

Eve CHIAPELLO

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WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM THE WAYS IN WHICH ARTISTIC WORK IS CONTROLLED ?

Artistic work appears to be the prototype of work that is impossible to control by management. This is especially the case as regards the quality, and therefore the result, and when control ¹. In point of fact, although artistic work is difficult to control, it is possible to exercise some influence over it. We will, therefore, try to determine the different ways of influencing, or of controlling, which could favour its accomplishment. This is the work that we carried out in a doctorate thesis (Chiapello, 1994) which highlights particularly the most innovative artistic work (which we describe as *avant-garde*).

Firstly, we show the main results of the research work carried out ². We then take a look at what could be the benefits of identifying all the factors which could favour artistic creation. What recommendations can we make to managers who work in an artists' world or, similarly, to those who work in others fields where the quest for innovation and the employment of professionals is decisive ? Finally, what theoretical lesson can we learn from the example of artistic work which can be applied to the control of organisations ?

Artistic work seems impossible to control...

Authors on management generally define 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 (Tannenbaum, 1968 ; Hofstede, 1978, 1981).

According to this definition, control aims at ensuring the conformity of realizations to a standard, an objective or a norm.

This definition presupposes that, on the one hand the norm or objective is fixed prior to the action, and on the other hand, that in the case of a difference to the "should be", we should be able to take the right corrective actions and, therefore, that we should know the process which produces the results desired (Ouchi, 1977 ; Merchant, 1982 ; Malleret, 1993) ³.

However, in fact, these are two conditions that are badly met in artistic work and particularly in the case of *avant-garde* artists whose vocation is to produce something new in the history of the art concerned and original compared to contemporary productions. If the objective is the realization of a unique and singular piece of art, which is entirely new and entirely different to

¹ Goes beyond the mere control of the implementation of resources (v. original).

² An appendix to this article gives several indications on the empirical work carried out and the wider scope of the thesis.

³ Hofstede (1981) identifies four conditions : the objectives must not be ambiguous, the output must be quantifiable, the effect of the interventions known and the activity repetitive. Dermer & Lucas (1986) also identify four conditions close to those of Hofstede (1981).

any previous work, it is extremely difficult to describe before the result desired. It must be, by definition, to come. The *avant-garde* artist is seeking to produce something which has never been seen and which cannot be compared. If there is any control, it should not aim towards conformity but towards the maximum non conformity.

Moreover, the artistic creation process is specific to the artist. It is incorporated to his person and, as a result, seems relatively opaque to an outside observer or even to the artist himself. Furthermore, the process is rather uncertain. Pieces of work created by an artist are often unequal and artists themselves are never sure they will finish all the work they have set out to do. These two reasons (the lack of definition of the result that should be achieved and the lack of knowledge and certainty governing the production process) rapidly lead us to believe that artistic work must be impossible to control, at least by a cybernetic process.

...but it is nevertheless possible to identify some adapted ways of controlling artistic work

If artistic work, by nature, seems to be outside the scope of the wish to control of others, particularly businessmen ⁴, we can 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 realization of a piece of work.

In this way 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.

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

⁴ This could refer to editors concerning writers, gallery owners concerning painters or sculptors, producers concerning film writers or theatre directors.

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. The work is in itself motivating and a source of satisfaction. It is the exercise of the activity itself, for which they have a passion, that brings gratification. A certain number of experiences have even shown that artists who were sought to be motivated by an increase in extrinsic motivations, for example by a sanction-reward system, had a tendency to become less creative than usual (Amabile, 1990). Emphasizing external sources of gratification leads either to the artist trying to please and not giving free rein to his research, which confines him to fields which have been largely explored, or to an increase in the fear of failure which is a source of paralysis.

A creative artist is, therefore, firstly, an artist motivated by the exercise of his work. The satisfaction drawn from it incites him not to look for other sources of gratification, and not to try meeting other success criteria proposed by others. From now on, he can give free rein to his research, follow new paths and be free of the fear of failure since his satisfaction is not linked the actual realization of an objective but only to the satisfaction of moving forward.

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 realizations. 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 realization 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 of confidence makes the work relaxed and enables everyone to live those moments positively.

Confidence is given to the artist in that he can give the best of himself and find interesting things in spite of any research difficulties. The artist gives back this confidence by being confident that the other will know how to wait for him and help him, for he believes in his capacity to create.

The confidence is both reciprocal and shared. It will permit, 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).

These surroundings are marked by *agapè* (Boltanski, 1990) defined as unselfish love or *gift* love, on the model of the Judeo-Christian God's love for man. This work context is characterized indeed by a temporary suspension of evaluation and judgement in favour of work. Evaluation confines, it reduces a person to the way he is judged and, if it is negative, will discourage, whereas in fact we should be opening up possibilities and encouraging. In the context of creation, it is preferable that judgement should only be expressed toned down and positive as a sign that the artist can do better still and find other things. This suspension of judgement takes us back to *agapè* which is (to the contrary of evaluation) an entire acceptance of the other without taking into account his quality. *Agapè* is a statement that man goes beyond all evaluation. It thus enables him to go beyond himself.

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 realization 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.

"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).

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 authorizes the intervention of another person in the creative process. Finally a *gift* creates work conditions favouring primarily innovative realizations. 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.

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

action⁵. The control which is exercised through values does not necessarily presume that the individual has a strong conscience. It is mostly an unconscious process which favours some actions more than others following an appropriation of a way of thinking through various socialization processes.

Avant-garde artists are particularly concerned by this type of control for they generally adhere to a conception of art which emphasizes its autonomy and selflessness. Art should not respond to any demand and can only follow an internal logic. Each creation must above all actualize 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 realization. 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 (Abrieu, 1984).

Another important element for our question is the self-actualization by the artists and their circle of the values of *gift*. The artist who sees his work as a vocation to accomplish, as an activity to which he has to consecrate his entire self, is probably more motivated intrinsically. The conception he has of his work is, therefore, linked to the type of motivation he has. Similarly, if selflessness, loyalty and friendship are central values to the artist and his circle, a control by *gift* can flourish.

The contents of symbolic context can, in this way, either facilitate or prevent the application of the first two modes of control mentioned (self-control and control by *gift*). Moreover, if it shapes the representation of the work to be realized, it will influence directly its results.

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 organization. In fact it is the price to pay for an operational flexibility necessary for the emergence of artistic innovations.

The four modes of control we have described all permit a creative exercise of art. Even though we have dealt with them separately, it is important to underline their inter-dependent character.

⁵ Max Weber even thought that being rational towards values was the most efficient type of behaviour when creating a methodical behaviour or orientating a general life style. In this way, according to Weber, the axiological rationality creates regularities more easily than teleological rationality (Kalberg, 1980). We naturally refer to values different to those actualizing personal interests or a systematic search for the best means to reach a given objective without these being any judgement other than efficiency made on these means. These values would lead us to think that teleological rationality is a form of axiological rationality.

The inter-dependency of the four modes of control of innovative artistic work

We have already seen that control by *gift* enables the artist to give free rein to his intrinsic motivations due to the lessening of stress over his creation. Furthermore, we have pointed out how important the symbolic and material contexts are for the development of self-control and control by *gift*.

On a wider scale, it is important to understand that the four modes of control are inter-dependent.

Control by *gift* is particularly adapted to the cases of highly motivated individuals who are capable of self-control and desire it themselves. Evered and Selman (1982) have tried to define *coaching*. They state that, when there is a relationship between a trainer and trainee such as is experienced by high level sportsmen and women (which is surprisingly similar to what we have named control by *gift*), these sportsmen will not expect motivation from their trainer but on the contrary will bring it to him. If on the one hand, it is the *coach's* responsibility to strengthen this motivation and avoid discouragement, on the other hand, he is not supposed to be the source of it. We could see similar phenomena with a "*laissez-faire*" type relationship (Lewin, Lippitt, White, 1939). Here the leader does not direct but puts himself in the service of the group, rather as a coach is in the service of sportsmen or women. The bad results obtained in the Lewin's experience by that type of leadership are linked to the fact that the experiments were carried out on people who were not *a priori* motivated and competent to accomplish the task. The research by Lewin and his collaborators was made indeed on a group of American children attending a leisure club. We would like to suggest the hypothesis that a "*laissez-faire*" leadership would have been found the most effective with people who were very competent and motivated towards the task demanded.

Furthermore, we could easily imagine that a world where, for instance, formal evaluations were very present and connected to a sanction-reward system, would develop people's calculating behaviour thus making them less capable of selflessness. In this case, the formalization of material context has a tendency to reduce *gift* behaviour, to which we attach the idea of selflessness. It is important for a person to have a sense of selflessness and to accept deferred, different and uncertain returns (Godbout, 1992), to devote himself to his work without expecting any acknowledgement, or to listen to another's project so he can help him without trying to take it over. The *coach*, therefore, is serving the artist and not trying to make the artist serve him. Paradoxically, he fulfills his mission all the better in that he abandons all will to control.

In this way, the four modes of control, dealt with below, structurally need each other to favour artistic creation.

These comments can be summarized in the following equation (Figure 1).

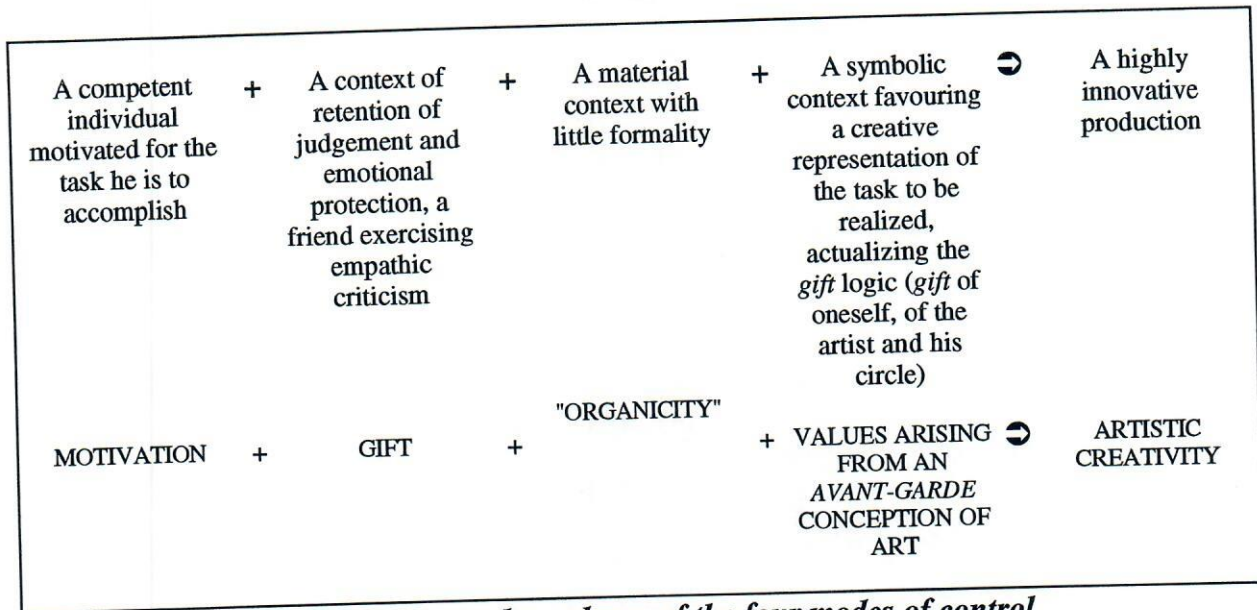


Figure 1. : Inter-dependency of the four modes of control of innovative artistic work

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 depersonalization of relationships at work,
- an increase in formalization of the controls exercised or in the operational rules to be respected,
- an adoption of less creative representations of the work to be realized, a development of calculation values or a strengthening of an expectation of immediate returns.

We have, therefore, been able to identify four modes of control adapted to the most innovative artistic work, whereas a classic cybernetic type analysis of control suggested that artistic work, particularly *avant-garde* one, would be difficult to control. We notice indeed that the four modes of control involved are difficult to control by possible managers and consequently by firms.

Modes of control that are difficult to control : what recommendations can we make to managers ?

The particularity of management, with respect to the different possible approaches to the study of organizations, is that it seeks to provide managers with analysis and tools enabling them to intervene as best as they can in guiding the future of their firms, ideally reaching perfect command. In fact an analysis of elements liable to favour the creation of innovative artistic work can only lead us to make some difficult recommendations. If these elements are to be implemented, managers should part with their wish to command and accept that most interventions, even those which are well intentioned, are such that they will prevent the

accomplishment of their wishes. An unusual image of a manager emerges : a manager who gives up directing or indicating a path to follow, a manager who only controls in an empathic way, a manager who only acts in the service of others, that is making a gift of his resources to a project over which he has no control. His style is not even democratic which would imply others participating in his decisions. On the contrary he participates as a simple contributor, to a decision which will never be his own.

As we enlarge upon below, the *a priori* problematic character for management of the modes of control identified comes from the fact that they are difficult to command. We show how each mode is difficult to control and we deal with some practical recommendations which can nevertheless, be made to help managers.

As we have seen, self-control is based on the love a person has for his work. If it is relatively simple to develop the extrinsic motivations of a person by, for example, implementing a reward-sanction system, it is much more complicated to develop the love he feels towards his job. As far as this is concerned, there are probably many factors that come into play outside the company in his socializing, in his family or at school. The only recommendation we can make at this stage is to recruit only intrinsically motivated people for tasks requiring a high creativity which means emphasizing investigations on this particular aspect ⁶.

Artistic organizations nowadays have, in almost all cases, externalized artistic work, by only contracting employees for one or several works of art for a limited period of time. This is compatible with the key character and difficulty of recruitment in their job. A possible recruitment error will only handicap the project for which the person has been recruited and not a succession of projects as in the case of permanent recruitments. A recruitment which turns out to be positive could, on the contrary, be renewed in the case of a subsequent project. Through this mechanism, artistic organizations have the means of constituting for themselves a pool of creators that they know and appreciate. The cases of French classical and baroque orchestras that we studied showed us that the orchestra that was judged the most innovative had a policy of recruitment per project, which however, did not prevent the artists recruited from belonging to a group of *loyals*. On the other hand, the other orchestras formed by permanent musicians were capable of creating good music but were not characterized by their innovation.

Control by gift is based on the paradox that it is precisely giving up the wish to control that permits control to happen. Indeed, in the long term it would be difficult to use control by *gift* in a machiavellian fashion. This use would be based on a simulation by the *coach* of his enthusiasm and interest for the art work, as well as on a false confidence in the artist, with the mere objective of favouring production. The possibility of simulation is diminished for it concerns elements for which the emphasis on truth is essential and which require a strong investment (of time as well as of the emotional aspect) on the part of the coach. We can presume that, in the end, either the simulating coach will be rejected by the artist, who will have felt the wish to manipulate, or that the coach himself will find himself drawn into the emotional web he himself was spinning for the other.

Control by *gift* works through help granted to the artist but which the latter has the right to refuse. There is an intervention which gives up any wish to command. There are also relationships between friends which are woven daily and which presume that neither party

⁶ Let us recall that a person who is less intrinsically motivated can be an excellent recruit but would show less creativity. However, a research for innovation is not necessarily a primary objective.

would use each other but, which does not, on the contrary, prevent the relationship from being recognized as fruitful by the two parties involved.

We have wanted to emphasize these contradictions as a whole when we named these phenomena of paradoxical expression "control by *gift*".

As far as the symbolic context is concerned, it must be admitted that it is as much an emerging product as the result of conscious work of one or several actors. We naturally know that a corporate culture, for instance, is marked by the personality of the founder of the company, and later on, to a certain extent, by its successive leaders. However, even within this production mode of the symbolic context, it is important to know which elements are mastered by the founder or leader in question. The values held by a person, who prints them upon his creation, are often the result of a complex and singular personal history.

Amado (1992) demonstrates this when he emphasizes Michel Hidalgo's personal history, especially his twin status, to show how the emotional qualities were built up and enabled him to become the well-appreciated French football trainer largely backed up, from our own analysis of the case, by a control by *gift* mode.

As far as recommendations are concerned, it is important to note that any manager holds values and contributes to the creation of the symbolic context of his professional universe. The first way of bringing this awareness to the surface is to search himself and define what he believes in. He should analyse the decisions, actions and tools he implements in order to know if they conform to what he thinks he believes.

Secondly, it is clear that a certain feeling of selflessness, a love of men for themselves and a capacity to live these values in a professional world as well as a desire to do this, are probably the best tools for evolving effectively in an artistic world. These values are important for a manager of an innovative artistic organisation, who acts as a *coach* towards the artists with whom he works, has to accept always remaining in the shadow and never signing the art works to which he has nevertheless contributed. To quote one of our interviewees, "*it's like being in a pedal-cart you must accept pedalling but never being in the box in the front*". Like the artist, the manager must draw his motivation from exercising his activity and not from other advantages which it could bring such as financial rewards, power, notoriety, etc.

Another important force for a manager in this context is not to feel personally threatened when he meets a new talent, not to be afraid that he will be difficult to domesticate, but on the contrary to invite him to develop without trying to crush him or control him. Those who know how to turn their teams into creativity places are those who accept being outstripped by their creation and the people they have recruited. The attitude and values of managers and, more widely of the personnel of organizations, are, in this way, fundamental elements in constituting their capacity for innovation. If, on the one hand, it is possible to define more precisely those values which are fruitful for creativity, on the other hand it is difficult to imagine how such contexts could be created.

However, the ideas we have expanded with regard to artistic organizations should be more and more valid for firms at a time when the need for innovation is crucial and when the people employed in companies are more and more qualified. This leads us to wonder if control by *gift*, with all that this entails in values and symbolic control, is not the only way of supervising teams that are all more competent than oneself and that need to enter a process of constant innovation.

The last mode of control we have identified is similarly difficult to master. Indeed, an organic material context is characterized by a reduction to the minimum of a manager's modelling interventions. Formal rules which are so easy to dictate should be avoided, while on the contrary lack of constancy should become the rule. Operating methods are supposed to emerge

perpetually from interactions and not to be the effect of only one man, and even less of somebody outside the creative work. In terms of recommendations, we can only advise the suppression of formal surroundings and a permanent vigilance against institutionalization.

We know that the habit of working together, the age of a team, as well as its size, are all factors of formalization. Consequently, a good way of keeping a structural flexibility could be to regularly break up teams to constitute new ones, perhaps with the same people, and to multiply small teams as much as possible rather than make the existing ones bigger.

It is, therefore, possible to draw some solutions for management from an analysis of the modes of control of innovative artistic work. However, as we have seen, these are largely based on the recognition that only giving up the wish to command will permit a degree of control, and on the recognition by the manager that he cannot master the concrete result of the work. We can now try to draw a few theoretical conclusions from this work after the various practical recommendations we have given.

A few theoretical hints to follow through

The first point we will discuss is related to what we have just seen, namely the lack of control on a creative process and the importance of giving up any notion of command in order to favour the accomplishment of a project. It is a question of deliberately opting for emergence rather than planification. Numerous researchers working on innovation agree on this notion and bring forward the idea of self-organization to justify the possibility of deciding not to organize what will organize itself. Morgan (1989) even goes as far as drawing up a few recommendations to managers from the theories of self-organization.

However, the idea of emergence undoubtedly goes beyond the mere process of innovation : it can be considered as a characteristic of all firms and the future of the latter is only partly in control of their leaders. These phenomena are in fact, well-known, but are rarely considered as part of a legitimate firm (Dermer, 1988 ; Dermer & Lucas, 1986). It is said, for example, that people are "resistant to change" because change is seen as quite justified, that there is a "cultural problem". A great number of management techniques are in fact directed towards finding the means to reduce these uncontrollable gaps. They elaborate methods for changing the culture of the firm, they put into action communication plans explaining to people why it is better to do something one way rather than another, they study new ways of controlling activities which are apparently not possible to control... Indeed the work we have carried out on artistic activities has begun partly with a wish to do this type of exercise. Nevertheless, all these approaches are based on the principle that controlling and mastering are good in themselves when in fact the example of artistic work largely proves the contrary. We should undoubtedly learn to think that lack of control as well as control is an integral part essential to the success of firms, for the wish to control sometimes leads to a negation of what it was supposed to favour, that is the success of the organizational project. What if the important point was not to control people but to liberate enthusiasm and creativity ?

These comments lead us, similarly, to question the universal nature of the rational and intentional action model that undermines most management theories and which is the following : "a leader pilots his unit with a certain objective in view and implements all recommendations from management given by the best way to reach this objective". Even though this model has unquestionably proved its effectiveness, its dominant character masks the possibility of piloting an entity without *a priori* knowing where it is going but permitting, from the emergence of interactions between people, a movement indicating *a posteriori* the "goal". In this case, survival could be attributed, for instance, to the will of people not to die

and to do things together. Solé (1994) gives us an example of this kind with the case of Bertrand Martin, CEO for Sulzer France. In more ordinary situations, it must be acknowledged that it is not necessarily essential to fix an objective before an action. Indeed, according to March (1987) and Weick (1969) the worst is not to act at all, rather than to act without knowing why, for it is by taking actions that we get to know our environment and that a certain direction emerges. The objective will be then seen as a reconstruction *a posteriori*. We should, therefore, move away from a finalized, rational action model in order to think in a more positive way about various phenomena in a firm's life, like for instance not necessarily fixing precise objectives before acting.

The last theme we will discuss concerns the role of symbolic context in the structuring of a firm. As we have seen, the values held by a person structure the meaning given to a piece of work and, therefore, influence it. We have also touched upon the importance of an ideological compatibility in order for a mode of control (here control by *gift*) to develop in a given situation. However, we should not therefore infer that values are more important in an artistic world than in others because the latter is less bound by formal instrumentations. It is important to clarify this, for the work carried out by numerous researchers such as Ouchi (1980) on cultural control (clan model) tend to lead us to believe that there can only be a control by values when the other modes of control are not apt, when, for example, using W. Ouchi's analysis, transaction ambiguity increases. This point of view is defective in that it masks the fact that formal instrumentations, the market model or the bureaucratic model (still using Ouchi's terminology) hold values. Indeed, this is demonstrated by Boltanski & Thevenot (1991) when they isolate "trade" and "industrial estates" among the possible systems of legitimate justification. It is true that we are not used to seeing our management tools and techniques as value carriers and to tracing back technical considerations to the initial presumptions on which our instrumentation is founded.

We see our tools primarily as "scientific", "universal" and "objectives" whereas their use, in fact, is to create the world in a certain way which is not necessary. Here again, we should consider the axiological dimension of our tools, not only to be sensitive to the conditions of ideological compatibility with a given situation, but also to the fact that their utilization could transform a symbolic context. Such a transformation is never neutral, especially concerning the conditions and results of the work, as shown in our analysis of artistic work.

From the point of view of classical control problems, artistic work is considered as a boundary case. Indeed, it appears to be the prototype of a task that is difficult to control. In searching for the modes of control that could favour the most innovative work, we have partly transformed our perception of control in organization. We have tried to indicate a few ways in which our analysis could become operational. Furthermore, we have tried to emphasize the conceptual problems posed by our results as regards a certain number of elements in the classical control theory. In our opinion, we can see here a number of promising paths for research on the control of organizations.

ANNEX

The Ph.d thesis we carried out dealt with modes of control of artistic organizations which is a wider theme than that discussed in this article.

Three types of organization were analysed :

- a TV-film production company in an exploratory empirical first phase, using an ethnographic method (one year's research),
- 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) in a more targeted second phase, using a method which combined interviews with the management team and the administration of a questionnaire to these same people.

From this sample, three organizations can be seen as highly innovative : the TV-film production company, one of the publishers and the baroque orchestra.

Three axis of empirical analysis and bibliographical research were favoured :

- The theme of artistic creativity dealt with largely on a theoretical basis and which, empirically speaking, lead to a lengthy analysis of the relationship between editors and authors and conductors and musicians. This article presents the basic conclusions drawn from research on this axis ;
- The theme of relationships within the organization between the representative of the artistic logic (producer, literary agent or conductor) and the representative of the economic logic (financial managers). These relationships revealed themselves to be analogous with the author-editor relationships, or the conductor-musicians relationships, with the most innovative organizations favouring relationships founded on *gift* ;
- The theme of the general functioning of these organizations as regards the values most present in their talk, the degree of formalization of the structures and operational methods, the general conviviality at work and the importance of friendly relations. The ten organizations studied were compared on these different characteristics. It became clear that it was possible to link the greater or lesser innovative character of an organization to a greater or lesser presence of the four modes of control described in this article (intrinsic motivation of people for their work, positive emotional relationships between people echoing the *gift* phenomena, the great importance of creativity and of *gift* in the values expressed, the lack of formalization of structure and a great operational flexibility).

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