis. This time and price model also mirror how the individual consultant's work is organized: in produced, billable hours. New sales and projects initiated from TBC consultants are rewarded with individual bonuses allocated to the individuals involved in the new sale. TBC consultants are part of a billable-hour structure, similar to Orlikowski's (1992b, 2000) Alpha consultants. TBC consultants working in management, sales, HR, and others, work with clients to get new contracts signed. The administration or back office coordinator facilitates for the consultants client work. Thus, there are two main categories of TBC workers: billers and no-billers.

Jo explains he is the only consultant from Oslo 2 at his client's office, but at one time, there were three consultants involved. Considering eight years to be a long time spent in a client's context, I ask him where he feels he belongs:

> Well, I feel that I belong to Oslo 2, I essentially do, absolutely. And to the client because I have been working here for such a long time. It's almost on the edge to be this long at a client, but it has been an elongated project and very interesting all the time. I feel in many ways that I am very integrated in this organization, being invited to the Christmas party and so on.

Another consultant, Jan, in his forties from Oslo 1 explains that, "Consultants need to be schizophrenic. This means that, on one side, you have to be full of empathy and be on your client's side, and on the other, keep your integrity." Jan explains that this is a typical dimension of doing consultancy work. Jan feels it's a bit frustrating to be part of the client's contexts, yet, he has "a work contract with Oslo 1, but when I'm working at a client's, I experience the same schizophrenic situation, which I'm actually at the client, and that everything I do and the value I create is towards the client. But the billing of hours are in the other side [Oslo 1]." This is a situation he is not very comfortable with. "I have a contract with Oslo 1, but when I'm at the customer's site, I feel that I belong to the customer."

Because of everyday work with individuals located in the client's context, the consultant is integrated into the practices, norms, and values at play at the client's business. His or her interactions are confirmed daily by the client's employees, feeling a safe belonging with colleagues that s/he works closely with as time goes by, and developing trustful relationships where the company borders between the client and his or her TBC unit become blurred. Being involved in several spaces is experienced as problematic, and many of the consultants feel this belonging-dilemma at heart.

Ulrik, from Copenhagen, waits at the entrance at his client's to let me in with his key card. He explains he has been here for the past year, and although he still feels close to TBC-Copenhagen, he also feels close to those he works with at the client's office. He escorts me to his office, which is right next to his client-manager. Ulrik is invited to Christmas and summer gatherings, but feels he needs to keep a certain distance because he is a consultant billing hours, and it could be perceived as a pointless use of a consultant's time. Yet, he has considered joining because the people are so nice; "I feel almost as if I am employed here."

Kim, another Danish consultant in his forties working as a support operation manager for a worldwide client, has difficulties answering where he feels he belongs, explaining:

> That is a good question because I have been here [at the Copenhagen office] four times the past seven months, well, it's a good question. It is. Because when you are the boss of some people they are my boys, and I have to take ownership [in his project]. So the only TBC issue I do for the moment is making my time sheets, and I receive TBC information, and I am employed by TBC-Copenhagen, so it's a good question.

Others, however, like Anders from Oslo 2, have a strategic approach to belonging;

> I collaborate with the client, and when I'm at a client's, I use the term 'we' as much as I can. Using 'we' means that I express myself as being one of them because it is for them I am doing a job. I am normally hired in to assist them with something. And my experience is that the better integrated I am with what they are doing, and the more 'we,' the better we will collaborate. It is something I have experienced for myself very much from my time at [his previous job]. There we had a number of consultancy companies in, and there was [a colleague from Oslo 2] that was considered as part of the organization that nobody thought of as a consultant. And then you had those consultants that brought in a number of people that should solve a task and they got very visible.

> And there is no doubt which consultant-type I thought was most efficient. And that got the most in return in the long term.

Anders is clearly a very reflexive consultant, using specific tactics to work his way into the client's social structure and practices. Interestingly, he sees being part of the client's structure as providing better collaboration. By being interpreted as one of them, and thus familiar with the practices at play, fewer misunderstandings will occur, and it will be easier to work together, he reckons.

In-housers and Over-lappers

For the moment, Jan is in a slack—between projects, spending his days at the Oslo 1 office working on smaller projects and other internal tasks. Consultants typically prepare client offers or deals, write reports, or build up new competence areas. Consultants in slacks, trainees, or consultants working on smaller projects that only occupy a couple of days per week and others working from their main TBC office are called 'in-housers.'[10] In-housers naturally bill clients with fewer hours than 'out-housers,' who work full weeks in client contexts. However, sometimes the clients also come to the TBC context for meetings or workshops.

Anna from Oslo 1 has a few project-days during her workweek where she works with this client from the main TBC office. Anna describes a typical workday:

> In a typical workday, I come to the office at eight o'clock. My day depends if I have a client or not, and is characterized by what kind of assignment I have. Last week, I had a client, and I started my workday eight at o'clock by meeting with suppliers Monday and Tuesday. The suppliers came in at eight-thirty, and they were here all day, and we had a summary at the end of the day. That was a typical project day.

Some consultants—over-lappers—work with several overlapping projects in parallel, either from the TBC entity, from the client, or from several contexts. Nabil, for example, from the Rabat entity, is occupied fully in two major projects. Nabil and the other team members typically move back and forth to the client, where meetings and workshops provide insights and clarifications they bring back to the TBC office and continue to work on from there.

Distant workers

Others, such as consultants working with outsourcing at the Rabat 2-unit, have the opposite organizational model from that previously described because they work full time solving problems for clients located in other countries. Outsourcing is when one company has a contract with another company to provide services that might otherwise be performed by in-house employees. Often, tasks that are outsourced could be performed by the company itself, but in many cases, there are financial advantages to outsourcing (Thompson 2014). The rule of thumb in strategic management is that a firm should not perform activities outside its core competencies; it is said others do such functions better, less expensively, or faster (King 2004). However, outsourcing has some well-known risks: it often eliminates direct communication between a company and its clients which may prevent a company from building solid

[10] In Norwegian: 'De som sitter inne og de som sitter ute'.

relationships with their customers, and often leads to dissatisfaction on one or both sides, delayed communications, and project implementation (Thompson 2014).

Outsourcers sit together with other outsourcers, yet do IT support for country-external clients, mainly alone or in the company of another outsourcer. Walid, a young man in his twenties explains to me; “We work with supporting all the TBC entities all over Europe, and the TBC entities’ clients.” Walid is located at Rabat 2 in Morocco, and explains that the TBC entities he assists have specialized expertise on the specific topic he supports. The IT problems Walid is working with are communicated from the client or via a TBC entity located in Europe via a service desk platform. Walid explains:

> They are providing us documentation, but they are the ones that develop the application, and they will therefore know more than we do, so we need additional information because they have information we don't have. They are very knowledgeable, and they are always providing additional information that we could not know of since they are the ones that develops the applications. On the surface level, we know the application, but then there is a deeper level in which we need some documentation so we can understand the problem.

To communicate, they speak on the phone, use Skype and email, but primarily use a service desk tool where the serial number of a problem is logged. With the serial number, they can track the advancement of the incident they seek to fix. Walid explains the process:

> The incident is a sign to us [that there is a work task waiting] and the tool will send an email with a message saying we have been assigned with this case. We connect to the tool, we browse the incident by the serial number, we have the section where we have the full description of the incident, a section where there might be attachments, for example, screen shots etc. So what we do is read the incident, check the attachments, perform an analysis and an investigation, and if we need more information we go to a section where I add an entry, ‘More information is needed,’ writing a summary where I add a note, for example, ‘Can you please provide me a screen shot of this or more details of that’ in order to proceed with my problem-solving.

Thus, Walid gets only a thin (Geertz 1983) problem description communicated in written text via the service desk tool. He has no social cues provided by face-to-face communication (Goffman 2000 [1959]) to navigate meaningfully from to assist him in solving the IT problem of his country-external TBC entity client. The correspondence in the service desk tool is directly with the client. Walid once travelled abroad to the client’s location to meet. It is important to meet, he explains, because “You get much more comfortable when you know the person you are communicating with.” Walid’s work concerns finding solutions to the TBC unit’s clients’ problems, yet under a constant lack of contextual insights into the problem and without help from other individuals located in that context. Walid is not only distant to the context of the IT problem, and thus other individuals, but also their social structure. Walid is not “lifted in” to the client’s social structure, rather the problems his work concerns solving are “lifted out” (Giddens 1984) from the context in which they were established and still occur. Hence, more

than being geographically distant, Walid is a distant worker: socially distant from critical key individuals and the logics at play in their social structure.

This is not without difficulties, and misunderstandings easily occur. The importance of being close to both other individuals working on a problem and the social structure in which a work problem is part, are shown in Bailey, Leonardi, and Barley (2012) study of an International Automobile Corporation that offshored incident-testing of cars to engineers in India. Bailey, Leonardi, and Barley (2012) stated:

> Although the Indian engineers were quite technically competent, they immediately encountered problems when fixing penetrations for three reasons. First, because automobiles are not nearly as common in India as they are in the United States, the Indian engineers lacked the American engineers' cultural familiarity with automobiles. Second, because they also lacked access to physical parts and the results of the physical tests that they were asked to simulate, they could not check their models against referents. Finally, the Indian engineers confronted the coordination problems associated with most virtual teams, which, in turn, complicated the other two problems. Most of the Indian engineers had never driven, much less owned, an automobile. In fact, cars were so rare that most Indian engineers lacked the kind of everyday knowledge of vehicles that Americans take for granted (…) The Indian engineers realized that they did not have adequate familiarity with automobiles and that this hampered their ability to fully understand the models they were building and, in particular, to deal with penetrations. (1492-1493) The organization of work into virtual teams meant that the Indian engineers lacked easy access to engineers on whom they depended for crucial information. (1499)

Thus, the Indian engineers in Bailey, Leonardi, and Barley (2012) study, as the distant workers at TBC: (1) lacked easy access to important other individuals to solve work problems, (2) lacked critical insights of the contextual practices in which the work problem or work task was a part (never driven a car, not a tradition to own a car in India—lack the insights of the context in which an IT-system-bug is part of), and (3) their work problems lacked the bigger information picture needed to work out the problem (lacked access to physical car parts—only a "thin" description is available in the service desk tool). Distant workers wish they knew the people they are assisting more personally:

> It would be interesting to collaborate together because we don't really interact. By collaboration, I mean collaboration as get there with the team, have trainings together, to be more human in the collaboration. Technology can do the job at a certain point. We can do it through Skype, the enterprise platform, or for any means of communication. But I think it mainly depends on the human will, this is part of the mindset attitude; it is a part of this collaboration. We can communicate about everything, but we do not know the person on the other side of the computers, so I don't know his profile, his person, and how they interpret what I am saying.

Thus, other individuals working on the same problem are absent to distant workers. Distant workers are physically and socially distant to the social structures on which their problems rely; "Relations with those who are physically absent involve social mechanisms distinct from what is involved in contexts of co-presence" (Giddens 1984, 37). More than being geographically distant to their work problems, the distant workers are socially distant. This is a key difference from different types of telework.

Fixed-site Teleworkers

Telework occurs when workers' use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) enables them to substitute remote work for work in the same location as their colleagues, employers, or customers (Garrett and Danziger 2007). In the literature, the term teleworker typically describes workers that do not commute to a central place, but rather work from their homes (Wellman et al. 1996, Kjaerulff 2010). However, there are many different categories or types of telework (Garrett and Danziger 2007). Kim, for example, is located in his client's context in Denmark, yet manages four of his client's entities, whereas three of these are located abroad;

> Kim: I work as a support operation manager for [a worldwide client]. I have 23 guys that refer to me as boss.
> Lene: They are TBC employees?
> Kim: They are clients' employees. A system can crash at 10:00 am, something is wrong and we need to figure it out because the problem needs to be solved by 11:00 am. I meet [at the clients'] at eight-thirty in the morning and prepare an operation meeting where representatives from all the departments, also on video conferences, are gathered, where I review how many issues that are present. The biggest issues right now are then addressed, and I direct the assistance to where it needs to be; collaborate across the departments, get focused if there is a bigger issue and make sure we get the focus on getting the systems back up and going. It takes fifteen minutes in the morning and then we delegate. And once every week, I have a meeting with the service desk about what I want their goal to be or how their things are going.
> Lene: How do you communicate with your guys over there?
> Kim: By email, office communicator, Skype, phone, or video conference.
> Lene: So what do you do if you are stuck, if you have a problem, how do you solve it?
> Kim: I don't. If something needs to be addressed I'll approach across [the client's subsidiaries horizontally] and say 'Can I borrow him or him, because this is not working, and we have five hundred or fifteen hundred users that can't work worldwide now, if you give us one guy we can get it back up.'
> Lene: So you communicate with the other managers?
> Kim: Yes, typically with the other managers, but there are lots of teams in [one of the subsidiaries] or in the parent company. It is only fast communications that is required when issues are to be solved. 'How do we do this, could you, and you, and you do…' and so on, and then we need to have a gathering in fifteen minutes and then we have solved it.

Kim shows how his work mainly concerns reaching the right people and communicating with others in real time, or fast communication as he puts it. However, it is not only in real time his work is done, he is co-present (via Skype and telephone) despite his physical absence to the others' physicality. Clearly, despite that employees Kim manages and the problems he solves are located in a variety of different physical locations, he is very much in co-presence with individuals he is working and communicating with through technologies that enable face-to-face interaction and speaking in real time. Skype, office communicator, phone—where email and conversations complement each other and where the main driver is to solve a critical problem quickly— are major factors.

Kim is a variant of a fixed-site teleworker and a mobile teleworker. A fixed-site teleworker denotes those who do some work at home or in a satellite office, while mobile teleworkers work predominantly in the field (Garrett and Danziger 2007, 30). However, Kim is an out-houser in the sense that he works at his client's location. Yet, his work problems are located elsewhere—he manages individuals at other places located in his client's subsidiaries and in other companies (suppliers etc.). Thus, he is present on a daily basis with individuals in his client's social structure and co-present with his staff located elsewhere.

Different from the distant workers at Rabat 2, Kim is close to the IT problems, to others assisting in the repairs, and he has a thick description of the many aspects that the problem concerns due to his intense communication with and coordination of others. Kim organizes his workday in a typical workday rhythm: beginning in the morning and ending in the afternoon. Furthermore, he is co-present in real time with his guys during his workday, by intense overlapping of face-to-face meetings, video conversations, telephone conversations and email correspondence. Thus, although he is located at his client's location, he is addressing social relationships in a number of overlapping social structures.

Teleworkers

David, a consultant in his fifties contracted by TBC-London, is the kind of Teleworker the literature typically denotes with the concept 'working from his home' (Wellman et al. 1996, Kjaerulff 2010). David explains he is:

> (. . .) more focused on the project I'm working on rather than TBC. We don't work in the office as much now. Consultants tend to work either on-site or at home. I mean, the last four months I've been mostly at home.
> Marika: So how often do you come to the office?
> David: Once every three months?
> Marika: Can you describe your workday then? Typically, when you're at home?
> David: Ok. I tend to start work at about half past seven in the morning. I'll read my emails, work out if there's anything urgent that needs doing immediately. And I manage most of my to-do list in a mixture of Outlook and a spread sheet. So I sort of consult those and decide what I need to do urgently. I tend to be most productive from about half past seven in the morning up to lunch time. So I try to get the most important things that require a lot of thinking, and then I can focus on maybe other things in the afternoon. So my day is broken up by phone calls as well, so depending

> on how many phone calls I have during the day that can make it harder to manage, because each call you've got to spend a bit of time preparing for and then you might get actions that need to be followed up afterwards. I work until sometimes 7 in the evening. So that's the sort of general description of the workday.

Although David is located in his home, he organizes his work as a typical workday with clock-time: beginning in the morning and ending in the afternoon, structured temporally in workday routines. Hence, teleworkers structure work time in meaningful sequences although they are in their homes. David continues:

> Every day at 9:30, we have a call for half an hour where we catch up and, you know, anyone that's got anything. Often, someone needs to discuss something with a particular person, and if they can't resolve it in a couple of minutes, then we'll take it and have a call afterwards. We have a continuous Skype joint chat running, so if anyone wants to ask anything. We're always on Skype. And then obviously you can also do one to one's, if you want to get engaged with someone in particular. Skype is the main way in which we collaborate as a group. But we keep this daily chat as a separate area so we can effectively say what we want. And also, it does get some social chat, non-work chat, on it as well.

Despite being located at different geographical places, David works in co-presence with his team, interacting with them in real time through Skype and telephone throughout the entire workday. David and his team do not replace face-to-face interaction with technology as Olson and Olson (2000) are skeptical to, they expand their existing relationship.

David's working tasks do not rely on stationary systems or machines, but the work of other TBC employees. David and his team also rely on individuals employed at the client's and other vendors, and thus need to communicate with them regularly. However, teleworkers in TBC organize their working day according to the same practices as if they were in the office: in clock-time (coming in the morning, leaving in the afternoon), work tasks (working out how to make the systems align with customer's requirements, email replies, telephone conversations that lead to new tasks etc.), and daily routines and conversations with colleagues about social and work matters. Thus, the main difference between the teleworkers Kim and David, and the distant workers, is that distant workers are not only located geographically far from problems they need to fix, they also are a long distance to individuals in the host country who posit critical information.

Nomads

Nomad workers are the last work type of the seven contextual dimensions revealed in the analysis of TBC consultants' work. A nomad worker typically picks up and continues on work tasks s/he has been working on earlier in the day, or with other tasks related to day-to-day work, for example email work in which the content varies tremendously, writing on documents that need to be finished, or other work tasks somehow related to the workers daily work and to clock-time. Hence, nomad work collapses space, which is found to have implications for

existing temporal boundaries (Prasopoulou, Pouloudi, and Panteli 2006, 277), for example, experiencing constant emails ticking in as stressful.

Nomads denote the opportunity to pick up and continue on work tasks regardless of time, space, and place; on the go, in cafes, from the airport, from home, while travelling, etc. Nomads differ from what the literature describes as 'flexi-workers,' that denotes employees that work from home, the office, and the field (Garrett and Danziger 2007, 30) because rather than a focus on spatiality (place) nomad work denotes temporality: the opportunity to pick up work time.

While telework is organized according to a typical workday's clock-time and co-presence (Giddens two concepts of 'time'), nomads work across clock-time and co-presence. Nomads are characterized by being constantly available due to the flexibility in work tasks (elements that do not require the work of others), Internet connections, and mobile devices. Email correspondence and face-to-face conversations overlap during TBC professionals' working days, and answering emails and working on documents after working hours are typically nomad tasks.

All the TBC consultants interviewed are nomads from time to time and several have expressed, especially those with a family life, that this is tiring. Several TBC professionals have changed their strategy from the absence of definite boundaries between the two spheres to a segmenting strategy where they separate work and private life more to minimize work's presence when being off-work by choosing not to synchronize devices and check email. Anna, from Oslo 1, for example, refused to synchronize her email client when she got a new mobile phone. She synchronized her previous phone, but now says, "I don't bother anymore. No, I can't take any longer. I have to try to have a tiny bit of private life as well. I have two kids that I barely see."

However, the workload alone doesn't explain why so many experience nomad work as tiring. Maha, for example, a consultant in Rabat and mother of two, tells me she enjoys her work as a consultant, but stresses the importance of others for this enjoyment. Nomad work is very much related to reciprocity in social work relations. Maha explains:

> I like my work very much. It's a lot of work, but I really like it. To work with these colleagues are great, everyone is young and have the same mentality! That's why it's quite good to work with everybody here. We send a lot of emails to know the next steps to work on. Or if there is a problem or something. We work even in the weekends! We exchange mails during the weekends, we phone daily.

Maha explains that she came home just before her children went to bed the other day and she continued working late after the kids went to sleep. Although their project deadline is close, it is not simply because of this that Maha and the other team members work day and night to make it. Maha also explains that her team is like a family that trusts each other. She sees assisting others, and not only her team-members in need of work help, in reciprocal terms: "It is human to help someone that asks for something, and if they don't help you, the day they will ask for help, it is normal that you say, 'Oh, I don't know' (she laughs). It is human nature. It will help me to help you."

The close interplay of the notion of being a good consultant, the reciprocal elements to the team members, where the team works together in a collective manner, the making of a good piece of work, is expanded due to the mobile availability of working across time, place, and space. Maha is a reflexive employee and could choose not to work late or on the weekends, but the reciprocal drivers embedded in the social relationships with the other team-members and thus the practices at play, set implicit directions for her actions.

As said, many TBC consultants have tried to minimize work's presence when off work by choosing not to synchronize devices and check email. Yet, this strategy is difficult to achieve fully in practice, because email comes in many genres, making it difficult to eliminate.

Much work today is flexible in that work is no longer tied to physical machines or places, but to other individuals, who in turn are accessible because of communication systems via the Internet (email servers, coverage of signal etc.). Altruism is a primary characteristic of consultants (Løwendahl 2005) and the underlying rule for reciprocity in social relationships calls for feedback from others, making work never-ending and exhausting for many. Intrinsic team motivation to work late evenings and long hours and to have personal passion for one's work are also observed by Trygg (2014) and Massey (1995). There is a norm among knowledge workers which has been integrated in employees' professional identity to work long hours and to always be accessible (Trygg 2014, Perlow 1999, Massey 1995, Kodz et al. 2003). Some explain the occurrence of this norm in terms of a team spirit, that one does not want to let the others down, and that they find their jobs highly engaging (Massey 1995, 488). Working practices is closely related to other individuals and to personal drivers at play in social relationships. Who TBC employees work with and who they approach for work assistance is the topic for the next section.

Collaboration Patterns Between TBC Units and Professionals

The analysis of the social network data of who a TBC consultant addresses when s/he needs insights and advice in working matters—and vice versa—suggests there is little cross-unit collaboration or co-working across the 20+ entities in TBC, even when the entities are located within the same country or city. Collaboration is the process where individuals provide significant help to each other. Cross-unit collaborations are processes where people from different units work together in cross-unit teams on a common task or provide significant help to each other's cross-unit (Hansen 2009, 14). When the go-to colleagues listed by the 27 participants were coded into the network tool UCInet, it revealed that few of them listed colleagues from other TBC entities (Illustration 3):

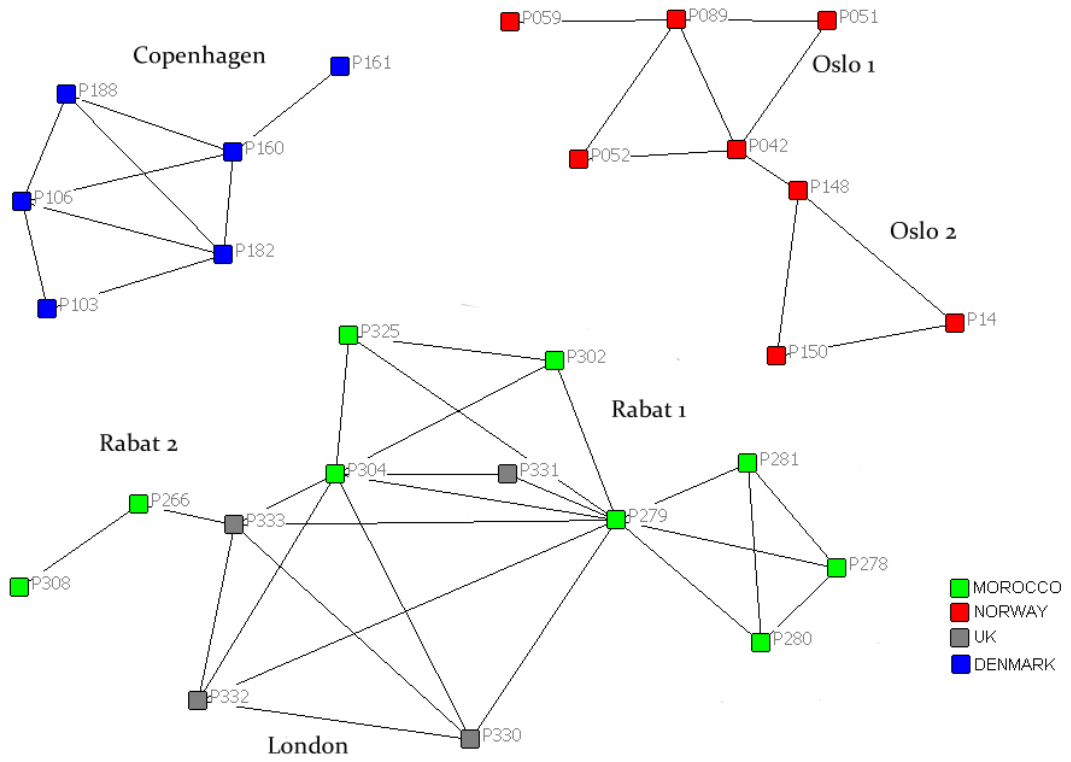

Illustration 3: The sample's interconnectivity with each other. TBC's social enterprise platform was launched in all included countries at least seven months before the SNA data was collected[11].

Illustration 3 shows how the 27 TBC professionals are connected to each other. The 27 employees interviewed list few of the other 27 participants as individuals they reach out to in working matters, regardless of the approaching channel (e.g., face-to-face, email, telephone etc.). The snowballing sampling brought us from Norway to Denmark, yet the Dane listed by one of the Norwegian participants was not interviewed and is therefore neither in the interview sample nor in Illustration 3, yet in Illustration 4.

When all the TBC colleagues that TBC professionals listed as important for their work, and not limited to the 27 potential connections with each other, are included in UCInet, the first impression is strengthened: TBC workers do not approach their TBC colleagues from other entities when they need assistance;

[11] Oslo 1, where the pilot study was conducted, was one of the first countries that launched the enterprise platform.

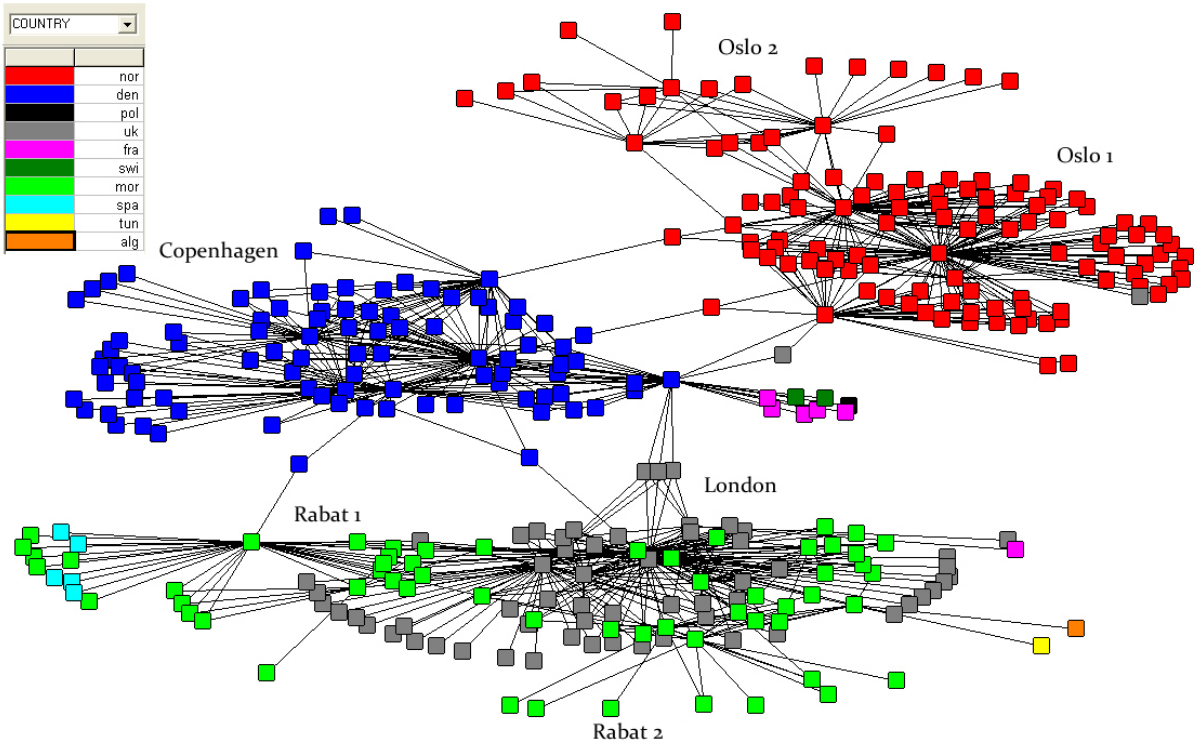

Illustration 4: The sample's important-for-working network. The social network data are based on one-way relationships of the total (N=391) TBC colleagues the 27 participants listed as important for their work. The image suggests three clusters of local networks.

Although the image suggests a dense interconnectivity between the UK and Morocco, this is more an expression of how the work in the outsourcing unit is organized in TBC, rather than an expression of who the employee reaches out to in their daily work matters. When the network data is presented with the individual's work role, the brokers that bridge network clusters (the persons illustrated as nodes connecting the different clusters) are shown to be consultants or employees working with HR, administration, marketing, or management:

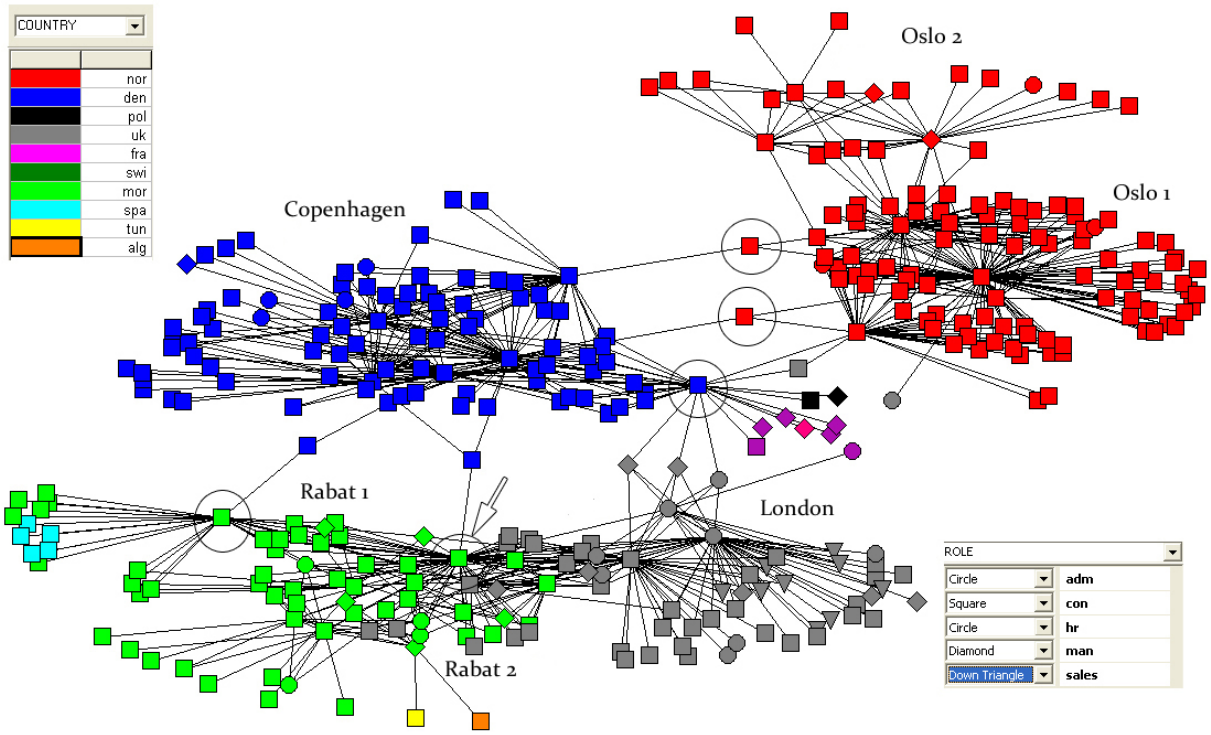

Illustration 5: The sample's important-for-working network sorted on roles. Consultants approach other consultants directly and not via management, sales, administration, or HR staff. When the data is sorted on work role, five (two Moroccans approach two Danes, two Norwegians approach two Danes, and one British approaches administration and HR staff in UK) of the 27 participants that list TBC professionals at other TBC entities than their own, all are consultants (highlighted with a circle in the figure) approaching other consultants. One of the five consultants (a Dane) approached administration or HR staff (in UK). Consultant nodes are denoted in the figure as squares, administration as circles, HR as circles, management as diamonds, and sales staff as down triangle. Despite the small N, the illustration nonetheless suggests that consultants approach other consultants directly and not via management. One exception is Morocco where some of the consultants explain that they reach out via their manager. All consultants in this study explain that they use email, Skype, or telephone as communication devices when approaching other consultants at other entities.

When asked why they did not collaborate more with individuals employed at other TBC units, one employee explains, "It is a bit like money and hot dogs. If hot dogs are not the product you sell, knowledge about hot dogs, or connections with individuals working with hot dogs, is thus not relevant for you in your work." Although TBC provide services within some main areas, the services seem to differ locally. I noted in my field diary 2011:

> It seems that it's not relevant for everyone in TBC to collaborate with each other. One I spoke with today explained that their local market has unique rules and norms, and that business deals need to be done in line with these rules that are different from the markets that entities abroad address (country not listed due to anonymity).

However, who TBC workers approach when they need assistance in work-related matters is much more complex than the SNA illustrations suggest. The illustration only shows one side of the reach-out-for-help dice, because there are a number of assisting individuals missing in the data. Many of the participants explained they thought the task of listing TBC professionals on the colleague map was a difficult one simply because the individuals they most reached out to during their working day were not listed on the map. This was because they were not

employed by TBC, but employed by clients, vendors, competing consultancy firms, and others. Consultants located at client locations listed remarkably fewer close TBC colleagues than consultants who worked primarily from the main TBC office.

Working Close to and with Relevant Others in Shared Contexts

When TBC professionals need assistance in work-related matters, they address others they know from daily interaction, trusting that these individuals will assist them or mediate other trustworthy individuals to approach. This also goes the other way around; TBC professionals are approached with work-related questions by individuals they know.

> Lene: Where do you reach out to get the information you need for working? Morten: I get much of what I need through the people I work with, because this is knowledge the client and their two suppliers that we work with have, and now [name of another consultancy firm] are also working on it. This is the good old consultant's way of working. The expertise is out at the client's.

When approaching others, the consultant chooses communication spaces that are closed, smaller, and personal (direct conversations, telephone, or email), and that provide a good overview of who is part of the conversation. The field studies and participatory observations also reveal that TBC consultants sit physically close to others they approach for help. Individuals located close to the employee are typically individuals important for the employee's work and with whom they share a work relationship (e.g., a shared domain of expertise, working on the same project, similar work function or shared hierarchical rank such as management, sales, or HR). The tendency to sit physically close to important colleagues was also the norm for consultants working at clients' offices, such as Jo and Ulrik.

Interestingly, despite that many of the TBC office spaces have an open landscape model, most TBC professionals who came to the office sat at the same desks, in the same physical place day after day. Small personal symbols that signaled a sense of belonging (e.g., pictures of family, a yellow note, or personal belongings) were often left at the desk when the employee went home, constructing a personal space of belonging. Having co-workers with a shared and relevant specialization close made the interchangeable small talk about life and working matters easy and efficient, and the employee could get fast replies in real time on questions that surfaced during the workday. Conversations were going in the employees' mother tongues (Arabic, Danish etc.). Hence, working close to relevant others was both useful and efficient, but also social.

Two entities in this study (Oslo 2 and Rabat 1) did not have a landscape model. However, their office space was organized such that the architectural space mirrored function (e.g., management were close to each other) and business model (the services TBC provides), and thus, similar to the social space that TBC professionals who worked in the open landscape model constructed. Regardless of architectural office structure—open landscape or traditional offices—employees worked at physical places (desks, offices) where other important co-

workers were available close to them. Hence, individuals construct workspaces in the physical structure.

One motivation listed for addressing co-workers for assistance was that they were located closely to others relevant to themselves. When close to the others, the employee controls the boundaries of their conversation. When the TBC professional needs assistance in work-related matters, they address individuals who they already know and that have earlier provided help, but also due to an imagination of what others can assist; "I go to people I know because I know who they are. Well, I imagine they can solve my problem, or we can have brainstorm to solve it together," as Maha put it. Previous experiences have provided knowledgeable answers. The time aspect therefore plays an important role for who the consultant approaches for help. Experiences from the past are drawn and acted upon in the present. Recent research sees trust as relational, were trust is a continuous process that forms as a consequence of experiences of interaction (Möllering 2012, Swärd 2013). From this perspective plays joint long history a key role in developing trust over time (Lui, 2009), since an individual's repertoire of potential future actions are interpretations of prior interactions (Jones and Karsten 2008, 195-196). Employees also reach out and build new social relationships to TBC colleagues via colleagues as this consultant does: "I am also using my friend Tom's connections. He worked in [another entity] and he knows some people, and he tells me who is good in different and specific fields and who I should get to know."

When asked what it would take for them to share more of their knowledge, many reported that economic incentives trump keeping up-to-date, sharing their insights (e.g., in blog posts at TBC's social enterprise platform), and assisting coworkers (that typically call out for help in emails or in the enterprise platform). This consultant in his forties explains:

> We are incentivized to be fully utilized: if we get a100 percent utilization, we get a nice bonus at the end of the year. And every day you work less of that, it counts off your bonus. Last year, I got 80 percent and got a nice bonus for that, and I'm trying to do even better this year.

Orlikowski (2000) explained that one of the groups of Alpha consultants in her study of Lotus Notes did not use the software due to working in a billable-hour structure. However, though TBC professionals are working in a billable-hour structure, they help and assist others with insights and advice constantly during their workday. Approaching knowledgeable individuals to get assistance at work was a practice the consultants took for granted. This assistance is provided to individuals in the consultant's close working context and is not thought of as "knowledge-sharing" by the consultants. A work practice throughout the workday consists of providing assistance and getting assistance in return. Thus, providing assistance is reciprocal and related to TBC workers working out problems processes during their daily work. This is illustrated when Maha explains the characteristics of a good consultant;

> someone that is working with a team, not working alone, despite being autonomous. Autonomous in the sense of being able and in charge of asking out to the others. The consultant is with a team; the project is a team project. And the consultant has to work along in the direction a project is going, to collaborate.

Similar to Orr (1996) findings, the consultant's work is seldom done in isolation, but together in different manners depending on the work role and tasks with others working on the project. Assisting each other at work is not synonymous with assisting all other colleague's in a collective platform. As Stenmark (2002, 11) found, although the organization was characterized with a "knowledge sharing environment" where the employees willingly shared their experiences and helped the newly hired learn, this was not transferred to make the intranet a "knowledge sharing environment."

Work assistance in TBC is mixed with work talk and social talk during the workday. Social chat is closely related to solving work tasks and problems. Furthermore, conversing in co-presence, orally and electronically, and in a shared locale or context (Giddens 1984), interplays interchangeably at TBC. When consultants work close to each other in co-presence, misunderstandings in communication are sorted out immediately. When speaking of specific work issues, all the others immediately understand what the issue is about because they all work on the same or similar domains, and they can provide the facial cues and point to specific matters not easily captured in written words. The daily routines of working together also nurture a common communication ground (Clark 1996). Hence, working closely together in a shared context not only makes working tasks more efficient, it also adds social and informal elements to the conversation and, thus, the relationships between the consultants. This is also how consultants working at clients' offices work; the co-workers, regardless of company membership, play a key role in the consultants' work and vice versa.

Characteristic of the modern society, Giddens (1990) says, are the time-space distantiation and disembedding mechanisms. However, being in different contexts alone is not disembedding for the worker. As shown by the Dane Kim, who manages his guys in the shipping industry across a variety of geographical places, and David, the teleworker who telephones and Skypes daily with his team colleagues, it is possible to be co-present throughout the entire work day despite not being located in a shared context. Also, when not sitting physically close, they had "some social chat, non-work chat, on it as well," as David admitted. TBC consultants are therefore integrated in their workplace social system, in either client structures or TBC structures, on a regular basis where reciprocity is shown via the intertwined social and work chat and building social trust among team members, where they regularly check up on each other, either in co-presence (real time via online communication media), or in co-presence and shared locales (sitting physically close). However, their relationship was once created offline, by working together. This is different than the distant workers who have not established a social relationship to the individuals involved in their work problem and have never been part of their social structure. Distant workers address other distant workers sitting physically close to them when they work out their respective problems even though they tackle problems in different countries.

Approaching Known Individuals versus Unknown TBC Colleagues

All 27 participants in the sample were members of either the social networking site Facebook or professional networking sites such as LinkedIn or Viadeo, often members of both types of services. Several of the participants had close TBC colleagues, previous colleagues, and contacts established from earlier clients and customers as friends on Facebook or contacts at

LinkedIn or Viadeo. Twenty-five of the 27 participants had LinkedIn/Viadeo profiles, with 217 contacts each on average. LinkedIn members have 60 contacts on average (Prodromou 2012). Twenty-one of the 27 participants in this study were Facebook members with 222 friends on average. Half of all adult Facebook users had (in 2014) more than 200 friends in their network (Smith 2014a).

Interestingly, if close colleagues in the shared working context cannot assist, many employees' call, send emails, or address non-TBC professionals they are connected with on external social sites such as Facebook or LinkedIn. Online social sites play important roles for employees reaching out to their company-external relationships. TBC professionals confront individuals they know when they reach out to others with work-related questions in their company external networks. If these individuals cannot provide answers, these contacts provide others the TBC employee should contact further. Employees trust that people they know will put them in contact with individuals who can provide valuable answers. Contacts and friends often work with similar tasks and work domains, as this consultant explains:

> I use Facebook all the time. I have kept contact with some of my old colleagues in my old company. And also people I have known from school who work with the same as me. So yes, I do that a lot. I call (a person) who is working in the same field as me, and he looks for relevant things for the project I work with now. Yes, so we do that all the time.

Hence, rather than seeking assistance from TBC workers employed at other TBC entities the employee does not know, s/he addresses individuals in his or her company-external online social networks. Thus, TBC employees reach out, and not inwards TBC, for assistance and competence. The importance of internal networking is stressed by Hansen (2009).

Technologies for Working

So far the analysis has shown that the context where TBC professionals work matters for whom they approach and interact with during their working day. Employees sit physically close to others important for their own work, and being physically close was shown to play an important role in being part of a shared social structure.

Since a high degree of autonomy is one key characteristic of being a consultant (Løwendahl 2005), internal coordination between workers is also one major part. Email correspondence is used to communicate, coordinate employees' work tasks, and solve work problems. Email, therefore, interplays closely with the consultant's daily work, as this Norwegian consultant explains: "How do I solve a work-related problem? If it's not directly related to a project where I have project colleagues around me, then email is probably my first option."

Email applications were originally designed for asynchronous communication (Whittaker and Sidner 1996), but have with time developed into serving more functions. The email-address has become our digital key or ID that allows us into information spaces. There is little you can do on the Internet besides surfing web pages without an email address. For example, membership in social media sites and an increasing amount of online services on the Internet are designed

and built around the email practice where email is used as an ID for entry. Access to tools provided by Google, Dropbox, OneDrive, and most other online services, uses email as a security entry.

Email today serves three main functions for employees' work: a personal task management tool (document delivery, work task delegation, task tracking, coordination, and planning), a communication platform, and a personal archive where names, addresses, documents etc. are kept for future advantages (Whittaker, Bellotti, and Gwizdka 2006). Email applications serve as the space where TBC employee's work is coordinated, communicated, delegated, and planned.

Email is a TBC consultant's main tool for communicating and coordinating his or her work with others. "Emailing, it's the main important thing. That is the means of communication we use. Everything is by email," explains one consultant from Morocco. This pattern is valid for all TBC consultants, regardless of the context in which they work. Furthermore, workers organize their emails into folders, sorted by year and project, similar to how documents are sorted and stored in hierarchical folders on one's computer and on the local server. Emails for working are stored and not deleted, explain employees, because it provides the opportunity to return to later when they work on new projects with similar topics, keep contact information, and for documentation reasons. Documents employees work on are communicated between co-workers via email, and many have created complex folder structures to keep track of previous emails. Email programs are in many senses the node in consultants' work, and thus one of the most important work tools; "A lot of my work, is, if you like, driven by emails. I need to stay in touch and know that I haven't missed something important," Jo explains. Being in long-term projects, Jo and other consultants have several email accounts; "I have my entity's email account, my client's email account, and my private email account. So, it is quite a lot of emails, and that is why my mobile phone is a very important work tool," Jo explains. To employees, emails represent a mixture of correspondence—one-to-one, or between team members—related to working tasks and problem solving, and employees send and reply to emails across work time, work hours, and work contexts as nomads. Yet, emails also concern several other types than those having a coordinating character, namely, emails that concern company and entity information sent to all employees, notifications from a number of online services (blogs, newsletters, social media), spam mail etc., in which the consultant often experiences a stressful email overload. Kim, the Teleworker from Denmark, explains:

> I have the email on my phone. It is a 3G because I have client mail, TBC mail, and my private mail on this [he shows his phone]. On the weekend, I try not to work, but the little red dot down here says 105 unread emails, and I know that I will have a busy time when I return. So that stresses you a bit.

Furthermore, consultants use the electronic calendar for planning their work (invites to meetings, workshops, deadlines etc.), and calendars are integrated in the email programs. Email and calendars are therefore important for the consultants because they assist three key processes for consultants' work: communication, coordination and planning of tasks.

Furthermore, when studying the technologies TBC professionals employ for working, the analysis found that the artifacts needed for most TBC professionals for working are limited: a computer laptop (enables writing), a telephone (enables speaking), and an electronic key card (enables access to the physical office context). However, these materialities are empty containers and need to be integrated with relevant electronic or digital programs and systems the employee needs to work. A great deal of the computer systems the consultants use were shown to often be manifested in the local context at the client's as well as in the local TBC entity's location. Also email is tied to a physical place; the sender's address is directed to a specific place (the organization or company). The working context plays a key role in that technology has a crucial role in organizational design because it enables and constrains the enactment of social practices (Frößler 2008, 25).

Out-housers that spend long time periods at the client's get a client-email account and often also a laptop provided with the necessary client systems. Thus, working in co-presence in client's structures also concerns working in co-presence in the client's technological systems. Abdo and Hamza, for example, two young engineers formally contracted to the Rabat 1 entity, were connected to their client from day one. They were hired by Rabat 1 solely because the client required [a specialized topic] engineers. The only time Abdo and Hamza entered the TBC office was during the job interview and later when they signed their working contract. At their client, Abdo and Hamza work with client-related tasks in the client's computer systems, using their internal communication platform to look for technical information they need, working with their own client's email address, and using a laptop computer and a mobile phone provided by the client. They are much easier reached with their client mail than TBC mail they explain, using it securely during their workday inside the client's firewall. Moreover, access to the client's ICT systems provides access to other important knowledgeable individuals at the client's.

Out-housers who spent long time spans at their clients, is closely tied to and slowly integrated to clients' technological as well as to their social structures due to being located in shared contexts. The specific work tasks the out-houser does is therefore closely related to the client's ICT structure, with a personal key card that explicitly illustrates access to a physical context. The email address provides a digital key that enables entry to a digital organizational structure. This accounts for the work of in-housers at the TBC entity as well, with communication and computer systems used internally either locally or globally by TBC employees (e.g., email system, time sheets, document management systems, financial systems, databases of TBC employees' competences and skills, the social enterprise platform, and other more locally oriented systems), where fire walls tie technologies to the particular context. While some systems and areas are globally accessible to all TBC entities, others are only accessible to a specific entity and local context. TBC professionals working from their main office use the internal computer systems and store their documents at the local server within the virtual firewall. For example, one of the Norwegian in-housers in his fifties had his //:G area organized into folders with content the team used when working. Years of work were structured in a folder-logic that would make it easy to return to in forthcoming projects. Furthermore, electronic documents interplay with local artifacts only available offline—in that specific

context. Jo points to a stack of yellow sticky notes on his desk and explains; “We use yellow sticky notes a lot in our development program here. In the project office, we have daily meetings and work with sticky notes for different things. It is a very oral and a sticky note-oriented process.”

Jo uses agile methodology which is a popular method in software development. Agile methodologies highlight that working processes are less concerned with documenting and writing down and more focused on people (Williams 2010). Tasks or needs in agile development are broken down into single units written down on sticky notes than can easily be moved around on the project board (and thus change its prioritized developing sequence). “The most efficient and effective method of conveying information to and within a development team is face-to-face conversation” (Alliance 2001). Hence, much of Jo’s work, and many of the other TBC workers’ in software development, is based more on oral communication and close interaction in real time with the team members and less on documentation. Jo’s yellow notes would not make much sense for others outside his team, and it would be pointless to upload them on a collective platform for collective advantage because the notes need contextual understanding to be meaningful and useful for others. Hence, the yellow notes are inseparably tied to the context in which they were created. And the context is not simply the place or location; the yellow notes or project documents are made together with other individuals. Thus, the yellow notes or project documents are inextricably related to both the context and the individuals, and thereof the social structure in which they were constructed. The notes and documents require the contextual dimension to fully make sense. This makes standardization of content difficult. This challenge was also observed in regard to classification in other computer systems at TBC. For example, TBC has a global competence database, or CV-database. The database should provide an overview of the competence in the company so managers and others can easily ascertain if a specific type of competence is available in the organization. However, a manager explained that the CV-database was constructed from the perspective of knowledge and competencies directed towards a French market. Those categories or competencies do not fit the market or the context in which the manager works and s/he uses LinkedIn instead when searching for a specific competence. Similarly, internal surveys from the parent company is reported to contain questions that fit a French perspective. Hence, the manager points to what was illustrated with Jo’s yellow sticky notes, documents located in a unique context and that make little sense outside that context. This matter was also observed by Ekstedt et al. (1999) in their cross-sectional study of 25 organizations. They found experiences employees gained in various projects were context-dependent and impossible to encapsulate in a database in any meaningful form.

Summarized, work problems among TBC professionals are done in close interaction with other individuals and ICT systems and closely related to the context in which they are solved. Furthermore, the analysis finds that work problems differ in complexity and characteristics.

Work Problem Characteristics: Technical Workers and Process Workers

Alvesson (2004) argues that knowledge work concerns a team's problem solving and ability to interpret and adjust to new challenges where deliverance and assistance often is characterized by a high degree of uncertainty (in Trygg 2014).

When looking at the types of work problems TBC consultants solve during a workday, they can roughly be sorted into two ideal types. The ideal types should not be mistaken to be mutually exclusive, but rather as a continuum between two poles. These work problems are 'well-defined' and 'less well-defined,' as one employee coined it. Consultants working with technical issues (e.g., IT support, system development etc.) typically encounter work problems that have the potential to be well-defined, while consultants working with analysis, planning etc. work with areas and problems that are less well-defined. With problems well-defined, a correct answer or solution to a problem exists, although the answer might have been changed for the better. A great part of solutions to problems thus lie in the past—they have occurred earlier and have therefore been solved before—having generic (general) characteristics. Consultants working with problems well-defined are what I label 'technical workers'. As Abdo, the out-houser who was sold out to his client from day one stated, "I check problems. When there is a lack of coverage somewhere, we have to present a solution. We have to define the new site, come up with a solution for coverage, and so on. Or where there are problems in some sites, we have to solve the problems. It's the daily work."

Solutions to problems well-defined require complex problem solving, yet they are easier to define, identify and standardize than problems less well-defined. This is because much of the problem's solution might already exist. The problem is technically-oriented in that it can be defined, formulated, and/or written down (e.g., how to fix a bug, how to install software, implement a platform etc.).

Individuals working with 'problems less well-defined', however, are what I label 'process workers.' These professionals solve problems that are not yet defined. However, these problems are more difficult to define and do not have *one* correct given answer or solution, because this differs from time to time, depending on the unique context it is addressing. Process workers' work concerns non-standardized problem solving and the answers from these problem-solutions are not reusable as is, for example, creating a strategy for a client. To solve 'problems less well-defined' would require more 'guessing' and 'interpretation' to use Alvesson (2004) terminology.

Jan explains that generic materials are very difficult to construct. A generic sales presentation that everyone can use, for example, "includes some main elements about the company, but everything has to be specifically adjusted, so reuse of sales presentations is very low", Jan explains. However, the content in a sales presentation is nevertheless quite general, typically with (historical) facts. Process workers work with areas and domains that perhaps have never fully existed before. Thus, the process worker needs to come up with a fundamental new and different proposal based on complex reasoning and analyzing. It is not possible to copy and paste from others' work simply because the problem has no solution from the past.

Claus is a process worker from Denmark who works in service management, which consists of helping other enterprises and their IT departments with implementing processes. A process would typically begin with the IT framework, he explains, and from there it would start with incident management, proper management, change management, service level management, and other types of IT processes. Nabil, the in-houser from Rabat, is also a typical process worker trying to assist his client with creating new solutions and new processes that do not yet exist. Nabil describes the two projects he is working with in-house:

> I'm working on two different projects. One project is designing the strategy for [client], and it involves basically all kinds of people. Like private sector, ISP internet service provider, the government, the software vendors, the equipment vendors, basically all the ecosystems are imparted at one point by this project. And you need to design a global or national strategy to make sure that everything goes smoothly. And that it is transparent for any user.
> Lene: And you assist on this strategy?
> Nabil: Yes. Basically, we do the whole thing. In this project, we had to go and see a sample of all the actors, or stake holders, in the value chain. So we had to go more than for the interviews. We had a questionnaire, like yours, and we had to process the answers. So that is the first project. In the second project, we are helping [the client] to improve the organization and start putting in place what we call PNL. Business units are in charge of his own PNL and we need to make sure every business unit is billing each other, services that they are giving each other. Think of it as they want to organize and structure themselves as a holding, with different business units and those business units need to use each other's services and then pay for it at some point.

While technical workers primarily work with problems related to standardized computer systems (fix bug or down time, etc.), process workers primarily work with problems less well-defined related to dynamic systems: people, stakeholders, and organizational structures. Moreover, while many answers to problems to be solved by technical workers rely in the past, relies answers to problems to be solved by process workers in the future; they are not solved fully before and they need to reach out to knowledgeable others to discuss the problem in real time in order to solve it.

Technical workers and 'problems well-defined,' and process workers and 'problems less well-defined' are two ideal types of working tasks along a continuum. Both ideal types need analytic reasoning to solve complex problems and other individuals for working, but in different manners and degrees. Though both work stereotypes are centered on problems that need to be solved in real time, individuals who work with 'problems well-defined' will benefit from answers from the past, while individuals who work with 'problems less well-defined,' to a larger degree, must direct their attention to present-time (although past work clearly can assist reflection and analysis). Thus, there is a static and dynamic difference in the solutions to work problems. As the process worker Jan explains:

> I seldom look for answers in the social enterprise platform. The reason for this is because my problems are not technological. I can cope with technology right, and then I can use

> the whole world, not only the enterprise platform. But the biggest challenge is related to the client, and I get answers by talking with individuals who have been in that situation before on the phone. I don't expect to find that on the social enterprise platform. If you have very concrete questions you might pose it in the platform, yet when I'm trying to formulate questions, communicate it, it is often a large part of the solution. So, when you're done with structuring your questions, you have also reached an understanding of how you should solve it. The process of solving consists much of reformulating the problem.

Jan's statement shows that some problems are very complex and thereby hard to define, write down, share or ask in TBC's social enterprise platform. That certain type of information is difficult to write down was also observed by Thompson and Walsham (2001). A customer relationship management application had been scrapped because the salespeople had not provided it with sufficient data. Respondents in their study felt that the appropriate way to convey such information was heavily context-dependent, and that trying to write it down was "asking for trouble" (710). Yet, the employees would be happy to provide the information through communicative interaction.

Process work is so complex that trying to formulate it into a question and ask it out in the social enterprise platform requires stripping off layers of specialized knowledge for others to understand. The process of formulating the complexity into a question often provides the answers or insights the process worker needs to move on with his work. Jan needs more information than documentation stored in a computer system, though earlier project documents will be helpful. These documents are typically stored in many of the process workers' local PCs and email archives.

Process workers benefit more by speaking with other individuals that have specialized insights into a problem, rather than documentation. This corresponds well with Løwendahl (2005, 35) who notes that due to the complexity in services that consultants work with, they cannot be stored. Also, Orr (1996) observes that the copy technician's practices rest on knowledge that is not easily rendered representationally because it 'is not immediately tellable' (119).

Finding solutions with face-to-face or telephone interaction with others are oral processes going on outside information container systems, inclusive the social enterprise platform. Thus, knowledge work differs in degrees of problem complexity, and one IT solution does not fit all. Workers have different information and technology needs (Davenport 2011), and relevant technologies and other individuals' work is located in the context in which the work takes place, which is often across the company's borders. Thus, important aspects are ignored in the organization of services that internal resources can render (Penrose 2009).

Problems that technical workers solve are based on answers that have a solution—or at least can build on previous solutions. Thus, these solutions are more open to questioning, sharing, and being written down (such as in a manual or as a code or script). This means that the two ideal work types will have some fundamentally different needs of information and technology in their working processes: documentation or individuals. This is supported by the literature:

the more cognitive complexity in the work task to be solved, the more it needs to be developed through experience and human interaction (Brinkley 2009, 30, Løwendahl 2005). This brings important insights to what kind of content social enterprise platforms have the ability to facilitate and store, and thus, who will benefit the most from content shared on the platform. Speaking with others closely tied to the problems is nonetheless important for both work-types.

Based on the findings presented in this chapter, I argue that Orlikowski (2000, 1992b) in her study of Lotus Notes overlooks one key relationship, namely what individuals in the Zeta, Iris, and Alpha case did for working and how this corresponded with their Lotus use. From my perspective, the Iris developers, the Zeta employees, and the technology group (Alpha1) in the Alpha case are technical workers, using Notes in ways that corresponded with their work tasks to solve well-defined problems. The second sample of Alpha consultants (Alpha2) used Notes to expand their existing working practices, using the platform for communication and coordination of their work tasks. The third sample in the Alpha case (Alpha3) explains they did not use Notes because a billing-hours norm trumped using Lotus. These Alpha3 consultants explain they perceived Notes to facilitate information. This group of Alpha consultants worked with relationship management (people and processes) which, in my terminology, are process workers, using email, as their main tools since their work problems require intense communication with individuals. Thus, they need technology that facilitates this kind of problem solving, because they need to get hold of other individuals that have specialized insights into a problem. This group of consultants might welcome a smartphone that enables them to speak with their clients and get easy access to email correspondences with work relations regardless time and place despite that they do not use Lotus. Thus, she overlooks that the individuals in her three cases might have different technology needs because they have different work problems to solve. I will return to this point in the next chapter where I show the interplay of the social enterprise platform and TBC employees' working practices.

Sorting employees based only on occupation and role ignores what knowledge workers are doing in practice. My findings suggest that explanations for why and how systems such as Lotus Notes or social enterprise platforms are used by employees needs also to be explained in terms of an employee's work problems' characteristics and complexity. This is summarized in Table 4:

	Subtypes of Knowledge Workers at TBC	Problem Solving Characteristics
Zeta Iris Alpha1	**Technical workers**	• Solutions can be found in the past and need to be solved in real time (easier to formulate and fix problems) • Work with problems well-defined • Need interaction yet benefit much from documentation • Work problems are more tangible and easier to write down • Work concerns computer systems
Alpha2 Alpha 3	**Process workers**	• Solutions lie in the future and need to be solved in real time (more difficult to formulate problems and complex to fix) • Work with problems less well-defined • Need a high degree of face-to-face interaction • Work problems are more intangible and difficult to write down • Work concerns people and organizational processes

Table 4: Two subtypes of knowledge workers are identified among TBC professionals. Orlikowski's (2000, 1992b) sample in her study of Lotus Notes is listed to the left in the table based on these individual's working tasks that differ in their potential to be defined and how they are to be solved. Orlikowski (2000, 1992b) overlooks what the employee did for working and how Lotus Notes provided opportunities for Zeta, Iris and Alpha1 consultants to make them work smarter because agents are reflexive, knowledgeable and autonomous beings (Giddens 1984), choosing to use technologies for working in ways that are beneficial for themselves.

Working Time, Space and Place

The analysis revealed that TBC professionals work in seven different contexts. These are (1) out-housers - at clients, (2) in-housers - at their main TBC location, (3) distant workers - at a shared space, yet far from the client (e.g., outsourcing), (4) over-lappers - combinations of being at clients' and at the office, (5) fixed-site teleworkers - working from client's yet working with problems in overlapping structures, (6) teleworkers - from home, and (7) nomads - on-the-go (e.g., on the train or at the coffee shop) and at home after working hours. The first six work types are related to the services offered by the specific TBC entity the consultants are contracted with (project management, telecom expertise, IT support etc.), while the seventh concerns a way of working regardless of services offered.

The seven working contexts differ in regard to the duree of the workday, time-space (co-presence, and thus in shared social structures with shared language, norms, values, rules) and place (context):

Worker	Duree of work time	Place/Context	Time-space
Out-housers	Morning to afternoon	Working in clients' context	Co-present and shared place with others in shared social structures
In-housers	Morning to afternoon	Working at their local TBC office	Co-present and shared context with TBC colleagues in shared social structures
Over-lappers	Morning to afternoon	Working at several clients and/or at the TBC office	Co-present and shared context with clients and TBC colleagues in shared social structures
Distant workers	Morning to afternoon	Working distant to the place in which problems they shall solve are located	Absent to others in clock-time, time-space, and place
Fixed-site teleworkers	Morning to afternoon	Working from geographically different contexts, yet in co-presence	Co-present in shared and overlapping social structures, yet in different places
Teleworkers	Morning to afternoon	Working from geographically different contexts yet in co-presence	Co-present in shared social structures yet in different places
Nomads	Evening and weekends	Everywhere	Both absent and co-present, related to shared social structures

Table 5: The seven working contexts and work types revealed in this study sorted on 'Duree of work time', 'Place/Context', and 'Time-space'.

Duree of work time. Common to the six first working contexts is that work is organized in a typical workday rhythm: as a process beginning in the morning and ending in the afternoon. Nomads, however, work in timespans that are typically part of the individual's off-work time (outside business hours) namely, evenings and weekends. The consultants explain that this is tiring, although they acknowledge that this is how it is to be a consultant when deadlines approach. Most research has focused on the spatial aspect of mobility in communication technologies, and Prasopoulou, Pouloudi, and Panteli (2006, 277) argue that "collapse of space is bound to have implications on the existing temporal boundaries." However, it is not working from home (the home context) that is stressful for nomads, which David the teleworker illustrated every day. Rather, it is that work time is not separated from his or her private time. Working in timespans not organized in the daily and routinized workday rhythm seems therefore to be more important than work place in regard to the feeling of stress and work load.

Place/Context. However, not only temporal aspects are important dimensions of consultant's working practices; the work place or work context also plays a key role. Nomads and teleworkers miss two essential aspects of work by working from home: one is the daily routines

with other colleagues so important for social integration in the organization, the other is the possibility of meeting other potential individuals that out-housers, in-housers, over-lappers and fixed-site teleworkers are likely to bump into sporadically and accidently in their daily interaction space in the work place—or locales which is the term Giddens (1984) uses—in their work contexts (Figure 8). As Giddens puts it; "Locales are not just places but settings for interactions" (Giddens 1984, xxv).

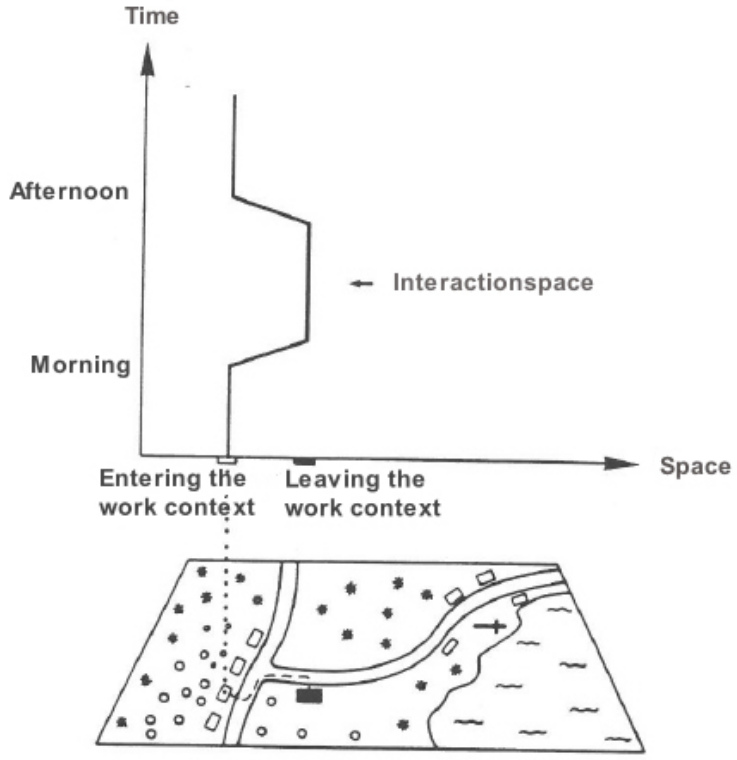

Figure 8: Interaction space in shared contextual settings. The model is adapted from Ellegård (1990, 11, in Trygg 2014, 36) and adjusted to use the work context as an example.

Interactionspaces thus represent opportunities to meet and establish new social relationships with others at work. The coffee machine or the copy machine in the work context are particularly important "stopping places," (Fayard and Weeks 2007) similar to the bus station as Giddens (1984, 119) uses in his example when he discusses locales in the employee's interactionspace. This is because accidental meetings with other individuals by the coffee or copy machine are shown to open up conversations that lead from small social talk to work talk that benefits the company (Fayard and Weeks 2007). Travelling to a work place provides the opportunity to meet other individuals that might work on similar or relevant topics. The fixed-site teleworker Kim, however, works in a structure that is part of the client's system, and he interacts daily with professionals in the same and overlapping social structures. Teleworking from home and nomads, however, are two contexts that miss this opportunity to accidently bump into relevant others and establish new social relationships in the work context. Distant workers are located in a shared location with other distant workers, although they have different clients. Hence, they meet others having the same type of work problems. However, they do not establish those important social relationships with individuals from the context of their work problems.

Time-space. The main difference between the work contexts at TBC is in what degree they are related to other individuals (the social structure) that assists their work problems. As a reminder, social structure in structuration theory does not refer to physical buildings, but to the rules (implicit or explicit formulas for action) and the resources (what agents themselves brings into this action as knowledge, abilities etc.) that both enable and restrict individuals' actions (Giddens 1979, 69). Social structure consists of individuals' conscious actions, yet an individual's actions are restricted by the structure (i.e., the other individuals). While social structures are out of time and space, social structures' systems are, on the contrary, reproduced across time and space (Giddens 1984, 25). Daily routines are therefore important because of social and mechanical integration. Individuals have a motivational commitment for routines which is founded in traditions or habits and fundamental to predictability of individuals' daily interactions with others who are physically co-present (Giddens 1984, 64).

Consultants that are out-housers, in-housers, and over-lappers are co-present with other individuals in a shared context, or locales, in their working days. So is the fixed-site teleworker present in his client's context with acquaintances and social relationships both to individuals at the client's and at the entities the fixed-site teleworker manages. Teleworkers' working practices are extended from the work place, yet the social structures teleworkers work in expands relationships and practices that once were created and were routinely integrated in their everyday settings. Although the teleworker David and his team work in different home contexts, they work in co-presence by interacting throughout the workday in real time, via Skype and telephone, in a shared social structure with rules and resources. David and his team share norms and values, and have English as a shared language, which provides meaningful communication and an in-group feeling. Also, a nomad's work expands out from work tasks and work relationships from their daily work.

Distant workers, however, neither work in their client's contexts nor in co-presence with individuals that are connected with their work problem. Distant workers are solving problems for other TBC country's clients. They are distant to the clients and thus to the TBC entity they are serving's social structure—with its unique codes and conventions and other important individuals working in the context of the work problem. Important others needed for contextual insights and social cues in communication that are learnt from everyday working in shared social structures and context, which are important to solve the problem, are thus lacking. The distant worker only has access to a minor part of the client's system, to a limited part of the work s/he shall perform (fix an IT problem) described briefly in written words in a different language (English) with no contextual meaning added besides screen shots and log-data. Hence, distant workers miss everyday routines which are important for social and system integration (Giddens 1984), for meaningful interaction and communication, and for developing trustful relationships with others. Distant workers access only one side of the complex work "dice".

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that TBC professionals' everyday work relies largely on other individuals in the shared work context and on technologies unique to this context. Thus, other

individuals and technologies used for working are inextricably related to the work context and individuals' practices (shared routines of behavior, norms, and procedures) that are essential for working, thinking, acting, and using things (Whittington 2006, 619).

Seven working contexts for TBC professionals were revealed in the analysis: out-housers, in-housers, over-lappers and fixed-site teleworkers are working within or between the clients or the TBC offices' offline social structure, while distant workers, teleworkers, and nomads work in online structures extended from offline places. The main difference between the work contexts is that while the first three (out-housers, in-housers, and over-lappers) concern co-presence with others in a shared context, or locales as Giddens (1984) terms it, the work of teleworkers and nomads is extended from and therefore closely related to social structures routinely part of their everyday settings. The teleworker David and his team, for example, worked in different contexts, yet in co-presence (real time via Skype and telephone with the others), in shared social structures (shared rules, norms, values, language among the team members, etc.).

Working daily in co-presence (in real time) yet at different places, or working in co-presence in a shared place was found to be important for social and mechanical integration (Giddens 1984). Other important people are needed for providing contextual insights and social cues in communication learnt from everyday working in shared social structures. By working every day in a social structure, the employee is socially integrated with others, and rules created offline are drawn upon in online settings out of time, space, and place. Distant workers, however, lack the social and mechanical integration that seems to be needed to expand relationships and practices across time, space, and place to online, digital settings (e.g. Skype, telephone). These findings answer the observation and call from Jones and Karsten (2008): "IS may facilitate social integration without co-presence." (133).

The analysis also finds that all TBC consultants approach other individuals who are located physically close to them. Being located physically close to others makes work effective (sort out work matters on the fly) and social (small talk about work and life matters are intertwined). Communication and social interaction among the consultants was how work problems got solved. Approaching others when the consultant needs work-related assistance follows closed, private, and trustful channels where email, telephone, and online social sites (e.g., Facebook or LinkedIn) are the preferred communication platforms. If colleagues (regardless of company membership) around cannot assist, the consultants approach others (TBC members or company-external contacts) s/he knows from the past. The analysis also revealed that consultants approach technological platforms that are related to the context in which they work. Working in co-presence in client's structures also concerns working in co-presence in the client's technological systems. Email was found to be TBC consultant's main tool for working. Email applications serve as the space where work is coordinated, communicated, delegated, and planned. Yet also the email address is inextricably tied to a physical place: to client's locations or the employer TBC.

The practice approach enabled me to focus on what the consultant did for working rather than their occupation or role. The analysis of TBC consultants' work problems' characteristics

revealed two sub-stereotypes of ‘knowledge workers’ that differ in regard to problem solving. Technical workers typically work with ‘problems well-defined’ meaning that much of the solution to a work problem (e.g., fix bug) relies on the past (there is a given answer). Process workers typically work with ‘problems less well-defined’ meaning the problem is highly complex and not standardized (might never have been solved before). While technical workers work with problems related to computer systems, process workers work with problems related to people and organizational processes. These work stereotypes support the literature that suggests (Barley 1996b, Brinkley 2009) knowledge work is more cognitively complex than often presented, and knowledge professionals’ work differs in regard to the work tasks that shall be solved. This suggests that some professionals will benefit from insights in the past, yet others need to create new solutions because the problem has never been solved before in one unique manner. Hence, there are subtypes of knowledge workers working practices. ‘Knowledge work’ and ‘knowledge workers’ has changed, and so has the content in these constructs. This means there are differences in what kind of technology the consultants need for working because “every new kind of work requires new tools and techniques, different understandings, information, and insights, and leads to new experiences, values, and economic dynamics” (Cortada 2009, xvii). This suggests that the key is to provide technology more precisely (Davenport 2011).

My findings presented in this chapter suggest an alternative explanation than Orlikowski (2000, 1992b) reached in her study of Lotus Notes. I find that why and how technologies as social enterprise platforms are used by employees needs to be explained in terms of employees’ work problems’ characteristics and complexity. How, then, does the social enterprise platform assist and correspond to TBC professionals working practices? This will be the topic for the next chapter.

Chapter 6: The Interplay of Working Practices and the Social Enterprise Platform

From the pages of the MIS Quarterly to PC Magazine, the computer revolution is typically fought back in a black box where we never learn what people do, only that they should now be able to do whatever they do faster and more easily by computing (Barley 1996b, x-xi).

Introduction

This chapter presents findings that add insights on how the social enterprise platform interplays with TBC employees' daily work, which was presented in-depth in the previous chapter. More specifically, I analyze the social enterprise platform that is part of the empirical dimension highlighted with red below (Figure 9):

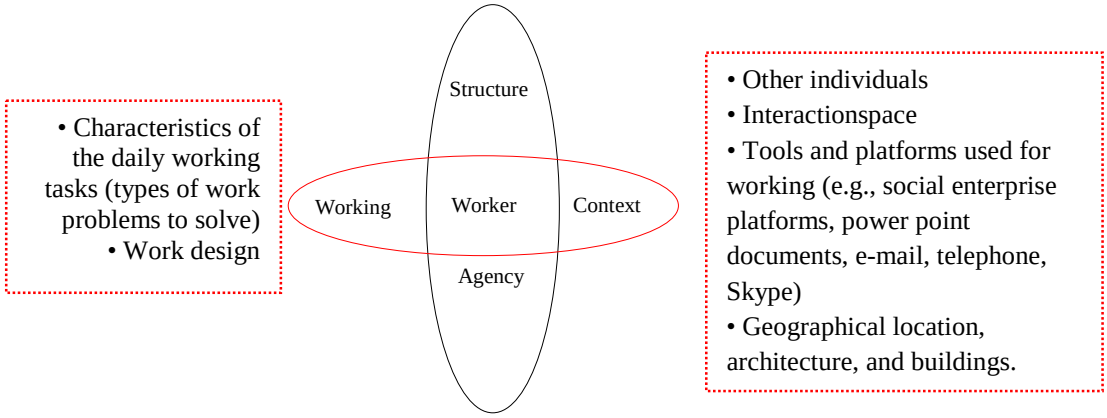

Figure 9: The elements discussed in this chapter are highlighted in red in my framework.

Building further on the findings presented in previous chapters, this chapter answers fully the first research question asked in this thesis: *How do consultants' working practices interplay with the company's social enterprise platform?* The chapter is organized into four sections. (1) I will present statistics of the enterprise platform use on a global scale. (2) This is followed by a section of the interplay between user practices (employee's expectations of the platform) and the social enterprise platform, and (3) a section of the interplay between employees working practices and the social enterprise platform. (4) The fourth section addresses the opposite relationship, namely the interplay between the social enterprise platform and working practices. This chapter provides insights about unintended consequences which Jones and Karsten (2008, 149) call explicitly for.

Technology changes quickly, and insights in this chapter are based on Jive business software version 4.5.2[12].

[12] Please note, as mentioned in chapter three, social business software differs remarkably. Some suppliers provide a social network "light," typically a "Facebook-for-work" where functionality to network, join

Statistics of TBC's Social Enterprise Platform

The Country with the Most TBC Employees Dominates the Enterprise Platform

Because the majority of TBC professionals are French, the majority of platform members are logically also French. The platform user statistics from 2010 to 2012, and from May 2013, show a consistent pattern that the most active user country is France. Thus, the majority of employees at TBC, the majority of the enterprise platform users (France is listed as top country from 2010-2013), and the majority of the enterprise platform visitors (50%) are from France. This is an important observation, because as the following analysis will reveal, French users dominate the platform with content provided by French TBC professionals communicating in French. Furthermore, the French entities provide largely technical services to clients, and many of the participants in this study have explained that they do not use the platform because the majority of the content is technically-oriented, and therefore less relevant for process workers.

Platform Use

Google analytics reveal that a platform visitor visited in May 2013 in average 6, 72 pages and the average time spent by a platform visitor was nine minutes and 36 seconds. In May 2013, the social enterprise platform had 46 478 page views/visits[13]. Compared with professional social media services, visit 13% of LinkedIn users the site daily (Duggan and Smith 2013b, 9). In regard to TBC's platform users, Illustration 6 shows that there has not been any noteworthy difference from the platform's early days in November 2010 through May 2012 in regard to the degree of "active" platform contributions:

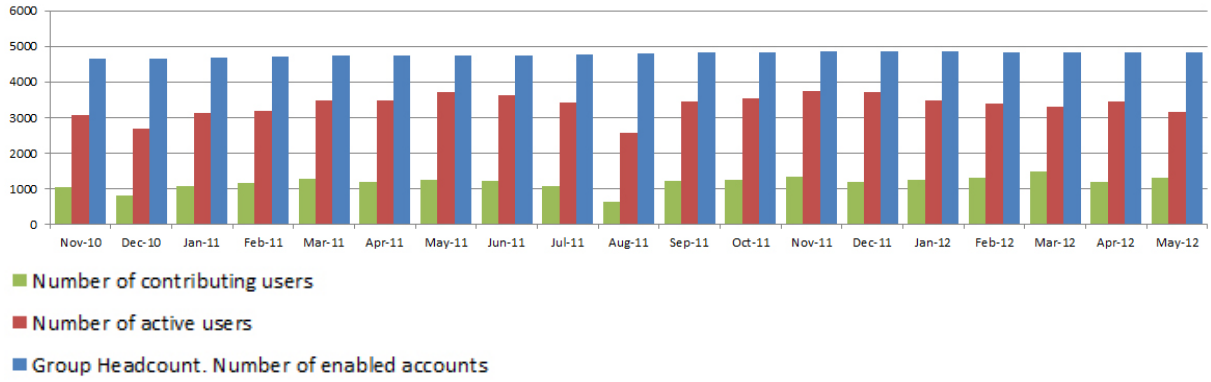

Illustration 6: Platform use from 2010-2012. The blue column (to the right of the three columns) denotes the number of memberships/accounts in the enterprise platform.

In the statistics, 'active users' are defined to measure "Users that have created/edited content, including docs, blogs, discussions, comments" (explanation from TBC's global statistics 2010-2012 provided by Google analytics). Thus, every time a document (e.g., a Word file) is changed or edited, it is both counted over again and counted as 'active use.' Moreover, 'contributing

groups, share updates, pictures, and documents are provided, while other players provide solutions that seek to include features from document management systems that are more "heavy." Jive Business Software, used by TBC professionals in this research, is one of the leading players, yet one reason listed for this could also be that they were one of the first entries (Drakos, Mann, and Gotta 2013, 10). For reviews of different types of social software for companies and organizations that are available, see Drakos, Mann, and Gotta (2013), Carr (2012)).

[13] The statistics do not distinguish page views from visits.

users' are measured based on the "Percentage of active users who contribute." Thus, the green columns (the left column of the three in Illustration 6) represent users drawn from the red columns (the middle column of the three in Illustration 6). There is no definition available to further clarify the term 'contributing user.' From November 2010 to May 2013 the social enterprise platform consisted in total of 135 014 documents, 19 167 discussions and 17 804 blog entries (posts). In one month (May 2013) was 5252 documents uploaded in the enterprise platform. When these figures are compared with content activity figures, the assumption that platform users mainly upload documents when they are in the enterprise platform is confirmed. Thus, the content in TBC's platform consists more of static documents and less of dynamic discussions and blog entries.

When looking at platform use from a traditional contributor, information seeker/reader perspective, 13 of the 27 participants in this study used the platform in 2011 to either look for information or they did not use the platform at all. These TBC professionals have five or less contributions (blog posts, discussions, comments, uploaded documents etc.) in the platform. Ten contributed in varying degrees with content (more than five contributions in the platform), while the remaining four were a team that used the platform as a closed space to work in and upload documents to share with other team members.

Contributor Rank

An interesting detail about the platform's content concerns the contributor rank (bonus score) provided by the enterprise platform. As said, the information model in the platform is people-centered, and the people search makes it is possible to sort by contributor rank. The contributor rank is a five-step rank which rewards employees proportionally to their platform contributions, ranging from 'Champion' (most active contributor), 'Apprentice,' and 'Newbie,' to 'Novice' and 'No level' (least active). The employees' rank and score is listed beneath the employee's profile picture and is visible to everyone (Illustration 7):

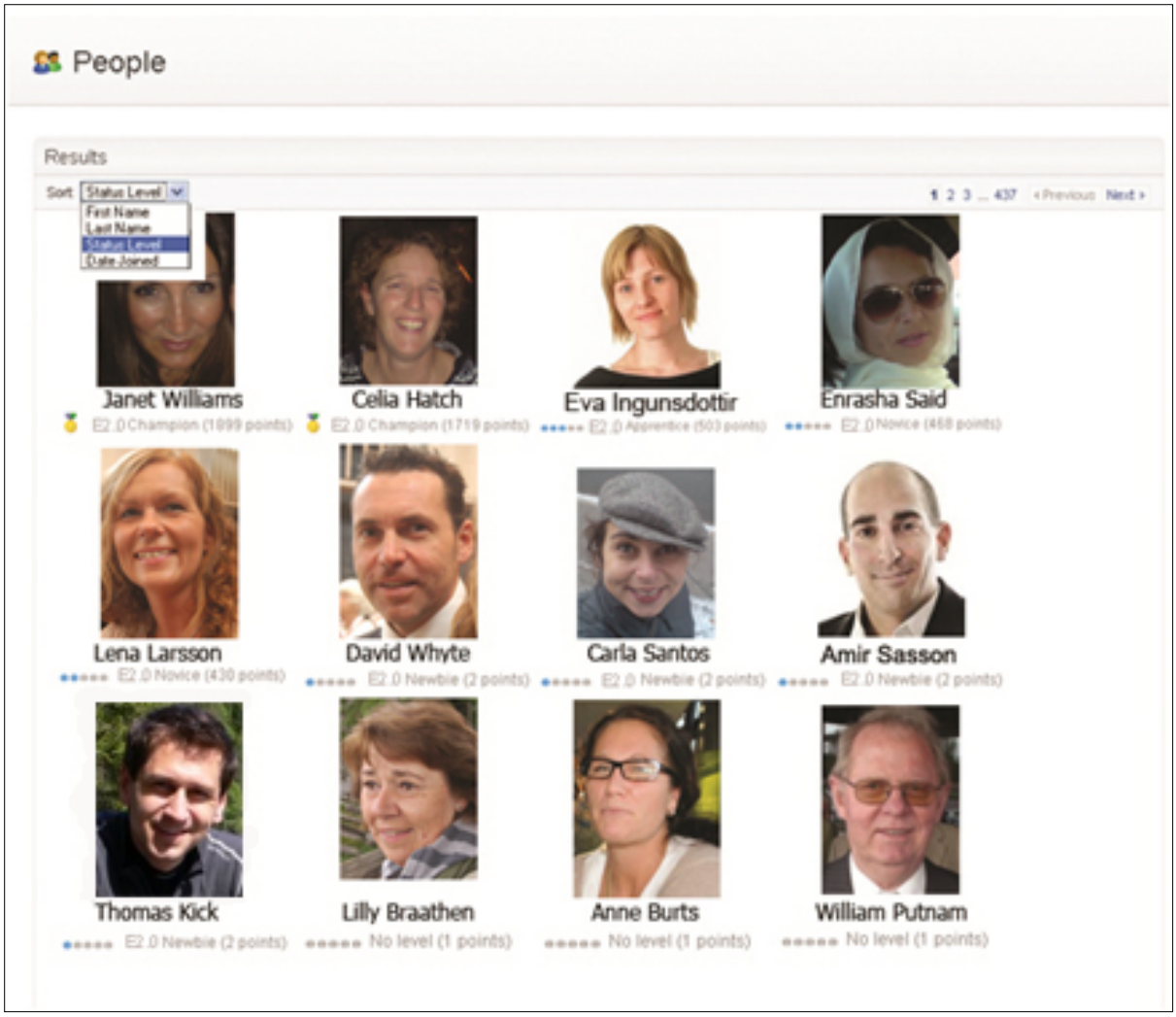

Illustration 7: The contributor rank. Screenshot from the people search in Jive software, sorted on 'Status Level', where the contributor rank is listed (the individuals are only used for illustration purposes and are not employed in TBC). E2.0 in the screenshot denotes 'Enterprise 2.0,' or the social enterprise platform.

Rank is based on a quantitative measure (number of contributions) and does not distinguish between providing a colleague with a helpful answer and uploading a document.

One of the participants in this study explains that s/he does not use the enterprise platform due to fear of leaving digital footprints behind (a topic that I will pursue in chapter eight) that could risk being used against the person at a later occasion. Despite not using the platform, the employee has strategically manipulated the bonus score in the contributor rank, explaining; "I have a lot of bonus scores. I uploaded the whole folder from our unit and you get three points per document. So now my status level is 'Apprentice'. So it looks like I am a very active user." Uploading documents gives an impression of being an active contributor.

Information is Uploaded in Closed Groups

The statistics show that the number of groups (smaller semi-spaces in the platform) has more than tripled in two years (Table 6):

February 2011	October 2012	May 2013
500 groups	1380 groups	1640 groups

Table 6: The number of groups in the enterprise platform from 2011-2013.

The increase in the number of groups and the content activity suggest a close connection between the number of documents uploaded and the numbers of groups, namely that documents in the platform are uploaded *in* groups. However, to reach these documents, the user needs, firstly, a group membership to where documents are uploaded, and secondly, s/he needs to know that the specific group exists in the first place. Thirdly, the majority of groups are closed, and the software's design provides little information about what the different groups concern. This is experienced as frustrating by employees, as this consultant from UK illustrates;

> Why not open groups? It's just as if it's a closed group and when you can't see what's going on, then you automatically feel as if it's being kept from you. It just feels like it's a blank screen with a lot going on behind it that you've got no way of finding out what it is. It should just be a little bit more transparent, so we can decide [which groups to enter]. It's strange.

When asked why employees have closed groups, many explain that others are welcome to get the information they share in the group, but because the content is often client-sensitive, they take on a gatekeeper role because they want control of who gets access to their content. The platform provides functionality that enables a number of possible things to do and ways to use the platform (e.g. upload documents, follow others' status updates and actions, write blog posts, comment, join groups with specific topics, ask questions out in the open, vote on proposals, discuss). Yet, the enterprise platform does not differ substantially from being a 'document repository,' other than that access to documents seems less available because they are often uploaded in closed groups.

I will, in the following, first address technical limitations in the platform for platform's user practices, and then tap into how the platform corresponds with employees working practices, and vice versa. These are important areas to address both in regard of critical unintended consequences for organizations, and in regard to platform improvements to developers and designers in the future, because, as mentioned, only about 30% of information systems projects are deemed a success (Schultze and Boland Jr 2000). Many have argued that system designers' failure to understand users' contextual work practices lie at the heart of these poor implementation success rates (Schultze and Boland Jr 2000, Suchman 1995).

The Interplay of Established User Practices and the Social Enterprise Platform

Information Access

As a starting point, the TBC professional's personal profile is technically tied to the entity's enterprise platform space where news similar to traditional intranets from that specific entity is

shared to employees of this specific entity. In addition to this more "permanent" space are the people-centric information model and groups. The social enterprise platform is found to set limitations to information access because of three closely interrelated reasons: the platform's information architecture, the dynamic information model in the platform is based on people and groups centered on a 'here-and-now' principle and algorithms, and the search functionality. These three issues will now be explored.

Information Architecture

The social enterprise platform is experienced as difficult for the established practice of finding information. There is limited information structure that can assist the platform user to create an overview of the platform space that the user is familiar with. When information is not organized into hierarchies, the user struggles with findability—the capacity of an object to be found through search or browsing (Rosenfeld and Morville 2002). One consultant explains why s/he thinks it is difficult to find information in the platform:

> The platform is, in principle, only a bunch of self-organized information containers because there isn't any hierarchy. You can only get hierarchy in spaces [groups], so you can't see how things are related. Anyone can sit down and create a group, but the problem is that nobody finds their way back to it. The problem with the enterprise platform is that it has a black hole syndrome; one can put a lot of things in, but unfortunately, it doesn't come out again.

A number of employees have commented that it is difficult to get an overview of the platform space. The employees typically approach the enterprise platform with references from the logic of platforms they know, interpreting the unknown and unfamiliar with user experiences from previous platforms. Erica explains:

> I think it's difficult to find your way [in the enterprise platform]. If I want to find out who belongs to TBC-Norway, where do I start, what do I search for? A bit like how do I find that list with a picture, name, and a telephone number, like in the traditional intranet? Sorted on departments, with the entities in Norway presented as here is Oslo 1, here is Oslo 2, here is [the third entity in Norway]. Or sorted on disciplinary belonging, if we had the same groupings in the three places, then we could find everyone working within a given topic.

Hence, the employee has an imagination of how content should be structured. Erica continues: "In my head, content should be organized to look for such and such, but it might be that others placed it in another space they think it belongs, and then I will not find it." The tendency of comparing new technologies with previous patterns of practice and interpretation is also observed by Barley (1988) cited in Orlikowski (2000, 417)). Giddens (1984) is inspired by late Wittgenstein (1972) and his ideas of language-games in his theorizing about the interpretative modality in his model of the duality of structure. The interpretative dimension is related to communication and signification. According to Wittgenstein, language is always tied to social practice, and thus, to routines. Language-games concern language and the actions into which it is woven (Giddens 1984) and are connected by family resemblance in Wittgenstein's (2000)

thinking. The example I used to illustrate language-game in chapter two was the mother pointing to a green apple while saying 'green' to her young child, where the child immediately knew that 'green' was not another word for 'apple,' but referred to the color of that particular apple. The meaning of 'green' is not embedded in a hidden structure in the language for the child to decode, rather, it is related to a social practice that is learnt and thus brings different meanings to different people. Similarly, Erica does not make much sense of how information is organized in the social enterprise platform space and she compares it with her previous learned experiences. The new way of organizing content does not provide a family resemblance to what she has experienced in the past. Using past experiences in meeting new services or logics is also observed when the employees compare TBC's enterprise platform with other similar online services they already know, but their expectation collides with their actual platform experience. One consultant from UK explains:

> The enterprise platform was described to me as an internal social networking site. So, automatically, I'm thinking of the two major ones in my life: LinkedIn and Facebook. Which I think there's two extremely similar profiles with those two tools, separated by, you know, social and professional. I was expecting an internal LinkedIn.

The enterprise platform is by many consultants referred to as "a strange world"—pointing to a way of organizing information and content foreign to the employee. TBC professionals struggle to make sense of the enterprise platform space, information architecture, and the rules for navigation.

Dynamic and Algorithmic Information Model

In social network sites, newsfeeds with updates from contacts are regarded as important motivators for dialogue and interaction between participants (Burke, Kraut, and Marlow 2011). The analysis revealed that few of those interviewed in the UK, and eight out of nine participants in Morocco did not use the networking or following feature in the enterprise platform. Hence, 14 of the 27 participants did not use this functionality.

Because the information model in the enterprise platform is centered on people, the information and updates the TBC professional receives on his or her newsfeed or wall depends on the people s/he follows and the groups s/he has joined. Logically, to get updates and access to information, the user has to follow people to receive what these people share and join groups that provide relevant content on specific topics. The practice of uploading information in the enterprise platform is, as said, mostly in groups that are reported to be mainly closed, semi-spaces in the enterprise platform in addition to being very difficult to find in the first place as this consultant explains:

> The enterprise platform seems closed and very private to be an internal social network tool. You would have thought, as an employee, it would have a little bit more exposure as to what's going on. You have no exposure to that group whatsoever. It's very difficult to find a group, and once you've found a group, it's very difficult to see what's going on in that group before you become a member of that group.

Groups require insights of the group's existence beforehand. This is also the case with the following functionality. One of the consultants explains that he does not use the social

networking functionality because s/he finds it difficult to "know who likes what" that would be relevant to follow: "It's very difficult to know what people do. Why should I follow *these* people? If you had a better understanding of who these people are, then you'd have a better understanding of who you want to follow."

The consultant puts his finger on one of the major keys: It is difficult to know who to follow, who likes what, and which groups to join when such information is not provided by the software (I will return to this point later in this chapter). An out-houser and a technical worker explains that the enterprise platform does not spark his interest in paying it a visit:

> Consultant: The platform doesn't help me to be interested in it.
> Lene: How can the platform make you interested? What are the tricks?
> Consultant: Normally the updates. I'm looking for international experience and opportunities.

While the consultant wants updates that correspond with his wishes to work abroad, other employees want updates of other types of content. Despite that what is relevant varies from employee to employee, they do share that the platform does not tempt them to enter. Thus, a negative spiral is created because when few contribute with content, the platform is logically lacking the updates that again are perceived as motivating for visiting the platform.

The algorithmic model in the enterprise platform is built on an ideal type of users as active. Content, people, and places in the enterprise platform rely on an algorithm that is based "on your behavior in the community. It then uses that data to recommend relevant content, people, and places not yet seen in the community. The more you and others interact in the community, the better the recommendations you'll receive" (Jive 2013). Thus, the algorithm in the enterprise platform is typically inspired by a Facebook model where 63% of users visit Facebook at least once a day, with 40% doing so multiple times throughout the day" (Duggan and Smith 2013b, 2).

However, at Facebook, which enterprise media often copies, there is no guarantee that shared information will ever show up in the newsfeed because the algorithms weight content based on popularity and engagement (likes, comments etc.) (Bucher 2012). Facebook thus constructs a regime of visibility which imposes a 'threat of invisibility.' As a result, there is a constant possibility that content shared disappears and becomes obsolete (Bucher 2012). This means that while some content is weighted and presented in your newsfeed, other content might never be shown in newsfeeds at all (Bucher 2012, 1171). Furthermore, employees in the organization have a different user pattern than users have at Facebook. In the workplace, working structures and communication processes are different from that of peers (Schneckenberg 2009). Not only do employees visit the enterprise platform substantially less than users visit Facebook, their platform visits would typically be task-driven: they do not enter the platform space to surf around and get updates on new stuff, because the user-context is a work-context, rather than leisure time. Thus, an employee's user motivation is fundamentally different from the public social media landscape, but the algorithm that sorts content is modelled on a stereotype of active users. The algorithm assumes there will be user activity that the software can calculate

relevance on, yet in this lies an assumption of people as active users and that there is a minimum of user activity among TBC professionals. This assumption does not correspond with how employees use the platform in practice. The result is that employees risk not getting important information. This is critical for the organization because effective internal communication between managers and staff is vital to organizational success (Tourish and Hargie 1998).

Another technical limitation is related to the networking functionality. One consultant explains;

> The networking part of the platform is pretty weak. You can follow people, but then it doesn't really show you the feed of what he's doing. It has never really shown me anything, because I did follow a couple of people who are working on subjects which I find interesting because of a project, but it didn't bring anything valuable.

One reason for this is that the newsfeed that comes with following a person does not sort on relevant and meaningful details, but gives technical updates for all kinds of actions (e.g., every time a person changes a document), and some of the informants have perceived this as annoying and have chosen to unfollow to have less noise in a busy workday. Several have commented that the networking functionality does not give insights of what people are working on, as they know from the updates at the front page in LinkedIn or the news wall in Facebook, only actions made on static documents. For example, each time someone the user follows modifies a document, it is listed in the newsfeed. One of the goals in TBC's strategy of implementing a social enterprise platform was to "build professional networks, develop competence by following others more skilled, and find out what others are doing." Yet, the functionality seems to works against this goal. Moreover, the platform members share that they are employed by TBC, yet in practice most of the consultants work elsewhere (at clients), and they reach out to people they personally know when they need work related help rather than approaching the enterprise platform for assistance.

Information Search

When information architecture is experienced as poor for navigation and overview, search functionality is critical. A number of employees explained that the search does not provide them with relevant content, and they struggle to find information. One consultant explained:

> That search is *not* working. It is so bad, things that are not relevant at all come up. I search for something really foolish because I have created a fun and informal group. And then it came up similar things [auto suggestions] on the page where someone's strategy came up, and I was thinking, no, this is not relevant you see, because here we talking about jokes and fun stuff.

One employee, who is interested in search functionality from a professional perspective, explains that "It is very rare that I don't find what I know is there." The consultant has created a personal tag strategy. When s/he stumbles over content s/he wants to read later, s/he reflexively bookmarks it by adding a tag code to search for that specific content again. The consultant has created a strategy for finding back to specific content and s/he looks for

information that s/he already knows is there, meaning that even an expert might miss content s/he does not know is there.

Tagging content with meaningful labels is important for helping search results. However, people primarily use their working language when communicating in the platform. A dilemma then, is not only how to make sure employees tag their content, but also to get them to agree to what language they tag their content with, and lastly, find the words that best match the content. The choice of what labels should classify and denote a given content does not follow a universal rule because TBC employees both speak different languages and have different social practices. Giddens (1984) stresses that signs are different from symbols, and he argues that signs only exist as the medium and outcome of communicative processes in interaction. When TBC employees have different opinions about what words best classify their content, the search functionality needs to be robust and semantic (understand misspellings, similar words etc.), which is not the case in TBC's social enterprise platform. Suchman (1995) stresses that technologies for working are models or representations of work and need to be designed in ways that represent the user's working processes (Suchman 1995, 61). The dilemma for the social platform developer and designer then is: Whose working processes should they represent?

This section presented some of the main limitations with the enterprise platform. However, this does not mean the platform would be useful for all employees or that employees will use the platform in similar manners if these limitations was removed, because they have different working practices. I will now address how the platform interplays with TBC professionals' work that was described in-depth in chapter five.

The Interplay of Working Practices and the Social Enterprise Platform

Becoming a Social Enterprise Platform Member

The routines for platform membership in TBC are via the IT department in the parent company located in France. The IT department creates the TBC professional's user-profile and sends the login and password information to the employee via email. This is a different process than becoming a member in most social networking sites in the public discourse, yet also used in other social business networks (e.g., Yammer). When creating a network membership on online social media sites (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, or LinkedIn), the user is guided through an introductory process. In this process, the user signs up for membership, fills out personal information (name, create a password etc.), and signs a privacy consent that informs the user of what kind of data the site will track from the account, the purpose for gathering this data, and how this data is treated by the online service. When the user has agreed with the privacy consent, the membership is enabled. When this first step is completed, the service provides the next important steps into the online site by suggesting relevant groups the user might want to look at or join and potential relevant site members or colleagues to follow or add as contacts. After this process, which is illustrated below (Illustration 8), the software asks for additional information so it may provide relevant content (e.g., list department, entity, other colleagues' email addresses etc.) when the user has entered the platform space:

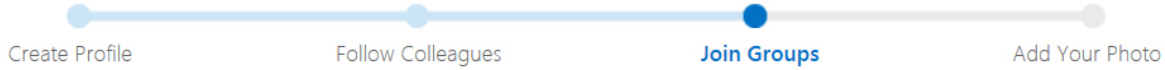

Illustration 8: Becoming a platform member. **Becoming a member of a social platform process at Yammer, where adding your photo is the last step before the user enters the virtual space.**

When the virtual space process is complete, the site provides content that aims to spark interest and get the user started. Duyne, Landay, and Hong (2002) stress the importance of designing entries in online spaces as a process funnel, which consists of several steps based on the user's logics. Giddens emphasizes, "technology does nothing, except as implicated in the actions of human beings" (Giddens and Pierson 1998, 82). However, he does acknowledge that the physical world affects actions, stating, "you can't just walk straight through a wall" (Giddens and Pierson 1998, 82). Spatiality, for example, provides settings for interaction, by the organizing of rooms in a house or the necessity of having two streets to form a corner (Giddens 1984, 119). A room without doors provides no opportunities to leave or enter. Similarly, if you have chosen not to have a Facebook membership, you will not be able to enter the Facebook space. Thus, the social and the material are inextricably related (Suchman 1987, Orlikowski 2007, 1437), and interaction spaces in the physical world represent both constraints and opportunities for interaction (Giddens 1984, 119). Hence, online and virtual spaces also need to be constructed in ways that enables opportunities for action.

Because the information model in social software is centered on people and dynamics from the users (what they share, 'Liked' etc.) and other individuals, the first steps into the social platform are critical in getting an idea of what content and people are available. This process, however, overlooks TBC consultants because the entry procedure is via the IT department located in France. Platform membership (creating an account, password, user name) is directed via the IT department. Because of this procedure, the platform consists also of memberships and profiles not yet activated (taken into use by TBC professionals).

TBC employees had very different platform guidance; some went to courses, others received information via email. None of them had assistance into the platform from the software. That said, TBC professionals work in the IT industry, and 24 of the 27 participants scored high or very high on digital competence. It should therefore be expected that they have a better starting point for using new technological platforms and finding their way than many other knowledge professionals.

The Enterprise Platform, Non-TBC Members and Other Technologies Used for Working

Another issue that is related to platform membership is that it does not correspond with how TBC-professionals work. As discussed in previous chapter, reach employees out to known relationships to solve their work problems where email was found to be one of the most important tools for working. Consultants often need domain expertise that their TBC colleagues do not have, as this this out-houser points out: "In my current assignment, I meet legal challenges, and I don't think a lot of people in TBC are highly competent within this field."

Morten, from Oslo 2 where consultants work as out-housers for long time periods at clients by default, explains in the follow-up interview in 2012 that the consultants seldom use the enterprise platform because it does not correspond with how they work: they approach individuals at the client's office: "The platform did not hit us. One reason for this is that employees at our entity do not search inwards to find out what the others are up to, so we don't spend time on that".

TBC-employees have different specializations (e.g., cloud computing, telecommunication, programming, and project management), thus, they belong to different communities or "tribes," often across TBC's company borders. With the division of labor, employees have become increasingly specialized (Huber 2010, Schneckenberg 2009) which raises the question of how many other colleagues within the same organization it would be relevant to approach in a company-internal social platform.

The enterprise platform is restricted to TBC-members, but employees collaborate often with individuals employed elsewhere. Over-lappers and in-housers that are not located full time at one client, for example, need a virtual space that is not part of the client's structure nor limited to TBC. Erica from Oslo 1 explains:

> We don't use the enterprise platform in this project work, we use *The Projectbase*[14], and it wouldn't be possible otherwise. But it would perhaps work if we had a similar open space. We use *The Projectbase* so we can share documents and keep track on all the processes. On procurements, for example, we have done all the right things, we have logged[15] etc. The others are external, and they cannot enter a closed space [which the enterprise platform is]. At *The Projectbase*, we have created a project space that we have bought and we pay for the numbers of project members, and they log in and I accept their membership application. We administrate the access to folders in *The Projectbase* differently, because some are suppliers and some are our customers.

When consultants are not fully tied to the clients' context, they need a shared online space for working that reflects how working practices are organized—working with people from different organizations. Hence, they approach a shared online space that is not tied to organizational membership, but on project work's membership. Online services are therefore preferred over the enterprise platform because it corresponds with how the project work is done. Hence, the social enterprise platform is tied to a TBC-context, but employees work in a number of different contexts and with individuals employed elsewhere. Moreover, where TBC employees work and with whom changes from one project to another. Open platforms that are not tied to physical place are thus preferred because this supports how work is carried out. As the Teleworker David explains:

[14] Norwegian 'Prosjektbasen' is an online service providing a space centered on project work.

[15] In Norway, all procurements to the public sector have to follow the law of public procurements that aim to develop a competitive business environment. This means that all types of work regarding procurements need to follow a strict set of rules and policies. More info: http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/nfd/tema/konkurransepolitikk/offentlige-anskaffelser/offentlige-anskaffelser-regelverk-og-skj/lov-om-offentlige-anskaffelser-med-forsk.html?id=444925

> On our project, we have a few people who are effectually contractors, and they don't have access to all the tools we have. And we could use Microsoft Communicator, which is the official one [TBC's], but Skype is more open. So, we tend to use more of the open tools, rather than the tools that are just TBC-specific.

Moreover, many of the local entities in TBC have local document management systems where consultants upload project-documentation, as explained by one worker:

> Most of the consultants utilize 90% plus at the moment; they're always out on customers' sites. Some of them are working full days at a customer's site and then they'll do a nice work writing up documentation for a different project. One of the certainly big resistances for using the enterprise platform are why should we be using both our document management system and the enterprise platform. What is the point of doing twice as much work?

Uploading in two systems is deemed to fail with time unless the systems are integrated, where the local document management system is likely to trump the enterprise platform simply because these are robust document management systems that meet consultants' needs in projects.

Security Issues

TBC's IT policy set restrictions to file transfers outside the TBC network unless they pass the company's VPN boxes. Information stored on the enterprise platform may be TBC-strategic and confidential, and employees are told by TBC to safeguard this. Accessing TBCs' enterprise platform from client contexts is also restricted by security issues at the client. At the same time, employees are encouraged by TBC's management to stay in touch with other TBC colleagues via the social enterprise platform, to share and collaborate, which includes publishing and reading 'downloadable contents.' One community manager replied to this dilemma that one consultant addressed by suggesting that s/he log on from home via a secure VPN. However, few TBC professionals are interested in using the enterprise platform outside their working hours and via their private infrastructure. Security practices thus create hindrances for platform users that work in clients' contexts. Hence, the platform does not correspond with where many TBC professionals spend their workday.

Expanding Existing Working Practices to Work Smarter

Some of the employees use the platform as a closed space to work. The two TBC professionals that used the enterprise platform more and not less during the follow up studies in 2012, for example, reported that they use the platform as a closed place to work together. The in-houser, Nabil from Morocco, explains that when his team of in-housers experienced a recurring problem of conflicting document versions when they sent them back and forth via email, he convinced the other team members they should turn to the enterprise platform to solve this challenge. They then created a closed space in the enterprise platform to store documents previously sent via email which expanded their working practices to be more efficient, similar to the consultants in Orlikowski (2000) study of Lotus Notes that I denoted Alpha 2 in previous chapter.

Thus, the platform offered functionality that enabled Nabil and his team to work together, which also provided better overview on matters that previously did not exist (e.g. keep updated of who is working on documents, modify and comment on specific parts, slides or pages). Hence, the team expanded how they were already co-working on documents that they emailed back and forth, and the group space in the platform made it possible for them to work smarter, together on a shared document, in one shared online space. However, the email practice among team members was kept as a communication channel for further coordination and updates. Ninety percent of the time, they explain, they use the platform as a repository and not as a platform to blog, network, or interact with non-team members. Nonetheless, it enabled Nabil and his team to work smarter than they did before. By sharing the documents in an online space, it was also easy to let new project members into that space. The change of working practice was not only related to having a problem they needed to solve, it was also related to personal characteristics with one of the team members. Nabil played a key role in this process. When Maha is asked what it takes for employees to use the social enterprise platform more she is clear:

> You have to copy paste and put Nabil in the project in order to make more people use the platform more. Because he push the rest of us to use it. Because sometimes we just don't want to change our way of work. You need someone to push. And when you collaborate on documents and with collaborative tools, it helps you understand how useful it is.

Nabil is a person that enjoys playing around with new technology; he is an 'early adopter'—a person that begins using new technology at an early stage (Rogers 2010). Thus, changing their working practice was done on a team level, initiated by a combination of an actual need and by a person that took leadership in this process.

Keeping Established Working Practices is Most Efficient

While Nabil and his team expanded their working practices to the platform and made it more effective, another group of senior in-housers at Oslo 1 preferred to keep their established routines and way of working and not use the social enterprise platform for working, similar to the consultants in Orlikowski's (2000) study that did not use Lotus Notes – those I labelled Alpha 3 in previous chapter. This group of TBC professionals perceived the enterprise platform to be a blog where one writes updates. They explained that they already have a working practice that is effective and helpful for them; "When we are working, we need both the structure and the documents that we have today" at the local server //:G. Rather than moving their structured documents into folders sorted by previous projects from years past, they kept their established way of organizing work because content is very difficult to find in the enterprise platform, they explain. Another reason is that they need a robust document management system for their work. The social enterprise platform does not offer sufficient functionality for document management which they need for working, which is also observed by the industry; the "platform lacks the breadth of adjacent capabilities (for example, document management, portal, business intelligence [BI], and real time communications), or the ability to bundle with other business applications" (Drakos, Mann, and Gotta 2013, 10).

While the platform provided a way to make Nabil and his teamwork more effectively (removing the versioning problem), the group of in-housers at Oslo 1 already had a way of working that was efficient and met their needs. By uploading their documents that were structured into a system of logical folders into the enterprise platform, they would lose the document overview built up over years that they approached daily. However, also these seniors co-work on documents and email files back and forth before the final documents are stored in their document structure and folders. Nabil and his team are younger (twenties, thirties, and forties) than the senior consultants at Oslo 1 (fifties) and did not have the same length of "document history" as the seniors. The age difference could typically be pointed to as a reason for why they did not use the platform in the same manner as the team in Morocco, but this study finds no connection between those who use the platform and age. The senior consultants could, as Nabil and his team did, store documents in a closed space in the social enterprise platform while working on them, and then store the final versions in their folder archive. Yet, this would represent three work steps: storing the documents in a shared place while working, uploading the final versions in their archive, and communicating and coordinating around the project documents and project work via email. Furthermore, in the process of writing project documents, there are many other documents utilized, and these other documents are typically also stored with the main document. Hence, despite their different choices, both the seniors and Nabil and his team have only two "channels" to manage: email and the folder structure at ://G (the seniors at Oslo 1), or email and the documents in the social enterprise platform (the team in Rabat 1). Thus, changing the senior consultants' established way of working would require more and not less work for them. Hence, both strategies were grounded in agency – choosing to work as effectively as possible.

Also of note, the Moroccan team and the Oslo team share that they are both in-housers: their daily work is mainly conducted *within* TBC's contexts, and as will be shown next, the social enterprise platform is part of the local TBC office's ICT structure.

Close Link between Work Context and Platform Use

In the beginning of the interviews in 2011, the 27[16] participants were asked to fill out a survey (Appendix 4) stating how often they visited the enterprise platform. An interesting pattern between work context and platform visits emerged, namely, a tendency for in-housers to visit the platform more often than out-housers (Table 7):

[16] Three of the 27 participants are no-billers. One works with administration, one with recruitment, and one is a middle manager. Two of these visit the platform on a weekly basis and one several times per week. All three are in-housers in that their work place is the main office.

How often do you visit the social enterprise platform?			
Monthly	Weekly	Several times a week	Daily
2 (1 Distant worker, 1 Teleworker)	**10** (7 Out-housers, 3 In-housers)	**5** (3 In-housers, 1 Distant worker)	**10** (8 In-housers, 1 Out-houser[17], 1 anomaly)

Table 7: Platform visits in 2011. How often the 27 participants visited the social enterprise platform in 2011. The majority of daily visitors are in-housers (work in TBC contexts), the majority of weekly visitors are Out-housers (work in their client's contexts). A weakness in the form is that it lacks the category 'Never.'

During eight follow up interviews in 2012, conducted with a balanced sample of contributing users and information seekers or no-users, I found that six used the platform substantially less than in 2011, while two used it more. When the sample of the eight participants is coded with work context, platform visits, and platform user pattern (contributor or information seeker), the pattern revealed in 2011, continues. In-housers tend to visit the platform more than other work types. This corresponds with that in-housers typically have more time to surf the enterprise platform since they seldom bill clients 100% while in-house.

The Platform Plays Different Roles in Different Contexts

How the consultant uses the enterprise platform and what role it plays in the consultant's workday changes in line with their working tasks and work context, as this out-houser from Oslo 2 points out: "I use the enterprise platform in periods. But I don't use it as much in projects". Keeping an eye on social elements or how things are while not being at the main office plays for some consultants a nurturing role for social belonging. For example, some said the platform nurtured a sense of TBC belonging when being out-house. Jan, from Oslo 1, explains that he uses the platform in different ways when he is an out-houser than when he is an in-houser:

> I use the social enterprise platform as a cigarette break. I used it in a more active manner last year, when I was working in-house, because I had more time back then. Now, however, I'm full time at a client. I log on to the platform now and then to get social updates about the local community in Norway. I use the platform less than a year ago, and I use it less for work matters and more of social reasons. I prioritize my time to my work project, and I check out the social stuff in the enterprise platform, like the group that arranged the summer party.

With social updates, Jan gets a sense of life at his TBC entity. Thus, when the employee is not located in his or hers TBC-office the platform have the potential to nurture mechanical integration. This is because reciprocity can travel across time-space among those who are physically absent in time-space (Giddens 1984). Changes in his working context have a say for how Jan uses the enterprise platform. Giddens relates daily life to the individual's self-motivation; "The self cannot be understood outside 'history'—'history' meaning, in this case, the temporality of human practices" (Giddens 1984, 36). Keeping an eye on colleagues from

[17] This person works on many smaller projects in tandem with shorter timeframes and works 50/50 at the client's office and from home. S/he drops by the office occasionally. Thus, s/he is not a stereotypical out-houser.

the past nurtures the employee's self and belonging. Chui et al. (2012, 12) list social talk as a potential risk with social technologies. However, using Facebook is found to be explained by the need to belong and the need for self-presentation (Nadkarni and Hofmann 2012). Posts with self-reference using words such as "I" and "me" were found to receive the most 👍 ("Likes") on Facebook (Kapin 2012). As I will return to in chapter eight, a consistent pattern is that content in TBC's social enterprise platform with a social character (summer party, a colleague that got married, etc.) engages more and receives the most feedback (e.g., 'Likes', comments) than more formal content.

The Enterprise Platform – a Time Consuming Space

TBC professionals explain that the enterprise platform makes them less productive at work. A consultant explains he needs a good work system that makes him more productive than the enterprise platform; "With a good setup/organized Outlook (calendars, rules, filters, coloring on importance, categories, etc.), I'm a trillion times more productive than I am with the enterprise platform." The enterprise platform becomes, for many, another system to keep track of, which is a priority often abandoned in an already hectic workday. This employee explains:

> Generally, I do look on the front page and see the news posts and what looks interesting. I think in [the consultant's country], there are initiatives that people are trying to start, and trying to post on the enterprise platform and trying to get some involvement in, but there's an awfully lot of real work to be done. I'll try to have some of the activities done on news in the enterprise platform, but I'll be suing (*sic*) it for a specific thing that we're specifically working on, rather than a general open use of half an hour to go and discover. If I got half an hour there's more useful things I can do, and there's more interesting things I can do in some ways. And I think that's probably where most of my guys in the team are.

The platform is not related to 'real work'—to actual work tasks the consultants perform during their working day at TBC. When the platform does not provide help to their daily work, it is not approached by many TBC consultants, as one employee states: "I don't think I'm exaggerating when I say that 90% of our entity never enters the social platform at all. When employees experience that the platform is not useful to them, they don't bother to use it." Many TBC employees typically do not regard the platform as a tool that can be of any help in their projects, and they therefore regard using the platform as antagonistic to doing a good job. One consultant stated:

> I haven't had a lot of time to randomly type things into the enterprise platform and see what comes up, but who has the time to do that sort of a thing? The enterprise platform is one of those things that are not part of what we're paid to do, and so I'll just focus on what I need to get my work done. If we could be convinced that it was going to enable us to work even 10% more efficiently, maybe we'd sort of invest some time in it and get it set up. You need some form of encouragement to do this sort of thing.

The enterprise platform ends up being perceived by many consultants as an add-on, especially for out-housers, but also for many In-housers, depending on their workload, and as something that comes on top of the pile of existing tasks and duties. The platform is perceived as irrelevant for the consultant's daily work and thought of as a traditional one-way intranet with news and updates on internal company matters.

Moreover, many out-housers have mentioned that they feel a context-collapse if they use the enterprise platform in the client's location, interpreting the platform as a social, informal, and less professional place to spend billed hours: "I log into the enterprise platform only when I have a lot of spare time—as when you would surf on the net without any predefined goal." The platform is perceived to be an information space for reading and not for working, and as a time-consuming space. Consultants explain they cannot spend half an hour in the enterprise platform to surf around when they are working from customer premises, and neither do they want to spend time becoming familiar with and using the platform from home. The employees experience TBC's enterprise platform as representing more work and not as an aid to make their work easier or make them work smarter or more effective.

Platform Content is Technical and Related to Problems Well-defined

As the previous chapter showed, technical workers differ from process workers in regard to work problems solved during their work day. While insights from the past on how IT problems had been solved previously were helpful for technical workers, process workers relied more on other individuals for problem solving in real-time because many of the solutions to their problems relies in the future. Several of the consultants mentioned that the majority of the content in the social enterprise platform is technically-oriented. One of the process workers explains that s/he

> joined a group concerning [a specific topic], because I wanted to get some references and perhaps some feedback and ideas. But the group is very technically-oriented. I, however, work with collaboration processes between the client and their suppliers. When I went to the platform to see what TBC had worked with previously, it was very tool-oriented, concerned with upgrading databases and moving from remedy database Oracle to SQ server. It is sort of a totally different world than what I am working with, so I didn't get much out of that. They were very technical; it was databases and remedy tools. My work isn't about that. I work with the working processes in these.

Much of the content in the enterprise platform is not relevant for those that work with less technical issues.

The Enterprise Platform Does Not Have a Lingua France

When the social enterprise platform was introduced, instructions from top management were to communicate in English so everyone could understand. Yet, after a short while, people turned to their native language. When TBC employees are located in 20+ countries and the language they use in their day-to-day work is used in the platform, it makes it clearly difficult to benefit from and reuse content others have shared. This Moroccan consultant works with a topic that TBC-Denmark is strong on:

Lene: Have you read anything that the Danes have shared?
Tarek: Just articles in English, not in Danish. Sometime there are articles in Danish, so, I don't really know the subject. But when they post in Danish, you don't even know the subject of the article.
Me: Which languages do you write in?
Tarek: French, English, and Spanish. Danish nope…
Lene: The Danes cannot understand you, communicating in French....
Tarek: Yes.
Lene: And you can't understand them.
Tarek: Yes.

In the workday, TBC professionals speak their native language with colleagues and clients, and as Ulrik put it: "Although my wife knows English perfectly well, it would be awkward to speak English together at home." And the communication practices in the offline social structure are continued in the online platform. Giddens (1991) argues that with modernity follows two disembedding mechanisms: symbolic tokens and expert systems. Symbolic tokens are "media of interchange that can be passed around without regard to the specific characteristics of individuals or groups that handle them at any particular juncture" (Giddens 1991, 22). Giddens lists English as a common language (lingua franca) as example of symbolic tokens. Yet, the online platform does not have a lingua franca because consultants use their first language when they communicate in the enterprise platform.

This chapter has so far focused on how employee's user and working practices interplay with the social enterprise platform. The last section presents insights from the opposite direction, the interplay between the enterprise platform and employees' working practices.

The Interplay of the Social Enterprise Platform and Working Practices

The last section in this chapter concerns the assumption that social technologies have the ability to increase employee productivity by replacing or reducing the time they spend on email work, telephone conversations, and information search (Chui et al. 2012).

The Platform Introduces New Working Practices

As addressed in chapter one, relies the expected success of social enterprise platforms that they are taken into actively use. In line with this, TBC tries to get employees to use the platform more, and in a more specific manner—to contribute with content. One of the managers arranged a pull in order to get insights of what it would take to encourage employees to participate and contribute more in the enterprise platform (Illustration 9):

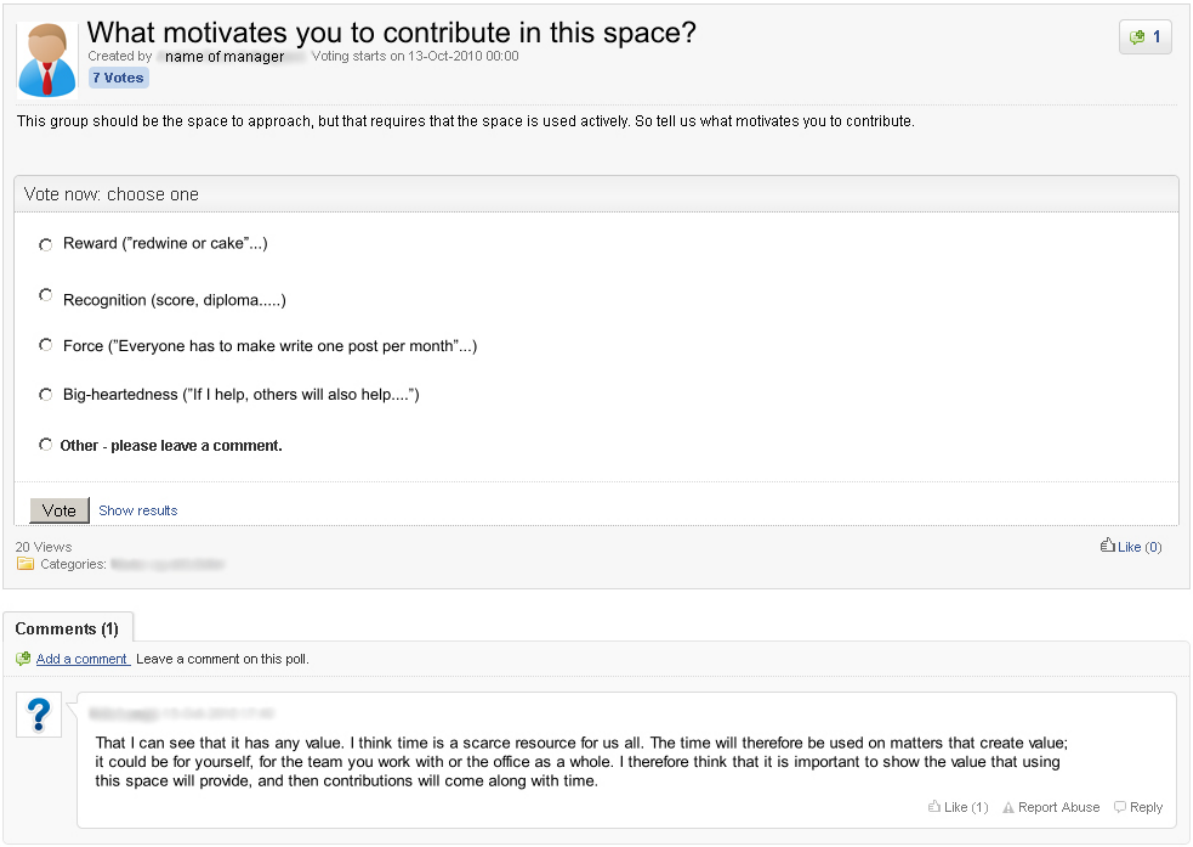

Illustration 9: Screenshot of a poll. Screenshot of one manager asking what encourages employees to contribute actively. Active users are not only the ideal type in the platform's algorithmic goal, but also TBC's top-down goal.

However, as the comment points to, and as I have shown, the platform does not provide the assistance nor useful content the employee can benefit from in his or her daily work. Contributing with work-related blog posts and other social updates is a new work practice in employees' working days. Writing summaries or updates about a project is not what consultants do in their everyday work. I label this new working practice 'social working'—contributing with content characterized with a social dimension, as with, for example, writing a blog post about a work-related topic (e.g., cloud computing)—which represents two factors. Firstly, social working comes in addition to employees' other tasks. Second, social working concerns a work practice consultants did not do before the platform was introduced: share updates in a personal blog genre available for everyone to read. A weblog is a personal online diary (Lüders 2007). Thus, social working concerns a new way of working: interacting and communicating with others in new, transparent ways which do not correspond with how people work in practice (in smaller groups and teams with a shared language, with an overview of the other conversation partners in more closed and trustful spaces providing social cues for interpretation).

Many of those who do social working in TBC point to altruistic reasons as motivation for doing this (Lüders 2013). Most often these are either in-housers or over-lappers, located mainly in their local TBC entities. However, not all consultants working in-house do 'social working'. The question the manager asks in the screen shot, and that TBC assumes, is that the underlying goal is for employees to take on a new working task, 'social working,' by being active contributors of dynamic content, and by being available to reply to colleagues' calls for help.

However, 'social working' collides with what employees' do during their workdays. 'Social working' is not aligned with a consultant's work design because it is not a structured work task in the consultant's job (Grant and Parker 2009), and 'social working' does not make the employee's own work more productive, on the contrary, it becomes an additional task.

More, Not Less Emails

As said, email plays a key role in TBC professionals' work. One of the key goals with implementing social enterprise platforms to organizations is to reduce the amount of email correspondences (Chui et al. 2012). The enterprise platform has not changed employees' email practices. On the contrary, several of the consultants reported in the follow-up studies in 2012 that they have not only returned to their established email practices, they receive even more email after the enterprise platform was introduced. This is because of email-notifications. Email notification has become an institutionalized practice that most set up in order to not miss important information and updates at the Internet. Setting up email notifications is a strategic maneuver from people to keep updated and to avoid "information-overdose."

In TBC, there are email notifications sent from the enterprise platform whenever news is posted, a document is updated or changed, new content is added, or new comments are made in groups, blog posts or discussions. Tommy from Denmark explains how he manages the flow:

> After the introduction of the enterprise platform it is less emails, but on the other hand, we receive all the platform updates on mail so in that way it's ever more. But the notifications are not only on news. I have made a folder in Outlook where all these updates are directed to so it doesn't interrupt me. Then I can check the folder once a day or when I have time.

Paradoxically, by introducing a social platform to remove the growing problem of email-overload, the problem is not solved, yet increased because of the logic of email notifications.

Spending More, Not Less Time on Information

Another unintended consequence is that employees might spend time reading information that is not relevant to their own work. Erica states she feels that she is a member of too many groups: "One can't keep track of it, so I have five pages because I think, *Oh, I have to join this, I have to keep track on that*." Thomas explains that he subscribes to a weekly update from the platform and that this "often leads me to the platform thinking, *I have to read this*. But I see that I now and then miss relevant information, and I sometimes realize that I am sitting and reading irrelevant information."

The flip side of the social platform is the risk that employees might spend more time than earlier on reading information not directly relevant for their daily work. The opposite consequence is also observed: the chance for missing important information.

The Risk of Missing Important Information

The large amount of email notifications consultants received from the enterprise platform was found to be so frustrating and disturbing during their workday that many decided to turn them off. Several also left the groups that kept sending notifications: "I'm now un-registering from

multiple groups, since I'm losing too much time in reading all these mails" as one consultant explained.

Another employee created an email folder in his Outlook and set up a rule to direct all notifications and updates from the enterprise platform directly there. He, however, deletes the folder now and then without checking the updates, and thus never gets any information.

Even when email notifications are set up, there is no guarantee the employee will not miss important information because it requires that the user follows a specific person or is member of the groups that send out notifications. This point is discussed online by a few TBC employees where one argues that low platform usage is because the enterprise platform is a pull-media;

> You can communicate only to the people that have subscribed to a topic, a group, etc. Unsubscribed persons are not notified. Recent example: Details about the email migration in TBC have been posted to the enterprise platform. Only very few people have been informed because not everybody had a subscription to the topic. In terms of communication/coordination: sorry, but it's a failure. The email as a competitor media provides: Direct addressing (to persons), Read Receipt (we know 'who knows what'), Delivery Failure (I'm aware of a communication that was not established). Thus, information is 'pushed.'

With email, information can be stored and made use of for future actions and comes with a receive-guarantee. Interestingly, many consultants never enter the enterprise platform space, but read the platform's content as notifications from the platform in their email client. Reading the mail avoids the need to login to the platform. Thus, new elements are lifted into the email-box, into established ways for working. Since email notification is the main way for most employees to keep updated about the information in the enterprise platform, turning it off means they will gain even fewer insights from the platform.

The findings presented in this and previous chapter are summarized in a table in Appendix 5.

Conclusion

The findings presented in the past two chapters have provided insights to answer the first research question asked in this thesis; *How do consultants' working practices interplay with the company's social enterprise platform*? The findings have shown that the social enterprise platform is not as an assistant to most employees daily work.

TBC lacks a consistent and realistic strategy that could guide employees' platform use better. The enterprise platform is a hybrid of a networking, co-writing, document repository, yet not a document management system. Without a consistent strategy by TBC of, for example, where to store documents, employees fall back on their local document management systems that provides better functionality for their project needs. Employees lack guidelines from the software for whom to follow and which relevant groups to join. They also miss an articulated direction from their company of what their expectations are for employee platform use and a policy of where to store documents. The statistics from a global level from 2010-2013 revealed

that the platform is mainly used to upload documents. The knowledge pool is, in TBC's respect, a document repository mainly locked up in groups. The assumption from the industry that with a collective many-to-many social enterprise platform, all employees will benefit from a shared knowledge pool and get easy access to relevant coworkers and their specialized competencies (Chui et al. 2012, 8), is not yet fulfilled. TBC professionals use their mother tongue during their workday, and this is a practice that is expanded in the platform with the result that a variety of languages is spoken in TBC's collective space. This logically sets limitations on how much of others' documents or contents the employees' can benefit from.

An alarming unintended consequence is that enterprise platforms make information less available to employees than traditional intranets with hierarchical information architectures. The social media algorithms that social enterprise platforms are inspired from is modelled on an active user-logic, which itself has shown not to guarantee that information shared will ever show up in the newsfeed because the algorithms weight content based on popularity and engagement (likes, comments etc.) (Bucher 2012). The "powerful 'genius' feature" the software employs to provide the user with relevant content falls short for users that are not active participants (those that drop by TBC's social enterprise platform only now and then).

The platform introduces new working tasks that I have labelled 'social working'—writing blog posts or other updates in a blog genre that are not customary to the employee's working practices, which become additional tasks.

Employees approach individuals they are located close to when they need to sort out work-related issues. If these cannot assist, the employee addresses their "local tribes" working in company external networks, often located in the social media landscape in preference to approaching TBC colleagues they do not know. One explanation for this is that employees in the organization have different specializations (e.g., cloud computing, telecommunication, programming, project management, and so forth) and thus they belong to different communities often across TBC's borders.

Of note as well, the majority of TBC employees are French. This is also reflected in the platform in that the majority of content is reported to be in French. The platform's content is also mainly technically-oriented, which corresponds with the findings in previous chapters: problems that are well-defined are more shareable and "uploadable" than work characterized as being less well-defined. How the platform is taken into use is closely related to the context in which the employee works, and what the employee does for working.

An information communication system is of key importance to the organization where all employees know of the communication channels, have access to these, and lines of communication are kept short and direct (Barnard 1968 [1938]). Improved internal communication facilitates business success (Tourish 1997) and within organizations, effective internal communication between managers and staff is vital to organizational success (Tourish and Hargie 1998). Replacing the organization's internal information systems with social enterprise platforms thus runs a clear risk of not reaching out to employees with vital information, which is critical for TBC's business.

Lastly, most TBC professionals report that they appreciate the existence of the platform although they do not participate themselves. They explain that they somehow need to get important company information, similar as to what any intranet would provide, although many appreciate the opportunity to comment. In sum, the social enterprise platform does not work in tandem with what employees do for working, with whom many TBC professionals work with nor with their ICT structure.

Chapter 7: Local Practices in TBC

> *It seems that people in Morocco have different email practices than others I have talked to in TBC. The custom for how fast one should reply to an email is an example. When you call, however, they reply immediately. (From my video field diary July 2011).*

Introduction

This chapter is the third of the four empirical chapters in this thesis. As chapter five assisted in answering the research question in chapter six, the insights presented in this chapter will provide a background that will give a more holistic understanding when I explicitly answer the second research question in the next chapter: *How do consultants' working practices in contextual offline settings interplay with their interaction practices online?*

This chapter brings to the analysis some of the key differences in the routines, traditions, norms and procedures for working among TBC-professionals from the different entities involved in this study. These are elements that concern the vertical dimension (structure-agency) highlighted in red in Figure 10:

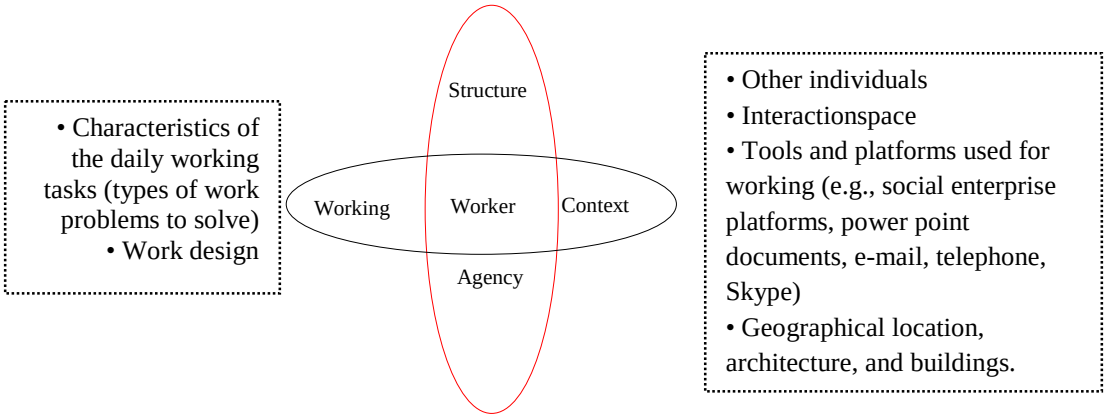

Figure 10: The elements discussed in this chapter are highlighted in red in my framework.

As stated, the social structure is in the framework the rules (implicit or explicit formulas for action) and resources (what agents themselves bring to action, such as knowledge and abilities) that both enables and restrict individuals' actions (Giddens 1979, 69). The social structure consists of individuals' conscious actions, yet individuals' actions are also restricted by the structure (i.e., other individuals). According to structuration theory (Giddens 1984), the duality of structure confirms established practices and simultaneously initiates changes due to agency: Individuals are knowledgeable and act on their own. In the framework, "agency" refers to TBC workers' reflexive actions. In structuration theory, individuals are knowledgeable and characterized by three types of consciousness: (1) discursive (things the individual can articulate); (2) practical (elements that are needed for participating in social life, are taken for

granted, and are not reflected upon); and (3) unconscious motives/cognition (personality, basic, instinctual human drives) (Giddens 1984). This chapter presents insights into some of the different routines, traditions, norms, and procedures of how TBC professionals carry out their work and interpret ways of doing work other than their own. These key differences are relevant when TBC professionals work and interact together not only in offline places but also in the shared online social enterprise platform.

Local Ways of Doing Things

Practices are defined as shared routines, traditions, norms, and procedures for working, thinking, acting, and using things (Whittington 2006, 619). According to this definition, cultural differences are similar to having different practices. In the management literature, studies of culture in cross-cultural groups and organizations have been influenced mostly by cultural dimension theory (Hofstede and Hofstede 1991, Hofstede 1980). This approach, however, has been heavily criticized because of its view of culture as a static, objective entity capable of being studied in isolation (Ailon 2013) and characterized by a value-set defined from a masculine, managerial, and Western point of view (Ferguson 1994, 89-90). Additionally, cultural dimension theory ties culture to geographic location, which is problematic because culture concerns shared meanings that do not have clear borders (Eriksen and Neumann 2011, 5). From this anthropological perspective, culture might change quickly, as when people take in new impulses and influences from the outside (Eriksen and Neumann 2011, 5). Social identity (group formations and group boundaries) differs from culture by being more discontinuous and has carefully guarded borders (Eriksen and Neumann 2011, 5).

Routines are understood in structuration theory to be integral to both individuals and structures. Routines are founded on traditions or habits fundamental to individuals' daily interactions with others who are physically co-present (Giddens 1984, 64). TBC professionals hold different norms and rules, sometimes also within the same entity. Rules or norms consist of "acting out" meaning (Giddens 1984, 28). As shown, TBC professionals spend their working days in local structures characterized by unique values, norms, and rules with a shared language, which acts as a lubricant for social interaction. Social interaction is manifested mostly through language and communication (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz, 2008), and as mentioned, a number of languages are spoken in the enterprise platform. TBC professionals thus enter the online social enterprise platform with communicative practices they have established in offline (contextual) social structures. The workplace plays a key role in working practices and, consequently, the social enterprise platform because shared meanings and routines are confirmed on a daily basis and play a key role in social integration (Giddens 1984).

Speaking versus Writing Practices

A key finding from early in the research process was that TBC professionals have different norms for how quickly they reply to emails. While participants from Norway, Denmark, and the United Kingdom replied fairly quickly (always the same day or evening), TBC employees from Morocco did not always even reply. This pattern was also observed by Arnulf and Kristoffersen (2014) in their study of European and Chinese managers. Closer analysis showed that the spoken word- intertwined with social trust - was still very present among TBC

Moroccans. This does not mean that TBC employees in Morocco do not reply or use email, because they indeed do. Rather, it points to the role the spoken word plays for TBC consultants in the North African entities. I write in my field diary:

> One of the managers explains the difference between the South and the North in terms of different traditions based on an oral dissemination of the spoken word. Moreover, the spoken word concerns growing trust to the participants in the conversation. People have other habits than people from other places in regard to communicating via e-mail or writing reports and documents. Conversations and seeing people are important, even when people are sitting far from one another. Communication here concerns establishing a relationship which must be social before it can be anchored professionally. (July 2011)

The preference for oral speech in TBC Morocco was shown to be closely related to trust and building social relationships. For example, sending a text message concerning important life matters (e.g., having a child) is perceived as disrespectful to the social relationship of the sender and the receiver. As one Moroccan consultant put it, "If it is important, you call." Preferring telephone calls over, for example, sending emails is a practice valid to all TBC professionals, regardless of entity. However, establishing a social relationship in order to develop a trustful relationship before doing professional work together is more important to Moroccan workers than the other TBC professionals included in this study. All TBC employees build social relationships by communicating in co-presence. A getting-to-know-each other process in Morocco typically includes sharing personal information about, for example, family. Sharing personal information provides an imagination of who a person is. When establishing a social relationship, face-to-face communication adds the social cues needed to establish meaning and thus reduces social distance (Goffman 2000 [1959]).

Arnulf and Kristoffersen (2014) found that, for Chinese managers, the best way to get a message across to collaboration partners in Europe was to make communication personal through social relationships. European managers, however, preferred written communication because they saw it as easier for the Chinese managers to understand than oral communication due to language difficulties. The Chinese managers, however, seldom replied to the emails the Europeans sent, which was experienced as frustrating by the Europeans. Chinese managers, in turn, were frustrated by a lack of response due to European holidays and restricted working hours (Arnulf and Kristoffersen 2014, 11).

In TBC, the preference for the spoken or written word is closely related to the context of which the communication partners are part of (e.g., Oslo 1 or Rabat 2). The different communication preferences (writing, speaking) give insight into future versions of enterprise platforms because users might have different preferences for content formats. Although the social enterprise platform has the functionality to support visual content (pictures, video), the majority of technologies are modelled on the logic and tradition of the written word (writing status updates or blog posts, asking questions). For example, one Moroccan technical worker explains that he prefers watching videos over reading lengthy paragraphs of text. Visual elements can also enable a sense of knowing others. Zheng et al. (2002), for example, found that having a static

photograph of the communication partner was effective for establishing trust, whereas a text-based, static information sheet of personal information was not. Nandhakumar (2002) found that ICT did not provide the emotional satisfaction needed to build trust relationships and that working relationships had to be established the conventional way before the employees could perform teamwork virtually (Nandhakumar 2002, 52). Additionally, in this study, process workers were found to need more interaction with other individuals than written documentation for working. Skype and other real-time visual and oral technologies, therefore, are helpful in their working processes.

Discrimination

Local and implicit rules in social systems are often symbolized in materiality visible to the eye. For example, this prayer rug in an office space in Morocco indicates that TBC professionals practice Islam, while the shoe polish boxes hint at the dress code in Norway (Photo 2).

Photo: 2: A prayer rug in an office space in Morocco to the left, shoe polish boxes in Norway to the right.

Other rules that are less easy to see play important roles in meetings between TBC workers having different practices. For example, a female consultant tells that she went to a meeting at a TBC entity in a country that still has very traditional views of woman. The consultant was immediately perceived by the other entity's employees to be her male colleague's secretary and was treated in line with this interpretation. Not only gender, but also racial discrimination is experienced by some TBC women in multinational TBC. This has also happened in the enterprise platform space, tells one Moroccan employee:

> Once I saw this group of women, and I sent a request to join the group, and the administrator said no. I was thinking, why did she say no? Is it because I'm from Africa? There was a photo [of her]. Why? I wanted to send a note and ask why. Then I lost interest.

An online social platform does not automatically eliminate established practices or prejudices.

Different Rules for Prioritizing Working Tasks

The underlying prioritization rules were found to differ greatly among TBC employees. While individuals at one entity interpret the highest number (no 5) on a prioritized list of 1 to 5 as the most important and therefore the task the employee should begin first, individuals at another entity use the opposite rule of thumb, beginning with the work task listed first (no 1). Such small details are seldom articulated but are taken for granted. It is also assumed that others follow the same set of implicit rules. This easily leads to misunderstandings when TBC employees from different entities work together. There have been occasions when a team held a video conference with an international client and set the five most important tasks to solve in the coming week, but in the next meeting, the client shook his head in frustration because the team started with what was perceived as the least important matter. Language differences also make TBC employees unsure whether they share common ground with communication partners and whether others fully understand the work tasks they should do.

Rules for When to Begin the Workday

Practices of how work is done and how tasks are expected to be solved are less easy to perceive with the bare eye and are typically taken for granted until meeting with others who follows different rules. The proper time to begin work in the morning, for example, came up as an issue during the interviews. One consultant kept calling another entity in the morning, but employees at the other entity had different routines for when to begin working. Their workday started at a later time than the consultant's. Different rules for what time is the proper to begin work became an annoyance, typically followed by the development of prejudices against others. Thus, identification with the in-group was reinforced more than downplaying silos (Rouzies and Colman 2012).

Rules for Meetings

Distance from others' ways of doing things is relative, depending on what is being compared, as this Norwegian employee illustrates:

> As individuals, I think I have most in common with the closest countries. I'm aware that there are cultural differences between Norway and Sweden and [between] Norway and Denmark and between Denmark and Sweden as well, but I think that, after all, we are more similar than if we move a step further away.

However, being geographically close does not eliminate differences in, for example, the underlying norm for how meetings should be organized, as this Danish consultant describes his neighboring country of Sweden:

> I was at a meeting in Sweden. We kept going for three hours and had two coffee breaks. When the time went out for the first session, we went outside the meeting room for a coffee and small talk. Then we went back in and continued the meeting. In Denmark, we would have laughed and thought that we should have waited with coffee until we were done with the meeting.

The rules for how meetings are organized differ between and within the TBC entities, even when the entities are geographically close.

Violations of Known Rules are Interpreted Negatively

When work tasks are organized or fulfilled in unaccustomed ways, TBC workers interpret this within the set of common rules and norms they themselves apply. Violations of these rules are consistently interpreted negatively by TBC workers, as this consultant illustrates:

> I've sometimes found them [TBC employees from a country] to be very laidback, very relaxed about things. Almost to a state where you'll ask for something that is really urgent, and it just isn't dealt with in the kind of way that it would be here. That frustrates me a little.

The procedures for doing work differ from one TBC context to another. By being in shared social structures are shared rules confirmed on a daily basis. When the consultants are asked which entities they perceive as most different from themselves, many list entities that have different routines and rules for how good work is organized.

> There is a reasonable difference with the [TBC employees from a country]. I think it is difficult to collaborate with them because they do not give important messages. You ask people if they're working on the agreed tasks, and they say "Yes, yes," and then the deadline arrives, and they say; "Sorry, I didn't make it. My kids were ill, and I had a big project." "So, why didn't you tell me?" I think a deal is a deal. As I see it, you stick to the deal, and do what you say you will do.

The consultant interprets the action of giving important messages as a universal rule that is equivalent to how work gets done. However, TBC professionals have different rules and norms for working, which frequently leads to prejudices against others who have different ways of organizing and carrying out work. Such differences maintain social distance and subordinate others' way of doing things (Ashforth and Mael 1989).

Different Rules in Overlapping Structures

However, as mentioned briefly, the analysis did not find that having different practices was tied to geography. In entities in the same country or city and even within the same entity, the consultants have unique rules and norms different from those of others. TBC employees expressed stereotypes about others who have different business models and prioritization systems, as this consultant illustrates:

> We are very local. We work towards our close market. We are businessmen; being kings at the customers is what drives us. With [the other entity in the same country], they are more into communities of different disciplines. They are much more concerned about their entity's inner life, nurturing their professional disciplines.

The two entities offer somewhat different services to their clients and thus are organized differently.

In addition, having many meetings is interpreted by some TBC entities as a symbol of a successful client process, but another entity believes that a deal can be done with few meetings and that many meetings are a waste of time. The number of client meetings is also interpreted

differently within one entity, representing for one department being busy and having many clients and for a different department as showing off.

Even when entities are geographically close and communicating in a shared language, they have different traditions, rules, and norms for working. These differences are often interpreted negatively, and as shown in the next chapter, TBC professionals' interpretations of others seem to be strengthened, rather than weakened, in the transparent enterprise platform.

Working with Strangers

As pointed to in the analysis of the social network data in chapter five, there is little cross-unit collaboration in TBC, even when the entities are located within the same country or city. Working with TBC professionals at other entities has been more or less been a consequence of joint projects and of employees being stationed at other offices for shorter or longer periods. Although some TBC professionals have experienced contact with or tried to contact others they have never met, such contacts most often are one-time occurrences. When asked why no further communication is pursued, most informants refer to misunderstandings. One does not understand what the intention of initiating contact is:

> I had an interesting teleconference with someone from [country] about our project a few weeks ago, but nothing came out of it. I think we misunderstood each other a bit because they wanted me as a reference in a project they had going in [country]. I don't know what happened. I didn't hear anything more from them. In regard to the project we discussed, I think I could have contributed with quite a bit of competence, experience and such.

According to structuration theory (Giddens 1984), all social interaction is situated, which points to the importance of co-presence in interaction and communication. The consultant above had a virtual teleconference with a TBC entity located geographically very far from his own. In contrast, the teleworker in chapter five explains that their team managed to create co-presence through Skype and telephone calls. The difference between the teleworker's and the consultant's situation is that the consultant above and those that contacted him did not know each other nor shared a common ground or social practices. In Giddens's (1984) model, social interaction is tied to the modality of interpretation. TBC workers make sense of their surroundings through their interpretative schemes so that communication is meaningful (Giddens 1984, 29). These rules are manifested mostly through language and communication and learned in everyday work activities in which the employee is socially integrated (Giddens 1984). A shared language serves as a lubricant among people (Gumperz and Cook‐Gumperz 2008), and common ground is key for communication to be meaningful. Trygg (2014, 190) found in her study of home offices that employees preferred to come to the office rather than work from home because personal interactions are the main building blocks for developing relationships. Through daily interaction, work practices are routinized, institutionalized, and finally taken for granted until they are met with other rules or ways of doing things.

When asked to list which entity TBC-professionals perceived as the most similar and the most different compared to their own, they classified others along a close–periphery continuum of

imagined ideas of personalities and work practices, how other units are organized in terms of autonomy at work, and how work is managed and lead (i.e., authority, management model, and hierarchy). Being part of the same social group within the same context, working with similar domains, and having shared preferences, norms, and language were dimensions the employees used to identify others as similar to themselves, as part of their in-group. Social and group identification were found to be two sides of the same coin.

Conclusion

The implicit rules of how meetings are organized, when to pick up the phone or send an email, the prioritization of numbered tasks listed in a Microsoft Excel sheet, when to begin the working day, and how to communicate updates and ideas were found to differ among TBC professionals. TBC workers have different routines, traditions, norms, and procedures for working, yet most take for granted that TBC workers at other entities or departments operate with the same rules and norms for how work should be done and work problems solved. TBC employees use all three types of consciousness that Giddens (1984) describes as reflexive agency: Difference is articulated by employees (discursive), and others' practices are interpreted negatively (practical) because employees ethnocentrically evaluate others' way of doing things (unconscious). How do TBC professionals from more than 20 countries communicate and interact in TBC's online social enterprise platform when they hold different communication practices offline? This is the topic of the next and last empirical chapter, in which I answer my second research question.

Chapter 8: Offline and Online Interaction Practices

> *Followers are from Denmark. I don't think there is anyone from outside. It's people I know well. They are people I work closely with. It is not a goal for me to have 2,000 friends in TBC. Maybe it's because I'm Danish and we are like a small village. There can only be this many in a tribe. (Danish TBC consultant).*

Introduction

The findings presented in chapter seven provide the contextual backdrop for this chapter, in which I answer my second research question: *How do consultants' working practices in contextual offline settings interplay with their interaction practices online?* Offline interactions refer to contextual interactions, and online interactions to those in virtual spaces (e.g., in the social enterprise platform). More specifically, this chapter addresses the interplay of employees' offline and online interaction practices in the social enterprise platform. In Giddens (1984, 29) model of the duality of structure agency meets structure at the level of modality in three dimensions. Of these, signification deals with meaning and language, domination with power, and legitimation with moral order, or norms, standards, and rules. This chapter presents empirical findings related to all three levels, analyzed through the lens of Giddens' theorization of time-space, place, social, and mechanic integration. Thus, both the vertical and the horizontal dimensions highlighted in red in my framework below (Figure 11) are discussed in this last empirical chapter.

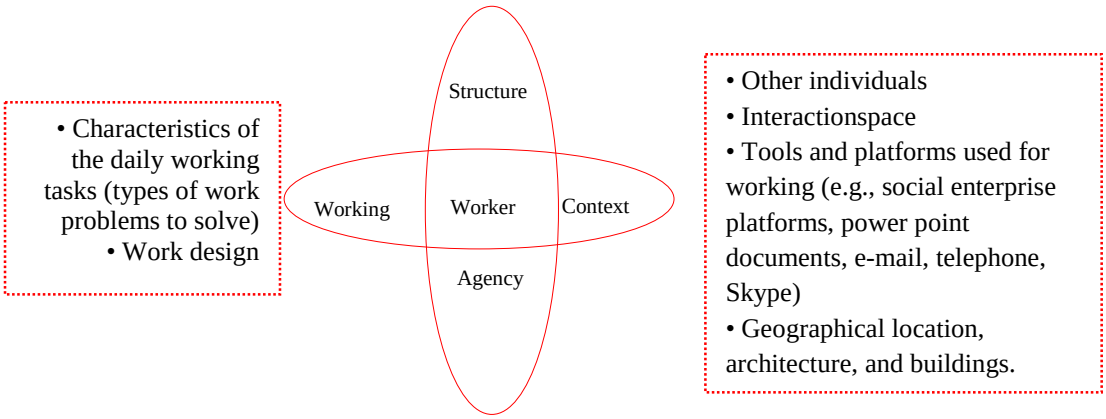

Figure 11: The elements discussed in this chapter are highlighted in red in my framework.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section examines the relationship between offline TBC places and online social enterprise platform spaces. The second section examines how offline practices concerning privacy, power, and prejudices of others are related to others' online activities in the social enterprise platform. The third section present insights into the interplay of offline rules and drivers in online conversations.

Offline Places and Online Social Platform Spaces

As shown in chapter six, for many employees, how they used the social platform changed over time. When the platform was introduced, many tried it out but then returned to or remained with their established technologies for working (e.g., email). One factor in this change in platform use was that technologies that better assisted consultants' work is preferred over the social enterprise platform that is not perceived as an aid in consultants' daily work. However, in-housers, over-lappers, and technical workers, in addition to TBC employees in management, administration, sales, human resources (HR), and other types of work that does not bill hours to clients, use the platform on a regular basis. Although the majority of consultants who bill clients do not use the social enterprise platform for work purposes, some occasionally employ it as an information portal.

Interaction Patterns in Architectural Structures

Like most companies today, all the TBC entities included in this study have reception areas where people entering the office space are met, accommodated, and welcomed. Morning greeting rituals symbolize the beginning of a new workday. In Rabat, female employees greet each other verbally while kissing each other's cheeks, often while speaking on the iPhone using the veil as a hands-free on their way into the office space. In Oslo 1, employees welcome their colleagues with informal verbal gestures, often around the coffee machine, having a social chat before they began the workday.

Regarding the work landscape, most TBC employees in all entities work at the same desk and in the same physical place day after day, close to colleagues relevant to their work. Small personal symbols (e.g., pictures of family members, a yellow note, a document, or other personal belongings) are left at the desk when ending the workday, symbolizing belonging to a given physical place. Conversations are conducted in employees' mother tongue, which socialize and integrate the employees into the shared social structure.

The Social Enterprise Platform Space

The structureless nature of the social enterprise platform was described earlier as derived from an information model based on people and topics, in contrast to the traditional hierarchical folder logic of intranets. Despite the structureless nature of the platform, all TBC entities have constructed their own local semi-spaces in the global online social platform. These local semi-spaces meet the visitor or user with welcome pages, information about their specific unit (e.g., who they are, their areas of expertise and location), often accompanied by pictures of the entity and/or the entity's work staff. Thus, the entrance to the entity's online spaces mimics its offline reception area in the office buildings, which signals the identity of that entity and where one has entered, similar to Giddens (1984, 121) concept of regionalization that denote the form of the boundaries defining a given region, or locales. Locales are typically separated by boundaries with physical or symbolic markers between regions (e.g. emblems and entry signs) similar to the entrance in the offline TBC office or their online semi-space in the enterprise platform.

Conversations in these local online enterprise platform spaces are mostly carried out in the mother tongue spoken in the offline TBC context, and consequently, a variety of languages is

used in the TBC's platform. Linguistic communication (speaking in a shared language) is the most important type of social glue (Allwood 1995). Hence, elements of offline architecture, organizing models (e.g., departments and team structure), and practices are lifted into the online enterprise platform. Thus, the online interaction structure is modelled on offline interaction structures, illustrating that individuals' offline and online actions occur within the contexts of existing social structures, governed by norms and rules distinct from those of other social structures. Thus, structuration processes takes place between offline and online spaces, because relations that took shape in a structure can exist "out of time and place" independent of the context in which they were created (Giddens 1984).

Being Online with Your Folks

The analysis of the enterprise platform shows that, with a few exceptions, most groups in the platform have more in-housers than out-housers. This seems logical because the analysis found that out-housers are integrated into clients' social and ICT structures. Five main types of groups were revealed in the social enterprise platform:

1. Global groups (typically HR and strategy divisions)
2. Specialized groups (in different topics or domains, such as cloud computing)
3. Local groups (reflecting a specific unit's interests)
4. Work groups (often customer-related projects)
5. Social groups (local and informal events)

The first two types of groups are of cross-divisional interest and are relevant to a number of, if not all, units, while the last three types of groups are only of local relevance. Examining more deeply to what kinds of groups the 27 participants belong shows that only two are members of more cross-divisional groups than local groups. Hence, the majority of participants are members of groups that have local and contextual interests. In a related finding, there is a consistent pattern in both the social networking and the group functionality that group members share some key characteristics. They work with the same topic or domain or at the same entity, they are from the same country, and they speak the same language. This tendency is also revealed in the following functionality: Employees follow or are followed by co-workers who they already know or with whom they share key characteristics. The tendency to associate and bond with others similar to oneself is well documented in the literature and is known as the law of homophily (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001). Trygg (2014) found that although employees worked close to each other in the same shared office, they shared updates of what one was working on and where one was going in the company's social Yammer site. Thus, offline and online interactions complemented each other. This continuation of the close link between contextual and online interactions also reflects elements that are negative. In TBC, for example, when a number of employees ended work at Oslo 1 due to the global financial crisis in 2010 that I mentioned in chapter four, the "thank-you-and-we'll-stay-in-touch" posts that ticked in every week reminded other colleagues of the crisis the company was undergoing, creating a constantly sad work environment. Elements in the offline social structure are expanded in the online structure.

Group Members and Followers

Groups are smaller semi-spaces in the enterprise platform that might support a more in-group feeling because they provide spaces that gives a better overview of group members than the collective, transparent enterprise platform with a potential audience of close to 5,000 individuals. In groups, members are listed so the user can see who they are. In smaller groups, it is possible to relate to others and control the boundaries of the conversation (Fayard and Weeks 2007). Members of groups in the enterprise platform were found to often work within the same context or share other similarities. In a consistent pattern, employees sit close to relevant colleagues in the workplace, and online, they follow and join group to which co-workers from the same entity belong. As a Danish consultant explains, "Most other members [in groups] are from Denmark. We were organized earlier in groups, and we have moved this organizing into the enterprise platform." Thus, offline practices expand into the online space.

As shown previously, many groups are closed and the employees needed to apply for membership in order to enter the groups. Being outside and lacking the opportunity to enter openly collides with employees' perceptions of the social enterprise platform as a transparent, collective space open to everyone.

> You go to a group, you can ask to join it, you wait to join, you join, and then you've got access to it. I just feel the enterprise platform feels a little elitist in some sense. I would have liked it to be a little bit more open and a little bit more welcoming.

However, strangers entering a group originally created for a specific local use pose a new situation for the group's members to interpret. An in-houser shows me on her computer a group she created in the enterprise platform.

> I have created a group so we can have a place to have documents. And here should everyone in the team be… [She pauses and studies closely the group members.] Well, there are more members here than the team. Him, for example, I have no idea of who he is or where he is from. [She clicks on him and reads out loud his name] from [work topic name]. I have no idea of who this is. Here it says he is from [another entity]. Oh dear, how exiting. But I created it originally because I thought it should be our collaborative space.

The enterprise platform makes it possible to join groups regardless of entity membership. However, groups typically are created to serve a team's offline needs, and when others who are not part of the group offline enter it, it presents employees with a new situation. Another consultant explains that his team created a group for themselves and some employees from another entity to use in a shared project, but those from the other entity never participated or contributed to the group. In response, the first entity created a new group only for themselves but did not delete the first group, so the members of the other group would not notice that they left it.

The analysis found that group members often work together in shared contexts. However, some group types are created, regardless of contextual belonging. Members of global groups typically share work roles and job characteristics, such as working in HR, management, or sales. These

employees also regularly meet and interact offline throughout the year. Thus, there are close links among employees' offline work and organizational membership, and interaction practices in the online platform.

Approaching Online Known and Similar Others Offline

The analysis of the following functionality found a strong tendency to follow and be followed by co-workers known from previous project-work or by colleagues from the same home entity. Social relationships tend to be established offline and expand online more frequently than in other ways (from online to offline, or online to online).

> Marika: Who have you added as contacts in the enterprise platform?
> Thomas: Oh, almost everyone, I think. At least the Norwegian colleagues, and at an international level are those I have some kind of relation with. It's those that I have discussed with and those who are in charge with the business management in France.[18] I think those are important to follow.

TBC employees follow others they already know from past experiences: "[My followers] are from Denmark. I don't think there is anyone from outside [my entity]. Its people I know well." Why this is so is explained by the limits on how many members a social group can have: "They are people I work closely with. It is not a goal for me to have 2,000 friends in TBC. Maybe it's because I'm Danish, and we are like a small village. There can only be this many in a tribe."

The employee defines the notion of connecting with others as having contact with them. Individuals outside his known circle of work relationships are not sought. Mixing social circles on Facebook has been found to create confusion about whom to trust, leading to social context tension (Brandtzæg, Lüders, and Skjetne 2010). Moreover, when a group or a network grows too large, employees tend to leave:

> Yammer[19] in the early days. That actually had some … occasionally someone would say something, and I'd sort of want to contribute. That worked. I think when I joined, there [were] maybe 50 people on it, and there was a lot of chat. But then, as it grew, I think it's probably a social thing, but chat reduces when it grows to this large group.

Facework (social facial cues) are fundamental to social integration in time and space (Goffman 2000 [1959], Giddens 1984). When a group is large the distance to the others in that group becomes also larger. When people stand far away from each other, they have to shout to reach their conversation partners. The facial expressions that accompany talking are missed in long-distance social relationships (Goffman 2000 [1959], Giddens 1984). Dunbar and Dunbar (1998) found that humans can comfortably maintain only 150 stable relationships. Giddens (1984, 67) also stresses that the number of people which whom one can engage in face-to-face encounters is strictly limited. While 25 of the 27 participants had an average of 217 contacts in their LinkedIn or Viadeo profiles and 21 had an average of 222 Facebook friends, their number of

[18] When TBC launched the enterprise platform in Norway, the Norwegian management encouraged employees to follow top management in France and the Norwegian entity managers.
[19] Several TBC professionals used the networking service Yammer before TBC launched its global social enterprise platform.

important go-to colleagues at work (the SNA data) and of followers on the TBC social enterprise platform were substantially less. At work, individuals not only logically have fewer contacts than in overlapping social circles in their personal life but, as shown, approach employees their go-to network at clients, their personal networks built throughout their work career, and their networks in company external online social sites.

Using the following functionality in the platform, TBC employees also re-connect with people from previous relationships, individuals from other TBC entities who they already know and with whom they have a shared history. "I don't only follow people from our unit. I follow people I have worked with in the UK and in the Middle East," as one consultant explains. For most TBC employees, the social enterprise platform has facilitated making few new acquaintances with employees one has not met in co-presence. In the analysis, connecting and re-connecting with individuals the employee already know tended to be a consistent pattern. This brings insight into the assumed potential of social technologies to establish connections between individuals in different places (McAfee 2009, Cook 2008). Rather than establishing new relationships, TBC employees connect with individuals they already know. This finding confirms previous research on social media sites (Chatora 2010, boyd 2008, Ellison, Steinfield, and Lampe 2011) and Steinfield et al.'s (2009) study of social software in the organization.

Interestingly, common to all groups is the tendency for group members and individuals which the employee follows or is followed by to share the hierarchical level in TBC. For example, managers follow other managers and are members of groups relevant to managers. The social enterprise platform then does not eliminate or reduce the organizational hierarchies at play offline, as predicted by the industry (Cook 2008, McAfee 2009, Chui et al. 2012). This study found that established patterns (hierarchy, interaction, and communication practices) in the offline social structure are expanded – lifted in- into the online platform space, rather than being changed. Offline practices are online practices; they work in tandem and are inextricably linked.

Online Conversations without Trustful Offline Boundaries

As stated, many consultants prefer to use private communication channels, such as email, telephone calls, and smaller online spaces, over the enterprise platform. This preference continues into the social enterprise platform. When asked why, with close to 5,000 colleagues for help and assistance, participants directed their questions not to TBC's social enterprise platform but, rather, to established acquaintances, many explain that asking questions out in the open in a transparent social enterprise platform with no specific receiver or audience is unpleasant. One consultant explains: "What creates interest in the platform is when people ask questions. But we often experience it as unnatural to ask questions in the open. It's no problem if you talk with someone face-to-face or if you're just a small group."

Giddens (1984, 72) terms the awareness that others are present and listening, as when someone is standing behind you, for "unfocused attention." Unfocused attention leaves diffuse social cues for navigating interactions. With smaller, semi-private online spaces, however, follows a trust-building overview of the group members who are watching or participating in online conversations. The open nature of the platform, though, does not provide this knowledge of who the others are, who can be trusted, or the boundaries in the conversation. In addition, asking

questions in the open reveals employees' lack of knowledge, so it is safer to directly ask colleagues one knows and trusts. To speak publicly in front of everyone in TBC's enterprise platform differs from speaking to a smaller group, in line with Goffman (2000 [1959]) theorizing. How one communicate in groups in the online platform at work depend on the audience, explains Thomas:

> It depends on the group. We have a closed group for us here at the office, and we have a group for those working with [given topic] in Europe. They are very different settings. The office group has a funny name, and it is something totally different when I'm going to speak with people I sort of do not know at all. One puts on a seriousness filter in some of the online spaces.

The number of group members influences what group members share. In addition, the group's context (e.g., formal, informal) affects what tone one uses in that group.

This study found trust and better knowledge of one's communication partners to play key roles in employees' online interaction patterns. These findings accord with the literature showing that trust mediates the degree of knowledge sharing (Janowicz-Panjaitan and Noorderhaven 2009, Nov and Wattal 2009). Giddens (1990, 34) distinguishes between two categories of trust: personal trust and trusting abstract systems. Both types of trust are found to be important to TBC professionals and how they use and what they share on the enterprise platform. Face-to-face interactions and co-presence are keys to the development of personal trust. Personal trust is the fabric of social activity and depends upon certain, specific connections between individuals and their day-to-day social contexts (Giddens 1984, 60). Trusting and personally knowing other communication partners are closely related and play important roles in communication in the online enterprise space, as this Moroccan consultant explains;

> We do not exactly know the person and how the person's personality is. So I don't think you can be cool with everyone in the enterprise platform. Most of the discussions are in a professional tone. You do not know the other person. You have not collaborated in some projects, so you cannot be very personal with the person, so you try to avoid misunderstandings.

Contributions in the online platform space closely follows Giddens' (1984) notion of personal trust, which is related to reciprocity and, consequently, to social integration;

> Lene: What would make you contribute more in the platform?
> Consultant: First, it had to be something I felt I could contribute with or help. Then it must be the right receiver. It must be the right receiver if I should bother to answer [someone's call for insight or assistance]. Or that I like the person, to put it as simply as that. And then it is perhaps better done face to face, or through telephone, Skype, e-mail.

The employee prefers moving the conversation from public to private channels for privacy from others who might be watching. Enclosure is the withdrawal of conversation partners in a group from discussing private matters in front of others (Giddens 1984).

As chapter six shows, the enterprise platform has a large number of groups, which more than tripled in three years. Groups provide trustworthy, smaller spaces and better overview of group members. A trend in the social media landscape is to provide smaller interaction spaces, such as Snapchat and direct messages among a few Instagram users or conversation threads in Facebook messages. Facebook (2014b), for example, recently announced that it changed its privacy settings so that posts are set to friends and not public by default. Facebook explains that this change was made because many users "have told us that they are more comfortable sharing with a smaller group, like just their friends." (Facebook 2014b).

The tendency to prefer groups over the open platform online is also related to authority and power, which are the topic of the next section.

Issues of Privacy, Power, and Prejudices of Active Platform Users

Power is a capability manifested in action (Jones and Karsten 2008, 133) as normative sanctions and interpreted in communication (Giddens 1984, 29). The second type of trust that structuration theory list, is abstract or expert systems, which characterize modern society (Giddens 1990, 34). Giddens (1990) argues that individuals have no other choice than to trust systems developed by experts. He uses cars as an illustration: Few drivers know how a car engine is built or operates but display trust in the system by driving the car. Many TBC professionals, however, do not trust sharing documents in the enterprise platform. Some explain that they do not trust that the documents they share will not misused by employees at other entities. Sharing client-sensitive information, for example, is perceived as risky. Many documents are therefore stored in local systems available only to unit members. Moreover, the consultants do not always trust that information shared by others on the platform is reliable (updated, of a good quality) and, thus, trustworthy. However, it is neither the expert-system (the social enterprise platform) nor the algorithms that track users' platform activity the employees do not trust; it is the consequences from other individuals which they do not trust (e.g., that documents will be misused, reprimands). Additionally, employees fear the consequences that might follow from online communication and interactions because the platform's transparent nature makes interaction and communication visible to everyone.

Digital Footprints as Personal Exposure

Risking monitoring by management is a chance few TBC employees are willing to take, and many participants explain that their passiveness on the social enterprise platform is due to the fear of leaving digital footprints. Some employees fear that, at later occasions, management could misuse their comments or actions, such as clicking  on critical blog posts, because their full name is visible to everyone in the company:

> I have  content in the platform, but the content I  is not anonymous, so there is some stuff you want to  , for instance, on comments about "Why hasn't this or that happened," I think "I totally agree," but then the feed will say that [her name] likes this post. That is a bit of a controversy. So I decided that, nope, I don't bother doing this no more.

Another employee gives the same reason for not participating in the enterprise platform:

> By leaving comments and content in social media you become highly exposed. You don't have any chance to withdraw it, delete it. And what if I  something or had a comment some manager disagree with? I don't want to leave any traces of me that can be tracked back to me and used against me on a later time. I never  anything.

The risk of management monitoring employees' interactions and conversations results in only a certain type of content being shared on the enterprise platform. Leaving comments that will be available forever is cited as a reason for not fully participating in the platform. A consultant tells that:

> We only share good stories. I don't feel safe to share comments or thoughts that are critical, and you know, everybody can read it, the whole company. Even the top management, despite that they don't speak our language. Earlier [before the platform was introduced], we could reply to work matters that later became a note in the report from a meeting. Now it is recorded forever.

In earlier days, notes and comments given at meetings were stored electronically but on a local server in a folder accessible only to a specific entity and sometimes only a specific department. With the transparency and openness of the social enterprise platform, such notes or comments become visible in fundamentally new ways, and some employees feel uncomfortable to share such critical comments in the enterprise platform. To avoid sanctions, the reflexive employee, therefore, shares only a certain type of content.

In a case study, a pharmaceuticals company in the UK introduced Lotus Notes to better handle complex sales but inadvertently promoted a focus on competing discourses because some managers used Lotus as a control system and used the number of contacts registered to indicate how hard employee were working (Walsham 2001, 96). Use of a social enterprise platform as a control mechanism for employees was also found in a recent study in Sweden:

> In all except one workplace in this study, an intranet [Yammer, my comment] was a central feature. I have found that this is a type of control and power function that affects the acquisition of work done and how it is organized. Employers can deduce what their employees are doing, with whom they are interacting and where they are. The intranet also allows employees at a workplace to control each other. Intranet software shows whether a person is busy on the phone, sitting in a meeting, or with a client and their location. The management team encourages employees to put out small posts about what they are doing and where they are going. (Trygg 2014, 194)

A TBC consultant reports s/he believes that management keeps an eye out for which users are actively participating:

> Consultant: You can use the enterprise platform to brand your name within the organization. I'm not saying I'm schmoozing with the management. But with the platform, for instance, when I comment on a post from [the manager], the distance

between us decreases and my name might be noticed.
Lene: Do you think this could have a say for your personal career at work?
Consultant: Yes.

The consultant actively uses the enterprise platform in order to be noticed because of the belief that this will benefit his/her career path.

Surveillance

As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, if the implementation of a social enterprise platform in an organization is to be successful, it follows that employees must use the platform in a specific way: as 'social working' (writing and sharing insights, asking questions of and assisting others), which the analysis found did not accord with how most consultants work. Several managers explain that they notice who are and are not active users. However, while a manager at one entity views active platform users positively, another manager at another entity in the same country sees active users negatively, believing that they should spend less time discussing and more time working. TBC management also has different interpretations of how employees should use the social enterprise platform. There is no universal understanding among TBC managers or employees on how and to what degree they should use the platform. Without a shared understanding, potential sanctions, too, differ. Passive users could be seen positively by one manager but negatively by another.

When asked about entities' strategies to engage more employees in using the enterprise platform, one manager explains that the platform is used actively: "We see who has created a personal profile and who has not. We can also see when people were last logged in and use this information actively to get more employees to use the social enterprise platform." This review is possible due to what I label "small yet big data" in chapter three, referring to the detailed data about platform members' activities which social platforms collect.

Many of the digital footprints left in the transparent platform's software cannot be managed and controlled by the employee. Input into personal profiles, such as employee's geographical location, primary work functions, favorite areas of interest, and tags of their working domains, is open by default. However, the record of employees' most recent log-in, recent activity feeds, and contributions (rank) or actions in the enterprise platform (shown in Illustration 10) are administered by top management, with no opportunities for the employee to change or hide the data. When the user has not logged into the platform for some time the platform automatically sets the user's activity to 'There is no recent activity', as shown in Illustration 10.

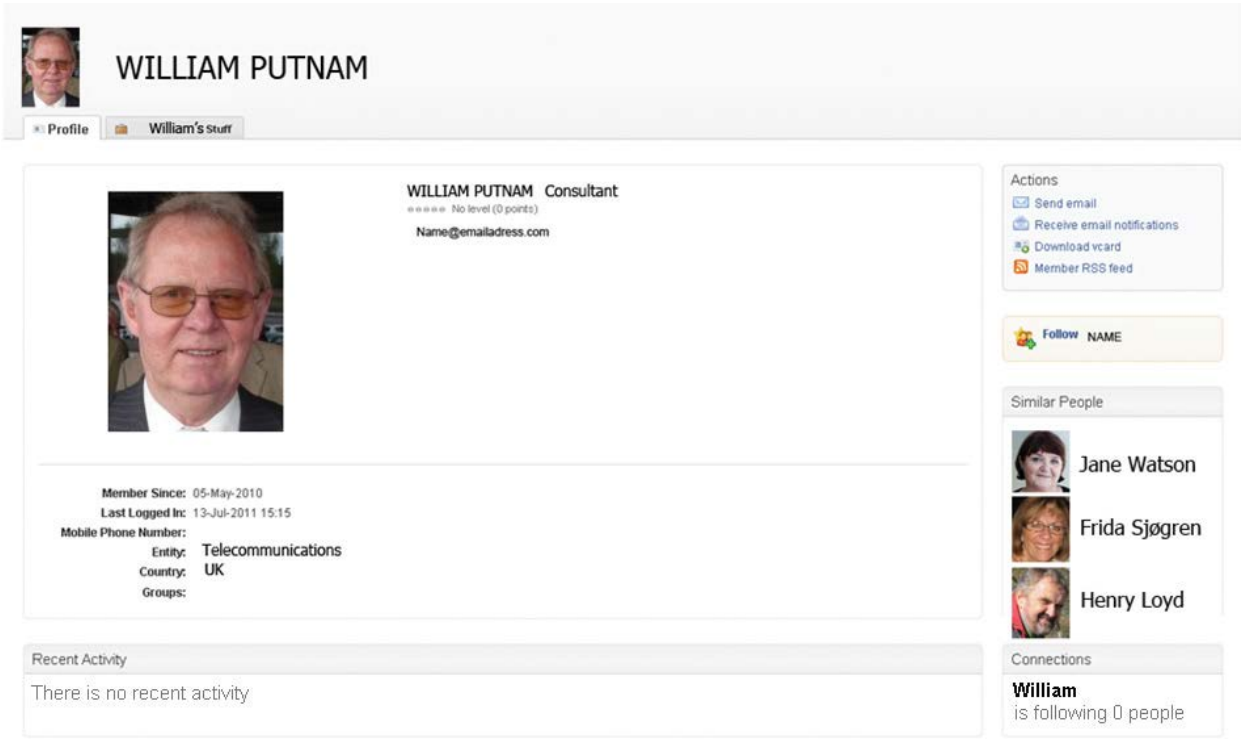

Illustration 10: Screenshot of an employee's personal profile. By default, the employee's more recent log-in time and activity are set by TBC top managers in their social enterprise platform. All identities in the screenshot are fictional.

Detailed information about employees' platform activities operates within the contexts of unequal power distribution and challenges to employees' privacy at work. Privacy is the ability to withdraw from attention—similar to Goffman's (2000 [1959]) concept of absence (choosing to withdraw from conversations)—and to protect or selectively reveal personal information (Karahasanovic et al. 2009). Detailed information about employees' user-behavior, or the lack of it, gives rise to privacy concerns because the employer can use and analyze the detailed user data collected by new technology in ways not favorable to employees. Additionally, in transparent enterprise platforms, detailed data also are visible to other workers. Thus, big yet small data raises concerns about two different types of privacy: between the employee and employer and between the employee and other employees.

Employee–Employer

As stated, the implicit goals of organizations typically are platform adaption and active content contributors. This is also the case in TBC, as shown in the screenshot in chapter six of the manager who arranged a pull in order to get insights into how to get employees to use the enterprise platform more. If active users are the goal—which was shown to conflict with many employees' daily work and to introduce extra work tasks to employees—employees who are non-users and passive platform users risk being monitored and sanctioned by their employer because the platform provides detailed data about employees' platform activities.

However, people not only have different information and technology needs, but they also enter the platform with different practices. Openly asking questions in the transparent platform TBC assumes that employees show a lack of knowledge. Moreover, being frank and direct is not a universal communication trait, nor does this expectation consider hierarchical differences.

Respectfully interacting with older, more skilled employees is no longer a tradition in the Scandinavian countries. For younger consultants in Morocco, however, it is:

> We will not share too much because many employees in Scandinavia have years of experience. You wouldn't try to say anything [because the others are older and more skilled]. So to participate in such a professional tool, you should have enough knowledge and experience and self-confidence to post. This is another barrier, so I would not post anything. No, no. We are young and haven't been in the game for so long, and there are many technical interesting subjects that I can see in the enterprise platform and that we can learn from, but to participate and share information ourselves will be hard.

The young consultant states that others are more skilled than them is and that they do not have the self-confidence to speak out among others more competent than themselves. However, he read and learns from other more skilled employees. Employees might have good reasons for not participating actively, but differences in such local practices typically are not considered when organizations implement social technologies. The drivers of and obstacles to participation clearly differ among TBC professionals, as this Norwegian consultant illustrates: "I'm personally fearless when it comes to getting to know new people, and I keep my shoulders low when it comes to sharing my competence, what I know and what I can. But I do see that we are culturally different."

Keeping in mind that TBC has locations in more than 20 countries in Europe, the Middle East, and Africa, an employee in a Scandinavian country might feel freer to discuss matters in the social enterprise platform than employees in countries characterized by a more authoritarian management model with stricter monitoring practices. While individuals in the egalitarian Scandinavian countries are accustomed to using a frank tone, the rule of thumb in Morocco is to not disagree with or speak against managers:

> Lene: Would it be all right to, for instance, have a comment, which is opposite to your managers' opinion?
> Consultant: You know the managers are part of the game, so you don't want to disrespect others, management included. So if I have a comment, it will be a political [formal] comment. Information can be altered in some way. This hasn't got anything to do with technology; this depends on the users and the persons. I think twice before posting [to] try to avoid personal comments because it can be understood differently than the original meaning.

Having different contextual starting points risks another unintended consequence, namely, a digital divide between groups of employees, where employees who work in a more flat managerial model can participate more freely and on different premises than employees working in a stricter hierarchical model. There is a close link between offline practices and online practices.

Employee and other employees

Another unintended consequence is related to the lack of strategies to handle platform use when gaps between active and passive platform users emerge. Active employees logically become more visible in the transparent social enterprise platform than non-users or passive employees. The algorithms in social software give more exposure to content that receives feedback from typically active participants (the second principle in Facebook's EdgeRank is weight, or the extent of feedback a shared content has received) (Bucher 2012, 1167).

Employees working with clients have commented that the most active users spend too much time in the enterprise platform and not billing clients as they should. The transparent nature of the platform makes it easy for employees to notice active contributors and frequently interpret this behavior as personal marketing and bragging. Similarly, what kind of content and how such content should be articulated in 'social working' – the new work task enterprise platforms impose—are viewed differently according to contextual practices and communication norms.

Large, visible gaps among employees in the workplace risk that prejudices about others could flourish, as this consultant illustrates:

> [Active platform users] are the Yes-people. It is those who flatters and agree with the management. The Yes-people are those who participate in the social enterprise platform and that reproduce their Yes-view in their Yes-clan.

The "yes view" support the participant's belief that were previously mentioned about only positive content may be shared in the collective platform, similar to Facebook's conceptual model which encourages liking, enjoying, and recommending content that facilitates a web of positive sentiments, rather than critical comments, feedback, or discussions (Gerlitz and Helmond 2013, 1362). Email notifications sent to everyone when new comments are posted in discussions keeps users constantly informed of who is active.

"Yes-men" were also observed in Walsham's (2001) study of the sales division Compound in the UK, explaining that there were many "highly career-oriented and cutthroat people in Compound UK" who strategically used the discussion database in Lotus Notes because they knew it was reviewed by many senior managers and the director (Walsham 2001, 99).

Features in the social platform, such as becoming a top contributor or giving bonuses, which reward employees according to their contributions neither minimize the differences between active and passive employees nor reduce the risk of surveillance.

Sanctions

In one situation, a manager interfered in an online discussion that TBC professionals were having and moved it from online to offline—to his office, giving a reprimand to one of the discussion participants. Another time, an employee was told to delete a comment by the top management because they believed it was critical, rather than constructive as the commenter thought. Actions considered improper are also punished by employees' social group. One employee explains there are implicit rules at play in the enterprise platform.

Consultant: In the social enterprise platform there are hidden rules. If you don't follow the hidden rules, you get sanctioned.
Lene: In what way?
Consultant: By being ignored by the others or the conversation ends.

Not only does management keep an eye on employees; other TBC professionals also monitor interactions with one another and impose normative sanctions and actions (Giddens 1984). Social structure sets limitations on employees' actions.

In sum, the analysis found a close interplay between agency offline and online: Employees apply the same norms and rules at play offline, but only parts of offline life are shared online. To avoid sanctions from managers and co-workers are critical comments about the company's direction or disciplinary priorities still discussed during lunch breaks or by the coffee machine, in spaces that provide the privacy needed for informal interactions (Goffman 2000 [1959], Fayard and Weeks 2007). Thus, structuration processes—relations created in a structure can exist "out of time and place," (Giddens 1984) independent of the context in which they were created—take place between offline and online spaces in TBC. Social integration is based on reciprocity among individuals in their contextual settings, and the rules embedded in these relationships exist out of time and place in the online enterprise platform. However, the enterprise platform is a copy or model of the offline context, not a completely different context as, for example, when meeting your manager or colleague in the grocery store or on the bus. In this way, the offline and online contexts are the same. In this sense, the online enterprise space is a *model of* the contextual and local entity and, thus, a *model for* employee's actions to use Geertz's (1973) terminology. Communication and interaction constitute the process by which human reality is made (Carey 2008). Communication, then, is driven by dynamic models (Carey 2008). The next and last section in this chapter focuses on the interpretative scheme or modality, which is tied to communication and signification in Giddens's (1984) model of the duality of structure.

Online Conversations

Giddens (1984) was inspired by Goffman's (2000 [1959]) theory of everyday language and late Wittgenstein (1972), who stressed the importance of the social practice of routines. For example, in the illustration of a mother pointing to an apple and saying "green" to her child presented in chapter five, the child immediately understands that the mother refers to the color of the apple, not another word for "apple." Giddens (1984, 68) builds further on Goffman's (2000 [1959]) work on presence and absence in social interactions. Talk is conducted in co-presence and characterized by turn-taking, which coordinates interaction in order to create trust and, in turn, provides ontological security (Giddens 1984, 78). Facial expressions guide people's interpretations, and when people stand far apart, they not only have to shout to each other but also lose the others' facial expressions. Turn-taking in conversations is regulated normatively and monitoring of individuals' action. Giddens labels this "controlled alertness". Talk, which has an opening and an end, is a discursive communication medium in which response cries are normative.

Similarly, normative sanctions in conversations also vary across communities and groups. The number of people who can participate in face-to-face encounters is strictly limited, and people provide hints to their communication partners when they withdraw from the conversation. Face-to-face and oral conversations take place in co-presence, which immediately sorts out hints to create meaning and direction in communication and is characterized by turn-taking and the opportunity to signal absence, or withdrawal from the conversation (Goffman 2000 [1959], Giddens 1984). However, online conversations—written communication in online spaces—are asynchronous (not in real time, except for chats, which also have a time delay) and lack such social cues. Social buttons ( ) and emoticons ( ) are intended to supplement conversational social cues and feedback in social platforms, but as said is social talk considered to be a risk with social technologies in organizations (Chui et al. 2012, 12).

The Importance of Feedback and Reciprocity

Reciprocity is key to both social and mechanical integration (Giddens 1984). In the analysis, reciprocity in conversations and participation is found to play a key role in online conversations in the enterprise platform. Jo from Norway explains that he once commented on a post a colleague wrote, but states that "I don't think she saw it, or anyone else. I don't know. I had to call her and tell her that she had to keep an eye on the enterprise platform because there is a comment waiting for you. And she replied, 'Oh, is it?'"

When others do not reply or provide any other feedback when someone writes a blog post or share insights, it is consistently experienced by employees as de-motivating for future contributions or interactions. The same reciprocal drivers in any conversational logic seem valid in online interactions and communications in the enterprise platform.

Being Liked

Similarly, users interpret and utilize the same information system differently in various contexts (Suchman 1987, Rolland and Monteiro 2002). What motivates a user differs from context to context and from user to user because motivation involves knowledge (Löwgren and Stolterman 2004, 2). What users value on social media sites, such as Facebook, also differs greatly (Vasalou, Joinson, and Courvoisier 2010). Nonetheless, social buttons in social media applications are designed to nurture certain types of engagement and to provide intrinsic motivation to give feedback. Intrinsic motivation entails doing an activity because one finds it interesting and derives spontaneous satisfaction from the activity itself. Extrinsic motivation, however, requires an "instrumentality between the activity and some separable consequences such as tangible or verbal rewards, so satisfaction comes not from the activity itself but rather from the extrinsic consequences to which the activity leads" (Gagné and Deci 2005, 331).

The contributor ranking in the enterprise platform discussed previously is a feature designed to encourage active participation from TBC professionals. However, the rank is based on the numbers of the individual's contributions and, thus, on extrinsic, not intrinsic, motivation. This is different from getting a . Jo describes how he would feel if someone clicked on his comment:

> Jo: That would have been really nice. Then I would have felt happiness. It would have made me feel happy.
> Lene: Have you ever received a 👍?
> Jo: No, I haven't. … I get a lot of positive feedback on the presentations I hold, when we have ran a presentation test for others at work. I get much positive feedback, so I feel that I'm used to getting positive feedback, also here at my client's.
> Lene: So if you get one of those thumbs-up this means to you that you get feedback on your professional work?
> Jo: That's positive, of course.

Jo equates 👍 with the positive feedback he typically receives from his colleagues offline at work. Another consultant also equates being liked online with actions offline. Once she took the initiative to create a practical event at work, and coworkers 👍 and commented positively on it, but she found that these actions did not follow the offline rules.

> [Pushing👍] is actually bit double standards, because I had an expectation from my colleagues to engage, and I looked at the suggestions that came in [in the events space in the platform]. So when my colleagues first said, "Yes, this sounds exiting. We would like this. We would like to hear more about this," but nothing is happening.

The employee interprets the action of hitting 👍 on her idea in the platform to mean the same as the offline communication norm. The action of hitting 👍 on the employee's initiative and not following up on this support by attending the meetings she held or contributing to a discussion as the employee expected is described in the literature as slacktivism (Enjolras et al. 2013). Slacktivism refers to social networking support that has little or no practical effect other than to give those doing it satisfaction from the feeling that they have contributed. Thus, getting 👍 does not follow the offline rules and can lead to misunderstandings or incorrect assumptions.

Additionally, what it means to push 👍 also differs among TBC employees, even those working in the same department. Five Norwegian employees discussed one morning what they mean when they push👍. While some push 👍 to show that they like the specific content shared, others push 👍 to show support of the person's act of sharing without necessarily supporting or agreeing with the content the person shared. Employees and management interpret what it means to hit 👍 differently, although Facebook (2014a) explains that clicking 👍 "is an easy way to let people know that you enjoy it."

Social Content Sparks Engagement

There is a tendency for hierarchical differences to be manifested in blog posts that have few comments or 👍, although the number of page views reveals that many have read the post. All top managers in the four countries involved in this study had published many blog posts in the enterprise platform. Some geographical differences between the entities emerge in the feedback on these posts. Employees in Oslo 1 and the Danish entity seem to comment more on the managers' blog posts than employees in the UK and Morocco. However, when the content shared by management had a social dimension, this pattern seems to change. For example, when

the top manager in Morocco wished all his employees a Happy Ramadan in the social enterprise platform, the feedback was the next most viewed and liked blogpost in the Moroccan online semi-space.

Although there are no universal communication rules or norms at play in TBC's global online enterprise platform, an interesting tendency is that social (informal) content draws more feedback from employees then formal content does. Content with a social nature, such as announcements of a summer party, sport groups, or life events, tend to spark engagement among many employees. Informal and social content engages through a feeling that the employee gets to know others personally. Erica enjoys reading social updates shared by the Danes:

> When I enter the Danes' enterprise space, I feel, "Wow, they update all the time. Now they have got new videos for rent. The last news about this and that person has been ill, now she's much better," those kinds of things. If we published those kinds of things, I would enter the platform several times a day, because new content ticks in, also work-related stuff. Look: [she shows in the platform] "Birthdays in May, [name] is leaving the entity and seeks new opportunities at [another company], someone new started, competence development opportunities." With these updates I feel that I know a little more about what the Danes do.

Through social and informal everyday information, the employee feels that she gets to know her Danish colleagues, even though she has not met these individuals about whom she is reading. Personal insights seem to shorten social distance. Posts with self-references were found to receive the most  on Facebook (Kapin 2012). Several participants in this study state that they miss personal updates in the platform. However, status functionality is present in the social enterprise platform, but few use it. Some say it is too "Facebookish" and personal in a work setting where one do not know everyone else in the company. The workplace and Facebook are interpreted as being different contexts:

> Lene: Do you post or comment in the enterprise platform?
> Consultant: In Facebook, yes. In the enterprise platform, no.
> Lene: So what is the difference?
> Consultant: They are different contexts.

TBC consultants, though, have different opinions about what kind of communication space the enterprise platform should be. Some think of it as a social space, while others stress that is a professional platform, as this consultant from Morocco does:

> The social enterprise platform is a professional tool where the main function is to talk or share other information about technical stuff or information from management. A tool that professionals use to talk about professional subjects or to share professional experiences.
> Lene: So what is the opposite of a professional tool?
> Consultant: Social tools like Facebook, where you can talk, for example, about "We

> are organizing a party, and who wants to come?" Those kinds of subjects. It also depends on the culture. Maybe you have another culture in Europe, and comment differently than we do in our culture.

The employee highlights that what the employees should talk about in social and professional platforms differs. Participating in a social platform in the workplace and in online spaces where the norm is an informal, personal tone thus differs. One explanation for this, as stated earlier in this chapter, is that TBC employees work in entities that have different managerial models and hierarchical practices. Informal social interaction with friends is the norm on Facebook (Ellison, Steinfield, and Lampe 2011). In online spheres in organizational settings, however, there are different rules, work structures, and communication processes than in web communities of peers (Schneckenberg 2009). However, when employees are working, social and work talk overlap.

The Interplay of Offline and Online Social Interaction

The local organizational structures of which TBC professionals are part differ in the services they provide (competence areas), language spoken, norms, rules, and working practices. TBC workers have created semi-spaces on the platform that reproduce, rather than change, their situated practices. The platform is directed toward more than 5,000 employees from more than 20 countries, but it has no lingua franca, or universal rules, as, for example, airports have (e.g., check-in, passport control, go to gate, boarding, takeoff). Munkvold (cited in Walsham 2001, 112-114) studied the implementation of a global network in Kværner where the objective was to facilitate more effective collaboration between entities that should serve all the different needs the entities had. Munkvold list language barriers, different practices for solving problems and decision-making as key reasons for why the global network was only partly a success. Munkvold conclude that the goal of worldwide collaboration in a complex, diverse and decentralized groups remains hard to achieve.

Some managers and employees view time spent on the platform as wrongly prioritized, while other managers and employees see it in an opposite perspective. Consequently, there is a lack of clarity concerning what kind of discussions should take place on the platform. TBC employees are knowledgeable and reflexive in choosing their own actions and have created privacy strategies for their online interactions and conversations in the platform (e.g., sharing only good stories). Norms and rules in the local offline structure are valid in online conversations. Thus, structuration processes are happening: relations in the local structures simultaneously exist out of time and place (Giddens 1984).

Thus, the online space is tied to the local practices and context. Social integration in co-presence is expanded by employees' performance in the enterprise platform's online structures which exist outside time, space, and place. The social platform then catalyzes offline interactions, in which offline and online life are complementary, as this thank-you card illustrates (Photo 3):

Photo: 3: The duality of online and offline interaction practices. "Dear colleagues. Thank you for all the congratulations and likes in the enterprise platform. Thank you for the flowers I got when little Ann was born. I am enjoying my time at home and will be back at work in March. Hugs from [name]."

A thank-you card in the TBC office references greetings from colleagues expressed through the social enterprise platform when an important life event happened and thanks the writer's colleagues for all the she received in the blog post announcing that her baby had been born.

TBC employees' social practices are expanded in the enterprise platform. Hence, communication practices offline are integrated online and characterize a structuration process rather than a disembedding process that Giddens (1990) argues comes with modernity where individuals' activities that once were embedded in particular places are moved to an abstract or online global space at the Internet. TBC employees' activities are still related to particular geographical places despite the opportunity to interact in an online global space. There is not a lingua franca in TBC's social enterprise platform despite it being a global online space. TBC professionals spend their working days in local structures characterized by unique values, norms, and rules to follow with a shared language as a lubricant for social interaction (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz, 2008). These rules are maintained in the global enterprise platform space. Daily routines are integral for individuals and structures, and individuals have a motivational commitment for routines which are founded in traditions or habits, and fundamental to predictability of individuals' daily interactions with others who are physically co-present (Giddens 1984, 64). Routines play an important role in maintaining or reproducing social systems, either as social integration during the daily work, or as mechanical integration absent in time or space (co-presence) (Giddens 1984). Thus, employees' everyday working language is "lifted in" and expanded in the online enterprise platform, rather than "lifted out" as Giddens (1990) predicts follows with modern society.

The insights from the past two chapters are listed in a table in Appendix 6, which complements the table in Appendix 5.

Conclusion

This chapter and the previous one provide insights to answer the second research question asked in this thesis: *How do consultants' working practices in contextual offline settings interplay with their interaction practices online?* The findings point to a consistent pattern that offline structures are expanded by employees in online spaces, where the social structures of which employees are part both enables and modifies TBC professionals' interactions. To answer work-related questions, individuals approach those they know in the offline context, and the entities have created local spaces in the enterprise platform where employees from specific entities communicate in a shared, everyday language with individuals whom they already know.

In regard to the facility/norm modality, in Giddens (1984) model of the duality of structure (29), some participants in this study withdrew from contributing actively in the platform due to fears of leaving digital footprints that management might misuse. Critical comments or thoughts shared in the platform might be subject to sanctions both within and outside the tool, such as ending conversations or moving them from online to off-line. Some employees state that only "yes" stories of professional content are appreciated by their co-workers and managers. Consequently, critical discussions and knowledge-sharing practices are conducted in more trusted offline, face-to-face contexts, which leave behind no digital traces and that offers room to clear up misunderstandings immediately. Thus, only certain aspects of everyday offline life are expanded in online spaces. Aspects that are not discussed in front of management at work are neither discussed openly in the online social platform. Moreover, offline rules are employed by both management and co-workers to reflexively monitor and punish online interactions. Power differences are acted out (e.g. the manager who interfered in an online discussion and reprimanded one of the discussion partners offline). Employees seem to counter power differences by approaching and interacting with others at a shared hierarchical level and refraining from commenting on managers' blog posts, unless doing so is a personal strategy to climb a potential career ladder. This finding corresponds with Nandhakumar's (2002, 54) study of virtual teamworking, which found that strong hierarchical norms consistently limited interaction with senior managers.

The transparency of employees' thoughts, interactions, and comments seems to be regulated by the lack of trust in the open enterprise space, where openly asking questions risks displaying a lack of knowledge and not knowing who is watching. Elements present in the social structure, such as management and rank practices, seem to influence the way employees engage in the platform. A lack of knowledge of the audience and awareness of management monitoring of use of the enterprise platform are also among the reasons employees cite for why they think twice before posting content or hitting the like  button. Consequently, employees prefer smaller, closer groups, which yield better overview of group members. Similarly, when sitting close offline, employees control the boundaries of their conversation (Goffman 2000 [1959]).

This could be one explanation for why there are so many groups, mostly closed, in the enterprise space.

Communicating in the same language confirms group members' togetherness and work community and can be used to block out others from the conversation. For example, some participants strategically switched from one language to another to leave others out of their conversation.

Furthermore, when a work-project ends, the frequency of contact in that social relationship naturally also changes. A dimension in the social relationship is eliminated when interaction frequency in a shared context decreases. Yet, once a social relationship is established, a connection between the TBC workers is made, and the relationship has the potential to be expanded online, even though they are no longer together offline. These connections are mostly task driven. For example, an employee explains he worked with a Danish TBC colleague at his office for several weeks but has not kept in touch since. However, the employee states, if the colleague "occasionally got a question in an area that I know about, he might e-mail me." Both types of social relationships (from the past and co-present) are related to the close interplay between a shared social structure and geographical place. Thus, working close in real time influences whom the employee approach for assistance and connect with online in the future. Connections between employees who had not met before being introduced in the social enterprise platform are the connections that, according to McAfee (2009, 83), will keep the employee from reinventing the wheel. However, the present analysis finds a consistent pattern that the social enterprise platform expands and nurtures existing relationships rather than facilitate new acquaintances or relationships, which was the third assumption with social platforms in organizations I addressed in chapter one. Similar to Facebook (Ellison et al., 2011), TBC's social enterprise platform is a catalyst, rather than a replacement, for offline interactions. Re-connecting, rather than forging new connections, follows structuration theory's understanding of social and mechanical integration, which emphasizes reciprocity between employees in the context of co-presence (face-to-face) and travel across time and space (Giddens 1984). The same offline norms and rules come to play online among employees physically absent in time or space. Knowing others, privacy, and trust play were found to play important roles in approaching smaller social enterprise spaces and following others from one's social group.

Interestingly, both content shared and social buttons designed to create motivation are interpreted differently by various users. This finding shows that content is shared with a different mindset than is perceived and risks being punished differently. In this sense, communicating and interacting in the platform are also a matter of written communication, in which face-to-face gestures, body language, and irony are not easily captured.

The transparent social platform introduces several paradoxes. Employees' activity becomes visible to others, which was shown to simultaneously strengthen established and create new prejudices about others (active versus passive platform users), yet it was also shown to shorten social distances (e.g., getting a feeling of life in-house while being at clients or a sense of personally knowing others in other entities). One explanation could be the homophily principle

that describes the tendency to approach others that are similar to ourselves (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001). By identifying with characteristics shared by one's in-group are the in-group reinforced rather than downplaying silos (Rouzies and Colman 2012). This corresponds with the difference between culture and social identity that I discussed in chapter six. While culture might change quickly, social identity (group formations and group boundaries) are more discontinuous and has carefully guarded borders (Eriksen and Neumann 2011, 5).

In the next and final chapter, I discuss the empirical findings presented in the past four chapters from the perspectives of structuration theory and Giddens's (1990) theory of modernity.

Chapter 9: Discussion and conclusion

> *The practice perspective is interested in situated, concrete activity. This is the work in boardrooms and away days, on phones and in front of computer screens (Whittington 2003, 119).*

Introduction

The objective of this study was to provide empirical insights into the assumptions of social enterprise platforms' potential for improved organizational performance. Simplified, these assumptions were: (1) The benefits of social enterprise platforms for organizations require enterprise-platform adoption, which includes the implicit assumption that employees shall use the platform in an active, "knowledge-sharing" manner; (2) Tendencies and models from social media in the public discourse are assumed to be transferrable to and applicable in organizations (e.g. willingly contributing with content at Wikipedia, user patterns from Facebook); (3) Social technologies will provide global connectivity among employees, regardless of time and place; (4) Social platforms will increase employee productivity by reducing the time spent on email correspondence, information search, and collaboration by moving these processes to a shared and transparent social enterprise platform, and (5) Social talk among employees on social enterprise platforms is attempted to be minimized so employees will not spend working hours chatting about non work-related topics. I identified these assumptions as challenging in the introduction in chapter one and they were explicitly addressed in the four empirical and analytical chapters in this thesis.

Because social enterprise platforms are offshoots from previous knowledge management (KM) systems, previous studies on these groupware and KM platforms provided a useful backdrop. These studies (Khidhir, Samir, and Santhanam 2012, Paroutis and Al Saleh 2009, Othman and Siew 2012, Li 2010, Jackson, Yates, and Orlikowski 2007, Bechina, Arntzen, and Ribiere. 2012, Fu and Lee 2005, Bock et al. 2005, Hoogenboom et al. 2007) and the few studies that have been conducted on social technologies in the workplace (Steinfield et al. 2009, Ardichvili, Page, and Wentling 2003, DiMicco et al. 2008, Majchrzak, Wagner, and Yates 2006) point to the consistent pattern that knowledge management and social enterprise platforms are seldom used by employees (Karsten 1999a, McKinley 2005). Therefore, when I asked my two research questions, I took a step back to find out why this is so:

1. How do consultants' working practices interplay with the company's social enterprise platform?
2. How do consultants' working practices in contextual offline settings interplay with their interaction practices online?

To answer these research questions, I needed a methodology that enabled me to get a thick description and in-depth understanding of the interplay between the social enterprise platform and employees' daily work. A practice approach in strategy encourages longitudinal and in-

depth studies of individuals' interaction practices (Cetina, Schatzki, and von Savigny 2005). This is necessary because to better understand not only what is done in an organization, which can be understood by counting, we need to study how things are done, which requires close anthropological attention (De Certeau 1984).

A practice approach (Whittington 2006) provided the theoretical approach in this study because it acknowledges that a close interplay of individuals' practices (shared routines of behavior, norms, and procedures) are essential for working, thinking, acting, and using things (Whittington 2006, 619). In practice, strategy is something organizations do rather than something they have (Whittington 2003, 2006). Insights about technologies for communicating strategic and organizational design and the ways in which they are "consumed" throughout the enterprise are needed (Whittington 2003). Furthermore, if social technologies are to improve organizations' performances, we need to study those who are acting out strategy in practice—the employees whose productivity is sought to be improved by social technologies in the workplace. It is difficult to redesign processes if organizations do not understand practice (Brown and Duguid 2002). Our research attention therefore needs to be directed to 'the internal life of processes—to the practices by which work is actually done by paying close attention to the work done by people inside organizational processes (Brown and Duguid 2001). The sample in this study is therefore the consultants who come to TBC every day to do consulting work. In this thesis, I followed the second stream in practice studies that explicitly takes into account the whole apparatus of practice theory, with a focus on everyday activities. This stream is typically concerned with specific explanations for everyday activities, how dynamics are generated, how they operate in different contexts and over time, and with intended and unintended consequences of addressing "how" questions (Feldman and Orlikowski 2011, 1240).

An information system (IS) practice version of structuration theory is offered by Orlikowski (2000, 1992a), yet Orlikowski's focus is primarily on the interplay between social structure and how employees use materiality. Orlikowski's (2000) model of "technologies-in-practice" builds on Giddens' model of the duality of social structure (Giddens 1984). However, Giddens' model only captures the abstract dimensions between the individual and the social structure (Aaksvaag 2008, Thompson 2004, Thompson 2012). This limitation is therefore maintained or continued in Orlikowski's (2000) "technologies-in-practice" model (Thompson 2004, Thompson 2012). The model Orlikowski is setting up is thus the following triangle of the man (agency)-machine (Lotus) - structure relationship (Figure12):

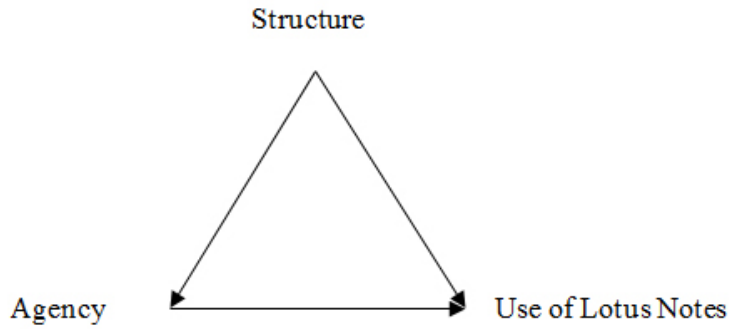

Figure 12: Orlikowski's focus. **Orlikowski's (2000) focus is directed to the man (agency)-machine (Lotus) - structure relationship.**

However, other individuals and the social interaction among employees are lacking in both Giddens and Orlikowski's analytical models, although Giddens discusses social interaction practices in detail in his text and writings, especially where he elaborates and develops further on the work of the micro-sociologist Goffman (2000 [1959]) and the time-geographer Hägerstrand (1975). Because of these limitations, I therefore returned to structuration theory (Giddens 1984) and to Giddens' more recent theorizing about modernity (Giddens 1990, Giddens and Pierson (1998)) in my study of social enterprise platforms and working practices where I revealed a dimension was missing in Orlikowski's model, namely the mediating role that working tasks and working practices plays for use of technology for working purposes (Figure 13):

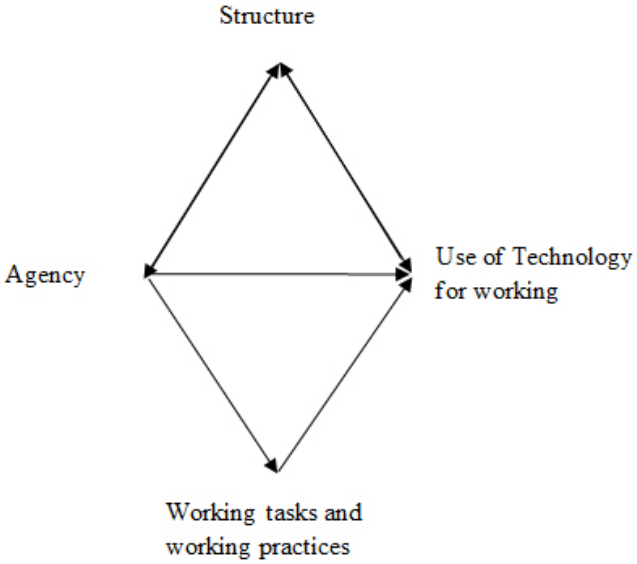

Figure 13: The mediating role of working tasks and working practices. I revealed in my study of the social enterprise platform that a dimension was missing in Orlikowski's model, namely the mediating role that working tasks and working practices plays for use of technology for working purposes.

I added a horizontal, empirical, and bottom-up dimension to Giddens model (1984) of the duality of structure (29) which made it possible to study the interplay between the social enterprise platform and employees' working practices and their daily work tasks from the perspective of the employee. The horizontal, empirical dimension in my framework (Figure14) is inextricably related to the abstract, vertical dimension:

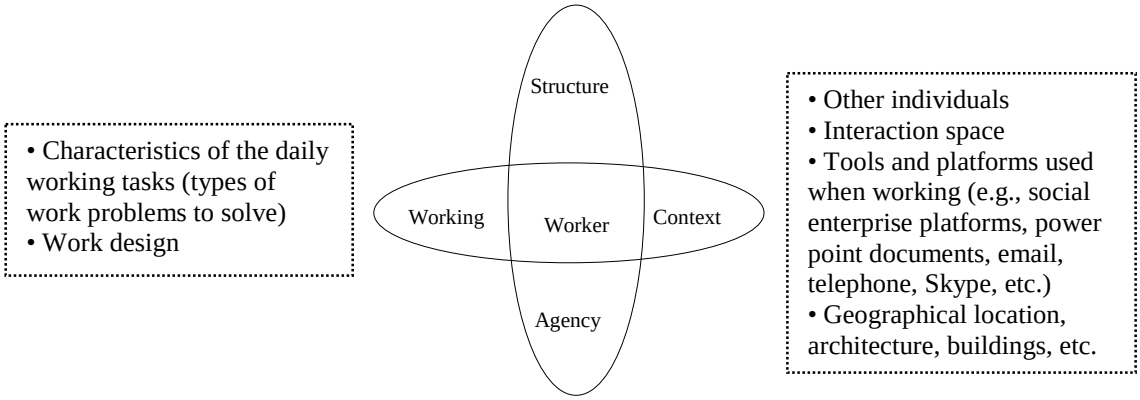

Figure 14: This study's framework. I added a horizontal, empirical, and bottom-up dimension to Giddens model (1984).The elements in Giddens's (1984, 29) model of the duality of structure is the vertical oval circle in my framework, the horizontal oval circle is the empirical dimension I added. The horizontal and the vertical dimensions in the framework are inextricably related.

Different technological systems, including the social enterprise platform, are listed explicitly in the right wing of this illustration because artefacts and computer systems were found to be closely related to the workplace (context), while still being related to all the other dimensions in the framework. I understand "technology" as physical and/or digital materials or computer systems that are inextricably related to the individual who uses them. Thus, technology does "nothing, except as implicated in the actions of human beings" (Giddens and Pierson 1998, 82) because the social and the material are inextricably related (Suchman 1987, Orlikowski 2007, 1437). In this study, social interaction among employees was found to be a core dimension in working practices, as was observed in other studies (Trygg 2014, 43, Ettlinger 2003, Orr 1996). Social interaction involves creating social and personal relationships (Storper and Venables 2004, 355), and all social interaction is situated interaction (Giddens 1984). Technology in the workplace and the computer systems used for working are closely related to the context in which employees work and thus related to other individuals. In this thesis, the social enterprise platform is approached as an arena for working, communicating, and interacting. Thus, I am putting structuration theory into concrete empirical action (Whittington 1992), rather than using structuration theory only as a theoretical departure as most information systems scholars are criticized for doing (Jones and Karsten 2008).

I will now address each research question separately with a brief discussion of the findings. All the findings in this thesis are described in detail in the summarizing table in Appendix 5 and Appendix 6 that specifically address each of the two research questions. This is followed by a section of what I argue Orlikowski (2000, 1992b) overlooked in her study of Lotus Notes. I close this chapter with this study's contributions and limitations, advice for designers, implementers, and managers, and offers suggestions for further research.

The Interplay of Consultants' Working Practices and the Social Enterprise Platform

Two Ideal Types of Work Problems and Knowledge Work Types

As a starting point, the analysis revealed two ideal types of work problems that TBC consultants solve when working which should not be mistaken to be mutually exclusive, but rather as a continuum between two poles. The characteristics of these problems play an important role in what kind of content social enterprise platforms have the ability to store and what types of consultants will benefit the most from the platform. The concepts of knowledge work and knowledge workers were found to be too general for a fine-grained analysis of TBC consultant's working practices, their work problems' characteristics, and how these interplayed with the social enterprise platform. Thus, the first step to developing better constructs was, after observation and analysis, to define the two ideal types of work problems that TBC consultants solve—technical work and/or process work. Consultants working with problems well-defined are what I label 'technical workers', while consultants working with problems-less-well-defined are what I label 'process workers'.

Technical workers work with technical issues (e.g., IT support, system development, etc.) that have the potential to be well-defined (e.g., determining why a system is down or the status of an incident). On the other hand, consultants working with analysis, planning, management, implementation, etc. work with areas and problems that are less well-defined. Technical workers work with well-defined problems that typically relate to computer systems. Process workers work with problems that are less well-defined and relate more to people and organizational processes. In the literature, both types of workers are defined as knowledge workers (Alvesson 2004, Kuvaas 2006, Mazmanian, Orlikowski, and Yates 2013).

With problems-well-defined, a correct answer or a solution to a problem exists, although the answer might have been changed for the better. A big part of the solutions to these problems thus rely on previous experience— the problems have occurred earlier and have therefore been solved before. They have more general characteristics that are typically searchable in databases or information portals. Consultants working with problems-less-well-defined, however, are process workers who are working with problems that have not yet been defined and do not have one correct answer or solution because the answer changes depending on context (e.g., developing a strategy for merging two public actors' IT structures or other organizational change). Hence, process workers' work concerns non-standardized problem solving. Process-workers work in areas and domains that perhaps have never fully existed or been solved before. Thus, the process worker needs to come up with fundamentally new and different proposals that, in Alvesson (2004) terminology, are based on complex reasoning, analyzing, and guessing. It is not possible for process workers to copy and paste from others' work simply because the problem has no fixed solution from the past. While solutions to problems-well-defined are also complex, they are easier to standardize than problems-less-well-defined because many of the solutions can be formulated, defined, written down, programmed, or searched for (e.g., how to fix a bug, install software, implement a platform, etc.).

While technical workers work primarily with problems related to computer systems (fixing bugs or down time), process workers primarily work with problems-less-well-defined related to dynamic systems—people, stakeholders, and organizational structures— and thus with individuals who typically have different practices, meanings, and agendas. Moreover, while many answers to problems have been solved by technical workers rely in the past, answers to problems that need to be solved by process workers rely in the future. Despite this, both of the work stereotypes are centered on problems that need to be solved in real-time. Individuals who work with problems-well-defined benefit greatly from generic answers that rely on past solutions, while individuals who work with problems-less-well-defined need, to a larger degree, to direct their attention toward real-time and the future (although past work can clearly assist in reflection and analysis). Thus, there is a static and dynamic difference between the work problems TBC consultants solve when working, even though the literature defines all the problems as knowledge work that is done by knowledge workers.

Moreover, in addition to solutions to problems, there is a difference between the two stereotypes in regard to defining the problems that are to be solved. Process workers might have difficulties in even managing to formulate and write down—to be able to ask others on a social enterprise platform— the problems that s/he has to solve because of the high complexity in the work problem. Technical problems, however, are based on answers that have a solution, or at least can build on previous solutions to be solved. Thus, these solutions are more write-down-able (for example, as a question or answer in the social enterprise platform, in a manual, or as coding script). When problems are more concrete, they are easier to write down and formulate into questions and answers that do not require much contextual information. Others have also pointed to certain types of insights as being context-dependent and impossible to encapsulate in a database in any meaningful form (Ekstedt et al. 1999) because the insights was difficult to write down (Thompson and Walsham 2001). This means that the two work problems are solved differently and thus have different information and technology needs: while technical workers benefit greatly from documentation, process workers need to interact with other individuals to a greater degree, regardless of company membership. This corresponds with the literature that finds that the more cognitive complexity in the work task to be solved, the more the worker need human interaction (Brinkley 2009, 30, Løwendahl 2005).

Working Contexts

In the analysis, I revealed seven different working contexts that I conceptualized as worker types, yet it must be stressed that they do not denote one individual's work because everyone, in different degrees, are related to other individuals. The worker types differ in terms of their temporality—(working with others in time-space, which is Giddens' (1984) notion of "time") and spatiality—(the working context/place). The seven worker types are: (1) out-housers—consultants working with clients; (2) in-housers—consultants working at their main TBC office; (3) over-lappers—a combination of working with clients and at the consultant's main TBC office; (4) fixed-site teleworkers—consultants working within client contexts but for clients who are located elsewhere (e.g., at subsidiaries); (5) teleworkers—consultants working from home; (6) nomads—consultants working on-the-go (e.g., on the train, at the coffee shop, from home in the evenings and/or weekends, etc.) with tasks that they pick up and continue working

on regardless of the duree of work time, time-space, and workplace, and (7) distant workers—consultants working in contexts located far away from their clients (e.g., in outsourcing). Out-housers, in-housers, over-lappers, fixed-site teleworkers, teleworkers, and distance workers are worker types that are related to the services that the specific TBC entity offers clients (e.g., project management, telecom expertise, outsourcing, etc.). Nomads, however, describes a working practice that is independent of the service being offered.

Common to the out-housers, in-housers, over-lappers, fixed-site teleworkers, teleworkers, and distant workers is that they work on activities that are organized temporally in a way that mimics a typical workday's rhythm—as a process beginning in the morning and ending in the afternoon, a rhythm that is repeated on all weekdays except from holidays. Such repetitive duration is key to Giddens' understanding of temporality because it is important for routinization; "the habitual, taken-for-granted character of the vast bulk of the activities of day-to-day social life; the prevalence of familiar styles and forms of conduct, both supporting and supported by a sense of ontological security" (Giddens 1984, 376), and therefore also for social integration among TBC employees. Even teleworkers organized their workday in the same rhythm (beginning in the morning and ending in the afternoon) and with daily routines (Skype meetings, lunch, when to do what kind of work (e.g., beginning the workday with email work) as in any ordinary workday.

Nomads however, work in timespans that are typically off-work time—outside business hours—in the evenings, weekends, and occasionally during holidays, maternity leave, etc. Nomad's work time is not separated from the person's private time. The nomad's work is in addition to other work and was experienced as tiring for many of the TBC consultants. Several had changed their strategy from an absence of definite boundaries between their work and private spheres to a segmenting strategy where they tried to separate work and private life to minimize work's presence when off work, such as by choosing not to synchronize new devices and check email. However, this strategy was difficult to comply with fully because consultant work is typically characterized by a large workload and project deadlines (Løwendahl 2005). It is argued (Kodz et al. 1998) that there is a norm among knowledge workers that it has become part of knowledge professionals' identity to work long hours (more than 48 hours a week) and to always be accessible (Trygg 2014, Perlow 1999, Massey 1995, Kodz et al. 2003). Altruism is a primary characteristic of consultants (Løwendahl 2005), and the norm of working long hours is explained as team spirit, intrinsic motivation, and not letting others down; their jobs are perceived as highly engaging (Massey 1995, 488). An intrinsic team motivation to work late evenings and long hours and to have a personal passion for one's work is also observed by Trygg (2014). However, working as a consultant and having large workloads or deadlines does not alone explain why so many TBC consultants bother to do nomad work at all. Rather, this was found to be closely related to other individuals and to reciprocity in social relationships between TBC employees.

Time, in structuration theory, refers to co-presence—being here and now (bodily) with others. Giddens uses the construct "time–space" to stress that time is inextricably tied to place/context. Being together enables the opportunity to signal to others when one is present and when one

chooses to withdraw from and be absent from conversations. Social facial cues are fundamental to social integration in time and space. Because all social interaction is situated interaction (Giddens 1984, 86), response cues are dependent upon the conversation rules within a specific context. Time–space thus stress the importance of face-to-face interactions for meaningful communication and interactions in everyday language and day-to-day life.

The work context plays a key role in the opportunity for meeting other potentially relevant employees that one is likely to bump into sporadically in the daily interaction space—or "locales," to use Giddens (1984) term. Interaction spaces thus represent opportunities to meet and establish new social relationships with other individuals who might work on similar or relevant topics who one passes at work due to their being physically present in the same work context. These are opportunities that nomads and teleworkers never get. Teleworkers work and interact in co-presence (via information communication technologies (ICT)) from their homes with individuals on their team, and the opportunities for meeting potentially relevant others are thus limited. Similarly, other important individuals will never appear in the distant worker's interaction space because these other individuals are located elsewhere. Out-housers, in-housers, over-lappers and fixed-site teleworkers, however, have the opportunity to bump into other relevant individuals in their interaction spaces.

Working Structures

With their everyday work located within client contexts, the out-housers were shown in the analysis to be integrated into the clients' practices, norms, and values. At clients, the consultant becomes part of the client's social structure and their daily routines, which was typically expressed by the consultants speaking of "us" and "we" when referring to his or her social relationships with client co-workers. Daily routines are important for both social and mechanic integration where reciprocity is a key driver (Giddens 1984).

The main difference between the work contexts and worker types in TBC is to what degree they are related to other individuals that their work problems are part of. Out-housers, in-housers, and over-lappers are co-present with other individuals in shared work contexts - locales - throughout their workdays. This is also the case for the fixed-site teleworker, who is both present in his client's context with acquaintances and social relationships in the entities in which fixed-site teleworker, Kim, was shown to be managing in his daily work. A teleworker's working practices, however, are extended from the office to their home context. However, the teleworker's working practices were once created and routinely integrated into everyday settings at the office or in projects from the past. Although the teleworker, David, in the UK and his team work in different home contexts, they work in co-presence in a shared social structure by interacting in real-time throughout the workday via Skype and telephone conversations, admitting that some social chat also came up during their working day. David and his team share norms, values, and language (English), which provides meaningful communication and in-group feelings (Gumperz and Cook - Gumperz 2008). Thus, co-presence—being close together—is also possible when individuals are located at different places with the help of information communication technologies. This is also observed by Giddens (1984, 68), who explains that co-presence is possible by talking together on the

telephone. David, the teleworker, and his team illustrate that relations that took shape in a structure can exist "out of time and place," independent of the context in which they were created. This is a process that Giddens labels "structuration." Similarly, nomads' work is expanded from work tasks and work relationships at play in their daily work. Reciprocity in social working relationships plays a key role for expanding existing relationships with ICT.

Distant workers, however, have never established the important social relationships that the other worker types expand online (the online enterprise platform, Facebook, Skype, etc.). Distant workers do not have social relationships with other individuals who are working on other aspects of the same problem because these relationships are located elsewhere. However, being located at a different geographical place is not the main key; as the teleworker illustrated, working in co-presence with colleagues located at different places is fully doable. Distant workers, however, do not have the social relationships the other worker types expand or "lift in" to online spaces because the work problems on which they are working out during their workday is disembedded from the context in which it was created (Giddens 1990). Thus, distant workers are disembedded from other important individuals and their social structures. The work problems (fix bugs, get systems back up, etc.) are inextricably related to co-present aspects that distant workers do not have access to. The work problem that distant workers are sought to solve are inextricably related to other individuals who are located in a different country with its own unique social structure. Virtual work and outsourcing as an organizing principle has some well-known risks that have been enumerated in the strategic management literature: it often eliminates direct communication between a company and its clients, which may prevent a company from building solid relationships with their customers and often leads to dissatisfaction on one or both sides, as well as delayed communications and project implementation (Thompson 2014, Bailey, Leonardi, and Barley 2012). My observation of the challenge of being distant to the social structure in which a problem was created corresponds with Bailey, Leonardi, and Barley's (2012) study of an International Automobile Corporation that offshored incident-testing of cars to Indian engineers in India. The engineers lacked easy access to other important individuals to solve work problems, lacked critical insights into the contextual practices in which the work problem or task was part of (the engineers had never driven a car, nor was it a tradition to own a car in India), and their work problems lacked the larger information picture (access to physical car parts) they needed to work out the problem.

The importance of building social relationships between distant workers and individuals in the social structure in which the distant worker's work problem are a part of is one of the reasons for why Giddens (1984, 70) concept of time–space is important. This was also revealed by (Nandhakumar 2002, 52) who found that social relationships among virtual teams needed to be built the conventional way before virtual teamwork, explaining that "until we have a real good drink and a good meal and good social chat at length we are not going to be a 'real team'…we can then use the technology to maintain it [the relationship]."

The Interaction Practices for Working Out Problems

When TBC professionals need assistance in work-related matters, they address others they trust and already know from past interactions. If these individuals cannot assist, the employees trust

that they will mediate other trustworthy individuals for them to approach. When approaching others, the TBC consultants choose communication spaces that are closed, smaller, and personal (direct conversations, telephone, or email), and that provide clear boundaries of who is part of the conversation. In their daily work, TBC consultants sit physically close to others that they often approach when they need help. These others are typically individuals who are important for the employees' own work, and with whom they share a work relationship (e.g., a shared domain of expertise, the same project, similar work function, or shared hierarchical rank (e.g., managers and management, sales staff with marketing, HR). The tendency to sit physically close to important colleagues was also the norm for out-housers working within the client's context.

Having co-workers with shared and relevant specializations close made the daily and interchangeable small talk easy, and the employee could get fast replies in real-time on questions that cropped up during the working day. Work assistance was mixed with work talk that overlapped with social talk during the workday and went on in the consultant's native language (Arabic, Danish, etc.). Providing assistance to each other was reciprocal and related to the TBC worker's processes for working out problems. This work assistance and small talk was not thought of as "knowledge-sharing" by the consultants; this was how work was done—by working and interacting face-to-face, via the telephone or Skype, throughout the day. Consultants' working practices consisted of providing assistance and receiving assistance in return. In concurrence with other research (Orr 1996, Trygg 2014), TBC consultants' work is seldom done in isolation, but rather, together with others working on the project in different manners depending on the consultants' work role, tasks, and the complexity of the work problems to be solved. Asking others to provide an answer or assistance was more effective than directing questions via the enterprise platform. It was also a more trustworthy communication path to pursue.

Social relationships among TBC employees are created by physical meetings in which they learn to know and trust each other. Once a social relationship is established, a connection between individuals is made. When the connection is no longer relevant or regularly nurtured by working together, for example, when a project ends and the worker enters new projects, there is naturally less frequent interaction and the strength of the social relationship becomes weaker. These individuals are then no longer necessarily located in a shared working context, yet they are still addressed when the employee thinks s/he might provide an answer to task-driven questions when directed by email or telephone. Thus, the establishment of social relationships is related to a close interplay between a shared social structure and real-time geographical place (the here and now). Furthermore, work assistance in real-time is directed to experiences and relationships that have been established in the past. Hence, working closely in real-time influences future correspondence. This has implications for social enterprise media that seek to establish connections between individuals that do not have a shared history, including the assumed potential that relationships can be established with co-workers located elsewhere that the employee do not already know (McAfee 2009, Cook 2008).

If colleagues in the shared working context cannot assist, many employees reach out to their personal social network, (call, send emails, or otherwise address non-TBC professionals they are connected with on external social sites such as Facebook or LinkedIn). Online social sites play an important role for employees reaching out to their company-external relationships. Employees' online, yet company-external connections, are individuals the employee has met and gotten to know from previous jobs, shared projects, clients, conferences, etc. Hence, TBC consultants reach out to company-external individuals they know, rather than addressing TBC members they do not know.

The Social Enterprise Platform is not Aligned With What Consultants do for Working

The work tools most TBC consultants need daily were found to be few—a computer, laptop, a telephone, and an electronic key card to enter the physical office locations. However, these materialities were empty containers that needed to be integrated with relevant electronic or digital programs and systems in order for the employee to work. A high proportion of the computer systems the consultants use when working were shown to be manifested in the local context of the TBC entity's location. Out-housers that spend long time laps with a client, for example, get an email account from that client and often also a laptop that includes the necessary client systems that are needed for working. Thus, working in co-presence with client structures also includes working in co-presence with the client's technological structure. The social enterprise platform was not part of the daily technological structure that most consultants used.

Despite the enterprise platform being located in the cloud and accessible in theory for all TBC members to log into, experienced consultants that the platform is not relevant for their daily work, and was perceived by many employees as an isolated island outside of their working practices. For example, over-lappers typically work on several smaller client projects and need online spaces where the project members from several organizations can share documents. The enterprise platform, however, is restricted to only TBC members and open online services (e.g., Projectbase and other similar services, such as Dropbox) were therefore preferred over the enterprise platform simply because it corresponds with how project work is done—across TBC's organizational borders and thus also with individuals who are not employed by TBC.

The technologies or computer systems used for working, including email, telephone, a shared virtual space to upload documents regardless of company membership, and other systems that assist employees' working practices (e.g. document management systems), do not correspond with the enterprise platform. Therefore, the platform provided little assistance. On the contrary, the enterprise platform provided more work, for example, by needing to upload documents into several systems (in the enterprise platform in addition to a document management system), or by introducing new working practices, which I labeled "social working," meaning contributing with content in the social platform characterized by a social dimension, such as writing a blog posts, answering others' questions, or commenting on others' blog posts. These are work practices that are new to the employee and comes in addition to the consultant's other working tasks. In previous research on knowledge management systems, a lack of time, relevance to the work, and trust issues were consistently given for why employees did not use these systems

(McKinley 2005, Ardichvili, Page, and Wentling 2003, Khidhir, Samir, and Santhanam 2012, Paroutis and Al Saleh 2009, Othman and Siew 2012, Li 2010, Bechina, Arntzen, and Ribiere. 2012, Fu and Lee 2005, Bock et al. 2005, Hoogenboom et al. 2007, Karsten 1999a). In the study in this thesis, all these factors were also found to be key reasons for why the social enterprise platform is not taken into considerable use by TBC employees. The main reason seems to be very simple: the enterprise platform does not assist the employees' daily work. Few have time to do extra work in already-hectic working days. The social enterprise platform brings with it additional workload for employees that are in addition to what TBC consultants do every day, which is to solve problems that require relevant computer systems and expertise, more than interacting with others in a social enterprise platform that is not part of their working structures or practices.

Emailing is a Key Node in Working Practices

TBC professionals explain that the enterprise platform makes them less productive at work because the platform is not aligned with how they actually work. Electronic mail, however, is aligned. Although the email application was originally designed for asynchronous communication (Whittaker and Sidner 1996), it has with time developed into serving more functions than it was originally designed. Today, email serves three main functions for employees' work: a personal task management tool (document delivery, work task delegation, task tracking, and coordination and planning), a communication platform, and a personal archive where names, addresses, and documents are kept for future reference (Whittaker, Bellotti, and Gwizdka 2006).

Email programs are, in a sense, the node in TBC consultants' work and therefore one of their most important work tools because it is their main tool for working, communicating, and coordinating tasks with others. TBC consultants sort emails into folders categorized by year and project. Emails are stored and not deleted because of the opportunity to return to them when working on new projects with similar topics, to keep contact information, and for documentation purposes. Moreover, as was shown in the analysis, Out-housers that spend long time periods at the client's get a client-email account and often also a laptop provided with the necessary client systems. Thus, also email was found to be related to a contextual ICT-structure due to having an email *address* that is inextricably tied to a physical place: to client's locations or the employer TBC. Kim, the Teleworker from Denmark, illustrated in chapter five that he had client mail, TBC mail, and his private mail on his 3G phone. With a client email the consultant gets digital access to communicate internally with others in the organization s/he is entering. Hence, the email address provides a digital key similar to the electronic key card that enables access to the physical office context.

One of the assumptions and goals with introducing social enterprise platforms in organizations is to replace or minimize email correspondences between employees, but this study find that email plays a key role in consultants' work. Paradoxically, the key application used for working which support how work is done is sought changed or removed by implementing a social enterprise platform.

Moreover, an unintended consequence of social enterprise platforms that was found in this study was that employees received more email than before because of the many email notifications sent from the social enterprise platform. Because many experienced this as a disturbing email notification overload, they turned off notifications that are critical because content from the social enterprise platform was mainly read in email rather than by entering the platform space. Thus, there is a risk that TBC employees might not get critical information from TBC.

Online Spaces Also Need a Strategy in Practice

Because the social enterprise platform is transparent in nature, differences in local routines, traditions, norms, and procedures for working become more apparent. Also, new gaps between employees were observed on the social enterprise platform, which nurtured new prejudices—those who were active participators and those who were not. Employees that were active platform users was typically spoken of as having a personal marketing agenda or that they shouldn't be spending their billable hours discussing topics online with colleagues. Similarly, while some managers took positive notice of the active contributors, other managers saw the active contributors negatively. It is difficult to redesign processes when the organization does not understand the employees' working practices (Brown and Duguid 2002, 99). When top and middle management do not agree on strategic initiatives it becomes even more problematic to strategize in practice. TBC had no clear strategy as to how employees should use the enterprise platform, because they wanted employees to use the platform to engage in bottom-up manners, as witnessed in the public social media landscape. Although consultants were encouraged to use the enterprise platform, no formal guidelines or requirements were established by management on platform use. All other existing computer systems (e.g. email and document management systems) were fully available to the entities after the enterprise media platform was launched.

Organizations that implement social platforms need to have a strategy that corresponds with what employees do in practice and that explicitly addresses employee's use of platforms. Employees in this study explained that it was difficult for them to know how TBC expected them to use the platform, how the management expected them to contribute, and to what extent work hours should be spent on the platform. This matter concerns the second assumption in the organization about social technologies, which I listed in the introduction: tendencies and models from public discourse were copied in the workplace. In the social media landscape, bottom-up engagement processes are observed, yet social enterprise platforms are strategically introduced in organizations in a top-down manner that seeks to capitalize on the bottom-up engagement observed in public discourse. Leaving the success of strategic initiatives to employees without communicating a concrete plan beyond a vague message about the "importance of collaboration" creates easily unintended consequences for both management and employees.

The social enterprise platform does not make employees more productive; on the contrary, it makes them less productive. Thus, the platform brings new costs to the organization by introducing new working practices ('social working'); increasing the number of emails; and having consultants spend more time, not less, on information. McKinsey (Chui et al. 2012)

argued that by replacing established one-to-one interaction, collaboration, and communication practices (e.g. email, telephone, and face-to-face interactions) with a collective many-to-many social enterprise platform, the time employees spend on email correspondences; information searches; and one or few to one or few collaborations will be decreased; in turn, employees can then perform other productive tasks. This was found to be an unrealistic goal—email and social interaction play a key role for problem solving in the workplace. If the enterprise platform is used in line with the ideal that is set forth (i.e. participating, contributing content, and knowledge sharing), employees will not have more time to do other productive tasks. The assumption established the industry about these platforms' potential to increase productivity is often adapted by organizations. Therein rests the contradiction in what TBC seek to achieve with the enterprise platform and what many TBC employees do during work. In TBC, the strategic initiative of introducing a social platform was intended to help employees

> build professional networks, develop competence by following others more skilled, finding out what others are doing and not reinventing the wheel, having things you're working on easy to find and share, easily work with colleagues in other business units (from TBC's implementation strategy 2010).

Yet, this strategy does not correspond with most consultants' working practices. There is a gap between what management wants from employees and what employees do in practice. As Barley notes, "Organizations are so complex today, that it is difficult for those in charge to have experienced much of the organization's work firsthand" (1996b, xi). Although the social enterprise platform does not increase productivity, it could serve other strategic goals, such as strengthening the organization's sense of social identity and employee's sense of belonging.

To conclude the answers for the first research question, the social enterprise platform is not integrated with most consultants' working practices, especially process workers. It becomes an add-on rather than assisting their work. Email plays a key role in coordinating, communicating, delegating, and planning consultants' work. These are all processes that social enterprise platforms do not assist. It is a work routine that supports the way knowledge work is accomplished. However, neither a single tool, such as an email application, cannot support all of these core functions (Whittaker and Sidner 1996, 276).

This suggests that what the consultants need are improved tools that are better and more efficient than email applications alone. The key is to offer technology more precisely (Davenport 2011), and to offer employees work tools that help them to work smarter rather than more. A social enterprise platform that seeks active participation and contributions from all employees does just that.

Despite the technological advancements made in social software from knowledge management systems and groupware in the eighties and nineties, the same reasons were listed for not using these systems in this study, and I have already addressed some of the reasons for why this is so. This suggests that the differences between KM systems and social enterprise systems are not as substantial as they are often presented to be, much because neither of them is aligned with what employees or platform users do when working.

The Interplay of Offline and Online Interactions on the Social Enterprise Platform

Working Context Matters

The analysis of TBC's social enterprise platform finds that in-housers use the platform more than the other worker types, which corresponds to the social enterprise platform being part of TBC's social structure. In-housers often also have more time available to spend on browsing the enterprise platform. The analysis found that in-housers were, with few exceptions, members of more groups in the enterprise platform than out-housers. This is logical because out-housers are integrated into clients' social and ICT structures, where they approach individuals and technologies located in their daily working contexts. Similarly, in-housers list more go-to colleagues at TBC than out-housers do because out-housers' go-to colleagues are not all employed by TBC.

Offline Practices are Enacted Online

The analysis of the social enterprise platform finds that despite its unstructured nature, all the entities constructed their own local semi-spaces in the platform. These spaces mimic how the TBC entity is organized (e.g., sorted by place, departments, topics, and teams). These local semi-spaces meet the user with welcome pages, information about their specific unit (who they are, their areas of expertise, location, etc.), often with pictures of the unit, mimicking the reception areas in the entity's office buildings. These welcome spaces signal to users where they have entered in the platform space, similar to the boundaries that are set up in locales between regions by physical or symbolic markers, for example, emblems or entry signs (Giddens 1984, 121). Conversations on these local online enterprise platform spaces are mainly carried out in the mother tongue that is spoken in the offline TBC context, and a variety of languages is therefore spoken on TBC's social enterprise platform. This challenges the potential for re-using content so that others may benefit from others online conversations and discussions. The construction of the enterprise space and native language communication in these spaces is a type of regionalization in Giddens's (1984) sense because they form the boundaries that define a given region.

How people communicate and interact online was found to be closely tied to their communication practices in their everyday lives offline. TBC professionals' actions occur within the context of existing social structures, governed by norms and rules that are distinct from those of other social structures (Giddens 1984). The social enterprise platform does not have a universal conversation or interaction norm—a *lingua franca* or an airport space with universal rules at play. Rather, the online space is tied to the local practices and context, and in which employees and employers monitoring each other online based on the interaction and communication norms at play in that specific offline social structure. Thus in TBC, social integration offline in co-presence was expanded in the enterprise platform's online structures that exist outside of time and space with mechanical integration and reciprocity. Thus, this study support Jones and Karsten (2008) assumption that information technology may facilitate social integration without co-presence (133).

The homophily principle (people's tendency to associate with and bond to similar others) (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001) is observed in the enterprise platform. There is a strong tendency that members of groups in TBC's enterprise platform share some key characteristics—they work with the same topic or domain, work at the same entity, share the same hierarchical level, or are from the same country and speak the same language. This tendency is also revealed in the following functionality in the platform: employees follows or are followed by co-workers they already know or share key characteristics with. This corresponds with previous research on social media sites in the public discourse (Boyd 2008, Chatora 2010, Ellison 2007, Ellison, Steinfield, and Lampe 2011) and enterprise media in the workplace (Steinfield et al. 2009) that finds that people connect on social media and social platforms with people they already know and interact with in offline settings. The social enterprise platform has not provided many new acquaintances to the TBC consultants, and the analysis suggests that in order for social relationships to be expanded online, they first need to be established in trustworthy offline social settings. This brings important insights into the potential of social enterprise platforms for connecting individuals who do not know each other and who work at different entities with different practices. People approach relationships online that are already established offline rather than approach strangers (e.g., other TBC employees they do not know). It has happened that TBC employees have contacted others with success, yet in most cases such contact was a one-time occurrence, and many point to "cultural differences" and misunderstandings for why the contact ended.

Many employees express that they do not feel comfortable asking questions in an open and transparent platform without knowing their potential audience. As a privacy strategy, employees have created a number of groups in the online enterprise platform, most often closed groups, in which individuals who work together or share work affinity offline are group members online. The groups in the enterprise platform provide the trustworthy overview needed in meaningful conversation (Goffman 2000 [1959]). Thus, relationships that were established in the past are lifted into and expanded in the online platform. The same norms and rules that are at play in the consultant's offline contexts are enacted by TBC consultants in the online platform where individuals are sanctioned by the social group or by management if norms and rules are violated in the online platform space. In this sense, relations exist that took shape in a structure "out of time and place," independent of the context in which they were created (Giddens 1984). Thus, structuration processes are happening between offline places and online spaces.

A Close Link Between Technical Workers and Enterprise Platform Users

The social enterprise platform is mainly dominated by technical content provided by technical workers. Process workers explain that this type of content is not relevant for their work because their work concerns processes for which they need to reach out to people rather than to documentation for assistance and discussion. Furthermore, because the majority of TBC employees are French, content that provides assistance to problems-well-defined (technical work) is dominated by communication in French. That consultants' work problems have different characteristics and thus different needs gives insight into what kind of content a social

enterprise platform has the ability to facilitate and store and what kind of help the platform can provide TBC employees.

To conclude on the second research question, offline practices are enacted in the online enterprise platform; rather than establishing new connections, offline social relationships are expanded in the online platform; online semi-spaces are modelled on offline organizing principles, and offline conversation drivers are also valid in online spaces. Hence, offline and online practices are inextricably related, dual, and work in tandem. Established social relationships have a great potential for being expanded virtually with the help of certain ICT or social media software.

Modern and Postmodern Knowledge Working Practices

As stated in the introduction, as the analysis proceeded, I found the constructs of knowledge work and knowledge workers to be too general for analyzing the TBC consultant's working tasks and practices. New constructs evolved as the research process proceeded, first with idealized contextual working types (out-housers, in-housers, over-lappers, distant workers, and nomads, in addition to the teleworkers and fixed site teleworkers who had already been previously defined in the literature), and then with the two idealized types of work problems that distinguished knowledge workers into two sub-categories according to the complexity of their work problems—technical workers and process workers. Both worker types were found to need interactions with others to solve work problems, but process workers need a higher degree of face-to-face and/or oral communication than technical workers, who benefit more from documentation than process workers. Thus, both worker types need social interaction and communication—oral and/or written—with others who work on the same problems as part of their social structure. This was revealed to be challenging for distant workers because they are distant to the social structure in which the IT-bugs they were fixing are situated. Hence, the work problems that distant workers solve are "lifted out" from the context in which they were created, and thus from other important individuals in that context and structure. The structuration process that was observed to occur with the all the other worker types (offline relationships were expanded in the online enterprise platform or via other ICTs (e.g., Skype) was difficult for distant workers because the work problem were "lifted out" from the context in which they were established to use Giddens (1990) terminology when he is theorizing about the consequences of modernity.

Giddens (1990) listed two key characteristics of modern society: time–space distantiation and the disembedding of social relations from local contexts. With modernity, the master keys for social interaction, meaning, and ontological security are removed from being face-to-face, in co-presence, and in a shared context to being without a local "protective cocoon." Distant worker's work is anomic—without norms—because it is not related to shared practices in which the work problem is a part. Thus, the work problems they are expected to fix are a kind of symbolic tokens, a "media of interchange that can be passed around without regard to the specific characteristics of individuals or groups that handle them at any particular juncture" (Giddens 1991, 22). With the introduction of mass and interactive media, Giddens argues, time–space is stretched further away and is no longer related to closeness, or co-presence.

However, the distant worker does not share a history with others who are also working on other parts of the same problem, there is not a relationship to be lifted in or out, only a problem to be solved that shows only one side of the work-problem "dice". The distant workers have not established the important social relationships to the individuals involved in their work problem that is located elsewhere. Similar to the other work-types address distant workers other distant workers sitting physically close to them when they work out their respective problems even though they tackle problems in different countries.

At the same time showed this study that certain ICTs have a great potential to expand and nurture social relationships that are already established. Certain technological systems might facilitate co-presence in relationships that took shape in the past and thus have the potential to exist "out of time and place," independent of the context in which they were created. In TBC's enterprise platform, for example, semi-spaces was created that mimicked offline structures. Offline practices and social relationships were lifted in to the online enterprise platform and structuration processes between offline and online practices thus happened. Hence, rather than having disembedding mechanisms, it seems that communication technologies enable structuration processes for already established relationships. However, in order to create relations that can be expanded with communication technology and thus exist out of time and place, trustworthy relationships first have to be created and the rules in the social structure learnt. This could very well be one of the key reasons for the consistent pattern of coordination failures and communication characterized by misunderstandings, "incomplete messages," and conflict in virtual work, offshoring, or outsourcing (Bailey, Leonardi, and Barley 2012). Distant workers do not have work problem relationships to expand or lift into virtual or online spaces because these relationships have not yet been fully established in co-presence. Working on problems disembedded from other individuals is a working practice that I label "postmodern knowledge working practices". Postmodern workers are typically individuals working in social structures located far from the problems on which they are working because work problems are closely related to other individuals that are working on the same problem. Yet postmodern workers access only one side of the complex work "dice," namely, the one explicit work problem/task. The social structure in which the problem is part of is not automatically uploaded in the service desk tool where the work problems they shall solve are reported and communicated.

Postmodern workers are individuals who typically work in social structures that are located far from the problems on which they are working.

The findings stress that working out problems in knowledge work is related to social interaction with other individuals and thus with the social structure in which work problems are a part. Modern knowledge working practices, then, refer to the unique ways employees work out problems of varying degrees of complexity while interacting face-to-face or in real-time with other individuals and where digital or electronic information systems are typically used to support employees and expand working processes.

The importance of establishing social relationships between workers should not be under-estimated because working and interacting are closely related in the contemporary workplace,

and social relationships need to be established within a trusting co-presence and a shared context (Nandhakumar 2002). ICTs then, seem to have a great potential for expanding established working relationships.

I revealed in this thesis that Orlikowski ignores key dimensions in her study of the groupware Lotus Notes (2000, 1992a). More specifically, Orlikowski argues that employees enact structural elements as the reason for why employees use or do not use Lotus Notes in the three organizations (Alpha, Zeta, and Iris) she studied. What Orlikowski seems to overlook in her study is the correspondence of what the employee did for working and how Lotus Notes provided different opportunities to make them work or not work smarter because individuals are reflexive, knowledgeable and autonomous beings (Giddens 1984), choosing to use technologies for working in ways that are beneficial for themselves. Her oversight could perhaps be because structuration theory, which she is developing further, views individual actions as largely organized by institutions (Barley and Tolbert 1997). Additionally, Orlikowski's research agenda was to illustrate that technology does not embody predefined structures because individuals use technology differently, which was a much needed view that inverted the research orientation at the time (Orlikowski 2000, 421). However, Orlikowski describes a top-down approach for using Lotus Notes that presumes motivated agents (Thompson 2012, 192) but ignores that people have different personal motivations for using such software. I was able to elaborate on these characteristics by first returning to Giddens' original models and texts and then by adding a bottom-up empirical dimension that captures employees working and interaction practices, their work tasks and type of work problems they solve, and the working contexts in which their daily work takes place.

Conclusion

This study finds that employees' contextual offline practices are enacted in online enterprise platform spaces, and several structuration processes were observed, including offline interaction patterns that were transferred into the enterprise platform and/or online spaces (e.g., email, Facebook, Projectbase, etc.); the offline structure was "lifted in" to the social enterprise platform (creating semi-spaces with categories based on team and department structures); offline rules, norms, and values remained valid in online social structures; offline conversation logic and drivers followed the same rules in the social enterprise platform (e.g., reciprocity, overview of communication partners, social cues, etc.), and a preference for approaching others from the same social group rather than meeting strangers.

This study shows that organizations' online spaces cannot be understood without reference to offline contextual practices because working and interaction practices in the online social enterprise platform work in tandem with those offline. I find that how the social enterprise platform is used by employees in their everyday work interplays closely with what the employees do for work, what kind of work problems they solve, the necessity for interacting with other individuals while doing their work, their established working practices, and the potential these practices have for being expanded in virtual or online platforms. The social enterprise platform was found to be a catalyst for offline interactions, and offline and online working and interaction practices complement each other in tandem. In order to analyze my

findings and draw conclusions, I had to develop several new theoretical constructs that I revealed during my analysis of the empirical data.

My study contributes to the practice turn in the strategy literature. This approach made it possible to develop new constructs that can assist us in capturing more fine-tuned dimensions about knowledge work and what knowledge workers do. Using these insights, we can develop and implement technologies that better fit the working practices of the contemporary workplace. I have showed that work is not something that employees have but are dynamic processes that include other individuals. This study also contributes empirically by proving insights from the perspective of the employee and with data from a non-US case study, which is urgently needed (Walsham 2001). Lastly, my study contributes by providing in-depth insights for practitioners and the industry into the technological platforms that so many organizations are implementing these days (McKinsey&Company 2013), and I believe and hope that many of them will benefit from the detailed insights shared in this thesis.

Because email was found to play a key role in modern working practices by coordinating, communicating, delegating, and planning work, would a first step in the contemporary workplace be to provide new tools that better assist these three core functions in modern working practices than email can manage alone and that are not tied to company membership (e.g., Dropbox, Slack, and other work technologies that are not restricted to company membership). This study suggests that social enterprise platforms cannot alone play the role of an organization's information portal. Internal communication facilitates business success (Tourish 1997). Within organizations, effective internal communication between managers and staff is vital to organizational success (Tourish and Hargie 1998). Replacing the organization's internal information systems and email practices with social enterprise platforms runs a clear risk of not reaching employees with important information. Despite that few TBC consultants use the company's social enterprise platform for working purposes, they cannot imagine not having it because they need company related information. However, most organizations already have intranets to meet such information needs.

Moreover, the algorithmic model of social enterprise media is built on an ideal user who is active and typically inspired by social media applications, which itself was shown not to guarantee that information shared will ever show up in others' newsfeeds because the algorithms weight content based on popularity and engagement (likes, comments, etc.) (Bucher 2012). Employees in the workplace have a very different usage pattern than Facebook users. Not only do they visit the enterprise platform substantially less than users visit Facebook, employees' platform-visits are typically task-driven: they do not have time to enter the platform space to surf around and get updated because they are operating within a work context, not in their leisure time. The "powerful 'genius' feature" that social enterprise platforms employ to provide the user with relevant content ignores that most users are not active users or participators, but employees that drop by the site now and then. Thus, developers and designers need to adjust the conceptual model of social enterprise platforms to better suit the workplace, keeping in mind that employees often work with non-company members and that information

presented in dynamic principles (recent content or content that has received the most feedback) needs to be presented in ways that balance content from both active and passive users.

The findings in this study suggests that organizations' goals for introducing enterprise platforms into the workplace need to be adjusted to provide employees with working systems that enable them to work smarter, easier, and more effectively, rather than more, which the social enterprise platform currently does. People have different needs for information, technology, and other individuals during their workday, and there is no point in implementing a social platform where all employees need to collaborate for the sake of collaboration. "Often it may be better not to collaborate, because there is simply no compelling reason to do so" (Hansen 2009, 16). Some employees might need a project management tool, others an online space where they can upload and share documents, and others a smaller space for social networking and communication. Hence, the key is to provide technology more precisely as Davenport (2011) suggests, and to provide work tools that enable established working practices to be more effective. Rather than seeking to reach a "collaborative workplace," this study suggests that organizations should provide employees with smarter strategic tools that they actually need in their everyday work to make their work more productive and efficient. Such smarter tools should be aligned with the 'Bring Your Own Device' (BYOD) trend (employees use their private technology for work) that has already entered many organizations. Half of companies surveyed by Gartner, for example, told that they planned to move exclusively to BYOD for smartphones in 2017 (Weise 2014).

The idea of a fully transparent work platform should be adjusted to meet peoples' conversation logic described in detail in the fifties by the micro-sociologist Goffman (2000 [1959]), which was also found to be valid in online conversations. Research into social media sites found that having different circles of friends present in the site was experienced by users as problematic and induced a context collapse that resulted in users resigning from participation (Brandtzæg, Lüders, and Skjetne 2010). In organizations, the employees are not only likely to have different circles of colleagues, but individuals are also likely to have different hierarchical ranks. Interaction with knowledgeable others was shown in this study to be done in smaller groups. This suggests that smaller spaces in which employees can interact with smaller circles of colleagues could be a next step for developers and designers to address.

Placing social relationships in the front seat is also what is predicted to characterize future media models (SVT 2014). This corresponds well with Goffman's (2000 [1959]) many observations, and further developed by Giddens (1984), in that the trend in the social media landscape today is to provide much smaller interaction spaces (e.g., Snapchat, direct messages among a few participants in Instagram, or conversation thread messages in Facebook). Facebook (2014b), for example, announced recently that they changed their privacy settings so that posts are by default set to "friends" and not to "public." Facebook explains that this change was initiated because many "have told us that they are more comfortable sharing with a smaller group, like just their friends" (Facebook 2014b).

More visibility of others' interactions nurtures a sense of co-presence and real-time and is an example of what might be seen in the next versions of social enterprise media. For example, it is currently possible to see if and when a person has read a message in Facebook, Snapchat or WhatsApp. Similarly, there is also the opportunity to withdraw from conversations and signal absence to other conversation partners (e.g., being logged off in the Facebook chat) or to provide the opportunity to lift a conversation thread from a public setting into a more private space. Gartner (Cannell 2013) predicts that the next wave in the development of social business software includes smart semantic Web 3.0 features with horizontal integration of computer systems in the workplace (e.g., document management systems, travel expense systems, and other systems used for working). A semantic Web 3.0 trend is already at play today where different computer systems exchange data to provide relevant content to the user, as we know from the many email clients that are programmed to analyze the text in emails in order to provide personalized and relevant ads or news articles for the user when he or she enters the Internet (e.g., Google (2014)). This brings new privacy challenges that organizations and developers need to have in mind.

Advice to organizations and managers is to follow the guidelines on privacy that are set by EU legislation, including the requirement to provide privacy consent, develop policies for what kinds of data the company tracks and how the company will treat this data, for what reasons, by whom, and how employees can choose to not be tracked. The employee should be able to control his or her own data and decide on the degree of desired transparency. Allowing employees to control these features could be a wise move for the organization because the need for privacy and trust in knowledge sharing processes is well-documented in the literature (Janowicz-Panjaitan and Noorderhaven 2009, Nov and Wattal 2009). Privacy is a smart business strategy: "rather than treating privacy as solely a legal obligation, the most brilliant idea today is to treat it as an area of opportunity and business innovation" (Hasselbalch 2013).

Another piece of advice for organizations and managers is to adjust their platform adoption goals when implementing social enterprise platforms in the workplace. A consistent policy and strategy for what the organization expects from employees' platform use might minimize unintended gaps and prejudices between employees (e.g., between active versus passive platform users and contributors). Management should also keep in mind that employees are different, with different work tasks to solve, and with different norms and rules for how to engage with others in online enterprise platforms. In tandem with implementation of social platforms, a strategy should be communicated to employees to create predictability for platform use and to minimize gaps between different types of platform users. Lastly, mangers should not underestimate the importance of arranging social gatherings so employees can meet and create the social relationships that have a potential to be expanded in the online social enterprise platform and other information communication systems. The importance of internal networking is also stressed by Hansen (2009). Getting to know other people means learning about personal characteristics, and social talk and informal content should not be underestimated in this respect because this type of content was shown to spark engagement on the social enterprise platform.

The transparent social platform introduces several paradoxes. Employees' activity becomes visible to others, which on the one hand, was shown to strengthen established prejudices and create new ones (active versus passive platform users), while on the other, seemed to shorten social distance (for example, getting a feeling of what life in-house was like while working from a clients' context or getting a feeling of knowing others from other entities more personally). Further research should pursuit this paradox and direct attention toward smaller-scale applications and social tools. Today, many study corporate wikis and other social platforms that cover blogging and other written insights that are shared with the whole company. It would be highly relevant for future studies to look at the potential for smaller micro-blogging services and how and if teams could benefit from systems with a reduced number of members. Future research should also look into potential gender differences in how social software is used in organizations because woman has been more avid users in the public social media landscape (Duggan 2013) and interpret emoticons in work place communication more positively than men (Lai 2014, 139).

This study is not without limitations. Twenty-seven participants from four countries employed by one multinational consultancy company were studied. Further research should replicate this study and include different types of organizations with different scales. It should also include a sample of individuals working outside of IT and consultancy industries.

Language is another limitation of this study. Few of the Moroccan employees spoke English, and although I could follow some of the French conversations among employees during their workdays, I only understood the conversation's direction when employees spoke Arabic. When they spoke Arabic, I understood when conversational elements were social in nature because of the social cues provided (e.g. laughter, practical jokes, or intense discussions). Because I was working together *with them*, I was able to ask them questions as a friend, such as what they were talking about when they laughed or argued loudly. They explained their conversations to me and wanted my perspective. My background was also a limitation in this study. I come from Western Europe, and entered TBC's entities in North Africa with a Western point of view. However, as a social anthropologist, I am trained to constantly reflect upon my own role and my perspectives. However, as I said in chapter four, by returning to the field one year later, I further established trust. As a result, many insights that were not shared with me from the year before were now being shared. We nevertheless need more studies from non-Western countries (Walsham 2001) because we know that individuals in different countries value social media sites differently (Vasalou, Joinson, and Courvoisier 2010). Studies of technologies used in Non-Western organizations conducted by non-Western researchers that analyze local ways of using social software for work is highly needed (Walsham 2001). Another limitation when doing qualitative studies in a consultancy company providing IT and business services in 2014, is that the people we study might google us and get insights into our research specializations. When our participators are specialists in similar topics that we are researching on, there is a risk that their answers and comments could be biased by having this insight. This makes it even more important to do participatory observations and field studies. Employees in TBC was informed about me researching on their social enterprise platform, yet they did not know that I was interested in how the platform interplayed with a variety of other elements in their work place,

or their interaction patterns online. Due to my mixed methodology I was able to compare the different data sources which strengthens the reliability of the results presented in this thesis.

Great thinkers argue that information and communication technologies enable new modes of work, communication, and organization across time and place (Walsham 2001, 31); however, this study suggests that the duration of work time, time–space, and place/context are important considerations. Time–space (the opportunity to meet others) is the building block to social relationships, yet relationships in the workplace seems to need to be established in offline and contextual settings in order to be expanded in online spaces. The rules for when to send an email in preference of picking up the telephone, when it is proper to add an emoticon in a text, what hitting  means, what the arrows and boxes in a process model in a PowerPoint presentation mean, knowing the first priority of the numbers 1,2,3,4,5, or knowing that "implement" means "install" and not "fix bug" are learnt social practices and have no universal rules.

When McLuhan (2011) coined the concept "global village," he pointed out that the globe is being contracted into a village by electric technology. However, despite the global opportunities that come with the Internet, the online social enterprise platform in this study consists of local villages that are closely related to offline structures. Offline and online working structures and interactions, working tasks, and technologies, and agency and structure work in tandem.

Epilogue

'In tandem' refers to working or occurring in partnership, alongside or in conjunction with each other facing the same direction (Oxford University 2014b).

Designed by the Rucker Company in 1884, the first tandem bicycles joined two high wheels containing forks together with a jointed backbone. Because these bikes did not have one smaller wheel, they remained extremely stable, as long as the riders worked together when steering and balancing (gaukartifact 2012). Compared to a conventional bicycle, a tandem has double the pedaling power, without necessarily doubling the speed, and with only slightly more frictional loss in the drivetrain. It has about the same wind resistance as a conventional bicycle. High-performance tandems may weigh less than twice as much as a single bike, so the power-to-weight ratio may be slightly better than that of a single bike and rider. On flat terrain and downhill, most of the power produced by cyclists is used to overcome wind resistance, so tandems can reach higher speeds than the same riders can on single bicycles. They are not necessarily slower on climbs, but are perceived as such, in part due to the need for a high level of coordination between the riders, especially if the physical abilities of the two riders are very different, requiring a compromise on cadence (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tandem_bicycle).

Photo from the Discussion boards hosted by the National Cycling Charity
http://forum.ctc.org.uk/userpix/194_img031_1.jpg

Appendixes

Appendix 1: Information letter and consent to participate in the study.

Postadresse:
Handelshøyskolen BI
Institutt for Strategi og Logistikk
0442 Oslo

Besøksadresse:
Nydalsveien 37
0484 Oslo

Sentralbord
Tlf: 06600
Tlf: +47 46 41 00 00
Telefaks: 21 04 80 00

Deres ref: Vår ref: Lene Pettersen Prosjektnr NSD: [anonymized] Oslo 21st of June 2011

Invitation to participate in the study *[working title]*

My PhD-thesis is part of the research project NETworked Power (http://networkedpower.origo.no/-/page/show/3345_networked-power-innovation-by-social-software/), where BI and SINTEF are research partners. The objective of this research project is to examine whether social software can instigate innovation. Social software refers to ICT-services that enable users to co-operate and share content. Facebook, Twitter, Yammer and LinkedIn are examples of such services. We aim to learn more about the implications of using social software, and how social software should be developed to facilitate innovation and participation, also addressing challenges with digital divides.

Participation in the study implies you will be interviewed by PhD-Candidate Lene Pettersen from BI or research scientist Marika Lüders from SINTEF. The interview will last approximately 60 minutes. You can at any point choose to withdraw your consent, in which case we will not use any material from your interview. The interview will be recorded and transcribed in order for us to analyze the data. The recordings will be deleted as soon as the interview has been transcribed, and at the latest one month after the interview has been conducted. The data gathered through the interview will increase our knowledge about [TBC's social enterprise platform] as a platform for co-operation and innovation.

Your participation in this study will not have any implications for your conditions of work with [TBC]. The interviews we conduct will be coded with a number and be available only for Marika Lüders and Lene Pettersen. Information about background variables (gender, age, education, position etc.) will be archived in a separate document, and will only be available for Marika Lüders and Lene Pettersen. The data will be analyzed and presented in reports to [TBC] and in scholarly journal and conference articles. However, it will not be possible to recognize the persons we have interviewed in these reports and articles. Marika Lüders and Lene Pettersen both have an obligation to maintain the confidentiality of the participants in the study. This confidentiality persists when the project ends 1st of June 2014. The study has been reported to the Norwegian Social Science Data Services, and is conducted in compliance with their regulations with regard to confidentiality and archiving of data. In accordance with the recommendations of the Norwegian Social Science Data Services we ask for your consent to participate. We remind you that you can withdraw your consent at any point, and you do not need to give a reason for your withdrawal, by contacting Lene Pettesen (phone +47 4641 0232 or e-mail lene.pettersen@bi.no). Please sign the form below before the interview.

With kind regards
for the Department of Strategy and Logistics, BI
Lene Pettersen

……..….
I have received information about the study "[Working Title]" and would like to participate in the study:
Date:
Name:

Appendix 2: Open-ended interview guide for the interviews in 2011

Interview guide for TBC

Open, unstructured questions for everyone:

Create a background picture

- Inform about what we will be doing (the process) – consent
- Ensure that the interviewee feels safe about his/her anonymity
- I am not that familiar with TBC so I may ask some stupid questions!

Information about the interviewee's work

- What do you work with? What is your position? (Map the position, education and consulting model in the new system)
- How long have you worked here?
- Why did you start working at TBC? (What was their motivation? Did they apply for the job or where they head hunted?
    - What did you do prior to this? (Where did they work before, and in what area?)
    - Did you know anyone who worked at TBC before you joined? To what extent did this influence your wish to work for TBC?
- What are your job tasks?
    - Do you enjoy working there?
    - What do you affiliate yourself with? (Your TBC office, clients, another location)
- Describe your typical work day. (Context: what is the environment in which the person works?)
    - What is the first thing you do when you come in to work in the morning? (Everything from getting coffee, checking your mailbox, saying "hi" to colleagues; try to find out about the physical surroundings and social interaction; in other words, work routines)
    - Are there variations between the different weekdays? (For example, do you visit the head office regularly?)
        - Does he/she work overtime? (Checks emails during the weekend, etc.)
        - How important is your mobile for you as a work tool? How and why? Have you synchronized your emails and your mobile?
    - How does he/she view the work day? A lot to do? Average? Too little to do?
    - Do they have a manager they are happy with?
    - Is it important for you to keep yourself professionally up-to-date?

Problem solving and knowledge sharing

- What do you do if you are unable to solve a job-related task? (See how the problem is solved – is it dependent on a personal network? something that is said? an email? internal or external? the social platform or other sources?)
    - Has he/she ever gotten in touch with anyone outside of TBC to ask for help related to a job-related problem? If so, who and how?
- Who do you collaborate the most with?
        - Why them? (How did he/she get to know these people?)
- How do you communicate with your colleagues?
- How much do you collaborate with other people? How do you find the right people if you need X competence and advice? (Insights from beforehand or search?)
    - Do you communicate with employees in any of the other offices/countries? Do some countries work more with the same type of tasks that he/she does? If so, how? (professional gatherings, events, events, discussion forums, etc.)
- Do you know people at the other offices or who work in the other countries?
    - If so, how did you get to know each other?

The interviewee's technology habits

- Which computer tools do you use for work? How long have you used these tools?
    - Which tools do you use when?
    - Are they useful?
        - Why/why not? How?
    - Think back to when you first began your career and the first years you started working: how has the working environment changed because of these new tools?
    - Would you characterize yourself as an early user or new technology? Or part of the majority or a latecomer? Why? How?
- Do you use any social media? Which ones? Why?
- About how much time do you use daily/weekly on social media?
    - Who are your friends on FB? (e.g. both colleagues and friends?) What about other places, like LinkedIn, or others? (Ask them to show you.)
        - If so, what do they do there? (professional? social?)

Ask to see the interviewee's network and comment on:

- Who is in your network? Where do you know them from?
- Has he/she had any new contacts since the social enterprise platform came out?
- Are you on Facebook or LinkedIn or any other social media? Can I see your FB profile? Map the person's network – get screen shots from network/friends

on FB. If it becomes awkward just ask about who she has as friends on FB versus LinkedIn.

Use of the social enterprise platform

(ask the interviewee to log in to the social enterprise platform)

- Did you use Yammer before? (If so, what did you think about Yammer?)
- What do you think is the purpose of TBC's social enterprise platform? (mapping attitudes). In other words, what do you think TBC hopes to accomplish by introducing the social enterprise platform to their organization?
- Is the social enterprise platform useful for you? Why/why not?
- Do you use the social enterprise platform now? How do you use the social enterprise platform?
    - If so, for what? When? Explain
    - Ask how frequently they post, , in what places, how many followers they have, and what products and services they post about
    - If not, why not? (What are the limitations – attitudes, time, etc.)
    - How was it when you started learning how to use the social enterprise platform?
    - Were they/the employee involved in the planning process for how to use the tool?
    - What would it take for him or her to have contributed with, for example, a blog?
        - What is needed for him/her to participate more?
- Comment on the interviewee's network in the social enterprise platform – ask who they are and why they follow them (reciprocity?)
- Do you find that the social enterprise platform alters your relationship to your colleagues? How? Do you use "likes"? Do you get any? Do you give any? (Experience)
- What were you thinking when you set up your profile? Profile photo, content, etc.
- Is the social enterprise platform useful? Is the social enterprise platform helpful? Why/why not?

Final exercise:

- Give the interviewee a copy of the colleague map and ask them to put blue dots next to their closest colleagues (both those they work closest with and those they feel closet to socially) and red dots next to colleagues they communicate with regularly about job-related matters. If relevant, it is important that the interviewee includes employees at other offices.

  If you think of anything else, please send me an email at lene.pettersen@bi.no or call me on 0047 4641 0232.

Appendix 3: Open-ended interview guide in 2012

Follow-up interview guide

Open, unstructured questions for everyone:

Changes in use since last time

- I will give a short update on the status: what was said in the previous interview in terms of what the interviewee works with, etc. Have there been any changes in the person's working model/tasks since the previous interview?
- Do you use the social enterprise platform? If so, how? When do you use it?
- Do you use the social enterprise platform differently compared with one year ago? If so, how?
- What is needed in order for you to use it more?
- What type of social enterprise platform user would you characterize yourself as? Do you comment on posts? Do you click on "like", etc?
- Are you a member of any groups? If so, can you show me? Are they open or closed? Who are the other members? Did you know them from before? Or are they new connections? If so, have they been useful for you?
- Do you use the "following" functionality? Who do you follow and why? Who follows you? Is the information you receive from those who follow you important for you? If so, how?
- The social enterprise platform has been updated with some changes to make the tool easier to use. Do you have any comments related to the upgraded version?

Social interaction tendencies

- What do you do if you are unable to solve a work-related problem?
- Have you ever solved a work-related problem with the help of a social enterprise platform? (Searched for information, received answers from colleagues, gotten hold of relevant people, etc.)
- Have you gotten in contact with employees from other units in TBC through the social enterprise platform? If so, explain.
- Would it have been useful for you in your wok to have interacted more with employees at other units/offices? Why/why not?
- Who, in that case, would have been most relevant for you to interact with?
- Have you noticed whether the social enterprise platform has led to any changes at the workplace? If so, what?
- Have you made any more contacts or been in touch with any more colleagues (or taken up contact with previous ones) through the social enterprise platform?

Privacy

- Have you experienced any unfortunate episodes when using the social enterprise platform? If so, what?
- Do you find that one can communicate about "everything" through a social enterprise platform?
- Do you feel that you have control over the post about you or the things you have done? Do you find it easy to delete unwanted information about you?
- Do you feel that you can trust that the information that you post over the social enterprise platform will not be misused by others?
- Are you familiar with, or have you read, the terms and conditions in the privacy policy for the social enterprise platform? Did you understand them? (Show examples.)
- Have you received information about the privacy policy? Have you given your consent regarding the privacy policy and the social enterprise platform?
- Have you been surprised by the openness that some (of your "colleagues") show over the social enterprise platform?
- Who sees the information you share over the social enterprise platform?
- Do you feel pressure to share information you prefer not to share when you use the social enterprise platform?
- Have you regretted commenting on, sharing or posting anything on the social enterprise platform?
- Have others written something about you on the social enterprise platform that you are not comfortable with? If so, how do you feel about this?
- Would you interact more, or share more, if there was less openness?

Culture

- How would you describe the culture here? Do people help each other?
- Is it important for you to share your knowledge?
- How important are your colleagues in relation to your work? Explain.
- Which personality types are likely to be successful where you work?
- What is the biggest mistake you can make here?
- What types of events, if any, do you have at your TBC unit?
- What types of challenges at work would keep you up at night?
- What do you like best about your job? Freedom? Anonymity?
- Are you satisfied with your manager?
- Which units in the company do you find are most like yours? Why these/this?
- And most different?
- Would you be able to do the same job you're doing here in, for example, Morocco? If not, why not?
- When I say "Denmark", what comes to mind? And when I say "Morocco"? Or the Paris office?
- Do you feel you have anything in common with the other locations/units? If so, which ones and why? If not, why not?

Appendix 4: Self reported digital competence test and platform use

About you:

Age: _____

What field/domain/topic/ do you work with at TBC?: _____

How often do you visit social network sites? (such as Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter etc.)

Rarely/never Monthly Weekly Several times per week Daily

Which social network sites do you use more than once a week?

How often do you visit TBC's social enterprise platform?

Monthly Weekly Several times per week Daily

I feel competent to …

Create a webpage Totally disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Totally Agree

Download files from the internet Totally disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Totally Agree

Install software Totally disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Totally Agree

Use chat-programs Totally disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Totally Agree

Upload files to a webpage Totally disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Totally Agree

Appendix 5: Findings in chapter five and six summarized

The table presents the interplay of the social enterprise platform and working practices, and unintended consequences with implementing a social enterprise platform in TBC.

TBC's Social Enterprise Platform In Practice			
	The interplay of social enterprise platform and working practices		**Unintended consequences**
	Platform User Practices	Working practices	
Information access	Problematic to navigate in non-hierarchical spaces	Search does not provide relevant content because employees tag content differently – not a universal lingua-franca	More, not less email due to email notifications
	The platform is not intuitive		Misses important information because email notifications are turned off
	Search functionality is poor		Misses important information due to the information architecture and dynamic information principles
	Problematic to find content		
	Problematic to keep updated due to the dynamic content flow logic		
	Security issues (need VPN)		
	Difficult to know the existence of relevant groups		
	Difficult to know if closed groups could be relevant to join		
	Notifications do not sort out meaningful updates		
	Algorithms are modelled on active users that explore content	Working practices are task-driven	
	Platform membership is directed via the IT department. Log-in data (password, user name) goes via IT department in France	Employees are used to platform membership processes in the social media landscape where they sign up themselves and control their log in data	Misses the becoming-a-platform-member-process
Productivity		The platform is time-consuming	The adoption goal is creating more work (upload in several systems)
		Documents are uploaded in several systems	Time spent to read content is not relevant for work
		Work is measured in time (work hours) and money (salary) – requires effectiveness in the daily work	Introduces new working practices (social working)

Colliding worlds	Not integrated with other work technologies (e.g., document management systems)	Content not relevant for all TBC employees' work	Platform is dominated by technical content	
		Platform does not expand established working practices for most employees		
		Platform requires company membership		
		The platform is not part of clients' social structures		
		The platform is not integrated with other work technologies		
		TBC consultants speak different languages		
		Platform content is read in email applications		
	Bonus scores rank on quantity rather than quality	People assist each other for reciprocal reasons when working	Some employees upload documents to achieve bonus scores	
	No privacy consent is signed by employees and no information of what TBC collects of user data is provided	No policies for how content is treated when employees end their work contracts with TBC	Violating EU regulations about privacy (e.g. no privacy consent is offered platform users before platform-membership is enabled)	

Appendix 6: Findings in chapter seven and eight summarized

Giddens (1984) stresses that the dimensions in the model of the duality of structure (29) are closely related and separable only for analytical reasons. In the table, the findings are systematized around the three modalities (interpretative scheme, facility, and norm) in the model of the duality of structure. However, facility and norm are in the table merged, while the interpretation scheme is listed separately.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="5">TBC's Social Enterprise Platform In Practice</th></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">The Interplay between Online and Offline Practices</td><td>Unintended Consequences</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="8">Facility/Norm</td><td>Personal data are visible to all users (e.g., last log-in time, number of contributions)</td><td>Groups are closed, mostly to create a private space.</td><td>Only a certain type of content (uncritical) is shared in the platform, and there are large numbers of groups which do not like others' comments.</td><td>Surveillance and misuse by management, logging-in to leave a false impression of platform use</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="7">Transparency and small, yet, big data.</td><td rowspan="4">Employees work in contexts with different laws and governance systems.</td><td>There are different contextual starting points for platform use.</td><td>Creating new gaps: active/passive user, content, country</td></tr>
<tr><td>Platforms and content are dominated by the largest group of TBC employees: the French.</td><td>Informational power differences between the majority (parent company) and minority (subsidiaries)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Employees do not push the like button due to fear of leaving digital footprints.</td><td rowspan="2">The platform used by some and not others</td></tr>
<tr><td>Employees strategically use the platform for personal reasons.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Employees are sanctioned by management for critical comments on the platform.</td><td rowspan="2">Hierarchical differences are reproduced, and users do not comment or share content.</td><td rowspan="2">Withdrawal, non-use</td></tr>
<tr><td>Employees are sanctioned by the social group when offline rules are violated.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Employees fear leaving digital footprints.</td><td>Due to the abstract system, actions by others are not trusted.</td><td>Preference for smaller interaction spaces, low levels of platform participation</td></tr>
</table>

		Employees do not trust that shared content will not be misused by others.	Personal trust in others is required.	Documents not shared.
		Employees do not trust the quality of documents shared.	Personal trust in others is required.	Others' documents not used
		People prefer closed communication channels (e.g., telephone calls, email, face-to-face, external social networks).	Established communication preferences are continued.	Platform not a collective «knowledge pool»
Interpretive scheme	The platform does not match user's expectations of LinkedIn at work.	Employees enter the platform with perceptions of similar services (e.g., Facebook, LinkedIn).	Established technologies are preferred over the new enterprise platform.	Platform not used
	Information architecture is perceived as a strange world	Employees prefer the information structure they know and understand.		
		Being liked is perceived as equal to actions offline.	People interpret liking differently.	Misunderstandings, prejudices, conflict occur
		Being liked does not follow offline rules.	Slacktivism occurs.	Platform contributions and actions not repeated
	Bonus scores reward quantity, rather than quality.	Employees assist each other for reciprocal and intrinsic reasons.	Employees upload content to achieve higher bonus scores.	Withdrawal, absence, competition
	Social technology nurtures social content.	Content with a social nature draws the most engagement.	Social distance is shortened.	Strengthened TBC-entity identity
		Content with a social nature is perceived as unprofessional.	Social distance is lengthened.	Prejudices, stronger in-group feeling
	Employees' actions in the platform are easily missed (neither the platform nor others provide feedback).	Turn-taking and feedback occur in offline conversations.	Withdrawal and absence occur.	Contributions are not repeated.
		Turn-taking and feedback in conversations are difficult without knowing the communication partners.	Withdrawal, absence, and a lack of trust develop.	Smaller groups preferred over open arenas
		Formulations depend on the platform context.	Knowledge-sharing is regulated by social trust and the homophily principle.	
		The platform context depends on the number of group members.		

	Transparency.	The platform context depends on similarities between group members.		
		TBC consultants speak different languages.	There are no universals norms for online communication.	Documents and insights inaccessible to all but native speakers
		Online conversations are characterized by offline rules and practices.	There are no universal communication norms.	Misunderstandings, prejudices develop
		TBC consultants have different working practices.	Misunderstandings and prejudices develop.	Conflict, longer social distance
		TBC consultants have different communication practices (e.g., speaking, writing).	Misunderstandings and prejudices develop, and the platform favors written traditions.	Larger social distance, content divides, unequal opportunities for voices to be heard
		TBC consultants work in contexts that have different managerial styles.	There are unequal opportunities for platform participation among TBC members.	Sanctions
		TBC consultants have different practices for addressing knowledgeable others (e.g., respect, rank, flattery).	There are unequal opportunities for platform participation among TBC members.	Platform content dominated by the views, meanings, and insights of active, contributing users, unequal opportunities for voice to be heard
		TBC consultants work in contexts that have different views of gender and race.	Discrimination occurs.	Larger social distance between TBC units, cross-divisional collaboration problematic
	Opportunities to create groups arise.	TBC consultants prefer smaller communication spaces over open arenas.	A large number of groups in the platform are closed.	Documents and insights inaccessible to non- group members
	Other individuals are accessible via the cloud platform.	Offline practices are enacted in the online platform.	Existing social relationships and social integration are strengthened, and smaller semi-spaces are created in the platform.	Existing social relationships and in-group feeling strengthened
		Offline practices exist outside time and space.	Existing social relationships and mechanical integration are strengthened, and smaller semi-spaces are created in the platform.	Existing social relationships and in-group feeling strengthened.
		Offline practices exist outside time and space.	Employees use the platform as a social cigarette break when working with clients, and mechanical integration occurs.	Shorter social distance to the local TBC entity

	Following functionality enables establishing connections and social relationships.	Employees connect with those with whom they have already established social relationships.	Existing social relationships and social integration are expanded.	Existing social relationships strengthened
		Employees renew old social relationships.	Existing social relationships and social integration are expanded.	Existing social relationships strengthened
		Employees need to establish a relationship offline before it can be activated online.	Algorithmic autosuggestions of relationships with strangers rely on the future and do not share a history.	Users unlikely to connect, misunderstandings, lack of personal trust

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