

Research report, n°10.

Six-monthly publication – July 2008

Editorial

The notion of “managing creativity” has the merit of placing creativity at the heart of economic production and on the horizon of its consumption. A number of dimensions can be identified: managing immaterial assets, the optimisation of creative conditions in the value chain, the organisational and socio-economic analysis of the creative industries (fashion, design, gastronomy, music, etc.). In addition, the combined interest of the economic and academic worlds expresses the Post-Fordist transformations of the industrial world and the emergence of “cultural capitalism”.

If creativity represents the external side of the economy, what economists refer to as “externalities” –inspiration, individuality, imagination, history, culture, values, symbolic forms–, to what extent can creativity be rationalised, even normalised, without being sterilised? In what conditions is creativity an economic source of added value?

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Creativity, we all agree, is a question of men and women. Ingenious, inspired, creative, unique individuals. Mozart and Van Gogh, Orson Welles and Marguerite Duras, Stella McCartney and Ferran Adria. Among others.

At a time when creativity is being heralded as a national cause in the European Union, in both countries and big cities¹, at a time when managers and researchers have made it the alpha and omega of economic growth and development², one point is intriguing. It suggests that in order to promote creativity, all one really needs to do is to try to define it, or to make sure that artists are not persecuted (happily, this is far from the case).

In a context where it appears to be a crucial issue, it is essential to understand the spurs behind creativity. On an individual level, the subject of another article in this issue³, but also on a more global level, meaning collective rather than individual creativity, the creativity of a group, an enterprise, a territory, a country. We are no longer talking about Mozart e tutti quanti, but about Pixar, Alain Ducasse, Christian Dior, HBO or vaguer collective notions like northern European fashion, great

French cuisine, the "French touch" in video games. All of which refer not to women or men in particular, but to territories or companies, often led by men or women but that almost constitute a label guaranteeing creativity. What is it in these companies or territories that makes creativity develop to a greater extent than elsewhere? Is it a simple question of imitation, of air being dragged along by a locomotive, does it require uncommon talent, or is there something else, an ensemble of elements that build an environment that naturally encourages the emergence of talent and the liberation of creativity? How does the connection occur between a creative individual who sets up a company that manages to retain and breed its creative capacity when the individual is no longer but a figurehead and a source of inspiration? These questions form the basis of research initiated four years ago, on the structures of creativity that, following on from Howard Becker⁴, tries to gain a more in-depth understanding of the creative process in its collective, organisational and industrial dimensions. It deals with how creative activities are part of a world that is organised on two levels: elementary entities (groups, projects), legal entities (associations or companies), industrial sectors, even nations. This research is based on the in-depth analysis of companies or institutions that have remarkable approaches in terms of creativity, in terms of their results or their essence. It also covers more than one sector in particular so as to better understand creativity as an activity, in order to better understand the regularities, in the way it is organised. Design, advertising and literary publishing, the issues are the same...

This article intends to provide the preliminary answers to these questions, by concentrating on the organisational question. It is divided into four parts. The first evokes the paradox of organised creativity and shows how trying to fit creativity into an organisation poses problems. The second proposes a model of the creative process. The third identifies the factors that explain why a sector or company chooses to go with a certain model of organisation. The final part deals with management and creativity.

The paradox of organised creativity

Two of the hypotheses at the basis of this research have been confirmed. The first being the collective dimension of creativity. In all of the sectors observed, it is present to a greater or a lesser extent. Becker reminded us of the fundamental role played by the instrument maker in the musician's production or that of Thackeray's butler in the writer's work: he would wake him every morning for work at the same time. This can go much further: the role of the editor or producer in the creation of a book or disc is essential; in video games cartoons or fashion design, a real work organisation is established.

Notwithstanding this collective element, in most sectors the final product remains the creation of one individual, in as much as the result is attributed to them or they assume the responsibility. In addition, the capacity to articulate the collective and individual dimensions of the creative process seems essential.

This leads us to expose an intriguing paradox. The notion of organised creativity intrudes on our romantic image of creation. This is not just superficial: by delving deeper in to what creativity and organisation mean respectively, we find ourselves dealing with two worlds that are quite contradictory. Creativity involves putting shape on an original thought. The immediate question is: how can the person who is at the origin of this thought explain to others the nature of their contribution without actually producing the result of the idea themselves? In other words, how can a director of animated films who is obliged to rely on the talents of numerous cartoonists explain the drawings without actually drawing them himself? This is the key point of this paradox: the notion of organisation is based on the division of work, but the work in creating something is not easily divisible due to the difficulty of expressing the result expected from the creation other than through the creative act itself.

So, on the one hand there is an abstract world; on the other, a world based on the division of work and formalisation. Organisation is a knot of contractual relationships that impose cons-

traints on its members as well as on outside partners. This occurs in an economic environment that imposes a certain pace in terms of production, a form of industrialisation of creativity, when creativity relies to a great extent on inspiration that can be unreliable. This is the second contradictory element.

In creativity, talent is precious because it is rare. It initiates the process; it is on this inspiration that the capacity of the organisation to respond to these imperatives depends. In fashion or couture, the issue is to bring products out at the pace of collections and shows, that means four or six times a year, sometimes more. This essential character of talent is undermined by its extreme fragility, due to the unreliability of inspiration and success. Talent must produce something, but it must be surrounded and helped to overcome or accept these periods of doubt or difficulty. We expect it to produce, but we accept that it may doubt. Not easy.

In addition, everyone knows that the creative act is free. The freer it is the more amazing it can be. The creator aims for what is beyond, incessantly. But organisation has constraints: of cost, but also of style as it has an editorial line to respect, clients and critics that have expectations. Moreover, it relies on the organisation of work, of routines, of procedures, all elements that have a tendency to influence the content of the creation.

Table 1 – The paradox of organised creativity

The creative process	Organisations
The hazards of inspiration (the uncertain, the uncontrollable)	Economic constraints (fixed costs, the demand for regularity in production...)
Abstract ideas	Division of work and formalisation
Fragility of talent, due to the fragility of inspiration and the positive or negative reception of their production	Talents, central assets
The great freedom of the creative process	Constraints in terms of creation: editorial line, brand image, clientele, routines that format production

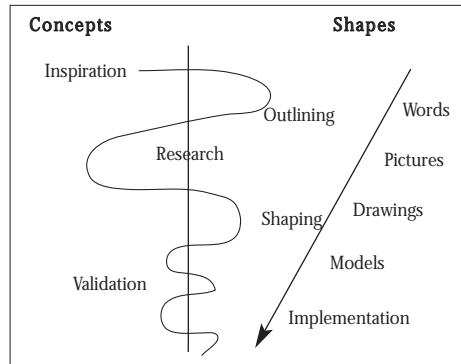
This paradox is obvious in all sectors of design or the creative industries. The second confirmation is that regardless of the sector, creative activities constitute a homogenous category in as much as they share a certain number of specifics that distinguish them from other activities. The highlighting of regularities in observed situations, in the issues raised and the solutions found confirmed this. These are activities whose results cannot be evaluated in an objective manner and can only be expressed by bringing them to their conclusion. Their characteristics are up against the industrial and economic constraints of organisations. Managing creativity thus consists of making the creative process cohabit with the demands and constraints of organisation.

A model of organised creativity

An analysis of case studies from the different sectors highlights the regularities in the creative process and enables us to make a model. These processes always articulate a period of divergence and period of convergence, alternative phases of opening up and reining in, which slowly bring an idea to fruition in successive phases. There are four stages in all: inspiration, outlining, shaping and validation. These stages do not occur in a linear manner and can retroact on the previous one to make the idea progress. Brining an idea to fruition does not mean transposing it to the world of objects. It means managing to express it, as an idea has no other existence than its own shape, which contradicts what may be understood by comments such as “the director has the entire film in his or her head”. We also need to note the circular, almost fractal nature of the process, at the heart of which is, using the framework provided, a phase of research that involves the repetition of all of the different stages.

The following table is mainly illustrative: it synthesises these notions of convergence-divergence, of coming and going between the world of ideas and the world of shapes and the existence of four phases.

Table 1 – The creative process



Let's examine each phase.

Division of work

The creative process can involve the participation of one or many “creatives”. In publishing, for the most part, the author covers all bases: as a result inspiration, outlining, shaping and validation are no longer very distinct but intervene throughout the entire process. However, other models do exist: Alexandre Dumas was notoriously reliant on ghost writers and intervened in terms of inspiration, outlining and validation, but left much of the work to others. In fashion, in the bigger houses, the person identified as the designer intervenes at the start of the process and at the validation stage, all of the shaping work having been done by others. We come across the same system in cuisine, when the great chefs build up businesses with a number of different restaurants: in which case, they are no longer slaving over the hot stove, but outline the direction the menus should take and validate or refuse the proposals made by the other chefs. For example, this is the way Alain Ducasse functions. Thus, at the very least, the initial outlining and the final validation are always carried out by the person who takes responsibility for the work. They can be termed the “auteur”.

In the most extreme cases, where design is farmed out, the signatory retains the right to “final cut”. This is what happens with the system of licences in fashion where the notion of designer is often weakened in relation to that of the brand.

Inspiration

The very idea of inspiration –one is or is not inspired – underpins the incontrollable character of this phase while economic constraints mean that this phase must be “activated”. With this in mind, certain devices are used to encourage inspiration: travel, immersion in artistic or cultural universes, encounters with other cultures or creative fields... John Galliano, the designer for Christian Dior Couture, travels extensively before each collection. Alain Senderens, in addition to travelling, renews himself through oenology, encounters with tea experts...

This search for an opening and for inspiration is at the heart of the process, in the phase where those who participate in the process must make proposals from within the framework imposed by the “creator”. Managers work at maintaining creativity among designers by opening them up to other cultures: we will come back to this point.

Without even talking about inspiration, the need to create can simply be regulated within a regular flux that rhythms the renewal: this is the case of the system of collections and shows in fashion. It can also be created through industrial constraints (stores to supply, the high cost of stock that must be carefully managed, factories to use) or imposed by a technological or economic change in the conditions of the creative process: the variations in the cost of raw materials can for example orient the creative output of a restaurant, like Alain Senderens deciding to work with a product that is cheaper on the market for some reason. Finally, the need for novelty can simply be linked to a normal need to renewal, questioning and effort in the artist.

Outlining

The very nature of the creative act, the question of outlining –that is to say the definition of the perimeter within which the creator will carry out their research– is a delicate one. How can one express a creative idea that one wishes to carry out without carrying it out oneself? To

answer this question, the creator relies on the arsenal of “simple” modes of expression available to them: words, drawings, images... At Christian Dior Couture, it is the key-words pronounced by the designer –“gothic chic” for example–, that are sometimes illustrated with images and drawings and sometimes come with stories.

References can also be used to outline a framework. Nicolas Gaume, the founder of Kalisto remembers the framework outlined for the game *Sombre Terre*: “We wished to create a universe inspired by Jules Verne –copper, recycled materials, steam...– and by Méliès, and our European culture: we wanted to reproduce the atmosphere of immense cathedrals built among wattle and daub houses.”

The outline can thus be oriented in many ways: on the products used (materials, themes, colours...), on techniques, on the final result (rhythm, atmosphere...); on the actual creation or on the target clientele. In perfumes, the creative brief is generally at the origin of the creation. It is no longer the only model: Thierry Mugler, to create *Angel*, used the very personal odour of candy floss at a funfair as the starting point of his perfume. In every sector, we find creations that come directly from the creator and others that are more targeted at marketing considerations.

Finally, according to the nature of the creations, and the way in which they are mobilised, the framework is more or less easy to formalise. In gastronomy or perfumes, expressing the expected results using words and images is more difficult than in design.

Table 2 – Outlines and examples

Outlines				
TOOLS	RAW MATERIALS (PRODUCT, COLOUR...)	TECHNIQUES	RESULT (RHYTHM, ATMOSPHERE...)	TARGETS CLIENTS
WORDS	“Ris de veau” (cuisine) “coppers, recycled waste, steam” (video game)	“hot liver” (cuisine)	“Gothic chic” (fashion)	Creative brief (per- fume)
ILLUSTRATIONS			Boards (posters) (fashion)	
RÉFÉRENCES			“The smell of candyfloss” (perfume) “The world of Jules Verne” (video games)	

Outlining is necessary to encourage the convergence toward the fruition of the product but is also very precious for encouraging creative teams. The ex-artistic director of a perfumer claims that a lack of precision in the creative briefs proposed by the perfume brands to the perfumers always resulted in the lack of creativity in the work of the “noses”.

Shaping

The work of the creative teams takes place using the outline as a starting point. The complexity of the means needed to bring the creation to life and the development costs render the “tool” available to the creator more or less manageable: when it is a brush or a pen, the designer retains control over the extent to which his or her vision corresponds to the final product, but creative areas where the use of sophisticated techniques and teams of people makes this more difficult to control, as in the making of a film or a video game. In film, thanks to the monitor on which the director can watch the position and acting of the actors and the shot, he or she can make changes before the actual shot, while in cartoons the result is visible only once it is finished: the manageability of the tool diminishes as the director is no longer in a position to directly shape the outcome.

In practice, the greater the distance, the more intermediary stages are needed in the shaping process, stages that rely on different objects that bring the process slowly closer to the final

result, each giving rise to validation and/or re-framing. These intermediary shapes can thus enable the vision of the creator to be outlined more clearly.

A number of methods of representation can be used in the creative phase, some a form of creation themselves: sketches, drawings, models..., others are used to show the structure of the designs or creations, notably in dramatic works: synopsis, scenario...

Validation

At each stage, the designer/creator/artist, the person in charge of the creation, validates the different forms that are proposed. This phase of validation is sometimes also a selection phase, choosing among competing projects. This is the case at Renault where the organisation of car design relies on a competition at every stage. A number of design projects are proposed when the project starts, then a number of models based on the chosen designs, etc.

Final validation –or final cut– remains the prerogative of the creator, but is often shared with a manager, project manager, financial investor or guarantor of a brand’s image.

Sector-based specifics and organisational models for creation

The general model for the creative process describes all of the situations that can arise in very varied sectors. However, the divisions of

work that arise from the process vary from one sector to another, and even vary within the same sector. The five stages can be undertaken by the same individual or not and by the same company or not, depending on the situation. Today we have in-house design departments and outside design agencies who work for companies. In film and publishing, commissioned works have always existed, meaning projects with a pre-existing outline to which the creator must stick.

There is often a dominant model, but others can work alongside this model. The dominant model can change over time and be replaced by another. Haute couture brands used a licensing system for a long time. But now, haute couture houses have re-integrated their design. In perfume, the dominant model for a long time was to externalise the creative aspects to perfumers who worked for all brands. Today some brands have brought the creative side back into the company.

In this part we will try explain the differences that can exist in the organisation of the process according to sector. We have managed to identify three factors: incommunicability, the complexity of the production process and the nature of the diffusion constraints.

Incommunicability

This is linked to the nature of creativity itself; incommunicability translates the degree of difficulty in expressing the result the designer/creator wishes to obtain using the usual communication tools. This difficulty is greater when dealing with perfume that uses a sense for which there are few words, than for example a literary work whose content can be expressed using words.

The complexity of the production process

The complexity of the production process is relative to the creative techniques. The tool used by the designer/creator to express him or herself can be his or her own body: the hand of a sculptor, for example. This can also be a complex layout of technical tools, composite teams with differing skills and human beings: for

example, actors in film-making. In the case of the former, the different stages of creation are closely linked, each movement of the sculptor's hand can incorporate all of the phases while in the latter, and the work is subject to the economic constraints of organisation.

In general, the more complex the working methods, the higher the development cost at each level and the stricter the control at each level also. When dealing with a creation that is directly made by the creator, the divergence-convergence process is circular, but when the production process is complex, it is much more punctuated. When the production process requires varied skills and sophisticated techniques, the process is more truncated, and includes more stages.

Complexity can intervene at any stage in the creative process: for example, a film can be shot using a script written by one person only.

Diffusion constraints

The nature of the diffusion/distribution constraints of creative works brings industrial considerations into play. They translate the weight of the constraints imposed by the economic players in charge of distributing the creative work. When the demand for renewal is high, there is pressure on the creative process as it must conform to a strict pre-established calendar. When, in addition to this, the company has integrated its creative process –notably when it wishes to control brand image–, the existence of a regular, well-identified clientele means that the constraints are felt more directly by the creative teams. In this case, the initial outline may include the notion of brand image, while in other situations, things are left open.

Varied forms of industrial organisation in creation

Overall, the creative process follows the general schema proposed and can give rise to very varied forms of industrial organisation (or value chains): creation/design may or may not be integrated, the start of the process can come from the creators themselves or from outside.

The question of how the talent is “captured” –that is to say the way in which they become involved in a new project– can be split into three different models. The first is “auto-capture”: this is the case in publishing –notably in general literature– or in musical creation. It is also the case in artistic activity, even this is not the only model. In audiovisual activities, for example, in addition to the traditional model where a scriptwriter originates a project, there are others where a writer is hired to work on a particular subject or theme. A third model exists finally where the brief is not supplied by the company that will develop the project but by an exterior client: this is the case with perfumes.

Table 3 – Models

MODEL	Author/artist project	Producer's project	Internal commission	External commission
INSTIGATING ENTITY	Creator	Creative company	Internal client	External client
EXAMPLES	Literary publication	Video game	Car	Perfume

This shows that in addition to the structural constraints that we have just seen, the types of organisation of creation include a conventional factor also. This result is important as it leads us to examine the current models and identify to what extent these models adhere to strict constraints and are the result of convention, that when questioned could give rise to new perspectives.

Thus, behind the general model of the creative process are varied forms of industrial organisation. Three ideal typical models stand out: the “romantic” model, the integrated model and the externalised model (see table 4). This does not constitute an exhaustive partition of forms of organisation but it does illustrate the variety. In the romantic model –literary publishing is the archetype–, creation is almost completely externalised. In the integrated model, it is completely taken care of inside the company that also deals with its commercialisation. When externalised, it is in the form of orders to a specialised company.

Table 4 – Three types of industrial organisation of creation

STAGES IN THE PROCESS	INITIATION AND OUTLINING	DEVELOPMENT AND FORMALISATION	VALIDATION AND LABELLING	EXAMPLES
Romantic model	Creator	Creator	Creator	Literary publishing
Integrated model	Creator	Internal design teams	Creator	Haute-couture, automobile design
Externalised model	Brand	External design teams	Brand	Perfume, advertising

This typology presents the dominant models that in reality are less cut and dried. It is possible to identify creative projects that correspond to each of these models in each sector, some having dominant models that vary enormously relative to the geographical zone or era. This is very much the case in the film industry which functions differently in France compared to Hollywood and the Hollywood system works differently now than it did thirty years ago.

Managing design and creation: diverse issues

In management terms, according to the choice of model –or the one resorted to– the issues are different. Thus in organisations where projects are developed spontaneously outside the structure in terms of selection and final formalisation –as is the case with literary publishing–, the company must organise the ongoing detection and selection of projects in

order to ensure a regular supply of creations. In organisations where the talent is integrated, it must be detected, trained, kept loyal in order to organise the renewal of its inspiration and resources and to manage its failures. For those who farm out their design, the issue is one of brand management. Whatever the case, the choices made will have an influence on creativity, that is to say on the nature of the work produced.

Creative projects: managing the divergence-convergence balance

At this stage of the analysis, the question of the link between creation and structures becomes more refined: the question now is to what extent the structures in place influence the processes used in creative activities and their results. We've already said that we are concentrating on the organisational level of structures for the purpose of this article, leaving aside the institutional and industrial areas.

Managing creativity is not our point here. Or, in any case, it is not expressed in these terms. Managing creativity supposes that there is a team available and that one tries to extract their best. But, as we have seen, structuring creativity involves also a capacity to organise the detection and renewal of talents and projects. One does not manage a project; one manages in a perspective of abundance (divergence) in order to have enough material from which to choose. The work of an editor is not just to take a manuscript and to try, with the author, to make it better. It consists of choosing a manuscript from the multitude of manuscripts available. It also involves accompanying the authors in their inevitable periods of self-doubt.

In this part we will cover the specific issues that arise in terms of managing creativity, and some of the solutions applied by companies in the sector. We will do so in two parts: by first of all concentrating on the process itself and the management of divergence-convergence, moving on then to examine the companies.

Outlining

Outlining brings convergence immediately: by definition, it outlines the field in which the creators are to carry out their work. In practice, it can take various forms: a design brief, a perfume brief, a theme-based orientation in the search for ideas for new services, broad principles in the construction of a new restaurant, key-words or posters in fashion, a description of an atmosphere in video games, history in haute couture and video games... While the forms differ, they all rely mainly on two artefacts: words and images. These outlining approaches, far from reining in creativity, can on the contrary encourage it. An ex-artistic director for perfumes realised that imprecise and general briefs proposed by brands did not encourage creativity among the "noses" and undertook the task of creating a language to encourage more precision. An ex-director of collections at Celio saw the creativity of her teams increase when she introduced a precise framework for the design of the collections. Words, wording, stories are initial idea makers. What is important in this stage is to open up creativity without formatting it.

Managing divergence

Managing divergence involves methods or forms of organisation that use openness to different cultures in the creative process mostly aimed at enabling the talent to think outside the box and call into the question their constraints. We can identify three types: immersion in very varied universes; confrontation with other universes; shifting the talent out of its "comfort zone". The "trend missions" at Renault design are an example of the immersion method: the designers are sent to spend time at the heart of cultural events. Again at Renault, designers are asked to work on watch design or boat designs to interact with designers in that area, and the design office opened branches in India for example to send designers to "freshen" their ideas. Pixar, the animation studio, recruited Brad Bird, a director who came from traditional cartoons in order to renew their approach.

As for the third type, the founder of the communication agency La Chose, uses card games at creative meetings so that by imposing original constraints he enables the participants to move away from their usual thought patterns.

When design constitutes but a part of a company's activities, the talent is often isolated from the rest of the company, sheltered from all the constraints (technical, marketing...) in the divergence phase. The head of design at Renault claims the right for his designers to be "bad boys", to transgress. The exclusion of all constraints is also encouraged at BETC, where the head of the team insists not on client relations, or speed, but on work of which they can be proud.

Other approaches based on confrontation contribute to organising divergence: the teamwork that enabled an ex-artistic director of a perfumers to avoid the tunnel vision of the creator; the more or less formal organisation of time to enable exchanges: brainstorming in advertising, meetings that outline new restaurants or animated films.

Very strict work schedules appear to work against divergence as the creative process is not linear so the implementation and shaping phases and the permanent confrontation between concepts and forms can be a source of inspiration.

Convergence

Convergence intervenes from the very start of the creative process. Bringing together a team is already part of the convergence phase in as much as the choice (if there is a choice) of the team, designer/creator, orients the creation in a certain number of directions.

Organising this means ensuring the project produces a result in within the deadline agreed to a greater or a lesser extent. This means that beyond the traditional approach of project management –schedule, intermediary meetings to validate different stages–, there are other types of constraints to take into account: technical and economic feasibility, format, and ergonomics.

The integration of constraints relies on two

distinct modalities. On the one hand, integrated teams that function in workshop mode, in which the different professions can meet with the different constraints they bring to the table. In these workshops, the convergence-divergence process is in constant motion: this can be the case for example in video games where technical staff and designers involved in all projects are constantly confronting their ideas with the question of technical and economic feasibility.

Another way of working is to isolate the creative talent and to bring the constraints into play at a certain stage in the process. This can be the case in building for example: the architects design the project before handing it over to the companies that will carry it out. However, working practices seem to be changing as architects now tend to work in tandem with the builders for more effective results⁵.

Choosing one or other of these modalities will tend to favour effectiveness or creativity, as the example of the Alain Ducasse and Chanel association shows. They have created a restaurant together and while the former tends to formalise the constraints linked to running a restaurant, the creative talent at Chanel works in secret and reveal the collection on the day of the show.

In creative projects that are collective, convergence consists of making sure that the different visions the participants have of the finished product converge. One of the major obstacles to these creative activities is the difficulty encountered when explaining precise expectations and communicating needs in creative terms. Three factors contribute to the successful convergence of viewpoints and talents: numerous exchanges, intermediary mock-ups and time. The notion of acculturation is very important: as words are not enough, they can come to mean something in a context of shared culture that is created over time. This can explain the importance of the tandem of manager/designer in creative activities the best examples of which are Domenico De Sole/Tom Ford or Yves Saint-Laurent/Pierre Bergé. By relying on a strong relationship, the tandem internalises the communication difficulties encountered in creation.

Another important factor is the length of time given to teams to enable the construction of a common culture and encourages collective work and communication. When creation relies on non-permanent organisations, as can be the case in cinema and theatre, the constitution of a team that can work and create together takes a certain amount of time.

Managing creative companies

Creativity needs to be managed on many other levels than the creative projects themselves. A company's capacity to organise an abundance of projects upstream, to identify, train, manage, render loyal talent, to garner economic management tools... is part of as many structures that will influence the creation that it will produce. Three important points in the behaviour of a creative company are present: managing abundance, talent and the economic evaluation of creativity.

Managing abundance

Abundance is the inherent necessity in the creative industries that comes from the idea the "nobody knows"⁶: on the one hand, the production and distribution structures need constant and regular content to feed their networks and to make their money back; on the other, creativity is not an activity that has a foreseeable result. Uncertainty as to the result leads to an overabundance of projects relative to the actual needs of the market and by the establishment of selection systems at every stage that can come into play at the start, in the middle or at the end of a project.

Abundance can be organised within companies or, on the contrary, left to the market. In publishing, music or cinema, it comes into play before business: aspiring talent provide the abundance by spontaneously creating and submitting their work to production outfits. In the case of automobile design, it is internally organised: the designers at Renault, for example, participate in internal competitions on every project.

Managing abundance and selection in companies can happen at each stage: before the

project starts when they decide which projects they are going to work on; during a project where, as we have seen, through the shaping choices that they make at each stage; at the end of a project, in general when the creations come from the market. According to the abundance that has been organised internally or taken care of externally (by the market), the devices used to organise the choice differ. When the abundance is left to the market, companies must be able to attract projects and talent and to choose well. The organisational devices mobilised can have an influence on the nature of the creation.

In publishing for example, the use of a reading committee or letting editors do the selecting will lead to different results. The reading committee will perhaps lead to a more consensual, less audacious production and could also lead to negotiation issues that go beyond the strict framework of judging a text. The other device –letting editors choose–, by eliminating the justification imperatives, will lead to more "love matches" but, at the same time, will generate a higher level of risk, as the editor is taken up in a relationship of seduction with the author.

So the trade-off works like this: the more filters used (programming committee, reading panels...), the less risk is taken but the resulting production is consensual and lacking in audacity. At Radio Nova, the head of musical programming makes his choices alone even though he must defend them to the collective. The composition of commissions, the profile of those in charge of selections... will orient the type of production. The question of the selection mode is closely linked to the manner in which the company then accompanies the projects: experience confirms that the choices for which one person takes responsibility are coherent with close accompaniment while choices made collectively give rise to a lower level of accompaniment, as a part of the risk has already been taken care of by the collective dimension of the selection process.

The necessary organisation of abundance has two corollaries in terms of management. On the one hand, this abundance must be managed, that is to say must give rise to selections,

and in certain cases the accompaniment of the candidates whose projects were not chosen. On the other hand, it must contain economic management devices adapted to a configuration in which “waste”, with no negative connotation, is an integral part of creation. We will deal with managing failure and managing waste in the following sections.

Managing talent

Recruiting talent cannot rely on formal criteria, as talent is evaluated subjectively even though, in some sectors, other criteria are give more credence, like the ability to work with a team, curiosity and openness of mind... Those who detect or manage talent constitute another category of talent themselves. This aptitude is not something one learns either, and internships as an opportunity to affirm this talent are essential. Training can take place at school, learning techniques and in the field with a mentoring situation in a small structure.

In general, time is essential in order to let talent bloom or affirm itself, whether this be the creators themselves or those who discover them.

There are a number of channels available to identify potential talent, the rule being to leave no stone unturned: competitions and festivals (young talent at Cannes, short film festivals, awards...) unsolicited candidates or projects, formal or informal networks used to detect a contact, a casting session, a provincial theatre... Three types of device are used; researchers, individuals sent out by companies to find and recruit talent wherever it is on display; independent agents that are the interface between talent and companies and do their own detecting; informal networks, a device that works in all sectors.

In addition to these three active modes of detection, there are also the “passive” modes, used by companies with strong public images like Nova who let projects and talent come to them. In addition, the same strength of image means that the first level of selection is carried out by the candidates who censor themselves. This mode of passive detection means a com-

pany must have the capacity to study each of the projects that come in.

Managing talent must take into account the “failure” aspect, an integral part of the creative professions: both because the success of a production is never guaranteed and because the creative professions work on a very selective model. When talent is part of a company, the company must manage this feeling of failure. Pascal Nègre, the CEO of Universal France, explains that the very nature of the profession of musician composers that involves soul-baring and constant confrontation with the public demands a huge ego but is also counter-balanced by fragility when faced with failure or a drop in success levels. Patrick Le Quément explains to designers whose projects are not chosen that nevertheless they did contribute to the collective effort and, as such, to the projects chosen. Smaller structures where the opportunity exists for a close relationship between talent and managers can be a solution. Pascal Nègre compares a label, the elementary structure inside a music major to a village. At Renault, design failure management (or recharging batteries) is managed by sending designers off to satellite centres and also thanks to “concept cars”, vehicles that are not designed for production so that designers can work on a broader range of projects.

The economic evaluation of creativity

While the convergence phase that results in productions to be marketed works in tandem with criteria of economic evaluation, it cannot be disconnected from the divergence phase, that of the production of ideas, that is much more difficult to evaluate. Traditional economic evaluation, based on notions of product and turnover, seems to be inadequate to gauge the reality of creative companies that are more in tune with notions of a collective, catalogues and long-term results.

The capacity creative companies have for making financial imperatives take a back seat to editorial choices is a fundamental one for many creative companies. The case of Nova is a perfect example: the constraint imposed by

the owner of the radio station on his employees is not to make money, but not to lose money, the main point being that the company should not lose its soul. This can be seen in the importance given to independence, an independence that must be mitigated by financial necessity linked to the nature of creative activities.

One difficult point does arise here; on the one hand there are the small structures that are not in a position to maintain the abundance necessary to creation. On the other, the majors, that is to say, rules, routines, barriers, constraints, all hindering creative freedom. Of course, creation can be isolated from the rest of the company, gathered together in small structures within big companies. But things are not waterproof; creativity will always thrive better in small, fragile structures.

Conclusion

While creativity and organisation work in opposite ways, they can be reconciled. An understanding of their respective methods, the way they interact, the way the latter plays with the former, is full of valuable information and can be put to good use in creativity management. Creativity can be managed –behind the creative process, there are mechanisms that interact with organisations–, but the danger is to presume it can be managed like any other activity.

It is just as dangerous to consider that creativity must be left to the “talent”, that all evaluation is doomed to fail, that only a few formidable managers can handle this type of activity.

In as much as it is part of an organised universe, creativity can be managed on condition that the system is thought through in terms of what the universe should be, on the devices used, and the effects this will have. It can be managed globally, in as much as these universes are interlinked: projects in companies, companies in industry. We have neglected other spheres of creativity here, but the fact is that creativity relies on the genius of a few, on the capacity of companies to create structures

that encourage creativity, but also on society’s capacity to produce creative individuals, to detect and train them, on the existence of distribution structures that will bring their creations to the market and defend them. As such, creativity must also be managed on a public level.

While we have in part covered the paradox of organised creativity, by showing how this might work, it is true that it remains a delicate enterprise that relies on a fine balance. Creativity cannot be taken over by machines, genius and individual talent can rest easy. Pixar needs Mozart. Who would contest that?

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1. In addition to the Lisbon strategy, we should also mention the pioneering initiative in the U.K. where the government set up a type of observatory for the creative industries making them a political priority (Ministerial Creative Industries Strategy Group, “Creative Industries Mapping Document”, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, United Kingdom, 2001). We should also cite Maurice Lévy and Jean-Pierre Jouyet, *L’Economie de l’immatériel. La croissance de demain. Rapport de la Commission sur l’économie de l’immatériel*, Paris: Ministère de l’économie, des finances et de l’industrie, 2006.
2. Certain regional development economists have observed the influence of factors that are linked to the geographical environment –demographic, sociological, and cultural– that can influence the creative dynamics of a territory, that is its capacity to attract a “creative class” and generate new projects: Richard Florida, *Cities and the Creative Class*, Routledge, 2004. R. Florida, *The Flight of the Creative Class: The New Global Competition for Talent*, Harper Business, 2005. Martin Kenney and Richard Florida, *Locating Global Advantage: Industry Dynamics in the International Economy*, Stanford University Press, 2003. See also Chris Bilton, *Management and Creativity. From creative industries to creative management*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2007.
3. See the article by Valérie Bobo and Pascal Ract.
4. The sociologist Howard Becker published “Art as collective action” in 1974, an article that picked apart the romantic vision of creativity and integrated artistic activity into the realm of collective action. In doing so, he opened the floodgates for more research at the crossroads of economics, management and sociology, on the process of the creation of cultural products. One of the big results of his work, brought together under the term “institutional approaches to art”, was the way the research developed the fact that cultural goods were also the product of a socio-economic organisation weighed down by varied financial and technical constraints (Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in*

Fifteenth Century Italy. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1972), institutional struggles to gain recognition (Pierre Bourdieu, *Les Règles de l'art*, Paris, Seuil, 1992), conventions specific to each art world (H. S. Becker, *Art Worlds*), contractual issues (Richard E. Caves, *Creative industries. Contracts between art and commerce*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England, Harvard University Press, 2000).

5. Thomas Paris, "Le cas de Bouygues Habitat. Le projet de logements "René Villerme'", in Ben Mahmoud-Jouini, S. (éd.), *Co-conception et savoirs d'interaction*, Plan Urbanisme Construction Architecture (PUCA), 2003, p. 211-225.

6. According to Richard Caves. See R. E. Caves, *Creative industries*, op. cit.

Even though there is no consensus as to the definition of the stages that make up the innovative process¹, most researchers distinguish two main principles: initiation and implementation². Creativity corresponds to the initiation stage, the perception of problems, collecting information, mobilising resources that lead to the creation of ideas³. In its wake, innovation is the implementation stage, the generalised distribution⁴. As opposed to creativity, innovation is “the entire process of the appropriation of ideas, their initial regular use to their institutionalisation”⁵. So, innovation and creativity do not have the same function: one enables the creation of ideas, while the other implements and spreads them⁶.

Managing creativity

According to the authors, “creativity is necessary because organisations and environments are constantly changing”⁷. Management consider that their capacity to generate new ideas or to bring creative solutions is essential⁸. Every employee is under pressure to be creative, brainstorming sessions are more and more common, as well as training courses aimed at the acquisition and development of creative capacities. Creativity has slowly become an objective to be reached by each employee, “the development of creative services, products and systems is becoming a vital management task”⁹. Considering creativity as a vital activity within the organisation has resulted in it being subjected to the practices, tools and managerial logic of the organisation. While management is “an action or an art, or a manner of running an organisation, to direct it, to plan its development, to control it”¹⁰, creativity management thus refers also to the way in which creativity can be run, directed, planned or controlled.

However, can management be applied to creativity? By expressing itself beyond the constraints and rules imposed by the organisation, resulting from the interaction of a number of psychological, managerial, organisational and cultural variables, a number of authors consider creativity to be much too complex to be managed and that management in general leads to its inhibition¹¹. While it is almost impossible to identify the practices that enable the conditions for creativity, it is nonetheless useful to identify the influence of managerial practices on the creative process. Our objective here is to better understand how management inhibits creativity through management literature and its influence on creativity.

Evaluating creativity levels

Creativity management tools have evolved in parallel with the interest in the subject. At the start, creativity was examined by psychologists. It was defined as a mental characteristic of artistic people so the first tools were aimed at evaluating the level of creativity of these individuals. In all of the creativity tests, two main categories can be distinguished. The first category includes tests of divergent thinking¹² and creative thinking¹³. Biographical and personality inventories¹⁴, the attitude scale¹⁵, creative personality tests¹⁶ are included in the second category. It then became necessary to define the criteria necessary to judge the level of creative production, to compare them and to select them. Some consider that the evaluation must be carried out by peers or professionals in the domain¹⁷. According to them, “a production or an answer is creative in as much as competent observers decide independently what it is. These observers are people who are familiar with the domain in which the production was created or the answer articulated”. Nagasundaram¹⁸ also shows that “ideas must be evaluated with regard to their level of creativity, but also in relation to the distance, considering the dominant paradigm of the organisation”. Finally, according to Stoycheva and Lubart¹⁹, “the originality of a response in a given situation can be measured by the low sta-

tistical occurrence of the option or, on a personal level, the subjective feeling of surprise it provokes". The norms are thus both statistical and psychological. Finally, creativity being defined as a resource that is essential to the survival of organisations, managerial tools have attempted to split the creative process into sections to create a model that can be duplicated. In this framework, we develop tools that are usually implemented to define creative objectives, to produce, evaluate and select creative ideas.

Producing creativity

The technique for fixing an objective has appeared as one of the most effective methods to improve the performance of employees and the productivity levels of the business²⁰. Management by objectives defines the results required, the resources and the constraints involved in advance. This is intended to motivate and guide the employee in accordance with the objectives of the organisation. Recent research has analysed the effects of fixed objectives on creativity²¹. According to most of the research, the traditional methods of fixed objectives inhibit creativity²². Amabile in particular shows that fixed objectives must concentrate on aims and not means; the creative individuals –and creative tasks– demand a high level of autonomy and freedom. Carson and Carson²³ consider that quantifiable objectives inhibit creative production. The authors argue in favour of non-measurable fixed objectives that would, according to them, be more suitable for encouraging creative production. As such, fixing objectives and planning creative tasks goes against the very nature of the creative process, as it is intrinsically unpredictable. In his famous work *Applied imagination*²⁴, Osborn describes techniques for the production of creative ideas such as brainstorming. Brainstorming is a group technique that is strictly empirical and designed to facilitate the resolution of problems that are hard to define. The technique is quite simple and involves bringing together individuals usually from the same department in the same company. There can be from six to twelve participants, someti-

mes more, rarely less, as the stimulating effect of the group is diminished. The group is placed under the essential direction of the "game leader" in charge of presenting the problem and the rules of the technique, and then leading the session to its most useful conclusion. These individuals are incited to work according to four guidelines that constitute the very essence of brainstorming: critical judgement is forbidden, freedom of imagination is encouraged, quantity is an essential objective and combined or adapted ideas are recommended. Brainstorming sessions are usually short. Most of the ideas are thrown out at the start of the session and run out quite quickly. The ideas proposed are then put into categories relative to their suitability as solutions to the given problem. The role of the leader is particularly important in this phase as he or she guides the creative process. A number of studies have been carried out in order to measure the effectiveness of brainstorming. Sutton and Hargadon²⁵ indicated that brainstorming was studied in 208 separate articles between 1967 and 1994. They have come to the realisation that brainstorming is not effective, that people tend to be more creative alone than in a group. However, their study does show that brainstorming promotes a pro-freedom attitude in and outside of the session, that it creates a status that valorises attention to creativity, reassures clients and makes profits, supports the memory of the organisation relative to the solutions that were proposed.

Creativity inhibition risks

Finally, researchers have identified the effects of evaluation on the creative process. Overall, they show that evaluation is destructive as it implies the presence of others (directly or indirectly) while creative tasks demand introspection and solitude. According to the authors, the presence of others –as participants, observers or evaluators– increases the performance level of simple tasks and reduces that of creative tasks. Bond and Titus²⁶ show that simple tasks are easier to carry out in the presence of others while complex tasks need to be carried out alone if they are to be done

well. Schalley's model shows that "the best situation for developing creativity is to work alone and without evaluation"²⁷. The author does point out however that expected evaluation does not necessarily, in certain cases, inhibit creativity. The influence of the evaluation varies according to whether the evaluator is trying to gather information or is trying to control the execution of the tasks. In the first instance, the evaluation process does not have a controlling aspect, it is aimed at gathering information about the progress of the task, on understanding the choices made by the individual, without judging or evaluating them; it is more an issue of support and encouragement than giving marks. In the second case, the evaluation process is aimed at judging, marking, rewarding the production. As a whole, most studies show that the more creativity required to carry out a given task, the more destructive the traditional tools for evaluation and checking are for the development of creativity within organisations²⁸. Checking methods have multiplied, showing the need within organisations to control all aspects of creativity. Mastering the process is thus considered to be a means by which the accessibility and effectiveness of creative performance can be guaranteed.

However, the results of much research suggest that checking methods inhibit creativity. Organisations, "by forcing themselves to "operationalise" creativity have, in the end, simplified the creative process and, in doing so, have reduced the levels of creativity in organisations"²⁹. Almost all of the studies carried out on creativity have used psychometric, experimental or biographical methods. These experiments are carried out in artificial environments and are controlled with the aim to carrying out measurable and comparable analyses. Individuals, situations and exercises are constructed and standardised, even though it is "practically impossible, as part of an experiment, to constitute and audience free from the feeling of evaluation and observation"³⁰. As such, studies on creativity are only interested in situations where creativity is demanded, expected, pre-defined, as exercises in creativity include the list of corresponding answers, as well as the evaluation of the level of creativity in each answer³¹. "They do not enable the study of situations where creativity comes spontaneously from individuals, situations or opportunities"³².

Table: Synthesis of the influence of managerial practices on creativity

PRACTICES	AUTHORS	EFFECTS ON CREATIVITY
The general content of the work station	Deci, 1971 Hackman and Oldham, 1980 Schalley 1995, Amabile, 1988 Griffin, 1980	Negative effect of the characteristics of the job Does not correspond to the psychological needs of the individuals. Positive effect through commitment to the job, valorisation of the intrinsic motivation.
Objective fixing techniques	Amabile, 1989, 1990, Carson and Carson, 1993 Schalley, 1995, 2000 Brunsson, 1982, Weick, 1979	Negative effect linked to the quantitative, non-spontaneous, planned, rational nature of the objectives.
Supervisory style	Amabile, 1988 Kimberly, 1981, West, 1989, Amabile and Grykiewicz, 1989 Ford, 1995 a,b, 1996, 2000 Ferris, 1983, Greene, 1979	Positive effect of autonomy. Positive effect of support and encouragement. Positive effect if the leader enables the accentuation of autonomy or directly valorises creativity and if the tasks are not very structured, complex and ambiguous.
The use of creativity techniques	Sternberg and O'Hara, 1999 Nickerson, 1999 Lundberg, 1995, Rogers, 1954 Basadur et al, 1986, 1997 Sutton et Hargadon, 1996	Training in creativity techniques has no direct effect on creative production. Techniques aimed at valorising group creativity are effective in an indirect manner as they provide social support for creativity.
Evaluate and check	Amabile, 1998 Cummings, 1965 Zajonc, 1965 Amabile and al., 1990 Pittman, al 1980 Deci, 1971 Schalley, 1995	Checks and constraints inhibit creativity. A negative effect due to the stable, measured, norm-based nature of the check, the presence, immediate or expected, of others, the fear of being judged, the reduction of intrinsic motivation. The best conditions for creative work are solitude and no evaluation.

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“Be brave enough to leave art and fetishism behind. Move toward the real, then to ecstasy.”
Mike Kelley

Some of the new areas of creativity today need to be examined in the light of the relationship between art and the economy –two domains that have symbolically and ideologically opposed one another throughout the 20th century. There would appear to be a convergence happening between the two models that is turning into a long-term phenomenon, where one mines the other for organisational systems, methods of conception, sometimes even end products. So, we have two territories –art and economics– coming together, inspiring one another, redefining boundaries to the point where they even build common platforms. The Boolean schema that puts the artist, the exclusive guardian of the symbolic and spiritual weight of the world up against the entrepreneur, the materialist subjected to the triviality of the product and to market contingency is inapt when describing the huge upset in the norms, hierarchies and values in our contemporary world: lines are moving, social and symbolic roles are scrambling common sense in a complex game of shifts, openings and splits. There are two antithetical figures –the artist and the entrepreneur– that since the industrial revolution have built a gap between the freedom of the former and the enslavement of the latter. Whether they are real or imagined, these images no longer make any sense, as economics have now infiltrated all domains.

Pierre Musso lists three stages in the relationship between industry and art since the French revolution and the industrial revolution. Each of these cycles occurred as a result of a technical mutation that conditioned the discipline of capitalism on a profound level. The first stage appeared with the industrial revolution and revolved entirely around mastering the universe, what the philosopher Saint Simon referred to as “industrialism”, an association of savants, industrials and artists. The second stage at the end of the 19th century invented Fordism, the rationalism of production and working practices. Some theorists prefer to describe the birth of the cultural industries –where machines came between the man and the work (disc, radio, film industry, etc.)– most notably Walter Benjamin in *The Work of Art in the Age of its Technical Reproducibility*. In *Notes on Machiavelli*², Antonio Gramsci attempts to capture the new industrialism of the twenties in its economic and symbolic dimensions, meaning Fordism as producer of goods and services but also as the production of mental construction, narrative and imagination. In Germany, the Bauhaus school became the emblematic location for creativity by experimenting an alliance between artist, engineer and artisan over a short period of time. The last stage, in other words, post-Fordism was characterised by the globalisation of trade and the domination of financial capitalism. The avant-garde of this capitalism is without a doubt the globalised communication enterprise, producer of immaterial goods backed up with narrative that from the end of the seventies onwards was to find that technology matched its expansion with the combination of IT and telecoms (TIC). The Frankfurt school, followed by the situationists attacked this spectacular mutation to denounce its lies and excesses. But, in a certain way, it was already too late: since then, the culture of sensibility and sentiment has been extensively industrialised. “In the R&D labs, inventions, engineer’s and technician’s intuition confront the fiction of design, advertising, management, the media and end-users. The new workshop-laboratory

is a “creative city” that creates a network of the work and exchanges of multidisciplinary collectives of engineers, industrials, scientists, artists, researchers and end-users. (...) Art and industry find themselves yet again associated with the production of fictions, forms and technologies: a convergence of the two processes occurs: on the “artistic side”, the integration of technology (notably IT) in the creative process and on the “industrial side” the soliciting of artists to enrich the process of innovation.”³

Artistic activity and economic dynamism have coincided on many occasions in industrial history; industry took the role of the artist into account as early as the late 19th century. But this encounter, notably on the artistic side has always been rife with suspicion and defiance. While at certain points where there were technological leaps forward, capitalism often called on art for help; this proposition has not always been kindly received by the art world. In the end, each side uses the other for its own ends: like when business finds certain artistic trends –notably kinetic art, monochrome, minimal art, contemporary photography, etc.– a source for renewing its own images and emblems, or the artistic world using the objects, symbols and norms of the industrial world to call art itself into question –we only need to cite Marcel Duchamp’s *Fontaine* to prove the point. The worlds of art and industry mutually use each other to make their own borders shift, without necessarily sealing a long-term relationship.

“Artists willingly feed the golden legend of subversive, anti-conformist, inspired creativity rebelling against social conventions and mercantile utilitarianism, but one is obliged to admit that they function within economic models that conform to the demand of new capitalism –hyper flexibility, autonomy, team work etc. This paradox will perhaps find its solution in the idea that today the artist and post-industrial worker have become one and the same, the “talent”. Art is now work but has become its hidden double, its futurist prototype and as such the advanced evidence of the metamorphosis of capitalism.”⁴

The convergence of heterogeneous fields

Artistic creation and industrial production have thus crossed over many times throughout the 20th century. Misappropriated, re-appropriated, directed, iconized or dematerialised, artists essentially used merchandise as their theme and motif. Industry on the other hand, has used artistic material to renew its images and products. But the model of art as an autonomous field of production⁵, that was propounded by the romantics and the 19th century is a thing of the past. The realisation of this weakening obliges us to question the status of art, the creative process, the very forms of this process, in a society that has been radically reworked and reconfigured by economic power, communication and information technology, changes in the workplace and ecological risk. These changes also condition the economic model involved in what we will refer to as “the economy of knowledge” or the “economy of the immaterial”, elsewhere referred to as “the economy of creativity”, in search of permanent innovation, calling on the emotions and the senses. To get there, industry turned the artist’s intuition into a raw material for boosting the process of innovating, creating and renewing of products. New pathways were thus built between the worlds of the artist and the entrepreneur⁶, made of agreements and disagreements, alliances and criticism, compromises and refusals, identification and disorder, shock and interference.

A number of theoretical works from sociologists or philosophers that have been widely read have attempted to clarify this convergence between art and economics. In 1999, Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello in *Le Nouvel esprit du capitalisme* established that contemporary capitalism has taken much inspiration from art to renew its markets and that the most recent capitalism is even a structural response to the “artistic criticism” that was formulated from 1968 onward. In 2000, Pascal Nicolas-Le Strat compared artists and cognitive workers in *Mutations des activités artistiques et intellectuelles dans une perspective socio-économique*. In 2002, Pierre-Michel Menger wrote in *Portrait de l’artiste en travailleur*.

Métamorphose du capitalisme that “not only were artistically creative activities no longer the opposite of work but, on the contrary, they are being increasingly claimed as the most advanced expression of new production modes and new job relations, resulting from the recent mutations in capitalism”⁷. Bernard Stiegler has made this question the central ideological and theoretical issue of his work. “Our era, he writes, is under threat, all over the world, by the fact that the “life of the mind”, to use Hannah Arendt’s expression, has been entirely subjected to the imperatives of the market economy and the imperatives of return on investment by companies that promote the technologies of what we will refer to as the cultural industries, programmes, media, telecommunications and finally the technologies of knowledge or cognitive technologies. With digital expansion all of these sectors are tending to integrate, what we referred to about a decade ago as the convergence of the audiovisual, telecoms and information technology.”⁸

There are a number of reasons and conditions that crisscross to explain the emergence of the art/economics convergence. Taking an introductory approach, we should remind ourselves of the central role of the economy, not the only field to be covered as it goes hand in hand with technology and more precisely information and telecommunication technologies, both used by art and economics.

— Both of these expressions of human activity –art and economy– have been deeply transformed under the effect of a globalised economy that has installed new development models. An economic war is being waged in the cultural field, industrial and mercantile issues are at stake that have placed aesthetics and creativity at the heart of this economy⁹. So it is therefore logical that “a society dominated by the economic produces art that irrigates and shapes a questioning that is of an economic nature, an *ars economicus*”, just as “medieval times, haunted by salvation, gave rise to metaphysical art”¹⁰.

— The field of art is also a market that has been upset by the domination covered by Paul Ardenne: the crisis in the art market at the

beginning of the nineties led artists to develop new modes of production. The ZAC 90. Zones d’activités collectives¹¹ exhibition took this into account and displayed collective groups of artists, designers, graphic artists, theorists¹² acting in lieu of the museum, taking care of the curatorship, advertising, graphics and general scenography. A number of cooperative efforts, both long and short term, began at the start of the nineties taking on the job of gaining media exposure for art: curators, critics, editors and gallery owners¹³. This led the way for the abolition of the middle man, notably in production. So the manufacturing of pieces was taken over by certain artists: Wim Delvoye financed his first *Cloaca* piece, Mathew Barney co-produces his films, Thomas Hirschhorn participates in the financing of his work¹⁴.

— This convergence of the art world and the world of economics found the material basis necessary for their mutation in the common use of communication techniques. These techniques build both the new conditions for aesthetic experience and for industrial production. Artistic research, writes Edmond Couchot¹⁵, uses techniques common to the worlds of science and economy, domains that bleed into one another.

So the economy became for art what “the nude, the landscape or the myth of the new were to neoclassicism, impressionism or the *avant-garde*” according to Paul Ardenne¹⁶. In parallel, the growth of the industries of the senses –those who take the imagined, symbolic or cognitive into account– delves directly into artistic domains to open up new lines of consumption and production.

Once the general context in which this convergence can be observed has been outlined, the scale of the task is immense. This is why here I will lift a part of the veil –when artistic creation is attracted to the entrepreneurial world. This movement has provoked a series of questions the scale of which needs to be shown rather than the content.

Forms of artistic enterprise

A number of artists have become entrepre-

neurs in the economic sense of the term. Some even set themselves up as service providers, others like their counterparts in business, place the spectator or end-user at the centre of their approach. Wim Delvoe, Mathieu Laurette, Fabrice Hyber, Joep van Lieshout, Yann Toma, Jeff Koons, Takashi Murakami, Sylvain Soussan, Christine Hill, etc. have all built an entrepreneurial model to develop their activity as artists.

“I accepted this interview to speak of my status as the president of a company. I run a system and the system is not a trap, it is a human adventure. It is a new type of model that claims the advantages of an ultra-liberal economy as well as those of a post-society system, which suits me perfectly and that –up until now– seems to suit my shareholders fine too.”¹⁷

A quick typology of artistic enterprises reveals three categories¹⁸ –even if some artists can belong to several categories– the company as critical heteronomy, the company as an organisational and functional structure, and finally, the company as a formal repertoire. The point of this type of typology, in addition to the fact that it reveals a milieu that is already structured, is to enable us to pose the question of the relationship between art and economy in a frontal manner, to highlight the recent mutations in the creative field.

A. The company as a critical heteronomy

“Due to the daily promiscuity to which the artist is subjected, he is obliged to invent forms of autonomisation so as to be able to express himself freely.”¹⁹

“There is also, and this is probably the case in all cultures, in all civilisations, real places, effective places, places that have made their mark in the very fabric of society, that are sort of counter-locations, the sort of utopias that are effectively carried out in which real locations, all other real locations we find within culture are represented, contested and inverted, the sort of places that are out of place, even though they are actually locatable. As they are absolutely other than the other places they reflect and as such talk about, I will call

these places heterotopias as opposed to utopias; and I think that between the utopias and the absolutely other places, these heterotopias, there is doubtless a sort of mixed, close-by experience, that mirrors them.”²⁰

A company as a critical heteronomy is born from the will of artists or artists' collectives to come together in opposition from inside the economic world, to hold an alternative and political discourse, while the cultural field is itself part of economic development. The company is the model that supplies the working framework and the raw material integrated into works presented as conveying radicalism. The company as a critical heteronomy thus intervenes to “directly take aback the world's economic phenomena. As such they carry a political dimension”²¹. The pieces that result from this category are direct critiques²² of the economic world, often in the form of theatrical, scripted, narrative performances.

The vocabulary of the company, its devices, protocols and functioning methods are re-examined and invested according to aesthetic, social and political criteria. The artist Philippe Mairesse, with his companies SARL Grore and Accès Local founded respectively in 1992 and 1998 provides an “observatory of internal peripheries” for companies: “Interventions proposed to groups and companies (...). These interventions are based on the analysis of the collective creative process developed by Accès Local and applies it to behavioural rules in difficult collaborative situations”²³. The issue is to deconstruct the usual language used in work meetings: to provoke an event, to make meaning surface thanks to a collapse of management rules and enable “something” to surface using the device established. We can list names of artists that follow this critical posture using the entrepreneurial model (Iain Baxter, Yann Tom, Joe van Lieshout, Marie Eichhorn, Pieter Engels, etc.) to propose alternatives to the globalised economic model.

The artistic enterprise as a critical heteronomy opens up the hypothesis that through the work of art there is the possibility of another economic model that is not uniquely guided by profit. These companies and the artists that

carry them aim to open new fields for contemporary art. They occupy the unknown place, in a globalised world, that is to say a world that knows only how to produce the same, the similar. This is doubtless where the nodal point of this position is located, that takes charge of the market of the senses and the emotions, as much as traditional business.

B. The company as an organisational and functional structure

The artistic company as an organisational and functional structure is created with a purely economic aim. A number of hypotheses can be proposed on the origin of this type of structure. The growing internationalisation of artistic practices has increased the demands on the artist to a considerable extent: the necessary work required to answer the demand in a highly competitive context places the artist in the position where he or she must find a form of reactive, flexible and universal organisation. This competitive context even incites certain artists to create their own name as a brand (Laurette Bank Unlimited, 1999, Hybertmarché, 1995, etc.). The entrepreneurial structure has also been used when the work demands a powerful and effective project economy (imposing pieces, technical and complex pieces, pieces that need serious investment, etc.)²⁴. We can cite the example of Daniel Buren (*The Eye of the Storm*, 2005), Maurizio Cattelan (*Hollywood*, 2001), Wim Delvoe (from *Cloaca*, 2000 to *Cloaca Quatro*, 2005), Paul McCarthy (*Caribbean Pirates*, 2005), Olafur Eliasson (*The Weather Project*, 2003-2004), etc.

Artists that follow this path do not distinguish themselves fundamentally from entrepreneurs. Art is a domain of production, consumption and profit, like the raw materials or perfume market. There are now production structures that manufacture works of art.

C. The company as a formal repertoire

The company as a formal repertoire offers the artist the use of semantic, aesthetic material generated by this world –images, sound, slo-

gans, text, practices, organisation, logo, etc.– to create works with new shapes and contours. The company gives its coherence and its weight to the pieces that are produced; it can be a piece itself. It serves as a motif, as an artistic working theme. It is a place of new research, of a broadening of the worlds of art. This mode of organisation as a formal repertoire participates in the renewal of artistic forms: the practical quality, demonstrative quality, seductive potential of the material that comes from the company.

The causes of the emergence of the company as a formal repertoire can be found in the needs of the new production modes, not in terms of organisation, but the modalities for creating the worlds and even more so the final result (Svetlana Heger and Plamen Dejanov, Siegfried D. Ceballos and Brigitte Rambaud, the *Autravail/atwork* collective, Olivier Tourenc, etc., all artists that rely on this formal repertoire). This is the issue of usage theorised by Nicolas Bourriaud: the company is but an example among others, in a society that has become a vast repertoire of shapes that are waiting to be activated²⁵.

In the three forms of artistic enterprises, the parallelism between entrepreneurial creation and artistic creation does not work with the same intentions. In one case, artists propose their radical opposition to the world from the very heart of the economic system, without a utilitarian aim but with the intention to denounce. In the next case, the artists validates the absence of demarcation between the economic and artistic spheres and builds his work using an organisational system that enables him to product costly, high-tech or imposing objects. In the last case, the honour or the dishonour of the artists is of little importance, the company is a pretext for decoding new formal territories. The three categories presented here use the enterprise for what it enables –its plasticity, its flexibility, its audience– and what it is –the only organisational model available.

Creation in question

If the artist is led to encounter the language and structure of business, essential questions come up: what creations come from this convergence? And what is at stake?

Lucy Lippard “saw in what was being established [the creation in 1969 of the N.E Thing CO. Limited by Iain Baxter] a position open up in the cultural western cartography, one of the last culturally new territories or at least without a tradition of contemporary art and as such free from pressure from heritage, a piece of the world that had to make a mark, that had to invent to compensate for its off-kilter aspect.”²⁶

Art that is thought as a business builds shapes and produces creations that are not free from ambiguity. The opening of the art world to the world of business sometimes makes it difficult to distinguish between the industrial object and the work of art. This movement and its drifts manifest themselves in the relationship between art and new information and communication techniques, in the dematerialisation of the work of art, in the mutation of creation towards the tertiary and in the command of creativity, a condition for the survival of the artist. What forms, what aesthetics will come from this tidal range zone? Artistic production increasingly uses techniques it shares with science and the economy, and can even, in certain cases be associated with industrial projects. The artist, the sentinel of the resistance thus finds himself caught up in standardisation and rationalisation, the entrepreneurial system. John Armleder claims to “delegate many of the decisions for the making of a piece, from its elaboration to the manufacturing choices” and works remotely using assistants, letters, phone conversations or faxes²⁷. If the de-specialisation of the materials, tools, supports and languages of art works occurs, the question of the potential of the economic universe as aesthetic material arises. The symbolic shapes compete with one another, and in this competitive universe, the work of art is no longer the only one to propose imaginary worlds, to display images and to manufacture symbolic and spiritual weight: it must edify new means with which to com-

municate with the world, by facing up to the question of its place, status and production, one way or another.

“But how far can this will to codify, reproduce, arouse, to control the most unique of man’s manifestations go and what risks does this involve for society? Art in itself is opposed to this plan to master everything through science; each piece builds an inexhaustible world that can be questioned by art itself. Herein resides the resistance of art to modern society that has been the least touched by the changes in recent decades. Like two centuries ago, the pieces remain invested with the mission to manifest a desire for a world that defies analysis, one that is enchanted and enchanting.”²⁸

One of the problems provoked by the movement of art into economic and precisely entrepreneurial spheres is the place and status of the subversion and radicalism the artist has represented throughout the 20th century. Artistic creation sets itself up as the critic within the system in which it produces itself. Where does it go? What radicalism does it represent? A number of artists perceive businesses as opaque organisations, dehumanising and alienating structures and try to unmask their real ontology. Do these good intentions go beyond the simple caricature of the artist simply imitating the system, or worse being used by the system and sinking into compromise? How can the spectator find the imperceptible difference in the subtle crack between being an entrepreneur and “doing” the entrepreneur? How is one to understand the attempt by the artist to invent a new relationship with the merchant world, commercial logics, work rules? And for what economic or symbolic gain? If in the 19th century Courbet saw the demands of social art as a threat to the freedom of the artist, should the worker really worry about the much heralded entrance of the artist into the entrepreneurial domain?

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1. Tidal range: the difference in the water level between high tide and low tide (or vice versa).
2. Antonio Gramsci, *Textes*, Paris, Editions sociales, 1983.
3. Pierre Musso, « Art, innovation et industrie : le retour du saint-simonisme ? », *Conférence Arts, Entreprises et technologies*, Nice, 24-26 November 2005.
4. Pierre-Michel Menger, *Le Portrait de l'artiste en travailleur. Métamorphose du capitalisme*, Paris, coll. La République des idées, 2002.
5. Pierre Bourdieu, *Les Règles de l'art*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1992, p. 190.
6. "The way in which the figure of manager today has taken on the qualities of artist and intellectual tends to fill the gap that was instituted since romanticism between the realism of the businessman and the idealism of men of culture." Luc Boltanski and Ève Chiapello, *Le Nouvel esprit du capitalisme*, Paris, Gallimard, 1999, p. 397.
7. Pierre-Michel Menger, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
8. Bernard Stiegler < www.arsindustrialis.org>
9. We use a range of concepts to describe the globalised economy and the battle going on in the cultural field: economy (or society) of knowledge or information or of creation as well as the generic term of "new economy". Manuel Castells, *La Société en réseaux*, argues that it is not just a question of the economy, but also of a mutation of power and social relations. Manuel Castells, *La Société en réseaux*, Paris, Fayard, 1998.
10. Paul Ardenne, *Un Art conceptuel*, Paris, Flammarion, 2001, p. 214.
11. ZAC 90. *Zones d'activité collective*, Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 1999.
12. Public, Glassbox, Labomatic, Toasting Agency, Bureau d'études, Infozone, Purple Institute, etc.
13. Look at the function of curator (*Le procès de Pol Pot*, exhibition organised by Liam Gillick and Philippe Parreno at CNAC Le Magasin, Grenoble, 1998-1999), of art critic, of editor (*Permant Food*, edited by Maurizio Cattelan and Paola Manfrin, 1990), of gallery owner (Maurizio Cattelan's *Wrong Gallery* on 20th street in Chelsea, New-York 2002-2005), all solo or group auto-productions relying on autonomous structures.
14. At the end of the nineties and the beginning of the new century, the institutional art world became aware of the alliance being formed between the economic sphere and contemporary art. Exhibitions on the theme of the economy sprouted in France and abroad: *Le Capital*, 1999 and *Négociations 2000* at the CRAC in Sète, *Pertes et profits* at the CNEAL in Chatou (2000), *Ambiance magasin* (2001) and *Ma petite entreprise* at the Centre d'arc contemporain de Meymac, *Black silver and gold* (2001) at the galerie du Bellay in Mont-Saint-Aignan, *Trans_Actions ou les nouveaux commerces de l'art* (2000) at the Galerie Art et Essai in Rennes, *Art & economy* (2002) at the Deichtorhallen in Hamburg, etc. The genre has been largely confirmed over the past five years.
15. Edmond Couchot, *La Technologie dans l'art. De la photographie à la réalité virtuelle*, Paris, Éditions Jacqueline Chambon, 1998.
16. Paul Ardenne, *Un Art contextuel*, Paris, Flammarion, 2001.
17. Yann Toma, quoted by Paul Ardenne, Yann Toma, *Ouest Lumière*, Paris, Isthme Editions, 2004.
18. A census has already been carried out between 1999 and 2000 by GAHP (Generic Art History) as part of the contemporary art history department at the University La Sapienza in Rome, known as the *Registre International des Entreprises Artistiques (ACIR)*. The ACIR classified artistic companies in three categories: A for artistic companies constituted on a legal level (and "whose activity is concentrated on the analysis of the mechanisms of the creation of value"); B brings together companies that develop the same type of work but do not exist as legal entities; C designates artists or collectives who have taken on the name of a company but work in a traditional manner. They were dissatisfied with this classification so ACIR proposed a new configuration in 2006: On value analyses artistic practices according to whether they concern the art/economy/reality relationship directly or indirectly in the form or name of a company. < www.biennaledeparis.org/pdf/index/acir.pdf>
19. Iain Baxter, quoted by Christophe Domino, "Art is all over", in *Art Press*, April 1998.
20. Michel Foucault, « Des espaces autres » < <http://www.foucault.info/documents/heteroTopia/>>
21. Colloque *L'Art est l'entreprise*, CERAP, Paris, Sorbonne, 14-21 October 2006.
22. In 2006, the international conference *L'Art est l'entreprise* copresented by the CERAP (Centre d'études et de recherche en arts plastiques) of the université de Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne and the XV^e Biennale de Paris examined "critical artists' companies". These companies use the model of a business and function like one, use the model to denounce the perversions and alienation of business.
23. < www.acces-local.com>
24. Stéphane Sauzède, *Art, économie, entreprise. Une activité artistique indexée sur le CAC 40*, Thesis Université Paris I, 2006.
25. Nicolas Bourriaud, *Esthétique relationnelle*, Dijon, Les Presses du réel, 1998.
26. Christophe Domino
27. Lionel Bovier, John Arlmeder, Paris, Flammarion, 2005, p. 133.
28. Ève Chiapello, *Artistes versus managers*, Paris, Métailié, 1998.

Toward a better understanding the creative process in order to make a place for it within organisations

Pascale Ract & Valérie Bobo

In the beginning, creation corroborates a myth: that of the creator with divine inspiration. And, like all myths, it is maintained by the “non creators”, impressed and kept in awe by the creators themselves that give life to shapes, materials, concepts, organisations, and that find in the myth a means to feed their feeling of singularity and compensate for the more painful aspects of their lot. Because being one of the “chosen” is not without its downside: solitude, a feeling of being misunderstood, strong emotions, doubt and above all, the responsibility of having to carry the hopes of an entire community.

In recent years, the subject has broadened at the same time as it has become common. In an economy where innovation has become the key word for growth, the demand for creativity (the term *créativité* appeared in the French vocabulary in 1965 to mean the capacity to envisage new solutions or find the means to implement them) is stronger and stronger within companies regardless of its application: new products, communication, style, management, commercial development, human relations.

Managing creativity and developing creativity are two issues that come together on one point when placed in the context of a business or more generally that of an organisation: how to stimulate creative resources in a context that is dedicated to rationalisation and planning? How to recreate a place for singularity in an environment of procedures and standards? As, even within an organisation, creative performance remains indubitably linked to the personal contribution of each individual¹.

Between creators and “creative talent”, we envisage a smaller common denominator that we will refer to as the “creative process”. This means being interested in “how” a visionary individual, an explorer, experimenter or simple DIY expert² works through the stages that lead

them from a question posed, a problem to be solved or an order from a client to end up with an original and new solution. Let us note that this process, modelled at the start of the 20th century by Graham Wallas³, with all of the pathways and linked stages that it involves, goes against the still vivid belief in creativity crystallised in a creative instant.

The pathway, far from being signposted, is unique to each person; it is coloured with very diverse ingredients such as instinct, *savoir-faire*, experience and rationalisation, all elements that have a biographical dimension for each individual. However, it does seem possible to us to observe the twists and turns, both as an outside spectator or by taking a step back from one’s own process. To do so, we have formalised a framework aimed at collecting information in order to feed this thought process, be it collective or individual.

So it becomes possible within an organisation, to reflect on the conditions that are favourable to individual creativity, one’s own or that of others, by encouraging the members of a team to discuss the subject, so that each person formulates their own specific needs and then using this basis to create an ad hoc framework that is both realistic and effective to attempt an adventure off the beaten track.

The creative process?

In his book *The Art of Thought* Graham Wallas initiated reflection on the notion of the creative process by proposing a four-phase split: preparation, incubation, illumination and verification. A number of writers⁴ have since examined the question without bringing anything new to the table: they have at most refined the categories, splitting some into sub-categories. The main advantage of this breakdown is that it initiates a process of reflection by sketching a simplified form from complex material so we will take the plainest proposal as our starting point. We will describe what is covered by each of the phases by illustrating with examples we have collected in practice.

Preparation or impregnation

To begin a creative task, it is desirable, we read, to immerse oneself in the subject by outlining it in the broadest terms possible: placing a problem in context, identifying the links it has with other questions, outlining what has already been done in a similar manner, envisaging factors that influence or enlighten the question, bringing more intimate data up to the surface, personal memories that one associates with the present situation, letting oneself be guided by pleasure or excitement toward more promising trails, etc. There are many ways in which one can infuse oneself with a subject, each person develops their own system, with their own reflexes, little foibles and other rituals of *savoir-faire*. In the same way, we have observed that a team can put its own unique impregnation method in place, a subtle mix of individual preferences and compromises that have been forged over time, experience and common projects. The method chosen by IDEO, an innovative American product and service design agency, is the result of progressive adjustments using ideas that have shown their effectiveness as a starting point. Each consultant collects objects and ideas that grab their attention. Once a month, a meeting is held to exchange on what each consultant has collected. The elements are then assembled in a resource centre that is run by one person who is in charge of organising and bringing the elements to life. When a new project is in the preparative phase, the consultants cross their questions/issues/ideas with the data transmitted by the resource centre. The preparation phase is mutualised and the principle of divergence⁵ is managed collectively.

Other well-known experiments are carried out at Google or at 3M (adhesive and pharmaceutical manufacturer): each employee can use between 15% and 20% of their working time to work on personal research and projects, with the only obligation of sharing the results with his or her colleagues. Here again the desired effect is fertile cross-pollination with elements and experiences that come from elsewhere.

Incubation

The mechanics of this phase are harder to outline as they are in part located outside the field of consciousness. This is where the project is left to “ripen”. The preparatory work has been digested, deconstructed and the elementary elements reassembled according to new schemas whose logic will be evident in hindsight. This work goes on outside any rational or operational control, even if certain tools and methodologies do exist to help reason to “let go”⁶. Here again, it would appear that while this phase is an obligatory passage for any creative approach, it is experienced differently according to each individual: the level of intensity, the importance given and the time allotted all vary. As for organisations, huge disparities appear at this stage, between organisations which, like design companies, are clearly aware of the importance of this phase for an effective creative process and make room in tight schedules for it, and those who ignore it completely, leaving it up to individuals to give it the necessary resources (time, changes in rhythm...) most often outside their work time. Some companies, like Google or France Telecom’s techno centre go a step further by organising their space including work stations, leisure activities (cafeteria, gym) and sometimes even services (laundry), so that interruptions to rhythm become more fluid.

Illumination

Researchers and creators all know this exceptional instant by different names; a vision that appears, a shape that stands out, a formula that unravels, a pathway that clears, the click, the solution. Synthesis, catalysis, fluidity, power, excitement, relief: feelings and emotions (agreeable or less so, often exacerbated) are always present. In the collective process, this moment is described as a high point, a shared moment that consolidates the team. At this stage, nothing guarantees that the path is clear. The journey that remains can be littered with obstacles on the way to an effective finale.

Verification and management

This phase is organised around the confrontation between the ideal (the idea, the sketch) and the limits imposed by reality (constraints, resources, savoir-faire). The main issue is to transform the fruit of the creative leg into a pragmatic and operational response. Thus, the conditions and means necessary to advance are examined in detail. The difficulties and obstacles must be overcome. It is a time when fine-tuning, adaptation and other compromises are necessary. Differences appear between players at this stage: some judge this phase to be “adaptive”, less noble, and more fastidious and place it outside the creative field. Others that we could term ingenious or pragmatic see it as a means to express their own creativity. In organisations, the collective dimension of creativity can be seen by the way roles are shared out according to skills: those who initiate, clear the way and envisage new directions and those who make them real with pragmatic responses⁷.

Once this sharing has been accomplished, a number of questions remain, making it necessary to complete the model with other elements of analysis. Our observations from working in companies tend to show two things at least. On the one hand, the way the stages are linked is not standard, neither is the time and energy given over to each stage, the function of people, circumstance, but also the nature of projects. So the iterative and fractal dimension –the four phases can sometimes be found at n-1 on the scale, inside a phase⁸– can complicate the situation and render all attempts to standardise the process null and void. In addition, defining the nature of each phase doesn't cover how each person will be able to make the best of it as beyond the finality of each phase, the means each person invests, their needs, the ease with which they operate, their willpower and pleasure are all issues that must be taken into account in this creative process. While creativity appears at the potential stage in everyone, keeping the faith and following through on the process with high standards as to a really creative result is an art that is not given to everyone. Some

(through a lack of self-confidence, “overcome” by moments of uncertainty or worried to take a risk) do a u-turn en route, preferring the serenity and balance of the easy way, where creative research gives way to control and the anticipation of results. This goes for the organisation as well as for individuals.

Factors favourable to the creative process

The creative process can not be summed up in a succession of well flagged sequences, on the contrary, it must be envisaged like a dynamic superimposition of cause and effect given that a cause can produce different effects in different individuals. In the same context certain players can be more creative with deadline pressure or under stress, others lose all their effectiveness in the same circumstances. So, in this part we will divide the main factors that influence the creative process into different categories, while at the same time emphasising that these factors are not good, bad, stimulating, or inhibiting in themselves. Certain players develop strategies that enable them to see their creative approach through to the end using a combination of different factors, others find in some of these factors the reasons to give up on their creativity altogether. This point seems to confirm the resolutely singular dimension of the creative process.

A number of categories highlight these different factors: “beliefs”, “values”, “emotions”, “senses”, “cerebral gymnastics” and “modus operandi”. In the field, these six categories reveal themselves to be pertinent enough to enable an individual to analyse their creative process and better identify what moves it forward and what slows it down. They also enable the observation of the creative process in others for an in-depth analysis, if one is called on to accompany, support, or intervene should the need arise, as is the case in co-creation. Finally, these factors and the vocabulary they use constitute a basic lexicon that seem to facilitate exchanges within a team, when organising a collective creative process in which each participant can work to their best.

Beliefs

A belief can be defined as something one believes in without being able to give a rational justification that would satisfy everyone. It is the cultural system in which we spontaneously situate the subject of creativity. Among the beliefs that we have observed, two seem to have a decisive influence: "I am pretty creative" and "I am not creative". The attitudes and perceptions of the individual organise themselves according to this basic belief. The self-confidence of each individual in their ability to see the process through, getting through moments of doubt and uncertainty, is or is not established from here. However, it is interesting to observe that a belief that appears to be positive ("I am creative") can turn out to be a brake in the creative process. For example, conjugated with other beliefs, it can turn into a negative attitude as is illustrated by the case of the researcher/lecturer who felt that "creativity supposes a huge level of autonomy of thought and organisation", and thus declared that it was not possible for him to be creative in his work. Without making any value judgements on the beliefs listed, we can say that they can be rapidly organised into a system that makes the creative process possible, or impossible according to the environment in which is found. "Being creative is a talent, you are born with it", "creativity supposes a certain freedom", "you create better under pressure". Over years of observation we have collected a long list of beliefs on the subject. A pertinent approach for an individual analysis consists of identifying those beliefs which orient the point of view of a player and to measure the inhibiting or encouraging effect it has on his or her creativity. This same phenomenon can be observed on the scale of an organisation that has its own beliefs, to the extent that they are sometimes part of the company's culture. At Chanel one hears "Here, we don't follow trends, we make them", at Hermès "our strength, that which makes us stand out, is that we don't feel we have to follow a model or traditional marketing schema". These beliefs influence the way in which creativity will be approached within the organisation and what

can be envisaged or not in terms of attitudes and state of mind within this organisation.

Values

Values designate what motivates an individual to start the creative process. They are the reason for which he or she accepts the risk of creativity because the "reward" –relief, pleasure, a feeling of accomplishment– will be great if the risk comes off. Some writers such as Teresa Amabile, who teaches at Harvard Business School and does research into creativity and innovation⁹, insist on the importance of the individual's intrinsic motivation¹⁰ in the creative approach in a work situation.

Values can be split into various sub-categories. Here, we will suggest a few: Games, enjoying in the present moment, is one. Some players say that immersing themselves in the creative process is akin to a child being absorbed in a game: they are entirely taken up, totally ignoring the environment and its problems, and sometimes its constraints. Noting matters but the present moment. A computer programmer describes how he feels thus: "I am in a bubble, I have no notion of time passing, and I don't think «it's time to eat or to sleep". I play with data, the possibilities open to me... I see an enigma, I try to solve it, I encourage myself and congratulate myself!"

Success constitutes another type of value. It covers the wish to do something well, to obtain recognition and the consideration of others through creation, and to show one's worth. An executive in a communications department evokes what motivates him to be creative in the workplace: "What motivates me the most is working with people whom I admire and who are demanding. When I was working with X on event management, I contributed ideas. He would pick one up and say, "do you believe in that? Well, take the ball and run with it". And then I would feel like I could fly. I knew very well that it would have to be perfect, that he wouldn't let anything slide. But the urge to succeed, and to rise to the challenge was stronger than anything else".

A third value: mythology. This is the aspiration to make one's mark, to become part of history. So Miguel Chevalier, an artist who works in digital art declares: "I went to a traditional art school, but everything has already been done in that domain. I wanted to create with the tools of my era, and to reinvent painting in a contemporary form!"

In order to spur on in the creative process, values must be fed by the environment in which the individual finds themselves. Inversely, a value that is scorned can end up being an obstacle: a "player" who is asked for regular reports on the progress of his work, a stylist in search of mythic status who is not allowed to sign his own work may not find the optimum conditions in the organisation for their creativity to bloom.

Emotions

The links between emotions and creativity have been studied for many years and envisaged from many different angles. They can be associated with memories or personal experiences, emotions can be a motor for creative production, itself considered as a support for the expression or the sublimation of those same emotions¹¹. They could also be, as Todd Lubart, a researcher in the in Paris V-CNRS cognition and development lab¹² shows, at the origin of an associative phenomenon that appears between two concepts that are cognitively distant but emotionally close, and the combination of which is a source of creativity. Emotion comes from being "moved" –from the Latin *movere*. So an emotion can also be considered as something that starts off an action in situations where reason is not given precedence (emergency, the unknown...) ¹³. Thus, fear (and its derivatives like stress, fear, anguish etc.), sadness (depression, melancholy, feeling down), anger (revolt, indignation, rage, agitation...), joy (pleasure, satisfaction, euphoria), desire (loss, excitement, appetite, yearning, ambition) are evoked as sources of energy that feed the creative process throughout its various stages. Researchers¹⁴ relate emotions to the associated behaviour: fear is expressed through the

rapid mobilisation of the body and brain to escape danger; anger, by a rush of energy to avoid or destroy an obstacle; sadness, through a retreat that enables the integration and coming to terms with a loss.

The so-called "creative" individual appears to know, more or less instinctively, how to recognise and manage their emotions in the creative process¹⁵. They can be subject to anxiety or even aggressive with their entourage during the incubation period, depressed once a project ends, euphoric and excessive during the illumination phase, displaying a capacity for channelling this energy in order to reinvest it in the creative process. Frank Gehry, the architect who designed the Guggenheim in Bilbao says that his creative process begins with tense energy generated by the anxiety of the blank page, the feeling of having to "jump into the abyss" and ends in sadness, an empty feeling that helps him to detach himself from the project before moving on to another.

This type of player seems to be in a minority and is identified as "creative" by their entourage. There are many more who "turn" their emotions against their creative process: the anxiety of the blank page, the stress of a deadline become reasons to get things over with as quickly as possible, to the detriment of creativity. This is all the more true as they declare that experiencing emotion within a group or in a work situation, is not easy and goes against the deeply ingrained idea that emotions should be controlled.

On this point, we often observe that creative companies create space for the expression of these emotions. They tend to tolerate the fact that a creator is nervous, anxious, over-excited, sad or euphoric. These nervous states are part of what a manager must handle.

Senses

If the senses designate the feelers with which we perceive the world, they are also the tools we use to represent and imagine the world. Perceiving is not an act governed by a "mechanical" objective. We perceive or manufacture new sensorial information through the

prism of what we already know¹⁶. So creativity begins for certain people we have observed with the way they perceive and willingly upset their perception of a subject or a situation. The art of the detour or of the u-turn is what works here.

James Dyson, the inventor of the bag-less vacuum cleaner, who now runs the company of the same name obliges his engineer-designers to step outside their engineer's reflexes and logic by giving them the task of creating the prototype from scratch. So, in addition to the plan, the designer will manufacture the pieces (screwing, reaming, if necessary) to create the first prototype. Being on the frontline in terms of manufacturing alerts their senses and feeds their perceptions with an experience that is closer to reality.

On another level, Ferran Adria, the Catalan chef from El Bulli, takes advantage of the winter season when the restaurant is closed to carry out research with his team. He had the idea one day to upset habits and replaced the traditional tours of other gastronomic establishments with a few weeks residency in a sculptor's workshop. His team proved to be very innovative when confronted with other stimuli and working logic. So, an observant and perspicacious manager can encourage creativity by provoking sensorial and sensitive ruptures with habit in his or her team.

Cerebral gymnastics

In this section we put the mental capacities that intervene in the treatment of information and problem solving. In the sixties, a trend aimed at approaching creativity from an instrumental angle developed¹⁷. Numerous "creativity techniques" were put forward, and spread around work organisations, implemented for the most part collectively.

The best known practice is brainstorming¹⁸, which functions through alternating phases of "divergence" (open subject, broad strokes) and "convergence" (centring the arguments on the question at hand), along with rules such as "focus on quantity" or "no criticism" and "unusual ideas are welcome". In parallel,

attempts have been made to measure the creative intelligence of individuals. Tests have been outlined by P. Torrance to evaluate the production of ideas on a subject according to 3 criteria: "flexibility", fluidity" and "originality". He defines flexibility as the capacity to produce ideas on different levels. Fluidity is the capacity to produce a significant number of ideas on the same level. Originality is measured according to the number of original ideas put forward by one person, compared to that put forward in a group test.

Divergence, convergence, fluidity, flexibility, but also analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction, all of these "gymnastics" reveal themselves to be resources for creativity and seem to be able to be developed with regular practice. However, each individual has preferences. As a result, the idea of using a variety of resources has become common within organisations. Walt Disney proposes a project plan in three stages structured on complementary approaches¹⁹: a "dream" phase, the moment where divergence rules; a "realist" phase where questions are asked on the means ('accessible or not) to make the dream come true, when convergence was the rule; and a "critical" phase, where the ideas chosen are put through the strictest filter to envisage everything that could prevent them from happening. In some of the creative companies we have observed, the idea of conjugating talent within teams, and to "specialise" functions is forbidden by the human resources department (sometimes risking caricature): to the creation of divergence and convergence phases; to marketing the analysis and the synthesis.

Modus operandi

This covers the logic and individual preferences in the way one travels through the different stages on the way to solve a problem. They can be influenced by these learning environments. The organisations themselves influence the pathways in a strict or not so strict manner according to the culture and procedures of the company.

A "sequential" pathway puts the emphasis on

ascending logic: one stage after another. The basis of an approach, once validated, is not called into question. The planning is easy, the pathway clear. There is validation at every stage.

A more “circular” pathway gives rise to a repetitive logic or a first “prototype” solution that is rapidly thrown up to be used as a basis for reflection and exchange: envisaging the strengths and weaknesses of a proposition in a concrete manner, making choices from among a number of possibilities, improving weak spots or refining strong points, but most of all, leaving oneself the possibility until quite late in the process to call into question fundamentals that might prove unproductive. Finally, a “butterfly” path can be adopted: a more intuitive and associative logic is used in this case. A direction is taken and the construction is progressively enriched with the questions that come up and the opportunities that are encountered.

This breakdown is only a theory. Our observations have shown that the reality is to be found in the combination of these different modes on a few levels; a sequential or circular mode can set up the main stages inside which another mode may be used. At each distinctive creative phase an operating mode can be associated, for example: a butterfly preparation phase can be followed by a verification/management phase that is more sequential. Here again, we can see that the effect a *modus operandi* has on the creative process can vary, stimulating or blocking according to the context. The “game” consists therefore for the individual and the organisation that employs them, to find the best combinations, as can be seen from this quote from a marketing manager in a fashion company: “When we begin working with a designer, I need to outline everything to be reassured. I know in general where I want it to go! She needs to find what will excite her very quickly! So we have set up a system: for 20% of the collection, the basics (50 to 60% of my turnover!), I outline things and she fills in the blanks... for 20% of the collection she has free rein: she does what she likes, she digests the trends in her own way,

she chooses what risks to take... And for the 60% that remain, we discuss things: she proposes ideas, we question, we compare, each with their own criteria. For the remaining 60% the collection is set up progressively, we move back and forth. I have to admit that out of the 20% left to the designer, we have had some serious disasters but also some real success stories. In any case, it is the breeding ground for the brand’s creativity, so it is renewed, for the basics also, each season.

So the work is organised according to three co-existing modes: sequential for the basics, butterfly for the 20% “free expression” and circular for the remaining 60%.

The key to creativity in organisations?

The factors that influence the creative process as described above can be combined in an infinite number of ways, sometimes to the advantage of the creative process, sometimes to its disadvantage. Given the number of parameters, any attempt to categorise the creative process is doomed to failure. No research has ever even tried to do this. However, giving each player directions that enable them to better understand the creative process is a way of bringing the subject into the collective field. So, we have observed that, once he or she is able to put words on these singular elements, it is easier to measure the worth of one’s own contributions; and more serenely envisage co-creation, as the dialogue on the “what” can be split from that of the “how” and the cohabitation problems it spews up.

In doing so, the organisation is in a position to progress toward better integration of this individual data with its own constraints like effectiveness, performance, and risk management. So, by valorising their skills and explaining their needs, each player can contribute to the setting up of a more creative organisation, as it is more opportunistic, and is better equipped to exploit its unique human resources.

Beyond individual responsibility there is also the question of management and the organisation’s responsibility as a whole: it seems

ineffective, even counter-productive to manage creativity using the traditional management approach²⁰. On the other hand, in-depth experience in creative companies analysed in another article in this publication²¹ show that creative performance sometimes depends on the fine tuning of the individual territory and that of the organisation.

In a sometimes complex structure, the issue is to preserve spaces of freedom where individuals can bloom. So the manager must think, within these spaces, of roles and ad hoc frameworks to accompany the creativity of their collaborators. So this is where management becomes creative: it asks questions rather than formatting answers, it is flexible and anamorphic rather than rigid, it plays with constraints rather than imposing them. Like an orchestra conductor or a choreographer, the manager can be the person who works to reach the point that creates balance while containing the potential for the moves to come.

Pascale Ract & Valérie Bobo
Mona Lisa

1. Our reflection is backed up by observations we have made over the years as consultants and trainers. They come mainly from creativity management and development sessions that we carried out in companies in various sectors.
2. Cf. Luc de Brabandère and Anne Mikolajczak, *Le Plaisir des idées*, Paris, Dunod, 1994 who outline four main creative profiles.
3. Graham WALLAS, *The Art of Thought*, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1926, in V. HAUCH, « Créativité et décision stratégique : la nécessité d'une définition », *Gestion* 2000, 2002, p. 15-29
4. A.F., Osborn, *Applied Imagination, Principles and Procedures of Creative Thinking*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons (Ed.), 1953, Arthur, Koestler, *The Act of Creation*, New York, Dell, 1964. And more recently K. G., STOYCHEVA, Todd, LUBART, « La nature de la prise de décision créative », in Isaac Getz (Dir.), *La créativité organisationnelle, regards sur l'individu, l'entreprise et l'économie*, Paris, Vuibert, 2002.
5. "Divergence" is an approach that supposes opening the subject up to diverse sources and exterior influences, to create a broad framework so that unprecedented paths may be taken. More on this subject further on in this article in the part entitled "Cerebral gymnastics".
6. Since the forties, so-called "creativity" techniques have been formalised, some of which are aimed at accompanying the divergence. We could cite the "stream of consciousness" exercises that stimulate the imagination or the "discovery

matrix" that "force" unprecedented crossovers between parameters. A number of books list the main groups of techniques (for example: *Idées, 100 techniques de créativité pour les produire et les gérer* by Guy Aznar (2005) published by éditions d'Organisation).

7. Michael Kirton, *Adaptors and Innovators: Styles of Creativity and Problem Solving*, International Thomson Business Press, 1994. M. Kirton is a psychologist and has developed an approach to creativity where he distinguishes two registers: adaptation and innovation. The innovators have a profile (psychological, behavioural, skills developed...) that corresponds to the first role, adaptors to the second. Kirton shows that the correct association of these two registers leads to a creatively successful collective.
8. See Thomas Paris' article on this subject in this issue.
9. Teresa, M., Amabile, "A model of creativity and innovation in organisation", Staw & Cummings (Ed.), in *Research in Organizational Behaviour*, vol. 10, 1988, p. 123-167; "Creativity in Context" Boulder, in Westview Press, 1996.
10. Intrinsic motivation designates the motivation an individual finds within himself to carry out a task, which is separate from extrinsic motivation which relies on external rewards or pressure.
11. Freud or more recently Boris Cyrulnik, ethnologist and psychiatrist, explore this path with the concept of resilience.
12. In an article co-written with Isaac Getz, lecturer at the ESCP-EAP, specialised in management and innovation, "Emotion, metaphor and the creative process" in *Creativity research journal*, 1997.
13. Researchers in cognitive science such as P. Eckmann or A. Damasio, highlight the role of the so-called fundamental emotions that takes on its full meaning in issues of change, survival and the evolution of the species.
14. P. Eckmann or A. Damasio, *op cit*.
15. A number of studies have been carried out on this subject; Perkins 1988, Danzig, Nevis & Nevis 1970.
16. On this subject see the edifying research carried out by researchers in perception psychology, notably that of Kevin O'Regan, head of research at CNRS-université Paris V, on the concept of "change blindness".
17. See Pascale Auger's article in this issue that describes the limits of the use of such techniques from the point of view of creativity.
18. Formalised by A. Osborn, an ad-man with BBDO, in the forties.
19. Known as the "Disney strategy" analysed by Robert Dilts for the PNL (Programmation Neuro Linguistique). See Robert, Dilts, Gino, Bonissone, *Des Outils pour l'avenir*, Paris, La Méridienne, Desclée de Brouwer, 1995.
20. Cf. article by Pascale Auger in this issue.
21. Cf. article by Thomas Paris in this issue.

This interview is a completed version of an actual interview that took place at the Ecole des mines, as part of the "Création" seminar at the Ecole de Paris du management, under the direction of Thomas Paris (CRG, Ecole Polytechnique). Franc'Pairon is the Director of the fashion design programme at the IFM and since 2004 has also been an External Examiner at Central St Martins School of Arts. Before joining the IFM in 1999, she founded the Fashion Design workshop at la Cambre and ran it for thirteen years. In 2004 and 2005 Franc'Pairon established a fashion programme in Vietnam in tandem with the French Embassy.

A participant: What is your professional and educational experience?

Franc' Pairon: I am self-taught in fashion, I first did an art history baccalaureate and then, after spending time in America and in Africa, I chose to study interior design. There have been a number of phases in the journey: before and after America, before and after Africa, and there will most probably be a before and after Paris! This time spent abroad opened up my mind. [The U.S for the projection into the future at a time when man was walking on the moon for the first time but also for the realisation that I actually belonged to a European culture. Africa for the Katangan people, who were often poor but basically free and happy living at the heart of nature far from the pressures of consumerism and finally Paris for its strong aestheticism, incomparable heritage and its sometimes omnipresent references.]

When I founded the Atelier de Création de Mode(s) at the Ecole Nationale des Arts Visuels de La Cambre in Brussels, it suited me to have

to build everything from scratch: to position fashion as an artistic discipline in itself, to create an entire educational programme over 5 years, to recruit quality teaching staff and the first students. I had carte blanche. I had a nine hour week!

After thirteen years at La Cambre, I was offered a job at the Institut Français de la Mode. I accepted as I had the impression that I covered everything from teaching to organisation to self-funding annual events that had become fashion landmarks. I left behind LA CAMBRE-MODE[S], a workshop with an independent structure that is now a credible experimental educational system recognised as a European masters by the British commission. The people who now run the atelier –almost all ex-students of mine– are doing a remarkable job that is recognised internationally.

So, in 1999, I took another leap in the dark going from a design school to a management school in a totally different cultural and industrial context, in Paris... I took over the new International Fashion Design course at the Institut Français de la Mode.

My method was to declare a state of emergency! To teach designers the art of the constraint, to open up the managers of tomorrow to the meanders of design, to convince industry to develop prototypes with our fashion designers. All of the interest and the complexity of what I do here come from filling the blanks for the designer, bringing them up to speed before they enter the working world: resisting stress, being able to communicate with others, understanding and transgressing managerial strategy, sublimating industrial constraints.

By creating pathways between design and industry, but also between management and "talent", I try to bring the rational and the emotional together and make sure that design and creativity are better respected, integrated, understood and that design and creativity overcome their handicaps in relation to their managerial counterparts. This is because successful design is immediately copied but also criticised when the objective hoped for is not reached.

How does the student selection process work?

The admissions phase is always a particularly intense time.

At La Cambre, around fifty applicants came to spend a week with us. The tests were extensive: a dissertation, an interview, a series of timed tests, then a modelling test, and finally a design that had to be presented in the show that closed the admission session. The system was intended to reveal the applicant's sense of imagination, their graphic abilities, their sense of colour but also their aptitude to direct themselves.

In the exercise « Faites un col à votre visage, une chaussure à votre main » (make a collar for your face, a shoe for your hand), we could see the importance of the emergence of the face but mostly it was about their ability to develop a strong concept in five hours. In the end, we retained fifteen to eighteen students, including one or two "risks", those with great ability but also huge weak points.

The selection process at the IFM is totally different. The programme is aimed at designers who have been trained all over the world and often live abroad, so we have had to set up a recruitment process using DVD, telephone interviews, and the conception of a creative project on a given theme. There is also the test of the question in a sealed envelope, to be opened live in front of the camera: all interesting sources of evaluation.

While the last test enables us to gauge the vivacity of the student, there is one unknown, their capacity to create with constraints, in a given time frame and the ability to bounce back from criticism.

Your teaching methods are themselves very creative. Is your job to train or to reveal talent?

The school is a laboratory where accepted ideas are upturned and other fields of expression are discovered. Creativity is born from this shock. A school cannot create talent, it reveals it. However talent can often go hand in hand with a certain laziness. In fashion we cannot be designers on paper. We must conceive, trans-

gress, carry out, sublimate. Learning technical skills can be long and frustrating. When each designer has a symphony in their head, why must we constantly demand that they practice their scales? But at the same time, today's society gives the impression that everything is easy to acquire and accessible to everyone. The "no effort required" idea is seen as a new value in society. So, when you are a student it is difficult to accept that the results are not immediate!

The degree of experimentation in teaching is equal to the time available. When you have five years to reveal a talent, you can experiment more. In a year-long course like at the IFM, experimentation is synonymous with conclusive results. In all cases, it is a question of measuring the risks a project is exposed to and ensuring different options in case of failure.

In addition, the creative process is unpredictable. It is impossible to anticipate. Sometimes inspiration comes in an almost celestial manner, while other times one can work in vain for hours. Of course we can stimulate the imagination through improvisation to make everything lighter, almost magical. The creative process also includes long periods of hard graft. You need to warm up, like in a race. It is also fundamental to integrate this paradox: "We are the lace makers of the cybernetic age".

Do you train your students in organisation and management?

We don't train our students in organisation or management, but it is an aspect that cannot be ignored. At La Cambre, we set up the notion of In/Out, that is what is and is not included in a show. If the student has managed their time, their formal research and the transposition of the collections into clothes well, they will be "in", but an idea that is not thought through, however excellent, will be "out". Organisation thus becomes implicit. Sanctions teach the student to organise.

At the IFM, as our production workshop is French industry so this dual notion of organisation/management is omnipresent. We are in a tripartite relationship: the designer, the company and the Institute. If the designer cannot

respect the calendar imposed by the company, the IFM cancels the development of the prototype. The student must integrate the notion of maieutics and the involvement of the different players; as design is only one link in the chain and is not the only reference.

Bach, one of the greatest artists ever was only able to express his creativity through extremely precise codes and rules. Does creation in fashion always follow these codes to transgress them?

In fashion, the codes and rules are extremely precise, even if from the outside it looks like anything goes. It is easier to comprehend the complexity of our profession by drawing a parallel with architecture. When one wishes to build a volume on a body, one never sees the interior mass; we have to perceive a construction whose content we never see. It is as if an architect had to build a house that would stand up only when held by the people that lived there.

In teaching, we always propose a well demarcated field, obliging the student to go beyond the boundaries. At La Cambre, the students all had the same starting instructions, and each one had to create something different using this framework. When you deliberately create situations where constraint is the only direction given, the results are often highly creative: with twenty metres of fabric, the skirt produced is infinitely different to something begun by taking the canonical dimensions of the waist!

At the IFM, the starting point of the creative act is the constraint. It comes from a brief, a limited budget or an industrial manufacturing process that needs to be sublimated by creativity. For example, the same basic shape given to three creatively very different students by a shoemaker is a perfect way to display the power of creativity.

In relation to timeframes, you give the impression that the students work constantly to impossible deadlines. Is this relationship to time as tense at school as in the workplace?

Time is a continual issue and deadlines are omnipresent. Discomfort and excess are the norm. While in a five year undergraduate course you have six months to create your collection of sixty pieces, at master's level you have six weeks!

Often in the creative process, we encounter "writer's block", which adds to the already high level of pressure. We freeze with anxiety that we are at a dead end. But perhaps one should look at the situation differently... Think: "I am at dead end; this dead end will give rise to something else: let this other idea come to me." This readiness is preferable to a closed mind and shows how a split can be a factor for creativity. This phrase from J. Noiret sums up this state of mind perfectly: "To split with the norm is to create! We'll sleep later." But a creative cannot move forward without a huge dose of self-confidence, I would always follow the preceding quote with "Behind the wall, there is always the sea".

At the end of their course at the IFM, the design students often tell us that the fast pace of the programme served them well in their professional experience. It is true that fashion houses often thrive on a sort of constant frenzy and perpetual tension. In this profession, we defy death every day in return for a few moments of grace.

I am impressed by the production values of the clothes that are presented at the end of year show at the IFM. How do you manage the transition for students who find themselves working as mere executors after having been designers?

This is a contradictory profession that demands both a huge force of will, a certain humility and a lot of patience. It is essential to learn one's trade in the big houses if one is to grow in this environment. The creative force of some designers is so great that they only stay a year or two before striking out on their own; others find their place within a big fashion house where they are given more responsibility. This can be the case in accessories, that evolve in tandem with the ready-to-wear col-

lections without being under the same umbrella. In some fashion houses, the artistic director keeps their finger in every pie; in others they let other designers express themselves. However, these prestigious brands can be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, they fascinate and attract young talent into their studio; on the other they consume everything, emptying them of their substance. The young designer must stay awake and figure out the right time to step back and change or leave the big houses to follow their own path, rich with the experience they have acquired.

In terms of relationships with the big houses, how do things work between a designer and industry?

The marketing director transmits the codes of the house to the creative team. There are image codes and product codes that include the monogram, the colour etc. We then ask to what extent we can transcend those codes. After this initial brief, the students work and the company comes back to select the projects it feels are the most interesting. So we can see the extent of the company's flexibility, and how well disposed it is towards a reworking of its codes.

How do the students manage the codes in the relation with brands? Do they work with one house over another because the codes suit them better, or do they adapt to the brand by gelding their own sensibility?

I choose the brands myself. Then the students attend all of the briefing meetings and design for all of the houses. Finally, we select those who have an affinity with one brand or another and we decide to pair them or not. Of course, while they all have a certain knowledge of brands, they don't necessarily know all of the codes and what they involve. We organise brand management courses for the management students at the IFM. However, some students can't work with brands either because they are not adaptable enough or because they are too caught up in their own creative trip. It is up to us to spot this at

recruitment, to see if the designers are open enough to work for an outside commission.

You call the IFM a management school... Do you train fashion managers because the traditional business schools are not up to scratch?

The Institute was set up in 1986 and has trained over one thousand managers that now work in creative management. Our master's courses last one year with three month's work experience. They bring together fashion fans, designers, managers, economists, but also legal experts, semiologists, engineers, etc. This global approach taking different environments as a starting point is what makes the IFM. The design course that I run uses creativity as its starting point, its anchor, and then it structures the talent, giving them the keys they need to connect with other players. Creation is new to the IFM and, while it is essential, it remains in the minority. By bringing a creative option into the school, the IFM ran the risk of becoming a fashion school when it is so much more. If you visit my department, you will see very little actual equipment or none at all... My prototype workshop is the French fashion industry!

The course you offer invites students to be designers and implementers. However, later on they will be only implementing the designs of others. For example, Galliano no longer does any physical work; he has others do the work and shares his vision with them. Do you teach this capacity to transmit to others?

Celui qui peut le plus peut le moins. (He who can most, can the least) If you have a sketch that you find is not interpreted correctly by the pattern cutter, the only way to argue your point is if you can propose solutions yourself, a skill acquired when you have covered the technical aspects of dress-making in training. The opposite is not true. In France we often see a certain fragmentation in teaching: you do a design course or a dress-making course. As such, we can find ourselves with real designers who are useless at dress-making.

In Belgium, there are no references or models

from the hierarchical systems of the big couture houses like in France which forces us to teach the process as a whole. Today this is a real advantage.

You know how to make creative people work which is a huge advantage today. Do you intervene to confront the management universe with that of the creative universe?

It is truer to say that houses come to see me when their savoir-faire is in danger. This tends to happen through the industrial door rather than the managerial door. Students are transformed by two aspects of our course: working with managers and working with industry. Each designer must develop a five-year business plan that is part of the brief. They do the initial work and are then joined by a team of managers to solidify the project. Sometimes we can end up with identical strategies whatever the nature of the creative project. So creativity must be recognised as one of the technical components of management. A brilliant manager lacking in sensibility becomes obsolete very quickly; today we need visionaries who have a culture of business and art combined.

Would you ever envisage taking the reins of a big couture house?

No, never. Creating a pathway, promoting and valorising skills though creativity is right up my street. In addition, the IFM is opening up internationally. Our help is being solicited more and more by emerging countries in search of their creative identity. In Vietnam for example, over 3 000 self-taught designers enter the Fashion Grand Prix every year in a country where there is not even a fashion school! To satisfy this demand, we hold workshops that give rise to mini collections. Some of the experimental teaching methods established at La Cambre are now being used in Vietnam and Thailand. As for the local companies, they are starting to open design studios and are prepared to work with the upcoming generation of young designers: this is all very positive and I find it thrilling. I intend to continue my mission as a "Fashion Energizer".

Interview with Olivier Assouly
IFM

The economic conversion of creativity and taste

Olivier Assouly is a lecturer and head of research at the IFM and has concentrated his work on the symbolic production of norms of taste (aesthetic, social, ideological and political), in the physical sense but mostly in the aesthetic sense. He has published *Les Nourritures divines. Essai sur les interdits alimentaires* (Actes Sud, 2002) and edited the collective work *Goûts à vendre. Essais sur la captation esthétique* (IFM/Regard, 2007). This interview was carried out on the publication of his book *Le Capitalisme esthétique. Essai sur l'industrialisation du goût* (Cerf, 2008) (Aesthetic capitalism. An essay on the industrialisation of taste), that highlights the role of taste and its creativity the corollary of taste, in the development of capitalism and as a spur to consumption.

Bruno Remaury: How has the relationship between the market economy and creativity been organised throughout history?

Olivier Assouly: I need to outline one basic point. On the subject of the development of capitalism, certain analyses incorrectly put the emphasis on production and creativity that, in my opinion are secondary, as they are possible on condition that consumption and aesthetic reception are sufficiently advanced. If the question of taste has taken over from creativity, it is because it covers less of the intrinsic nature of the objects and more the sales opportunities of their adoption by consumers. As a result, it is essential to distinguish the "metaphysical" need for creation from an economic need where it constitutes one of the cornerstones of the economic war along with innovation.

A part of the relationship between creativity and economics is marked by the opposition between moral values and economic interests. At the time of the Renaissance, freely cultivating the mind as opposed to working was a leisure reserved only for the nobility, in line with a system in which contemplation opposed production.

So, should we conclude that life at court was in complete contradiction with the burst of activity in production terms and in particular with the birth of capitalism?

This is where things get complicated. If, on the one hand, the opposition to commerce was marked and obvious, on the other, life at court from the 16th century on began to see decisive changes that we can see in the writings of Castiglione and Gracian would lead to the foundations of liberalism.

At court, good taste manifested itself through a sort of game between collective norms and breaking with these norms, a gap that was more of an individual faculty where the courtisan would show his taste in a way that was to the taste of his peers. In its own way, by promoting the talent of the individual and their capacity for distinction, the nobility of the court directed an attack against established society, and in a way against itself, where the perspectives for career advancement were very limited. Indeed, in the society of the 17th century where birth determined social status, judgements were made in relation to one's conformity in terms of behaviour and words to a conventional order of customs and protocols. By imposing the idea of personal excellence through taste, individuals took control of their social fortune and destiny at the risk of ruining their reputation. As such, taste was already a faculty that was used to outline and increase man's power of autonomy in relation to rules and traditions. Progressively, and in line with the plan that would be adopted by the bourgeoisie, worldly existence called for one to master the events of one's own existence independently of birth. So a part of the aristocracy initiated the behaviour that would serve as the ethical basis for capitalism.

To what extent did this economic conversion take part of its motivation from the idea of taste?

It was not until the 18th century that the aristocratic value system eroded in favour of the interests and values of the bourgeoisie. In *The Wealth of Nations* and to an even greater extent in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Adam Smith was to promote this liberal movement to a great extent. The attention then given to taste, as the individual faculty to judge, progressively conjugated with the desire for possessions and material satisfaction, as well as with the urge to get rich. Commercial activity then took advantage of an ethic that was progressively used to fulfil the appetite for superfluous goods, objects of good taste that resulted from the free time left over for a deserving producer. Smith then proceeded with the methodical destitution of the mode of life of the courtesan in favour of the work and industrial action model. Unlike the man of the court, who refused all professions in order to maintain his condition as a free man, the industrial or industrious must seriously possess a profession and show reason in spending.

Good taste became a private affair, a thing of pleasure, far from the public sphere of the nobility. Taste lost its political strength but progressively gained strength in terms of material consumption. It became more predictable and calculable, as taste was no longer there to provide a display of virtuosity for the courtesan, but to remind one of one's deserving membership of a type of existence and to provide little aesthetic pleasures.

In addition, Adam Smith made vanity the spur behind the search for wealth: indeed, it was not really the idea of extra comfort that pushed men to get rich, nor the possession of beautiful things, but the fact of being admired by other men through the possession of these things. While for the nobility, luxury was not so much a source of joy but more an indication of social rank, for the bourgeois, refurbishing their interiors was proof of the link between the accumulation of riches and happiness, between work and recognition, labour and

gratification. So we moved from the symbolic compensation essential to the nobility to the demand for satisfaction translated into material pleasure in the mid term.

Taste concerned useless consumer goods, with no link to needs such as luxury goods or even art (for a growing part of the art of the time was literally consumed). This point is essential in order to understand the changes in capitalism where consumption was to enable the absorption of essentially superfluous productions (fashion, tourism, cultural industries).

By concentrating on leisure goods and, as a result, on creativity, industry created the objective of capturing and exploiting pleasure. This movement was to involve the economic conversion of taste, which is far from obvious when it was supposed to be an unproductive activity for the aristocracy. So it was a question of continually organising the disorganisation of taste to regenerate taste. It is principally for this reason that the market is attached to the disqualification of traditions and aesthetic routines, and to the temporary worlds built by fashion, to ensure its survival.

Le Capitalisme esthétique underlines the importance in the 18th century in the hierarchy of production, in favour of fashion and against custom, a trend that was to constitute the cornerstone of consumption. How did this happen?

It is remarkable to observe how the question was dealt with by Adam Smith as early as the end of the 18th century. He began by listing the hierarchy of the different types of production then established relative to the life span of a piece, work or object. It depended either on the solidity of the materials used as in architecture, or in the same way, for the immaterial character of music or poetry. However, textiles were perishable. Clothes fashion was particularly ephemeral. Because they could not be kept, fashion and furniture were dealt with on the lower part of the scale unlike the other arts that were stable enough to ensure the long term propagation of productions and of a style. Once this hierarchy was inventoried, Smith upturned the system. He understood

that, in an economy taken up with consumption and the renewal of merchandise that which is destructible has an exceptional value due to the renewal of the act of consumption and the acceleration of the pace of consumption. The question was how to implement this inversion of the hierarchical relationship. To do so, Smith insisted on the fossilisation of taste due to routine by refusing to recognise the authority of tradition and its only –arbitrary– strength, habit. So the hierarchy of objects established relative to their durability could be legitimately upturned: fashion went from the bottom to the top of the ladder for the simple reason that a chronic disaffection for objects multiplies aesthetic pleasure as well as almost unlimited commercial opportunities. It is clear, making creativity in its different forms the motor of consumption can only be understood if the individuals have been sensitized, undergone new norms, exercise and discipline, so as to be in a position to receive and appreciate (meaning evaluate or just enjoy) these objects. If I use the term “appreciate” it is to maintain the essential tension, more alive today than ever, between the faculty to measure and the faculty to enjoy, both linked to two diverging definitions of the same word. We will come back to this.

What are the artifices notably linked to creativity that have been used throughout the 20th century and still used today to boost consumption?

There are a quite a number of them and their effectiveness comes from the capacity of economic players, and in particular marketing people, to dig for example into cultural social and technological transformations. We can quickly list a few decisive factors. The first consists of scrambling the traditional hierarchies between high culture and mass culture, between art and culture, between fashion and art, between luxury and creation in the interest of eclectics. We should put the emphasis on the considerable de facto extension of the field of culture, even art, to objects that were excluded for a long time (fashion, graphics, animation, design). All aesthetic pleasure, even

sensuality, would be all the more legitimate if it is cultural. Calls for enjoyment in the name of post modernity are aimed at ingesting more cultures and differences, by promoting the relinquishment of the routine of tradition as well as all forms of cultural exclusivity. One of the consequences of this movement is to have justified the entertainment and to have transfigured the act of buying into a leisure activity in certain cases. But entertainment relies on a mode of appreciation of merchandise, places or people that indicates a characteristic distance with the relationship with objects in the industrial era.

In addition, contrary to the recurring profession of faith from designers, design today is responsible for making a growing number of objects more attractive in line with the fluctuation of taste and fashion. Taking the rapidity of the consumer cycle into consideration, the same individuals experience a succession of dissonant tastes: taste changes into distaste, and vice versa. The capricious character of aesthetic experiences is constantly neutralised by its acceleration and multiplication, in order to keep consumer trends alive at the cost of constant emotional tension.

What, fundamentally, are the reasons for the large place occupied by art, even in a watered down and consumable form, in a market economy and the evolution of an industrial society?

First of all, invention blooms fully in art, in its purest affirmation of self as it is excepted, in principle, from all ulterior repetition. At least in its principle, art escapes from repetition and measurable grandeurs to reach the uniqueness of quality, or difference. Two types of invention stand out, those that are the creation of a product at the origin of a new combination of images and sensations, and industrial ones that are distributed on a large scale. The former touch production, the latter the distribution and adoption by a public.

We must go back as far as Saint-Simon to see that art is not only a neutral source of aesthetic satisfaction, but it is that which brings together

individuals around a same sensible perception in order to govern them. It is fundamental in as much as aesthetic (artistic or decorative) production, beyond its dynamic effect on consumption, will create communities around this type of consumption, shifting out of the way the general interest (that relies on reason) in the very name of the imaginary nature of pleasure. At the same time, art acts on the collective sensibility that relies on sensations. The strength of aesthetic sensibility enables it to penetrate to the heart of subjects: the images and sensations are the object of a faster and more effective persuasion than those that rely on rational arguments. This is obviously what Saint Simon understood when he tried to make artists the avant-garde of a future industrial civilisation.

On a comparable level, the aesthetic investment of companies is essential today: cultural consumption is de facto a formidable motor for the socialisation of individuals, even more so than school or family. Aesthetic dispositions offer companies the opportunity to deploy common worlds and networks of belonging, using communication technologies. It is a leading opportunity of one thing and another, both remedy and poison: the expression of an emancipating force for the community and a controlling force.

This economic progress relies on the growing “aestheticisation” of society. The economy takes inspiration from artistic forms of production and socialisation to produce and sell. This movement translates the passage from an extensive economy, based on the national then global extension of opportunities for consumer goods, to an intensive economy aimed at regenerating markets using the aesthetic artefacts of consumption. The producers force themselves thus to complicate appetites inside an inner market that is more and more differentiated. Aesthetic consumption becomes extendable itself, way beyond simple elementary needs. Moving to a society that is capable of responding through industry to aesthetic appetites relies on the growth and multiplication of increasingly sophisticated desires. While industry initially responds to a limited

number of needs that preceded it, cultural industries supply economically timely amenities as they are unlimited.

In a traditionally industrial system, entering a store signifies looking for something precise to fill a void. In a different way, in industrial consumption under the guard of aesthetics an indeterminate part belonging to art insinuated itself like someone who enters an art gallery without really being in a position to define what they are looking for. The industrialisation of sensibility looks for more surprise –and in this a form of uncertainty (that will have to undergo the calculations of the producers at the same time)– and less the rational anticipation of needs.

Can we distinguish the stages of this increasingly marked foray of creation into the economy?

There are at least three identifiable stages: the first concerns the development of industrial design the objective of which from the start of the 20th century, was to make mass produced merchandise attractive. The systematic introduction of design and marketing into the car industry by General Motors in the twenties was particularly significant.

Then, the second stage was marked by the emergence of an economic sector of activity –the cultural industries– explicitly concentrated on the satisfaction and exploitation of the aesthetic appetites of the masses. The “cultural industries” –the name comes from Adorno from the fifties– were inaugurated with the invention of cinema and more broadly with the technical development of production and reproduction methods.

Finally, the last stage occurred in the eighties in a context of saturated markets, and it involved the implementation of huge means for communication campaigns leading to the rise in power of brands. This resulted in an unprecedented inversion, products became simple supports for brands. This supposed that the creative projects were oriented towards the design policies of the brands themselves. In its own way, what we refer to as the Post-Fordist company concentrates its efforts on the pro-

duction of wealth, no longer on actual manufacturing (that is now often carried out in Asia), but on the design, in terms of conception (design and innovation) of goods as well as their reception (marketing and communication) by the consumer, as it sees its clientele as the only wealth of any firm.

The originality of this particularly pregnant process at this, the start of the 21st century is less about the emergence of the cultural industries whose development had already started by the end of the Second World War and more about the extension of the aesthetic artifice as a boost to consumption, above all for merchandise that is totally lacking in any aesthetic dimension.

From this point of view, even the food industry is converting itself to “food design” and electrical goods are calling on designers in touch with fashion cycles. At the heart of this aesthetic redeployment of industry, design in its economically dominant form becomes the aesthetic *faire-valoir* of manufactured goods. This is why design has seen such extraordinary growth as it puts the emphasis on the aesthetic reception of merchandise and in doing so on the adaptation of products with consumer potential. Design is less an object than a rationalisation, a measuring and regulatory process of appetites or usages. Its worst enemy is unproductive spending, that which would lead to pure loss. Design is in charge of founding the per equation between production, acquisition and consumption.

Are we talking about the dressing-up of merchandise?

This goes way beyond merchandise as such. The stimulation of taste enables not just the sale of material products but the sale of “experiences” that above all mobilises the senses. In these conditions, we must recognise the indexation of creation on the immediate appetites of consumers, that is to say the acclimatisation of creation to its consumerist environment. This means that this type of creation will be obligatorily relative. And, it is this relativity that explains its success and its exten-

sion, even generalisation to populations that are not necessarily ready to receive creation in a more radical or inventive form. This leads to distinguishing taste from its own simulacra: one relies on skill independently of the domain (jazz, classical music, gastronomy, painting) to which it can apply itself, while its avatar plays with the basic impulses of consumers. Consuming forms of creation that conform with the multitude of their tastes (as eclecticism and spontaneity are the norm) leads each individual to consume their own emotions, from video games to simple wandering round the shops. In fact, the videos that we find in galleries and ready-to-wear boutiques have the same effect of producing aesthetic effects. The disappearance of the concentrated look constitutes the typical aesthetic effect production device. It is not the end of art, but that of its object regime, that relies on the edifying celebration of the pure relationship, with no other object or touchstone than the pure, incomparable experience of the spectator. The enjoyment is not so much linked to the exclusive possession of a piece of merchandise as to access to temporarily available sensations. At the same time, by shifting the value of the merchandise to the side of the consumer, in their capacity to be at the centre of their own conscious states, producers suggest to the consumer to produce the conditions necessary for the valorisation of the merchandise through their own sensibility. Their psychic experience only needs to coordinate with the signal and invitation to enjoy that comes from the brand.

The aesthetic relationship arbitrates economic transactions. Because consumer objects can not impose themselves, taste is the mediator. Its mobilisation calls for brands to intercept and remodel cultures –the religious, the sacred, the authentic, the interior, the beautiful, and the mythical. Brands will constitute and feed reservoirs of desire, feelings and beliefs that channel the flow of opinions by encouraging consumption. The border between reality and illusion, between culture and the cultural experience is becoming less clear as all forms of appreciation depend on its subjectivity. Even the notions of authenticity and falseness

are liquidated as they are relative to the "life experience" of the consumer. The references and norms get mixed up in aesthetic oscillations. This is why business men –and above all marketing men– are less interested in the merchandise than the organisation of suggestions. When it was a question of finding out consumer's opinions on the immeasurable qualities of products, they only needed to encourage belief using scientific, technical, functional or dietary allegations.

The aesthetic field has now become the big laboratory of business and a major domain for commercial application. All of this enterprise in the broad sense of the term, mobilises inventiveness that is outside the economic field of action to start with, whether this means the insertion of artistic creation, contractual or recurring contributions from artists, the transformation of artist into designer, designer into artist, the increasingly large role of design and designers in general. We also need to point out the enlisting of the consumer in the process of product design, in the name of emancipation, and the capacity of economic actors to unearth not the mass of average taste but the unprecedented sum of singular tastes that form another mass market.

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n°10.

July 2008, Six-monthly publication

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