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THE MODES OF CONTROL OF ARTS ORGANISATIONS

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We define control in this work as an influence creating order. According to this definition, there is some control when somebody's behaviour is influenced by somebody else or something. Control results in reducing the degrees of freedom left to people in organisations, by preventing them from doing some things and by raising their interest for doing other things. Control can be exercised in a great number of ways (Chiapello, 1994). Control can be for instance impersonal (exercised by mechanisation, administrative rules, etc.), personal (exercised by a supervisor, a person of influence or members of the belonging group) or internalised and exercised by oneself.

The work we present in this communication, and that has been developed elsewhere (Chiapello, 1994), addresses the question of the modes of control operating in arts organisations, these organisations being considered through their most specific characteristic, that is contact with living artists¹ and the use of artistic work. Interest for this question raised partly from the apparent conflict between the ideas of art and control. Can art be controlled? This study relies on both a theoretical research and a data collection in three different art sectors: TV-film production, publishing industry and classical and baroque music orchestras.

We first present the answers we gave to the question of the modes of control of arts organisations. Secondly, we present few empirical elements supporting our theory and the methodology which was followed.

Questions Asked and Answers Given

We split up the general question of control modes of arts organisations in two sub-questions consistently with our identification of artistic work as the very specificity of these organisations:

- what are the control modes that are the most adapted to artistic work?

¹ We have indeed limited the scope of our study to organisations using the work of living artists, these being salaried permanently or temporarily, or being only suppliers. Then, we did not study arts organisations relying on arts work of already dead artists like for instance most of the museums.

- are these control modes also relevant for all the persons working in the organisations and not only for artists?

We present successively below our answers to these two questions.

Control of Artistic Work

We can explain the apparent conflict between the ideas of control and art by the authors on management generally defining control as a cybernetic type process in which the comparison to a previously defined norm triggers correcting actions which are destined to ensure that the following results conform to norm. According to this definition, control aims at ensuring the conformity of realisations to a standard, an objective or a norm; it is oriented towards a pre-established goal and exercised intentionally by the persons in charge of organisations. But these two characteristics (pre-established goal and deliberate control by somebody of the work of someone else) are precisely the ones that are completely rejected by most of artists, and especially *avant-garde* ones. Moreover, it is possible to show that artistic work is not technically controllable by that cybernetic type of control (definition of the norm or of the goal, in particular, is difficult).

Thus, artistic work seems to be outside the scope of the wish to control of others, particularly businessmen.² We can nevertheless highlight a certain number of *elements which could favour its accomplishment*, including those cases which are *a priori* the most problematic, that is *avant-garde* projects. These elements can be seen as much as modes of control, as sources of influence which orientate the realisation of a piece of work.

We detail below the *a priori* most problematic case for control, that is the innovative or *avant-garde* artistic work, vocation of which is to realise a unique and singular piece of art, entirely new and entirely different to any previous work. We will see then how this control logic is transformed for more classical types of work.

We can identify at least four modes of control which would favour the emergence of an *innovative work of art*, which we are then going to describe in depth :

- self-control;
- a specific emotional and relational context which we have named "control by gift";
- a symbolic context which specifically favours self-control, the research of creativity and the phenomena of control *by gift*;
- finally, a material context of organic type.

² This could refer to editors concerning writers, gallery owners concerning painters or sculptors, producers concerning film writers or theatre directors.

Self-Control

Self-control is a control exercised by the artist himself. It presumes a competence and command of the know-how involved, but it cannot develop unless the artist is motivated to make progress in his work. *Self-control is primarily motivation.* This enables artists to persevere, to go back to and correct ceaselessly their work but it also enables them to acquire the areas of competence which they could lack... (Amabile, 1990). A motivated artist will be able to rise above his deficiencies, whereas a competent but unmotivated artist will have difficulty in producing.

All those who have examined closely the behavioural characteristics of the great creators of humanity have underlined their passionate temperament and their extraordinary endurance at work (Simonton, 1984, 1988). In most cases, notable innovations were accompanied by a great capacity to work in the "inventor", which is a sign of motivation, and a high production level.

The social psychologists of creativity will then show that we are dealing with an *intrinsic motivation*, that is for the work itself, and not with an extrinsic motivation which is derived from various advantages such as notoriety and financial rewards which can come from a recognition of the work carried out. Even though artists are not insensible to these "terrestrial pleasures", these are not the primary motivators in their work. Thanks to that, the artist can give free rein to his research, follow new paths and be free of the fear of failure since his satisfaction is not linked to the actual realisation of an objective but only to the satisfaction of moving forward and of practising the art he loves.

Control by Gift and Relationships between People

Control by gift is the expression we have chosen to define the emotional and relational context which most seems to favour innovative realisations. This context is the fruit of the *relationships made by the artist with different people in the scope of his work*, whether it concerns relationships with other members of the creative team in the case of a collective piece of work, or whether it concerns people outside the actual realisation itself but whose critical influence is essential.

These relationships are founded on confidence, confidence in the capacity of the artist to create and confidence in the fact that the other has confidence and that he is well disposed towards the artist. This confidence settles into a relationship which goes beyond the mere context of work. The people concerned do not just know each other on a professional level. They can be friends or belong to the same family. They can quite simply just like talking to each other or sharing some free time. They have learnt to know each other. Here the relationship is person to person and not role to role or job to job. Confidence has built up gradually on the evidence that it has not been betrayed.

Theatre or film directors know that time spent building up "good relations" in a team is not wasted (Morley & Silver, 1977; Lapierre, 1984). A climate of confidence is essential for carrying out work where people take risks which can affect their own identity, for the artist is putting his own person at risk in his work.

This climate permits, moreover, another type of confidence to develop, that is self-confidence, so that intrinsic motivation forces will be released. Otherwise these forces would have been slowed down by fear of failure and the stress of creation (which are apparent, for example, in "the anguish of the blank page" for a writer).

This context of emotional assurance facilitates the artist's work and, paradoxically, also enables some critical appreciation of the piece of work. The latter is essential in the artist's progress who, in fact, looks for it as long as it seems empathic to him. *Empathic criticism* is, indeed, the criticism which most enriches an artist's work. It is a *gift* insofar as he who practises it immerses himself in somebody else's project and uses his own intelligence, sensitivity and experience for a realisation that is not his own and which will never be his own. This criticism is all the more accepted when it expresses both enthusiasm and love for the piece of work in progress and, so, confidence in the creative capacity of the creator.³

The phenomena described here are, indeed, a mode of control (Chiapello, 1994). This control is carried out in accordance with three forms. Firstly, *gifts* generate debts and he who gives controls he who is in debt. An artist who finds in somebody else an attentive and appreciative critic will stay loyal and attached to him. That is how an editor can federate authors around him or a gallery owner attract painters and sculptors. Secondly, a *gift* enables criticism to exist and therefore authorises the intervention of another person in the creative process. Finally a *gift* creates work conditions favouring primarily innovative realisations. It helps the artist to overcome the anguish of creation and the risk to himself. Furthermore, the retention of judgement encourages the expression of new elements which otherwise would not have developed. In accordance to these three mechanisms (being in debt, the possibility of critical appreciation and a maintenance of favourable conditions) a *gift* ensures some form of control on the artist's loyalty, on the quality of his work and on the actual existence of a piece of work.

The Impact of Symbolic Context

We call "symbolic context" the group of values to which an artist and his creative circle adhere, as well as the sense given to the work carried out.

³ "In the obstinate research of an artist the only ones who can help him are those who love him or those, who loving or creating themselves, find in their own passion a measure of all passion, and then know how to judge". (Camus, 1970, p. 138, translated from French).

Management literature is rich in statements showing that values are a source of control, for people who try to act in accordance with these, reduce the range of their possibilities of action. *Avant-garde* artists are particularly concerned by this type of control for they generally adhere to a conception of art which emphasises its autonomy and selflessness. Art should not respond to any demand and can only follow an internal logic. Each creation must above all actualise and go beyond tradition. It also follows a doctrine of art for art's sake. Art should only serve itself.

These characteristics are essential, for we know that the representation of the task to be accomplished will influence its realisation. In this way a *creative representation of artistic work permits the production of more innovative creations* than, for instance, a problem-type representation which suggests a more classical response which would be resolved using previously experienced resolving methods (Abric, 1984).

The Role of Material Context

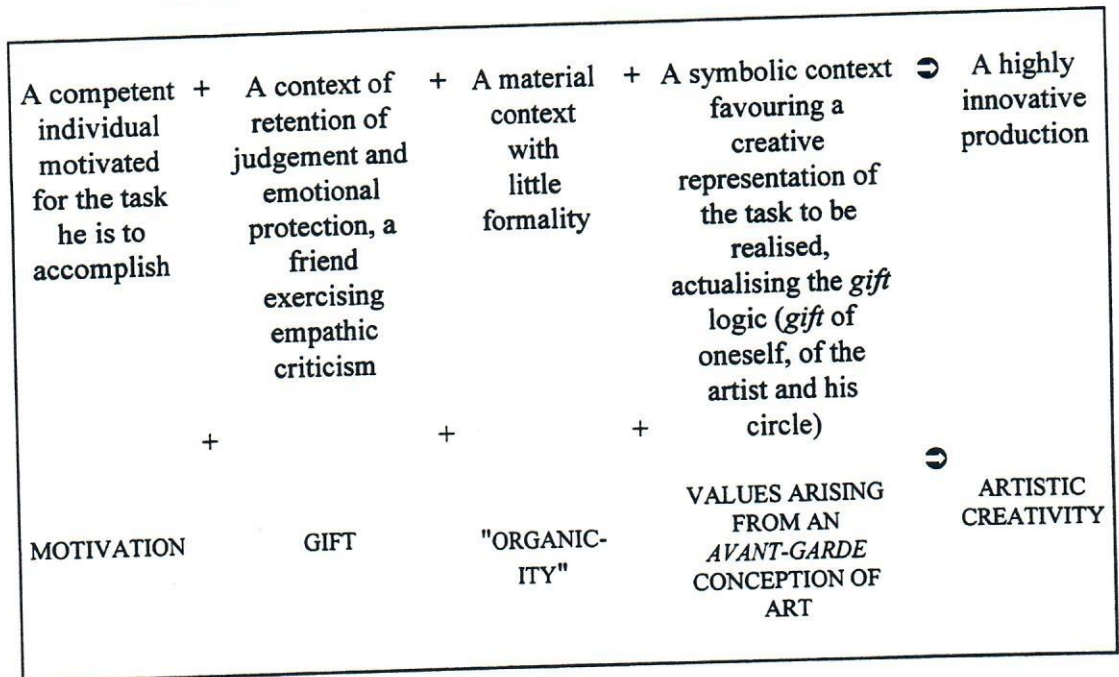
As in the case of symbolic context, material context can facilitate or prevent creative development. In a general way, an informal environment where the operational rules are not stable, is adapted to creative work. The latter must not be submitted to any norms if it is to be innovative.

In the case of collective artistic work the principal method of co-ordination is mutual adjustment (Mintzberg, 1982, 1990). The people involved spend a lot of time reaching agreements and seeking the best methods for collective work. The latter are questioned more and more. The time spent on discussion can seem like a waste of time linked to a bad organisation. In fact it is the price to pay for an operational flexibility necessary for the emergence of artistic innovations.

One should also admit here that, the four modes of control developed above are interdependent and need structurally each other to favour artistic creativity.⁴ The following equation (Figure 1) summarises the situation.

⁴ For more details, see Chiapello (1994)

Figure 1 : The modes of control of innovative artistic work



As far as less innovative artistic works are concerned, it is possible to show that the same control modes work but in a toned down way. Our hypothesis (Chiapello, 1994) is that any change in any of these modes of control is tightly linked to a modification of the others. Any weakening in the general logic will be reflected upon the particular artistic work carried out, making it less innovative. These could be for example the result of :

- a decrease in intrinsic motivations in favour of extrinsic motivations;
- a weakening of the emotional protection of the artist, the exercise of a more unrestrained evaluation, or a depersonalisation of relationships at work;
- an increase in formalisation of the controls exercised or in the operational rules to be respected;
- an adoption of less creative representations of the work to be realised, a development of calculation values or a strengthening of an expectation of immediate returns.

We are now going to answer to the second question and try to determinate if the control modes of artistic work are also relevant for other persons than the artists in arts organisations.

Control of Arts Organisations

As we have relied upon the more or less innovative character of artistic work to analyse the relevance for it of the four control modes described above, we have constructed the concept of "cultural position" to understand the case of arts organisations and the relevance for them of the same four control modes.

The origin of this concept has to be found in the Bourdieu (1977,1992)'s analysis of cultural fields. He distinguishes in any cultural field, two sub-fields:

- a "sub-field of restricted production", which operates according to a logic of *avant-garde* artists turnover, where the new in the field are young and fight with the creativity arms in order to conquer the positions of the "classical" or the "consecrated", positions that enable the ones who occupy them to come down to posterity and to have their works become economically profitable in the long term;
- a "sub-field of large production", which operates as any traditional market according to classical economic rules, where short term profit is sought in spite of a façade denial.

Relying on this analysis, we have identified three cultural positions:

- the innovative position (the new in the field, actualising the creativity values);
- the classical position (the old and institutionalised in the field, looking for quality but not necessarily for newness);
- the commercial position.

Not all arts fields provide the three positions. For example, in France, the classical music performing art field do not have orchestras occupying a commercial position. Moreover, one can find surviving in the same field, probably because of public subsidies, orchestras that are not "consecrated", that are not new and that do not produce good quality. We call them "second rank orchestras" and it is difficult to choose which of the three positions they occupy... So, in that kind of field, we have identified three different positions: the innovative and the classical (or consecrated) ones and the second rank one.

More generally, we have arranged in order all the studied organisations by opposing innovative organisations occupying *avant-garde* positions ("innovation +" side) to commercial or second rank organisations ("innovation -" side), classical organisations being in between. This is the "innovation axis". All our hypotheses about modes of control of arts organisations have been formulated according to this axis. The following table summarises them.

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Table 1: Hypotheses about the variations of control modes according to the cultural position

MODES OF CONTROL	CULTURAL POSITION		
	Innovation +	↔	Innovation -
Motivations (self-control)	Motivations for the sector (intrinsic)	↔	Extrinsic motivations (money, power, notoriety, etc.)
	Affective commitment to the organisation (= Diffusion to the entire organisation of the motivational logic of artists)	↔	Instrumental relation to the organisation (= Differentiation of motivations between artists ones and other persons ones)
Inter-personal relationships (control by gift)	Gift logic diffused to the entire organisation	↔	Gift logic limited to relationships with artists
	Friendly and emotional atmosphere Personalised relationships	↔	Formalism, Impersonal and only professional relationships
Shared values (symbolic context)	Creativity values well represented in the organisation culture	↔	Less represented
	Everybody support the artistic project	↔	Support depends on the people
	Friendly and informal climate	↔	Climate more impersonal and formal

Structure (material context)	Organic	↔	Less organic, more bureaucratic
	Less formalised	↔	More formalised
	Organisation charts do not exist or have an organic shape	↔	Organisation charts do exist, are easy to draw and show a stronger task definition
General hypothesis	Diffusion to the entire organisation of the control logic of artistic work	↔	Differentiation of the control logics

Our hypothesis is thus, that the control logic of artistic work is also relevant for the entire organisation when in an innovative position, where as it remains in the artistic "bubble" when the organisation occupies a less innovative position.

We are now going to present the methodology followed in the empirical part of the research and some empirical elements supporting our control theory.

Empirical Elements

Methodology Used

As mentioned in the introduction, we investigated three sectors: TV-film production in a first phase, and publishing industry and orchestras in a second one.

The first data collection phase took place in a single organisation, a TV-film production company that we will call here Alphimages. It was a deep exploratory investigation that was parallel to our first theoretical reflections. The underlying question was "can control kill art?", that is to say we have taken artists reluctance seriously as far as the idea of control is concerned. In order to make some answers emerge from the case study, we chose to study a highly innovative organisation which wanted to rationalise its functioning, among others by implementing a management control system. This case study was presented at the first international conference on arts management in Montreal (Chiapello, 1992).

The second empirical phase concerned nine organisations: four publishers in general literature (i.e. which publish notably literary works of contemporary authors) and five

orchestras (four of classical music and one of baroque music). As in the first phase, our method remained qualitative, but the higher number of organisations obliged us to spend less time in each. Thus the second phase investigations are less deep but the focus was put from the beginning on important aspects revealed by the first phase. The second phase enabled us to diversify our experience of arts organisations and made us to understand various organisational realities. This phase is not a pure exploration one, nor it is only an empirical test of the theoretical propositions that emerged from the first phase. It is clear that this second phase permitted us as much to make the first theoretical propositions evolve as to give them empirical support.

We deliberately chose the art sectors of this second phase to give maximum diversity to our panel (see table 2 below), and to construct a large theory *a priori* relevant for all arts organisations and not only for innovative TV-film production company.

Table 2: Characteristics of art sectors concerned by the empirical work

Art sector	Phase I	Phase II	
	TV-film production	Publishers in general literature	Classical and baroque music performing art
Position of the artistic work	Internal and collective artistic work Temporary recruitments	External work, mainly individual	Internal and collective artistic work Permanent group
Creation vs. Interpretation	Creation	Creation	Interpretation
Cultural position of the organisations ⁵	" <i>Avant-garde</i> "	The three positions are present in the panel : " <i>avant-garde</i> ", " <i>classical</i> " and " <i>commercial</i> "	" <i>Avant-garde</i> " and " <i>classical</i> "
Services vs. Products	Products	Products	Services
Profit/Non profit (sources of financing)	Profit	Profit	Mainly Non profit

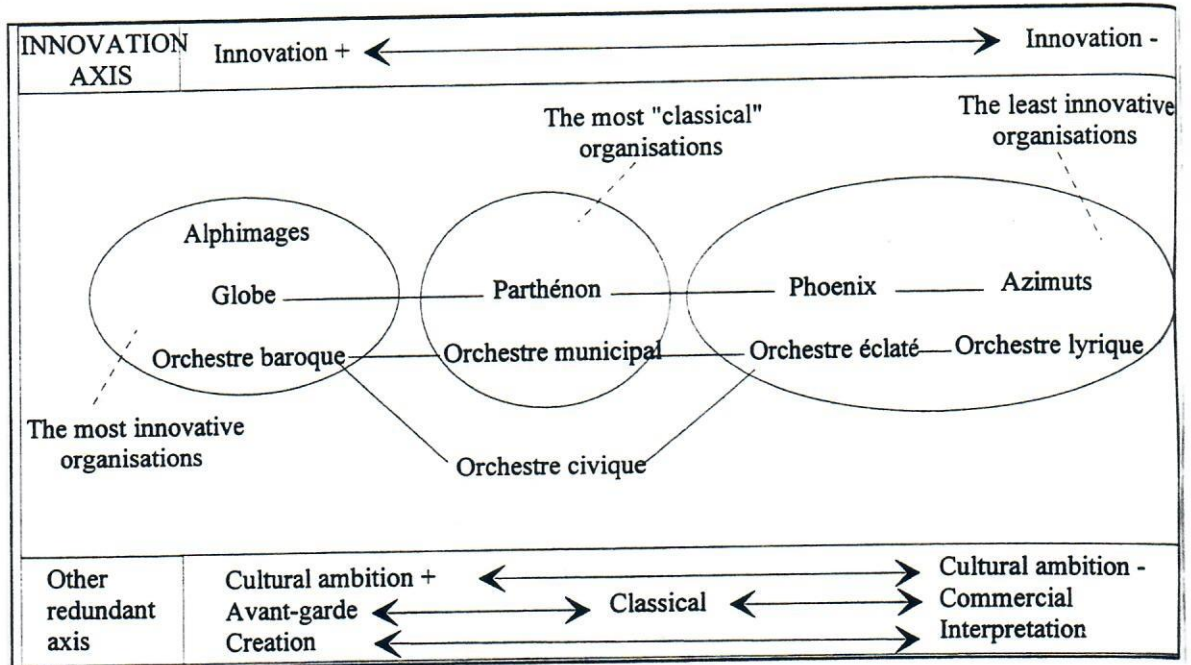
⁵ Typology based on Bourdieu's work.

Public / Private (type of legal statute)	Private	Private	Mainly private
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The following figure shows positions of each studied organisation on the innovation axis.⁶

⁶ All the names used in this paper are false. Globe, Parthenon, Phoenix and Azimuts are the names of the publishing houses.

Figure 2: The ten studied organisations on the innovation axis⁷



We are now going to present some empirical results supporting the hypotheses presented in table 1 and chosen from the case of publishing houses.

Some Empirical Results: the Case of Publishing Houses

We will only develop here the case of publishing houses, and, among all the empirical data we got, we will only present, for space reasons, data about people's motivations and an analysis of the organisation charts. These two subjects will nevertheless allow us to support half the hypotheses presented in Table 1.

Motivations

We asked every person we met (CEO, Financial Directors, Literary Director, and Controllors of publishing houses) to say the importance they gave to various criteria when they chose their occupation. Four levels of importance were proposed:

- Very important (coded 3)

⁷ The Orchestre Civique is really difficult to place in this schema. It is not very innovative in the music played (less than Orchestre baroque), its quality is not as good as Orchestre Municipal's one, so it cannot occupy an innovative position nor a classical position. But Orchestre Civique is nevertheless innovative in its diffusion strategy. The orchestra Director thus decided to make the musicians played everywhere it is possible (in plants, prisons, difficult suburbs,...).

- Important (coded 2)
- Not very important (coded 1)
- Not important at all (coded 0)

The proposed criteria can be grouped together in four categories:

- motivations "for the sector": that is for publishing industry;
- motivations "for the job": they include all the characteristics of the jobs exercised as far as autonomy, income, responsibilities, etc. are concerned; (Motivations "for the sector" can be seen as intrinsic motivations where as motivations "for the job" are more extrinsic.)
- motivations "for the ambiance": we only look here at the friendliness of the ambiance;
- "circumstances" motivations: we group in this category fortunes of life, opportunities, social and family relationships.

Table 3 gives the average of the answers for each criterion.

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Table 3 : Motivations of people in publishing houses

	Average mark (between 0 and 3)	Motivations arranged from the most important to the least
<u>Motivations "for the sector"</u>		
. Creativity of the milieu	2,54	③
. Originality of the job	2,31	⑤
. Admiration for an editor	1,62	8
. Admiration for a writer	1,31	10
. Love for literature and reading	2,62	②
. Participation to the cultural enrichment of the country	0,92	13
→ . Pursuit of personal notoriety ⁸	0,92	13
<u>Motivations "for the ambiance"</u>		
. Friendliness of the milieu	1,77	7
<u>Motivations "for the job"</u>		
. Position in the hierarchy	1,15	11
. Autonomy	2,38	④
. Carrier possibilities	1,08	12
. Importance of responsibilities	1,85	⑥
. Interest for the job ⁹	2,85	①
. Income	0,85	14
→ . Pursuit of personal notoriety	0,92	13
<u>"Circumstances" motivations</u>		
. Relationships in the publishing industry	0,62	15
. Family Tradition	0,85	14
. Opportunity	1,46	9
. Fortunes of life	1,08	12

We first notice an equilibrium between motivations for the sector and motivations for the job, with a little advantage to the motivations for the sector, because if the first motivator is the job itself, it is clearly linked to the sector at least for the five Literary

⁸ We put this item in both categories of the motivations for the sector and of the motivations for the job, as arrows show it in the table. Indeed, pursuit of notoriety is not really a motivation for the sector but the publishing industry as a communication industry offers more ways to become famous than many others.

⁹ For the Literary Directors, the item "Interest for the job" could have also been put in the "Motivation for the sector" category.

Directors who answered the question (out of 13 persons). Moreover, motivation factors of the second and third ranks belong to the "motivations for the sector" group. A high commitment to the product (Love for literature and reading) and the pleasure to work near artistic creation (Creativity of the milieu) have to be noticed.

This supports our hypothesis that working in the publishing industry is, in itself, a source of motivation.

"- To start, I read a lot. I like publishing. I have made the choice for it...

- Because you love the product?

- I love books and I love the environment. I had other propositions in other sectors. But I came here because it is more fun to work on that than on something else. Moreover, my story... I worked before for a newspaper, then I went to advertising, but in a commercial job. So all that is very logical (...) It is better to like books because in everyday life it is more like grocery trade and it is not always fun. Thus, if you don't like books, you will not have great satisfactions. Here, it is intellectually satisfying. I met people not too stupid, whose interests are nice, people open. It is not very stressful as far as financial management is concerned. For sure, it is not difficult." (Controller)

Motivations for the sector are reinforced by motivations for the job, but, among them, the most extrinsic ones are not concerned, like "position in the hierarchy", "notoriety", "income" or "career possibilities". Thus, the pleasure to work in the publishing industry is a better motivator than all these extrinsic sources of motivation.

It is now interesting to analyse the differences between the companies, and to try to link these differences with the cultural position of organisations. Remind here that Globe is the most innovative organisation, that Parthenon occupies a classical position and that Phoenix and Azimuts have a commercial positions.

Table 4 below presents an analysis of the motivations differences between the publishing houses.

Table 4 : Motivations differences between the publishing companies¹⁰

	Maximum variances	AZIMU TS (average s)	PHOENI X (average s)	PARTHE NON (averages)	GLOBE (averages)
<u>Motivations "for the sector"</u>					
. Creativity of the milieu	1				
. Originality of the job	0,67				
. Admiration for an editor	2,33	0,33	1,5	2,67	1,8
. Admiration for a writer	1,33	0,33	1,5	1,67	1,6
. Love for literature and reading	0,47 1,60	0,33	0	1	1,6
. Participation to the cultural enrichment of the country	0,9				
. Pursuit of personal notoriety					
<u>Motivations "for the ambiance"</u>					
. Friendliness of the milieu	1,3	2,33	2,5	1,67	1,2
<u>Motivations "for the job"</u>					
. Position in the hierarchy	0,83				
. Autonomy	0,47				
. Carrier possibilities	0,83				
. Importance of responsibilities	0,5				
. Interest for the job	0,33				
. Income	1,27	1,67	1	0,67	0,4
. Pursuit of personal notoriety	0,9				
<u>"Circumstances" motivations</u>					
. Relationships in the publishing industry	1,67	0	1	1,67	0,2
. Family Tradition	0,33				
. Opportunity	0,8				
. Fortunes of life	1,83	2,33	0,5	1	0,6
Average of maximum variances	1,03	3 questionn aires	2 questionn aires	3 questionn aires	4 questionnai res

¹⁰ In order to build this table, we calculated for each item the maximum variance between the average marks of the different houses. The average of these variances is 1.03. Only when the maximum variance for an item was greater than 1.03, we analysed the differences between companies. The average marks for each companies are presented in the table only for these items.

Globe is the only company where "interest for the job" ranks second. Thus, Globe is the place where there is the greatest adhesion to the artistic project. At Parthenon, there is a balance between love for literature and the job. At Phoenix, "interest for the job" ranks first before any "motivation for the sector"; at Azimuts, cultural motivations rank only third. Thus, the four publishing houses are arranged in the table from the least motivated by the sector (on the left) to the most (on the right).

As a newcomer in the field, Globe¹¹ has to rely a lot on innovation and creativity. These are its only chance to survive compared to the old houses. In particular, Parthenon which occupies also a position in the "sub-field of restricted production", but a consecrated one, does not have to rely on creativity as much as Globe. At Parthenon, people celebrate the memory of the founders and the tradition (cf. rank of the criterion "Admiration for an editor"). Thus the motivations of people are consistent with the values associated to each position in the cultural field.

Thus, analysis of the motivations of people gives support to our hypotheses. The more an organisation occupies an innovative position, the more intrinsic motivations (or motivations for the sector and the "métier") and the less extrinsic motivations (notably income) are important. One can notice also that these variations occur on a context of generally great motivation for the sector.

We are going now to study the structures of the companies through the analysis of their organisation charts.

The Publishing Houses Structures Studied through their Organisation Charts

Organisation charts make clear and rigid in writing (formalisation) division of functions and hierarchical relationships. And these elements should be questioned if innovation is looked for:

- formalisation removes some flexibility;
- division of functions makes more difficult polyvalent work which is a source of flexibility;
- hierarchy is a source of dissatisfaction for professionals (and editors are some sort of professionals).

Does an organisation chart exist? (Question asked once a company)

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| - Yes, it is formalised and largely diffused | twice
(Azimuts and
Globe) |
| - Yes, it is formalised but confidential | 0 |

¹¹ Globe is only 15 years old whereas Azimuts, Parthenon or Phoenix are around 50 years old.

- No, it has never been written and there is no problem
- No, and it is sometimes really ambiguous

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(Phoenix and
Parthenon)

You will see below the general shapes of the two organisation charts of Azimuts and Globe.

Figure 3 : Azimuts Organisation chart (excerpt)

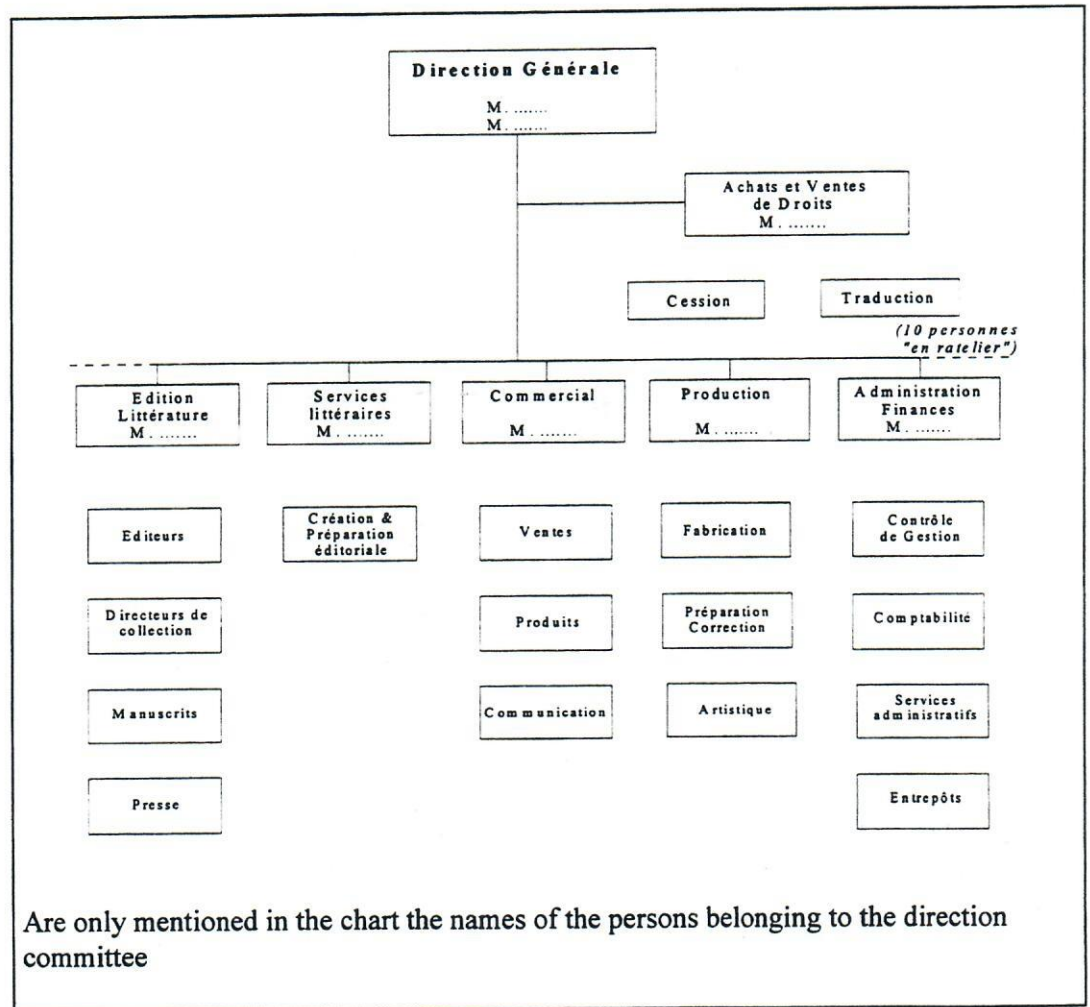


Figure 4 : Globe organisation chart (excerpt)

Editorial 4	DG, Administration & Comptabilité 6	Presse 2,5
M. M. M. M.	M. M. M. M. M. M.	M. M. M.
Droits 2	Commercial	Fabrication
M. M.	M. M. M. M. M. M.	

Almost everybody working for the company has one's name in the chart.

Both organisation charts:

- do not mention any hierarchical title of job (as Director of...) except for the general manager;
- avoid (a bit for Azimuts and totally for Globe) formalising hierarchy. Thus, at Azimuts, hierarchical dependence is drawn only for the first level. Below, departments are "in weightlessness". At Globe, no hierarchical line at all are drawn and the chart is more a list of work groups than a "real" organisation chart. Thus, in publishing houses, hierarchy is not very strong and work relationships are very informal.

"Yes, hierarchy exists, but it is not omnipresent. In every day life, you can't find any etiquette if you prefer. You won't find employees that should be careful and say good morning to their boss or any times they meet a director in the corridor. All this does not exist here." (Globe)

This analysis gives support to our hypotheses. Twice out of four times, companies do not have an organisation chart, and when they have one, it shows something very organic and avoidance of hierarchy. And this is the case for all the publishing houses, whatever their position. The following table shows now the differences between the companies. Azimuts is the company which prefers organisation charts whereas Parthenon and Globe are rather hostile to the idea.¹²

¹² Information about Phoenix is not relevant because Phoenix is only a part of a bigger house. It is has no organisational autonomy. Its organisation chart would only be a part of a bigger one.

Table 6 : Differences between publishing houses organisation charts

	AZIMUTS	PARTHENON	GLOBE
Existence of an organisation chart	Yes	No	Yes
Formalisation of hierarchy	A bit	Not at all	Not at all
Who is mentioned in the chart	Only people of the Direction committee	-----	Everybody
Opinions about organisation charts	Satisfaction (cf. quotation below)	Refusal (cf. quotation below)	?

Azimuts CEO's opinion about organisation charts:

"I instituted an organisation chart that holds the road well, that is an organisation where you don't find a boss with 250 persons directly below. It was like that when I arrived. The new one is clear. All these elements are very well structured. As for me, it is very well organised now." (Azimuts, CEO)

Parthenon CEO's opinion about organisation charts:

"My predecessor thought someday "I should draw an organisation chart". And he drew three departments with a man at the head in each. And what happened? Authors could not any more see the CEO and they was dissatisfied. They did not see him any more because there were department chiefs who were in charge (...) But they needed to know that they could see the CEO if they want. Moreover, for the editors, it was also difficult to think that they were accountable to one of them who was may be not older or with more experience, to one of them that in the end is not legally responsible. Because, the CEO, even if he is comparable, is responsible. If the company doesn't work well, he can be asked to leave, and this idea is really well accepted here. But editors did not want to be accountable to someone else that wouldn't be as responsible as the CEO.(...) After one year, my predecessor went back to the prior organisation." (Parthenon, CEO)

The table below summarises what we have seen about motivations and organisation charts and gives also information about other elements we had not space to present.

Table 7: Modes of control of publishing houses (summary)

Motivations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Fundamental role of the motivations for the sector. Small role of extrinsic motivations. . Strong motivations for the sector at Globe and Parthenon, weaker at Azimuts and Phoenix. <p>(results consistent with cultural positions)</p>
Structures analysed through the organisation charts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . No organisation chart or showing organic structures and avoidance of hierarchical relations . . Azimuts : hierarchical organisation chart valued by the CEO <p>Globe : organic organisation chart Parthenon : total refusal of hierarchy (results consistent with cultural positions).</p>
Other structural elements and interpersonal relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Great importance of interpersonal and emotional relationships; weak formalisation whatever the position
Formal systems of management control	<p>Result consistent with the hypotheses :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Azimuts has the best system and Parthenon the worst. <p>Result not consistent :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Globe, which is the most innovative organisation, has a good management control system (this should be related to its economic vulnerability due to its position of newcomer).

Conclusion

Thus, empirical data give support to our hypotheses (presented in Table 1 above). Motivations for the artistic project, the role played by the gift logic and the presence of organic structures are the more important as the organisation is on an innovative position.

Some differences between orchestras and publishing houses have been observed. Orchestras seem to tolerate more hierarchy and work formalisation. Moreover the gift logic is less present: if there is some sort of confidence, work relationships are not very

personal. We explain this difference by orchestra exercising an art demanding submission and rigor. Nevertheless, the same kind of variation between innovative cultural positions and less innovative ones as publishing companies can be noticed for orchestras.

We can also conclude that another axis than the innovation axis should be introduced to explain variations in the technical sophistication of management control systems, because some highly innovative firms as Globe and the Orchestre Baroque have good systems, that is contrary to our hypotheses. As far as this question is concerned, we think that the economic vulnerability of an organisation is a better predictor than the cultural position. The innovation axis explains nevertheless the role of the financial director in the company. He or she can be very present (in innovative organisations) or less present in the everyday life of the company (other positions) whatever be the technical proficiency of management control system.

Thus, empirical data made us complete our theoretical propositions by introducing other explanation factors (as the type of art or the economic vulnerability), but on the all they give big support to our hypotheses about the control modes of arts organisations.

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