

UC Irvine

UC Irvine Previously Published Works

Title

Making art work: Creative assessment as boundary work

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2gg2h8vx>

Author

Koppman, Sharon

Publication Date

2014-10-01

DOI

10.1016/j.poetic.2014.09.001

Copyright Information

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License, available at

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

Peer reviewed

Poetics

Making Art Work: Creative Assessment as Boundary Work

Sharon Koppman ^{*1}

**School of Sociology, University of Arizona, P.O. Box 210027, Tucson Arizona, 85721, USA*

Keywords:

Boundary work
Creativity
Evaluation
Logics
Occupational jurisdictions

ABSTRACT

Conflict in creative work is sometimes thought to emanate from the contentious personalities of creative workers. Drawing on several months of ethnographic field work at an advertising agency and semi-structured interviews with advertising professionals, I propose an alternate explanation for this antagonism, grounded in creative workers' and their market-oriented colleagues' competing definitions of good work. As an illustration of this larger struggle, I focus on the tension that arises during creative assessment. I find that while creative workers designate ideas as "creative" based on novelty and relevance, not all sources of novelty and relevance are considered legitimate. Sources that originate from outside their professional domain are dismissed as not novel (e.g., "overused") or irrelevant (e.g., "constraints"). Consequently, I suggest that creative assessment can be understood as a form of professional boundary work, a conceptualization with implications for our understanding of conflict in the creative workplace and the evaluation of creativity more generally.

¹ Correspondence to: School of Sociology, University of Arizona, P.O. Box 210027, Tucson, Arizona, 85721-0027. Email address: skoppman@arizona.edu. I wish to thank Beth Bechky, Erin Leahey, Jane Zavisca, participants in the PPW workshop at the University of Arizona, the editor Tim Dowd, and four anonymous reviewers for

their helpful comments on previous drafts of this manuscript. Earlier versions of this article were presented at the American Sociological Association and Academy of Management Annual Meetings. This article was supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant No. (SES-1131157).

1. Introduction

Here's to the crazy ones. The misfits. The rebels. The trouble-makers. The round pegs in the square holes. The ones who see things differently. They're not fond of rules, and they have no respect for the status-quo. You can quote them, disagree with them, glorify, or vilify them. About the only thing you can't do is ignore them. Because they change things. They push the human race forward. And while some may see them as the crazy ones, we see genius (Isaacson, 2011: 329).
Advertisement for Apple Computers, 1997

So went the battle cry of Apple. It was this mantra—that creative people were rebels with “no respect for the status-quo”—that Steve Jobs embodied in the workplace. After making developers redo the title bars twenty times, he responded to their complaints by shouting: “Can you imagine looking at that every day? It's not just a little thing, it's something we have to do right” (Isaacson, 2011: 131-132). Following a screaming match with an Apple executive, he stormed out when the executive insisted on writing on what Jobs considered *his* whiteboard (Isaacson, 2011: 245). When asked if Apple should use market research he replied, “No, because customers don't know what they want until we've shown them” (Isaacson, 2011:143).

Such anecdotes, used by Jobs' biographer to paint a portrait of an exhausting and difficult man (Gladwell, 2011), are illustrative of a more general pattern of conflict in creative work. Creative work is rife with conflict, with battle lines typically drawn between creative workers and their market-oriented managers (Bilton, 2007; Caves, 2000; Florida, 2002; Scase and Davis, 1995) and salespeople (Hirschman, 1989; Koslow et al., 2003; Kover et al., 1995; Rubtsova and Dowd, 2004). Creative workers' “renegade” personalities—such as that of Jobs—are often credited for this tension (Florida, 2002; Howkins, 2002; Scase and Davis, 1995).

Drawing on data collected through field work in an advertising agency and semi-structured interviews with advertising professionals, I argue that such conflicts actually arise from the struggle between occupational communities to define good work. As an illustration of this

larger struggle, I focus on the tension surrounding a central activity of creative production: creative assessment. I find that, while creative workers follow the standard definition of “creative” as a novel and relevant outcome (e.g., Amabile, 1996b), they only consider some sources of novelty and relevance legitimate. Creative workers protect their position, within organizations and the field itself, by defining good work as “creative” and defending the perimeters of what constitutes a creative contribution against the competing claims of other professionals. In this way, the process of defining creativity can be understood as a form of boundary work used to maintain authority over an occupational jurisdiction.

2. Conflict in Creative Work

Conflict in creative work is sometimes attributed to the fixed traits of creative workers. Research on creative visionaries, traditionally the “Great Men” of science, attempts to build an average portfolio of their unique type (Roe, 1953), psychological profile, and life-path (Gardner, 1994). For example, through a rich comparison of the lives of Pablo Picasso, Sigmund Freud, and Albert Einstein, among others, Gardner argues that exemplary creators enter a Faustian bargain that requires “masochism and unbecoming behavior towards others” (Gardner, 1994: 362). Similarly, the literature on creative personality traits emphasizes purported tendencies towards nonconformity, hostility, and anxiety (Feist, 1999), and extensive personal troubles (Barron, 1999). Laboratory studies show that traditional managerial strategies to promote worker efficiency are counterproductive for creativity (Amabile et al., 2005). As a result, managers are frequently instructed to leave creative workers alone (Bilton and Leary, 2002) because “creative people tend to rebel at efforts to manage them overly systematically” (Florida, 2002: 133).

An alternative explanation for this conflict lies in the theory of Pierre Bourdieu. Like Karl Marx, Bourdieu sees society as characterized by a constant struggle waged between social classes

vying for power. However, unlike Marx's emphasis on the means of production, he sees the stake of this struggle as the legitimate system of valuation—the criteria by which worth or value is assessed (Lamont, 2012). In his view, society is divided into specific domains or “fields” (e.g., art, politics, or business) that each have their own system of valuation or “logic” that governs the definition of appropriate action (Bourdieu, 1977). Social action is thus viewed as the result of individuals drawing on their possession of resources or “capital” in relation to those which govern the rewards of the field (Bourdieu, 1984). Individuals with accumulated capital have a vested interest in their legitimacy and thus, they are likely to downgrade the alternative logic as a bid for “symbolic power,” i.e., the power to define, assign and evaluate status (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991).

Creative industries such as advertising sit on the boundaries of two fields and thus experience a clash of logics competing to be the primary system of valuation (Bourdieu, 1983; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007). On one side is *economic logic*, the primary determinate of which is market value. The explicit market orientation of economic logic, associated with large-scale production, values exchange and cost efficiency. In advertising, this is reflected in the agency's desire to create a campaign that reaches as broad an audience as possible and thereby maximizes their client's profits. On the other side is *artistic logic*, based around the ultimate goal of art for art's sake. Artistic logic, associated with restricted production, is motivated by an interest in economic disinterest, which devalues cultural products that have commercial success and favors those that appeal to other producers (Bourdieu, 1984). In advertising, this is reflected in creative workers' desire to do work considered “good” by their peers (McLeod et al., 2011).

The presence of competing logics produces tension in the creative workplace. Hence, the conflict endemic to the creative industries—observed in fields as diverse as Renaissance painting (Berger, 1972), 19th century literature (Bourdieu, 1996), contemporary art (Velthuis, 2005), publishing (Van Rees and Vermunt,

1996), television production (Powell and Friedkin, 1986), video game production (Tschang, 2007), product design (Andriopoulos and Lewis, 2009), and fashion (Crane and Bovone, 2006; Mears, 2011)—can be interpreted as a result of this clash of logics. By their own accounts, chefs (Fine, 1992), editors (Thornton, 2004), and actors (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007) view market demands as constraints on their creativity. Meanwhile, the managers and colleagues of creative workers often view them as selfish for not considering the collective needs of the organization (Elsbach and Flynn, 2013) and as “babies” for their unwillingness to compromise (Hackley, 2000).

Logics are defended and maintained by enacting symbolic boundaries, i.e., the “tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality” (Lamont and Molnar, 2002: 168). Boundary work legitimates group practices by serving as grounds for inclusion and exclusion (Armstrong, 2002; Lamont and Molnar, 2002; Swidler, 2001) between social classes (Lamont, 1992), professions (Abbott, 1988; Arndt and Bigelow, 2005), and occupational communities or “thought-worlds” (Bechky, 2003a, b; Dougherty, 1992). In such a way, legitimacy, the collective construction of social reality consistent with the values and beliefs that individuals are presumed to share (Weber, [1922] 1978), is socially constructed. While legitimacy can be validated locally or universally (Johnson et al., 2006), the legitimacy of a specific logic, such as that of art, is validated locally, since those outside the group—be it a social class, profession, or occupational community—may ascribe to a different logic and thus may never see the same practices as legitimate.

In the setting of interest to this study, the workplace, boundary work is often enacted when an occupational community or profession's claim over a task area, or jurisdiction, is threatened. Given the centrality of jurisdiction to an occupation's existence, such claims are fiercely guarded (Abbott, 1988; Bechky, 2003a). For example, lawyers fight with psychologists to define mental competence as a legal issue (Abbott, 1988), while engineers maintain their

authority over technicians by defining good work as “built to the print” (Bechky, 2003a). For cultural workers whose professional interests are aligned with artistic ideals, this means using boundary work to defend artistic logic against the market’s economic logic. For example, tasting room hosts at exclusive wineries derisively call Wine Spectator, a lifestyle magazine devoted to wine, “Wine Speculator,” and avoid customers looking to “buy a status symbol” (Jamerson, 2009), while Greek hip hop artists position their work as “real” and “clean” to the commercially successful genres that are “tasteless” and “too American” (Elafros, 2013). Even when employed in commercial enterprises, such workers affirm their artistic identity by designing products that can be recognized through a signature style (Elsbach, 2009) and distancing themselves from products they consider inauthentic (Wei, 2012).

Advertising is an ideal site to examine this alternative explanation for conflict in the creative workplace. Research on advertising work has documented interdepartmental tension over issues such as client deadlines (Rubtsova and Dowd, 2004), self-presentation at client meetings (Morais, 2007), and the use of research (Hackley, 2000). Studies have typically attributed this conflict to “creative” personalities (Gelade, 1997), organizational roles (Hirschman, 1989; Koslow et al., 2003), or the lack of common codes, repertoires, and knowledge (Cronin, 2004; Hackley, 2003; Kover et al., 1995). I argue that this conflict is better understood as a struggle between occupational communities over the definition of good work. The importance of creativity in advertising has been contested since its inception (Fox, 1984). Creative workers define good work as “creative” (Hirschman, 1989; Rubtsova and Dowd, 2004) and thus regard client deadlines, meetings, and research as impediments to good work. Meanwhile, managers and account service professionals define good work based on clients’ needs and thus regard client deadlines, meetings,

and research as central to good work. Although this antagonism manifests in multiple forms of interdepartmental conflict, I focus on the tension that arises during creative assessment as an illustration of this larger struggle. Since creative workers define good work as “creative” and see their occupational jurisdiction as “creativity,” it logically follows that they would counter actions viewed as encroachments on their domain with defensive boundary work.

I am also interested in *how* the designation “creative” is used to defend an occupational jurisdiction. To be “creative,” an idea must be somehow new or original, different from what has been done before (Amabile, 1996a). But different groups can have different understandings of what is new or original (Guetzkow et al., 2004; Rosenblum, 1978). In *Distinction*, Bourdieu highlights how such differences originate from social relations. Specifically, he takes issue with Immanuel Kant’s ([1790] 1952) argument that the appreciation of art produced by “exemplary originality” should prioritize style or *form* over the object’s content or *function*. Within this Formalist framework—a perspective which dominated the art world from the late 19th century to the mid- 20th century, art history for much of the 20th century (Williams, 2009), and art education almost to the present day (Feldman, 1992)—novelty in art is novelty of form. Bourdieu (1984) argues that this preference for form is the result of the gradual systemization of the upper-class disposition by professional artists. Ultimately, he asserts, the ability to have what is considered legitimate taste is dependent on one’s social location—occupying a privileged position distanced from economic necessity (Bourdieu, 1984).² Applied to the creative workplace, creative workers, distanced from the economic demands of clients, may use boundary work to include sources of novelty informed by economic disinterest (i.e., new forms) and exclude of sources of novelty informed by economic interest (i.e., new

² As an illustration, he presented Parisians with a photograph of a French gas refinery at night. Working-class respondents tried to identify the subject and evaluated function: “I can’t make out what it is, it’s a mystery to me” (Bourdieu, 1984: 46). Upper-class

respondents ignored the subject and evaluated form: “It’s inhuman but aesthetically beautiful because of the contrasts” (Bourdieu, 1984: 47).

functions) as a way to defend their occupational jurisdiction.

This is not, however, the only way creative workers may use creative assessment to defend their occupational jurisdiction. A new form, in and of itself, is not enough to constitute a creative contribution—by definition, a creative outcome is novel *and* relevant (Amabile, 1996b). While some have conceptualized the relationship between novelty and relevance as an opposition (e.g., Becker, 1984), recent research suggests that truly creative combinations are those that are both highly novel and highly relevant: they “reach toward both frontiers” (Uzzi et al., 2013: 471). In art, relevance is defined by conventions that create beauty, meaning, and emotion by manipulating the audience’s expectations (Becker, 1984). For example, poets rely on the associative materials embedded in language, meanings that are signaled by their sounds, such as the sound “gl” association with light (e.g., glow, glint, glare) (Bolinger, 1950). Since by definition, the process of evaluating relevance is social (Fleming et al., 2007), the social group serving as the source of conventions is a potential site of boundary work. In advertising, relevant conventions can come from the culture of the elite or the general public; the client firms, industries, or targeted consumers; or the art world itself. Thus, the process of assessing what novelty is also relevant, and thus, “creative,” is also a process of defining and defending legitimate conventions.

Using evidence from an ethnographic study of an advertising agency and semi-structured interviews with advertising professionals, I show how creative workers use creative assessment to draw symbolic boundaries that protect their occupational jurisdiction. Finding that the outcome of creative assessment depends on whether individuals draw on sources of novelty and relevance considered legitimate by the occupational community, I illustrate how the very practice of defining creativity is patterned by professional interest.

3. Methods

Studying creativity is difficult due to practical problems of observation and documentation. Most creative actions are not expressed verbally, making observations all but impossible. Moreover, people often a difficult time explaining why they make aesthetic decisions (Mears, 2011) and creativity’s unconscious character makes it hard for them to recall how they came up with a specific idea. As a result, they frequently “downplay the mundane social processes involved in knowledge making in favor of discourse of creative genius, leaving few traces in autobiographical recollections or standard historical treatments” (Gross, 2008:xiv).

To address these methodological concerns, I relied on a combination of field work and interviews. Through field work, I was able to document the creative process as it naturally occurred. Through interviews, I am able to extend my findings beyond the site of my field work, to other advertising organizations and work contexts. Combining field work with interviews conducted outside my initial field site also allows me to triangulate data (Denzin, 1989), thereby addressing concerns of falsifiability. In Table 1, I describe study participants by data collection technique, job title, organizational size, urban environment, and college degree. As shown, most of my interview informants were employed in medium to large agencies in mid-size to large cities.

3.1 Case rationale

Advertising provides an opportunity to study the social process of creative assessment *in situ*. Like other creative fields, advertising is dominated by tales of “Great Men” and creative geniuses. From Alex Osborn, the inventor of brainstorming, to David Ogilvy, the “father of advertising,” to Alex Bogusky, the creative director at the world’s most awarded agency, industry lore is dominated by individuals. However, unlike some creative fields where collaboration is relatively hidden, creative work in advertising is explicitly a collective process, which provides a chance to observe the creative process in action. Like other studies focusing on

Table 1
Informant characteristics.

	Field site (N=13)	Interview (N=19)	Agency size			Industry tenure			Current location			College degree			
			<10	11-99	100+	Mean	Min	Max	Large	Mid-size	Rural	Design	Business	Science	Humanities
CEO/President	1	2	1	2	0	26	20	33	0	2	1	1	0	0	2
Creative Director	1	7	2	5	1	22	12	32	2	6	0	2	3	1	2
Art Director	1	1	0	1	1	12.5	5	12	1	1	0	2	0	0	0
Designer	4	3	1	5	1	5	0.5	15	2	4	1	5	0	0	1
Copywriter	0	4	1	0	3	1.8	0.02	4	4	0	0	0	1	1	2
Account Services	2	2	0	2	2	14	2.5	27	2	2	0	0	0	0	2

Note: The four employees from my field site excluded from this table were involved in operations.

creativity in commercial contexts (e.g., Lingo and O'Mahony, 2010), I examine this observable process, rather than relying on the common strategy of interviewing people widely recognized as creative after they have achieved acclaim.³

The relative separation of work that is designated as “creative” in advertising makes an ideal site to examine the assessment of creativity. Creative workers in this industry, referred to by their colleagues as “creatives,” have work functions explicitly distinguished from technical skill. While creatives produce a “concept” for an advertisement, they typically do not have all the skills to execute their ideas, particularly in the case of television advertisements. Once a client buys an idea, professional illustrators, photographers and production houses are called upon by the agency (deWaal Malefyt and Moeran, 2003). By eliminating technical artistic skill as a cause of the classification “creative,” I strengthen my argument that creative assessment, in this context, is primarily a form of boundary work.

3.2 Data collection

3.2.1 Field work at Quality Solutions Co.

In the spring and summer of 2011, I conducted field work twenty hours a week (320 hours total) at Quality Solutions Co. (a pseudonym), a full service advertising agency located in the United States. Despite the United States' prominence as a producer of advertising, it has been relatively neglected by previous work that has focused on Japan (Moeran, 1996), Sweden (Alvesson, 1994), the United Kingdom (Hackley, 2000; McLeod et al., 2011) and Eastern Europe (Rubtsova and Dowd, 2004). Quality Solutions Co. had thirteen employees, marginally larger than the national industry average of nine (U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010-2011). The main office was located in a mid-size city with around one million inhabitants. The agency produced work for a diverse array of industries, which included

international, national, and regional organizations, many of whom were well-known regionally.

The employees at Quality Solutions Co. were demographically representative of the industry as a whole. The majority of employees are women, with the exception of the creative department, which is predominantly male (Mallia, 2009). A lack of racial diversity exists in the advertising industry generally (U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010-2011); this agency, through the duration of my tenure, employed one Mexican American manager, two Asian American employees and an African American intern. Creative workers were more likely to be hourly, rather than salaried employees, reflecting the overall trend for creative workers to be in precarious employment contracts (Bilton, 2007).

At Quality Solutions Co., as with most advertising agencies, the employees directly involved in the process of creative production resided in the account and creative services departments. The account services department was primarily responsible for securing and managing clients. In my field site, this department had four members: the chief executive officer (CEO), two account directors, and the account coordinator. The CEO's primary work consisted of bringing clients into the agency and overseeing the work of the two account directors. Account directors were mainly responsible for managing the clients the CEO brought in, although they each had contacts throughout the community and often brought in clients themselves. The account coordinator primarily assisted the account directors by helping them manage client relationships.

The creative department was primarily responsible for creating the ideas and designs for the agency's products, including print and television advertisements, logos, collateral (i.e., marketing materials like brochures, business cards, flyers, coupons), and websites. Execution (printing, photography, and programming) was

³ The collaborative nature of creativity in advertising makes it suitable for a sociological and ethnographic analysis of the *social* process of creative assessment. The *cognitive* process of creativity

that occurs inside individual minds, however, is beyond the scope of this study.

often handled by other departments within the firm or outside contractors. The creative department was headed by the creative director, who was also co-owner of the agency. She was responsible for leading brainstorming meetings and other project-related meetings, and approving all creative work before it was sent to clients. Below her was the art director, who was in charge of complex design projects. Brainstorming meetings, where initial client “concepts” (the central idea for a campaign) were developed, were attended by the creative director, art director, and an account director. Members of the creative department below the art director—a graphic and a web designer—did not participate in developing client concepts and were mainly tasked with executing design concepts. Aside from the creative director, creative department employees rarely interacted with clients.

3.2.2 Participant observation

While at Quality Solutions Co., I was a participant observer at brainstorming meetings, weekly traffic meetings where project progress and deadlines were discussed, employee trainings, staff meetings, presentations, client conference calls, and social gatherings. As an intern, I assembled a manual on the organization’s workflow, compiled pitches, prepared client proposals, wrote copy, and collected content for the agency’s internal knowledge base. Everyone at the agency was aware of my status as a researcher and gave informed consent to participate in the project. I was able to overtly take field notes in the majority of settings, but took discrete jottings in situations where note-taking would draw attention (Emerson et al., 1995). Overt note-taking gave me the unique ability to reproduce conversations verbatim in my field notes, particularly valuable for a study analyzing spontaneous processes (like creativity). Notes were typed immediately upon exiting the field to maximize validity. I wrote weekly memos to summarize emerging patterns. The field work was triangulated with informal interviews with agency employees and archival evidence.

3.2.3 Interviews

In addition to the field work described above, thirty-six semi-structured interviews were conducted with advertising professionals throughout the United States. Recruitment was based on a probability sample of U.S. advertising agencies from the *Advertising Redbooks Standard Directory of Advertising Agencies* (2012), a commonly used sampling frame for the advertising industry (see Broschak and Block, forthcoming; Broschak, 2004), and a subsample, recruited through personal contacts, of professionals working in the most competitive sector in Manhattan, NY. Interviews were conducted in the summer of 2012, in-person in New York City, by video chat on Skype, and by phone. They were approximately thirty minutes in length, ranging from twenty minutes to an hour and a half. In this article, I draw on a subset of interviews (N=19) with informants who presently or previously worked in creative positions. I focus on informants’ responses to the following questions: “Describe your favorite and least favorite campaign” and “Describe your favorite and least favorite aspect of your work.” To avoid leading questions that privileged “creativity” over “effectiveness,” my interview protocol did not ask about creativity directly. However, if the informant mentioned creativity on their own (which they usually did), I would ask follow-up questions probing the evaluative criteria underlying this assessment, following a protocol similar to Guetzkow et al. (2004) in their study of originality in academia. Interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim by a professional transcriptionist.

3.3 Data analysis

I used ATLAS.ti 6.2 to code both field notes and interview transcripts using grounded categories. Although the traditional approach to grounded theory requires the researcher to enter the field *tabula rasa* (Glaser, 1978), I follow the approach that takes sensitizing concepts from the literature as a starting point (Charmaz, 2000; Corbin and Strauss, 2008). The process of coding was an iterative process between the literature, the data, and the categories, which proceeded in three stages. Figure 1 illustrates

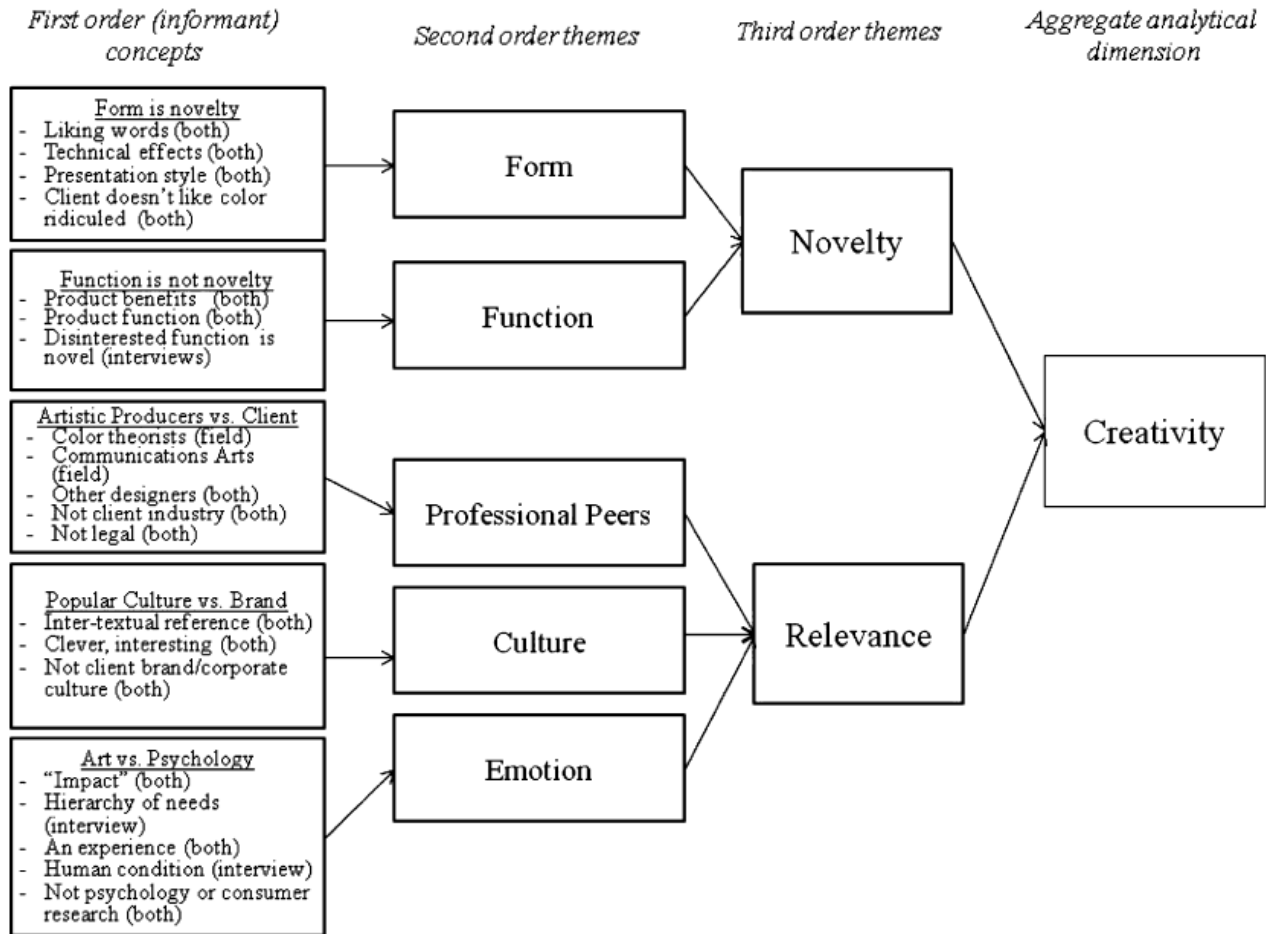


Fig. 1. Emergent data structure.

how I progressed from raw data to emergent themes (Gioia et al., 2012). First, I used open coding to label and categorize the data into first order concepts. This stage began while I was still in the field, which allowed me to adjust, test, and compare categories, using *in vivo* codes derived from respondents' terminology. After the field work and interviews were completed, I began the process of axial coding, by grouping first order codes into second order themes. Finally, selective coding was used to refine the main analytic dimensions (Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

4. Findings

By definition, creativity is an outcome that is both novel and relevant (Amabile, 1996b). To creative workers, however, only certain types of novelty and relevance earned the label

“creative.” This distinction, I argue, emerged from a desire to defend their occupational jurisdiction from the claims of other professionals. Illegitimate sources were so defined because they represented a different logic than that of art itself; in the words of Abbott (1988), they were less “professionally pure.” Marking them as illegitimate was a way for creative workers to exercise their symbolic power. Below, I describe sources of novelty and relevance that emerged from my data, highlighting how creative assessment was used to draw symbolic boundaries that served as grounds for inclusion as well as exclusion. I begin with an examination of what was considered novel and then turn to an analysis of how this novelty was also relevant.

4.1 Sources of novelty: form and function

My analysis yielded a pattern similar to that observed by Bourdieu (1984) in his study of mid-20th century France social classes. Creative workers, distanced from “economic necessity”—in this case, client demands and the economic needs of the firm—were more likely to view new forms as legitimate sources of novelty, dismissing new functions as crude economic interest (e.g., sales).⁴ However, there were some exceptions to this rule. When a new form threatened professional authority, it was dismissed as not creative. Likewise, if a new function was disinterested, it could be considered creative.

4.1.1 *Form as grounds for inclusion*

In my organizational capacity as an intern, I was given an early assignment that served as an initiation into the use of form as a source of novelty. My second day in the field, I was given the task of finding words for a new name for a client’s company. The creative director explained the assignment: “We really like the words ‘pizzazz,’ ‘uber,’ and ‘lift.’ Also, ‘amplify’ is a really good word, find words like that.” She handed me a piece of hotel stationery with a hand-written list of examples (Field Notes, 2011).

The creative director wanted words with the same qualities as “amplify,” a different task than requesting words with the same meaning. Before that moment, I had never (at least explicitly) thought about whether I “liked” specific words. Rather, I picked words based on their meaning, what they convey, in other words, their *function*. When it came to choosing between two words with the same meaning, I might instinctively prefer one word over another. However, I never thought about why I was making this differentiation.

The creative director expressed a preference for a word’s *form*. By saying that she “likes” the word “uber,” she conveyed a distance from the word’s meaning. She did not say she liked the meaning of the word “uber,” she said she liked

something about it aesthetically—perhaps the way it sounded, or the way it looked on a page. In doing so, she took an object that most people would consider a means to an end and made it an end in itself.

The significance of this exchange was further clarified when the new name was announced at a weekly traffic meeting. Immediately after the creative director shared the name she had chosen (“Moxie Vacations”) with the group, a designer exclaimed: “Oooh, I like words with ‘x!’” This comment inspired nods of approval and smiles from the other creative workers (Field Notes, 2011). “Moxie” was considered a good word because of its form, specifically the typographical possibilities presented by the letter “x,” rather than its meaning or function, which was notably quite different from “lift” or “uber.”

Accounts of interview informants followed a similar pattern. In their descriptions of their favorite campaigns, a substantial majority noted that such work was “new,” “different,” or “original” because of *how* the campaign, image, or commercial was presented. For instance, an art director described how his team made an advertisement for a HIV drug creative. The campaign had been running annually as a photo contest, in which people whose lives had been affected by HIV sent in photographs and their story, with the winning entries displayed in an art gallery. This time, he described, “We wanted to step up, to the next level, so we pretty much started with some new ideas.” In this case, the “new idea” was to change the form of the presentation. Rather than hanging the winning photographs in a gallery, the winners’ stories were presented as interpretative dance by an internationally acclaimed modern dance theater (Interview, 2012).

Technology was also described as a means to recombine form in new and different ways. For instance, a creative director described how the primary source of novelty for a recent campaign devoted to reducing drunk driving was how

⁴ Advertising is not generally considered art, but creative workers in advertising—like the chefs studied by Fine (1996)—often compare their work to art and themselves to artists. As I show in other work,

their taste resembles that of fine artists (author reference removed) and they identify with artistic stereotypes (author reference removed).

technology was used. By shooting the commercial using an iPhone, it looked as though it was shot by a teenager. In his opinion, the commercial was creative (“it looks great, it’s creative, it’s powerful”) because of the new way it was presented (Interview, 2012). Another interview informant, also a creative director, described how a less advanced technology—a letter press—was the source of novelty for a recent campaign: “Hand printing the posters, that was a fun neat thing, because so much of what we do is with technology and computers, so that was creative because we got to do *something different* with applications” (Interview, 2012). In her view, the resulting piece was creative because it used technology in a different way.

4.1.2 Form as grounds for exclusion

Form, however, was not always a legitimate source of novelty. When form-based ideas were considered a threat to the jurisdiction of creative workers, they were dismissed as “not creative.” For instance, at a weekly meeting early in my field work, an account director announced that her client had rejected the agency’s layout for a brochure because “they hate orange.” Instead, the client had suggested the agency use a new color scheme. The creative director grimaced and let out an exasperated sigh. By proposing a form-based idea, the client had broken the unspoken rule that they would defer to the agency’s creative team on questions of form. While it was legitimate for the creative director to say that she liked the word “amplify” without requiring further explanation, the same behavior was inappropriate for a client. Although this incident initially seemed trivial, it soon became a running joke in the agency: whenever a client had what they considered an illogical request, someone would chime in “at least they like orange!” The account director even took to asking new clients whether they were “averse to any colors,” an inquiry met with laughter by the creative staff when repeated at a meeting (Field Notes, 2011). In short, the idea that a client

would express a form-based preference was considered absurd.

This reaction was not the exception, but the rule. Another example from my field work elaborates this point further. The creative director had assigned a designer a small project. As the three of us sat in the creative director’s office, she scanned the email she had received from the client. “The client explained that they have this graphic but it’s not well done, it’s not professional,” the creative director read. She looked down at the graphic, “Yeah, it’s just a picture with words over it.” In other words, it lacked a new use of form. Turning to the designer, she explained how she could remedy this problem, “Show them a bunch of different styles. This is 3D, but when we do it we can make it more graphical.”

“He [the client] wants to do puzzle pieces,” the graphic designer responded. She had received a separate email from the client. “The email says ‘we were thinking that there should be puzzle pieces that all come together.’”

In response, the creative director groaned. “Ugh, puzzle pieces is Design 101. Every student in Design 101 does puzzle pieces on their first project. There should be another way of doing this.” She looked down at the graphic again, “You can just have separate objects that fit together as a whole; they don’t have to be puzzle pieces” (Field Notes, 2011).

In this example, the client’s form-based idea—to use puzzle pieces—was dismissed as not novel (e.g., “puzzle pieces is Design 101”) and thereby, not creative. Her assertion that puzzle pieces were not new, however, while likely the case for other designers, was less true for the piece’s intended audience, the general public, whom have probably not been overexposed to the puzzle piece metaphor.⁵

Interview informants expressed similar reactions to clients’ form-based suggestions. A creative director expressed frustration with clients “second-guessing” his decisions and proposing new ideas that he considered “silly changes.” “That kind of stuff makes me crazy.

⁵ This is also a good example of professional peers as a source of relevance, see pg. 25. The fact that this example falls in both

categories is not a problem, since creative ideas have to be both novel (new forms) and relevant.

Make it pink instead of blue or the client doesn't like red, just silly stuff" (Interview, 2012). Likewise, an agency president with creative experience explained how a client's form-based idea—to use a new color paper—inspired an ongoing joke at her agency. "We call it the beige campaign, to this day. We joke about, like, when we have a client who wants to dumb something down, we're like, 'oh let's redo the beige campaign.'" She explained the rationale for the joke thusly: "You're a product manager [for the client]. Your job isn't to be creative. Your job is to tell us what you need done. And then we make it creative" (Interview 2012).

This last comment lends insight into why such suggestions were excluded. Creative workers frequently felt that their professional authority was under assault. A client who made a form-based suggestion, such as proposing the agency use a new color, was one such threat. "It's very difficult when you have a client who for whatever reason thinks they know better or is adding ideas you know won't work," one of my interview informants, a creative director, explained. "The hardest part [of my job] is not being trusted that your answer is right. Other professionals, like if you are a doctor or lawyer, you come with a degree and when people come into your office needing legal advice or heart transplant, they don't argue with you on what's the best way to do it." Technological advances, in his opinion, had exacerbated the problem:

In the *Mad Men* days you [clients] didn't have the tools. You didn't have literally the physical ability to do it, even if you thought you might have the mental ability. But now that everybody has the tools, everybody thinks because we have a video camera we're going to be Steven Spielberg. We all have pencils and paper but we are not all Shakespeare (Interview, 2012).

By likening his work to that of elite professions like medicine and law, as well as more autonomous art fields like film and literature, he defended his occupation's authority over their jurisdiction (Fine, 1996). To him, a client's form-

based suggestions were the equivalent of a patient telling his cardiologist how to perform a heart transplant—the unwanted interventions of an amateur.

4.1.3 Function as grounds for exclusion

When a client contracted an advertising agency, they typically hoped to convey the new and different functional attributes of their product to a wider audience. These attributes, or "product benefits," while a part of the work process, were generally not considered a valid source of novelty by creative workers. Product benefits, by virtue of their relationship to sales and economic interest, presented a threat to creative workers' "pure" motivation. Thus, while product benefits were positively portrayed by their market-oriented colleagues as key to "effectiveness" and "strategy," these definitions and objectives were openly dismissed by creative workers.

For my interview informants, product benefits were not a legitimate source of novelty, a pattern made evident in their preferences for certain clients. For instance, a creative director explained his ambivalence to work with car dealers and lower-end retail, because, as he put it, "There's no real room for creativity. It's all about getting the phone to ring or cash registers to ring. I like to be involved in things that have more to it than that" (Interview, 2012). Since clients in these industries were focused on having the new or distinctive uses of their products (e.g., their benefits) extolled to increase sales, he dismissed them as not creative. This view was echoed by another creative director who liked "working on non-profits a lot more than figuring out how to sell more ice cream or whatever." He held this preference because non-profits were, in his opinion, less likely to impose a product benefit-oriented agenda on the creative process (Interview, 2012). Another creative director described his work for his favorite client thusly: "It's very creative, because the client says, 'just make it funny and make it about [animal],' he explained. "That's the kind of brief that you want. And whether it's effective or not, who knows?" (Interview, 2012). Again, a client was desirable because they did not require

creative workers to explicitly promote the “unique” benefits of their product—a strategy which, while key to advertising effectiveness, was considered detrimental to creativity.

In my field work, this distinction was also evident. Brainstorming sessions would always begin with the account director presenting product benefits as potential sources of inspiration: they were written on large pieces of butcher paper, affixed to the glass walls of the conference room, and discussed at great depth. Yet, they were seldom seen by creative workers as a legitimate source of novelty. Throughout the brainstorming process, the account director would tirelessly attempt to return the conversation to these benefits, yet the creative and art director resisted her attempts. For instance, when the account director complained that the creative director’s idea was “not making them [the consumer] see the benefits” the creative director responded simply: “Benefits are hard.” When pressed on further, she explained, “It’s not benefit oriented, I’m hoping it will get us somewhere else” (Field Notes, 2011).

Aware of this tendency, the chief executive officer at my field site coached account service employees on how to steer creative workers to product benefits. “Strategy is the most important thing to this agency,” she explained at an account executive training meeting. “Think of creative work as a mini-marketing plan.” In her view, clients contracted the agency to increase their sales, and thus, anything that did not help the company achieve this goal was superfluous. “Clients typically have specific content for copy” she explained, “and if the copy is not approved first, creatives will design space for copy based on *what looks pretty*” (Field Notes, 2011). Through this statement, she conveyed her belief that an advertisement’s main purpose was to fulfill a function not to “look pretty.” From her perspective, “copy,” the term used to describe the written component of an advertisement, fulfilled a function, specifically notifying consumers about the unique attributes of a product (i.e., new functions), and therefore it was more important, in her eyes, than new forms.

What was the reason for this distinction? Certainly creativity in other contexts, such as engineering or product design, relies on utilitarian function as a source of novelty. Again, this illustrates how creative assessment was used to defend artistic logic and thus, their occupational jurisdiction through boundary work. Product benefits, by virtue of their link to sales and profit, were profane in a world committed to art. Creative workers, although employed in a commercial context, did not want to see themselves as subordinate to the market. “Every now and again, you will get into one of those moments where you will be reminded that you are someone’s vassal and serf, as opposed to someone who has their own control,” one of my interviewees, a copywriter, explained. “When the client gets pissed, I hate watching people sort of grovel.” Accepting a client’s evaluation of creative work—such as their frequent insistence to feature product benefits more explicitly—was described negatively as “groveling” because it was a direct threat to artistic logic; it reminded him that advertising was a vehicle for profit.

4.1.4 Function as grounds for inclusion

Function was predominantly used to draw boundaries between economically-interested parties (clients, account executives, managers) and creative workers, however, as long as this boundary was maintained, function could also inspire novelty. The Ipod shuffle exemplifies this point. While the inspiration for its design was a function of the product, it was not the Ipod’s main function (storing and playing hundreds of songs) but a rather trivial one (a shirt pin) (Rawsthorn, 2009). Hence, although function was a source of novelty, the end result was not related to utilitarian value, and thereby, distanced from economic interest.

Although it was uncommon, one interview informant described a product’s utilitarian purpose (or “function”) as a legitimate source of novelty. A copywriter described how creativity for his favorite campaign, for a mobile phone, emerged thusly, “What we basically did was find a whole bunch of bizarre idiot savant technologists, people who make things in their garage, or were particle physicists, or

astronomers, or whatever, and basically gave them one of these phones and then *challenged them to do something weird with it.*" Notably, participants were not instructed to use the phone in ways that highlighted their new product benefits to consumers, but rather to "do something weird." As a result, one made a three-hundred-sixty degree camera rig out of phones, attached it to a bike, and rode out into the desert in Utah. Another connected the phone's driving game to an actual car, allowing the phone user to use the game to drive through an obstacle course. Like the iPod shuffle example above, function was considered a source of novelty, but only when that new function was relatively peripheral to the product's defined purpose.

4.2 Sources of relevance: peers, cultures, and emotions

What sources of novelty are also relevant? Although by definition a creative outcome is both novel and relevant, most research on creativity focuses on novelty (Amabile, 1996b; Fleming et al., 2007). This omission is regrettable. Without relevance, a scientific discovery will languish in obscurity, a new product will fail to capture a market, and a sculpture will be viewed as a curiosity rather than as art.

By defining which new forms were also relevant, creative workers defended their jurisdiction against the intrusion of other professionals. Generally, their professional artistic logic—its communities, products, and emotional effects—was regarded as the sole source of relevance. Competing claims by clients, lawyers, brand managers, and consumer researchers were countered as "not creative" or "restrictions." Consequently, although other professionals contributed to creative production, their input was viewed by creative workers as a constraint rather than a source of creativity.

4.2.1 Professional peers as grounds for inclusion

Professional peers were regarded as a legitimate source of relevance by creative workers. For instance, during a brainstorming session at my field site, the creative director suggested an idea for a new way to present the

product in question—a piece of landscape irrigation equipment aimed for a target audience of professional landscapers—based on a prediction of color theorists. "What about superheroes?" she suggested, "They are going to be very high in the cultural consciousness since all those superhero movies are coming out. Maybe we can use superhero colors. In the design magazines, the color theorists are saying that these colors are going to be really important, what about a green cape with their logo on it?" (Field Notes, 2011). Relying on color theorists' assessment of a macro-level "cultural consciousness," she made a suggestion that was well-received by the creative team and ultimately informed the final creative product: a coupon with the landscape equipment fitted in a superhero cape. Yet superheroes were only relevant in reference to an idea circulated among her professional peers. Professional landscapers, not privy to the commentary of color theorists or likely to watch superhero movies, were unlikely to see this form-based idea as relevant.

Interview informants likewise described their professional peers as legitimate sources of relevance. A graphic designer explained the demands of creativity thusly: "You have to be really up to date with like the current trends. You have to go to the websites, the blogs, *you have to see what people [other designers] are doing.*" He illustrated this point through an example,

There was this Web 2.0 movement several years back where all the buttons on websites were glossy, glass-looking buttons. *Now that trend has been wiped out and everything is matte.* If you were to come out with a Web 2.0 website now it would be disgusting and everybody would be like, 'what is that?' That wouldn't be good design (Interview 2012).

In this quotation, the designer distinguished between two types of form-based novelty—glossy versus matte buttons—based on the perceived reaction of his professional peers.

Glossy buttons were not considered good design, in fact they were “disgusting,” because “the trend has been wiped out.” In other words, the convention was no longer relevant. In this instance, the creativity of a form-based novelty was defined by its relevance to the designer’s professional peers, even though the general public, the most likely audience for such a website, would be unlikely to have the same reaction to glossy buttons.

4.2.2 Professional peers as grounds for exclusion

On the other hand, the client’s community of professional peers was decidedly not a legitimate source of relevance. This was made evident in my field work during the process of generating a tagline for a solar power company. Standing around in the hallway, the art director, creative director, and account director shared ideas informally. The art director made a suggestion (“Reflect the sun”) which the account director rejected due to a widespread concern among the client’s professional peers: “You can’t say reflect in their industry. People are afraid of planes coming down.” Specifically, the client had told her that they had heard from their industry peers that the public was worried that solar panels blinded airplanes with their reflections. But when she offered an idea without this problem (“What about ‘Solar One?’”), neither of the creative employees liked her suggestion. Although the exchange passed without resolution, when the project was discussed later the creative director expressed disappointment in their ideas but reasoned that, because of concerns circulating in the client’s industry, “We are kept from being too clever” (Field Notes, 2011).

The professional peers of the client’s legal team were likewise excluded from making creative contributions. For instance, an account planner (with experience as a copywriter) described the devolution of a creative campaign for a new drug. Despite the fact that the product tripled cure rates, “We were so tied up by the legal department within the pharmaceutical company about how we could talk about the product, our final message was so watered

down.” When asked to provide specifics she explained, “It basically had a person going like this, making a peace sign. And the message was ‘For the love of my family.’” At the request of the client’s legal department—worried about lawsuits from *their* professional peers—the agency had changed the message to “Why do you want a greater chance of cure?” “It sounds really weird,” she complained (Interviews, 2012). From the perspective of the legal team, the change was certainly relevant: the product did not guarantee a cure but rather a greater chance of a cure. However, in her mind, it had ruined the advertisement’s creativity.

Creative workers’ professional peers, such as color theorists, were relevant to creativity, but those of their clients and lawyers were not. Again, this highlights how creative assessment was used to defend creative workers’ occupational jurisdiction. By asserting that a client’s peers were irrelevant to creativity, they downgraded the importance of the client’s assessment of their work. As a graphic designer described in our interview,

If we try to work with those [client] restrictions, then that’s not good enough. It’s hard to be creative with people who are just like—of course, people are not always going to like your things. I’m okay with that. I mean, there are a lot of people who get all pissed off about that. But, I guess going to art school, dealing with people who critique you on a daily basis, you should be okay with that...But, that’s different when a client is just really hard. [laughter] That’s different, ‘cause it’s like then you just don’t know what to do.

In this quotation, she equated a client’s suggestions with “restrictions” that made it “hard to be creative.” In contrast to the *relevant* critiques given by her professional peers in art school, the client’s reactions were nonsensical and irrational (“then you just don’t know what to do”). By disregarding their claims to relevance, she protected her work from their judgment.

4.2.3 Culture as grounds for inclusion

References to popular culture were considered a legitimate source of relevance. Such relevance was often achieved through “intertextual references,” i.e., a relationship a text or utterance has to previous texts. Intertextual references create expectations that allow audiences to make meaning (Culler, 2001). Through the use of explicitly identifiable references, a text can acquire another level of meaning (Allen, 2000). For example, Volkswagen’s slogan “Drivers Wanted” is an intertextual reference. It takes a familiar text (“help wanted”) and applies it to a different context to create a new combination.

A brainstorming session at my field site illustrates how intertextual references to popular culture were considered a source of relevance by creative workers. Tasked with finding a new slogan for an energy company, the art director, creative director, and accounts director suggested numerous ideas, which were selectively written down on a large piece of butcher paper by the creative director. By choosing whether or not to write down suggestions, the creative director decided which ideas were valuable contributions. The art director made a number of contributions to this list, from a diverse array of intertextual references that included the classic novel *The Sun Also Rises* (“the sun always rises”), hip hop culture (“innovate or die”), American folklore (“stand and deliver”), and religion (“be one with the sun”). The majority of the account director’s suggestions, on the other hand, were dismissed by the creative director. When the creative director did like one of the account director’s ideas (“Boarding on the future”), she changed the suggestion while she was writing it down into an intertextual reference (“Now boarding, the future”). When the account director questioned why the creative director did not write down her original suggestion, she responded simply, “It sounds bleh” (Field Notes, 2011). By describing the account director’s idea as “bleh” the creative director meant no ill will; she was simply commenting on the lack of a second layer of meaning provided by an intertextual reference.

Popular culture was also considered a legitimate source of relevant by interview

informants. For example, a creative director proudly recalled his involvement in a campaign that had won multiple awards for creativity, what he called “the biggest campaign in advertising.” These commercials for light beer, which ran from the mid 1970’s through the 1980’s, used retired athletes and references to their lives off-camera for comic relief. For example, a baseball player and team owner involved in an on-going feud had an argument about why the beer in question was good and a baseball player remembered for record setting loses haplessly wonders why he had not been asked to be in the commercial (Interview, 2012). Again, by playing with audience expectations, a second layer of meaning—in this instance, humor—was created.

4.2.4 Culture as grounds for exclusion

While popular culture was considered a legitimate source of relevance, a client’s culture—their brand identity, mission statement, or corporate culture—was not. I use an exchange from the same brainstorming session described above to illustrate this point. In this particular example, the client’s brand identity (referred to below as “words”) was dismissed as a legitimate source of relevance:

Creative director: These [ideas] are too straightforward.

Account director: I don’t think they are too straightforward. The client is straightforward.

Creative director: We want something more clever, right [to art director]? That’s what you were trying to do. This is very straightforward.

Account director: The words or visually?

Art director: It’s about tone; they may prefer one or another.

Creative director: We have the words. [She gestures towards the sheet of butcher paper.] We want to use them in a more interesting way.

Account director: We could take the “we” from power and make it pop out visually.

Creative director: I mean more like a clever headline.

Account director: The problem is that these are the words. I don't understand. Can you give me an example?

Creative director: Something like "where power meets passion"

Account director: But that's what we have with alliteration!

Creative director: But that's just words. (Field Notes, 2011)

By "straightforward," the creative director commented on the lack of a second layer of meaning (e.g., the opposite of "clever"), much as she had in her earlier assessment of the account director's idea as "bleh." The example she gave the account director was creative because it referenced a popular expression ("where XX meets XX"). Her rejections of the account director's ideas were not based on function—"make it pop out visually" and "alliteration" are actually form-based suggestions—but rather, because their primary (and only) source of relevance was the client's brand identity. By describing the client's brand as "just words," the creative director dismissed their relevance to the creative process at hand. She wanted to use the words in a "more interesting way," so that they were meaningful and appealing. Despite the account director's claim that her suggestions were relevant because the client's brand and corporate culture was "straightforward," this was insufficient, in the eyes of the creative director, for a creative contribution.

Interview informants shared the perspective that a client's corporate culture or brand identity was not a legitimate source of relevance. For instance, a designer explained why he preferred to work with small companies: "It is way more freedom, you don't have to work with like, crazy brand standards that are, you know, Bible-thick tomes" (Interview, 2012). Another designer concurred: "If you have a big client, and they have a brand, they start to get a template for things, and a look, and so every job that comes in, it's not really creative" (Interview 2012). In both instances, the client's culture was described as a hindrance rather a facilitator of creativity.

Like the "restrictions" posed by a clients' professional peers, the client's corporate culture,

usually defined by an in-house brand manager, was yet another potential intrusion on their professional domain. Brand managers, typically fulltime employees of the client, were responsible for defining and maintaining the company's identity and image. Most of the time they did not have a creative background; they were more likely to possess MBAs. The overlap between their jurisdiction and that of creative workers, combined with the very different means they had of achieving the same ends, inspired professional boundary work. As one interviewee, a copywriter, described:

There's lots of client bashing behind closed doors, as always. But I hate the idea that, you know, you put tons of effort into a pretty brilliant campaign and some great work, and then some 32-year-old brand manager just says, 'eeeh, I'm not feeling it, for reasons I can't really articulate or back up, I'm just not feeling it.' And then the whole thing goes out the window and all of your work goes for naught (Interview, 2012).

Brand managers' evaluations of his work were, in his eyes, arbitrary and based on irrelevant criteria ("for reasons I can't really articulate or back up"). Since brand managers were not "creative," the products they created—a company's brand standards, identity, and templates—were not legitimate sources of relevance. By disregarding brand managers' ability to evaluate his work, he defended his occupation's jurisdiction against competing claims from other professionals.

4.2.5 Emotion as grounds for inclusion

Creative workers regarded "impact," the emotional effect of a creative piece's form, as a central source of relevance. While Bourdieu largely described his survey respondents' emotional reactions to art as evidence of their function-based evaluation (Bourdieu, 1984), aesthetic appreciation, at least in the Kantian tradition, is also an emotional experience. From this perspective, aesthetic pleasure is very distinct from ordinary emotions—it is not about

desire (i.e., it is disinterested), it is universal, and it is an end in itself (Ginsborg, 2013). As noted art critic Clive Bell asserts, “A good work of visual art carries a person who is capable of appreciating it out of life into ecstasy” (Bell, 1914:36-37).

Interview informants often described their most creative work as that which provided an aesthetic experience. For example, a head copywriter described his work on a recent campaign for an ADHD drug. “My creative director gave me one directive,” he recalled. “He said, we’re gonna show this video at the beginning of the pitch, and it has to make sure that [drug company] understands that we *get* this condition.” Rather than consulting consumer research, the copywriter said he “dug back into my childhood and things I was focused on or really enjoyed.” He began by recording interviews with ADHD sufferers and their families, whose stories were intended to evoke sympathy. However, while looking over this footage with the art director, he thought “If we really wanna convince them we understand this disease, we can do more than just show them clips of people talking about it. What if when you watch this, it actually gave you the experience of having ADHD?” As he explained,

We started messing with the structure of the video and the style of it, and we came out with something that I thought was very powerful. Basically latched onto one story thread, but then disrupted it with cuts from other interviews, and we did it more, and it got more and more chaotic. And we just started messing with your experience as you’re trying to follow this one thread. You know, just like the attention deficit disorder, right? You’re trying to follow one line of thought, and you can’t, because of all of these interruptions (Interview, 2012).

This video was creative, in his eyes, because, through form-based novelty, it produced an

emotional effect far superior—an “experience” that was “very powerful”—to that of simply showing interviews with ADHD sufferers and their families.

A similar pattern prevailed in my fieldwork. The creative team frequently expressed an interest in “impact,” a visual image’s ability to capture people’s attention and evoke an emotional response. Impact was, in their opinion, one of the agency’s main products. Like fashion models, for whom the aesthetic effect of their physical beauty is described as a “look” (Godart and Mears, 2010; Mears, 2011), the aesthetic effect of a company logo and accompany brand standards (e.g., colors, font, formatting) was described (and listed on invoices) as a “look and feel.” Consequently, impact was a primary source of relevance for novel ideas. For example, in a brainstorming meeting, the creative team discussed the client’s instructions about text size, namely, that they could not make any text larger than the company’s logo. The creative director summarized the situation thusly: “The client is very restrictive on creative, which makes it really hard, because the more impactful ads have really big headlines.” From her perspective, the client’s suggestions were an obstacle to creativity because they limited its ability to have an impact. In order to comply with this request without compromising impact, the creative team took a picture of the equipment (which was circular) and used it as an “o,” making a headline (e.g., text) that was technically an image (Field Notes, 2011). Ultimately, they had the large headline they wanted, but had also followed the client’s instructions. In their minds, however, even though the client’s input *had* served as a source of relevance for this idea, it was regarded as a constraint.

4.2.6 Emotion as grounds for exclusion

While emotional experience and “impact” were considered legitimate sources of relevance, psychological research on consumer desires, a seemingly logical basis for these insights, was

Table 2

Summary of boundaries drawn as grounds of inclusion and exclusion.

Defining	Code	Inclusion	Exclusion
Novelty	Form	New forms (color, styles, techniques)	New forms suggested by client
	Function	Disinterested new functions	Interested new functions (product benefits)
Relevance	Peers	Artistic peers (color theorists, designers)	Client industry peers (solar power industry)
	Culture	Popular culture (novels, films, music)	Client culture (brand, mission statement)
	Emotion	Disinterested emotion (esthetic pleasure)	Interested emotion (consumer desires)

not. To creative workers, legitimate emotion came from an intimate understanding of the human condition. As a creative director explained, creativity required “a very firm grasp of the human condition, of how people operate. What you find is that whether people are old, rich, young, or poor, or black, or white, there are sort of key truths of how people operate that don’t change.” Therefore, rather than focusing on one particular target demographic, the most creative campaigns could be shown “to a Midwestern housewife in Ohio or a guy in Kenya, and if they understand the language they would be like, ‘I get it.’ That’s a larger impact” (Interview, 2012).

As a consequence, interview informants often described efforts to incorporate consumer research and psychology into the creative process negatively. A creative director described his team’s reaction to the suggestion of a client that was “huge into research” to brand a vegetable: “We thought he was nuts” (Interview, 2012). Likewise, a copywriter credited a client’s “hyper-targeted strategies” for the fact that they were “completely dissatisfied with everything at all times” (Interview, 2012). Another creative director expressed this view through his preference for working for luxury brands: “You’re getting a chance to be more creative and communicate with consumers at a higher level,” he explained. “You’re appealing to aspirations that are higher up the pyramid, the hierarchy of needs. You’re appealing to self-actualization rather than basic emotions” (Interview, 2012).

In turn, the two account planners I interviewed (both of whom also had experience as copywriters) described creative workers’ resistance to research, albeit in more amicable terms. “Account planners often act as the voice

of the consumer, we do lots of interviews and focus groups, really trying to get into the customer mindset,” an account planner explained. “We kind of walk a fine line with the creatives, because you definitely want them to feel like you’re on their side, but you also have to make sure it fits with the consumer insights” (Interview, 2012). The other account planner agreed: “Creatives are trying to create the best possible work possible regardless of whether it meets the business objectives of the clients. Our role is really to make sure that the needs of the consumer are voiced and stay in there” (Interview 2012).

A similar pattern held in my field work. For instance, at one weekly traffic meeting, an account director asked the art director on what research he had based his latest design. The client, a hair salon, had ordered business cards that the art director had made slightly smaller than the normal size. The account director regarded this difference as inconvenient—“They slip through things” she complained—and sought a rational explanation for the decision. She did not receive one. The art director responded politely, “Well, Kelly [the creative director] and I got together and it seemed from where the client is located and who they serve, that *it screams* something not traditional” (Field Notes, 2011). Rather than drawing on research, he had simply relied on his sense of the client and their audience. By doing so, he protected his professional domain from the influence of other professionals.

By defining the emotions relevant to their work as more complex than appealing to the desires of target audiences, creative workers defended their occupational jurisdiction. “Advertising essentially is storytelling,” a

copywriter explained. “All these Iphone commercials, it’s not about actual properties of the device, it’s about the way it integrates into lives. All these taglines about, ‘Just Do It,’ in and of itself, the term means nothing, until you overlay it with like these crazy, simple stories of pushing the boundaries of athleticism.” It was this aspect of advertising, in his opinion, that clients relying on internal market researchers often missed. As he elaborated,

Every now and again you’ll get a client who will like, actually take a Photoshop file and say, ‘this is what I had in mind,’ and they’ve created some monstrosity. I’ve never seen one of those that was good. There’s a reason why these companies typically hire outside agencies because the internal stuff [from the client’s marketing department], it seems like it’s easy, it seems like you should be able to do it, but it is [expletive] bad when you see amateur hour stuff (Interview, 2012).

In this way, he aligned creativity with “simple stories” that spoke to larger ideals. In his opinion, marketers’ attempts to do such work produced “monstrosities.” In this way he excluded them, as well as researchers, psychologists, and account planners, from making contributions he deemed creative.

5. Discussion

Taken together, these findings strongly suggest that creative assessment can be characterized as a form of boundary work, an argument summarized in Table 2. A new use for a product that was non-utilitarian (e.g., strapped to a bike to offer 360 degree view of the desert) was novel, but a new use that incorporated real product benefits was not. Likewise, the opinions of professional peers from the artistic realm (like color theorists) were relevant, but the opinions of the professional peers of a client were a constraint. In short, creative assessment was a tool used to lay claims over occupational jurisdiction and the conflict surrounding this

process resulted from competing professional interests.

Like Bourdieu’s (1984) treatment of taste in *Distinction*, this article shows how a seemingly neutral process—creative assessment—is used to attain social distinction between competing social groups. By analyzing the difference between legitimate and illegitimate sources of creativity, creative assessment is revealed as a process rooted in professional interest. In this context, boundary work is used to defend the professional artistic logic of creative workers from the profaning effects of the market (economic logic) and other professions (law, brand management, and consumer research). In addition to Bourdieu’s distinction between form and function, I find that boundary work was also used to define whose peers, cultures, and emotions were legitimate sources of relevance. As a consequence, account executives and managers, as well as clients and their lawyers, brand managers, and consumer research team, were all excluded from offering ideas considered “creative.” Such exclusion was symbolic rather than material—their suggestions were ridiculed but not ignored—because of creative workers’ dominated position in a commercial enterprise. Like the academics and fine artists that occupy the upper echelons of the cultural field (Bourdieu, 1984), their resources (i.e., cultural capital) were ultimately subordinate to economic capital. Yet symbolic exclusion is still very important: along with economic forces, it shapes how power is situated and reproduced (Bourdieu, 1984).

This study also contributes to knowledge on how creative workers assess creativity. To date, the majority of research has focused on the creative judgments of outside evaluators. For instance, we know that lay observers (Sternberg, 1990) and film executives (Elsbach and Kramer, 2003) use stereotypes to evaluate creative potential, while venture capitalists rely on entrepreneurs’ preparedness (Chen et al., 2009). Relatively little is known about how the subjective process of creative assessment occurs within artistic communities (Elsbach and Kramer, 2003; Fine, 1992). I find that internal assessments of creativity rely on whether

individuals drew on sources of novelty and relevance considered legitimate by the occupational community. Such findings suggest that peer assessments of creativity may function more as a signal of “professional purity”—the extent to which an individual is able to exclude non-professional issues from their work (Abbott, 1988) or, in Bourdieusian terms, one’s proximity to the “pure” cultural or economic pole (Bourdieu, 1993)—than creative ability per se. This raises questions about the validity of creative reputations, built and sustained through exactly such peer assessment, as an indicator of quality.

While my analysis focuses on interdepartmental conflict in the creative workplace, I suspect that such conflict is actually productive for the organization. Despite their title, creative workers did not create the agency’s products alone. Although they went to great lengths to distinguish themselves from their colleagues, their ability to create the products desired by clients was stimulated by interaction with the very perspectives they so vehemently opposed. For example, during in the brainstorming session previously described, the account director made a suggestion that referenced a client’s brand identity as “innovative” (“Boarding on the future”), which the creative director modified to reference popular culture (“Now boarding, the future”). The resulting expression was considered creative by creative workers (a new form that referenced a popular expression) and fulfilled their client’s desire to communicate that their company was innovative. By combining competing logics, the agency created ideas they could sell.

In addition, my methodological approach uncovered patterns that would likely remain hidden using other analytic strategies. Words like “clever,” “straightforward” and “boring” were used to compliment or reject their colleagues’ creative contributions, yet these words were insufficient to convey exactly what was lacking. By analyzing naturally-occurring language use, this article illuminates patterns unlikely to be consciously described by the individuals and presumably absent from the

interviews, journals, and other self-reflexive means typically used to study creative individuals.

The limitations of this study lay the groundwork for future research. By combining a case study with semi-structured interviews, I extend my findings generalizability beyond Quality Solutions Co. However, there are likely differences between industries that limit the applicability of this study’s findings beyond (and even perhaps within) the creative industries. For example, the distinction between form and function is likely less prominent in creative fields like architecture or engineering, where the profession has self-consciously rejected this distinction (e.g., Frank Lloyd Wright’s assertion that “form and function are one”). Likewise, the extent to which my findings apply in fields where creative production is more individualized and less dependent on the market (e.g., fine art, poetry) is an open question, as Rosenblum (1978) found that advertising photographers focused on form (which she called, “technical variation”) because they were given no control over the content, whereas fine arts photographers who did used both form and function (which she called, “thematic variation”). Similarly, while competing logics produce interdepartmental conflict in advertising, they may produce cooperation in other occupational communities (Becker and Pessin, 2006). Additionally, comparative case studies of larger and more prestigious agencies could also provide interesting data on the effects of organizational size and prestige. Throughout my interviews, I noticed that informants from larger agencies seemed relatively more eager to use boundary work, while those at smaller agencies often insisted that their workers “wore many hats” and the traditional departmental divisions did not apply. Finally, an analysis of the relationship between creative assessment and economic outcomes, particularly for client organizations, would enrich our understanding of creative markets generally.

References

- Abbott, A., 1988. *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*. University of Chicago Press, Berkeley, CA.
- Allen, G., 2000. *Intertextuality*. Psychology Press, New York, NY.
- Alvesson, M., 1994. Talking in Organizations: Managing Identity and Impressions in an Advertising Agency. *Organization Studies* 15, 535--563.
- Amabile, T.M., 1996a. *Creativity and Innovation in Organizations*. Harvard Business School, Boston, MA.
- Amabile, T.M., 1996b. *Creativity in Context*. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado.
- Amabile, T.M., Barsade, S.G., Mueller, J.S., Staw, B.M., 2005. Affect and Creativity at Work. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 50, 367-403.
- Andriopoulos, C., Lewis, M.W., 2009. Exploitation-Exploration Tensions and Organizational Ambidexterity: Managing Paradoxes of Innovation. *Organization Science* 20, 696-717.
- Armstrong, E.A., 2002. *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950-1994*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL.
- Arndt, M., Bigelow, B., 2005. Professionalizing and Masculinizing a Female Occupation: The Reconceptualization of Hospital Administration in the Early 1900s. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 50, 233-261.
- Barron, F., 1999. All Creation Is a Collaboration. *Social Creativity* 1, 49-60.
- Bechky, B.A., 2003a. Object Lessons: Workplace Artifacts as Representations of Occupational Jurisdiction. *American Journal of Sociology* 109, 720-752.
- Bechky, B.A., 2003b. Sharing Meaning across Occupational Communities: The Transformation of Understanding on a Production Floor. *Organization Science*, 312-330.
- Becker, H.S., 1984. *Art Worlds*. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.
- Becker, H.S., Pessin, A., 2006. A Dialogue on the Ideas of "World" and "Field". *Sociological Forum* 21, 275-286.
- Bell, C., 1914. *Art*. Chatto & Windus, London, UK.
- Berger, J., 1972. *Ways of Seeing*. London and Harmondsworth.
- Bilton, C., 2007. *Management and Creativity: From Creative Industries to Creative Management*. Wiley-Blackwell, Hoboken, New Jersey.
- Bilton, C., Leary, R., 2002. What Can Managers Do for Creativity? Brokering Creativity in the Creative Industries. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 8, 49-64.
- Bolinger, D.L., 1950. *Rime, Assonance, and Morpheme Analysis*. Linguistic Circle, Edinburgh, UK.
- Bourdieu, P., 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P., 1983. The Field of Cultural Production, Or: The Economic World Reversed. *Poetics* 12, 311-356.
- Bourdieu, P., 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Bourdieu, P., 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Bourdieu, P., 1996. *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*. Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, CA.
- Bourdieu, P., Thompson, J.B., 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Harvard University Press.
- Broschak, J., Block, E., forthcoming. With or without You: When Does Managerial Exit Matter for the Dissolution of Dyadic Market Ties? *Academy of Management Journal*.
- Broschak, J.P., 2004. Managers' Mobility and Market Interface: The Effect of Managers' Career Mobility on the Dissolution of Market Ties. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 49, 608-640.
- Caves, R.E., 2000. *Creative Industries: Contracts between Art and Commerce*. Harvard University Press.
- Charmaz, K., 2000. Grounded Theory: Objectivist and Constructivist Methods, in: Denzin, N.K., Lincoln, Y. (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 509-537.
- Chen, X.P., Yao, X., Kotha, S., 2009. Entrepreneur Passion and Preparedness in Business Plan Presentations: A Persuasion Analysis of Venture Capitalists' Funding Decisions. *Academy of Management Journal* 52, 199-214.
- Corbin, J., Strauss, A., 2008. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Crane, D., Bovone, L., 2006. Approaches to Material Culture: The Sociology of Fashion and Clothing. *Poetics* 34, 319-333.
- Cronin, A.M., 2004. Currencies of Commercial Exchange. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 4, 339-360.
- Culler, J., 2001. *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction*. Psychology Press, New York, NY.
- Denzin, N.K., 1989. *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*. McGraw-Hill.
- deWaal Malefyt, T.D., Moeran, B., 2003. *Advertising Cultures*. Bloomsbury Academic, London, UK.
- Dougherty, D., 1992. Interpretive Barriers to Successful Product Innovation in Large Firms. *Organization Science* 3, 179-202.
- Eikhof, D.R., Haunschild, A., 2007. For Art's Sake! Artistic and Economic Logics in Creative Production. *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 28, 523-538.
- Elafros, A., 2013. Greek Hip Hop: Local and Translocal Authentication in the Restricted Field of Production. *Poetics* 41, 75-95.
- Elsbach, K.D., 2009. Identity Affirmation through 'Signature Style': A Study of Toy Car Designers. *Human Relations* 62, 1041-1072.

- Elsbach, K.D., Flynn, F.J., 2013. Creative Collaboration and the Self-Concept: A Study of Toy Designers. *Journal of Management Studies* 50, 515-544.
- Elsbach, K.D., Kramer, R.M., 2003. Assessing Creativity in Hollywood Pitch Meetings: Evidence for a Dual-Process Model of Creativity Judgments. *The Academy of Management Journal* 46, 283-301.
- Emerson, R.M., Fretz, R.I., Shaw, L.L., 1995. *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. University of Chicago Press.
- Feist, G.J., 1999. The Influence of Personality on Artistic and Scientific Creativity, in: Sternberg, R.J. (Ed.), *Handbook of Creativity*. Cambridge University Press, New York, NY, pp. 273-296.
- Feldman, E.B., 1992. Formalism and Its Discontents. *Studies in Art Education* 33, 122-126.
- Fine, G.A., 1992. The Culture of Production: Aesthetic Choices and Constraints in Culinary Work. *American Journal of Sociology* 97, 1268-1294.
- Fine, G.A., 1996. Justifying Work: Occupational Rhetorics as Resources in Restaurant Kitchens. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 90-115.
- Fleming, L., Mingo, S., Chen, D., 2007. Collaborative Brokerage, Generative Creativity, and Creative Success. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 52, 443-475.
- Florida, R.L., 2002. *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. Basic Civitas Books, New York.
- Fox, S.R., 1984. *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and Its Creators*. University of Illinois Press.
- Gardner, H., 1994. The Creators' Patterns, in: Boden, M.A. (Ed.), *Dimensions of Creativity*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 143-158.
- Gelade, G.A., 1997. Creativity in Conflict: The Personality of the Commercial Creative. *The Journal of genetic psychology* 158, 67-78.
- Ginsborg, H., 2013. Kant's Aesthetics and Teleology, in: Zalta, E.N. (Ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* Palo Alto.
- Gioia, D.A., Corley, K.G., Hamilton, A.L., 2012. Seeking Qualitative Rigor in Inductive Research: Notes on the Gioia Methodology. *Organizational Research Methods* 16, 15-31.
- Gladwell, M., 2011. The Tweaker: The Real Genius of Steve Jobs, *The New Yorker*, New York, pp. 32-35.
- Glaser, B.G., 1978. *Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory*. Sociology Press Mill Valley, CA.
- Godart, F.C., Mears, A., 2010. How Do Cultural Producers Make Creative Decisions?: Lessons from the Catwalk. *Social Forces* 88, 671-692.
- Gross, N., 2008. *Richard Rorty: The Making of an American Philosopher*. University of Chicago Press.
- Guetzkow, J., Lamont, M., Mallard, G., 2004. What Is Originality in the Humanities and the Social Sciences? *American Sociological Review* 69, 190-212.
- Hackley, C., 2000. Silent Running: Tacit, Discursive and Psychological Aspects of Management in a Top Uk Advertising Agency. *British Journal of Management* 11, 239-254.
- Hackley, C., 2003. How Divergent Beliefs Cause Account Team Conflict. *International Journal of Advertising* 22, 313-332.
- Hirschman, E.C., 1989. Role-Based Models of Advertising Creation and Production. *Journal of Advertising* 18, 42-53.
- Howkins, J., 2002. *The Creative Economy: How People Make Money from Ideas*. Penguin Group, London, UK.
- Isaacson, W., 2011. *Steve Jobs: The Exclusive Biography*. Little, Brown Book Group, London, UK.
- Jamerson, H., 2009. Intoxicators, Educators, and Gatekeepers: The Enactment of Symbolic Boundaries in Napa Valley Wineries. *Poetics* 37, 383-398.
- Johnson, C., Dowd, T.J., Ridgeway, C.L., 2006. Legitimacy as a Social Process. *Annual Review of Sociology* 32, 53-78.
- Kant, I., [1790] 1952. *The Critique of Judgement*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Koslow, S., Sasser, S.L., Riordan, E.A., 2003. What Is Creative to Whom and Why? Perceptions in Advertising Agencies. *Journal of Advertising Research* 43, 96-110.
- Kover, A.J., Goldberg, S.M., James, W.L., 1995. Creativity Vs. Effectiveness? An Integrating Classification for Advertising. *Journal of Advertising Research* 35, 29-40.
- Lamont, M., 1992. *Money, Morals, and Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL.
- Lamont, M., 2012. Toward a Comparative Sociology of Valuation and Evaluation. *Sociology* 38, 201-221.
- Lamont, M., Molnar, V., 2002. The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences. *Annual Review of Sociology* 28, 167-195.
- Lingo, E.L., O'Mahony, S., 2010. Nexus Work: Brokerage on Creative Projects. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 55, 47-81.
- Mallia, K., 2009. Rare Birds: Why So Few Women Become Ad Agency Creative Directors. *Advertising & Society Review* 10, 10.1353/asr.1350.0032.
- McLeod, C., O'Donohoe, S., Townley, B., 2011. Pot Noodles, Placements and Peer Regard: Creative Career Trajectories and Communities of Practice in the British Advertising Industry. *British Journal of Management* 22, 114-131.
- Mears, A., 2011. *Pricing Beauty: The Making of a Fashion Model*. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.
- Moeran, B., 1996. *A Japanese Advertising Agency: An Anthropology of Media and Markets*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, HI.
- Morais, R.J., 2007. Conflict and Confluence in Advertising Meetings. *Human Organization* 66, 150-159.
- Powell, W., Friedkin, R., 1986. Politics and Programs: Organizational Factors in Public Television Decision

- Making. Nonprofit enterprise in the arts: Studies in mission and constraint (1986) DiMaggio, Paul. New York: Oxford University Press., 245-269.
- Rawsthorn, A., 2009. The Demise of 'Form Follows Function', *New York Times*.
- Roe, A., 1953. A Psychological Study of Eminent Psychologists and Anthropologists, and a Comparison with Biological and Physical Scientists. American Psychological Association.
- Rosenblum, B., 1978. Style as Social Process. *American Sociological Review* 43, 422-438.
- Rubtsova, A., Dowd, T.J., 2004. Cultural Capital as a Multi-Level Concept: The Case of an Advertising Agency, in: Lounsbury, M. (Ed.), *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp. 117-146.
- Scase, R., Davis, H., 1995. *Managing Creativity: The Dynamics of Work and Organization*. Open University Press, London, UK.
- Sternberg, R.J., 1990. *Prototypes of Competence and Incompetence*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.
- Swidler, A., 2001. What Anchors Cultural Practices, in: Knorr Cetina, K., Schatzki, T.R., von Savigny, E. (Eds.), *The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory*. Routledge New York, NY, pp. 74-92.
- Thornton, P.H., 2004. *Markets from Culture: Institutional Logics and Organizational Decisions in Higher Education Publishing*. Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, CA.
- Tschang, F.T., 2007. Balancing the Tensions between Rationalization and Creativity in the Video Games Industry. *Organization Science* 18, 989-1005.
- U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010-2011. *Career Guide to Industries: Advertising and Public Relations Services*.
- Uzzi, B., Mukherjee, S., Stringer, M., Jones, B., 2013. Atypical Combinations and Scientific Impact. *Science* 342, 468-472.
- Van Rees, K., Vermunt, J., 1996. Event History Analysis of Authors' Reputation: Effects of Critics' Attention on Debutants' Careers. *Poetics* 23, 317-333.
- Velthuis, O., 2005. *Talking Prices: Symbolic Meanings of Prices on the Market for Contemporary Art*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
- Weber, M., [1922] 1978. *Economy and Society*, 4 ed. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.
- Wei, J., 2012. Dealing with Reality: Market Demands, Artistic Integrity, and Identity Work in Reality Television Production. *Poetics* 40, 444-466.
- Williams, R., 2009. *Formalism*, Grove Art Online. Oxford University Press.