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Unravelling the Process of Creativity in Advertising: A Praxiological Approach

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Unravelling the Process of Creativity in Advertising: A Praxiological Approach

Mahsa Ghaffari

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**University of Bath
School of Management**

June 2016

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the process of creativity in advertising from a practice-based perspective and illustrate the dynamics and relations between practices that can constitute this phenomenon. A nine month long ethnographic study was conducted in the context of an international advertising agency in Iran, where the organisational aim of doing being creative is in contradiction with the broader social system of the country which largely promotes conservative thinking. Such tension makes practitioners aware of their intertwinement with the practices involved in the creativity process and thus it is easier for them to reflect on what they are doing (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011). This setting thus provides a good platform to capture the logic of practices. By drawing on Schatzki's (1996) theories of practice, the everyday practices of creatives, their interaction with other members of their advertising agency, their clients and audiences as well as with existing advertising and ideas within the social and situational milieu from the start of a campaign until receiving approval are examined. The findings indicate various stakeholders participate in the process of creativity in advertising, such as creatives, other ad agency members, the client, the campaign's audience, and the governmental officers, all of whom can have different requirements and preferences.

While prior literature makes valuable contributions to our understanding of creativity in advertising agencies, in particular related to the important features of the creative outcome, the environmental factors that hinder or foster creativity and the people involved, particularly those individuals that are responsible for delivering creativity, their traits and personalities, we lack an understanding of its process and the recursive roles of environmental and structural factors that can shape and be shaped by the process of creativity in advertising. The present study contributes to this literature by adopting a practice lens revealing the process of creativity in advertising to be entwined in relational/socio-material practice, be the alignment of different preferences of various stakeholders, and be a cumulative process. In addition, techniques for pursuing different end tasks are explored and practices are found to be carriers of culture, and the internal and external rewards in practices are found to be the perceived competences of

a practice and the embracing of the identity of a practice respectively. Finally, some managerial implications based on the outcomes of this research are proposed. These cover the establishment of practice-based guidelines with a corresponding reward system for evaluating creativity in advertising, introducing an appropriate physical layout and structures for ad agencies that can enable the alignment of various objectives and avoid potential tensions, providing a comprehensive induction and training for staff, ensuring an organisational flat structure as well as deploying collaboration as the most appropriate type of leadership for controlling creatives.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In this chapter, the evolution of the concept of creativity (perspiration rather than inspiration), the parameters of creativity in this research (i.e. creativity in advertising), the approaches and scope of the research (i.e. looking at the process of creativity in advertising from a practice theoretical lens) are discussed. These are followed by the aims and objectives of the study, research questions and the outline of the research.

1.1 Creativity as perspiration rather than inspiration:

In past times it was thought that creativity was an act solely attributable to God but slowly this view was modified to include specially gifted and talented individuals. At a later date, research interest turned to recognising the social nature of creativity (Montuori and Purser 1995; Csikszentmihalyi 1999). Although at this point the external influences on creativity were being studied, the focus was still on the effect of these external elements on the individualist process of creativity and thus the comprehensive social nature of creativity, where creativity can be concluded through relationships was somehow ignored (Glaveanu 2010). This shortcoming led to the introduction of a socio-cultural perspective of creativity (Glaveanu 2010), whereby creativity is seen as a complex socio-cultural-psychological process in which creators, by working with “culturally impregnated” materials (symbolic resources) and having a relationship (dialogue) between self (creator) and others (community) through intersubjectivity -a space between the creator and community- can create new artefacts that are evaluated as new and significant by members of the community(ies) at a given time.

This perspective is in line with the view of Edmonds and Candy (2002) who claimed that the process of creativity is based on significant knowledge and creative activities, geared towards achieving an outcome that can be recognised as creative. Hence, they asserted that creative knowledge work involves the generation and evaluation of new ideas, solutions and artefacts which in the words of Fischer et al. (2005) comprise the generation of unique ideas and the externalisation of these, which, in turn, leads to social evaluation and social appreciation.

1.2 Demarcation and definitions of creativity in this research:

In this research the focus is on understanding the process of creativity in advertising as one of the commercial creative industries (DCMS 2011).

As I contend that creativity can be shaped through activities and practices (Edmonds and Candy 2002) working from a predetermined definition of the phenomenon is not an appropriate way forward with respect to this research endeavour. Nevertheless it is important to have a reference point in order to reconstruct a definition of creativity in advertising from the point of view of the creatives, that is, from the practices they are involved with. Therefore, the definition adopted here takes the form of a prism through which to view the field, rather than a template. This allows space for emergent findings, as opposed to fixed ones (Burawoy 1998) to arise from this study. Below the definitions of creativity found in the extant literature are reviewed and considered with respect to this research.

Although definitions of creativity can vary from one context to another, there is a general agreement that it consists of something novel and relevant to the field (e.g. Amabile 1996). In addition, a significant difference can be made between individual creativity, whereby an individual through using his/her own will and ideas generates a novel relevant piece of work and creativity that can be observed in commercial creative industries. In these commercial contexts an individual or group of individuals, working on a task assigned to them by a client or other departments in the organisation, interact and generate new ideas, products, or services which are then subject to verification by the clients (El-Murad and West 2004). Regarding the former, creativity is initiated by the creative person drawing on his/her intuition and the outputs are judged by a homogenous group of people who share a similar discipline. For example, a poet will generate a piece of poetry which will be judged as worthy or otherwise by other poets and not by outsiders such as scientists (Simonton 2000). With respect to the latter, the search for creativity is commenced at the request of others and is not only judged by fellow creatives but also by other individuals who may have managerial roles. For instance, an advertisement can often be evaluated by the creative director and also by the clients and members of staff

from the accounts department in an advertising agency. Therefore, this researcher posits that the process of creativity in advertising, similar to other commercial creative industries, involves an idea generation phase, reification phase and a subsequent judgmental procedure for approval, before the creative output is introduced to the domain.

Taking the above into consideration, in this research the process of creativity in advertising is defined as the production of something that is novel and relevant to given pre-defined problems. It is generated by the practices expressed by creative actors which reflect other elements such as the need to get approval from the commissioning clients and other responsible actors. Moreover, it is important to note that in a commercial creative industry such as advertising, internal organisational boundaries such as the workplace culture and the external social and economic milieu within which firms operate, will affect creativity (Banks et al. 2002). Therefore, as mentioned above, here a working definition of creativity is used as a reference point with the intention being to refine it based on the gathered data.

1.3 Approaches and scope of the research:

Creativity, in general, and more specifically, within advertising, involves: products, people, press and processes (Sasser and Koslow 2008). Many of the extant studies in this field have examined the nature of the products, the important features of the creative outcome (e.g. Amabile 1996), the press, the environmental factors that hinder or foster creativity (Shalley 1995; Amabile 1996) and the people involved, particularly those individuals that are responsible for delivering creativity, their traits and personalities (Rhodes 1961; Roberts and DelVecchio 2000). However, knowledge regarding the actual processes leading to creativity is sparse. In fact, understanding regarding the process of creativity in advertising is largely limited to normative models in which sequences of events are described (e.g. Reid and Rotfeld 1976; Turnbull and Wheeler 2015).

Moreover, despite findings indicating the importance of situational factors on hindering or fostering creativity (e.g. Amabile 1983; Hennessey 2003; Stokes 2001) most knowledge about the process of creativity in advertising comes from

studies that have been carried out in experimental settings where the nature of other elements that can influence creativity are limited and the rich complexity of the situational factors important for creativity to take place is not fully considered (e.g. Reid and Rotfeld 1976; Goldenberg et al. 1999; Stuhlfaut 2011). In addition, there is a contradictory view on the role of situational factors on the process of creativity. For example, constraints are considered to be fruitful (Stokes 2001) as well as being thwarting (Hennessey 2003) for the process of creativity in advertising.

Furthermore, despite the identification of agentive and organisational/structural dimensions of the process of creativity in advertising (Hackley 1998), as well as the importance of social and cultural conditions on this process, the stages involved in the process (i.e. idea generation, crafting the idea, and selling the ideas) have been explored mainly from an agentive perspective. Further, the role of organisational/structural, social and cultural conditions (Woodman et al. 1993; Jeffcutt and Pratt 2002; Moeran 2011) that can shape or be shaped by this process are not fully considered. This can be due to the dominance of multi-level ontologies in previous studies (e.g. individualism, socialism) that resulted in fragmented knowledge about the process of creativity. Hence, one avenue of potentially rich outcomes is to adopt a practice perspective, which is based on a flat ontology, to examine the process of creativity in terms of it being collections of certain practices that can form creative outcomes.

The main argument in this current research pertains to the ontological and epistemological perspective through which the knowledge about this process is derived. As Sandberg and Tsoukas (2011) indicated, there is a growing concern regarding the gap between management theories and practices which can be due to the inability of these theories to capture the logic of practice as the theories are developed within the framework of scientific rationality. In other words as Styhre (2006) stated: “the literature on organizational creativity is feeding on rational thinking rather than the forms of empiricism” (p.145). The former approach considers creativity as an extraordinary event while the latter perceives creativity as taking place during “the course of actions” (Styhre 2006 p.147).

Hence, in this research I follow Styhre's (2006) empiricism approach, one that is "capable of recognising the heterogeneity of entities and events in the act of creation, or, rather, the series of acts over time that ex post facto may be regarded as what is a manifestation of creativity" (p.147) . For achieving this end, I adopted Schatzki's practice theoretical approach, based on a flat ontology, where social phenomena can be unfolded as bundles of practice-material arrangements (Schatzki 2005, 2006, forthcoming). Practices are spatially-temporally dispersed, open sets of doings and sayings organised by common understanding, teleologies (ends and tasks), and rules (Schatzki 2005, forthcoming). Material arrangements are "set-ups of material objects" comprising human-beings, artefacts, other organisms, and things in which practices transpire (Schatzki, 2005). In this way, a specific practice (i.e. creativity in advertising) can be studied and "the dynamic that occurs between the becoming of [this] practice as a socially sustained mode of action in a given context and the given socio-material context" (Gherardi, 2011, p.52) can be explained.

To this end, I purposefully sampled an international creative advertising agency, named here as Dalton, in Iran to be able to grasp the logic of practices (see Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011). This is because in Iran, the field of advertising is under the control of an Islamic state (Ministry of culture and Islamic guidance 2016; ¹BBC 2013) and there is tension between the particular outcomes of the practice of creativity in advertising and the exacting standards of excellence held in society. Although this might be the case in all societies, in Iran the state's Islamic rules and regulations make this tension more distinct. That is to say, that in Iran creativity as an outside the box thinking act has to be performed whilst complying with conservative and within the box thinking rules of the society. Such tension makes practitioners aware of their intertwinement with both the practice of creativity and the standards they should pursue in their context and thus it is easier for them to reflect on what they are doing.

¹"16- Issuing and revoking the license for establishment and supervising the activities of all advertising companies, printing houses, duplication institutions and other establishments affiliated to publication industry and supervising the quality and content of their commercials and printed works based on the relevant laws and regulations"(Ministry of culture and Islamic guidance 2016).

1.4 Research aims and objectives and questions:

In this study, the aim is to elicit a process framework that examines the process of creativity in advertising from a practice-based perspective. This can be addressed by focusing on the activities and sub-practices of creativity within this process and by identifying the interplay of other practices, particularly those from the client and those imposed by the government, across the span of the different stages of the creation of a piece of work, starting from the commissioning of the advertisement up until the acceptance of the final product by the clients and other relevant parties. One reason for identifying and exploring existing conditions and different types of practices and their effects on the process of creativity is the fact that creativity, according to Becker (2006), can be considered as an outcome of the combination of routine and unusual choices made from a range of possible alternatives. In fact, the conditions, both constraints and opportunities, facing practitioners can play an important role in determining their selection (Bullmore 1999). In order to better understand the ways in which creatives deal with limitations and opportunities and how they manage these, I explore the practices of creativity adopted by actors in their natural settings and the way these practices interact with other relevant practices. In particular, the routinized activities they undertake are scrutinized in detail from the point at which they receive a brief from their clients, through the embellishment of the idea with a concept that appeals to the commissioning clients until the point at which the work receives final approval.

It is deemed consistent with this research objective to adopt for this study theories on practice (e.g. Schatzki 1996; Reckwitz 2002; Schatzki 2005). Under this optic, practices are “embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity, centrally organized around shared practical understanding” (Schatzki 2005 p.11). In other words, for this investigation the creatives’ routinized activities (what they do), the way(s) in which they do them (that is, human interactions as well as the materials engaged for carrying out these activities) and the reasons and meanings attached to what they are doing are examined in depth.

For this, as the creatives’ practices are considered to be socially contextualised, that is, these need to be studied within their contexts (Schatzki 1996). This, in

the words of Shove et al (2007), refers to “the practical exigencies of accomplishing specific practices in a given physical and material environment” (p.141). Therefore, the creatives’ routinized practices in the process of creativity in advertising within the Iranian context are studied and the interrelation between the practices and sub-practices that can span across various phases of creativity in advertising (i.e. the ideas generation, crafting the ideas into the ad, and then selling it) will be studied. This is undertaken by employing the teleo-affective structure prominent in these integrative practices, in other words, the core values and emotions that arise whilst being engaged with the practice of creativity (Schatzki 1996).

Furthermore, in answer to Warde (2005) when he asked “how do different practices affect one another?” (p.149), this study also aims to address the ways these practices are performed and interact within the physical and material context (see Shove et al. 2007) of Iran. This refers to where the creatives in the focal agency are operating and seeks to elucidate the ways they deal with: other practices within the agency, their clients and the practices imposed by the government, which are all raised and situated in the cultural context of the society.

The main research question is:

“How is the process of creativity in advertising from a practice perspective?”

For addressing the main question, the following sub-questions are posited:

What are the bundles of practices-material arrangements involved in the process of creativity in advertising?

How are the bundles connected through practice to practice, practice to arrangements and arrangements to arrangements relations in general? What are the practices common end(s) and aims that link them?

How are internal and external rewards associated with practices of creativity in advertising reflected in them?

1.5 Outline of thesis:

This thesis is organised as below:

Chapter 2 provides an in depth review of the relevant literature. It starts with consideration of the nature of creativity and its evolution, organisational creativity in general, and specifically in commercial creative industries, creativity in advertising and in detail, present understanding regarding its process and practitioners' views on creativity in advertising. Subsequently, the areas that are lacking in extant studies, which are based on having multi-level ontologies fail to comprehensively address creativity in advertising as a complex social phenomenon that entails series of situated practices, are discussed and the practice theoretical approach is explained as an appropriate framework. Finally, based on the reviewed literature, the research design and questions for addressing this problem in the literature are provided.

In chapter 3, the framework of inquiry, i.e. the ontological and epistemological foundations of the research, the methodological choice, choice of setting, data collection methods, the context of the research, reflexivity, data analysis, and methods criteria are explained. Ultimately, the limitations of the selected methods are discussed.

In chapter 4, the research findings are presented. First, a set of key propositions are stated: "creativity as entwined in relational/socio-material practice", "creativity to be the alignment of different preferences of different stakeholders", and "creativity as a cumulative process". In this regard, the corresponding practices and sub-practices in the process of creativity in advertising are explained and subsequently their multiple goals and common ends are discussed. Finally, the dynamics among practices and sub-practices such as dependability, the same doings and sayings, chains of action, and intentionality are illustrated and a brief discussion regarding practice-arrangement relations, and arrangements-arrangements relations are discussed.

The last chapter (chapter 5) summarizes the research theoretical framework, concludes the main findings, addresses the research questions, and states the

contribution to literature on the creative process. Subsequently, an overall conclusion including a discussion of the theoretical contributions, managerial implications, reflection on the research limitations, and some directions for future research are presented.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

The review of literature in this chapter explores the process of creativity in advertising, one of the commercial creative industries. From this literature review it is established that the process of creativity in commercial creative industries is the outcome of a complex social system (Woodman et al. 1993) for it involves multi-layer interactions i.e. those at the individual, group, organisational, and the cultural context levels (Jeffcutt and Pratt 2002). Despite this, the focus of previous studies has been on one or two levels and a comprehensive account incorporating all the interactions in one study is lacking. Further, the recursive roles of environmental and structural factors that can shape and be shaped by the process of creativity in commercial creative industries are somehow neglected. That is to say, most studies acknowledge the role of different conditions on hindering or fostering the process of creativity in commercial creative industries, however the way these influence this process and being shaped by this process is overlooked. Hence, in this study the adopted ontologies of previous studies are problematized and a practice theoretical approach (Schatzki 1996) based on a flat ontology (Schatzki 2005) as an appropriate framework for studying the process of creativity, where creativity can consist of series of practices that can interact and shape creativity, is applied (see figure 2.1).

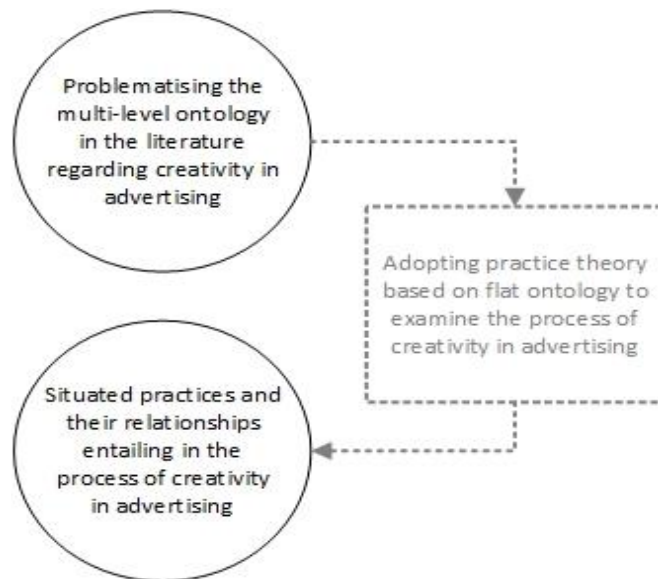


Figure 2.1: Research design

Throughout this chapter for building the theoretical framework of this thesis I draw upon four bodies of literature. This encompasses the knowledge regarding: the process of creativity in general, organisational creativity in general and specifically in commercial creative industries, creativity in advertising, and that underpinning a practice theoretical approach that can be used for studying a large social phenomena and understanding creativity through practices. In the last section of the chapter the research design and questions for the study which emerge from the theoretical base are presented.

In the first section, the literature regarding the nature of creativity and its evolution is discussed. This help me better understand the nature of creativity and can have implications for my attempts to unfold its process. Next, in the second section, I review the literature on organisational creativity in general and specifically in commercial creative industries. I cover in 2.1) the demarcation of organisational creativity and specifically creativity in commercial creative industries as opposed to individual creativity, while in 2.2) existing knowledge regarding the process of organisational creativity mainly in commercial creative industries and in 2.3) the social aspect of the process of organisational creativity in commercial creative industries are considered. The review of literature helps me to gain insights for understanding the process of creativity in advertising which is the focus of this thesis.

In the third section the literature regarding: creativity in advertising 3.1) and in detail in 3.2) the understanding regarding its process are reviewed. Subsequently, in 3.3), the overlooked areas in the extant studies regarding the process of creativity in advertising are highlighted. This points out the need for adopting a flat ontology as opposed to multi-level ontology. This allows for a comprehensive overview in order to look at the process of creativity in advertising as a complex social phenomenon that entails series of practices.

In the fourth section 4.1) the practice theoretical approach as an appropriate framework to examine the process of creativity in advertising as a complex social phenomenon that entails series of practices is explained. In subsection 4.2) different theories on practice are introduced, and subsequently in 4.2.1) their commonalities and differences are explained. Following this in 4.3) the application of practice theories in empirical settings is discussed and an appropriate practice theory for this research is selected and justified. Subsequently in 4.4) the selected practice theory in this study for looking at the process of creativity in advertising is outlined in some depth. Finally, in section 5), the review of literature outlined above is employed to formulate the research design and present the research questions for the study.

2.1 Nature of creativity: From an individual act to cultural participation

In this section the evolution of the concept of creativity from being a mysterious act to more of a participation in the culture, the role of motivations and domain related skills in the act of creativity, different types of creativity and their corresponding skills are going to be discussed.

Previously, creativity was considered to be an act solely attributable to God but slowly this view was modified to include specially gifted and talented individuals. This perspective has had far reaching impacts on subsequent approaches to understanding the process of creativity. For example, at one time the emphasis was placed on achieving scientific clarification of the component parts of creativity which led to a focus on the psychological and cognitive processes involved. Attributes such as memory, attention, and knowledge (Pollert et al. 1969; Martindale and Greenough 1973; Mumford et al. 1991), as well as tactics,

strategies and intellectual skills were considered fundamental in the deployment of creativity (Runco 1999). Building on this perspective scholars proposed that there are clear stages in the process of creativity, namely, preparation, incubation, illumination and verification (Wallas 1926). However, although these stages have been generally widely acknowledged to exist, the means by which each is actually achieved in real-life practice remain somewhat elusive and obscure. For example, Higgins (1996) and Geschka (1983) talked about creative techniques for strategists and product planning and development respectively. However, the daily practices for achieving creative outcomes have been largely overlooked as the focus of such studies have been confined to widely accepted techniques like brainstorming and mind mapping, to name but just two examples.

At a later date, research interest turned to recognising the social nature of creativity (Montuori and Purser 1995; Csikszentmihalyi 1999). Under this lens the interpersonal environment that can hinder or foster creativity (Amabile 1996), and the environment of the discipline/domain in which an agent was situated and interacted to generate creative outputs, were investigated (Csikszentmihalyi 1990). Although some proponents of this approach had begun to take into account external influences on creativity, their focus tended to remain fixed on the effects of these on the individual's process of creativity. This school of thought has been criticised as being unable to achieve a comprehensive investigation of the social dimensions of creativity, in terms of creativity being reached through relationships (Glăveanu 2010).

Glăveanu (2010) introduced the cultural perspective for studying creativity, in which it is treated as a complex socio-cultural-psychological process (see Figure 2.2). Creators, by working with culturally impregnated materials (i.e. symbolic resources) and by having a relationship (i.e. a dialogue) between themselves (creators) and others (the members of the community) through engaging in inter-subjectivity, that is, by sharing the space between creators and community members, can create new artefacts that are evaluated as novel and significant by the other members of the community at a given time (Glăveanu 2010). This view is consistent with that of Edmonds and Candy (2002) who claimed that the process of creativity is based on employing significant knowledge and

undertaking creative activities geared towards achieving an outcome that can be recognised as innovative. Moreover, they asserted that creative knowledge work is signalled by the generation and evaluation of new ideas, solutions and artefacts, which according to Fischer et al. (2005), amounts to the generation of unique ideas and their externalisation which prompts their social evaluation and appreciation.

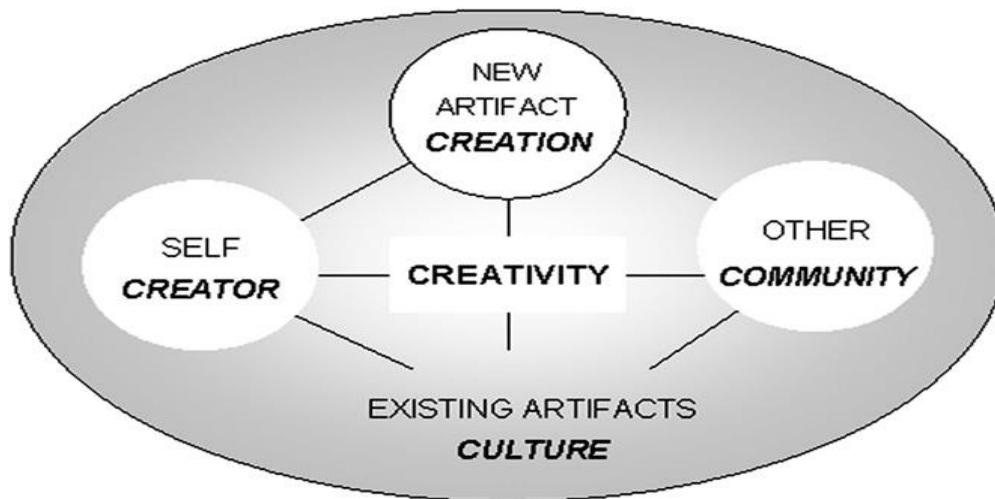


Figure 2.2: A proposed cultural framework of creativity (Glăveanu 2010, p.12)

This concept, of Glăveanu (2010), draws on Winnicott's (1971) notion of space between the inter-self and the external life and Zittoun's (2007) discussion of the use of symbolic resources to elaborate meanings and solve the inherent discontinuity between these. Further, based on Gruber's (1998) notion of communication and social exchange by using cultural elements, it is posited that through an implicit/explicit dialogue with their audience, who may be the end users, collaborators, or others who might have a role in the process of creativity and dissemination, creators come up with a new idea that needs to be externalised. The externalised artefact needs to be socialised for social interaction and validation (Glăveanu 2011). This is to say that the process of creativity requires generating ideas, externalising ideas to communicate them with users, collaborators, and perceivers, and receiving validations for the ideas to finally be disseminated in their cultural context (see figure 3).

Amabile (1983) identified that within the creative process, task motivation, creativity and domain skills are essential for practitioners. In terms of task motivation, both internal and external motivations and constraints can be important factors in fostering or hindering creativity. Some academics have pointed to the detrimental effects of external constraints as these can undermine internal motivations (Hennessey 2003) whilst others have illustrated the constructive role they can play by reinforcing the need for practitioners to follow a novel path in their work (Stokes 2001) or by re-focusing practitioners' attention on the creativity required in a task rather than on its accomplishment (e.g. Kamoche and Pinae Cunha 2001; Moreau and Dahl 2005). However, few studies have revealed the nature of the constraints/motivations in a specific domain and their effects on the process of creativity embedded within that domain (Moeran 2011). The majority of studies have looked at the effects of constraints/motivations on creativity by conducting experiment-based investigations (e.g. Stanko-kaczmarek 2012; Walton and Kemmelmeier 2012), therefore further research that is located in real settings is needed in order to understand the multifaceted nature of constraints/motivations that can be seen in practices.

In terms of motivations and constraints, in line with the adopted theoretical approach of this research, practice theory, "practices, rather than individual desires, we might say, create wants" (Warde 2005 p. 137). This is to say practices carry internal and external rewards that can be achieved by performing them. As Warde (2005) noted "first [the] rewards internal to practices are partly a function of the complexity of the particular practice and, second, that the external rewards to be gained by any individual are a function of the prestige of the practice" (p.143). The former is based on the concept of flow introduced by Csikszentmihalyi (1997), whereby individuals, based on their proficiency in the practice at hand and the level of difficulty regarding the task/practice, can experience a flow of challenges that tend to lead to more internal rewards. Hence, in this research, for understanding the internal and external motivations influencing the process of creativity in commercial creative industries, the internal rewards relating to the practices involved in this process, which can arise from the complexity of performing them, as well as the external rewards that can be

gained by performing these practices (i.e. prestige) (Warde 2005), are considered.

Turning to creativity related skills and domain related skills, Gardner (1983) introduced the notion of multiple intelligences, arguing that there are different types, such as: musical, bodily-kinesthetic, interpersonal and intrapersonal intelligences. Subsequently, he claimed that each type of intelligence was linked to different forms of creativity (Gardner 1983). Further, knowledge and visualization were skills considered basic components of creativity (Candy 1997). However, it has also been proposed that the application of normal cognitive processing, coupled with creative thinking e.g. visual imagining and open ended questioning are important (Finke et al. 1992), with some evidence indicating that different degrees of visualization are associated with different forms of creativity (Edmond and Candy 2002). Given the role played by different skills it is reasonable to suggest that in order to become a creative innovator, acquiring expertise and employing deliberate practices is important (Hayes 1989). Moreover, as creativity can be fostered and developed (Basadur et al. 2002), different dimensions of intelligence responsible for specific types of creativity can be stimulated by appropriate training. Therefore, due to the domain specificity of creativity (Baer 1998), having a single process model that aims to capture the processes of all kinds of creativity might be misleading.

In sum, in light of the claims that there are different forms and different ways to promote creativity (Gardner 1983), it may be more useful to focus more deeply on analysing the process of creativity that is related to a specific domain in which the creative practices take place, rather than to try to identify a general model of the creativity process that can be applied to all areas of creative endeavours. Moreover, it is accepted that the process of creativity includes the stages of idea generation (generating ideas), externalisation (crafting), and evaluation (selling) based around interaction between the creator's self, the community and the materials deployed (symbolic resources) within the existing conditions of the social world in which it takes place (Glăveanu 2011, see figure 2.3). Further, one needs to take into account the role of internal and external motivations/rewards

as well as the required domain related skills (Amabile 1983) to grasp whole of the process of creativity.

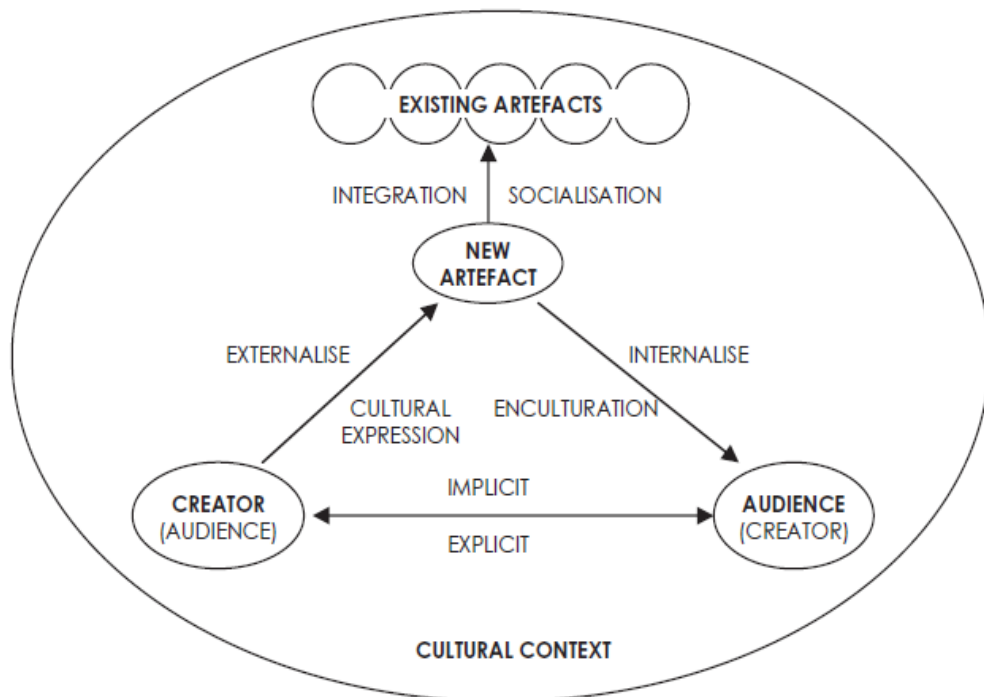


Figure 2.3: the process of creativity from a socio-cultural-psychological perspective (Glăveanu 2011, p.50)

In the next section, the knowledge regarding organisational creativity and specifically creativity in commercial creative industries is reviewed.

2.2 Organisational creativity in general and specifically in commercial creative industries:

In this section the knowledge regarding organisational creativity, creativity in commercial creative industries, and the role of social /structural conditions that can be take the shape of different practices in the process of creativity is going to be explained.

2.2.1 Demarcation of organisational creativity in general and in commercial creative industries:

Although definitions of creativity can vary from one context to another, there is a general agreement that it consists of something novel and relevant to the field

(e.g. Amabile 1996). In this subsection organisational creativity specifically in commercial creative industries is explained.

As Woodman et al. stated “organizational creativity [is] the creation of a valuable, useful new product, service, idea, procedure, or process by individuals working together in a complex social system”(1993, p. 293).

In commercial creative industries, such as advertising, creative services and architectural design services, “the creativity employed is not incidental to the generation of business solutions, but is itself the desired outcome, key to strategic communication aims” (Hill and Johnson 2003, p.222). In these businesses, applied creativity is the core output and this is delivered through an extended and complex interactive inter-organisational process (Hill and Johnson 2003). In these industries, the creative idea is initiated at the request of others to solve pre-defined problems (El-Murad and West 2004). According to Mace and Ward (2002) this context can affect the creation process itself as this can vary depending on whether it is rooted in an artificial problem, contrived task or whether the practitioners intuitively discover the task themselves. Moreover, in these situations, the creative outcomes are verified not only by those who are creative practitioners but also by those who may have other and conflicting business-orientated interests.

For example, in the individual creativity context, a poet will generate a piece of poetry which will be judged as worthy or otherwise, by other poets and not by outsiders such as scientists (Simonton 2000). By contrast, in the commercial creative industries, the search for creativity is commenced at the request of others and is not only judged by fellow creatives but also by other individuals who may have managerial roles. For instance, in the advertising sector as one example of a commercial creative industry, an advertisement can often be evaluated by the creative director and also by the clients and members of staff from the accounts department in an advertising agency.

Although Amabile (1988) identified the stages of creativity to be: problem finding, immersion or preparation, idea generation, idea validation, and its application and outcome assessment, these may vary in commercial creative industries. That is,

while the idea generation stage is the responsibility of the creative practitioners, the immersion and idea validation stages are shared activities and the problem finding, application and outcome assessment phases come mostly from the clients and in some ways, may be at the exclusion of the creative practitioners (Hill and Johnson 2003). Thus this process is particular regarding its goals (i.e. a business solution based on addressing the clients' needs) as well as regarding its delivery, which entails evaluation from different groups of members of the community: i.e. the creative practitioners and their clients (ibid).

Overall, the process of organisational creativity mainly in commercial creative industries is considered to be the desired outcome of the organisation. This process is assumed to be problem finding process and solutions based on the needs of others (i.e. clients) which later need to be approved by different group of people who might have different worldviews (Hill and Johnson 2003). In the following subsection, extant knowledge regarding the process of organisational creativity mainly in commercial creative industries is discussed.

2.2.2 The process of organisational creativity mainly in commercial creative industries:

In this subsection, the knowledge regarding the process of creativity in commercial creative industries are discussed.

Woodman et al. developed an interactional framework for explaining organisational creativity, where “organizational creativity is a function of the creative outputs of its component groups and contextual influences (organisational culture, reward systems, resource constraints, the larger environment outside the system, and so on)” (1993, p. 296). Although they suggested looking at different levels of analysis for understanding creativity, they also acknowledge the difficulty of this approach for conducting empirical research and were silent about offering solutions to this problem.

Jeffcutt and Pratt (2002) proposed four levels of analysis from which to study the process of creativity in commercial creative industries, namely: micro, meso, macro, and the meta. Although four levels are advanced as appropriate, most

extant studies have looked at one or two levels. For example, some studies have focused at the micro level and most of these have considered cognitive and psychological perspectives of creativity. Schweizer (2006) examined the neurocognitive and neuropsychological aspects of the creativity process and developed the novelty generation model (NGM) and Bonnardel and Marmèche (2004) took a cognitive-based approach to understanding design problem solving. At the meso level there have been a number of studies which identified negotiation and collaboration as the important elements of the creative process (Bakker et al. 2006; Basadur et al. 2002; Sonnenburg 2004). Other studies highlighted the need for the interaction of various creative skills such as effective team dynamics and organisational solutions for producing collective creative performance (Bissola and Imperatori 2011; Mahmoud-Jouini and Charue-Duboc 2008). Many studies have probed the macro level, including, for example, Landry (2000) and Bakker et al. (2006) who introduced a model that incorporated organisational politics and strategies into the creative process. Some further investigations have carried out meta-analyses through which factors involved in the process of creativity across several domains are elicited (Castells 2000).

Taking into account the above four levels of analysis that have been adopted by scholars previously, it appears that the studies in this regard are based on multi-level ontologies which does not allow for capturing individual, group and organisational creativity nor their related interactions and impacts (Woodman et al. 1993), as well as the conditions of the context (i.e. structural factors) in which they are operating i.e. the meta level, (Jeffcutt and Pratt 2002) to achieve a comprehensive account of what takes place in commercial creative industries. That is, it is apparent that individuals' personal characteristics e.g. personality, cognitive styles and knowledge may interact with the social and environmental stimuli from the group level context (e.g. the norms, enacted roles, task assignments, degree of cohesiveness in the immediate group), and the organisational level features in a firm (e.g. the cultural influences, resource availability, organisational missions and strategy, reward policies, structures and the available technology) (Woodman et al. 1993) are important considerations. In addition, the wider context in which these are operating, i.e. structural factors and its prevailing conditions which pose both constraints and opportunities (Jeffcutt

and Pratt 2002) have to be taken into account. Thus, creativity in organisations is perceived to be the outcome of a complex social system “composed of both salient behaviours and creative situations” (Woodman et al.1993, p.310).

There are different views advanced regarding the nature of the creative process given in the literature; normative and linear processes (e.g. Hill and Johnson 2003) as well as the cyclical, iterative form which favours the attitudes of practitioners toward the process of creativity (e.g. Buijs 2003). Turning to consider the nature of the creative process itself, according to Löfqvist (2010), it can vary depending on the relative novelty of the product being generated as well as according to the degree of experience and knowledge that practitioners have regarding the design process. This scholar identified that there tended to be a formalized, linear design process when the degrees of novelty regarding the new product and design process were both relatively low and that there was a more cyclical process in other cases. This is in line with Amabile’s (1983) suggestion that there is an algorithmic pathway for non-creative or less creative performance and a more heuristic path for more creative endeavours.

Irrespective of the type of process, the main argument in this current research pertains to the ontological and epistemological perspective through which the knowledge about this process is derived. As Styhre (2006) stated: “the literature on organizational creativity is feeding on rational thinking² rather than the forms of empiricism advocated by James and Deleuze” (p.145). The former approach considers creativity as an extraordinary event while the latter perceives creativity as taking place during “the course of actions” (Styhre 2006 p.147 In this research I follow Styhre’s (2006) empiricism approach, one that is “capable of recognising the heterogeneity of entities and events in the act of creation, or, rather, the series of acts over time that ex post facto may be regarded as what is a manifestation of creativity” (p.147).

² “Rationalism tends to emphasize universals and to make wholes prior to parts in the order of logic as well as in that being. Empiricism, on the contrary, lays the explanatory stress on the part, the element, the individual, and treats the whole as a collection and the universal as an abstraction”(James, 1912, pp. 41–42).

Although some scholars have proposed that there are distinct models (e.g. linear and cyclical) regarding the process of creativity, certain aspects of the process in commercial creative industries can be assumed to be common to all creative undertakings. Therefore, for this study, creativity in commercial creative industries is considered to be a socially embedded phenomenon that is not detached from everyday life and can be formed through a series of connections and associations, practices, actions and their inter-linkages (Styhre 2006). This follows the trajectory of exploring the design problem, generating solutions to the design problem and evaluating different solutions (i.e. idea generation and evaluation stages) and finally, externalisation and validation of outputs (i.e. crafting and selling stages) (Löfqvist 2010).

In sum, the process of organisational creativity in commercial creative industries is conceived to be a complex social process for generating ideas, evaluating them, and selling them that can be shaped through practices where practices are situated and bound up with the material and social circumstances in which they are performed.

In the next subsection the social aspects of the process of organisational creativity in commercial creative industries are explained.

2.2.3 Social aspects of the process of organisational creativity in commercial creative industries:

In this subsection the social conditions that can affect the process of creativity in commercial creative industries are described.

According to Banks et al. (2002) creativity in commercial creative industries can vary according to the nature of the internal workplace culture and the external social and economic conditions within which the firm operates. This has been supported in advertising settings wherein creatives, based on a creative code comprising a collection of implicit theories regarding how to produce a creative product, generate creative advertisements (Stuhlfaut 2011). This iterates what Becker (2006) noted about art being “the combination of routine and unusual choices among available possibilities” (p.26). In this regard, Moeran (2011)

highlighted and discussed different conditions that can direct creativity in creative industries (i.e. the cultural production sector and its component industries in his terms), namely: the available materials, time, space, and the prevailing social, representational and economic conditions. With respect to these, some can be directly related to the boundaries of the organisation and the situation in which the creativity is taking place such as time restrictions. Others directly relate to the social world found inside the organisation (e.g. representational conditions) while others straddle the organisation and the social world in which creativity is operating (e.g. social and economic limitations). Although Moeran's (2011) study provides insights regarding the role of environmental and socio-cultural conditions and the process of creativity in commercial creative industries, his approach is mainly unidirectional and does not take into account the interplay between the process of creativity and its socio-cultural condition. In other words they lack any illustration of the manifestation of these elements on the practices carried out by practitioners and the way these are shaping the practices and being shaped by them.

Below the conditions outlined by Moeran (ibid) that can impact on the creative process in cultural production sites are explained.

Material conditions: These are the available materials and techniques as well as the type of product or service being catered for that can have influence on the cultural production. For instance, in advertisements, the particular font size used for headlines can be determined by there being conventional materials and techniques like digital technology that provides new conventions for creatives (Moeran 2009). Additionally, when certain types of products are advertised, specifically alcohol and fashions, more images tend to be used rather than textual forms of information (Moeran 2011).

Time conditions: These include temporal conditions like deadlines and time for broadcasting as well as historical and longitudinal time conditions (Moeran 2011). Deadlines, as Ogilvy has stated, are one of the significant boundaries found in the creative industries: "in advertising, you've got the deadlines, you've got to have the idea, and it's got to be a great one, and you've got to have it Tuesday morning. This is not easy,..." (Higgins 1986, p. 91). The amount of time available

for carrying out a promotional campaign can powerfully influence the process of making a creative advertisement. Further, the available time for live broadcasting often depends on the channel of communication selected. These issues can have impacts on the process through which the creative outcome/artifacts created.

An entirely different concept of time refers to the historical context within which a creative output is generated. For example, in the advertising sector ideally a novel advertisement should vary considerably from previous ones and those currently on the market (Hower 1939). Under this lens, the historical and longitudinal time condition may suggest that creativity is not created new, but rather it is renewed based on the conventions of the era (Moeran 2011).

Spatial conditions: These mostly refer to the location in which the practices are taking place and the physical location (materials) used in practices (Moeran 2011). This can be the physical location where creatives work as well as the location and place they use for crafting their ideas into the finished ad. In the cultural production sector, spatial separation can be prominent in terms of job roles as well as workspaces. Furthermore, physical locations can be loaded with symbolic meaning. For example, different actors within the process of creativity are often found working in different sites which can reflect the status or other meanings attached to particular sites (Moeran 2009). further, Physical location in terms of the places where the cultural products are made (e.g. the places where an advert for TV is filmed) can increase the degree of creativity embedded in the product that can be perceived by its consumers and as a result, have impacts on what is acceptable to the commissioning (Moeran 2011).

Social conditions: Under this heading, conflict between the practitioners' individual and professional habits and the structured rules of the field are the main focus for Moeran (ibid). This refers to tensions that can emerge within the network of cooperating personnel who are playing a part in the creative process. As Moeran (1996) stated the production of an ad is a multi-crew procedure. This network embraces those who are working in an organisation as part of its formal structure to deliver the allocated task and those working together on the commissioned work as well as staff whose voices can affect the content of the

creative output. Hence, those who work together like copywriter and art-director, and those who are outside this partnership, but still have an influence on creative ads, such as the account team and the organisations for which creatives are working, namely the ad agency, client, and other parties, can have particular routines that can direct the creative process.

Representational conditions: According to Moeran (2011), these refer mostly to aesthetic constraints but also to ethical and legal aspects that can be both formal as well as informal in nature. Aesthetic dimensions are largely bound to the prevailing material and technical conventions, legal and ethical aspects refer respectively to features that according to legislation should or should not be included in the cultural outcomes as well as the informal constraints imposed by the society. When creativity is taking place, the more the practitioners are able to push against these boundaries, the more innovative their outputs are likely to be. However, when creative practitioners face tight regulations and severe ethical boundaries, they may have to seek ways round such constraints in order to fit within the structure of the social world in which they are operating.

Economic conditions: These include the general state of a country's financial wellbeing³ as well as the budgets allocated to the production of a (cultural) creative product (Moeran 2011). The former can impact upon the degree to which an industry can or cannot be creative and the latter can influence what, where, and by whom the creative product or service is generated.

In sum, as Moeran (ibid) stated, the process of creativity in the cultural production sector in general, including advertising, centres around choosing new and relevant combinations which is influenced by the existing conditions in the social world in which they are sited. The strength of each condition and the formulated conventions embedded within them depend on their social milieu. In this regard, Ewing and West (2000) stated the possibility for knowledge transfer in advertising where successful cases can be used as a repertoire for generation of new, yet

³In a strong economy, it is possible to give a chance to creative ideas whereas in difficult times, the focus would probably be on functionality and sales, as many clients are not prepared to take any risks on creativity (Moeran 2011).

successful, creative ads. This can be done through codification which is classification and storage of explicit knowledge and personalization which is communication and socialisation of tacit knowledge (Ewing and West 2000).

Despite the identification of a repertoire for creativity, the nature of situational conditions shaping this (repertoire) for the process of creativity in a particular commercial creative industry is not fully considered. Further, the recursive nature of the process of creativity on the situational condition of the context in which creatives are operating and can shape and be shaped by them, is neglected. Hence, in line with the selected approach for this research, practice theory, the socio-cultural conditions of the context are considered to be other bundles [sites] of practices and material arrangements that interact with the bundles of practices and material arrangements involved in the process of creativity (see Schatzki forthcoming).

In the section below the literature on creativity in advertising and specifically its processes are reviewed.

2.3 The knowledge regarding creativity in advertising and specifically its process:

Creativity in advertising, similar to other fields, has to be novel and relevant to the task. However, its effectiveness is something that differentiates it from other types of creativity (El-Murad and West 2004). That is, in order for creative advertising to be successful not only has it got to be novel and relevant to the task but also effective and achieve its intended objectives. This can be seen in the concepts of relevance and appropriateness as discussed in mainstream creativity research (El-Murad and West 2004).

In this section, the literature regarding creativity in advertising is reviewed, different areas in this regard are identified and the focus has been paid to the studies regarding the process of creativity in advertising.

There are many commercial creative industries, such as advertising, architecture, the fine arts and antiques markets, crafts, design, designer fashion, film,

interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software development and television and radio (DCMS 2011).

For the purposes of this thesis, literature⁴ around creativity in advertising is considered and from it the five categories of product, press, people, place, and process can be identified. From my review it emerges that the major part of this body of work is devoted to product focused studies wherein attention has been paid to the end product, i.e. adverts. In these studies scholars cover the features used in creative ads, techniques used within the crafted ad, how the creative ad can be evaluated and measured, and the impact of it on people and on the profitability of the advertising business. Below in Table 2.1 a brief account of these studies is presented.

⁴ An electronic search of the following regarding creativity in advertising has been conducted: the Journal of Advertising Research, International Journal of Advertising, Journal of Advertising, Journal of Current Issues and Research in Advertising from 1970 to 2011, Journal of Consumer Research from 1995 to 2011, Journal of Marketing from 1955-2011 and the International Journal of Market Research from 1998 to 2011. Also, due to the unavailability of an electronic version of the Journal of Marketing Communications, a manual search from 1995-2011 has been carried out in this regard. Moreover, related studies from the holistic review by Sasser and Koslow (2008) concerning the process aspect of advert production and the process aspect of consumer response to the advert's creativity that give insights about the way practitioners' perceive advertising works, have been covered (see appendix IV).

Table 2.1: Overview of product focused studies about creativity in advertising

Product focused studies about creativity in advertising			
Findings	Themes	Example	Authors
'used features in creative ads'	Linguistic features	Pun as a figure of speech, consumer vernacular	e.g. Jayanti (2010); Djafarova (2008)
	Illustrative features	Cartoon spokespeople, white space	e.g. Pracejus et al. (2006); Robinson et al. (2007); Heiser et al. (2008)
'implementation techniques'	Strategies	Strategy as stimuli in the form of a brief, collective interactions	e.g. Loewenstein et al.(2011); Sasser (2008); Craik (2010); Cramphorn (2011); Ashley and Oliver (2010)
	Techniques	'Janusian thinking', use of myths, metaphors, and allegories, use of new interactive media to engage consumers as co-creators	e.g. Punyapiroje et al. (2002); Okazaki and Alonso (2003); Kim et al. (2010); Jayanti (2010); Sasser et al. (2007)
'measurement /evaluation'	Measurement	Being novel and relevant to the task in hand	e.g. Kover et al. (1995); Tippins and Kunkel (2006); El-Murad and West (2004); Courbet et al. (2007); Cramphorn and Meyer (2009)
	Judgment	Use of expert opinion in some form	e.g. White and Smith (2001); Koslow et al. (2003); El-Murad and West (2004)
'impacts of creativity'	Impacts of creativity on consumers' response	Link between recall, likability, and creativity. Creativity increases brand execution and recall but no effect on purchase intent or attitude toward the brand.	e.g. Stewart and Koslow (1989); Stone et al. (2000); Pieters et al.(2002); Robert and Xiaojing (2004); Till and Baack (2005); Janssens and Depelsmacker (2005); Ang et al. (2007); Dahlén et al. (2008); Smith et al. (2008); Cramphorn and Meyer (2009)
	ROI and other impacts	Shifting a sizable percentage of a campaign budget away from media spending that can be very profitable.	e.g. O'Connor et al. (1996); Tippins and Kunkel (2006); Luo and Donthu (2006); Ashley and Oliver (2010); Heath (2011); Blasko and Mokwa (1986); Masterson (2005).

Moreover, some literature has addressed the roles of the press, (i.e. the environmental factors), regarding fostering or hindering creativity. Regarding this, there are extrinsic factors (Burroughs et al. 2011; Bengtson 1982; Vaughn 1982; West 1999; Suh 2002; El-Murad and West 2004; Luo and Donthu 2006; Waller 2010; Stuhlfaut 2010); internal factors (Amabile 1996; Stuhlfaut 2011; Klebba and Tierney 1995); and the creative code (Stuhlfaut 2011) that can have an influence on the act of creativity in advertising. In addition, the usefulness of research in terms of benefits to creatives for generating creative ads (Hastings and Leather 1987; Kover et al. 1997; Chong 2006; Campbell 2011) and disadvantages of it in terms of the used scientific approaches which might clash with the artistic side of generating creative ads (Dillon 1975; Chong 2006) are discussed.

Overall, press and its impacts on the process of creativity in advertising have been discussed as being the extrinsic and intrinsic factors that are directly related to the work. The influence of other conditions such as materials, time, spatial, social, representational and economic factors (Moeran 2011) within the social world in which creatives are working are highlighted.

People and place are the other areas that some literature has considered. Respectively some studies probed creatives as the most responsible actors for generating quality adverts and the ways they achieve their identity (e.g. Hackley and Kover 2007) and their areas of control (e.g. Reid et al. 1998; O'Donohoe 2003). Place related studies have looked at different channels for executing creativity and applying creativity in media selection (Kitchen et al. 2007) as well as in brand strategy. The final identified category regarding creativity in advertising is its process, i.e. how creativity is taking place.

Overall, in the studies regarding creativity in advertising five categories of product, press, people, place, and process were identified. Although there are limited studies in regard to the process of creativity in advertising, in the following subsection they are reviewed.

2.3.1 The knowledge about the process of creativity in advertising:

In this subsection, the literature regarding the process of creativity in advertising is reviewed. According to Hackley (1998), there are two dimensions to the creative process in advertising, namely: organisational (Crosier et al. 2003; Patwardhan et al. 2009; Franke et al. 2003) and agentive (Vanden Bergh et al. 1983; Stewart 1992; Kover 1995; Courbet et al. 2007; Borghini et al. 2010). With respect to how he observed that these two dimensions were often combined in the creative process, he noted:

“In the case of creativity in advertising, individual interviewees approached the creative process from various personal trajectories but the underlying theme which emerged was of a process which was both organisational and agentive. Individual plans and intentions were instrumental in the creative process but each stage of the process was characterised by a collegiate style of debate, argument and reasoning founded on qualitative and quantitative research data and focused on the strategic marketing needs of the client” (Hackley 1998, p.130).

This is to say that the process of creativity in advertising is the outcome of individuals (i.e. agentive process) and the outcome of the structure of the organisation as well as the field they are working in (i.e. organisational process).

The majority of studies regarding process have addressed organisational processes. These have included how counterpart workers assist or distract, such as the roles of account planners in the process of creativity (Franke et al. 2003; Crosier et al. 2003; Patwardhan, et al. 2009). The creativity process has been viewed from the clients-advertisers' point of view to be a matter of problem delineation, communication and response (Hill and Johnson 2004). Other scholars have proposed various organisation-based approaches in order to balance spontaneity in creativity with the matter of effectiveness. For instance, a five step process (identify the problem, think deliberately, illuminate, evaluate and verify) (Bernardin et al. 2008) has been advanced. Alternatively, collaborative efforts have been explored (Hirschman 1989) and the factors of: agency ethos, type of clients, size of agency, agency location have been offered as determinants of success in generating creative outputs (Crosier et al. 2003).

Overall, these studies highlight the organisational dimensions of the process of creativity, i.e. the structural dimensions that can shape this process.

Little research has been carried out on the individual with regards to the agentic aspect of the process of creativity. This may refer to copy writers and art directors (Hirschman 1989) who are involved with adverts from the starting point, i.e. when they receive the creative brief, until their work is accepted by their clients. Those scholars that have examined the agentic process of creativity in advertising have mainly studied students during the course of their research, who often do not have enough external validity as research subjects (Griffin 2008). With respect to this, using students instead of real creators as the subject of the study and having them in an experimental design setting instead of their real work setting, might reduce the degree to which the findings of these studies can be generalised (Campbell and Stanley 1963). However, the reliance on student subjects might be due to the difficulty of gaining access to agencies as sites for research. Moreover, most of these studies have focused on cognitive styles and thinking processes (Rossiter et al. 2008) and, despite there being some evidence that social practices can impact on cognitive process (Cruce et al. 2006), these have been largely neglected.

The studies that have been based in real life situations mostly take their information from retrospective reports, letters, or autobiographies of creative practitioners (Marsh and Vollmer 1991; Cawelti et al. 1992). Although this approach offers some insights, it also has some limitations. For instance, some individuals might not be able to describe their cognitive and behavioural processes, since people's abilities to access these internal processes are limited (Perkins 1981). That is, there is little introspective access to cognitive process and an individual's ability to describe his/her cognitive processes is based on implicit causal theories (Nisbett and Wilson, 1997). Retrospective reports or accounts based on similar techniques like think-aloud (Johar et al. 2001) story telling may not reliably resemble real life cognitive procedures employed during the creative process.

Kelly et al. (2005a) authored one study that looked at these processes within their natural settings. They elicited intra-advertising agency processes and

practices by conducting six weeks of ethnographic research as a non-participating observer in an Irish advertising firm. They found that interpretive repertoires, such as: knowledge of culture, consumer knowledge and appreciation of the dominant role of large clients to be important elements. In particular the latter gave evidence that pointed to conflicts existing between managerial and creative ideologies in the process of an advert creation. Furthermore, Kelly et al. (2005b) studied the working lives of art directors and copywriters in Irish agencies, in terms of social and cultural productions. To synthesise their research findings they applied discourse analysis to their ethnographic interview data and four repertoires were identified as significant in the process of creating advertising, namely: feeding the cultural brain, fighting and battling, the ideology of science, and lastly, clients being in control. Although these authors successful revealed the nature of the practices that the practitioners engaged in, they did not elaborate on underpinning details, such as the practices involved, what the performed practices are, how are they are performed, and the objectives these practices are following (Shove and Pantzar 2005). To give a fuller picture it is reasonable to suggest that these aspects should be probed more fully to produce a holistic ethnographic account.

As discussed in the first part of this chapter, the process of creativity is considered to have different stages, namely: generating ideas, externalising the ideas, and socialising the ideas with users, collaborators and perceivers to get validation (Glăveanu 2010, 2011). In commercial creative industries these stages are generating ideas, evaluating and crafting them, and selling them (Löfqvist 2010).

Below the literature regarding the process of creativity in advertising has been reviewed and the knowledge regarding these stages⁵, from an agentic perspective, is illustrated.

⁵ In advertising literature these stages are mainly studied from an agentic perspective and the role of organizational and structural conditions as well as broader social and cultural context on these stages are somehow overlooked.

For example, one study regarding idea generation that has looked at the techniques used by practitioners is Kover (1995) who conducted 20 interviews with advertising copywriters and art directors and revealed the existence of implicit theories that were shared among these actors. He found that copywriters' implicit theories have two stages; one is implementing a break through subverting and forcing the issue and, second, delivering a message. This message needs to be aligned with the viewer's needs and life. Hence, the copywriters work on the message with an internalised picture of the target person in their mind. Within this process, they seek a connection with an implied viewer as well as trying to feel close to the brand and to share empathy with the potential user of the brand.

The ways of having communication with the targeted audience are either internalisation of experience or approaching arrogance⁶ that is, it can be through internalising with the empathic self or with the internalised outsider and dialogue can be both with external others (in the world) and internal others (in the mind). This dialogue can be about sharing universal needs and/or could be about the writer's or others' perceptions. It is of note that the copywriters in the Kover (1995) study mentioned a back and forth process, which went on until they and the others involved in the task jointly agreed on a meaning they wanted to incorporate in the advert they wanted to generate.

As for the stage of crafting the idea into the advert, one study that explored the work techniques deployed by copywriters is that of Johar et al. (2001) who found that many creative practitioners used mythic frameworks in the process of creation. However, the scholars did not adequately account for the reasons behind a practitioner's selection of a particular myth. In another investigation Jayanti (2010) found that using vernaculars, often used by a product's consumers was a practice that could improve the levels of believability and memorability of an advert. However, once again, applied techniques for doing this have not been explored.

⁶ Internalization of experience can happen through empathizing with others' experiences, while approaching with arrogance is often based on self-experience (Kover 1995).

With respect to the stage of selling ideas, which is constituting part of the creativity process during which creatives try to convince their agency's accounts team and sell their ideas to clients, Kover and Goldberg (1995) explored the games played by account managers and copywriters. The ones played by account managers to exert control appeared to be quite clear whereas those of the creative practitioners were more subtle in that these, depending the circumstances could be planned or unplanned and used for avoidance or confrontational reasons. The authors adopted different terms to describe different games and identified, firstly, the overwhelming game in which creative practitioners have to plan carefully in order to strongly defend their work, second, the agnostic game in which they may confront opponents of their creative work, third, they could aim for confrontation reduction in which, based on the potential desires of account managers and clients, the practitioners crafted an advertisement that would fulfill such desires, and finally, practitioners could launch a sneak attack or play an aleatory game. In the case of the foremost, creative practitioners may accept others' comments reluctantly, but incorporate their own thoughts in the hope that these are also accepted. Regarding the lattermost, the practitioners leave the matter to chance. Although these strategies for selling creative adverts to clients have been suggested by researchers, the conditions conducive to the practitioners selecting a specific game and their means for implementing it have not been fully accounted for with regards to the societal and situational/organisational conditions of the creative milieu.

Below in table 2.2 a summary of literature regarding the process of creativity in commercial creative industries is given.

Table 2.2: Our knowledge about the process of creativity in advertising and other commercial creative industries

Author	Date of study	Sample	Central research question	Findings
Bernardin et al.	2008	Secondary data, meta-analysis, and partially conceptual	Exploring different aspects of creativity in advertising	Found creative advertising to have balanced spontaneously with effectiveness. Defined the necessary components of creative, effective ads Proposed the five step process (identify the problem, think deliberately, illuminate, evaluate and verify). Suggested the remote conveyor model to achieve creative ads and co-creation to increase the imagination. Found creativity with a 'Human Touch' to offer insights.
Campbell and Stanley	2011	Conceptual	Exploring the role of creative ad?	Concluded creativity to be an important factor in marketing communications into the future.
Cawelti et al.	1992	Interviewed five artists	Applying decision making methodology to understand the creative process	Found creative activity to contain simultaneously; multiple activities that occur together as independent and ultimately be inseparable elements.
Courbet et al.	2007	Interviewed 31 French web banner designers	Exploring process of creativity for web banner designers	Replicated Kover's (1995) findings and found implicit theories of communication in the process of creativity in web banners similar to advertising copywriters for traditional media.
Crosier et al.	2003	Interviewed 24 account planners and senior managers in large and small advertising agencies in Scotland	Defining the changes for account planning over 35 years	Suggested four key factors influencing the practice, which are agency ethos, type of client, size of agency, agency location. Also, proposed four distinct models for the account planner's role: 'voice of the consumer', 'strategic pivot', 'creative catalyst' and 'client confidant'. They also found the expected 'conflict' between creative teams and those responsible for strategic planning as productive 'tension'.

El-Murad and West	2003	Interviewed twelve creative staff from different London agencies and conducted questionnaire among 522 creatives at well-known UK advertising agencies	Exploring the relationship between risk and creativity in advertising.	Found risk-taking to be linked to higher levels of creativity. Creatives feel their managers and clients not as willing to take risk as much as the creatives.
El-Murad and West	2004	Conceptual	Reviewing the trends in creativity research and asked (1) what do we know about advertising creativity, (2) how can we measure it, and (3) how can we enhance and encourage it?	Suggested creativity in advertising to involve conceptualisation and production of a new and relevant object. It was found that practitioner strategies for measuring creativity are largely confined to annual awards and ceremonies. Furthermore, found self-doubt, fear of risk taking, and fear of opposition and criticism to have inhibiting effect on creativity.
Franke et al.	2003	Analysed twenty evaluation forms of 20 of the sixty largest U.S. agencies	Analysing the characteristics of appraisal forms in assessing the account executives (AE)	Found the focus of many agencies to be more on the AE's contributions to internal operations than to maintaining productive relationships with clients.
Glăveanu	2010	Conceptual	Understanding creativity	Identified three paradigms in creativity theory and introduced the social psychology of creativity
Glăveanu	2011	Conceptual	Understanding the process of creativity from socio-cultural perspective	Concluded creative act to be simultaneously individual and socio-cultural.

Griffin	2008	A quasi-experimental method and in-depth interviews with 44 graduate students	Investigating the nature of the cognitive process used by students to generate ideas	Found the key dimensions of creative process to be: orientation for the work, approach to the problem, mind scribing, and heuristics.
Hackley	1998	Secondary sources plus interviewing account manager, account planner, and creatives from the fourth largest agency in the UK	Understanding the creative process by using social constructionist approach	Found two dimensions to the creative process in advertising, namely: organisational and agentive
Hackley and Kover	2007	Interviewed small sample of senior-level creatives in agency settings in New York	Exploring the ways in which senior-level creatives negotiate and resolve their senses of personal and professional identity	Found complexities and contradictions facing creative professionals in advertising agencies to be a source of their own sense of identity.
Hennessey	2003	58 school children (28 Americans and 30 Saudis) were asked to tell a story which was based on a set of illustrations in a book with no words	Exploring the role of motivation in the creative process	Highlighted the role of affection and intrinsic motivation in the process of creativity

Hill and Johnson	2004	Conducted surveys and interviewed eleven Australian advertising managers, plus used analysis of the discussions in the booklet by Royal Australian Institute of Architects	Exploring business-to-business service process through which applied creativity is generated.	Suggested applied creativity to occur via an extended interactive process and highlighted the distinctiveness of its goals as well as in its delivery process
Hirschman	1989	Interviewed six individuals in the creation and production of televised advertising, account executive at a top twenty advertising agency, creative director at a top ten advertising agency, producer at a top twenty advertising agency, and commercial director at a leading advertising production company	Comparing six role based models of the advertising production process and examining the collaborative efforts among both institutions and individuals in generating advertisements	Suggested a role based model of advertising creation, found creativity process in advertising to be a collaborative process within which copywriters and art-directors have significant role

Jayanti	2010	Analysed consumer conversations on a health-related electronic bulletin board	Investigating key processes instrumental to creativity	Found analogical reasoning and reflective reframing to be two key processes instrumental to creativity
Jeffcutt and Pratt	2002	Conceptual	Exploring creativity in an organisational field in cultural industries	Concluded macro, meso, micro, meta layers and their interplay to be needed in commercial creative industries for creativity to take place.
Johar et al.	2001	Used think aloud technique and asked five creative teams from a multinational advertising agency headquartered in New York to design a layout for print ad	Examining the creative process	Found all ads creators to reflect their thoughts to myths whether just one or multi-mythic approach; Only one team was engaged in fully diversified idea generation which involved a wide range of alternative scenarios and was judged as the most successful one
Kelly et al.	2005 _a	Six weeks non-participant observation in an Irish advertising agency	Exploring into intra-advertising agency processes and practices	Found Advertising agencies to be institutions where cultural creativity and commercial business objectives co-exist and collide
Kelly et al.	2005 _b	Ethnographic interviews conducted with copywriters and art directors within an Irish advertising agency	Exploring how advertisements are encoded	Found four central interpretative repertoires: Feeding the Cultural Brain, "Fighting" and "Battling" in the Advertising "Game", The Ideology of Science in the Advertising Process, and Clients in Control

Kover	1995	Interviewed twenty advertising copywriters in five agencies in New York and one in Detroit	Exploring the process through which creatives generate creative ideas	Found a two-step process of copywriter's implicit theory: 1) breaking through via subverting and force 2) delivering the message through internalized dialogue with the intended audience
Kover and Goldberg	1995	Interviewed twenty copywriters from six medium to large established advertising agencies in America	Exploring the need for control and ownership by copywriters in selling the ideas	Found copywriters use games in order to exert power: overwhelming game, agonistic game, confrontation reduction, and aleatory game.
Kover et al	1997	Twelve commercials presented to creatives and viewers.	Comparing creatives professionals and television viewers' responses to a number of commercials	Found positive responses from creative practitioners to award-winning commercials while positive responses from viewers to the advertisements which evoked feelings of personal improvement
Löfqvist	2010	Analysed eight different design processes of three small companies in Sweden	Exploring the design processes in small companies	Found different design processes within a company; formalised linear design process and cyclical, iterative. Also, found Customers and users to play an important role in the design process
Moeran	2011	Extensive fieldwork in a wide range of creative industries	Exploring constraints on the process of creativity in cultural production sites	Found six sets of constraints: material, temporal, spatial, social, representational and economic.
Patwardhan et al.	2009	Interviewed sixteen Indian ad professionals	Understanding account planning in India compared to western developments	Found conceptual Framework of Account Planning Diffusion in India

Nyilasy et al.	2013	30 in-depth interviews among top-level advertising agency executives in Southern US City	Exploring advertising agency practitioners' mental models of creativity	Found a multi-dimensional system of practitioner mental models
Stankokaczmarek	2012	Conducted experiment among 36 undergraduate female students of the University of Arts	Exploring the effect of intrinsic motivation on affect, subjective evaluation, and the creative process of young artists	Found intrinsic motivation to increase creativity levels among participants who don't have high levels of creativity skills or art experience
Stewart	1992	Conceptual	Discussing the changes in advertising and the implications of these changes for research on advertising	Found more attention to be paid on advertising within context than on advertising in isolation from its larger environment
Stokes	2001	Monet's case	Exploring how creative individuals maintain a high level of variability	Suggested constraining, precluding a currently successful, often repetitive solutions to a problem to maintain high variability
Styhre	2006	Conceptual	Looking at novelty and creativity from empiricism ontological and epistemological perspectives	Suggested thinking of creation and innovation as a regular operation rather than an extraordinary event

Vanden Bergh et al.	1983	A panel of four professional creative people from a branch of a top-twenty advertising agency judged the generated statements of 84 students at a major Midwestern university	Finding the optimum number of creative alternatives for having an effective campaign	Found a positive correlation between the creative alternatives and campaign effectiveness
Walton and Kimmelmeier	2012	Conducted experiment among 205 undergraduate students at the University of Nevada	Examining the role of situational factors such as competitive threat on creative behaviour among different genders	Found organisational norms and gender to have an impact on the level of creativity in individuals
Woodman et al.	1993	Conceptual/meta-analysis	Understanding organisational creativity	Developed an interactionist model of creativity for understanding creativity in complex social settings.

Overall, the studies regarding the process of creativity in commercial creative industries, mainly that of advertising, have adopted a scientific approach (Hackley 1998; Styhre 2006) consider multilevel ontologies (e.g. individualism, socialism) and consider two levels as being needed in the process of creativity in advertising, namely, agentive and organisational (Hackley 1998), in order for there to be the production of something that is novel and relevant to given pre-defined specific problems. In the next subsection the overlooked areas in the studies regarding the process of creativity in advertising are explained.

2.3.2 The overlooked areas in the studies regarding the process of creativity in advertising:

In this subsection, the overlooked area about the interaction of agentive and structural levels of the process of creativity in the literature on advertising are discussed. The importance of studying these two levels together in a study is explained and one of the appropriate ways to achieve this end is suggested.

The literature pertaining to the process of creativity in advertising are mainly limited to two dimensions in this process: organisational, and agentive. That is to say, that many previous studies have been focussed at the micro level of analysis and addressed individual practitioner's working practices or individual characteristics (i.e. agentive dimension of the process of creativity in advertising). Alternatively, scholars have considered the macro level of analysis and situational factors (i.e. organisational and structural dimension of the process of creativity in advertising). In addition, although some scholars have acknowledged the influence of environmental and socio-cultural conditions on the process of creativity in advertising, they fail to look at how these conditions are influencing the practices involved in the process of creativity in advertising and, at the same time, being shaped by them. Moreover, the nature of the factors influencing the process of creativity has thus far been studied in a limited fashion. That is, although the general factors that foster or hinder creativity in general have been discovered from research carried out in experimental settings (e.g. Amabile 1996; Stanko-kaczmarek 2012; Walton and Kemmelmeier 2012), these investigations fail to consider the nature of the creativity and have not paid attention to the surrounding broader social factors that can shape and be shaped by this process. These can be one of the reasons why previous studies are unable to explain how creatives that favour risk taking behaviour in a situation that the client and other ad agency members are risk averse (El-Murad and West 2003), can and are willing to take risk (West et al. 2008).

These two approaches show that previous studies that have adopted multi-level ontologies and the interdependence and inter-relations between the two levels (i.e. micro/agentive and macro/structural or in other words organisational, environmental and socio-cultural levels), have not been fully studied. This

dichotomy may lead to scholars overlooking the important ways in which the interaction of the two levels that shape and are being shaped by the process of creativity in advertising. Thus, this researcher contends that to understand the creativity process more fully, a study based on a flat ontology where there is no level to social life (Schatzki 2005) needs to be designed in order to capture practices that are situated in their social context and form a specific type of creativity in one field of practice. Further, as discussed in section 1 in this chapter, there is a contradictory view on the role of situational factors on the process of creativity (i.e. constraints are considered to be fruitful (Stokes 2001) as well as being thwarting (Hennessey 2003) for the process of creativity in advertising). Thus, adopting a flat ontology and looking at practices can help us understand the nature of these situational factors which can be in different forms of practices and be embedded in them. This allows us to see their interaction with practices involved in the phenomena of creativity in advertising which is the phenomena under research.

One way to capture both micro (agent) and macro (structure/organisational and situational) levels in studying the process of creativity in advertising is practice theory, where the focus on practices effectively circumvents the problematic dichotomy that emerges between agency and structure in debates regarding what goes on during creativity.

Hence, in this way, i.e. adopting practice theoretical lens, the process of creativity in advertising can be understood as series of intertwined socio-material practices which are bundles of doings and sayings amid material arrangement (Schatzki forthcoming). Therefore understanding the socio-material practices that shape the process of creativity in advertising, i.e. the required infrastructure, activities and logics for pursuing creativity in advertising, can be used as a guideline for training and evaluation of creativity in advertising. In addition knowing the required infrastructure for doing being creativity in advertising as well as the meaning and understanding that this process is pursuing, can help practitioners overcome the prominent tension between the managerial roles and creatives within this process (Kelly et al. 2005a).

In all, previous attempts to study creativity are mostly devoted to either organisational level or agentive aspect of the process of creativity in advertising such as the scholars who adopted psychological, sociological and educational approaches and the interplay of the agentive and organisational dimensions within the process of creativity in advertising is underexplored. Further, the broader socio-cultural context in which the process of creativity in advertising is taking place is neglected. That is to say, to a larger extent, they fail to consider in depth the broader political, economic and social and cultural embedding of the practices that shape the process of creativity (Styhre 2006, Moeran 2011).

Furthermore, there is a pressing need for an inclusive study where all aspects of creativity, namely: people, press, product and process are considered. In addition, as Jeffcutt and Pratt (2002) noted different layers can be observed regarding the interplay needed in commercial creative industries for creativity to take place, which needs holistic consideration. Although the aim to incorporate all of these in one research endeavour is challenging, by adopting a flat ontology and focusing the research on the practices of creativity, this challenge can be met. With this end in mind, in this study a practice-based theoretical approach is deemed an appropriate framework to look at the process of creativity in advertising and treats the process as being composed of different bundles of practices and material arrangements.

In sum, the use of the multi-level ontological assumption in the literature regarding the process of creativity in advertising is problematized (see Sandberg and Alvesson 2011), i.e. the dispersed studies regarding agentive or structural levels of this process. Hence, a practice theoretical approach is selected, one that is based on a flat ontology, and is used as the lens to understand the process of creativity entailing situated practices and to obtain a realistic understanding about the situational factors in which practices are bound up. In addition, by adopting a practice theoretical lens in studying the process of creativity in advertising, practical contributions such as overcoming the tension between the managerial roles and creatives in advertising and formulating a practice based guideline for training and evaluating creativity in advertising are expected.

Considering the proposition of a practice based study to understand creativity in advertising, it is important to look at creativity through the lens of the biographies of creative individuals such as David Ogilvy, Bill Bernbach, Leo Burnett, and George Gribbin.

2.3.3 David Ogilvy, Bill Bernbach, Leo Burnett, and George Gribbin's views on creativity in advertising:

The interviews by Ogilvy, Bernbach, Burnett, and Gribbin have been studied and the main themes were identified to be: difference between creativity in art and creativity in advertising, the art and science debate in advertising, creativity in advertising as being based on ground rules and its nature that means it can be acquired, the role of motivation and reward in advertising, leadership and managing creativity in advertising, role of advertised product and other socio-materials in the process of creativity in advertising, and techniques for having dialogues with the target audience to get closer to them. These are explained below.

Ogilvy highlighted one of the differences between writing novels, being a poet and advertising is working under deadlines and time pressures as well as handling many accounts. This is reflected in his comment "*we have to write something good in a hurry and we end up writing something bad in a hurry*" (Higgins 1987, p.90).

Regarding the debate about art vs science, Bernbach explained that "*You can't be that mathematical and that precise. This business of trying to measure everything in precise terms is one of the problems with advertising today. This leads to a worship of research. We're all concerned about the facts we get, and not enough concerned about how provocative we make those facts*" (Higgins 1987, p.14). In this regard, Gribbin noted that a writer can become a business man which a copywriter needs to be, but not the other way around.

Further, the creative practitioners consider creativity in advertising to be a skill rather than purely based on personal insights. For instance, David Ogilvy considered his knowledge of advertising to have increased over time. He mentioned that he was influenced by observation of other peoples' work and he

recommended that new people in advertising who want to work as writers *“to get a job at an agency that had a reasonably high level of quality, where he could learn good discipline, where he would have good leadership. An agency that took a position about what is good advertising and what isn't”*. He mentioned that his ideas about good copy had come from research and were not his personal opinion (Higgins 1987, p.92). Likewise, Bernbach stated that *“I'm sure that everything a man does is grist for his copy mill. I'm sure of that—what you've done and what you've experienced—if you can put more thinking and more interesting things into your copy, you're that much more provocative”* (Higgins.1987, p.17). In addition, Leo Burnett admitted that newspaper experience was helpful as it taught him the importance of having curiosity about things. He said he read the New York World every day and tried to get the style and then started to write short stories. Also, he mentioned that by working with the copywriter ‘Homer McKee’ he learned a lot. Similarly, Gribbin noted that he had been influenced by many good advertising people. This is highlighted in his quote: *“I think there should be broad reading and I think each person will naturally get into his own esoteric fields of reading”* (Higgins 1987, p.63).

Another attribute of creativity in advertising considered by creative practitioners is ground rules for generating the ideas. For example, Ogilvy talked about having basics methods for getting the ideas; he stated *“I couldn't write anything without ground rules, but I must confess I prefer to make my own ground rules”* (Higgins 1987, p.72). In this regard, Gribbin noted that when he was writing copy he didn't have a ritual, but had certain habits. *“... I think the writer should get to know a great deal about a product—not just the physical characteristics of the product he is advertising—but knowing the kinds of people who are buying it, and what their motives are apt to be for buying it...”* (Higgins 1987, p.26). He also mentioned that the product, the problem, the audience of the ad, whether it is TV or copy, set the ground rules and the disciplines for the ad and it has to be written accordingly.

Regarding motivation, creatives' sense of authorship, interest in the account and advertised product, and their corresponding knowledge are highlighted as important factors in generating creative idea. As for sense of authorship, Ogilvy

mentioned that sometimes a work done by a person in the agency is rewarded as the agency work, which according to him, is not nice and he wished that he could stop this. Also, he highlighted the creatives' interest in the account and product that they are advertising form a source of motivation. He stated that it is very difficult for any copywriter to write persuasive copy for a place or a product that he is not interested in. Bernbach in this regard highlighted an old saying: *"you write better when you have something to write about. And if I gave any advice to anybody, it's to know his product inside out before he starts working. Your cleverness, your provocativeness and imagination and inventiveness must stem from knowledge of the product....., and you must relate that knowledge to the consumer's needs... you must have inventiveness, but it must be disciplined. Everything you write, everything on a page, every word, every graphic symbol, every shadow, should further the message you're trying to convey"* (Higgins 1987, p.17).

Regarding leadership in the process of creativity in advertising, freedom and autonomy are highlighted by creative practitioners. Ogilvy stated that *"I suppose one of my chief jobs is to get good writing out of other people, and if I frequently enter the fray myself, and write a campaign, I'm placing myself in competition with one of the writers in the agency, and this doesn't have a very good effect on that writer"* (Higgins 1987, p.37). Similarly, Bernbach talked about the distinctive character of his agency was that it was not imposing their talent on the people. This is evident in his quote:

"We have not imposed our kind of talent on our people. We have rather searched for what is outstanding. For example, I have one man who is tremendous in humour, just has a natural feeling for humour. One is very swift and straight and piercing and goes right to the heart of the problem. They're all different people. Each one's personality makes for effective work. Now it would be wrong for me to make the man who is great at humour do something he can't do. This is the important thing. You have to find out what their talent is and nurture that..." (Higgins 1987, p.6).

Regarding the role of product in idea generation Ogilvy noted that for certain products it is easier to write especially about those that you have personal

interest. Likewise, Bernbach stated that *“the most important element in success in ad writing is the product itself”* (Higgins 1987, p.8). Similarly, Leo Burnett also talked about finding *“the magic things to say about the product”* that attract its audiences. In addition to the physical characteristics of the product, Gribbin talked about the characteristics of its consumer and their motives. He mentioned that *“your product, your problem sets certain ground rules for you. You immediately have your ground rules set by having to offer to the reader—or the viewer... a benefit of some sort in the product or service you’re advertising”* (Higgins 1987, p.63).

As for the role of socio-materials in assisting the generation of creative idea, Ogilvy noted that he was better able to write when he was listening to music and reading the Oxford Dictionary of Quotations. He noted that sometimes he wrote the stuff at home in early morning at the weekend. He also mentioned that he had a drawer at his office in which he put things and a pad beside his bed on which he wrote things in the middle of the night. Leo Burnett stated that he had a great big folder called ‘corny language’ where he put the phrases in conversation that struck him as being particularly suitable in expressing an idea. Also, he had another file which was for ‘ads worth saving’. He mentioned that he looked at them not for copying, but for drawing upon them and apply them to the project at hand (Higgins 1987). Similarly, Gribbin mentioned that he didn’t have an ideas box but had yellow notepads (Higgins 1987).

As for the techniques getting close to the target audience to understand their motives as a source for generating creative ideas, having real or imaginary dialogues are highlighted. For example, Ogilvy mentioned that he admires the ability to write as one human beings talk to another, which is vernacular. Also he mentioned that even for the product that he was not really interested in like lipstick, he had an imaginary conversation with the intended target. For instant he noted that *“I always pretend that I’m sitting beside a woman at a dinner party, and she asks me for advice about which product she should buy and where she should buy it, so then I write what I would say to her. I give her the facts, facts, facts. I try to make them interesting, fascinating if possible, and personal, I don’t write to the crowd”* (Higgins 1987, p.42). Likewise, Leo Burnett talked about real

face to face interviewing as well as imaginary conversations to get close to the target audiences. These are highlighted in his quote: *“I try to saturate myself with knowledge of the product. I believe in good depth interviewing, where I come realistically face to face with the people I am trying to sell. I try to get a picture in my mind of the kind of people they are—how they use this product, and what it is—they don't often tell you in so many words—but what it is that actually motivates them to buy something or to interest them in something”* (Higgins 1987, p.19). Gribbin also talked about developing an understanding about people, an insight into them, and sympathy toward them as being central to good advertising (Higgins 1987).

As was seen from the above, creativity was not considered to be a mysterious act but one that can be developed and improved by practise, perseverance and mediated by socio-material objects. Also, although creativity requires novelty, ground rules were highlighted for improving creativity. Hence, it is important to examine the process of creativity in advertising from a practice perspective where creativity can be shaped through practices that transpire on the material arrangements. In addition, understanding the reasoning behind the practices in the process of creativity in advertising is a good endeavour for exploring the required ground rules in this process.

In the following section the justifications underpinning the selection of practice theory for understanding creativity in advertising are explained and the literature on practice theories are discussed.

2.4 Practice-based theoretical approach to studying the process of creativity in advertising within cultural context conditions:

In this section the reasons behind the selection of practice theories for looking at the agentive and structural level of the process of creativity in advertising are discussed.

Up to this point, the review of literature regarding the process of creativity in general in commercial creative industries and mainly in advertising shows that this process is a complex social phenomena (Woodman et al.1993) that involves

different levels of interactions: micro, meso, macro, and meta levels (Jeffcutt and Pratt 2002). It emerges that a comprehensive study which looks at the interactions among these levels that are essential for creativity in advertising to take place, is missing. Moreover, despite the identification of agentive and organisational/structural dimensions of the process of creativity in advertising (Hackley 1998), as well as the importance of social and cultural conditions on this process, the stages involved in the process (i.e. idea generation, crafting the idea, and selling the ideas) have been explored mainly from an agentive perspective. Further, the role of organisational/structural, social and cultural conditions (Moeran 2011) that can shape or be shaped by this process are not fully considered. In this section, the reasons behind adopting a practice-based theoretical approach to look at the process of creativity in advertising are explained.

The aim in this study is to examine the process of creativity in advertising from a practice-based perspective by employing an empirical approach. To this end, this thesis draws on Woodman et al.'s (1993) holistic view and Jeffcutt and Pratt's (2002) advice to investigate the process of creativity in commercial creative industries by incorporating the aforementioned levels present in this process. That is, the organisational, group, and individual levels, within the boundaries of society need to be covered (Banks et al. 2002). It is deemed that within these levels there is a network of practices that interact and shape the practices of creativity with which the creative practitioners engage.

As described above (in subsection 2.3), Moeran (2011) claimed conventional materials and techniques, time, place, people, aesthetics, legalities and money are all factors that can influence the decisions made by creative practitioners when selecting unusual combination choices for generating a creative output that goes on to receive approval before being disseminated. For the purposes of this study, these conditions are considered to be the practices and material arrangements that interact with the practices of creativity in advertising. In other words, the creativity practices performed by creatives within the network of other practices within the boundaries of their context form the focus of this study. A practice-based approach to study creativity presents an opportunity to develop an

understanding of the creativity process as a whole. Furthermore, by focusing holistically on creativity, the existing interactions within this process, as well as the influences exerted by the prevailing social conditions that are expressed in different form of practices, can be captured.

Based on Glăveanu's (2011) notion that creativity is cultural participation and his tetradic framework of creativity (see figures 2 and 3 in this chapter), this researcher proposes that creativity in advertising is performed within the physical and material conditions of the context, through using existing advertisements as well as through implicit or explicit dialogical interactions with members of the community. The ideas coming from this creativity need to be externalised and socialised to receive the approval of their commissioning clients and other relevant parties (Glăveanu 2010, 2011).

By adopting a practice theoretical lens to look at the process of creativity in advertising, the phenomenon, process of creativity, is deemed to be the bundles of actions and arrangements for generating an idea, crafting it into the novel advert and selling it to the commissioning clients and getting approval from all beneficiary parties. At one and the same time, these practices can be interacting with other bundles of practices, the bundles of practices from: the client, the audience, and governmental institutes and thus serve to shape holistically the process of creativity in advertising.

A further reason for focusing on practices is the necessity to address the issue of tacit elements within the process of creativity in advertising, for this phenomenon comprises both tacit and explicit understandings (see Wallas 1926; Glăveanu 2010). Although the practical meanings in their activities cannot be fully expressed in words by the practitioners themselves (Schatzki 1996; Kover 1995; Nonaka 1994), the realisation of their tacit knowledge in their practices is an avenue to probe, in order to understand what they are doing. One means of gaining insight into the tacit has been offered by Schatzki (1996) who noted that people's nonverbal reactions toward one another and what they manage to say about the features of their various behaviours, can offer researchers more detailed accounts than the information gained simply by considering practitioners' languages. According to Polanyi (1966), there is no such thing as detachable

objective knowledge independent of human action. That is, this scholar claimed “we can know more than we can tell” (1966, p.4), and this element of knowing encompasses the tacit. Further, Nonaka and Krogh (2009) posited that tacit knowledge is unarticulated knowing linked to physical experiences, intuitions and practitioners’ unarticulated implicit rules of thumb. This knowing is fundamental to complex human activities such as wine tasting, crafting a violin, or riding a bicycle.

More in-depth consideration of the tacit has produced the notion of there being three dimensions to it; subsidiary particulars, the focal target and the knower. The act of knowing by the knower is tacit, irreversible and links the particulars to the focal target (Tsoukas 2003). Thus, in order to explore what is being done, one needs to observe the actions and practices employed by the knower. To attempt to apply this concept to understanding the process of creativity in advertising it is possible to consider, in general, the present research interests in the following broad terms. That is, practices of creativity (i.e. the subsidiary particulars) are carried out by creative practitioners (i.e. the knowers) in order to generate creative adverts (i.e. focal target) in the contexts of their defined task briefs and strategies, for the satisfaction of their clients.

In light of the above, this researcher is convinced that studying the routinized activities and practices of creativity in advertising performed by the creatives and other ad agency members, can help us grasp what is happening. This is from the practitioner perspective and so allows us to grasp the role of situational forces coming from other practices in the real setting which are expressed in the (re)shaping of the practices of creativity. By pursuing this approach, the intention of this researcher is to ensure her thesis takes the form of a real world investigation, as opposed to an abstract conceptual study, many of which have been published before now (see Nyilasy and Reid 2009). In essence, by adopting a lens of practice-based theory alongside the theory of creativity (see section 1 in this chapter), we move closer to what Woodman et al. (1993) termed the holistic view, that is, a stance covering the individual, group, organisation and the meta levels as well as the social context in which these all operate (Jeffcutt and Pratt 2002).

Overall, the selection of practice theories for understanding the process of creativity in advertising is justified as a mean to bring the fragmented knowledge about agentive and structural levels regarding this process in one study. This can provide an opportunity to look at the interactions between micro and macro levels that can shape and be shaped by the process of creativity in advertising. Furthermore, adopting practice theories for studying the process of creativity in advertising deemed appropriate in illuminating the tacit element in this process that is otherwise difficult to be captured.

In the following subsections, the literature regarding various practice theories is reviewed and the practice theory deemed appropriate for this study is selected.

2.4.1 Theories on practice:

In this subsection first, in 4.1.1 different theories of practice and the commonly shared assumptions underpinning them, as well as pertinent differences, are explained. Subsequently In 4.1.2 the application of these practice theories in empirical research contexts such as sociology/ consumption, organisational studies, and their different orientations are considered. This is necessary in order to identify an appropriate practice theoretical framework for studying the complex social phenomena of creativity in advertising that incorporates multi-layer interactions (Jeffcutt and Pratt 2002). To draw these points together, the extant knowledge regarding the selected practice theory for this research, Schatzki's (1996, 2002) practice theory, is discussed.

2.4.1.1 Different theories on practices, their commonalities and differences:

In this subsection due to the existence of different practice theories, the various theories of practice are explained and the differences and similarity between them are discussed.

Theories on practice form a family of theories (Reckwitz 2002) as practice theory has its roots in the works of anthropologists, philosophers, and sociologist like Pierre Bourdieu (1977), Anthony Giddens (1979), Schatzki (2002), Andreas Reckwitz (2002), and Elizabeth Shove and her co-authors (2012) (see Schatzki

2012). Many rely on the philosophies of Heidegger⁷ and Wittgenstein⁸ (see Schatzki 2012, Shove et al. 2012, Reckwitz 2002).

Bourdieu's works, *An Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), and *Logic of Practice* (1990) brought the concept of practice to social science. However, his central concern was on habitus, which refers to the practical consciousness, rather than practices per se (Shove et al. 2012). Further, Bourdieu's theory considers a sense of determination in practices; "People acquire habitus [practical senses] by learning to carry on the practices that transpire in a given field under the objective socioeconomic conditions that reign there" (Schatzki 2005, p.471). Another approach that found in Giddens' structuration theory (1984) talks about social practices as the recursive relation between human activity and social structure. That is, activities are shaping and being shaped by the social structures of rules and meanings. In his account, emphasis is put on the reproduction of the wider social system without having clear details given on practices (Shove et al. 2012).

This notion of determination in practices (see Bourdieu 1977) and realization that "many activity events perpetuate practices" (see Giddens 1984), according to Schatzki opposes the contemporary intuition regarding the process and continues change in social life. That is, these theorists "prioritize fluidity over stability and development over continuity" (Schatzki forthcoming, p. 5), while in Schatzki's view based on the Heideggerian event-ontology "none of these phenomena can be prioritized over each other: neither fluidity over stability nor stability over development" (Schatzki forthcoming, p. 5).

Overall, the studies given above try to overcome the gap between individualism and holism in social behaviour. They show that social phenomena are not the total sum of the individuals (individualism), nor are the outcomes of the structure of their society (holism). This achieved by suggesting practices are "positioned

⁷ Heidegger in *Being and Time*(1962), identifies praxis and language as a source of meaning (Shove et al. 2012)

⁸ Wittgenstein locates intelligibility and understanding in the flow of praxis and languages (Shove et al. 2012)

centre stage” (Shove et al. 2012, p. 5). That is to say, practices can bridge the gap between individualism and holism. Although these works were insightful in their aim to bridge the gap in this regard, Bourdieu and Giddens are criticized for “over intellectualizing” human activities based on Wittgenstein's idea of practical understanding (Schatzki 1997, p.283). In other words, these theorists ignore the notion of indeterminacy in social activities. Although the teleology or motivation within practices can determine the ends for which human activity is occurring, or in light of which the activity is happening, the human activity is indeterminate until it is being performed (Schatzki forthcoming, p. 5).

Schatzki made a significant contribution to the literature on practice. In his work “Social Practices” (1996), he commented on the theory of practices which is based on “the idea that mind is a substance, place, or realm that houses a particular range of activities and attributes” (1996, p. 22). He stressed the bodily basis of all practices and from this stance, the practice is seen as a “nexus of doings and sayings”. For example, a social practice of x-ing is then a “temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of doings and sayings” (Schatzki 1996, p.89). Subsequently, he added “apprehending material configurations” as a requirement for understanding practices (Schatzki et al. 2001, p.3. These material compositions can “enable actions and other events to occur, ensure spatial-temporal persistence, and causally bear on the molar activities and properties of entities. But although social affairs depend on and reflect a molecular materiality, social life has no “above”: no structure or system that collects, encompasses, holds, or determines practices, arrangements, bundles, and constellations” (Schatzki forthcoming, p.14). This indicates that materials are co-produced with practices but are, nonetheless, distinct (Shove et al. 2012). In sum, from this perspective, a social phenomenon is “a bundle of practices and material arrangement” (Schatzki 2006, p.1863). In other words, practices are spatial-temporal activities that are organised together through practical understanding, rules, the teleoaffective structure and general understandings that are taking place amid material arrangements. These material arrangements are “assemblage of material objects, persons, artifacts, organism, and things” (Schatzki 2012, Schatzki 2006, p.1864).

Reckwitz (2002) described practice theories proposed by other cultural theorists according to the site to which they ascribed the social and meanings. For example, the first wave of cultural theory, subjective/objective mentalism, ascribes meaning to the mind or to the realization of peoples' actions which can be seen in social phenomenology and structuralism. Textualism emerged and the proponents of this assign meanings to the text and discourses. This was followed by intersubjectivity which places meanings within the interaction between subjects. Finally, in contemporary cultural theories, practice theories, the site of meanings is not centralized in the mind/body, text, or intersubjectivity, but in social practices (Reckwitz 2002). Reckwitz (2002) concluded that practices are "a routinized type of behavior which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge" (p.249). These understandings, knowing-how, emotions and motivations are parts of the practice, regarding which individuals are merely the carriers, rather than these understandings, knowing-how, emotions and motives being the states of participants (Reckwitz 2002). Likewise, Schatzki (2005) considers the organisation of a practice (i.e. meanings, rules, teleoaffective structure), as the manifestation of the practice's objective mind, which is distinct from the mind of any participant or their sum. In order to take this idea further, he suggested practices as the nexus of activity that befall people and other creatures (Schatzki 2012), for individuals are merely carriers of practices (Reckwitz 2002, Shove et al. 2012).

Shove et al. (2012) regard practices as entities and at the same time as performance. As such, practices form a recognisable "conjunction of elements" as entities, which require performing and reproducing to be sustained over time. Thus, in order to understand the "trajectories of practices-as-entities" (Shove et al. 2012, p.11), and the process of change in these practices, these authors focused on constitute of the practices, meaning, material, and competences as well as how these are configured and subsequently reconfigured.

Despite the differences among the way these scholars have approached practices, it is possible to identify three common attributes, namely: practices are

social phenomena and incorporate multiple people; they are organised activities of multiple people and not the activities of individuals; and, finally, they are non-propositional bodily abilities that cannot be put into words (Schatzki 2012). However, there remain some disparities among practice theorists regarding the role of materials in practices (Schatzki, 2012). Some scholars, such as Giddens (1984) do not consider the blending of activity and materiality to be ontologically fundamental to social life whilst the importance attributed to this is highlighted by others such as Bourdieu, Schatzki, Reckwitz, and Shove (Schatzki, 2012). In particular, Reckwitz (2002) noted that “objects are necessary components of many practices – just as indispensable as bodily and mental activities” (p.252), He exemplified the need for having a ball and goals in order to carry the practice of football. In a similar vein, Schatzki (2012) stated that “practices effect, use, give meaning to, and are inseparable from [material] arrangements while [material] arrangements channel, prefigure, facilitate, and are essential to practices” (p.4) whilst Shove et al. (2012) considered that there was an encompassing relationship between humans and non-humans in practices. In other words, some theories on practice paid little heed to the role of materiality in social life whilst others have considered the role of non-humans (materiality) to an equal extent as that of humans in social life and its unrolling.

Overall, the literature regarding the theories of practice from Bourdieu (1977), Giddens (1984), Schatzki (1996), Reckwitz (2002), Shove et al. (2012) are explained and the similarities and differences between them are highlighted. In the next subsection, the application of practice theories in empirical settings are discussed and from this, the practice theory deemed suited for this study is selected and my choice is justified.

2.4.1.2 Application of practice theories in empirical settings:

Below the application of practice theories in sociology/consumption studies and organisational studies are discussed in order to identify the appropriate practice theoretical framework(s) as a lens for this study.

Drawing on the notion that there can be comprehensive information embedded in practices, academics have analysed different integrative practices mostly in the

field of consumption studies. For instance, Warde (2005) investigated the routine and collective nature of practices as well as their dynamic and differentiated nature with reference to the practice of motoring and Shove and Pantzar (2005) examined the case of Nordic walking. The former demonstrated that through his analysis of practices, certain challenging questions could be addressed, such as how people reach a point of understanding of what is required by the practices and what is their role within the practices. Moreover, the roles of internal rewards, such as realizing goals and aspirations, as well as external rewards, such as prestige associated with engaging with identified practices, were elicited. The latter investigation of Nordic walking pointed out how this practice emerged through the “active and ongoing” integration of the materials, competences and concepts and coalesced in ways that were informed by previous practices. Attention was paid to the “trajectories of practices” through which these practices are formed and the focus was on constitutes of the practices (i.e. meaning, material, and competences) and the way they were configured and reconfigured beyond any specific moments of integration (Shove et al. 2012).

In these examples of consumption studies, focus was put on the analysis of local or micro phenomenon and this was achieved by paying attention to constitutes of a particular practice and their amalgamation. Only recently Shove et al. (2012) looked at the inter-linkage between different practices, i.e. the links between the elements (meaning, material, and competences) that form a single practice as well as links between multiple practices of which similar elements form a part (Shove et al. 2012). These scholars introduced the notion of linkages between different practices in the shape of bundles and complexes. Bundles were defined as the loose-knit connections between practices identified by their having co-location and co-existence, while complexes referred to a denser form of connection, established through co-dependence. They explained that despite the co-existence of practices, practices are not troubling to each other but when practices co-depend on each other, in terms of: sequence, synchronization, proximity or necessary co-existence, they form dense inter-linkages termed complexes. These bundles and complexes arise and disappear based on competition, and/or collaboration between practices. Some interactions result in mutual adaptation, some in destruction, synergy, or radical transformation.

Further, sequential relationship and synchronization were identified as important elements of interactions between practices (Shove et al. 2012).

In the domain of organisational studies the umbrella term “practice-based studies” (PBS) is used to refer to scholarship regarding social practices, however the term practices refers to different perspectives in this regard (Gherardi 2011). The term practice has been applied to the concept of oppositional theory, whilst another usage is analogical in meaning (Gherardi 2011). The former pertains to the theory/practice dichotomy, “the gap between decontextualized and universal knowledge and knowledge that is situated” while the latter concerns studying a phenomenon “as practice” (ibid, p.48). Regarding the analogical usage, “science as practice”, consider science taking place through practices as opposed to the rationality and positivistic view that consider science as a discovery, and “strategy as practice” , consider strategy as doing and a process rather than considering a top-down model of strategy⁹, (Gherardi, 2011). Furthermore, topological and transformative usage of the term practice can be seen in PBS. The former considers “practice as a container” where having identified a particular practice, the aim is to describe the activities that constitute it as a community of practice (see Wenger 2011). An example of this is the study of Gherardi and Nicolini (2000) regarding the construction of safety in a constellation of communities of practice. As for the latter, under the transformative approach, attention is on the process through which knowledge transforms itself through its use. This addresses epistemological conditions for the circulation of knowledge which Gherardi (2011) terms the “logic of transformation”, wherein knowing and practicing are considered as ontologically inseparable.

In sum, the use of the term practice in organisational studies appears to comprise two dimensions, namely: objects of empirical analysis (the site of learning and knowing), and, practices as epistemology (Gherardi 2011). The former consider activities as the intentionality of individuals (see Cohen 1996, theories of action)

⁹ As Gherardi (2011) has noted, the focus of strategy as practice related studies is more directed toward criticising the top-down model of strategy rather than contributing to theory of practical knowledge (p.50)

while the latter consider an ecological model in which agency is distributed between humans and non-humans and consider practices as “the entanglement of knowing and doing” (Gherardi 2011, p.60). Where practice is a relational epistemology, a specific practice can be studied to explain “the dynamic that occurs between the becoming of [this] practice as a socially sustained mode of action in a given context and the given socio-material context” (Gherardi 2011, p.52). Further, this approach helps in exploring the sensible and tacit knowledge enacted in practices (Gherardi 2011). This can be achieved by deep engagement in the field to understand, explore and explain the practices as well as their organisation and structure (Schatzki 2005).

For this research study that seeks to understand the social phenomena of creativity in advertising as a complex social phenomena (Woodman et al.1993) that involves multi-levels of interactions (Jeffcutt and Pratt 2002), adopting the practice theoretical framework used in consumption and sociology studies is not deemed appropriate. This is because this approach is mainly used to study local or small phenomena (i.e. a specific practice - Nordic walking) and does not attempt to expound on larger phenomena that involve different practices. Moreover, practice theoretical frameworks proposed in the consumption and sociology literature require detailed scrutiny of components of practices, i.e. meaning, materials, and competences (Shove and Pantzar 2005, Shove et al. 2012). Due to the large and complex nature of the phenomenon under research, namely, the process of creativity in advertising, any detailed investigation of components of different practices is a labyrinthine task. Thus, in order to avoid this unwieldy complexity in my analysis, i.e. regarding the detailed components of practices, Schatzki’s (2005) approach to practice theory is adopted. By being in the field and having deep engagement with the focal practices, an overview of bundles of practices and material arrangements is achieved and can facilitate the unfolding of the phenomena (Schatzki 2005).

In addition, the use of practice as the object of analysis that has been used in PBS (Gherardi 2011) deemed inappropriate because this perspective focuses on activities, rather than on practices (Gherardi 2011). That is, by simply adopting practices as the object of analysis, the structure and organisation of activities as

well as the manifestation of socio-cultural conditions with respect to them, are likely to be neglected.

Hence, in this study the notion of practice as epistemology is adopted whereby the process of creativity in advertising and the dynamics involved can be explored as “a socially sustained mode of action in a given context and the given socio-material context” (Gherardi 2011, p.52). Further, Schatzki’s (1996, 2005, 2006, and forthcoming) concept of practice theory, which is in line with the notion of practice as epistemology, offers an appropriate framework to address the extensive and complex phenomenon of creativity in advertising.

Overall, the application of different practice theories in empirical settings are discussed and Schatzki’s practice theory for this research is selected. This selection is justified based on the notion of epistemology as practice (Gherardi 2011) which provides an opportunity for me to look at the dynamics and relationships between practices that can shape the process of creativity in advertising (Gherardi 2011). In the following as his works form the selected practice theory for this study, Schatzki’s approach is outlined in some detail.

2.4.1.3 Schatzki’s practice theory:

As discussed above, for understanding the process of creativity in advertising and the dynamics involved, a practice theoretical lens (Schatzki, 1996, 2002, 2005, and 2006) is in line with the selected approach of practice as epistemology (see 4.1.2) (Gherardi 2011). To explore in depth the adopted practice theory, the following subsections are presented. In 4.1.3.1 the existence of social phenomena as bundles of practices and material arrangements are discussed. This is followed in 4.1.3.2 with a consideration of site/flat ontology. Next, in 4.1.3.3 organisations of practices through understanding, rules, and teleoaffective structure are explored and in 4.1.3.3 the notion of objective real time and activities real time for achieving a holistic understanding of practices, are reviewed. Finally, in 4.1.3.4, the relations among bundles of practices and material arrangements for forming a larger social phenomenon (i.e. a constellation involving multi-level phenomena) are explained.

2.4.1.3.1 Bundles of practices and material arrangements:

According to Schatzki, “social phenomena are bundles of practices and material arrangement, more specifically, as constellations of such bundles or of slices or features thereof” (Forthcoming, p.2).

Bundles refer to the objective spatial-temporal spread of practice-arrangements, which have event character, and can emerge, persist, and dissolve (Schatzki forthcoming). The emergence of a bundle is a new combination of doings, saying, rules, teleologies, understandings, material arrangement, and relations between practices and arrangements. The persistence of a bundle requires: limited change in its components, the endurance of its activities, the stabilization of practical understanding, the existence of its material arrangements, and the maintenance of the organisations of practices. The dissolution of bundles can be sudden and be brought about by the destruction of its components which occurs as a result of exogenous causes. Alternatively, it can be down to evolution away from the predecessor bundles and this is mainly based on endogamous causes or a combination of endogamous and exogenous causes (Schatzki forthcoming). To put it simply, bundles are the loose-knit connection between practices through co-location and co-existence (Shove et al. 2012) while in these regions, the connections between practices and material arrangements are dense (Schatzki forthcoming). Practices and material arrangements bundle together in the sense that “practices effect, alter, use, and are inseparable from material arrangements while material arrangements channel, prefigure, and facilitate practices” (Schatzki forthcoming,p.4).

Practices are spatially-temporally dispersed, open sets of doings and sayings organised by common understanding, teleologies (ends and tasks), and rules (Schatzki 2005, forthcoming). Material arrangements are “set-ups of material objects” comprising human-beings, artefacts, other organisms, and things in which practices transpire (Schatzki, 2005). Materials in this sense form arrangements that are co-produced with practices but are nonetheless, distinct (Shove et al. 2012).

In this research based on the review of literature, the process of creativity in advertising appeared to be a complex social phenomena that can be shaped through the interaction of different levels (Woodman et al. 1993; Jeffcutt and Pratt 2002). Hence looking at this process that involved different layers from a practice lens (i.e. bundles of practices and material arrangements), suggests this process comprises different practices amid different infrastructure and material arrangements that can be organised over various organisations (i.e. understanding, logics, and motivations). For instance the practices for generating ideas, the practices for crafting ideas, and the practices for selling ideas that can take place in different settings and following different logics.

In the next subsection the flat ontology through which the bundles of practices and material arrangements shape the reality is discussed.

2.4.1.3.2 Site/Flat ontology:

Schatzki drawing on the philosophy of Martin Heidegger¹⁰ introduced a new form of social ontology, which he termed site/flat ontology, under which social life is considered to be “tied to a context (site) of which it is inherently a part” (2005, p. 465). He contrasted this view with individualism and societism ontologies for proponents of the former hold that social phenomena are the outcome of individual people and in a more capacious version of individualism, interactionism, are seen as the outcome of a collection of people and these

¹⁰ “Heideggarian philosophies depict human lives as transpiring within a clearing: a person’s actions, mental states, and identities are what they are within a horizon of possible intelligibility/meaning. Social life, human coexistence, is likewise tied to such spaces. For example, the course and identity of people’s interactions depend on the space of intelligibility in which these interactions occur; so, too, do other phenomena through which human lives hang together (e.g. chains of action, shared mental states and actions, the material layouts and interconnectedness of settings). A space of intelligibility, however, is not a property or a set of properties of either individual people or a collection thereof. A social ontology that appropriates Heidegger’s clearing cannot, therefore, be individualist. Spaces of intelligibility are also, however, quite different from the nonindividualist phenomena hitherto affirmed by societists, for example Hegelian or functionalist wholes, Parsonian systems, Marxist modes of production, or structuralist combinatorial matrices. Many prominent Heideggarian site ontologies conceptualize the social as nexuses of practices that carry spaces of intelligibility” (Schatzki 2005, p. 470).

individuals' relations. Regarding the latter, societism ontology, this construes social phenomena as being something other than the features of individuals or groups of individuals (Schatzki 2005). Under the lens of site ontology social life is considered to be part of a nexus of practices and material arrangements:

“The site of social is composed of a nexus of practices and material arrangements. This means that social life inherently transpires as part of such nexus” (p.471)

Site ontology is in line with many of the micro-oriented approaches to understanding the essence of social life (e.g. ethnomethodology) for it confirms that all social phenomena emerge from, or are constituted by, local phenomena. However, further to this, from a site ontology perspective social phenomena are part of interrelated practice- material arrangement bundles- and therefore its proponents do not consider that a structural level of social life can exist beyond practices and arrangements (see figure 4). Thus under this optic, the macro and micro are not “distinct” levels of society (Schatzki 2005, Schatzki forthcoming). Nature is the only macro phenomenon that can be distinct and is not inherently a slice of bundles and constellations, but can be connected with or even be part of bundles and constellations. Hence, he treated social phenomena according to “the idea of a single plenum of practices and arrangements” that each social phenomenon are slice of. In other words the micro, meso, and macro phenomena differ in terms of the scale of this network of relations, i.e. small, large and larger network of relations (Schatzki forthcoming). He suggested that “the difference between constellations of bundles and local or single bundles is primarily a difference in spatial-temporal extension (Schatzki forthcoming, p.3) (see figure 2.4). This researcher is of the opinion that by relying on the notion of site ontology, she can capture the interrelation between micro, meso, and macro levels that are reflected in the bundles of practices and material arrangements as well as the network of relations in the context of the process of creativity in advertising. This is illustrated in figure 2. 4 where the micro level is shown to be the single bundle of practices (e.g. the bundle of idea generation, crafting the ideas, selling the ideas) and the macro level is illustrated as the interlinkage between these bundles of practices (e.g. the linkage between bundle of practices

for generating ideas, bundle of practices for crafting the generated ideas and bundle of practices for selling to the client).

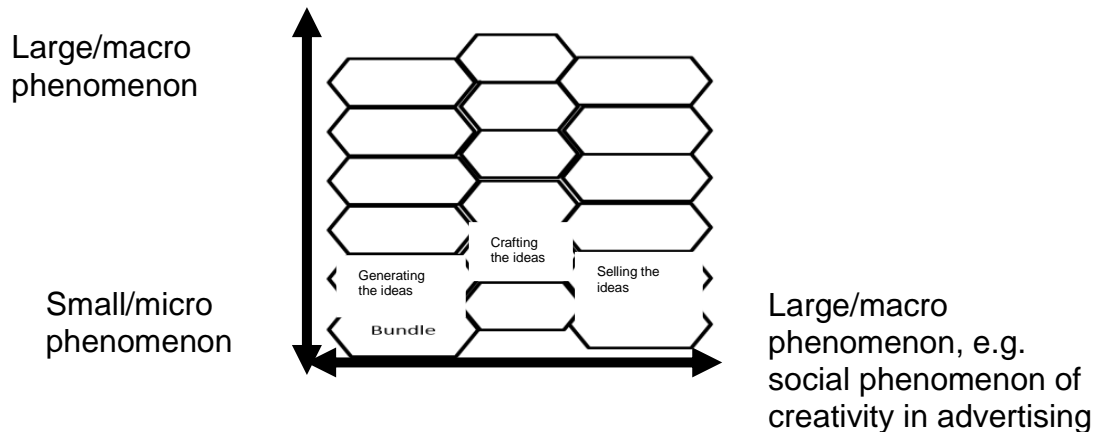


Figure 2.4: interlacement of bundles of practices-arrangements and social phenomenon as a slice of this interlock

In the following subsection the organisation of practices through which activities, i.e. doings and sayings are getting together are discussed.

2.4.1.3.3 Organisations of practices through understanding, rules, and teleoaffective structure:

Schatzki (2005) proposed practices as having two components: actions and structure or organisations. He considered practices as “open-ended spatial-temporal manifold of actions¹¹” that are organised through understandings, rules, and the teleoaffective structure. Furthermore, he contended that practices show how people understand things (i.e. their world intelligibility) and indicate what it makes sense for them to do in a particular situation (action intelligibility). In other words, he explained general understanding as the understanding about the nature of the work in hand, and practical understanding as knowing how to do things, i.e. the understanding of activities that constitute practices. He argued that practices are social entities. Instead of attempting to find a causal relationship between the surrounding social structure and the practices themselves, he sought to explain the actual practices, world intelligibility (understanding) and

¹¹ Doings and sayings (Schatzki 1996)

action intelligibility (what makes sense for people to do). The latter two are, in turn, shaped by the carrying out of the practices.

With regard to rules, these are defined as explicit formulations that instruct on what needs to be done. In addition, teleoaffective structure refers to a range of ends, projects, uses of things, and even emotions that participants in the practice rely on to perform the practice (Schatzki 2006, 2005, forthcoming).

Moreover, because practices are social entities, so too are the world and action intelligibilities and thus the understanding of a practice is embedded in performing it. Thus, practice cannot be disengaged from performance, unless, somehow, the practice can be formulated (described) by participants for non-participants (Schatzki, 1996). That is, human activity is an indeterminate event (Schatzki 2010) in the sense that “what a person does is determined by the ends for which he acts (teleology) and that in response to or in the light of which he does so (motivations) but are not definite until he acts” (Schatzki forthcoming, p. 6).

In line with the notion of site ontology explored above, practices are expected to be non-individualistic phenomena. People are carriers of them (Reckwitz 2002) and perform actions that compose such practices (Schatzki 2005). As elucidated, the organisation of practices, understanding, rules and teleoaffective structure, are not the states of participants, but, rather the reflection of the practices’ objective mind¹² (Weick and Karlene 1993, Schatzki 2005). Hence, it can be concluded that practices inject a deep dimension of commonality into social life (Schatzki 2005, p.480).

According to the work of Schatzki, practices can be dispersed and integrative in form and the former type is somewhat similar to Wittgenstein’s (1976) concept of

¹² As Weick and Karlene (1993) explained when people heedfully interact to pursue joint actions, their actions converge, supplement, and assist one another and form a pattern. This pattern is not under the control of any specific individuals or collective individuals, rather it is the reflection of the collective mind which is a sort of objective mind, in the sense that it shapes the actions that are produced “despite changes in personnel , and change[s] despite unchanging personnel” (Weick and Karlene 1993, p.374).

the language game. That is, for this, there are sets of rules and principles directing the carrying out of a behaviour. The dispersed practices can be used in a wide variety of social situations. These can include the practice of questioning and explaining that can be seen in different situations. On the other hand, integrative practices are more complex. They can include dispersed practices as well as specialized practices that are sensitized to the task at hand which leads to accomplishing the larger integrative practice (Schatzki 1996, Warde 2004). These are not the sum of dispersed practices¹³, but are the collection of linked doings and sayings which contain understandings of a set of practices sensitized to the particular practice at hand, explicit rules and teleoaffective structures¹⁴. In this current research, for the sake of simplicity, I do not discriminate between dispersed and integrated practices. The plan in this research is to identify the bundles of practices and material arrangements in the process of creativity in advertising, and exploring the understanding, rules, and teleoaffective structure of those practices (i.e. logics and motivation and objective mind of those practices), the sub-practices that are involved in those mega practices (i.e. sum of dispersive and sensitized practices to shape the integrated practices).

In the next subsection, different types of time of practices, i.e. objective real time and teleological time or the activities real-time, can help in understanding the logics and practical understandings of practices are discussed.

2.4.1.3.4 Objective real time and activities real time in practices:

For Schatzki to understand the organisations as they happen, it is necessary to not only understand the performance of activities and practices in the objective real time, i.e. the sequence of practices and before /after relations, but also understand the activities' real time, i.e. the past, present, and future that are reflected in activities for pursuing the ends and motives. As for the latter, i.e.

¹³ Within an integrative practice, not all the practices are dispersed practices.

¹⁴ In dispersed practices rules are the major conduit for shaping the practice whilst understandings and teleoaffective structures are not playing the same role as they do for shaping integrative practices (Schatzki 1996). When dispersed practices weave into integrated practices they get populated by them and are transformed in character (Schatzki 2005).

understanding the activities' real time, we require an understanding of the organisational memory¹⁵, which is the sum of memories of practices, and are the "persisting structure" of these practices, (i.e. complex of practical understanding, rules, teleoaffective structure, and general understanding). For example, it is necessary to explore the backward and past consideration or forward and future consideration in practices. Moreover, appreciation of the material arrangements in which practices transpire or are being supported by them are required (Schatzki 2006).

In sum, social practices are conceived as the performance of actions, governance of actions, and the material world supporting the performance of the organisation's actions. Schatzki (2006) explained that the structure of the organisation's practices, (i.e. rules, understanding, and teleoaffective structure), fill out the past and future of its actions. Thus for understanding the organisation in real time it is necessary to explore these structures that are contained in the organisation's memory. In the following subsection, the way the bundles of practices and material arrangements can be connected to form a larger social phenomena are discussed.

2.4.1.3.5 The relations among bundles of practices and material arrangements in larger social phenomena:

Recently, Schatzki acknowledged the shortcoming of practice theories for examining macro or in his terms, larger phenomena. In response to this weakness, he expanded the application of practice theoretical approach to study large social phenomena following in the footsteps of scholars such as Giddens and Bourdieu (Schatzki forthcoming). Accordingly, the difference between smaller and larger phenomenon (i.e. a local or single bundle or a large constellation of bundles) is a matter of "spatial-temporal extension" (Schatzki forthcoming, p.3, see figure 4). By taking this approach, the prior emphasis on local or small phenomena found in his works was explained as an issue pertaining to methodology and not ontology. A larger phenomenon (i.e. macro or

¹⁵ The organizational memory can be reflected in current practices or just carried in the organization's memory (Schatzki 2006).

global) is considered to have the same composition as small phenomenon (i.e. local and micro). That is, they both consist of bundles of practices and material arrangements or slices¹⁶ thereof.

As discussed above (see subsection 4.1.3.1), social phenomena are bundles of practices and material arrangements or the slice of plenum of bundles. Bundles of practice and material arrangements link together and form a constellation. Taking a college or university as an example, the practice-arrangement mesh at the classroom is linked and overlaps with the mesh at the department office, the college administration offices, the dorms, the bookstore, and the central administration offices. In turn the larger net, the university itself, is tied to similar nets including other educational institutions, state government, local government, charitable foundations and industries. These very broad confederations/constellations of nets are linked with other confederations/constellations in other countries (Schatzki 2005). This is summed up in the following way: “All these meshes, nets, and confederations/ [constellations] form one gigantic metamorphosing web of practices and orders (Schatzki 2005, p. 473).

The connection between bundles can be through practice-arrangement, practice-practice, and arrangement-arrangement relations (Schatzki forthcoming). Sometimes bundles overlap and sometimes they interact. They overlap when elements of one practice-arrangement bundle can be seen in other, different bundles. They interact in many ways, which can result in coherence or conflict (Schatzki 2005). Below the connecting of bundles to form a constellation that is achieved through practices-arrangements, practice-practice, and arrangements-arrangements are discussed:

¹⁶ “Social phenomena consist of some slice or aspect of plenum of practice-material arrangement bundles” (Schatzki forthcoming, p.4).

A) Connection between bundles through practice-arrangement relations:

Practices and arrangements can be linked together through causality, prefiguration, constitution, intentionality, and intelligibility. These relations are denser among the practices and material arrangements that form a bundle than those that do not. Also these five sorts of relations can be seen among practices and arrangements from different bundles (Schatzki forthcoming).

Causality between practices and material arrangement has two forms: 1) activities altering the world, 2) entities and events befalling those inducing activities. As for prefiguration, material arrangements prefigure practices in a sense that they prepare forthcoming activities. Regarding constitution, material arrangements constitute practices when they are “essential” to the practices or supporting them. As for intentionality, practices are intentionally related to arrangements by the thoughts participants have toward the arrangements and the action they do toward them. Finally, as for intelligibility that links practices and arrangements, Schatzki referred to the meaning material arrangements have for participants of a practice (Schatzki forthcoming). These five relation forms are very thick among the practices and material arrangements that form a bundle. Despite these relations, the researcher by relying on his/her cultural familiarity can identify bundles on the basis of less “evidence” and without the need for excessive details (Schatzki 2014). Thus, by being in the field for a long time, doing “participant observation”, and looking at the activities of participants, their interactions and the term they are using, one can grasp the bundle of practice-arrangements (Schatzki 2005).

B) Connection between bundles through practice-practice relations:

Another sort of connection among bundles is the practice-practice linkage. Practices are linked to other practices through having similar elements in the organisation of practices, co-dependency, similar doings and sayings, chains of actions, and intentionality. These connections can be among practices from the same bundle or among practices from different ones (Schatzki forthcoming).

Regarding similar elements in the organisation of practices that link practices to each other, they can be joined up by sharing ends, rules, tasks or understanding. For example, practices can be linked as they are pursuing a common goal, such as profitability (Schatzki forthcoming). As for co-dependency, this rests on the division of tasks among practices. In other words, one element of the practice organisation is dependent on another one in another practice's organisation. In addition, linkages are achieved by having similar doings and sayings across a particular instance that forms part of two practices whereas chains of action for joining practices refer to sequential episodes that link them. This in Schatzki's example about the coal industry can be the observation by the miners of elevated methane levels which leads to frantic calls to the control room, which in turn prompts the sounding of the alarm and evacuation of the mine. Finally, intentionality refers to thinking about another practice while performing a practice or acting toward other practices (Schatzki forthcoming).

C) Connection between bundles through arrangement-arrangement relations:

Arrangement to arrangement linkages pertain to common elements, causal relations, or prefiguration. That is, arrangements can link to others through having similar elements and material entities. Alternatively, an element in an arrangement may have causal relations with elements in another arrangement. A final connection concerns when material arrangements prefigure (i.e. hinder or facilitate) events that befall the material entities in the material arrangements. As with practices, the links between arrangements can be found among arrangements that are part of a bundle or those forming part of different bundles (Schatzki forthcoming).

Having reviewed the literature on practice theories, in the next section the research design and the way in which this selected practice theory can help understanding the process of creativity in advertising from a socio-cultural perspective as a multi-level complex social phenomena (Woodman et al. 1993; Jeffcutt and Pratt 2002), are discussed. In sum, it has emerged that Schatzki considers social phenomena to be a slice of bundles of practices and material arrangements. The difference between small (i.e. micro) and large (i.e. macro)

phenomena pertains to the nature of their “spatial-temporal extension” (Schatzki forthcoming, p.3). Under this adopted lens, practices are organised doings and sayings (i.e. organised activities) amid material arrangements that are determined by ends and motivations. However they are not definite until they are actually performed (Schatzki forthcoming, p. 6).

Below in table 2.3 there is a summary of literature on practice based studies.

Table 2.3: Our knowledge regarding practice based studies

Author	Date of study	Sample	Central Research question	Findings
Gherardi	2011	Conceptual	Exploring organisational learning from a practice approach	Categorised practice-based studies into two: practices as 1) the object of empirical analysis and 2) epistemology of practice.
Gherardi and Nicolini	2000	Examples from several research projects in construction industry	Showing how safety knowledge and organisational safety learning are enacted by relying on the concept of communities of practice	Found communities to shape the notion of safety from the heterogeneous materials of culture, artefacts, rules, and constraints which can exceed the boundaries of organisations and institutions.
Reckwitz	2002	Conceptual	Highlighting the main characteristics of practice theory	Described different cultural theories and asserted practice theory as one sub-theory of the cultural theories.
Schatzki	1996	Conceptual	Understanding basic structure of social life	Concluded that a practice is a ‘nexus of doings and sayings’, and the actions are gathered by the understandings, rules and teleo-affective structure
Schatzki	1997	Conceptual	Understanding social practices	Criticised Bourdieu and Giddens’ theories of practice based on over-intellectualizing accounts of human activity

Scahtzki et al.	2001	Conceptual	Highlighting the importance of practices in human life	Explained social life and social order via practices, discussed the physiological basis of human activity and post-humanist challenges, relying on Wittgenstein and Heidegger philosophies, positioned practice theory as opposed to individualism, intellectualism, structuralism, systems theory, and many strains of humanism and poststructuralism.
Schatzki	2002	Conceptual	Understanding social order	Highlighted the role of materials in practices and discussed social order via the relationship between human and non-human via exchange, consumption, and use
Schatzki	2005	Conceptual/ an example of academic department	Contrasting individualism and societism ontologies	Introduced site ontology, where social life is tied to a context (site)
Schatzki	2006	Conceptual	understanding an organisation	Suggested an organisation to be more than its real time; highlighted organisational memory; the past, present, and future that can be reflected in activities
Schatzki	2012	Conceptual	Providing practice theoretical as a lens for practice-based education and research	Explained practices, activities, and social phenomena, with emphasis on temporality and the unfolding of practices
Schatzki	forthcoming	Conceptual	Elaborating on practices in larger phenomena	Explained different relation among practices (practice-practice, practice material arrangement and material arrangement material arrangement) that can link practices and shape a bigger social phenomena
Shove and Pantzar	2005	Nordic walking	Explaining how practices change	Found Integration of images, artefacts and forms of competence in practices. Also, highlighted that practices are situated but they are always pieced together in a manner that is informed by previous and related practice.

Shove et al.	2007	Used observation, interviews of household individuals, DIY practitioners, contemporary design practitioners, practicing photographers and analysis of historical and contemporary documents in such topics	Finding ways products transform our daily lives.	Examined the dynamic interaction of products with everyday practices.
Shove et al.	2012	Using cases of car driving, emergence of frozen food, and fate of hula hooping	Showing social change through practices	Explained social practices and their components and illustrated the change - rise, transformation and fall of practices; showing how the links between practices generated, renewed and reproduced.
Warde	2004	Practice of eating out and the culinary field.	Clarifying the concepts of field and practice by Pierre Bourdieu	Highlighted the differences between the concept of field and practice. Criticised the concept of field mainly because of its heavy reliance on analogies of games and sports. He stated that the concept of field is overstretched encompassing too many "indirectly related phenomena" (Ward 2014, p.16). Proposed development for theory of practice to make it consistent with field theory.
Warde	2005	Conceptual/meta-analysis	Using theories of practice for the study of consumption	Stated consumption to be part of all practices. Underlined the routine and collective nature of practices but also highlighted the dynamic in practices.
Wenger	2011	Review	Reviewing and introducing community of practice	Examined what community of practices are, and highlighted the reasons for its applicability to knowing and learning.

2.5 Research design and questions:

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the process of creativity in advertising is considered to be a complex social system (Woodman 1993; Jeffcutt and Pratt 2002). It includes the stages of idea generation, externalisation (crafting), and evaluation (selling) (Löfqvist 2010; Glăveanu 2010, 2011) based around interactions between the creator's self, the community and the materials deployed (symbolic resources) within the existing conditions of the social world in which it takes place (Glăveanu 2010, 2011; Moeran 2011).

Previous studies in this regard have adopted multi-level ontologies and thus are mainly limited to two dimensions, organisational and agentic and scholars have overlooked the social embeddedness of this process. Even though in these studies that have looked at creativity as a social system, agency or structure have been treated separately. For example, in studying creativity from a psychological approach, the emphasis was placed on the agent and agency and its attributes (e.g. Rhodes 1961; Roberts and DelVecchio 2000). Whilst in sociological investigations regarding the social system surrounding creativity, the research focus has been on social structures and their influence on creativity (e.g. Shalley 1995; Amabile 1996). Thus, a practice theoretical approach which is based on a flat ontology which bridges the gap between agency and structure (Schatzki 1996) and focus on situated practices is central to this research.

Schatzki's (1996, 2002, 2005, 2006, and forthcoming) practice theory is adopted, under this lens, social phenomena can be unfolded as bundles of practice-material arrangements. With this theoretical framework, the process of creativity in advertising can be seen as composed of bundles of practices-arrangements for generating an idea, crafting it into the novel advert and selling it to the commissioning clients and getting approval from all beneficiary parties. Based on the adopted flat ontology, these bundles can be local or single or a large constellation of bundles and the difference is "spatial-temporal extension" (Schatzki, forthcoming, p.3). Thus in this current research, the socio-cultural conditions of the context are considered to be other bundles [sites] of practices and material arrangements that interact with the bundles of practices and material arrangements involved in the process of creativity (see Schatzki

forthcoming, see figure 2.5). Moreover, Amabile (1983) noted that internal and external motivations and constraints can be important factors in fostering or hindering the act of creativity. Hence in line with the taken approach, a practice-based theoretical stance, for understanding the process of creativity in advertising, the researcher endeavours to understand the internal and external rewards relating to these practices. The internal rewards can arise from the complexity of performing the practices alongside the external rewards which can come from gaining the prestige by performing the practices (see Warde 2005).

As such the main research question of this thesis is:

“How is the process of creativity in advertising from a practice perspective?”

To probe this overarching question, the multiple different layers of negotiations and compromises that are expressed in bundles of practices (Shove et al. 2007) need to be examined and their connections and interactions (Schatzki 2005, forthcoming) need to be explained. Thus the following subsidiary questions are proposed:

What are the bundles of practices-material arrangements involved in the process of creativity in advertising?

How are the bundles connected through practice to practice, practice to arrangements and arrangements to arrangements relations in general? What are the practices' common end(s) and the aims that link them?

Moreover, for understanding the nature of motivation in the process of creativity that can play a role in this process, Warde's (2005) notion of internal reward and external reward form the question below:

How are internal and external rewards associated with practices of creativity in advertising reflected in them?

Hence, adopting a practice theoretical approach to understand the complex social phenomena in an organisation, i.e. creativity in advertising, can be fruitful in examining the ways practices and material arrangements can be connected in a larger phenomenon. Further, exploring the motivations involved in doing being

creative in advertising (i.e. internal and external rewards attached to the practices) can be helpful in exploring the role of identities of practices in relating them to other practices. This is in line with networks of different language games and their interconnection introduced by Wittgenstein, in which their representatives try to convince the other party about their own used language game. This they achieve by referring to the rules of their own language games, and when rules conflict and they reach the end of rationality (Mantere 2010, p.159), a new language game is formulated (Seidl 2007) through this productive misunderstanding. Further, adopting a flat ontology and looking at the process of creativity in advertising from a practice theoretical lens can bridge the existing dichotomy between agentive and structural levels in the studies regarding the process of creativity in advertising. This in turn can help obtain an understanding regarding the interactional role of these levels in shaping the process of creativity in advertising.

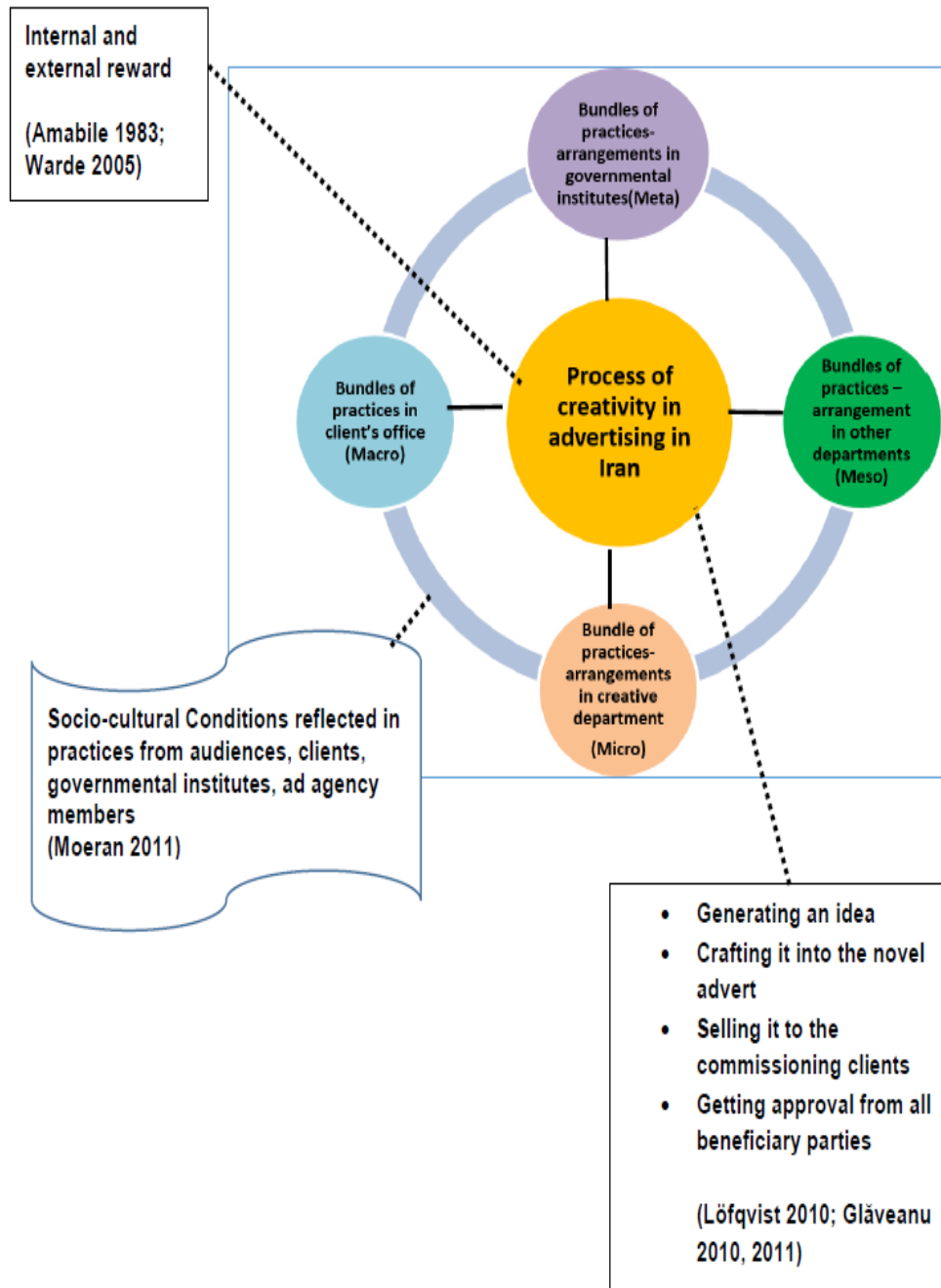


Figure 2.5: Theoretical framework

2.6 Chapter summary:

In this chapter the literature regarding the the process of creativity in general, organisational creativity and specifically this process in commercial creative industries such as in advertising have been reviewed and practitioners' views on creativity in advertising is presented. Based on this review, the literature regarding the process of creativity in advertising has been problematized, specifically, the adaptation of multilevel ontologies and the lack of attention paid to the interaction between agentive and structural levels of the process of creativity in advertising. For overcoming this problem, a practice theoretical approach is selected. In the last section of this chapter by using practice theoretical lens to look at the process of creativity in advertising, the research design and questions for the study have been presented.

In the following chapter, the philosophical approach, methodology and methods of operationalising the aim of this study are discussed.

Chapter 3: Methodology

“Marketing inquiry traditionally has been based on positivist science” (Hirschman 1986, p. 238) wherein reality is considered to be external and objective (Burr 2003) and can be explained through causal relationships (Lincoln and Guba 1985). From this stance, reality and the researcher are perceived to be independent and the aim is to generalise truth across different times and contexts (Lincoln and Guba 1985, Burawoy 1991). However, as the marketing concept has evolved and the importance of situational context, subjectivity, and the socially constructed nature of human reality have been realised as necessary for understanding this socially constructed phenomenon, humanistic modes of inquiry have developed (Hirschman 1986). Under such approaches, reality is considered to be socially constructed (Burr 2003) and “all human knowledge is developed, transmitted, and maintained in social situations” (Berger and Luckman 1967, p.3). That is, there are multiple realities that are constructed by human beings and the role of the researcher is not independent from the phenomena under research, and thus knowledge is subjectively attained, constructed and is value laden¹⁷ (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Further, the aim is not to find a cause and effect relationship to describe phenomena but rather to provide thick description about them (Lincoln and Guba 1985). This perspective is in line with the reflexive model of science asserted by Burawoy (1991) that emphasises the engagement of the researcher in the world, rather than her detachment from the phenomenon under research.

In this research endeavour that seeks understanding regarding the complex social phenomena of creativity in advertising, a social constructivist perspective is adopted. This, as Hackley stated, allows us “to reveal the structure of meanings as constructed by individuals engaged in a social process” (Hackley 2001, p.130) rather than “a model of managerialism which presupposes the technical expertise of marketing practitioners and the political neutrality of marketing activity (and management) itself” (Hackley 2001, p.128).

¹⁷ Researchers influence the choice of phenomena, methods, data, and findings (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

Social constructivist and positivist approaches to research are based on different philosophical assumptions, in particular those regarding the nature of reality, social being and the construction of knowledge (Hudson and Ozanne 1988). To address these, in this chapter the framework of inquiry (i.e. the ontological and epistemological foundations of the research), the methodological choice, choice of setting, data collection methods, the context of the research, reflexivity, data analysis, and methods criteria are explained. In the last section of this chapter the limitations of the selected methods are discussed.

3.1 Framework of inquiry:

A social constructivist perspective is selected for this study as it focuses on the constitution of social life through language, discourses and other non-verbal activities (Schatzki 1996; Hackley 2001). The proponents of this viewpoint posit that reality is socially constructed whereas proponents of a positive perspective claim the existence of an external, objective reality (Burr 2003). This researcher adopts the stance that reality is socially constructed. This approach is in line with the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 2, section 2.5, which shows that practices of creativity are the focus of this study. Moreover, the current investigation seeks to look at “everyday activity, its human embodiment, material mediation, embeddedness in socio-political context and enactment of social structures” (Orlikowski 2010, p.29) in order to study the process of creativity in advertising from an emic point of view.

For studying the process of creativity in advertising through a practice lens, a “philosophical approach to practices” (Feldman and Orlikowski 2011) is adopted. Feldman and Orlikowski (2011) denoted three approaches in using a practice lens, namely: empirical, theoretical, and philosophical. The first focuses on peoples’ actions in shaping the organisational outcome, while in the second, the dynamics of everyday activity, i.e. how practices are generated, are addressed. For the third, social reality is considered fundamentally to be made up of practices, i.e. instead of seeing the social world as external to human agents or socially constructed by them, it is seen to be created through everyday activity and hence, when undertaking this approach the researcher focuses on asking why-based questions (Feldman and Orlikowski 2011). The idea of practices as a philosophy has been described by Orlikowski as meaning that practice can be viewed “as constitutive of all social reality” (2010, p.23). The scholars who advance this viewpoint consider all social life as being built on ongoing practices (Orlikowski 2010). When we accept that there are realities in practices, the emergent divergence regarding ontological individualism and ontological societism (Schatzki 2005) can be addressed. The former regards social phenomena as constructed by individuals or as being based on their relationships, and the latter regards social phenomena as being built by

something other than the features of individuals, for instance, structures and institutions (Schatzki 2005). Considering the practices themselves as the carriers of the philosophy helps to bridge this apparent ontological divide. Hence, the selected approach “represents a distinct social ontology” (Schatzki 2001, p.3) which is based on flat ontology, where “social life brooks no levels” (Schatzki forthcoming, p.14). This has been explained by Schatzki as below:

“In the philosophy of science, levels of reality are conceived of as domains of entities between which systematic relations of causality, constitution, or supervenience exist. In social investigation, the two most familiar alleged levels are (1) a lower level composed of individuals together with their actions and interactions and (2) a higher level that encompasses entities such as social structures, systems, institutions, and the like. Like any alleged level, these two are levels if what populates the higher level—structures and the like—systematically arise from, are systematically constituted by, or systematically supervene on what populates the lower level (individuals and their activities), or if they themselves exert systematic causal effects on individuals and individuals’ activities. The plenum of practices and arrangements, however, is not composed of these two levels. Nor is it itself one or the other of them. Instead, significant features both of individuals and their activities and of structures and institutions are products, elements, or aspects of practice-arrangement bundles. Nor, as indicated, does a structural level of social phenomena exist above practices and arrangements. So social life does not admit levels. It also follows from these considerations that “macro and “micro” cannot designate distinct levels of society”. (Schatzki forthcoming, p.14)

In line with this approach, that is, taking practice as a philosophy, Sandberg and Tsoukas (2011) introduced “practical rationality” to understand the logics of practices. In their study they highlighted the inability of most management theorists to capture the logic of practice, due to their deeply engrained predilection for using “scientific rationality” as their framework of enquiry. Advocates of scientific rationality consider reality to be “constituted of discrete entities with discrete properties”. Furthermore, knowledge is assumed to be gained mainly through probing subject-object relations and the logic of practices

are shaped by the “epistemological subject-object relation” (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011, p.340). This stance not only overlooks the “meaningful totality into which practitioners are immersed”, it ignores the situational characteristics of the tasks practitioners do, and excludes the temporal flow of practice (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011, p.341). The result of these lapses is a gap between theory and practice in management and organisational studies. This may be put down to the fact that these management theories based on scientific rationality tend to be a reflection of the logic of the researcher, rather than the logic of practice, even though they try to highlight the factors that shape the practice (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011).

As a counter balance to the approach described above, these scholars introduced “practical rationality”, based on Heidegger’s existential ontology that considers the notion of “entwinement” as the basic form of being. That is, they averred that “we are never separated but always already entwined with others and things in specific sociomaterial practice worlds”. In other words, “for something to be, it has to be part of meaningful relational totality with other beings” (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011, p.343). An existential ontology highlights that practitioners are non-contingently related to their practices. Although various ways of carrying out a sociomaterial practice may exist across time and space, a particular sociomaterial practice, at any point of time, has its own identity that defines that particular practice (Smith 1997). In other words, the practitioners who are involved with a practice develop a sense about the know-how of that particular practice (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011). Regarding this, these authors claimed: “Therefore, what constitutes the logic of practice is not the epistemological subject-object relation but the entwining of ourselves, others, and things in a relational whole, in the sense that we are always already engaged in specific sociomaterial practices” (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011, p.345). In light of this, adopting the “practical rationality” framework provides an opportunity to bridge the gap between theory and practice in management and organisational studies by generating knowledge that is “in the same continuum as the knowledge practitioners employ” (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011, p.354). Furthermore, this framework provides a platform for providing theoretical generalisation and practical guidance for practitioners. The former concerns

explaining the situated dynamics which can be used for understanding other contexts (i.e. these theories can travel) whilst the latter is concerned with identifying organisational levers. These levers are grounded in the everyday interactions of the organisation and can be used for enabling change as well as for supporting those practices that are already in operation (Feldman and Orlikowski 2011, p.1250).

As practice is taken to be the ontology for the present study this has strong epistemological implications (Orlikowski 2010) for my work. Epistemology is usually defined as the relationship between the knower and the known (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Laverly 2008) and serves to shed light on the nature and sources of our knowledge and understanding (Giaretta 1995). Given the nature of this current research, performative epistemology is deemed to be appropriate. Barad defined this as “taking account of the fact that knowing does not come from standing at a distance and representing, but rather from a direct material engagement with the world” (2007, p. 49). Consistent with this epistemological standpoint, this researcher is of the opinion that there is a mutual relationship between the researcher and the concept that is being studied. That is, understanding and knowledge pertaining to creativity in advertising can be gained through a co-construction between the researcher and the participants in the study. However, due to the judgemental role of this researcher in the study, in order to avoid generating potentially idiosyncratic findings, “the unconscious and subconscious processes in the act of conducting research” (Belk et al. 2013, p.57) are explained below under the issue of reflexivity which is covered in section 6.

3.2 Ethnographic research:

Given the constructivist foundations of this research and the aim to elucidate the bundles of practices and material arrangements for understanding the process of creativity in advertising, an ethnographic approach was deemed to be an appropriate methodological choice. This is to say that through ethnographic research the researcher can engage “with the everyday realities of the organizational life” and have “deep engagement in the field, observing or working with practitioners as they go about their work” (Feldman and Orlikowski 2011,

p.1249). Therefore, having deep engagement in the field can help me understand the complex social phenomenon of creativity in advertising as it takes place in its natural setting (Hammersley 1998).

As Schatzki noted, “identifying practice-arrangement bundles requires considerable “participant observation”: watching participants’ activities, interacting with them (e.g. asking questions), and - at least ideally - attempting to learn their practices” (2005, p.476). Therefore, an ethnographic approach is adopted where the goal is “to capture the character of naturally occurring human behaviour” and witness their social activities such as “practices” (Belk et al. 2013). This can be achieved through having “first-hand contact” with the participants, to be able to explain their actions based on obtaining “understanding of the cultural perspective on which they are based”, and discovering the true nature of the creativity in advertising (Hammersley 1998, p.8).

Ethnographic and observational approaches have apparently some 2,300 years of history that stem from the anthropological tradition for recording detailed cultural data pertaining to different eras which has involved describing and “explaining humanity’s different ways of life” (Belk et al. 2013. p. 62). These approaches are based on qualitative techniques whereby the researcher tries to record the “manifest acts of a particular group of people” by including their social context and settings as well as providing an analysis of their behaviours for various scientific purposes (Belk et al. 2013, p.60). The difference between ethnography and other types of qualitative research (e.g. descriptive studies and naturalistic inquiry) is “the centrality of culture as the analytic concept that informs the doing of ethnography” (Schwandt 2007, p.97). In other words, ethnographic research “aims to clarify the ways cultures (or micro-culture) simultaneously construct and is formulated by people’s behaviour and experiences”, with the ends being “to explicate patterns of action that are cultural and/or social rather than cognitive” (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994, p.485).

Arnould and Wallendorf (1994) depicted four characteristics for an ethnographic research investigation: 1) collecting human actions in a natural setting “that exist independently of the research process rather than in those set up specifically for the purpose of the reassert” (Hammersley 1998, p.8), 2) the immersion of the

researcher in the field by spending a prolonged time in a specific cultural context, 3) the interpretation of actions and behaviours in a credible and trustworthy manner; which is going to be explained below in section 8 (the methods criteria), and 4) incorporating multiple sources of data such as observations and verbal reports in order to “generate varying perspectives on the behaviour and context of interest” (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994, p. 485).

Ethnography is a naturalistic inquiry with a cultural focus for it “involves a “going out” of a researcher into a socially pre-existing setting or event” (Belk et al. 2013, p.65). Furthermore, this type of research involves “fieldwork” which entails “living with and like those who are studied” (Van Maanen 1988, p.2) as the aim is to “provide an empirical grounding for an etic representation” (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994, p. 494). Thus an emphasis is placed on achieving depth over breadth in the study, and instead of empirical generalisation, the objective is to generate theoretical inferences (Hammersley 1998, p.11).

Overall, an ethnographic study has been chosen as the methodological approach for this research where participant observation, holism, context sensitivity, sociocultural description, and theoretical connections are characteristic (Stewart1998). In addition, the main aim in ethnographic research is to understand “the world from the standpoint of the participants” (Burawoy 1998, p.6).

3.3 Choice of settings:

Whilst taking into consideration the above, to achieve the objectives of this inquiry, the selected methodological approach (Lincoln and Guba 1985) requires an examination of everyday realities as they are expressed in practices and also demands that the researcher achieves a deep engagement in the field through observing or working with participants (Orlikowski 2010; Feldman and Orlikowski 2011). This is in line with what Burawoy (1998) has termed the “reflexivity model of science” whereby the focal phenomenon is studied within its context. In other words, instead of gathering information about what the study informants “ought to do”, the researcher gathers information on what the informants are actually doing, over space and time (ibid). Thus, an extended case study method is

selected for this research with the aim being to explain a phenomenon in its social situation¹⁸ (Burawoy 1991) as well as understand the effect of macro structures on the micro situations of individuals (Kates 2006) and vice versa. This, in terms of my adopted practical lens, i.e. a philosophical approach to practices, entails looking at the social phenomenon of the research (i.e. the process of creativity in advertising) as being constituted of practices that can be related to other smaller or larger practices (i.e. micro or macro ones) (see Schatzki forthcoming).

A case chosen to be the centre of attention is an integrated system and the researcher needs to discover certain features within the boundaries of the case and other features which are outside of them. In other words, the goal is “to locate everyday life in its extralocal and historical context” (Burawoy 1998, p.4). Through an extended case methodological approach, this researcher seeks to generate a theoretical account by observing everyday practices and relating them to the overarching social structures of the setting (i.e. other practices). In this way, an explanatory framework is arrived at through the in-depth study of the selected case in order to reformulate or advance pre-existing theory (Kates 2006). More specifically, social phenomenon are referenced to existing theories which are then further elaborated by employing the evidence gained from the selected context of the research, regarding the effects of various factors on the focal phenomena. This, according to Fieldman and Orlikowski (2011), enforces the strength of theoretical generalisations, as these can travel and be useful for understanding other contexts.

As discussed above, under a reflexive mode of scientific enquiry, the focal phenomenon is studied in its context, and there is ‘priority of the social situation over the individuals’ (Burawoy 1998, p.16). In keeping with this, a suitable sample cannot be recruited by simply considering which individuals to select, for, in these

¹⁸ Social situation in the practice theoretical framework of this research refers to other types of practices that can interact with the social phenomenon of the research. These other types of practices may be larger and incorporate various bundles of practices and material arrangements. That is, their difference lies in spatial-temporal extension (see Schatzki forthcoming).

circumstances, not only must the sampling strategy be appropriate but also there are implications regarding the nature of generalisability (ibid). In other words, individuals in themselves cannot be the basis of the chosen sample as they are not the best representatives of the knowledge under investigation. Moreover, generalising from the data does not entail confirming or rejecting any specific theory. Rather, the aim is to reconstruct theory and to move from one generality to another, for, as explained by Burawoy, “science offers no final truth, no certainties, but exists in a state of continual revision” (p.16). Hence, from among the three broad approaches for selecting a sample for a qualitative study, namely: convenience, judgement, and theoretical (Marshall 1996), the lattermost, theoretical sampling, is selected, where the aim is “to build interpretative theories from the emerging data [whilst] selecting a new sample to examine and elaborate on this theory” (Marshall 1996, p.523).

With regards to the current study, the focal interest is on the practices of creativity in advertising. This matter is to be investigated within the cultural context of an advertising agency and combines the socio-cultural perspective of creativity and practice theory, while eliciting the ways in which the pertinent macro and social forces (i.e. larger practices) are shaping them and being shaped by them. Thus, an international advertising agency located in Iran, identified with the pseudonym Dalton¹⁹, is selected as an extreme case. This agency is termed an extreme case because the organisational aim of doing creativity is in contradiction with the broader social system (i.e. other practices) which tend to promote conservative religious thinking. This instance provides a good opportunity for me to see “how constructs operate at extremes” (Arnould, Price and Moisio 2006, p.10) and to investigate a novel context for understanding the generation of creative outputs (Burawoy 1991). As Burawoy (1998) has noted, the aim is not to make statistical generalisations from the gathered data but theoretical generalisation. That is, to reconstruct and revise existing theory about the nature of creativity in advertising for this study is an on-going task demanding that researchers build upon each other’s findings, rather than seek

¹⁹ Due to the political situation in Iran, Dalton is an arm, operating covertly, of a globally known international agency.

simply to confirm or reject what has gone before. Given this, the uniqueness of the sample recruited for the study is not an important concern whereas having a robust platform of evidence that allows the researcher to address the objectives of the study is the central requirement. Moreover, instead of seeking to reduce multiple instances of the phenomenon under investigation to a single generalisable case, attention is paid to connecting with other cases that have been studied by other researchers (Burawoy 1991). Below the reasons behind the selection of a creative advertising agency in Iran are discussed.

First, since the purpose of this study is to build theory rather than test it, theoretical sampling (Eisenhardt and Graebner 2007) is adopted. Based on theoretical sampling a full service advertising agency that accords with all the important elements mentioned in the literature and fits with the selected theory of creativity in advertising, has been selected. Furthermore, this selection is based on the fact that most extant theories on creativity, in particular creativity in advertising that have been derived from empirical studies, have focused not only on the individual level but also social levels, and have treated social factors and the situation as independent variables that can influence creativity. However, the nature of the interaction between the two levels has not been probed. Moreover, many of these studies were conducted in experimental settings where the social factors were limited and the rich complexities of the structural elements cannot be elicited fully. Thus, by examining the practices of creativity in advertising in Iran in its real setting, taking in to account the existing salient social conditions (i.e. other practices in the society that might interact with the practices of creativity in advertising), I have the opportunity to extend our knowledge about the role of such factors and practices on shaping the practices of creativity and their being shaped by them. In other words, the purpose is to shed light on the interdependence between the social conditions and the practices of creativity in advertising and to understand the ways in which they are shaping the practices of creativity and also, in return, being shaped.

Further, an overview of the extant literature has shown that compared to the location of many previous studies, this particular setting of Iran, where there are some physical and material limitations and where strong control is exerted by the

state regarding cultural production sites, has not been subject to much research in this field. With respect to this, the process of creativity in advertising within the existing social structures of the Iranian milieu can provide an opportunity for the reformulating of extant theory regarding this process as it applies to the domain of advertising. Furthermore, this platform provides a good opportunity to understand how creativity, which entails outside the box thinking, operates in a conservative society where inside the box thinking is prevalent. This also provides a good opportunity to look at how creative professionals deal with the tensions arising from multiple / contested logics of practice related to creativity.

Last but not least, as is explained in this chapter, subsection 4.1, in order to be able to grasp the logic of practices, not only an immersion in practices but deliberation regarding how they are carried out, are required (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011). There are several strategies available for practitioners to adopt in order to step back from their own practices and thus be able to comment on their performance (*ibid*) (see subsection 4.1 in this chapter).

Among the strategies for depicting logics of practices, “thwarted expectations” as a source of their breakdown is an important criterion for my choice of an advertising agency in Iran as the case (see Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011). This is because in Iran, the field of advertising is under the control of an Islamic state (BBC, 2013) and there is tension between the particular outcomes of the practice of creativity in advertising and the particular standards regarding excellence held in society. That is to say, in Iran creativity as an outside the box thinking act has to be performed whilst complying with conservative and the within the box thinking rules of the society. Although this might be the case in all societies, in Iran the state’s Islamic rules and regulations make this tension more distinct. Such tension makes practitioners aware of their intertwinement with both the practice of creativity and the standards they should pursue in their context. This justifies the selected case, an advertising company located in Iran, as an intriguing subject for this research.

Given the resources available for the undertaking of a study of this nature and considering what can be an appropriate frame from which to draw the case study firm as well as the availability of suitable subjects for inclusion in the study

(Lecompte and Schensul 1999), an international full service advertising agency, ranking among top ten advertising agencies in Iran over the last two decades, is selected. One of the important reasons for this selection is the nationality of the researcher as being Iranian helps her in deploying her social capital in Iran and negotiating entry to the site which is a very confidential field and usually difficult to access. Also, as an Iranian and a native speaker of Persian, understanding the site and what happens in it, including participants' everyday talk, use of different terminologies and their interpretations are opened up for investigation by her.

This selection was achieved by carrying out an internet search of top advertising agencies in Iran, followed by brief interviews with creative directors and CEOs of three such leading firms. Based on these preliminary interviews, the agency whose claims and stated practices appeared to be most consistent with fostering creativity and having the generation of novel ideas as their focal target was chosen. From these initial interviews, it was apparent that the selected agency offered opportunities for the collection of richer data than would be possible in some others. This was deemed important because rich data could provide for clearer insights (Marshall 1996) for understanding the process of creativity in advertising as a complex social phenomenon that involves different bundles of practices and material arrangements.

Finally, the selected agency was informed about the research objectives and the requirement to have the researcher on site for fieldwork purposes. The directors were assured about the confidentiality of the gathered information and the anonymity of the participants as well as that of the agency itself, unless otherwise indicated. Following this, consent for carrying out the study was granted (Wiles 2013).

3.4 Data collection methods:

Methods refer to the collection of the data and the procedures and tools employed for eliciting this from the field of study (Madison 1988). The techniques adopted as the methods of data collection need to be based on the research objectives and should be consistent with the philosophical underpinnings of the

study. Moreover, the tools selected also depend on the preferences of the researcher carrying out the fieldwork.

In line with the selected methodological approach for this research, different methods of data collection are employed, namely: semi-participant observation, unstructured interviews and semi-structured interviews (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994) as well as some projective techniques (Belk et al. 2013).

3.4.1 Participant observation:

This researcher aims to look at the activities (including the sayings and doings and the materials in the network of meanings) with which creative practitioners engage, that help to shape and form part of their routinized practices for generating creative outputs. A suitable fieldwork technique for undertaking this endeavour is for the researcher to carry out participant observations. This refers to “a process in which the observer’s presence in a social institution is maintained for the purpose of scientific investigation. The observer is in a face to face relationship with the observed, and by participating with them in their natural life setting, she/he gathers data. Thus, the observer is the part of the context being... observed” (Schwartz and Schwartz 1955, p. 344). The reason for using this particular process was the need to familiarize myself with the setting and also to use this as a complementary method to collecting oral accounts, especially where participants could not articulate about what they do (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994). Further, this method, participant observation, was used to compare what people say with what people actually do so as to capture the full picture of the research phenomenon, which, in this research is the process of creativity in advertising (Sanders 1987). For participant observation, different levels of engagement can be employed (Spradley 1980). In this regard, being over engaged and too familiar with the setting and participants can run the risk of the researcher ‘going native’ and being unable to recognise the importance of some phenomena (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). On the other hand, being a complete outsider may make participants feel uncomfortable and lead to them trying to hide their activities from the observer (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994).

In addition, in order to be able to reveal the logic of practices, the focal aim of this research, insight regarding the practitioners' "mode of engagement that involves both immersion in practice and deliberation on how it is carried out" (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011) is required. In the following discussion, based on Sandberg and Tsoukas' (2011) study the explanation of practitioners' different modes of engagements with practices, the shift in them and the strategies through which they can experience the shift in their mode of engagement with the practices, are explained.

Dreyfus identified the primary mode of engagement as "absorbed coping" (Dreyfus 1995, p.69) and highlighted the need for a shift from this to "involved thematic deliberation" for practitioners to be able to comment on their practices. The former, "absorbed coping", refers to a state where individual actors are deeply engaged in their practice, without being aware of their intertwinement and thus their responses to the situation are spontaneous. By contrast, "involved thematic deliberation", is where the individual actors encounter a breakdown in performing a practice and thus start paying attention to what they do.

According to Heidegger (1996) temporary and complete breakdown are two sorts of breakdowns that can interrupt the "absorbed coping"; temporary breakdowns make the individual actor shift from an "absorbed coping" mode of engagement to "involved thematic deliberation" (Dreyfus 1995, p.72-73). The latter, complete breakdown, is when the breakdown is severe to the extent that can result in a shift from "absorbed coping" and "involved thematic deliberation" to "theoretical detachment", in the practitioners' mode of engagement with their practices (Dreyfus 1995, p.79-81). Under complete breakdown, the individuals' "relational whole" and the engagement with the practice is completely disconnected and thus the sociomaterial practices at hand appear to be "discrete entities" (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011, p. 345). Thus, in this research for understanding the logic of practices a shift in practitioners' mode of engagement with their practices from "absorbed coping" to "involved thematic deliberation" is required. This is because in "absorbed coping" mode of engagement, practitioners are immersed in their practices and cannot comment on their practices while in "involved thematic deliberation" mode, due to the temporary breakdowns

practitioners can get distance from their practices while still be involved with the intertwined entities (i.e. practices) and can reflect on what they are doing. In contrary, in “theoretical detachment” mode of engagement, the breakdown is too severe and causes practitioners to see the practices as separate entities and cannot perceive the intertwining of the entities in practices.

In this regard, Sandberg and Tsoukas (2011) suggested some strategies for searching for temporary breakdowns in practices by considering first-order and second-order breakdowns. The former can happen in organisational practices through: 1) thwarted expectations (i.e. when the practice is disturbed through unintended consequences, see section 3 in this chapter), 2) the emergence of deviations and boundary crossing (i.e. when the practice is disturbed through the emergence of new discourse or action), and, 3) awareness of differences (i.e. when the practice is disturbed through practitioner’s awareness of the existence of different practices). Second-order breakdowns can be created by the involvement of a researcher in the practice. In other words, the researcher by participating in practices or asking “detailed and concrete questions” about what practitioners are doing and how they accomplish their practices makes participants deliberate about their practices (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011).

Hence, for this research a moderate level of engagement in the field which involves being physically present, but just watching and observing the participants functioning in the agency (Spradley 1980) and being involved in their activities without thorough participation (Adler and Adler 1994) was deemed appropriate. In addition to moderate participant observation, unstructured interviews were conducted (see subsection 4.2 in this chapter) to prompt practitioners to shift from their “absorbed coping” to “involved thematic deliberation”, that is, for them to be able to comment on the relational whole of practices, and the ways they are performing practices and even to some extent, the logics of their practices (see Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011). Furthermore, semi-structured interviews and projective techniques were employed to obtain a holistic picture and in depth understanding about the practices that the practitioners were involved with (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994; Belk et al. 2013).

In all, I spent nine months with the Dalton agency, and was present for more than 14 advertising campaigns (see table3.1) so that I eventually reached the point at which I felt "theoretical saturation" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) had been achieved. The goal of participant observation was to make myself familiar with the everyday practices of the agency's creatives, their interactions, negotiations and compromises, in order to elucidate how the process of creativity in advertising is shaped.

Table 3.1: An overview of the 14 campaigns

Name	Characteristics	Local/international
"X1"	The agency's new client in dairy products	Local
"X2"	The agency's new client in cosmetics and hygiene products	Local
"X3"	The agency's long-established client regarding tobacco	International
"X4" mobiles	The agency's new client regarding mobile phones	International
"X5" mobiles	The agency's long-established client regarding mobile phones	International
"X6"	The agency's new client about coffee	Local
"X7"	The agency's long-established client regarding snacks	Local
"X8"	The agency's long-established client regarding hygienic products	International
"X9"	The agency's new client from the government dealing with safety of roads and urban development	Local
"X10"	The agency's long-established client regarding chemical products/ insect killer spray	Local
"X11"	The agency's new client regarding construction and development	Local
"X12"	The agency's new client in chain restaurants	Local
"X13"	The agency's long-established client regarding chemical products /engine oil	Local
"X14" Bank	The agency's new client in banking industry	Local

I started the fieldwork with a moderate level of engagement by being physically present, just watching and observing individuals in the ad agency but not participating in what they were doing. At the outset, I settled myself into the creative department as from my knowledge gained from the pertinent literature I assumed that the main authors of creativity in advertising were the creatives (Hirschman 1986). As far as it was possible, I tried to shadow them and observe their interactions with other ad agency members. With regards to this, if there was a meeting that required creatives and account team members to gather in the ad agency meeting room, I would go there with them. Having seen numerous interactions of creatives with the account team, I decided to move my base and stay in the project managers' office for two months and observe their interactions with other departments in the agency as well as with the account executives. In addition, I stayed two weeks in the media department. When appointments with the agency clients were not held in the ad agency office and required that staff members to go to the client's offices, these were confidential meetings and it was not possible for me to attend. Nevertheless, I asked the creative director and he agreed to record such sessions for me.

In the first phase of observation, (i.e. being physically present), the purpose was describing what I could see in these social situations, the activities, the places, and the actors involved (Spradley 1980). For this I referred to the nine descriptive questions adopted from Spradley's (1980) work that form the basis of each social situation, which in this study is the creativity in advertising:

1. What are the physical places (spaces) involved?
2. What are the objects (physical things) in play?
3. What are the acts/the single action that creatives do?
4. What are the set of related acts that creatives do?
5. What are the set of larger patterns of related activities that creatives undertake? What are the events?
6. What are the sequences of events?

7. Who are the other actors, (for example, the other ad agency members, other stakeholders like the client, the governmental officers) who are involved in the process of creativity in advertising in Iran?
8. What things are creatives trying to accomplish? What are their goals?
9. What are the emotions felt and expressed by creatives?

In addition, I tried to explore the relationship between these elements, such as the relationship between the activities and the actors or the events and places (see table 3.2, for further details). Given my chosen methodology, an ethnographic case study, so as to understand the cultural patterns of the lives of the participants, the procedures for data collection and its analysis were iterative.

Table 3.2: Descriptive Question Matrix based on nine basic elements of the social situations (Spradley 1988)

Space	Describe in details all the places?	Object What are all the ways space is organised by objects?	Act What are all the ways space is organised by acts?	Activity What are all the ways space is organised by activities?	Event What are all the ways space is organised by events?	Time What spatial changes occur over time?	Actor What are all the ways space is used by actors?	Goal What are all the ways space is related to goals?	Feeling What places associated with feelings?
Object	Where are objects located?	Describe in details all the objects?	What are all the ways objects are used in acts?	What are all the ways objects are used in activities?	What are all the ways objects are used in events?	How are objects used at different times?	What are the ways objects are used by the actors?	How are objects used in seeking goals?	What are all the ways objects evoke feelings?
Act	Where do acts occur?	How do acts incorporate the use of objects?	Describe in details all the acts?	How are acts a part of activities?	How are acts a part of events?	How do acts vary over time?	What are the ways acts are performed by actors?	What are all the ways acts are related to goals?	What are all the ways acts are linked to feelings?
Activity	What are all the places activities occur?	What are the ways activities incorporate objects?	What are all the activities incorporate acts?	Describe in details all the activities?	What are all the ways activities are part of events?	How do activities vary at different times?	What are all the ways activities involve actors?	What are all the ways activities involve goals?	How do activities involve feelings?
Event	What are all the places events occur?	What are all the ways events incorporate objects?	What are all the events incorporate acts?	What are all the ways events incorporate activities?	Describe in details all the events?	How do events occur over time? Is there any sequencing?	How do events involve the various actors?	How are events related to goals?	How do events involve feelings?
Time	Where do time periods occur?	What are all the ways time affect objects?	How do acts fall into time period?	how do activities fall into time periods?	How do events fall into time periods?	Describe in details all the time periods?	When are all the times actors are 'on stage'?	How are goals related to time periods?	When are feelings evoked?
Actor	Where do actors place themselves?	What are all the ways actors use objects?	What are all the ways actors use acts?	How are actors involved in activities?	How are actors involved in events?	How do actors change over times or at different times?	Describe in details all the actors?	Which actors are linked to which goals?	What are all the feelings experienced by the actors?
Goal	Where are goals sought and achieved?	What are all the ways goals involve the use of objects?	What are all the ways goals involve acts?	What activities are goal seeking or linked to goals?	What are all the ways events are linked to goals?	Which goals are scheduled for which times?	How do the various goals affect the various actors?	Describe in details all the goals?	What are the ways goals evoke feelings?
Feeling	Where do the various feeling states occur?	What feelings lead to the use of what objects?	What are all the ways feelings affect acts?	What are all the ways feelings affect activities?	What are all the ways feelings affect events?	How are feelings related to various time period?	What are all the ways feelings involve actors?	What are the ways feelings influence goals?	Describe in details all the feelings?

After collecting the descriptive observations, I searched in the data for emergent cultural domains, such as the patterns of behaviour, artefacts, and knowledge that formed the constituents of the social situation. I recorded the data gathered from observation by writing down the specific details, e.g. what I was seeing, hearing, and feeling pertaining to this domain. Further, I tried to identify and separate the terminologies that were used by the participants, i.e. the verbatim record of what participants said, in order to find their cultural meanings (Spradley 1980). For example, “rehearsal” was the term used by Babak, the creative director regarding his preparation before the final meeting with the client. Identifying this terminology helped me to identify specifically the stage of pre-approval evaluation and socialisation regarding the ultimate presentation of the ad to the client and encouraged me to try to discover more about this domain (see chapter 4, subsection 4.1.4).

In general, I kept three types of field notes, namely: a condensed account, an expanded account, and a fieldwork journal. In the first, I recorded key phrases and major events, in the second after getting home from the ad agency by drawing on hints noted in the condensed account I tried to expand these, and finally in my journal I recorded my experiences, ideas, fears, mistakes, confusions, breakthroughs, and problems encountered during the empirical work (Spradley 1980). Further, I kept a reflexive journal in which I wrote all my interpretations, reflections, and assumptions regarding the evidence that I was gathering as this unfurled during the process of data collection (Belk et al 2013).

The data from this initial observation phase were analysed by trying to find patterns among the nine elements identified by Spradley (1980), based on which focused observation was conducted. For this, the patterns that comprise: activities, objects, acts, actors and other elements of the social situation taken from the nine elements identified above, which shared a similar goal were detected. One technique employed to pinpoint the cultural domains was to seek out the semantic relationships between these elements. For example, since a cultural domain is comprised of a cover term, included term, and semantic relationship (Spradley 1980), the search through the collected data started with looking for two major semantic relationships, which are firstly, a relation which

involves “strict inclusion”, that is, X is a kind of Y, and secondly, a relation that involves “means end”, that is, X is a way to Y. Other semantic relationships are listed in the footnote²⁰.

For example, one of the identified cultural domains was briefing and generating idea which includes some activities, objectives and goals of the activities and the organisation of activities amid material arrangements which include places, objects and actors who are the carriers of practices (see chapter 4, section 4.1.2). These cultural domains according to practice theory are bundles where practices are loosely tied to other practices based on co-location and co-existence (Shove et al. 2012). The practices are densely connected to material arrangements in a bundle (Schatzki forthcoming) which makes bundles have an event character (ibid).

After exploring the cultural domains in the social situation, i.e. those of the advertising agency in the context of Iran, I focused on those domains that appeared most relevant to the theoretical framework shown in chapter 2, subsection 2.5, that is, those regarding: generating an idea, crafting it into the novel advert, selling it to the commissioning clients, and getting approval from all beneficiary parties (Löfqvist 2010; Glăveanu 2010, 2011). These domains were drawn from the literature on creativity in commercial creative industries (chapter 2, subsection 2.2.2) as being the most relevant to the process of creativity in advertising. These cultural domains (i.e. bundles) are presented and evidenced in chapter 4, subsection 4.1.

Once I had identified the most relevant domains with respect to achieving the aim of this study (e.g. briefing and generating the ideas, crafting, and selling to the gatekeepers), I conducted more focused observation to explore any similarities and differences in these domains’ subsets and where possible, grouped them in

²⁰ Also, it is possible to find domains by looking at the following semantic relationships: x is a kind of y, x is a place in y, x is a part of y, x is a result of y, x is a reason for doing y, x is a place for doing y, x is used for y, x is a way to do y, x is a step (stage) in y, x is an attribution (characteristic) of y. As shown above there is also strict inclusion (x is a kind of y) and means-end (X is a way to Y). These have all been suggested as ways to start domain analysis (Spradley 1980).

a larger subset or even larger domain. This sometimes required me to go back to the field and conduct more selected observation. For example, after identifying the domain of briefing and generating an idea, I tried to explore in detail the activities involved in this domain, the objectives of those activities, the way they were done, and the outcome of such activities. This led to the identification of six practices within this domain, namely: forming the brief, finding the appropriate channel for doing creativity practices based on the preferences of the gatekeepers, finding the concerns and requirements of the target audience, finding the capabilities of the advertised product/service, generating ideas, and selecting more than one idea and route to present to the client and other responsible gatekeepers in the process.

Subsequently, I examined the relationships among the identified domains, the subsets of the domains, and the cultural themes. To do so, in keeping with Spradley's (1980) notion of a universal cultural theme, the following were used for discovering the cultural themes that serve to organise the identified domains into a larger pattern: social conflicts²¹, cultural contradictions²², informal techniques of social control²³, managing impersonal social relationships²⁴, acquiring and maintaining status and solving problems. Further, Schatzki (forthcoming) specified that there are different relationships among practices and material arrangements that constitute social phenomena or in Spradley's words, the cultural domain, i.e. the practice-practice relations, the practices-arrangements relations and arrangements-arrangements relations. These relations helped me obtain an understanding regarding the arrangements amongst and within the identified domains of the process of creativity in advertising. This is presented and justified in chapter 4, subsections 4.2 and 4.3.

²¹ Conflict among people often emerges from them holding different worldviews.

²² Most cultures entail some contradictions, which can be dealt with through mediating themes. The key question here concerns how the participants deal with these.

²³ Intangible and hidden rules controlling peoples' behaviours.

²⁴ How people deal with each other.

Overall, conducting participant observation helped me collect data in the real setting concerning what participants were doing. However, this was not enough to understand their values, perceptions, and understandings (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994). In light of this, and in line with the strategies discussed above for instigating temporary breakdowns in order to allow practitioners to deliberate on their practices (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011), complementary techniques such as informal interviews, semi-structured interviews, and projective techniques were used. These are explained below.

3.4.2 Unstructured interviews:

Interviews are another technique used in ethnographic research that supplement observational data by “providing emic, culturally particular understandings to interpretation” (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994, p.490). In other words they provide emic perception and understanding shared by participants about their own behaviours or those of others (Agar 1980).

Depending on the extent of the pre-determined nature of the interview, i.e. its “priori topical structure”, the interview can be termed unstructured or structured (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994, p.490). Unstructured or so called informal interviews are conversations held between the researcher and the study participants regarding explanations and clarification of the latter’s behaviour (ibid). This technique can enable the researcher to provoke the abovementioned second-order breakdowns whilst practitioners are in the midst of performing practices, which in turn, can allow them to deliberate on these (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011).

In respect to this approach, by being located in the ad agency for a long time period and through building trust with the participants, I was in the position to be able to ask participants (creatives, as well as account executives, media and production team members) for elaboration on their activities and practices, specifically when the logic and reasoning behind their activities were not clear to me. In this respect, some probes were used to understand how participants construct their world (McCracken 1988). The unstructured verbal reports were

documented in note form or on occasion, recorded and transcribed which, in total, amounted to 53 pages of transcriptions and field notes.

3.4.3 Semi-structured interviews:

Another technique used to complement the participant observation, which served to generate useful data, was the process of interviewing key informants from the setting.

To this end, semi-structured interviews were used (McCracken 1988) so as to provide for a) an order of topics in the interviews , b) planning a set of prompts, c) offering direction and scope and, d) for me to focus on the respondent. My semi-structured interviews (Longhurst 2003) began with biographical questions. This allowed me to grasp the descriptive details of a participant's life that could inform their responses as well as be used during analysis (McCracken 1988). Since the objective qualitative interviews is to explore the realities of participants from their own perspective, in this research a low, unobtrusive approach was taken and questions were asked in a nondirective manner so as to give space for participants to talk freely about their realities without being confined by the terms and specifications of the researcher (McCracken 1988). These interviews were based on "ground-tour" questions (Spradley 1980) with prompts used for further elaboration (McCracken 1988) when deemed necessary. In addition, follow-up questions, i.e. additional questions based on the participants' responses, were used (Rubin and Rubin 1995). Moreover, sometimes it was necessary to ask verification questions in order to ensure that my understanding of the respondents' narratives aligned with theirs. In addition, contrast questions were used to identify any differences among the cultural domains, and their subsets (Spradley 1980). The interview questions were formulated from my observations and the accounts provided by participants on the site through the informal interviews or the participant's discussion. As the fieldwork progressed, I could base my interviews on the data gathered from previous interviews as well as my understanding gained from my initial review of the literature pertaining to the field of advertising (see appendix I for details of the semi-structured interviews).

Overall, these interviews were conducted with 16 employees from three departments: creative, accounts, and media. The informants were the copywriter, art directors, graphic designers and creative director from the creative department who shared a sense of authorship for the generated advertisements (Hirschman 1989). From the account team, a number of informants were interviewed, including account executives and project managers, who based on my observations, were found to be important players in the process of creativity in advertising. Furthermore, two members of the media department were interviewed. The interviews were approximately 30 minutes to 85 minutes in length (overall total of 675 minutes) and took place either at the ad agency offices or in cafes after working hours. The interviewing was carried out alongside the other techniques: semi-participant observation, unstructured interviews as well as some projective techniques to help me obtain a deep, rich understanding regarding the ad agency members' daily work techniques and specific routines that fell within their journey of producing creative advertisements.

As noted before in the literature review (chapter 2, section 2.4) creatives' practices are partially tacit in nature and thus cannot be fully articulated by them. This is similar to the knowledge that is termed by some anthropologists 'insider culture', which cannot be transmitted explicitly (Stewart 1998). Therefore, for the purposes of this investigation, it was not sufficient to simply interview the actors in order to understand their culture. Such insight were captured by deploying the full range of techniques mentioned above, participant observations, interviews and also by recording the participants' speech in action (ibid), i.e. verbatim records of what participants said (Spradley 1980) as well as employing projective techniques. The latter are explained in the next subsection.

3.4.4 Projective techniques:

Projective techniques were used alongside other tools to elicit the parts of practice that were difficult for creatives to talk about. These techniques helped participants "to say things indirectly that are difficult to say directly" (Belk et al. 2013, p.44).

There is great richness and complexity regarding the skills (doings and sayings) involved in the practices of creativity in advertising. Moreover, in light of their tacitness, these can be hard for participants to explain (Kover et al 1995). In this study, certain tools: auto driving, collage construction (in this research, a simpler version using drawing) and metaphors (Belk et al. 2013) were used to reveal those elements about which the informants were unable to talk directly.

Auto driving is a deep interviewing method carried out with the aid of stimuli, photos or videos, often taken of the informants in an earlier context (Belk et al. 2013). I used photographing techniques and recorded the activities and practices of creatives so that at a later point I could ask them for explanation and elaboration about what exactly was happening in the photograph/recording and what was going on in their minds at that point. For example, in the campaign for “X4”, I took a photo of Melissa, the copywriter, while she was trying to come up with copies for the developed visuals. Subsequently, I showed it to her and asked her for elaboration by way of explanation of what she had been doing in that situation. The photo showed Melissa writing down some words underneath the developed visuals. On seeing the photo, she told me that she was categorising the developed visuals in order to generate copies for each category.

Collage construction is a technique for which participants are asked to make a collage to express the way they think the phenomenon under research takes place. More specifically, they are asked to focus on some parts of those phenomena that are difficult for them to elaborate on. Finally, the collages are interpreted through the narratives of their creators (Belk et al. 2013). In this research since the participants were extremely busy, I could not ask them to allocate time for collage construction. However, I asked the creative director and the copywriter to draw the process of creativity in advertising in the context of Iran and explain it to me. For example, in response, the copywriter drew a diamond-shape. At the top she placed the notion of generating concepts, in the middle, she indicated the execution of ideas and at the bottom, she put deciding on the final ads/proposals (see figure 3.1).

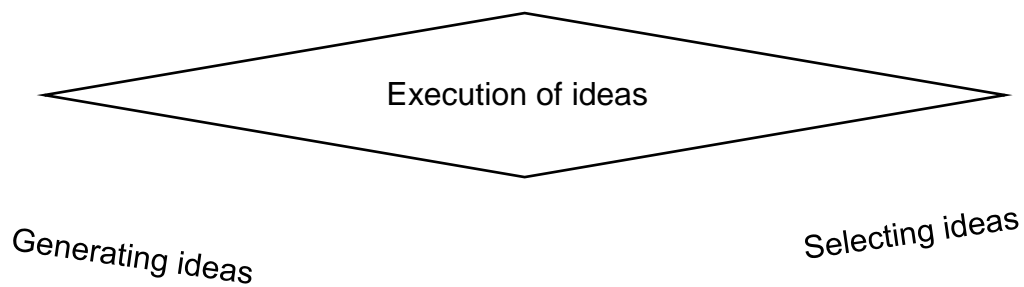
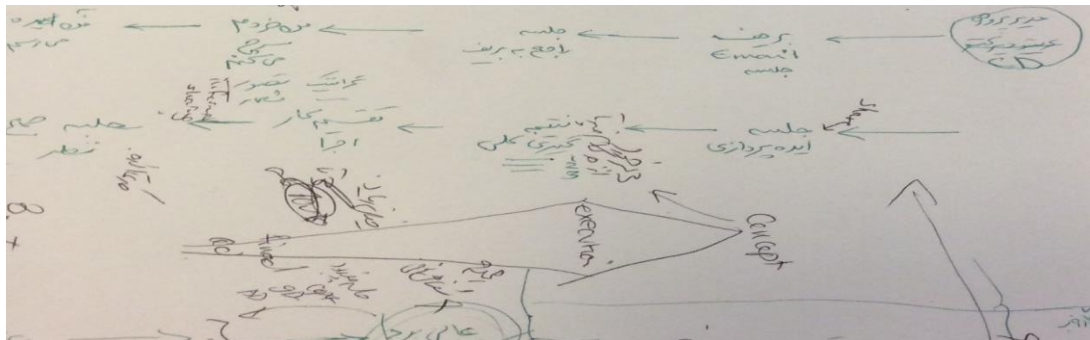


Figure 3.1: The copywriter’s drawing regarding the process of creativity in advertising

She interpreted her drawing by explaining that in the beginning it is the meeting regarding brief and forming the brief. At this stage she said she personally would do some research about the advertised product/service to the extent that even before having the idea generation session she might come up with some ideas. After that, she told me that there is going to be a brainstorming and generating ideas session, which usually happens more than once. Later on in the process of generating ideas, the creatives would decide and select the ideas. These ideas would be listed, after which the execution of selected ideas would take place. In this respect, the work, i.e. externalisation and execution of ideas would be divided among the creatives. Creatives in this stage try to execute more than one format from each generated and selected idea which later in the wrapping up session, the desired externalised ideas would be selected for presenting to the client. That is why the beginning of the drawing (i.e. the idea generation stage of this process) is narrow and the middle (i.e. the execution part of this process) is wider and at the end (i.e. selection of the desired ideas) again it becomes narrow.

The creative director drew five circles as below (see figure 3.2). He explained to me that in the beginning of the process the ad agency members receive a brief from the client, after which the creative director select the creative team for that project. Later, the creative team would work on the client's brief to find the aims and target audience of the campaign and shape the creative brief. Subsequently, the selected team as well as other ad agency members attend the brainstorming session to generate ideas. The generated ideas are collected and executed and finally presented to the client.

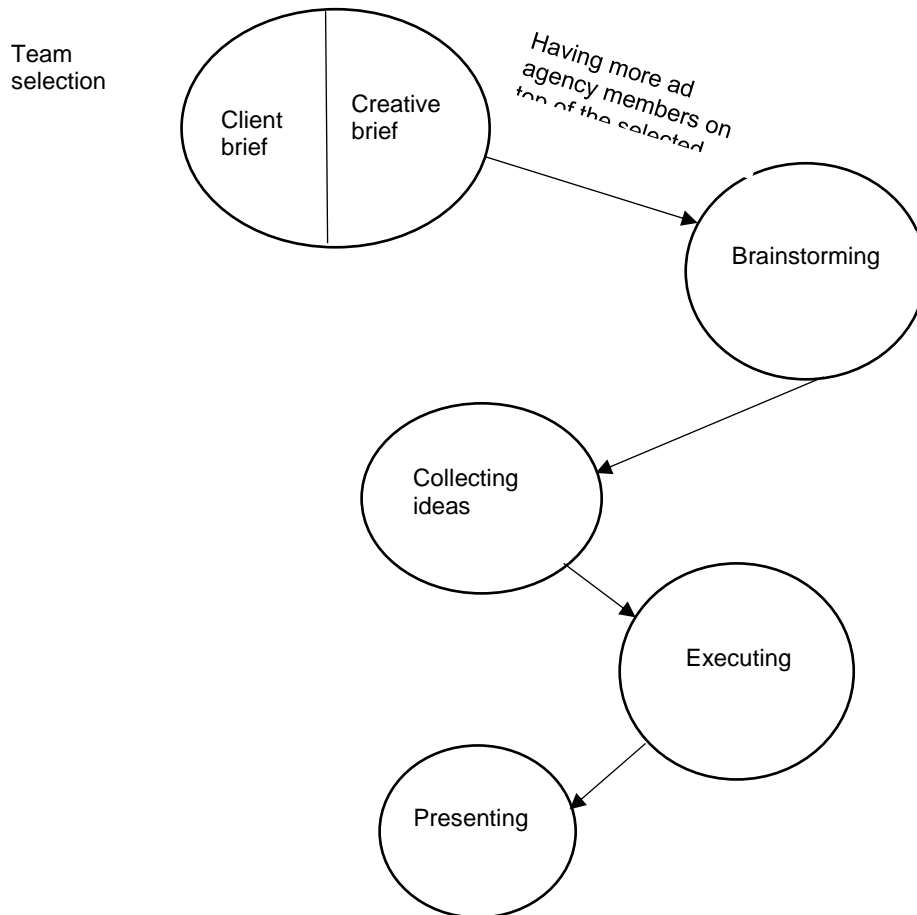
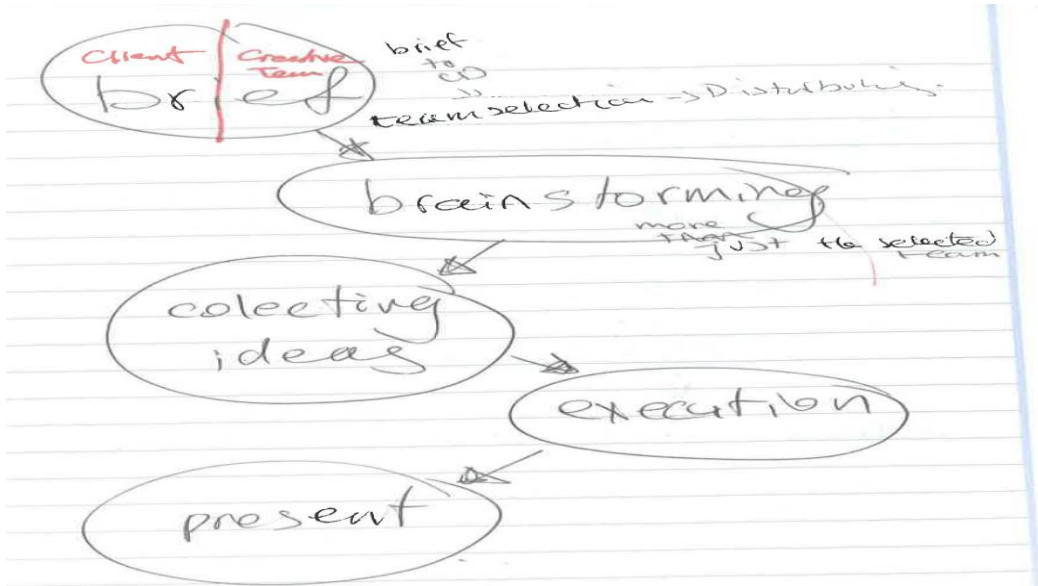


Figure 3.2: The creative director's drawing regarding the process of creativity in advertising

The copywriter and creative director's drawn models of the process of creativity in advertising were not detailed and, to some extent were generic. However, their constructions helped me to make sure that no important stages or parts of the process, from the perspectives of the pertinent participants, were overlooked.

Further, the Zaltman Metaphor Elicitation Technique²⁵ (ZMET) was used for which creatives were asked to come up with some metaphors to express how they viewed creativity in advertising in Iran, in general, or with respect to some specific parts. For example, I asked Babak, the creative director, about the important players in the process of creativity. He highlighted three key agents, namely: the account team, the client, and the creative team. When I asked for a description of the relationship among them, he gave me the metaphor of a patient going to the doctor, who, as she cannot speak, takes her daughter with her. Although the daughter, is really present just to pass her mother's messages to the doctor and vice versa, the daughter has a role herself. That is, sometimes she might agree with the doctor and convince her mum accordingly or sometimes she might disagree with the doctor. The doctor in this metaphor stands for the creative team, the daughter is the account team while the patient is the client. Throughout his example, the creative director talked about creativity in advertising as a problem solving process in that he pictured them trying to discover the client's problem and finding an appropriate solution for it. These techniques enabled me to reach the unconscious mind of the informants (see Zaltman and Coulter 1995), the taken for granted parts and understand their culture, their patterns of behaviour, artefacts, and knowledge (Spradley 1980).

3.5 Description of the study settings and its history:

According to John (2006), context refers to the situational conditions that can influence organisational behaviour. Further, he gave two reasons regarding the importance of explaining the context in which a study is conducted: first, it can shed light on the interplay between the individuals and their context and, second,

²⁵ Is a projective technique to obtain an understanding of the deeper meanings of the research topic by mapping the sensory perceptions -as most stimuli are non-verbal- into images and metaphors so as to finally shape it into an abstract thought. This technique has 10 stages (Zaltman and Coulter 1995).

it increases the applicability of the research. For this investigation, I drew upon this author's work and divided the context of my study into two levels, one being the omnibus and the other, the discrete context. The former refers to the broad context in which the research is conducted and the latter pertains to the conditions that shape the behaviour or phenomenon under inquiry. In detail, for the omnibus context, I expound upon the general condition regarding the country in which the research is sited and for the discrete my focus is the conditions regarding the advertising industry, which can be seen as forming part of the omnibus (see Appendix II for a full account of omnibus and discrete context of Iran regarding creativity in advertising). It's worth mentioning that the knowledge regarding culture in this research is purely for the use in analysis and Iran is used as the context of this research for exploring the phenomenon of creativity in advertising. Given this orientation, Iran is not the central point of this study, and the use of culture is in line with 'the second wave' of cultural analysis (where the focus is in the cultural construction of organisational life) rather than 'the first wave' of cultural approaches (where the aim is to understand a collective meaning at group level, organisational level, or even country level) which is highlighted by Weber and Dacin (2011). Hence, in this research culture is treated as the "second wave" where it is seen "as constitutive of a wide range of social processes rather than a regulative that works against other forces" (Weber and Dacin 2011, p. 1). Below a brief history of the Dalton agency and its contemporary organisational structure are explained.

3.5.1 The history and current structure of Dalton, the selected ad agency:

According to Schatzki (2006) for understanding the structure of the practices, which in this investigation refers to those pertaining to creativity, it is important to know the organisational memory. The organisational memory is the sum of the memory of practices that have happened in the sequences of prior events. According to Schatzki, these may or may not be reflected in current practices, but nonetheless are carried in the organisational memory. In addition, he stated that the availability of organisational memory varies for individuals and depends on: their status, their length of service in the organisation, their position as well as the relationship with those whom, or to whom, they act (Schatzki 2006). To gain a

comprehensive understanding regarding the history and past structures of the Dalton agency, interviews were conducted with senior members from various departments. In this regard , Behnaz , the account executive with more than 13 years of experiences in this ad agency, Sanaz, the project manager with more than 8 years of experience, Sadaf and Roxana, two of the senior art-directors with 15 and 9 years of experience respectively, Melissa, the copywriter and Babak, the creative director with 5 years of experience were interviewed.

Information collated from interviews and the Dalton website, the history of Dalton, its sister companies, its different departments, as well as its previous and current structure and functioning are explained next.

3.5.1.1 History of Dalton, its business and the clientele:

Dalton was started as a graphic design agency by people who were educated in arts and graphic design in 1990. Later, Dalton expanded its activities into advertising albeit with an emphasis on graphic design. In 2004, given its strong international client base, Dalton became an international advertising agency and gained a good reputation locally and internationally across the region of the Middle East. However, the agency continued to be independently owned and managed. The current CEO and many shareholders have been educated abroad mostly in the USA, in graphic design and other art related fields. They can be considered as belonging to the modern element in society. This orientation can be seen in the current arrangement of the ad agency as a contemporary, up to date ad agency that endeavours to follow dominant international structures in the advertising field. This point was verified by the creative director who declared that this ad agency, given the current political situation between Iran and the west, operates as a covert agent for one of the leading international agencies, a highly esteemed and well-known ad agency, located in a neighbouring country. At the time of the research, Dalton was servicing local clients as well as international clients

3.5.1.2 Dalton's internal departments and sister companies:

Below the departments in Dalton and its sister companies are explained.

A) Dalton's departments:

There are several departments that are located in two separate workplaces in the same building. The creative, photography, production, account, media departments, and the CEO offices are sited together on one floor and the PR, marketing, IT, and finance departments are on another floor. Below a brief outline is given of the creative, photography, production, account, and media departments that were seen to be the main players in the process of creativity.

B) Dalton's sister companies:

At the time the research was undertaken, the ad agency have five different sister companies, two of which (A5 and A3) were located in the same building, albeit in separate offices, whilst the remainder were sited across Tehran.

The list of sister companies is as below:

- 1) A1: a market research company
- 2) A2: an online and digital advertising company
- 3) A3: a brand strategist company
- 4) A4: a PR company
- 5) A5: a media company that owns all the media regarding Hyper star supermarket in Iran

3.5.1.3 Previous and current structures of Dalton, as part of the organisational memory:

Dalton began its activities in the advertising field with several fixed teams that worked with clients on different projects (new and permanent clients). However, later they followed a more flexible system by having the creative director take on the decision regarding the team members that would work on different projects. Regarding the earlier and prevailing arrangements, the creative director told me that:

“Previously we had fixed teams who would work on the permanent projects as well as the new ones but later we decided to change this arrangement for the new clients”.

When I asked him the reason behind this change, he said:

“I know the preferences of my team and I know where their likes and dislikes are, so based on the type of product or service, I select those who have interest and knowledge about the advertised product. Also I need to consider their personalities and their compatibility with each other and select those that can get along well with each other to have a smoother process.”

Furthermore, it was reported to me by some interviewees that the previous system assigned more power to art directors who were handling their fixed team, and the creative director was the general organiser of the teams. Moreover, previous creative directors and art directors had been independent-minded and allowed little space for other ad agency members to participate or share their ideas and opinions. However, the new system was described as not only affording responsibility to the creative director but also supporting a flat structure. In other words, the current creative director and art-directors were apparently giving more space and opportunity for individual creatives to participate in the process of creativity in advertising, which in turn could increase their sense of psychological ownership (see Avey et al. 2009), increase their level of motivation in their work and encourage them to perform better. Despite the current prevalence of a flat structure in this ad agency, those senior art-directors that are coming from the previous system somehow kept their hidden power. This is reflected in the copywriter’s comment:

“Some art directors, usually the senior ones, who come from the previous arrangement in this ad agency that gave them more power, have the authority to change the copy”.

She also stated that:

“Some art directors don't give me enough room and power to be part of the clients' creatives, thus I don't consider those clients and their works as my job.

Therefore, on the rare occasions when I get involved in those projects ...usually whenever they [art-directors] cannot work and solve the problems, I try to solve them instead.”

3.5.1.4 The way Dalton worked at the time of the research:

In Dalton, as Behnaz the account executive reported, there are various ways a client can get in touch with the agency in order to commission its services. One was personal contact with senior members in the agency, the agency’s credentials, and the initial pitch. In addition, there are some long standing clients with whom the relationship needs to be maintained.

For the initial discussion with the client, the meeting was usually arranged in the presence of the person who was familiar with the client (e.g. account executive or marketing members, or other members from sister companies of the ad agency), and the CEO. As for long-term clients there are established project managers who work with the client with the supervision of the account executives. However, with new clients, first the account executives need to be selected, and following this, this person selects the project manager(s) for that client/project. The selection of the account executive for new clients is based on their relationship with the client and their volume of work i.e. whether they have sufficient free time and a lighter workload at that time. Regarding this, Behnaz, the account executive told me that: “if I [Behnaz] know the client and bring the client to the ad agency then I will be the client’s account executive and if Pasha [the other account executive] knows the client and brings the client to the ad agency, then he will be the account executive for that client”.

When I asked her about explanations regarding the situations that the client comes to the ad agency by other referees or by winning a pitch, she told me that: “in those instances whoever [Behnaz or Pasha the account executives] have free slots or less workload would accept the project”

After the selection of the appropriate account executive for the client/project, the project manager is allocated. This selection as Behnaz, the account executive told me is based on the project managers’ level of interest and expertise as well

as their availability. After the first agreement has been made, the project manager, the account executive, the creative director and sometimes the production manager and maybe the CEO meet the client in order to receive the brief or draft a brief from scratch. After this, based on the client's project, the traffic manager, who is responsible for regulating the flow of work in the ad agency, in collaboration with the finance department team usually sets the cost for each unit of the client's project and pass it over to the responsible project manager. With the set costings for the client's project to hand, the responsible project manager considers the commissioning fee for the ad agency and seeks to draft an estimate for the client. This budget requires the account executive's approval before being sent to the client. Once the client has accepted the estimated costings for the project, the traffic manager always issued an inception form (i.e. a form that signals the commencement of the project) on the ad agency's intranet and communicates this to the creatives.

At this point creatives are in the position to start the process of creativity for the client and generate ads with their ultimate intention being to receive approval from the client and the governmental institutes. As described fully in the findings, after the generation of ideas, the selected ideas are executed and presented to the client after which the project manager needs to get hard copy approval from the client and sends confirmation from the client of his/her approval of the proposed ideas to the traffic manager and she issues an output form on the intranet. At this stage, the creatives can end the project by sending the accepted (by the client) reified idea to the traffic manager after which she can either send it to the printing unit or to the media department for obtaining approval from the responsible governmental institutes. With TVCs and radio commercials the same procedure applies. The approved storyboards or motion graphics are handed to the media department to receive approval from the governmental institutes before proceeding to the real production of the ad.

3.6 A reflexive account of my time with Dalton:

During the data collection and its analysis, self-reflexivity was essential and was kept central in my research journey. This refers to the researcher being 'critically conscious through personal accounting of how the researcher's self-location

(across, for example, gender, race, class, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality), position, and interests influence all stages of the research process' (Pillow 2003, p.178). Further, reflexivity is important for questioning the logic behind the interpretation made by the inquirer in order to achieve robust and minimally distorted results (Hertz 1997). More specifically, before embarking on interpretation of data, it is important to put aside one's own background and predispositions regarding the research endeavour. This can help avoid the risk of following one's own attitudes and pre-understandings on the phenomenon under study. In addition, it is helpful to retain raw data for inspection so that in future it can be checked to ensure that outcomes have been inferred in a logical and unprejudiced way (Riege 2003). Below a summary of my field work with the Dalton agency is presented. This covers my initial contact and includes the steps taken to gain access as well as the subsequent evolution of my research role.

3.6.1 Initial contact:

My interest in the field of advertising started during a course regarding theories of advertising that I followed for my master degree. This course focused on theories of advertising and concluded with more recent opinions advanced by scholars regarding how they saw advertising working and influencing people. Ad agency practitioners were advised to apply these theories as a strategy for producing and generating ads. However, these theories appeared to me to be lacking when it came to offering creatives and other ad agency members, specific details on how to generate effective advertising.

As a result of this, I decided to investigate practitioners' approaches to generating ads. In order to gain familiarity with the domain of advertising regarding such issues as the language games of participants (e.g. the existing rules and familiarised discourses), and for gaining an insight to every day operations, this researcher read autobiographies/biographies of advertising creatives, scanned magazines such as the Creative Review and watched relevant movies, such as "The Pitch". The aim of these activities was to raise my level of awareness and to educate myself about the likely experience of participants, in order to better understand their working lives and make my observation and interpretation of their activities more grounded.

As mentioned above, I selected Dalton, an international ad agency in Iran, as the field of this study. My nationality and having established social capital helped me to gain access to the focal industrial sector in Iran. In addition, having a comprehensive understanding about the socio-culture of Iran but being away from the country for seven years gave me a privilege position²⁶. That is, I am able to have reflexivity and detect socio-cultural patterns that I could have taken for granted, I had not been out of the Iranian environment for a long time. On this basis, I deemed it appropriate to site my study in Iran and conducted an internet search to find the top ten creative advertising companies in the country (see section 3 above). In 2011, I contacted three of these ad agencies which appeared to match international standards for advertising. I explained my research purposes and managed to set up contact meetings with CEOs and creative directors. In these, general questions regarding the different departments in the ad agency, the firm's structure and the importance of creativity in their ad agency were asked. Further, the process through which they were seeking creativity was probed. Finally, business cards were swapped and I asked for permission to contact these individuals from time to time to seek advice and then to get back in touch when my research reached the fieldwork phase.

Based on the gathered information I selected the Dalton agency, whose claims and acts were believed to be more compatible. Furthermore, the interviews in that ad agency with the creative director and copywriter seemed more fruitful and rich comparing to other ad agencies I have interviewed. In addition, it is part of a global network of ad agencies, who based on the creative director's comments, is partnering a globally known international advertising agency. This information only transpired through our conversation, for, due to the political situation in Iran, this association is carried out in a rather covert manner.

3.6.2 Gaining access:

When I had completed the initial literature review and grasped a fairly comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of creativity in advertising, I

²⁶ Although during these seven years I was travelling to Iran, being based in England helped me to be able to deliberate about the taken for granted features of Iran's socio-culture.

contacted Dalton in 2013. I emailed the creative director of Dalton to get his permission for my fieldwork. It took me two weeks to be able to get hold of him for he was my main contact in Dalton. I had a phone call with Babak, the creative director on Wednesday 9th September 2013 and asked him for an in person meeting. He kindly agreed to meet the next day over lunch. It is worth noting that since my initial visit, the ad agency had changed its location and was in a slightly better location, accommodated in a new modern building in an upper-class area in the north east part of Tehran city. When I met with Babak he told me that they were starting a new campaign from 14th September for a new client for whom they had won through giving a good pitch. I reminded him about the purpose of my research, namely, to understand the process of creativity in advertising, and asked him whether I could participate in the meetings and the work for this new project. He replied that he had no objections but that he had to check with the CEO and account executives of the ad agency. We exchanged direct phone details to accelerate communications between us and avoid losing time. On 12th September, he called saying that the ad agency agreed that I could attend in the meetings. However, I was asked to see the HR manager to sign a confidentiality disclosure contract and give them an official letter from University of Bath clarifying that I was a researcher and my presence in the ad agency was for academic purposes and no others. Although providing these documents took time, I was permitted to attend the scheduled meetings for the new campaign.

I started my observation by being present in the meetings for the “X6” campaign. In the first in-house meeting, the ad agency’s finance manager, the media manager, the account executive, the project manager, and the creative director were present. I was introduced by Babak, the creative director, and the purpose of my research was explained to them. I asked them for permission regarding recording their dialogues and taking photos occasionally. At first they were not comfortable with this but after reassuring them that all the collected data would be kept confidential, they accepted. The discussion in this initial meeting centered on understanding the client and the brand in order to propose an estimated budget and route for their campaign, i.e. the desired channels of communications and the scale of job that the ad agency members thought should be done for the client. It transpired that this meeting was more formal and geared

towards bureaucratic purposes so that members would be prepared for the meeting with the client. After this event, the creative director told me that he would inform me about other meetings to be held regarding this campaign. Initially my observation was limited to meeting settings such as brainstorming and idea generation sessions which took place over a week. During the following week, Babak tended to call me approximately half an hour to one hour prior to the start of relevant meetings so that I could attend and observe them.

Given my research aims and objectives I wanted to observe the ad agency members daily behaviors and routines and not just their behaviours in formal settings. After building a level of trust and gaining some credibility with the members of staff I asked the creative director if I could attend the ad agency, mainly the creative department, during working hours. His response was that there was not much information that could be gained by being present in the creative department since people are engaged with their routine work. I tried to convince him that looking at what they were doing might seem trivial, it was in fact, very important. Although monotonous or daily tasks for creatives might not seem very important to them, these were the central interest of my research. To emphasize my point I showed Babak some ethnographic research in which the researcher managed to find patterns of behaviours amongst the participants which had previously been taken for granted. Following this, I showed him the book entitled: "Watching the English" by Kate Fox. This author, by observing the English, seeks to find the commonly accepted rules of their culture, many of which for the English people themselves, appear to be taken for granted. These are the strategies I drew on to convince him to let me attend the creative department during the working day and not just at specific times for key meetings and events. Eventually, he accepted but told me that I needed to have a meeting with the CEO. At this meeting, I explained the purpose of my research and the means through which I aimed to achieve it. In return for assistance in my research, I offered to do any voluntarily work that the staff thought suitable for me. Finally, he accepted and granted me access to the ad agency during the working day.

3.6.3 The evolution of my role:

Initially I started the fieldwork in the creative department. At this time I had a priori framework from the literature (i.e. a multi-level and complex social process of creativity for generating ideas, evaluating them, and selling them) that was supposed to help me from one side to hook the data, and on the other side for the data to defy my expectations (McCracken 1988). However, everything was very new for me and I did not know where to start. Therefore, I thought that having a leader can help me to get to the hidden rules of this cultural setting that are explained in section 3.5.1.1 where I talked about the history of Dalton, its business and the clientele.

For achieving this purpose (i.e. hidden rules of this setting) I was present during working hours, sometimes I went to after-hours meetings and even attended several creative works and their corresponding meetings. This helped me to get close to the creative team and build trust with them to the extent that after a month some creatives would come to where I was sitting in the office and confide in me. I had to handle such information in a sensitive way so as not to break the confidentiality placed in me.

During my stay in the creative department, I changed my place several times to be able to observe different people's roles such as those of the copywriter, art-directors, and creative director. When I was not able to understand the objectives pertaining to what these individuals were doing or grasp the ways through which they were doing things, I asked questions to obtain clarification (see subsection 3.4.2 in this chapter). Gradually, my overall role evolved and I participated to the extent that in the idea generation sessions or while some creatives were working together on ideas, I would express my thoughts and sometimes these were acknowledged.

As the production of an ad is a multi-crew procedure (Moeran 1996), I was determined not to confine my observations to the creative department and wanted to see the work of other members within the ad agency, the sister companies, or even outsiders who appeared important in the creative process. I achieved this not only through observing the interactions and negotiations of the

creative department members with these relevant departments and agents but also through asking directly the creative director about who he considered to be important players (see subsection 4.4 in this chapter).

Initially, I started my field work by being based in the creative department where I sat next to Elham, the graphic designer. My next location was in the project manager's office where I could observe the account team members' interactions with account executives and members of other departments. Subsequently, I spent two weeks in the media department.

It is worth mentioning that during my fieldwork, I commute between Iran, where the ad agency was, and England. This helped me in keeping distance from the participants and avoid the danger of going native (Glesne1989). In addition, this gap allowed me to try to make sense of the collected data, unpack the taken for granted assumptions (Altorki and El-Solh 1988), and identify the areas that required further observation.

During my time in the ad agency I was asked by the CEO to help the PR manager with writing in English stories behind successful campaigns that had been selected by the creative director to be published on the ad agency website. This helped me to deliver my promise regarding helping with tasks where ever possible and increased my familiarity with the agency's successful campaigns. To carry out this writing when the information provided by the PR manager was insufficient, I took the opportunity to ask the creative director to explain in detail how the creatives had decided on the idea for a particular campaign as well as to shed light on how they went about executing their plans. The chance to make a contribution to the ad agency's website was an important set for gaining the ad agency members' trust and become friends with some of them. Based on this, after finishing the fieldwork during my data analysis that I carried out when I was in the UK, I could continue the relationship. On occasion, I found that I need some complementary data such as presentations given to the clients so I was able to request these by email and receive a positive cooperative response.

Overall, I was present over 14 campaigns and interviewed 16 employees from different departments (including creative, account, and media)²⁷.

3.6.4 Sampling:

As explained in subsection 4.3 in this chapter, I interviewed ad agency members from various departments. The selection of members was based on my observations and judgement regarding identifying those departments and their employees that were most relevant to the process of creativity in advertising. The real names of the respondents are not disclosed and pseudonyms have been adopted to maintain their anonymity. The detailed information about the respondents is presented in table 3.3.

²⁷ A detailed account of campaigns and respondent can be seen in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Respondents' details:

NAME	GENDER	AGE	EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND	LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT IN DALTON	PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE	POSITION
Babak	male	34	Bachelor in Physics Courses in graphic design, especially software like Photoshop and 3dmax	4-5 years	Have worked for graphic design companies, Had his own freelance clients. Started his own business in graphic design, packaging, branding, and advertising	Creative director
Melissa	female	26	Bachelor in interior design	four years	First job in Dalton	copywriter
Iman	male	32	Bachelor in graphic design and professional design with advertising		Six years as a freelance in branding/ Have worked with Iranian agencies that served foreign clients in Malaysia like BMW and CCC agency	Art-director
Sogol	female	27	Master in graphic design	four years	Have worked in publishing ,digital publishing, and freelancer	Graphic designer
Azadeh	female	31	Bachelor in graphic design	10 years	1 year freelance	Art-director/creatives' supervisor
Sadaf	female	30	Master in graphic design	+12 years	freelancer	Art-director
Amir	male	29	Bachelor in graphic design	4 years	Freelancer	Graphic designer
Leila	female	28	Bachelor in graphic design	Recently joined, less than a year	Four years in graphic design offices from which 2 and a half year in advertising	Art-director
Roxanna	Female	35	Bachelor in graphic design	Eight years in this agency	twelve years working in advertising industry	Art-director
Elham	female	29	Bachelor in graphic design	4 years	2 years as a Graphic designer in other ad agency in Iran	Graphic designer
Farzaneh	female	40	Bachelor in sociology	7 years	2 years as a PR manager in an international company in Iran	media
Simin	female	29	Bachelor in sociology	3 years	Started from this agency	media
Mahnoosh	female	28	Bachelor in English	5 years	1 years as Project manager in other ad agency in Iran	Project manager
Behnaz	female	45	Bachelor in graphic design	12 years	Started from this agency	Account executive
Leyla	female	31	Bachelor in computer science	3 years	2 years as Project manager in other ad agency in Iran	Project manager
Somayeh	female	30	Bachelor in English	6 years	3 years as Project manager in other ad agency in Iran	Project manager
Sanaz	female	32	Bachelor in English Literature	8 years	Started from this agency	Project manager
Sepideh	female	28	Bachelor in English Literature	7 years	Started from this agency	Project manager

3.7 Data analysis:

The collected data from the interviews and observations was recorded, transcribed, and were translated from Persian into English to import it into qualitative analysis software. The translated data covered 136 pages of transcription and 250 pages of field notes. To organise the data, I used NVivo qualitative analysis software. The data source and its use in the analysis are depicted in table 1 in Appendix III.

Below the key analytical terminologies that helped me in my analysis are explained:

3.1 Glossary of terminologies used in analysis:

Practices: practices are spatially-temporally dispersed, open sets of doings and sayings organised by common understanding, teleologies (ends and tasks), and rules (Schatzki 2005, forthcoming).

Material arrangements: material arrangements are “set-ups of material objects” comprising human-beings, artefacts, other organisms, and things in which practices transpire (Schatzki, 2005).

Bundles: bundles are the loose-knit connection between practices through co-location and co-existence (Shove et al. 2012) while in these regions, the connections between practices and material arrangements are dense (Schatzki forthcoming).

Connection between bundles: this can be through practice-arrangement, practice-practice, and arrangement-arrangement relations (Schatzki forthcoming).

Practice- arrangements: practices and arrangements can be linked together through causality, prefiguration, constitution, intentionality, and intelligibility. These relations are denser among the practices and material arrangements that form a bundle than those that do not. Also these five sorts of relations can be seen among practices and arrangements from different bundles (Schatzki forthcoming).

Arrangements-arrangements: arrangement to arrangement linkages pertain to common elements, causal relations, or prefiguration among material arrangements. This can be found in among arrangements that are part of a bundle or those forming part of different bundles (Schatzki forthcoming).

Practice-practice: practices are linked to other practices through having similar elements in the organisation of practices, co-dependency, similar doings and sayings, chains of actions, and intentionality. These connections can be among practices from the same bundle or among practices from different ones (Schatzki forthcoming).

Chains of action: a chain of actions, or sequential episodes, is one type of relationship between practices that can connect them and in turn, connect the bundles wherein they are performed (Schatzki 2005, Schatzki forthcoming).

End tasks: these are teleologies (ends and tasks) that organise open sets of doings and sayings into practices (Shatzki 2002, Shatzki forthcoming)

Meaningful purposes: “an intentionally instituted and purpose-oriented configuration of interrelated human activities” that organise practices (Shatzki forthcoming, p.9)

Tensions: practices can be joined up by having sharing ends, rules, tasks or understanding (Schatzki forthcoming). However, when the logic or rules of the encountered practices are not in harmony, tensions might arise.

Analysis involved moving iteratively between the data, extant literature and theories emerging from the data (Strauss and Corbin 1998). The analysis was carried out systematically, and explicit reporting was carried out (Spiggle 1994). A potential back and forth movement through the data helped me comparing all the incidents, between cases and vertically within each case. The procedure through which the data were analysed was clearly stated and the theoretical summaries and memos as well as insights and ideas occurring throughout was recorded which then was used in the inference stage (Spiggle 1994).

Interpretation of the findings generated from the case study site refers to when the researcher looks to understand the meanings of others and identify patterns in these meanings (Spiggle 1994, p.491). This was achieved by taking an abductive approach (Lock et al. 2008; Timmermans and Tavory 2012) to my analysis. In other words, I tried to educate myself about the existing knowledge regarding creativity in advertising and potential theories that could help me in finding better explanations regarding this phenomenon. This also required space for doubt (Lock et al. 2008), surprises and space for new themes to emerge. By looking at the data and with the help of scholars and attending conferences, practice theory was deemed an appropriate theory to assist me in my analysis in order to explain the emergent data. Hence, based on Schatzki's (2005) approach pertaining to understanding the social phenomenon (i.e. creativity in advertising), I began the analysis by identifying the activities happening in the ad agency regarding doing creativity for the clients' requirements. For instance, activities such as: inviting the client to the ad agency, showing the client different departments of the agency, mirroring the client's behaviour and receiving the brief. These can be seen in the screenshot from NVivo (see image 3.1) where different activities happening in this setting are called the contact meeting bundle depicting when a client firm comes to the agency for briefing the agency staff about its requirements.

Nodes compared by number of items coded



Image 3.1: Different activities within the contact meeting bundle

Later, this procedure was taken for the whole process. That is, by observing different activities and their relation with different settings and events, I clustered these activities into bundles of practices and material arrangements that are shaping the process of creativity in advertising (see image 3.2).

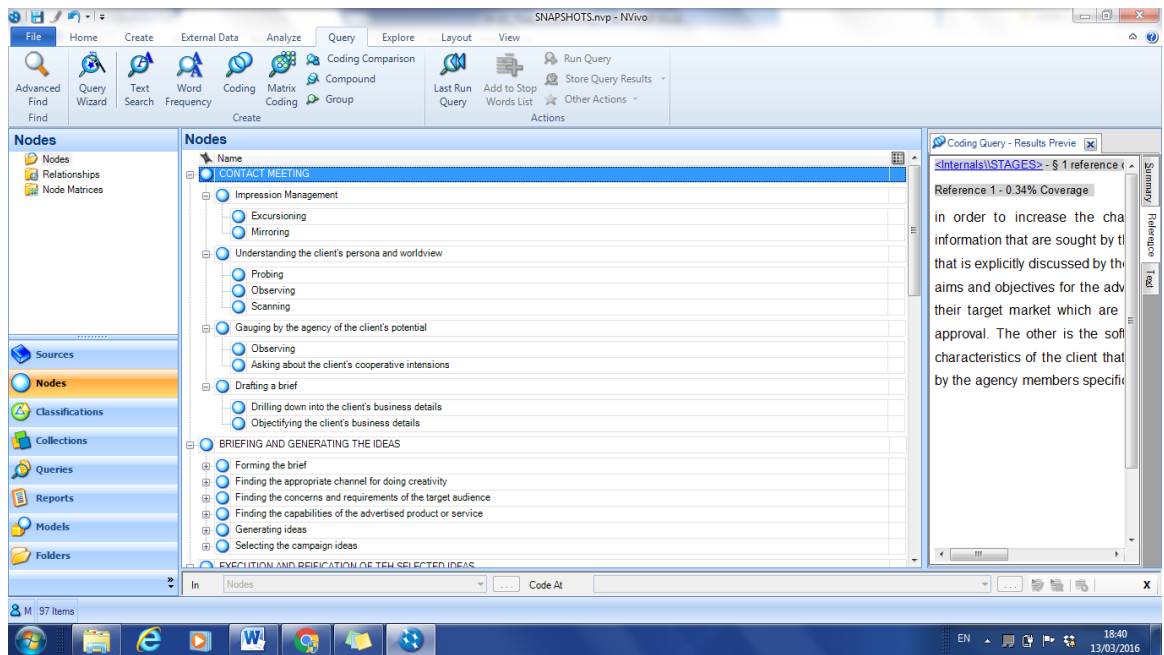


Image3.2: Identifying different bundles in the process of creativity in advertising (i.e. contact meeting, briefing and generating the ideas, execution and reification of the selected, pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation, convincing and selling to the client and governmental approval).

As mentioned in chapter 2 subsection 2.4.1.3.1, practices within bundles are loosely tied to other practices based on co-location and co-existence (Shove et al. 2012) while densely connected to the bundle's material arrangements (Schatzki forthcoming). Hence, by being in the field and acquiring an understanding about what is happening in the site (i.e. ad agency) as well as based on the knowledge developed from the literature in the research's priori model, various bundles of practices and material arrangements that were related to shape the process of creativity in advertising were identified²⁸ (see chapter 4, subsection 4.1). For example, the material arrangements for the contact meeting bundle was observed to be meeting rooms, ad agency different departments or client's office with the presence of the client, account team, and the creative director .

²⁸ The researcher by relying on his/her cultural familiarity can identify bundles on the basis of less "evidence" and without the need for excessive details (Schatzki 2014).

These bundles were identified (see chapter 4) under the term cultural domains above in subsection 4.1 of this chapter. These themes were found to be supported when referenced back to the pertinent literature which allowed for elaboration of extant theoretical explanations with respect to practices of creativity (Rubin and Rubin 1995). However, identifying the detailed account of bundles was a challenging task, but according to Schatzki (2005) obtaining an overview of the bundles that are related in shaping the social phenomenon and querying the relations among them can help the researcher understand the formations of the social phenomenon. Thus, these bundles of practices and material arrangements were used as sort of heuristic device to assist me in exploring the ways these are related (see chapter 4) to shape the process of creativity in advertising. Finding the relations between bundles instead of just providing separate accounts of entities is in line with the call for more attention to be paid to relations rather than entities in practice-based studies so as to understand the dynamics and relations between practices that constitute entities (Feldman and Orlikowski 2011).

As discussed in chapter 2, subsection 2.4.1.3.5, the connections between bundles can be through practice-arrangement, practice-practice, and arrangement-arrangement relations (Schatzki forthcoming). Hence, one task was to understand the structure and organisation of the activities in the ad agency (i.e. the aim and objectives and the activities' motivations) and consider commonalities among the organisation of practices that can link practices from the same bundle as well as different bundles (Schatzki forthcoming).

For achieving this end, further to observation, the data from informal conversations with participants during their work as well as the information garnered in the semi-structured interviews helped me to get closer to the logics and practical understanding of practices. For example, the reason behind inviting the client to the ad agency office and showing them around (i.e. the practice of excursioning) and the ad agency members' endeavour to mould their behaviour including their clothing and use of words according to their client's preferences (i.e. the practice of mirroring) that shaped the integrated practice of impression management was discovered to be gaining credibility and power to be able to do

the ad agency's desired paths and have a successful campaign. Thus, this common end (i.e. achieving the ad agency's desired proposals in order to have successful campaigns), appeared to be the source of relations between the practices of impression management, forming the brief, selecting more than one idea and route, reifying the selected ideas into several visuals and copies, managing the time and compiling the selected externalised ideas. These practice connections link up the bundles of: contact meeting, briefing and generating ideas, and execution and reification of the selected ideas. In chapter 4, subsections 4.2 and 4.3, the connection of bundles through practice-practice relations by having common ends and other types of relations, as well as practice-arrangement, and arrangement- arrangement relations are discussed.

Below a selection of Nvivo screenshots regarding word frequency and text search query are provided that helped me in interpretation and in making sense of the data:

A word frequency count was conducted on my field notes as well as the interview transcripts to see the most frequent elements in order to consider their importance in the process of creativity in advertising (see images 3.3 and 3.4).

Word Frequency Query

client	campaign	presented	subsection	visuals	example	team	one	works	regarding			
			showing	trying	chapter	achieving	advertisin	based	routes	selecting		
	director	develops	brand	governm	order	copies	told	way	iran	account	time	
creative	product	approval	get	target	propose	want	aim	takes	chance	end	level	
			managing	need	also	cultural	success	commu	like	tasks		
	members'	use	increase	marketing	people	differen	govern	brief	design	service	rules	refers
agency	seeing	practices	making	copywrite	requires	receivir	well	sense	meetin	unders	asked	evalu
			bundle	generatin	arts	aggreg	informa	desire	somet	place	gate	another
ideas	preferred	audience										

Image3.3a: Word frequency in the field notes



Image 3.3b: Word frequency in the field notes

Word Frequency Query

clients'	want	making	think	knows	ideas	example	get		
		iran	see	times	asked	risk	show	something	
like	peoples'	sometimes	give	cant	project	taking	graphic	stuff	good
	brand	advertising	preferenc	try	also	design	comm	limited	messag
work		way	based	talking	sales	coming	just	path	howev
	teh	use	change	even	means	campan	directo	importa	research
need	product		find	maybe	points	better	result	culture	exten
	different		tell	creative	art	dont	requir	first	later
audience	one	might	agency	market	buy	seen	part	target	able
				order	new	thus	case	billboa	advertis
									years
									aims
									conside

Image 3.4a: Word frequency in the interviews

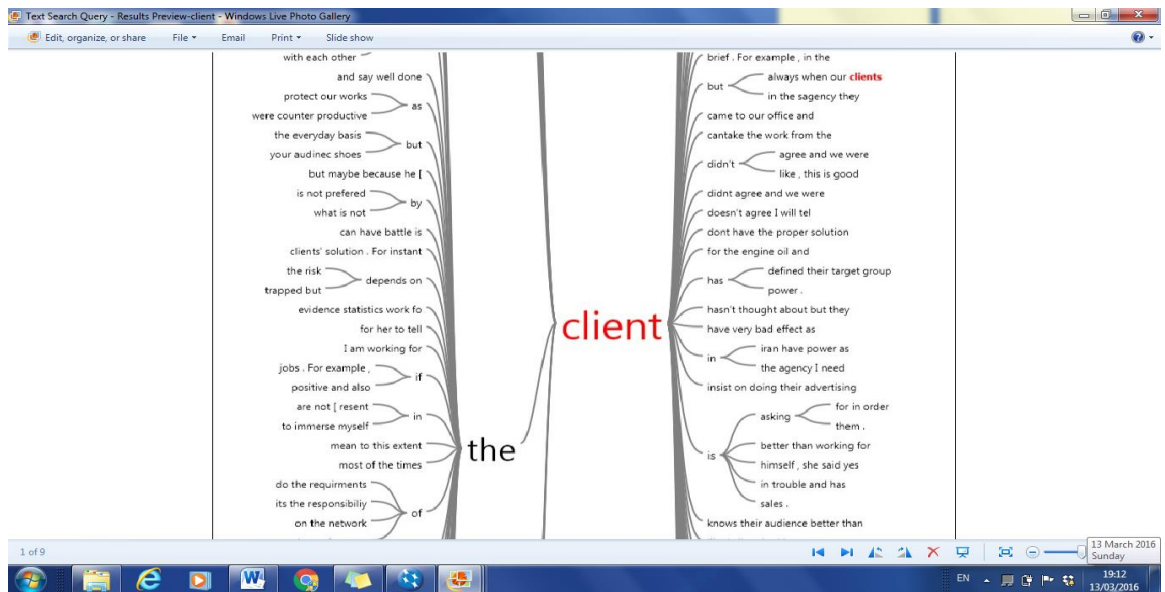


Image3.6: Text search query in the interviews: searched term -client

Further, from the collected data from the interviews and observations, the nature of the prevailing socio-cultural conditions, such as economic, social, legal, ethical, aesthetic, material, spatial, and time factors (Moeran 2011) that were narrated by the creatives or other ad agency members were scrutinized. This was done to trace the ways these conditions are shaping and being shaped by the process of creativity in advertising in the context of Iran. For example, creatives find the religious and conservative conditions of the society as something that can be overcome by using implicit techniques and finding justification based on the dominant logic of the society (see chapter 4, section 4.1.6). Finally, it should be noted that based on the practice theoretical approach of this research, for reaching an understanding of a process model, my focus was on relations rather than entities and the bracketing of entities was mainly carried out so as allow for the analysis of the complex data that emerged from the field (Feldman and Orlikowski 2011).

3.8 Criteria of methods:

Under the reflexive mode of science in contrast to the positivist approach, the aim is not to seek generalisability to a whole population and coherent representation, but rather, finding discontinuity, disconfirmation and variation within the field which leads to new discoveries (Stewart 1998, Burawoy 1998) which later can be transferred to new contexts (see Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011). This supports the need to apply criteria specific to work carried out under the reflexive mode, for example, the ethnographic case study used in this research. These differ to those that are relied on when justifying and/or assessing the robustness of studies executed under the positive lens. On this basis, in this study, veracity, objectivity and perspicacity are the parallel criteria adopted in place of those usually applied, namely: reliability, validity, and generalisability (Stewart 1998). Each of these adopted criteria is explained in detail below.

When considering the criterion of veracity, the test applied to a piece of research addresses the question: “how well has the researcher represented the descriptive truth?”. This refers to its validity, excluding the dimension of external validity. In this study, veracity and obtaining a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of creativity in advertising in the context of Iran was achieved by spending a long period of time (nine months) in the field, over the duration of several advertising creative work projects. In addition, by searching for and conducting reoriented or disconfirming observation and having a good insider-outsider relationships, the researcher approached insiders’ lives and paid close attention to the context in which sayings and doings were being performed. These techniques were employed to overcome potential limitations to grasping the holistic sense of the field as well as errors potentially emerging from information processing. Furthermore, triangulation between the two key tools, i.e. participant observation and interviews, was used to enhance the degree of veracity (Stewart 1998).

Objectivity in an ethnographic study refers to reliability, excluding the notion of consistency (Stewart 1998). Objectivity has three dimensions: replication, bias and specification, regarding which, the latter two are addressed. For this study, the full journey from its beginning to its conclusion has been recorded, including

my experiences of learning as a participant observer. Feedback from other researchers, such as my supervisors, was employed to avoid any inclination I had to drift towards my own biased opinions or adopting those of my informants. Another strategy used to make sure the interpretations kept in line with the participants' thoughts was to routinely discuss provisional interpretations—at various stages of the analysis—with ad agency members for feedback and show the concluded model from this study to Babak, the creative director and Melissa, the copywriter for their validation.

Perspicacity refers to generalisability excluding the issue of external validity. It refers to the ability to transfer outcomes beyond the time and place of the original data collection. This was addressed through my intensive immersion in the data, from the beginning to the end of the research journey, by iterative comparison and consideration of units of data and reference to other extant cases. This facilitates transmitting the newly developed knowledge to other cases. The choice of a site that offers great potential for novel discovery assured robust perspicacity. Moreover, disconfirming observation based on theoretical sampling allowed me to select a sample that contained all instances important for the topic under research. In addition, as well as seeking out disconfirming instances, which often is an essential part of ethnography, combined with reflection on the literature, whereby the researcher relates the findings of her research to prior extant theories (Riege 2003), assisted me in ensuring a strong degree of perspicacity.

3.9 Limitations:

As with the positivist mode of science, the reflexive mode has its limitations. For instance, in the former, considerable effort is taken by the investigator to keep a distance from the research topic, and in so doing, power relations can be taken in to consideration, whilst the context of the focal phenomena is invariably overlooked. By contrast, the latter, which has been chosen for this research, requires intervention and the engagement of the researcher in the field so that consideration is given to the context within which the social process is being shaped. However, the drawback is that the effects of power relations tend to be ignored (Burawoy 1998). The intervention of researchers has, however, been described as “an unavoidable part of the [social science] research”, through which investigators come to understand what is happening in a real context (ibid). This point has been justified by Burawoy on the basis that, although it is possible to standardise interview questions when working under the positivist mode of science, how the informants interpret them whilst drawing on their own experiences, cannot be standardised and reduced to a single item. Given this rationale, for a reflexive case study investigation, the aim was to understand multiple experiences through an engagement with them, situated in their time and space (Burawoy (1998). Nonetheless, in order to ensure that the accounts provided from this ethnographic study are not solely the accounts of the researcher based on her engagement, variety of sources (observation, interviews, projective techniques) as well as member check were used (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994).

Furthermore, in adopting an extended case study investigation, the aim in this research was to arrive at an understanding of creativity in advertising as a social process by drawing on an a priori framework from the literature constructed by the researcher before the fieldwork stage in order to reduce the elicited experiences to a social process. However, this reduction is, according to Burawoy, inevitable in all forms of scientific undertakings (ibid). Moreover, in this research an abductive approach was taken to allow for new themes to emerge (Lock et al. 2008; Timmermans and Tavory 2012).

In addition, as Lincoln and Guba (2003) stated in the presentation of qualitative data, “the world is rather simpler than it is (...) in other words we are confronted with a crisis of authority which tells us the world is “this way” when perhaps it is some other way, or many other ways” (Lincoln and Guba 2003, 284). Likewise in this research, I deliberately broke down (i.e. bracketed) the data into different entities for analytical purposes (Feldman and Orlikowski 2011). However, in order to give a closer representation of the reality, my analysis moves from the consideration of parts (findings in chapter 4) to an overview of the whole (discussion in chapter 5). Moreover, with respect to an extended case study, it is acknowledged that a single case study can be criticised for not being able to provide findings that can be generalised to other contexts (Burawoy 1991). The aim in this endeavour was to achieve analytical generalisation (Yin 2003) and thus advance theoretical understanding of the issues at hand.

3.10 Chapter summary:

In this chapter the ontology of this research, i.e. “practice as philosophy”, and its epistemology as being performative have been discussed. Following this, ethnography as the appropriate methodological choice for this research and an extended case study regarding an international creative advertising agency in Iran as the chosen setting have been presented and justified. Regarding data collection methods, participant observation, unstructured and semi-structured interviews, and projective techniques have been discussed. Subsequently, in order to increase applicability of the research findings to other contexts and help the reader understand the outcomes and interpretations, an overview of the context has been given (also see Appendix II). Likewise reflexivity, the procedure of data analysis, and methods criteria used in this research have been clarified. Finally the limitations of the selected methods have been discussed. In the following two chapters the collected data and their analysis are presented.

Chapter 4: Findings

As discussed in chapter 2, subsection 2.4, in order to understand the interplay between the agentive and structural levels that can, in turn, shape the process of creativity in advertising, lasting from the time when the ad agency receives the request from their client to the point of broadcasting it, the focus of analysis is on practices.

The observation that different practices were used at different times and that different practices were associated with different settings and individuals led me to identify six overlapping bundles of practices and material arrangements in the process of creativity in advertising (see chapter 5, figure 5.1). These bundles are found to be interlinked through practice-practice relations, practice-arrangement relations, and arrangement – arrangement relations. Thus, creativity in advertising is found to be entwined in practices, the alignment of different stakeholders' preferences or in other words practices' end tasks²⁹, and to involve a cumulative process.

Under the conception of creativity as entwined in practices, six overlapping bundles which encompass twenty four practices are identified. These practices are employed to overcome the potential tensions in the bundles and contribute toward the achievement of practices' end tasks or in other word the preference of different stakeholders in the process of creativity in advertising. Throughout this discussion, the bundles 1) contact meeting, (presented in the colour pink in figures and tables), 2) briefing and generating the ideas (presented in green), 3) execution and reification of the selected ideas (presented in orange), 4) pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation (presented in blue), 5) convincing and selling to the client (presented in purple) and 6) governmental approval (presented in yellow). In addition, the carrier of the practices in each bundle (who is involved), the material arrangements, the potential tensions among practice, the aggregated practices that are deployed to address these tensions and their contribution toward six identified end tasks in the process of

²⁹ In this thesis, Stakeholders' preferences and practices' end tasks are used interchangeably.

creativity in advertising are explained in subsection 4.1 and depicted in table 4.1. Furthermore, regarding creativity as the alignment of different stakeholders' preferences, six end tasks are identified, namely: A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns, C) achieving the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims, D) developing creatives' professional identities, E) increasing the creatives' motivation, and F) avoiding clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk. For achieving these, certain practices and sub-practices are employed which are going to be discussed in section 4.2. Based on similar end tasks as sources of linkage among practices, I organise the process of creativity in this ad agency into a multi-purpose process model of creativity in advertising based on the practices' common ends accounting for how practices interact with each other to satisfy different stakeholders' preferences and shape the creativity in advertising (see figure 4.8).

Finally, creativity is found to involve a cumulative process, where some of the identified practices flow forward to cumulatively build the process of creativity in advertising. This can be done via practice- practice relations through having similar end tasks that are discussed in subsection 4.2, dependability, the same doings and sayings, chains of action, and intentionality that are discussed in subsection 4.3.1 as well as practice-arrangement and arrangement-arrangement relation that are discussed in subsections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3.

4.1 Creativity as entwined in practices

As discussed earlier, six overlapping bundles of practices and material arrangements in the process of creativity in advertising in this study, are identified (see chapter 5, figure 5.1). These bundles comprise twenty-four practices (see table 4.1). First I explain the identified bundles of practices and material arrangements³⁰ (see table 4.1, first column), followed in turn by explaining the described tensions in each bundle (table 4.1, third column), the contribution of practices in overcoming the tensions (table 4.1, fifth column) and achieving the end tasks identified (table 4.1, sixth column).

³⁰ In this chapter the term arrangement and material arrangement are used interchangeably.

Table 4.1: Bundles of practices-arrangements involved in the process of creativity in advertising, their trajectory to achieve the end tasks/goals

Bundles	The carrier of practices and material arrangements	Potential tensions	Aggregated Practices	Contribution toward end tasks	End tasks
1) Contact meeting	This bundle happens in the presence of the creative director, the account executive and sometimes the project manager, as well as the client's team including representatives of their marketing and management. It takes place in the ad agency offices, the ad agency meeting room, or at the client's offices.	Client and ad agency power imbalances	1) Impression management	Gaining credibility and power as well as building trust	B) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns C) achieving the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims
		Various views of stakeholders regarding the process of creativity	2) Understanding the client's persona and worldview	Acquiring soft information about the client and getting closer to their requirements and preferences	A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval
		Different objectives of various stakeholders in the process of creativity	3) Gauging by the ad agency of the client's potential	Finding the limit to the ad agency's creative work based on the client's potential and by adjusting their level of effort	C) achieving the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims
		Client's mutable behaviour in the process of creativity	4) Drafting a brief	Preparing a hard copy approval from the client as evidence	A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval

<p>2) Briefing and generating the ideas</p>	<p>This bundle is happening with the presence of the members of the selected creative team (graphic designer(s), art-director, and copywriter), the creative director, and the project manager, in the ad agency meeting room. When TV and radio are among the channels of communication for the campaign, the members of the production team including the production manager and image-maker are also present. They have a brief, market research data, the client's company profile, details of the client's products and work with consideration paid to the available material and techniques as well as the socio-cultural conditions prevailing in the context of Iran.</p>	<p>Tentative brief that lacks rigorous information for generating ideas</p>	<p>5)</p>	<p>Forming the brief</p>	<p>Verifying the assumptions in the brief</p>	<p>B) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns C) achieving the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims D) developing creatives' professional identities, E) increasing the creatives' motivation</p>
	<p>Various views and preferences of stakeholders involved in the process of creativity in advertising</p>	<p>6)</p>	<p>Finding the appropriate channel for doing creativity</p>	<p>Finding a path based on the preferences of various stakeholders to generate ideas</p>	<p>A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval</p>	
	<p>Different standpoint of creatives as the authors of the ad and the audience as the recipients of the ad</p>	<p>7)</p>	<p>Finding the concerns and requirements of the target audience</p>	<p>Developing an understanding about the audiences' concerns and preferences and incorporating these in their ideas, so as to increase the chance of acceptance by the audience and the likelihood of a successful and effective campaign</p>	<p>A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval D) developing creatives' professional identities</p>	

<p>3)Execution and reification of the selected ideas</p>	<p>This bundle happens in the presence of the members of the selected creative team for the campaign(art-director, graphic designers, and the copywriter),, the creative director, the campaign project manager, and sometimes the members of the production team(image-maker and the production manager), as well as the account executives and the CEO of the ad agency. It takes place in the creative department and accounts department. They have a pile of stock visuals and rely on the material and techniques available in the context of Iran to produce a presentation.</p>	<p>Difficulty in communicating the ideas with various stakeholders involved in the process of creativity</p>	<p>11)</p>	<p>Reifying the selected ideas into several visuals prior to copies Reifying the selected ideas into copies prior to developing visuals</p>	<p>Conveying the messages behind the ideas to different stakeholders and receiving feedback</p>	<p>A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval</p>
<p></p>	<p>Clashes between the client and the account team's requirements and the creative team's capabilities regarding time</p>	<p>12)</p>	<p>Managing the time by setting the account team expectations</p>	<p>Bringing the client and account team's expectations in line with the creatives' abilities and ensuring enough time for performing the required tasks.</p>	<p>B) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns</p>	
<p></p>	<p>Different views held by creatives and other stakeholders</p>	<p>13)</p>	<p>Receiving feedback on the reified ideas and combining the refined visuals with copies</p>	<p>Making the externalised ideas closer to the different stakeholders' preferences, mainly those of the client, and providing some degree of autonomy for individual creatives to revise their work based on the feedback</p>	<p>A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval E) increasing the creatives' motivation</p>	
<p></p>	<p>Difficulty in convincing different stakeholders about the selected ideas</p>	<p>14)</p>	<p>Compiling the ideas for preparing different routes for presentation to the client</p>	<p>Increasing the comprehensibility of the presentation by different stakeholders and listening to different creatives' voices</p>	<p>B) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval E) increasing the creatives' motivation</p>	

<p>4)Pre-approval evaluation and socialization of the presentation</p>	<p>This bundle happens in the presence of the creative director, sometimes his team (the graphic designer, the art-director, and the copywriter), the account executive, the project manager, and sometimes the intermediary person between the client and the ad agency. This person can be members of the ad agency's marketing department, the ad agency CEO, members of the ad agency's sister companies, as well as, on occasion, the client representative. It takes place in the ad agency meeting room, the creative department and accounts department. They rely on the prepared presentation.</p>	<p>Different views held by creatives and the client as the stakeholders of the process of creativity in advertising</p>	<p>15)</p>	<p>Socialising and Customising the presentation based on the ad agency members and client representative interactions</p>	<p>Making the presentation closer to the client's preferences</p>	<p>A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval</p>
		<p>The dominance of scientific ideologies in the advertising process and the creatives' lack of power to convince the clients of their selected ideas</p>	<p>16)</p>	<p>Evaluating and sharing the presentation information with the ad agency members</p>	<p>Preparing and equipping other ad agency members for supporting the creative director in selling the ideas to the client by increasing the creatives' power in order to be able to convince the client about their particular desired ideas.</p>	<p>A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval B) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns</p>

<p>5) Convincing and selling to the client</p>	<p>This bundle is happening in the presence of the creative director, the account executive, the project manager, the media planner, and sometimes when the campaign involves a TVC, the production manager as well as sometimes other senior members e.g. the ad agency CEO. It is held in the clients' office or sometimes the ad agency meeting room. They use the prepared presentation.</p>	<p>Different worldviews between the client and the ad agency members</p>	<p>17)</p>	<p>Presenting the routes and ideas in the client's tone of voice and from their perspective</p>	<p>Increasing the comprehensibility of the ideas for the client and impressing the client with ad agency members' level of understanding</p>	<p>A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval</p>
		<p>Creativity versus effectiveness debate</p>	<p>18)</p>	<p>Justifying the selected routes and ideas to the client</p>	<p>Reducing the client's uncertainty and assuring the client regarding the effectiveness of the campaign's ideas</p>	<p>A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval</p>
		<p>Difficulty in getting the client's approval by justifying those ideas developed by the ad agency</p>	<p>19)</p>	<p>Warning the client about the consequences of not accepting the proposed routes and ideas</p>	<p>Warning The client regarding the consequences of unsuccessful campaigns</p>	<p>A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval</p>
		<p>Client's high level of expectation from the ad agency members</p>	<p>20)</p>	<p>Selling the proposed ideas by impressing and exhausting the client through showing various routes and ideas</p>	<p>Showing the client the ad agency members' high degree of efforts</p>	<p>A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval</p>
		<p>Client and ad agency power imbalance and the tension between the client and the ad agency members regarding who is in control</p>	<p>21)</p>	<p>Finalizing the contract by compromising with the client and/or listening to them</p>	<p>Making the client feel they are in control of their own brand and aligning the client's and ad agency members' preferences</p>	<p>A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval F) avoiding clashes among practices by harmonizing the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk</p>

<p>6)Governmental approval</p>	<p>This bundle happens in the presence of the members of the media department in the ad agency, the account executives, as well as sometimes the ad agency CEO. It takes place in the offices and meeting rooms in governmental institutions, and rests on showing the finalized presentation to the government officers.</p>	<p>Clashes between different ideologies held by ad agency members and the governmental officers</p>	<p>22)</p>	<p>Appeasing the governmental institutes</p>	<p>Impressing the officials regarding the ad agency level of sodality</p>	<p>A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval F) avoiding clashes among practices by harmonizing the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk</p>
		<p>Different objectives of various stakeholders (i.e. those of the ad agency and those of the governmental institutes)</p>	<p>23)</p>	<p>Showing the potential benefit of the ad to the pertinent governmental institute</p>	<p>Making the ideas appealing to the governmental officer</p>	<p>A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval F) avoiding clashes among practices by harmonizing the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk</p>
		<p>Heterogeneity among the opposing view held by the governmental institutes and their officers</p>	<p>24)</p>	<p>Preparing back up plans and providing different options</p>	<p>Appeasing a wider range of tastes and preferences in the governmental institutes</p>	<p>A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval F) avoiding clashes among practices by harmonizing the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk</p>

In the discussion below a detailed account of each bundle, the potential tension, the practices employed, the empirical evidence regarding the practices and their sub-practices and the contribution of practices in overcoming the tensions and achieving the end tasks is provided.

4.1.1 Bundle1, the contact meeting: a detailed account:

The process of creativity in advertising starts with the agency receiving a request from a client. In this bundle, (see table 4.1 coloured in pink), there are four practices (i.e. Impression management, Understanding the client's persona and worldview, Gauging by the agency of the client's potential, and Drafting a brief) that are employed to overcome the tensions in this bundle (i.e. Client and ad agency power imbalances, Various views of stakeholders regarding the process of creativity, Different objectives of various stakeholders in the process of creativity, Client's mutable behaviour in the process of creativity), and contribute toward the identified end tasks (i.e. A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) follow the ad agency's desired paths leading to a successful campaign, and C) achieve the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims). These are illustrated in table 4.2. Finally, at the end of this section, the summary of these details and the trajectory toward the identified end tasks are depicted in figure 4.1.

In the following, the tensions in the contact meeting bundle, the employed practices and sub-practices for overcoming the tensions and achieving the practices' end tasks are explained and the evidence regarding these is provided.

4.1.1.1 Client and ad agency power imbalances:

In advertising, as discussed by Kelly et al. (2005a and 2005b), the dominant role of clients and their power is recognised as they are the ones who bring money to the ad agency. This dominant power is somehow intensified in present day Iran as the country's economy is facing downturn. This can be understood from Iman, the art-directors' quote:

"In Iran most of the time the ad agency asks us to listen to clients' requirements and to do what is preferred and what is not preferred by the client, this is not

similar to my experience outside Iran where they would give us more room to do whatever we like. However, since Iran is an isolated country and based on the events happened in Iran, in our agency we mostly work based on our client taste rather than their audience. This is because the ad agency wants to satisfy the client to be able to maintain their relationship with them”.

Hence, based on the described tensions in tables 4.1 and 4.2, i.e. the client and ad agency power imbalances, in this bundle the ad agency members need to build trust (credibility and benevolence, (Doney and Cannon 1997) in order to start the process and gain power and influence over the client to be able to do their desired proposals (i.e. achieving the ad agency desired proposals in order to have successful campaigns, the end task B), which later both the client and the ad agency can benefit from. For doing this they rely on the aggregated practice of “Impression management” where the agency members try to impress their client by showing them their modern office and moulding their behaviours and appearances, based on the client’s taste and preferences. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of “Excursioning” and “Mirroring”.

Excursioning:

The ad agency members try to communicate their modern and avant garde agency to the client by showing them around, explaining their agency structure and setting in order to impress them and gain credibility and trust regarding being able to carry out their desired proposals and have a successful campaign. This is reflected in what Melissa, the copywriter told me in a humorous way: *“I always say it’s our Apple computers which sell it, not us”.*

Mirroring:

The ad agency members when attending the client’s offices, try to mould themselves to the clients’ preferences in order to show them their level of understanding and gain credibility. This can help them to be able to do their desired routes later in the process.

For example, in a meeting for the “X2” campaign, regarding cosmetics and hygiene products, the MD and marketing manager of the client company were

considered to fit well with the intellectual and contemporary groups of society and had been educated in a modern way. Thus, the creative director and account executive felt at home and they openly spoke with the client, often including English words and phrases to show their commonality with the client as they knew that the firm's representatives had been educated abroad. By contrast, in a meeting with their client from "X9" campaign, not only were the creative director, project manager and account executive cautious about their appearance, but also they tried to resonate with their client's terminology, sometimes using Arabic expressions which reflected and respected the religious ties of these conservative people. This was based on the knowledge of the society as in contemporary Iran, the structure of society is divided into two groups of thought, conservative and modern. After the 1979 Islamic revolution the conservative and pro-Islamic thought gained dominance (Arjomand 1986; Gheissari and Nasr 2005). The conservative groups appreciate Islamic expertise while the advocates of modern ways value having a foreign/western education, which might be considered as a threat by conservatives (Curtis and Hooglund 2008). These preferences can be seen in people's behaviours such as their clothing and use of words. For example, conservative and traditional members of society prefer modest Islamic clothing while more contemporary and western clothing is preferred by the more modern (Jelodar et al. 2013). As for language, those people who are pro-secularism and modernism tend to avoid using Arabic words in their speech and replace them with French (formerly the language of the royal family) and English (a symbol of westernisation) terms, while the conservatives, specifically those in the government and revolutionary leaders, use Arabic words as a sign of their Islamic values (Curtis and Hooglund 2008).

4.1.1.2 Various views of stakeholders regarding the process of creativity:

As discussed in the literature review chapter, sections 2.2 and 2.3, the process of creativity in advertising starts with the requirements of clients which later need to be approved by different gatekeepers (Hill and Johnson 2003; Glaveanu 2010) such as the ad agency senior members and the client (El-Murad and West 2004), the audiences of the campaign with their socio-cultural perceptions, and the governmental institutes. This means that the worldviews and understandings of

gatekeepers in this process can be heterogeneous and thus may result in tensions over the process of creativity in advertising. Therefore, the ad agency members try to reconcile these heterogeneous views to have a smoother process by relying on some practices that are shown in table 4.1, (the pink part).

Since the ad needs to be crafted for the clients who might hold different worldviews from the ad agency members, the ad agency members need to understand the client's preferences in order to generate the ad ideas accordingly, and to use the acquired knowledge about the client in selling them the ads, which in turn can increase the possibility of approval by them (i.e. increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, the end task A). For doing this they rely on the aggregated practice of "Understanding the client's persona and worldview" where two kinds of information are sought by the ad agency members; one is the hard data that is explicitly discussed by the client such as the background of the business, their aims and objectives for the advertising campaign, their competitive advantages and their target market, and the other is the soft data, which refers to the implicit preferences and characteristics of the client that need to be carefully observed and then interpreted by the agency members specifically the creative director³¹. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of Probing, Observing and Scanning.

Probing:

The ad agency members mainly creative director tries to ask the client about their preferences regarding existing ads or their previous ads in order to understand the client's preferences and incorporate their viewpoints in generating ideas to increase the chance of their approval. For example, in the "X9" campaign where the creative director directly asked the client's PR manager about her preference on the existing ads regarding health and safety issues. Her preference was adopted as something that the ad agency members could work on in generating the campaign ideas.

³¹ These need to be judged by the viewpoints of the creative director and/or other ad agency members of staff

Observing:

The creative director tries to understand the client's preferences by observing the client's behaviour, the type of comments they are offering, the mode of language they are using, their attire, the way they are stating their aims, their personal background and education if he is offered this detail. This is to increase the creative team's knowledge about the client's personality and preferences and be able to craft the agency ideas accordingly.

For instance, an observation by the creative director was to point out the lexicon used by the communication managers of "X6"; they used the term (اتاق فکر - otaghfekr) instead of brainstorming³². He remarked to the other agency members *"have you noticed that word he used instead of brainstorming?"* It appeared to the creative director that the conclusions he had formed regarding this client were fully justified, that is, 'they [the communication managers] are narrow-minded and traditional and can't understand pure creative works...Thus based on his observations he concluded and stated: *"What they require us to do would be an imitation or something that they have seen around and are able to digest"*.

Scanning:

The ad agency members try to go through the client's previous marketing activities such as their brand name, logo, and packaging to understand the client's preferences and be able to generate ideas accordingly and increase the chance of client's approval.

For example, in the "X6" campaign the creative director went on to comment that the client's traditional and narrow minded view could also be seen from their

³² It is quite common across all the social levels (rich to poor and modern to conservative) to use some English or French words that have been introduced to the Persian language and do not have substitutes such as computer and cravat, to name just two. However, the Islamic government of Iran has tried to find substitutes, like Rayaneh and Derazaviz zinati instead of computer and cravat, so as to keep the originality of the language. The modern parts of society are against these restrictive practices as they see them as chauvinist behaviour and subsequently, they try to resist using the words newly introduced by the government.

brand logo which was simply: “*an imitation from a foreign brand*”. Thus the ad agency members tried to keep the client’s traditional view in mind when generating ideas and avoid being radically creative. The creative team went through their previous adverts and concluded that this new client liked copying stuff as their logo was similar to the one used by a foreign brand and their ad closely replicated a foreign TVC about tea. Another example of scanning the client’s marketing activities was seen in the “X2” campaign where based on the brand logo and the brand name, the ad agency members discovered the interest of the client in it being the product of Iran and their modern but proud nationalistic view. Thus the ad agency members decided to use this information, highlighting the fact that “X2” products are from Iran, in generating ideas in later bundles of the process.

4.1.1.3 Different objectives of various stakeholders in the process of creativity:

In addition, since the process of creativity in advertising involves different stakeholders the ad agency members need to identify certain objectives, mainly the client’s and to find the limits for their creative work. This can help the ad agency members adjust their level of effort and the time they allocate to the clients according to the client’s potential and willingness in order to make efficient use of their time and not only help the client but also provide profitability for the ad agency and achieve the agency’s own marketing aims (i.e. achieving the ad agency’s marketing and positioning aims, the end task C). For doing this they rely on the aggregated practice of “Gauging by the agency of the client’s potential” which is sense making about the client’s worldview and preferences alongside the conditions of the client’s business to help the ad agency members understand the potential of their clients for meeting their own aims and objectives. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of Observing, and Asking about the client’s cooperative intentions.

Observing:

The ad agency members try to understand the client's viewpoint and intentions toward the ad agency by observing their behaviour in order to set their level of investment.

For instance, as explained to me by an account executive in an informal interview, sometimes the ad agency members agree to work with small scale clients regarding a rather limited campaign as the agency can see that, in future, their business connection will become considerably more extensive and lucrative. She gave me the example of a small client in the south of the country that produced pickles and jams. The client openly confessed to their lack of knowledge regarding marketing and advertising and so gave the agency room to do what they thought was required. The account executive reported that the agency was working on these projects for this client, although, at present it was a very small job, just concerning their logo and packaging, but in the hope of building upon their brand and making it a good platform for future advertising campaigns. In stark contrast, there are some strong capable clients whom the ad agency staff see as only having the potential for commissioning a one off campaign, so they tend not to invest lots of time and effort on going the extra mile for them.

Further, in the World Cup campaign for "X13", which was one of the ad agency's long established clients, the ad agency members knew that the client favoured avant-garde and pioneering ideas. The client's willingness to take risks was commented on by the graphic designer who told me that the client's board of directors favoured risk taking ideas and wanted to be the first in their business to take such steps. Knowing this preference of the client, the ad agency took the chance and proposed the idea of celebrity endorsement, even in the situation that celebrity endorsement was banned in Iran, in order for both the ad agency and the client business gain mutual benefits.

Asking about the client's cooperative intentions:

The ad agency members try to explore the clients' proceeding intentions so as to adjust their levels of efforts and achieve both the client's and ad agency's

objectives. This can be seen in what the creative director told their new client, “X6”: *“We need to know what your plan is for the future because we are like runners, holding the relay baton, and might need to pass it on to another runner. So we need to know where we are heading. Is it going to be a continuous campaign or just one?!”*

4.1.1.4 Client’s mutable behaviour in the process of creativity:

Finally, in this bundle, in order to make sure the ad agency members and the client are in the same loop and are faithful regarding their agreements, the ad agency members use a brief which is a materialised and tangible form of gathered information about the client. They use this as a proof to start the process of creativity as well as evidence to justify the generated ideas in other bundles of this process to increase the chance of receiving the client’s approval (i.e. increasing the level of gatekeepers’ approval; the end task A). For doing this they rely on the aggregated practice of “Drafting a brief”, where the account team present in the meeting take notes about the information offered by the client and later incorporate it in a brief for the client’s approval in order to ensure a mutual understanding regarding the client’s business so that the agency teams can start the process of creativity for them as well as using it as evidence for justifying the generated ideas and increasing the chance of receiving the client’s approval. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of “Drilling down into the client’s business details” and “Objectifying the client’s business details”.

Drilling down into the client’s business details:

The ad agency members try to listen to the client and if necessary ask them about the details of their business in order to obtain the required information about the client’s business and incorporate it in a brief.

For instance, in the meeting with “X1”, the agency’s new client in dairy products, the client’s MD talked about the history of their family butter making business which stretched back decades. After narrating an extensive history about the company, the client complained that, despite having the largest market share in Iran, a fact known from some in-house market research, his firm had realised that although many people had seen the brand logo, they still didn’t know the firm’s

brand name. The project manager present in the meeting took notes of the information in order to be able to use it later in the drafting of the brief.

Objectifying the client's business details:

After obtaining the client's business details, such as the background of the business, its competitive advantage, recent business problems, and the aim of the campaign, the project manager with the help of the account executive and sometimes the creative director, incorporate the information into a brief. This was seen during all the fourteen campaigns that I was present for. Although from the above, getting the client's approval on the drafted brief seems to be a smooth and linear procedure, most of the time the brief is tentative and needs to be checked and revised constantly. This is achieved by relying on the acquired soft data as well as the established level of trust (See bundle 2).

In table 4.2, the potential tensions in this bundle along with the practices and sub-practices used for overcoming these and their contribution toward achieving the identified end tasks are illustrated: A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) following the ad agency's desired paths leading to a successful campaign, and C) achieving the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims.

Table 4.2: Tensions, practices, sub-practices, and contribution toward end tasks in the contact meeting bundle of the process of creativity in advertising

Tensions	Sub-practices	Aggregated practices	Contribution toward end tasks
Client and ad agency power imbalances	<p>Excursioneering: In this phase in the process of creativity, the ad agency members invite the client to their modern and technologically advanced office to show them around to gain credibility and be able to exert their power and perform their desired ideas later on in the process.</p> <p>Mirroring: The ad agency members mould their behaviour including their clothing and use of words based on the clients' preferences in order to show their mutual level of understanding and increase their credibility and shift the power balance in their favour.</p>	<p>Impression management: "The conscious or unconscious attempt to control images that are projected in real or imagined social interactions" (Schlenker 1980, p. 6) which can be through verbal and non-verbal conduct (Hooghiemstra 2000). This is because the impression people make on others has implications for the way they "perceive, evaluate, and treat them" (Leary and Kowalski 1990, p.34).</p>	<p>Gaining credibility and power and building trust to B) follow the ad agency's desired paths leading to a successful campaign.</p>
Various views of stakeholders regarding the process of creativity	<p>Probing: The ad agency members ask the clients about their preferences by referring to the existing ideas and ads.</p> <p>Observing: The ad agency members evaluate the client personalities and preferences to generate the ideas accordingly.</p> <p>Scanning: For obtaining an understanding about the client preferences, the ad agency members evaluate the client's brand logo, previous advertising and other marketing activities.</p>	<p>Understanding the client's persona and worldview: Exploring the client's thinking as one of the main stakeholders in the process of creativity.</p>	<p>Acquiring soft information about the client, generating the ideas accordingly and satisfying the client in order to manage different stakeholders' views in order to A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval</p>

Different objectives of various stakeholders in the process of creativity

Observing: The ad agency members evaluate the client's personalities and preferences to see how far they can work with them.

Asking about the client's cooperative intentions: The ad agency members overtly ask the clients about their future advertising plans.

Gauging by the agency of the client's potential:

Exploring the opportunities and challenges the client, as one of the stakeholder, can bring to the ad agency.

Finding the client's potential and setting the ad agency's level of investment accordingly to achieve their objectives as well as the client's in order to **C) achieve the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims**

Client's mutable behaviour in the process of creativity

Drilling down into the client's business details:

The ad agency members listen to the client regarding their business background, their competitive advantage, and any possible shortcomings in their business and if necessary ask them questions in this regard.

Objectifying the client's business details: The obtained information regarding the client's business is incorporated in a brief for getting the client's approval and reaching mutual agreement.

Drafting a brief :

Preparing hard evidence regarding the client's requirements in order to refer to it in the later bundles of the process.

Obtaining hard copy approval from the client to start the process as well as having evidence to justify the ad agency adopting selected routes throughout the process in order to **A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval**

In following subsection, the summary of the contact meeting bundle, the employed practices and their trajectory toward the identified end tasks are explained and illustrated in figure 4.1.

4.1.1.5 A summary of practices' contributions in the contact meeting bundle:

As discussed above, in this bundle, the contact meeting, rather than just receiving a brief and getting the client's approval, the ad agency staff, through impression management try to build trust to start the process of creativity. In addition, they try to engender trust and shift the power in their favour so that they are able to propose their desired concepts and ideas in the later bundles of the process, which in turn, can be beneficial to both the client and the ad agency (see the first line from the top in figure 4.1). Another achievement in this bundle is to acquire soft information about the client's persona which, in turn, can help the ad agency members when shaping the ideas that will receive the client's approval, as well as work out appropriate selling strategies to increase the chance of acceptance by the client (see the second line from the top in figure 4.1). In addition, through gauging the client's potential, the ad agency members can find future opportunities and options that the client can bring to the ad agency and set the ad agency members' level of investment and effort accordingly. Later, based on the client's identified potential by selecting the appropriate proposals, not only can the ad agency members help the client's business but also achieve their own marketing aims and increase the agency's reputation (see the third line from the top in figure 4.1). Last but not least, the brief approved by the client in this bundle can be used as evidence in order to justify the ad agency's selected routes and ideas to the client (see the last line from the bottom in figure 4.1).

In figure 4.1 below, the sub-practices and aggregated practices in the contact meeting bundle and their contribution (i.e. the pink circles) that can be used in later bundles of the creativity process to achieve the end tasks of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) following the ad agency's desired paths leading to a successful campaign, and C) achieving the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims, are presented.

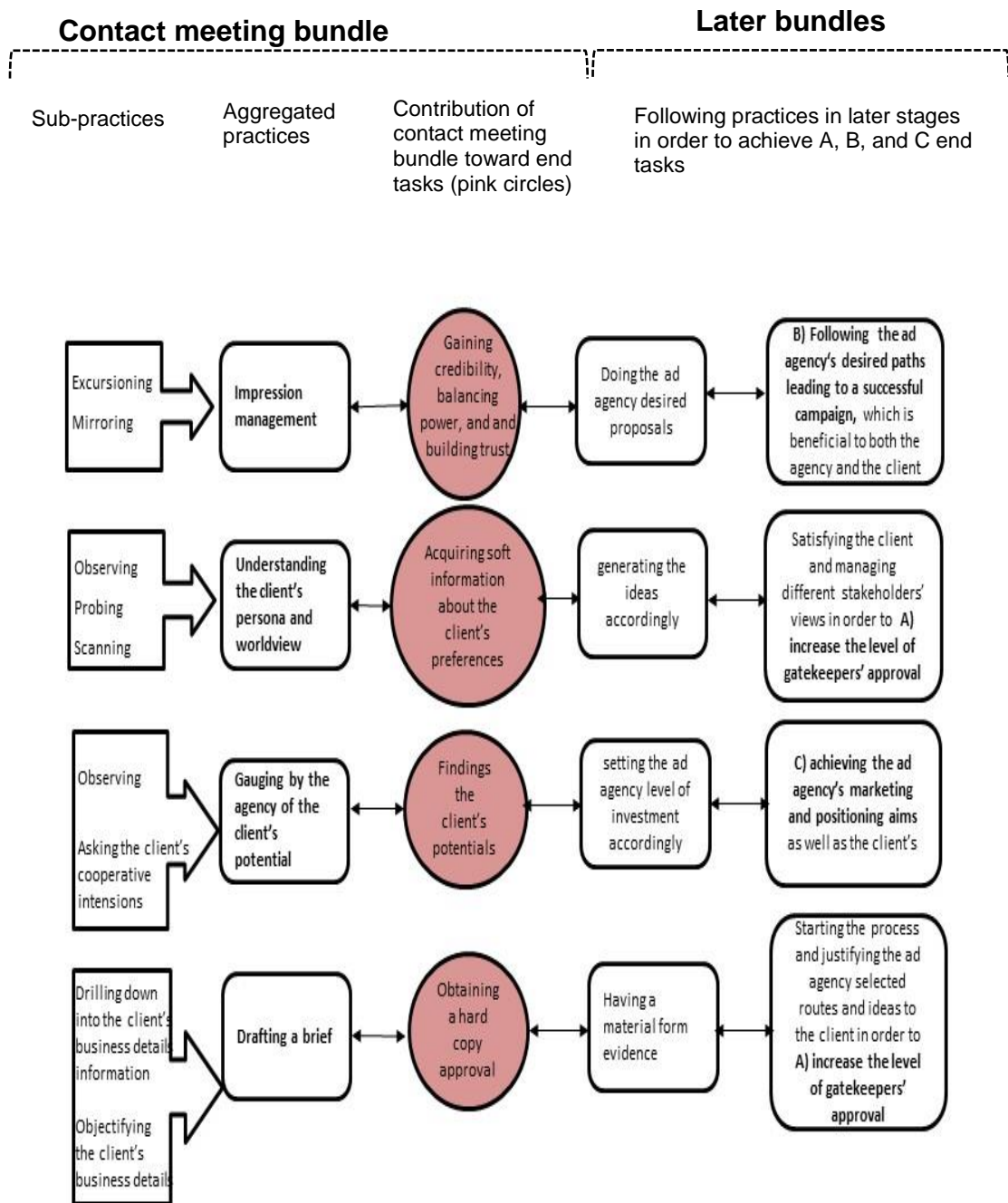


Figure 4.1: Contact meeting bundle (The pink parts are the contributions of the 1st bundle, i.e. contact meeting, toward identified end tasks of A, B, and C

4.1.2 Bundle 2, the briefing and generating the campaign's ideas: a detailed account

In this phase, the brief approved by the client is sent to the creative director by the campaign project manager. After this the creative director decides who needs to work on that particular project and subsequently informs the team by calling a briefing session. This bundle is illustrated above in table 4.1 coloured in green. In this bundle, there are six practices (i.e. Finding the appropriate channel for doing creativity, Forming the brief, Finding the concerns and requirements of the target audience, Finding the capabilities of the advertised product/service, Generating ideas, Selecting the campaign ideas) that are employed to overcome the tensions in this bundle (i.e. Tentative brief, Various views of stakeholders involved in the process of creativity in advertising, Different standpoint between the creatives as the authors of the ad and the audience as the recipients, The tension regarding art vs science, Difficulty in communicating the information without shaping it in a more understandable format, Different views of various stakeholders involved in the process of creativity in advertising) and contribute toward the identified end tasks (i.e. A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) achieve the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns, C) achieve the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims, D) develop creatives' professional identities, and E) increase the creatives' motivation). These are illustrated in table 4.3. Finally, at the end of this section, the summary of these details and the trajectory toward the identified end tasks are depicted in figure 4.2.

In the following, the tensions in the briefing and generating the campaign's ideas bundle, the employed practices and sub-practices for overcoming the tensions and achieving the practices' end tasks are explained and the evidence regarding these is provided.

4.1.2.1 Tentative brief:

Based on the recent economic crises in Iran (see Appendix II), the local clients' objectives regarding employing advertising are mostly geared towards increasing their sales. Hence, the ad agency members need to verify this assumption in the brief in order to generate ideas accordingly and have a successful campaign which in turn can lead to the following end tasks: B) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns, C) achieving the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims, D) developing creatives' professional identities, and E) increasing the creatives' motivation. For doing this they rely on the aggregated practice of "forming the brief", where the aims are to examine the validity of the creative brief's assumptions such as the aims of the campaign and the target audience in order to make sure of the accuracy of the brief assumptions in order to generate the ideas accordingly and have a successful campaign. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of "Exploring the underlying problem for the client's brand and verifying the aim(s) of the campaign", "Exploring and verifying the target audience for the campaign", "Manoeuvring around the tangible and intangible features of the advertised product/service", and "Finding the communication target for the campaign".

Exploring the underlying problem for the client's brand and verifying the aim(s) of the campaign:

The creatives probe the aim of the campaign as defined by the client to see the deeper underlying problem for the client's brand. Often it is this core problem that needs to be addressed before the client is able to realise an increase in sales. For exploring the client's brand problem, the creatives sometimes use market research information collected by the client, obtain data from market research companies (TGI³³), or conduct their own research.

For example, in the campaign for their new client, "X6", in contrast to the client's goal of having a campaign to increase sales, the ad agency members identified that the underlying issue was a lack of brand awareness. This shows that

³³ Target group index is a market research survey

creatives follow marketing models like Keller's (1993) brand equity model in their advertising strategies, which involves developing brand awareness and image in order to have positive responses from consumers to their marketing of the brand (Keller 1993).

Exploring and verifying the target audience for the campaign:

As for Exploring and verifying the target audience for the campaign, the ad agency members try to explore the target market for the client product/service to be able to communicate with them. As the creative director told me over an informal interview: *"We not only have to consider our client but their audience as well, we want to pass the client's message to its audience"*. However, sometimes the client wants to set his/her own preferred social demographics without paying attention to the real consumers and information presented in the market research data. Thus, the ad agency members have to verify the client's defined target audience, by relying on the market research data.

For example, in the campaign for "X6", although the client's defined target audience were people in social grade B, the ad agency members looked at the market research data provided by the client, and the features of the product like its quality, price, and taste. Subsequently, they decided to set the target audience as those who were not big fans of coffee and those who considered it unaffordable. Thus C1 and C2 social grades were set as the target.

Manoeuvring around the tangible and intangible features of the advertised product/service:

Sometimes the ad agency members try to get closer to the client's defined target audience. They do this by examining the potential of the client's product/service and manoeuvring around the tangible and intangible features of the product, albeit in line with the previous branding strategies and marketing activities.

For example, in a campaign for a chain restaurant, "X12", that wanted to become the Iranian McDonalds, as they didn't have any previous advertising, the creative team visited the restaurant and tested the food and found that before starting to advertise the client's restaurant, they need to do some amendments like working

on the interior design, logo, menu, etc. so as to be able to reach what the client hoped to achieve. Thus, they discussed these suggestions with their client and after their acceptance, they start working on these elements in order to get ready for the advertising campaign aimed at the client's desired target.

Finding the communication target for the campaign:

The creative director, during an informal interview told me that target market audience and communication target audience are different and the ad agency needs to find those who they want to communicate with. He gave me the example of the Apple brand, and explained that for Apple, the target audience for communication is those who are geniuses, however, for sales purposes, the target audience is the range of people who go and buy Apple products in order to be identified as geniuses.

An example of this was seen in the campaign for "X4" mobile phones, a new client. I asked the creative director about the reasons for targeting men and not women as some women would love to have this product. He told me: "yes, women might buy it as well but we need to speak to men and if we can get to the hearts of men and communicate with them successfully, those women who would be our target market would trust guys in their selections and imitate their behaviours in this regard. This shows that in order to set the campaign's target audience, at first the creatives need to verify the stated target market as pinpointed by the client, after which they explore the leaders, who the rest of consumers follow in order to be identified as one of them (Rogers 2010).

4.1.2.2 Various views of stakeholders involved in the process of creativity in advertising:

There are several gatekeepers in the process of creativity and thus creatives try to incorporate all the gatekeepers' preferences in the process of creativity to be able to have a higher chance of approval and acceptance of their outputs. This can be achieved by developing a channel for garnering different preferences of the stakeholders and incorporating them while generating ideas which not only lead to the end tasks of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, but also through having successful campaign that can get peers' validation and

appreciation can help them to achieve the end task of D) developing creatives' professional identities. For doing this they rely on the aggregated practices of "finding the appropriate channel for doing creativity practices" which is to develop an appropriate repertoire to draw upon for their activities and practices in shaping the end outcome (the ad) in order to get the approval from all the aforementioned gatekeepers and different stakeholders in the process of creativity in advertising, i.e. those who the ad is directly communicating with as well as the indirect or passive recipients, the latter being the social milieu. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of "Exploring the socio-cultural attributes and conditions of the society", "Considering the ad agency code and the preferences of senior ad agency members", "Developing a sense about the client's preferences", "Sharing the acquired soft data about the client with other creatives", and "Assimilating the government's requirements and preferences".

Exploring the socio-cultural attributes and conditions of the society:

Creatives have developed a sense about the milieu in which they are working and its socio-cultural conditions and requirements. This sense can help creatives in generating ideas that would be executable and crafting the ads so that they can be socialised and disseminated efficiently³⁴. As for the socio-cultural conditions, the existing ads, available materials and techniques in society are considered in order to generate the ideas that may be distinct and executable.

For example, in the "X6" campaign, the creative director told his team that noises such as those of a spoon on a cup might be used for making background music; he remarked: *"have you ever seen something like this in Iran?! It is not possible to produce such a thing here"*.

As for the socio-cultural requirements, the creatives know the general cultural attributes of the people for whom they want to craft the ad. For example, in the

³⁴ See figure 3 in the literature review chapter. Socialization is part of the process of creativity where creativity needs to get widespread social agreement in the field including from the users' of the creation, collaborators, and the perceivers, who are simply in contact with the creation, to facilitate dissemination into the cultural system, Adapted from Glăveanu (2010) and Csikszentmihalyi (1999).

campaign for “X6”, their new client, the creative-director concluded that its prices were half of its foreign competitors. He said that because Iranians associate price with quality, they could not claim that their quality was better than their big competitors’, whose prices were twice as much.

The other cultural attribute regarding the perception of local brands was explicitly stated by the creatives during a campaign for “X2”, when the client wanted to highlight Iran as the origin of the product. The copywriter explained: *“Iranian people associate local products to have low quality and to be appropriate for middle to lower class. For people to gain prestige and portray a semi upper class image, they prefer foreign brands”*.

Another cultural attribute brought up by creatives in this ad agency was the nature of risk in advertising and its relationship with the audiences’ perception. They consider risk as doing something that is new and different from the set norms. Moreover, responses to it are not well known and only predictable to a limited extent. This was highlighted by Babak, the creative director:

“Risk means doing something that no one has done before and it’s possible that your audience might reject it as you don’t know what their reaction towards it would be”.

Although risk in advertising is considered to be doing something that is new and responses to it are not well known, creatives, by considering their audiences’ perceptions, try to predict the results and avoid potential negative consequences. Thus they can approach risk as a planned strategy.

For example, Leyla the graphic designer told me:

Some years ago a company imported ham and sausages from Germany and [for its advertising visual] put the cow being covered in the sausage wrapper which caused lots of complains especially from those who were pro-environmental behaviour. This risk was planned as the Iranians go to the butchers and buy their meat, seeing the whole cow or sheep hung up and in their real life, this is not disgusting. The extent to which they [Iranians] talk about supporting animals is not equal to the extent they practice it in their real life. So, although they showed

their dissatisfaction about the visuals of this brand, in their subconscious, it was not going to influence them negatively”.

The current situation and the history of several invasions make Iranians risk-averse (Giles, 2003) and for creatives to have a successful campaign they need to take risk whilst bearing this in mind.

For example, Sadaf, the art-director told me about the marketing activation for “X8”, where they did something that was beyond Iranian women’s traditional comfort zone. It was considered to be risky, and thus they tried to reduce the risk by responding to the audiences’ concerns:

“...when we did an activation for “X8” where our audience were Iranian women... in this activation there was a container that people would go inside and the door would be locked and it would resemble a washing machine... if we wanted to do this abroad, maybe it would have a good result but in Iran maybe the Iranian women wouldn’t trust it so we decided to use women promoters who invited people to go to the container. We took this risk and the client took this risk as well, and fortunately, it was successful”.

There are many more socio-cultural attributes that are drawn upon for generating the ideas in line with the peoples’ socio-cultural perceptions. These, in turn help the creatives to communicate their message with their audience more effectively.

Considering the ad agency code and the preferences of senior ad agency members:

since the creative outcome has to be approved internally by the senior ad agency members before being presented to the client and other external stakeholders, the creatives by working in the ad agency for a while, develop a sense about the preferences of the creative team as well as those who are in power for accepting or rejecting the idea (like the creative director, the CEO of the ad agency). Hence, they are considering these preferences in developing their ideas and ads.

For example, when the copywriter was explaining her slogan to the creative director, she said: *“I wanted to use the word “erja ارجاع”, which means performance but the boss, the CEO, doesn’t like these vocabularies”.*

Sometimes the individuals are becoming their own gatekeepers. This happens through developing a sense of what is preferred and what is not in the ad agency. For example, the copywriter told me:

“Censorship and especially self-censorship, that is based on the perceived rules and organisational ethos and power relationships and the personal tastes of those in power and also the client’s preferences, is a way that we present the ideas that we think are having higher chance of acceptance by the team. We have developed a sense about what is appropriate to present and what is not, therefore we will cross out some ideas even before sharing them with the team, as we know that they are not going to get good feedback”.

This shows the importance of knowing and developing a framework regarding the explicit and implicit rules in the field of advertising in general and specifically within the ad agency they are working in. They consider these rules to make the organisational objectives come into line with their individual creative ones and reduce any potential tension that might arise from the difference between the two.

Developing a sense about the client’s preferences:

Creatives have developed a sense of what is preferred and what is not for their long established clients. However, with their new ones they need to learn the client’s preferences and requirements by relying on the soft data gathered from the contact meeting in order to incorporate these in the ideas and increase the chance of the ad getting approval from the client.

For example, as for their long established client, “X13”, the copywriter during an informal interview told me that *“this client prefers two word slogans”*. Also she said that they somehow know the kind of visuals this client likes and would get his acceptance.

On the other hand, for developing a sense about the client in some instances, the ad agency members need to rely on the acquired soft data through probing the client, observing the client’s behaviours, and scanning the client’s branding and marketing activities (see subsection 4.1.1.2. various views of stakeholders regarding the process of creativity).

Sharing the acquired soft data about the client with other creatives:

The creative director, the project manager, and sometimes the art-director, who were present at the contact meeting with the client, pass on their developed sense about the client's persona and worldview to the selected creative team members who were not present.

For example, in the briefing session for the "X3" campaign, their long-established client who had recently made some changes in its marketing and HR team, the creative director talked about the differences between the types of people in the client's marketing and their HR teams; the former were more conservative and more difficult to communicate with and the latter were more liberal and more similarly aligned with the ad agency's principles. Thus, since they wanted to craft the ad for "X3"'s marketing team³⁵, they decided to focus on them in their ideas so that these were comprehensible to the marketing team.

In addition, for their new client, "X2", the creative director reported that the managing director of the client company was a modern woman in her thirties who had been educated overseas and lived abroad for ten years, which, in his opinion, offered them more room for being creative. By contrast for the "X11" campaign, the agency members in the contact meeting by observing the client's representatives realised that they were not modern, had strong ties with the government and strongly favoured conservative ideas. These data were shared with the selected creative team.

Assimilating the government's requirements and preferences:

There are two types of rules that creatives need to comply with, one is the set regulations (see Appendix II) and the other is the personal preferences of the governmental agents who are responsible for approving the ads. Regarding the set rules for the field of advertising, by being in the field for quite a long time, creatives come to know the rules without the need to review them, unless some are changed. For example, government regulations limit the use of women in

³⁵ The HR team of BBT, their client, put in an order to the ad agency to craft an ad for their marketing team for increasing their motivation to work in BBT.

advertising. In most cases, to comply with this, advertising involving women is only used with caution, making sure they are fully covered and display no overt sexual behaviour. Regarding the preferences of those in charge of the ad approval, the creatives, based on the length of service of the governmental officers, have developed a good sense about these. However, if the governmental officials are replaced, then ad agency creatives have to rely on peripheral attributes such as the officer's previous position, the reasoning behind their substitution³⁶ in order to get an idea about these preferences. Regarding the set rules the art-director told me that:

"We don't have problems with the set rules because we know them beforehand but those rules or preferences that come in to play when the job is done [the ad is crafted] are the problems."

Regarding the informal and personal preferences of those responsible for approval, the creative director told me that the sound of crunching a crisp was rejected in a radio ad because it was thought to remind the listener of opening the zipper in trousers. Also, some slogans were rejected because of their close relation to religion. For example, in an advert about the insect killer spray TAROMAR, the ad copy said 'TAROMAR, for family protection'. This was rejected by those in the ministry of Islamic Guidance and Culture, as they reported back that only God protects the family.

However, by being in the field and living in the society for a long time the agency members have come to grasp what would be acceptable and what would not. For instance, the copywriter working on the Persian New Year campaign for one of their clients, "X7", discussed her developed slogan (*"like spring, always be green"*) with the team, but pointed out that this particular slogan might run the risk of being rejected by the governmental agents as it referred to green, namely, the

³⁶ This can happen with a change of president and his cabinet, which often results in swings between the conservatives and liberals. For example during Mr. Khatami presidency, the liberals had more power and during Mr. Ahmadinejad, the conservatives were in power. These swings can be reflected in regulations and governmental rules, especially for media and advertising sector (See Semati 2007).

colour that brought to mind the Green Movement³⁷ and the notion of spring that could remind people about the Arab Spring³⁸ up risings. However, despite the copywriter's worries, this ad had received the governmental approval.

4.1.2.3 Different standpoint between the creatives as the authors of the ad and the audience as the recipients:

Moreover, sometimes there are mismatches between creatives as the authors of the ads, and the public audiences as the recipients. Therefore, these different stances need to be reconciled. This can help creatives build the end tasks of A) increasing the level of gatekeeper approval (client's in this case), and D) developing creatives' professional identities. For this they rely on the aggregate practice of "finding the concerns and requirements of the target audience", where the aim is to find the audiences' concerns and requirements that can be used in generating the ideas and the goal is to reconcile creatives' and audiences' standpoints in order to generate ideas that not only can attract the audience but also be effective (see Smith and Yang 2004). This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of "Conducting ethnographic and ethnographic research regarding the audience behaviour", "Exploring and studying the cultural resources of the audiences", "Finding the audiences' archetypes", and "Empathizing with the audience and playing their roles through method acting".

Conducting ethnographic and ethnographic research regarding the audience behaviour:

creatives try to reach the campaign audience, in both offline and online platforms (e.g. in shops and social spaces as well as in weblogs) where they can observe

³⁷ The presidential re-election of Mr Ahmadinejad in 2009 caused a huge demonstration by the opposition (Liberals), as they claimed the elections were rigged. This uprising (called the Green Movement) led to the subsequent violent suppression by hardliners and governmental forces. This resulted in a wider gap between the conservatives and reformists within Iran's political establishment. (See more in Bozorgmehr Sharafedin 2011).

³⁸ These were anti-government demonstrations in the Arab world that expanded across the middle east in 2011 (Manfreda 2011).

their behaviours in general and more specifically their consumption behaviour regarding a particular type of advertised product or service in order to find the audiences' requirements, styles, and preferences and use them in their communication. Speaking in the audiences' own language can help the brand getting closer to the audience and have a positive effect (see Jayanti 2010). This is evident from the creative director's quote:

"...when I am walking I observe people and think what they are thinking about at that point...for example, when I am sitting in the waiting room in a clinic I am thinking about the viewpoints of other people who are also sitting there, maybe my judgement wouldn't be their truth....but still....I do this by observing what people are wearing, what age they are in, seeing whether he or she has paid attention to his/her clothing or not, what their concerns are.. When he or she speaks how he/she speaks and based on that I will conclude what and how he wants to hear..."

Also, when I asked Melissa, the copywriter, about the ways she tries to understand and get close to the campaign's target audiences, she replied:

"In general I will try to have a broad range of people in my life by using the tube, bus, and taxi for commuting, going downtown... my lifestyle as an advertiser is more than just my own life style..." Also she said: *"every morning I start my day by browsing Facebook, ad age, BBC, Twitter, and MBA³⁹ news websites".*

They do this to feed their brains and keep their information up to date to be able to use it for generating ideas and crafting ads.

For example, in the campaign for "X2", their client for hygienic and cosmetic products, Melissa, the copywriter, went to Highland, a supermarket aimed at social grade B consumers and found that they just had the Crystal brand and not "X2". Based on her observation she talked to the creative director about shopping behaviour regarding the products, e.g. the types of individuals who buy these

³⁹ MBA news, is where current Iranian ads and their creators along with their ad agency are presented for other creatives to evaluate.

products for their family, the factors they consider choosing the product, and so on. She tries to go and speak to the target audience but if she doesn't have time and if she cannot reach them, then the internet and weblogs are an option. For example, for the campaign for Fine, a brand of tissue, she browsed <http://www.ninisite.com/>, a weblog in which home-makers are talking about their everyday concerns and common practices.

Furthermore, creatives use these platforms to disseminate their work to gain credibility among their peers and develop their identities as creatives. During the fieldwork I saw Melissa, the copywriter, and Elham, the graphic designer, evaluating the ads on the MBA news website. Furthermore, Iman, the art-director told me he used the Behance website, which is a platform through which creatives share their work and receive their peers' evaluations, as means to share his works, particularly those that he was proud of, to gain credibility among his peers. Furthermore, a festival called Silver Cedar is held every two years. This was established by the association of Iranian graphic designers, a partner of the international council of communication design (ICOGRADA), for the purpose of nominating the best ads in the country for commendation. Regarding this, Melissa, the copywriter told me that Babak, the creative director of the ad agency had won the Silver Cedar prize for two consecutive years for his award-winning creative ads. This was mentioned to me as a grand achievement and something about which the members in the agency were all proud.

Exploring and studying the cultural resources of the audiences:

The other way to get familiar with the audiences' preferences, specifically those that can't be reached easily, is through studying the cultural resources they use (like their hobbies, the TV programmes they watch, the books they read, and the music they listen to) in order to use these sources in generating ideas.

For example, the copywriter told me in an interview that: *"...I flip through yellow magazines or watch the Iranian soap operas, although it is rubbish and in our own community who are mostly artists, they don't have time to watch such stuff, but I will, because I believe that these series are giving our people vernaculars ... we try to get close to them by finding what typically they like... I can't get*

connected to the A plus (social grade) audience as I am not one of them and I'm not in their places, as their places are very private, but for those other cases, based on what I have seen and heard, I will try to get close to them..."

Finding the audiences' archetypes:

After knowing the product/service they want to advertise, and the audience of the campaign, studying general categories of people can help creatives in getting closer to the attributes and personalities of the group, which in turn, can help them understand their requirements and use them in generating ideas that appeal to them. They do this by sometimes referring to Jungian archetypes⁴⁰ and persona developments⁴¹.

For example, in the campaign for "X2", the hygienic and cosmetic products, Babak, the creative director asked Melissa, the copywriter, whether she knew about Aphrodite, "Izad banooye yoonani, ایزد بانوی یونانی". He said there are six gods for men and six for women in Greek mythology and explained that some of them are more dominant in individuals, for example, Hermes is the god of gain and wealth, and Aphrodite is the goddess of love and beauty. He said by reading the story she can come up with some scenarios that can be related to people's feelings and behaviour regarding cosmetic usage.

The persona development strategy refers to making fictitious archetypal individuals based on the knowledge of the real audience to identify their motivations, expectations and preferences (Calabria 2004). In the same campaign the copywriter used this technique, which she had acquired from her educational background in industrial design, to understand different people's reactions toward "X2" products as being products of Iran, which seemed to be an important issue for the client. For example, she developed two characters, one is Maryam, the modern patriotic woman who is the director of her business company, is very successful in her job, and loves Iranian products as long as

⁴¹ Based on the knowledge of the real audience, creatives make personas who are a fictitious archetypal audience, to identify their motivations, expectations and preferences (Calabria 2004).

they have good quality and are genuine. She cares about her health and natural beauty but she doesn't want to change her appearance to look like celebrities even if it is the trend. The other is Nora who is following societal trends and if using Iranian products were to become a trend, she would definitely use them. She likes getting approval from her peers and the society in general. Later, the team were discussing characteristics of these personae to identify their concerns that can be used later in generating ideas.

Empathizing with the audience and playing their roles through method acting:

The creative team empathize with the target audience in order to realize their requirements, concerns, and preferences that can be valuable in generating ideas. They do this by putting themselves in the target audiences' shoes and method acting (see Vineberg 1991).

This can be done based on creatives' previous knowledge about this group or acquiring knowledge about them by studying their behaviour (See subsection 4.1.2.1 Finding the concerns and requirements of the target audience).

Sogol, the graphic designer, in response to the ways they empathize with their target audience told me:

"We need to be like actors or actresses in order to put ourselves in the audiences' shoes and empathize with them, to understand their requirements. For example, I am working for a campaign about "X7" that is about the World Cup, I am not a big fan of football and hadn't watched even a single match before. I wanted to get close to football and football fans and these websites, I tried to become one of them [football fans]... [after all these efforts] now I know all the famous football players, their body shape, their hair styles, and even what they are famous for and their idiosyncrasies... now I can be one of them to see the important things for them in football and what they care the most about in football and about football players ...".

4.1.2.4 The tension regarding art vs science:

In addition, there is a long standing conflict between arts and science in the domain of creativity in advertising. This is because in advertising, creativity has to achieve its objectives but also be effective (El-murad and West 2004). That is, creativity has to influence the audiences' attitudes and behaviour to perform the desired objectives (e.g. buy things and hence promote high levels of sales of the particular goods/services). This can be achieved by generating ideas that are not only novel and relevant to the task (i.e. the advertised product/service) but also address the audiences' concerns. By so doing, the creatives can generate ideas that can attract the audiences' attention as well as fulfil their needs (i.e. following end tasks A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, and D) developing creatives' professional identities). For doing this they rely on the aggregated practice of "Finding the capabilities of the advertised product/service", where based on the tangible features and capabilities of the product/service (e.g. its competitive price and quality), as well as intangible features, the creatives need to work in order to make these in to the client's competitive advantage, in terms of branding, and creatives are generating ideas for the campaign⁴². This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of "Exploring the tangible as well as the intangible features of the advertised product or service by trialling them"

⁴² The aim here is to make creativity in advertising a strategic creativity and generate believable ideas (see Beltramini 1982). They can achieve this goal by making creativity (i.e. novelty) in line with the features of the advertised product /service (i.e. relevancy). This can increase the ad's memorability and lead to successful campaigns. This can be seen in the copywriter's quote:

"I think creativity in advertising is to find a new way for a product to be introduced. This new way since it's new, will be seen and will be remembered. However, the novelty and newness should be in line with the message that I want to communicate with the brand audiences". For example, she referred to a billboard ad that is regarding a brand of rice where the ad exceeds the dimensions of the billboard. She said: "this kind of novelty can grab peoples' attention but since it is not relevant to the message that the ad wants to communicate, it has less chance to be recalled. While if this ad was about airlines and have some part of the plane outside the billboard, and my concept was that it can take you away from where you are, this novelty was in line with my message... first the outcropping of the plane would grab the audiences' attention and then convey my message which is by this airline you can go out of your usual setting..."

and “Exploring the tangible as well as the intangible features of the advertised product or service by questioning their target”.

Exploring the tangible as well as the intangible features of the advertised product or service by trialling them:

The creative team try to explore the features of the advertised product/service by trialling them in order to generate the ideas that can be recalled by the campaign’s audience and be a successful campaign.

For example, in the campaign for “X6”, regarding the quality of the products, the art-director, said: *“I cannot stand the taste, especially the one that has cardamom flavour”*. A designer said: *“it’s too sweet; coffee should not be like that”*. However, its price was half that of its foreign competitors, therefore, they considered its lower price and affordability to be the topic to work on in their campaign.

Another example can be seen in the campaign for a chain restaurant, “X12”, where the creative team visited the restaurant and tested the food and found that before starting to advertise the client’s restaurant, they need to do some amendments like working on the interior design, logo, menu, etc. so as to be able to fulfil the requirements and preferences of the defined target audience.

Exploring the tangible as well as the intangible features of the advertised product or service by questioning their target:

The creative team ask the target audience of the advertised product/service about the reasons why they use the product/service in order to consider the possibility of working on its tangible and intangible features to make them interesting for their audience and at the same time, make sure the message in their ads is in line with the capabilities of the advertised product/service and thus can lead to a believable ad.

For example, in the campaign for “X2”, the cosmetic and hygienic company, the creative director in an internal focus group asked members of the potential target audience about the reasons why they may opt for purchasing “X2” while giving

them some product samples to try. Based on their responses he noted the potential capabilities of these products were as follows: being cheaper than its competitor and being fresh (tangible features) for the audience claimed that some foreign products are sometimes outdated due to the trade sanctions imposed on Iran. The ad agency staff can work on it being Iranian by associating it with a compelling story (intangible features), since it being a product made in Iran and one of good quality are features that can attract patriotic people, mostly women.

Another instance was observed in the campaign for “X4” mobile phones, where the creative director showed the “X4” mobile phone to the production team, who were some mucho guys and were thought to be among the audience of the product. They were excited about the product and gave their plausible opinions about it. They said “X4” mobile phones are good for campaigning, car and motorbike races. Based on their responses, the creative director found resilient as the potential capabilities of “X4” mobile phones that they can work on in generating ideas.

4.1.2.5 Difficulty in communicating the information without shaping it in a more understandable format:

Further, it is important to find a means through which the generated message can be communicated with people other than the creatives who are the composers of the messages. Hence, for achieving this objective, creatives need to formulate the messages in the format of ideas, more specifically, by generating ideas that can be externalised and communicated with others. This can help them in achieving the end tasks of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers’ approval, C) achieving the ad agency’s marketing and positioning aims, and D) developing creatives’ professional identities. They do this by relying on the aggregated practice of “Generating ideas”, where the aim is to sum up all the gathered information to form some concrete ideas that can be externalised and communicated with stakeholders, other than just the creatives. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of “Matching the gathered information with the developed channel for doing creativity practices”, “Referring to the client’s profitability and using their (creatives’) cultural reservoir”, and “Developing story outlines”.

Matching the gathered information with the developed channel for doing creativity practices:

Creatives try to connect the developed channel for doing creativity practices with the concerns of the audience and the capabilities of the advertised product for generating ideas.

For example, in the campaign for “X6”, based on the capabilities of the product in general (as coffee) and not just the brand, the creative team came up with seven ideas: keeping you awake, making you social and helping you talk with others, and enhanced concentration, to name but three. Later they tried to categorise these features into a broader focus. For example, the copywriter went to the board and drew three circles that incorporated all the ideas and named them: coffee, caffeine, and café. After that, they tried to understand the group(s) that the “X6” products belong to by considering its capabilities and its target audiences' concerns. By doing this they eliminated the categories that were irrelevant and kept only those that were relevant to their campaign. For example, the idea of café was crossed out; as the creative team believed the target audience, comprising mostly c1 and c2 social grades, were not those people who go to a café, and rather tend to have their coffee, either at home or at work. Thus, they talked about the campaign audience's monetary concerns and the factor of its cheaper price as the key capability of the advertised products. Further, as these targets often use coffee to keep awake for either work duties or study, the ad agency members found caffeine as another useful capability of the “X6” products for generating their ideas.

Referring to the client's profitability and using their (creatives') cultural reservoir:

Based on the profitability of the client (See subsection 4.1.1.3, gauging by the agency of the client's potential for providing profitability for the ad agency), creatives use their acquired knowledge and information from different sources to come up with some concepts that encompass the gathered information about the audience's concerns, capability of the advertised product/service as well as the degree of harmony with the developed channel for doing creativity practices.

For example, in the “X13” World Cup campaign, knowing the capabilities and strength of their client, its profitability for the ad agency and based on the client/agency well developed level of trust, the ad agency used their knowledge⁴³ and decided to go further for this client by suggesting using celebrity endorsement for this brand while it had been banned in the Islamic Republic of Iran from 2008. Thus, not only the client would reap the reward of having the first celebrity endorsement in the country but also the ad agency would benefit from being the first ad agency that was able to convince the government of the need for celebrity endorsement.

Developing story outlines:

For TVCs and radio commercials, members of the creative and production teams get together to generate ideas based on a scenario framework or story outlines. This requires that the creatives visualise the scene for the story that they want to develop and then explain it to each other. The story outlines can take five (a-e) formats.

a) Before/after and the problem solution scenario:

One way to develop ideas into stories is to show the before and after situation relating to use of the advertised product/service which mainly focuses on its capabilities. Drawing on the concerns of the target audience, creatives try to offer up the advertised product/service as being the solution to these.

In this part, the degree to which the creatives can exaggerate the problem and the situation prevailing before introducing the advertised product/service to the situation depends on the aims of the campaign. In the early stages of product branding, the stated problem and situation are usually mild as the target audience might associate the problem, rather than the solution, with the brand. In later stages, the creatives have more freedom to exaggerate the problem and the situation as the brand image has already been established with the product.

⁴³ Creatives were aware of the rise in the popularity of celebrity endorsement around The World Cup 2014.

An example of this scenario format was put forward for the campaign for “X9” campaign. Elham, the graphic designer based one of her generated ideas on showing the negative consequences of speed driving. She aimed to raise awareness of the dangers of speeding by showing the before and after situations of a truck driver and his assistant driving down a motorway and having an accident. Regarding problem solution scenarios, the copywriter gave the image of a student studying during the exam period. When he is too sleepy to continue and can’t keep his eyes open, by using “X6” products, the student stays awake and can complete his revision.

b) The Analogy:

The story can be formulated in analogical way by focusing on the features of the product/service. For example, in the campaign for “X6”, one art director talked about imagery showing the person putting the coffee powder in a regular cup that transforms into a mountain over which the hot water is poured so as to dissolve it. Under this, the analogy in the message is that by using “X6” products, the individual can sort out the heap of problems facing him/her. This was achieved by having narration over the motion graphics. Also, in the campaign for “X2” and its cosmetic and hygienic products, the graphic designer talked about using the imagery of ironing a cloth to show how creases disappear. The analogy is that “X2” products can smooth out wrinkles on the face.

c) Process-result scenario:

The other way to present a story is to show behind the scenes by highlighting the tangible and intangible features of the product/service. This refers to the process of production for the advertised product or the team used in the advertised service and linking this to the results when these people are using them.

For example, in the campaign for “X2”, the creatives decided to talk about the properties of the used ingredients in the cosmetic and hygienic product. Likewise, the creatives can elaborate on the intangible features in the production and relate these to the positive consequences on product/service use. For instance, with the “X6” campaign, the production manager said, *“We can show that all the staff in the production line are happy when making “X6” products and will pass their happiness on to the consumers when they use them”*.

d) Linking the advertised brand to socio-cultural elements:

Creatives try to make a place for the brand in popular socio-cultural daily events, or by linking it to a buzz word, the vernacular and current hot topics. For example, for the “X6” campaign, Melissa, the copywriter suggested the phrase, *“how can I help you or what do you want?”* which in Iran, is a common phrase that is being used in homes, at work, in cafés and restaurants. She described a scene wherein the answer to the prompt *“what do you want?”* is always “X6”, which implies that the diversity of products means that this brand can always satisfy all tastes.

e) Using executional techniques:

Sometimes, for generating ideas, creatives use the available executional techniques. For the “X6” campaign, the production manager said that *“we can use video pause on a very critical scene like when one is getting his/her graduation certificate, which can make it more interesting”*.

4.1.2.6 Different views of various stakeholders involved in the process of creativity in advertising:

Finally, as stated previously, there are multiple stakeholders involved in the process of creativity of advertising, thus the ad agency members select a variety of different ideas to appeal to a wide range of people in an attempt to increase the chance of receiving approval (i.e. achieving the end task of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers’ approval). In addition, incorporating and listening to different creatives’ voices can increase their perceived level of competences and psychological ownership (see Avey et al. 2009) and in turn lead to end task of E) increasing the creatives’ motivation. For doing this they rely on the aggregated practice of “Selecting the campaign ideas”. The aim is to evaluate the generated ideas to select more than one idea for execution and externalisation purposes in order to incorporate different tastes among the creatives as well as other gatekeepers (i.e. clients, governmental officers). This in turn can result in increasing creatives’ motivation, appealing to a wide range of people (different tastes) and also impressing clients with their level of effort and the amount of

hard work expended for them⁴⁴. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of “Evaluating the generated ideas based on the developed channel for doing creativity practices”, “Checking the generated ideas against the existing ads”, “Checking the generated ideas in terms of the feeling they conveyed”, and “Selecting different ideas”.

Evaluating the generated ideas based on the developed channel for doing creativity practices:

The evaluation is based on the developed channel for doing creativity practices (gathered information including the client’s preferences, the socio-cultural conditions and requirements, and governmental rules and government officials’ preferences), the audience’s concerns, and the product/ service capabilities.

For example, Azadeh, a senior art director told me that:

“There is a brief in our mind all the time, and we have comprehended the client’s views so [when you are working on an idea] you want to achieve them in your idea...so when we develop the ideas we know which one encompass all the points and which doesn’t”.

In addition, regarding evaluating the developed scenarios based on the channel of doing creativity practices (governmental rules and preferences), in “X6” campaign, a designer presented a story in which a coffee drop in the cup would turn to a person skiing. The production manager said it could be taken as resembling fortune-telling behaviour and therefore, might not receive approval by the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting.

Checking the generated ideas against the existing ads:

The generated idea is checked against the existing ads in the field about the type of advertised product/service in order to make sure the ideas are not similar to those other ads in the field.

⁴⁴ This part is not separated from the previous parts of generating ideas. However, this separation, is necessary for the purposes of this thesis to present data in a comprehensive manner.

For example, in the “X6” campaign, the idea regarding traveling and coffee was rejected, as the creative director said, this was seen in all the ads for insurance and tomato purée companies.

Checking the generated ideas in terms of the feeling they conveyed:

The generated ideas are checked in terms of the feeling they can convey to their target audience, in order to ensure their believability. This refers to the extent to which an advertisement makes enough confidence in their audience about its truthfulness (Beltramini 1982) and can result in more positive attitudes toward the advertised brand (O’Cass and Griffin 2006).

For example, regarding the issue of the feeling that the ads can convey to their target audience, in the “X6” campaign, when the production manager talked about showing the product on the shelves behind cafe bars and suggesting that instant coffees are the secret ingredient used by the barista, a copy writer and art-director objected as they thought that showing the instant coffee in this way would not be believed by the audience.

Selecting different ideas:

Creatives with the aid of other ad agency members select a few ideas (usually three) that are probably close to the taste and preferences of one of the parties: the creatives, the client, and the government. This is to increase the chance of an idea meeting with acceptance by the client as it demonstrates the efforts made by the team and addresses the various views held within the client team. Further, a few are chosen to appeal to other gatekeepers such as the governmental institutes and their rules, to increase the chance of acceptance by them. In addition, by respecting different tastes within the creative team the staff can feel valued and this could increase their likelihood of retention which, in the long run, is beneficial for the ad agency.

Selecting several different ideas (usually three) was seen in all the fourteen campaigns for which I was present.

In table 4.3, the potential tensions in this bundle along with the practices and sub-practices used for overcoming them and their contribution toward achieving the

identified end tasks are given, namely: A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) achieving the ad agency's desired proposals to have successful campaigns, C) achieving the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims, D) developing creatives' professional identities, and E) increasing the creatives' motivation.

Table 4.3: Tensions, practices, sub-practices, and contribution toward end tasks in the briefing and generating the campaign ideas bundle of the process of creativity in advertising

Tensions	Sub-practices	Aggregated practices	Contribution toward end tasks
Tentative brief that lacks rigorous information is used for generating ideas	<p><u>Exploring the underlying problem for the client’s brand and verifying the aim(s) of the campaign:</u> In this phase, the ad agency members try to understand the client’s brand problem by relying on the market research data, based on which the aim of the campaign can be identified.</p> <p><u>Exploring and verifying the target audience for the campaign:</u> The ad agency members try to find the target audience of the client’s brand by relying on market research data.</p> <p><u>Manoeuvring around the tangible and intangible features of the advertised product/service:</u> Sometimes the ad agency members try to get closer to the target defined by the client by working on the client’s product/service.</p> <p><u>Finding the communication target for the campaign:</u> The creatives try to find the communication target whom the rest of the consumers aspire to follow so as to be identified as one.</p>	<p>Forming the brief: Developing the brief by verifying the campaign aims and target audience in order to generate the ideas accordingly and have a successful campaign.</p>	<p>Verifying the assumptions in the brief in order to B)achieve the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns , C) achieve the ad agency’s marketing and positioning aims, D) develop creatives’ professional identities, and E) increase the creatives’ motivation</p>

Various views of stakeholders involved in the process of creativity in advertising

Exploring the socio-cultural attributes and conditions of society: The ad agency members develop a sense about the milieu in which they are working and its socio-cultural conditions to generate ideas that can be executable, socialised and disseminated efficiently.

Considering the ad agency code: The creatives try to develop a sense about the preferences of the creative team, as well as those who are powerful regarding accepting or rejecting their idea.

Developing a sense about the client's preferences: learning about the client's preferences and requirements in order to find out what is preferred and what is not.

Sharing the acquired soft data about the client with other creatives: Passing on the developed sense about the client's persona and world view to the selected creative team.

Assimilating the government's requirements and preferences: Learning the regulations and the personal preferences of the governmental agents who are responsible for approving the ads.

Finding the appropriate channel for doing creativity:
Exploring various views and preferences of stakeholders and gatekeepers involved in the process of creativity in order to design a path, generate ideas accordingly and increase the chance of the ad's approval.

Developing an understanding about the preferences of various stakeholders to incorporate different views and preferences in generating the ideas in order to **A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval**

Different standpoint between the creatives as the authors of the ad and the audience as the recipients

Conducting ethnographic and netnographic research: Creatives try to reach the campaign audience, in offline and online platforms to observe their behaviours in general and more specifically, consumption behaviour regarding the type of product advertised.

Exploring and studying the cultural resources of the audiences: Studying the cultural resources of the campaign audience (e.g. their hobbies, the TV programmes they watch, the books they read, and the music they listen to).

Finding the audiences' archetypes: Studying the general categories of people to get closer to the audience's attributes and personalities and

Finding the concerns and requirements of the target audience:
Exploring the concerns and requirements of the campaign audience in order to generate the ideas accordingly and increase the campaign effectiveness.

Developing an understanding about the audiences' concerns and preferences and incorporating these in their ideas, so as to increase the chance of acceptance by the audience and the likelihood of a successful and effective campaign in order to **A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval, and D) develop creatives' professional identities**

understand their requirements and preferences.
Empathizing with the audience and playing out their roles through method acting: Creatives try to put themselves in the target audiences' shoes by method acting to realize their requirements, concerns, and preferences.

The tension regarding art vs science i.e. creativity for the sake of creativity and strategic creativity that is not only novel but also relevant to the task which here is the promotion of the advertised product/service
Difficulty in communicating the information without shaping it in a more understandable format

Exploring the tangible as well as the intangible features of the advertised product or service by trialling them: Creatives try to find the potential of the advertised product/service by trialling these themselves.
Exploring the tangible as well as the intangible features of the advertised product or service by questioning their target: Creatives try find the potential of the advertised product/service by asking the target audience about why they use them.

Matching the gathered information with the developed channel for doing creativity practices: Creatives try to connect the developed channel for doing creativity practices with the concerns of the audience and the capabilities of the advertised product for generating ideas.
Referring to the client's profitability and using their (creatives') cultural reservoir: Based on the profitability of the client, creatives use their acquired knowledge and information from different sources (e.g. the arts, websites, TV programmes, and movies) to come up with some ideas.
Developing story outlines: The creative and production teams get together to generate ideas based on a scenario framework or story outline.

Finding the capabilities of the advertised product/service:
Exploring the features of the advertised product/service in order to generate the ideas accordingly and increase the memorability of the campaign.

Generating ideas:
Summing up all the gathered information to form some concrete ideas that can be externalised and communicated with the various stakeholders in the process.

Developing an understanding about the capabilities of the advertised product/service and incorporate these in their ideas to increase the believability of the ad for its audience and have a successful campaign so as to **A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval, and D) develop creatives' professional identities.**

Forming concrete ideas that can be externalised and communicated with the ad agency members, the client, the governmental officers, and the audience in order to **A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval, C) achieve the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims, and D) develop creatives' professional identities**

Different views of various stakeholders involved in the process of creativity in advertising

Evaluating the generated ideas: The ad agency members evaluate the ideas based on the developed channel for doing creativity practices, the audience's concerns, and the product/service capabilities.

Checking the generated ideas against the existing ads: The ad agency members check the generated ideas against the existing ads in the field about the type of advertised product/service in order to make sure the ideas are not similar to other ads in the field.

Checking the generated ideas in terms of the feeling they conveyed: The ad agency members check the generated ideas in terms of the feeling they can convey to their target audience, in order to ensure their believability.

Selecting different ideas: The ad agency members select a few ideas (usually three) that are probably close to the taste and preferences of one of the parties, i.e. the creatives, the client, and the government.

Selecting the campaign ideas:

Selecting more than one idea and route based on the preferences of the various stakeholders of the process.

Having different ideas based on the preferences of various stakeholders and appealing to a wide range of people (different tastes) and also impressing clients with their level of effort and the amount of work they have to do for them in order to **A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) achieve the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns and E) increasing the creatives' motivation.**

In following subsection, the summary of the briefing and generating the ideas bundle, the employed practices and their trajectory toward the identified end tasks are explained and also illustrated (see figure 4.2).

4.1.2.7 A summary of practices' contributions in briefing and generating the ideas bundle:

As discussed above, in this bundle, the main aims are verifying the assumptions such as the identity of the target audience, the campaign aim(s) and generating ideas that accord with the tastes and preferences of those to whom the ad is directly or indirectly communicating in order to have a successful campaign and B)achieve the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns to achieve the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims, develop creatives' professional identities, and increase the creatives' motivation (see the first line from the top in figure 4.2). In addition, the socio-cultural conditions and requirements of the society, the preferences of senior members of the ad agency, the client's preferences, the rules of the governmental institutes and the preferences of its agents who are responsible for approving the ad are considered to find a path based on the preferences of different stakeholders in order to increase the level of gatekeepers' approval (see the second line from the top in figure 4.2).Moreover, in order to obtain approval from the audience of the campaign as well as communicate effectively with them, the concerns of the campaign audience are studied. This, in turn, can help retain existing clients, attract new ones by fostering the ad agency's reputation as well as develop creatives' professional identities (see the third line from the top in figure 4.2). Further, generating ideas that reflect the capabilities of the advertised product/service can lead to an effective and believable campaign which in turn can increase the level of gatekeepers' approval and develop creatives' professional identities (see the fourth line from the top in figure 4.2). In addition, forming the gathered information into a concrete format, allows for the ideas to be communicated easily with other stakeholders in the process of creativity in advertising which can increase the level of gatekeepers' approval, contribute to the achievement of the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims and develop creatives' professional identities (see the fifth line from the top in figure 4.2).

Finally, creatives usually select more than one idea and route for their campaign in order to impress the client in terms of their efforts and amount of work they have put in, and serves to satisfy the different tastes and preferences in both the ad agency and the client team. Also it can increase the level of gatekeepers' approval, achieve the ad agency desired proposal to have a successful campaign, and increase the creatives' motivation (see the last line from the bottom in figure 4.2).

In figure 4.2 below, the sub practices and practices for the briefing and generating ideas bundle and their contribution (i.e. the green rectangles) that can be used in later bundles of the creativity process to achieve the end tasks of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns, C) achieving the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims, D) developing creatives' professional identities, and E) increasing the creatives' motivation, are presented.

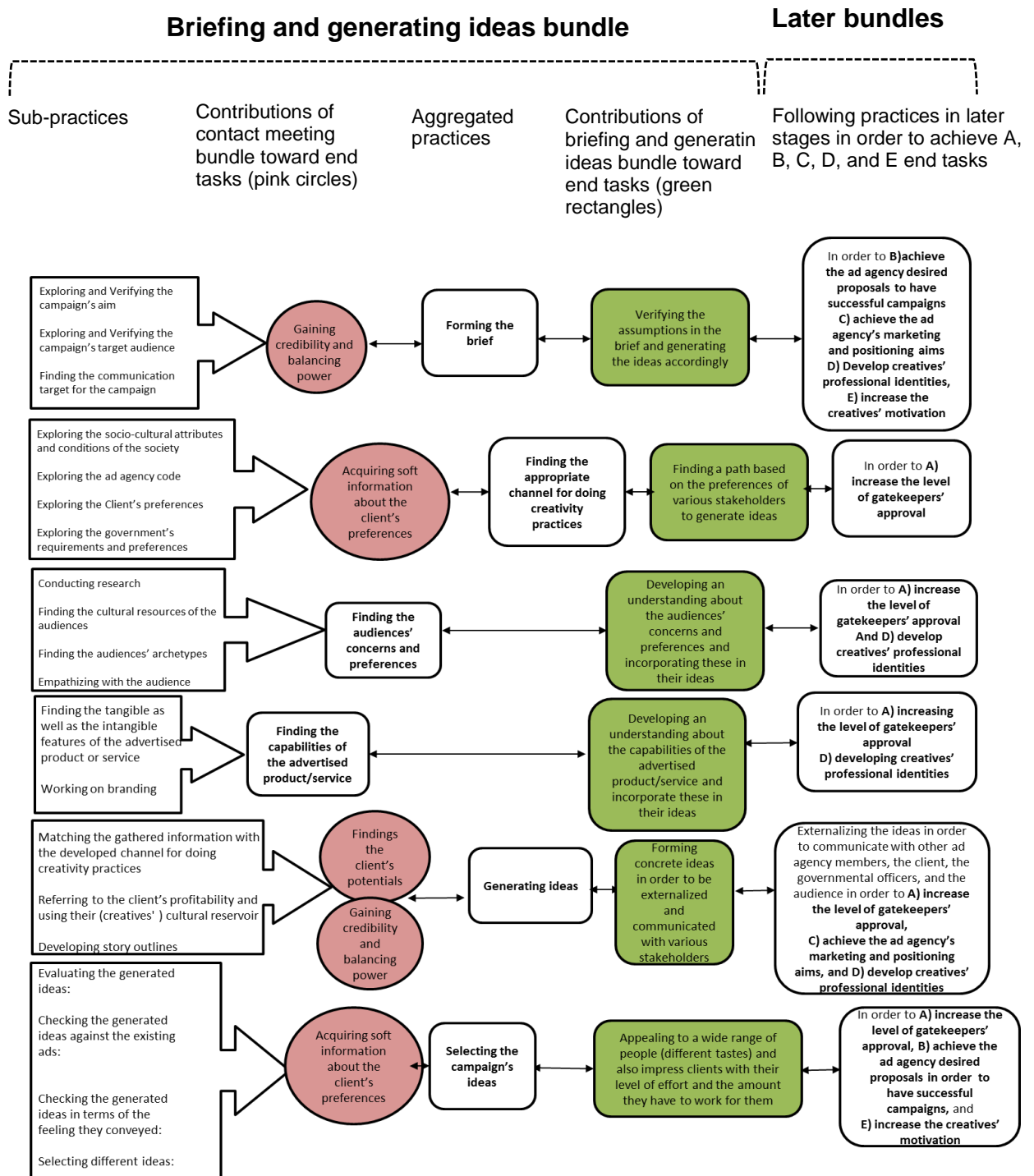


Figure 4.2: Briefing and generating the campaign ideas (the pink parts are the contributions of the 1st bundle (i.e. contact meeting) that are used and the green parts are the contributions of the 2nd bundle, (i.e. briefing and generating the campaign ideas) toward identified end tasks of A, B, C, D, and E

4.1.3 Bundle 3, the execution and Reification of the selected ideas: a detailed account

The selected ideas need to be reified and externalised in order to be communicated with other ad agency members, the client, and the other gatekeepers for their comments and subsequent approval. This bundle is illustrated above in table 4.1 coloured orange. There are five practices (i.e. Reifying the selected ideas into several visuals prior to copies, Reifying the selected ideas into copies prior to developing visuals, Managing time, Receiving feedback on the reified ideas and combining the refined visuals with copies, and Compiling the ideas for preparing different routes for presentation to the client) employed to overcome the tensions in this bundle. The tensions are: Difficulty in communicating the ideas with various stakeholders involved in the process of creativity, Clashes between the client and the account team's requirements and the creative team's capabilities regarding time, Different views held by creatives and other stakeholders, Difficulty in convincing different stakeholders about the selected ideas). These contribute toward the identified end tasks (i.e. A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) achieve the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns , and E) increase the creatives' motivation). These are illustrated in table 4.4. Finally, at the end of this section, the summary of these details and the trajectory toward the identified end tasks are depicted in figure 4.3.

In the following, the tensions in the execution and reification of the selected ideas bundle, the employed practices and sub-practices for overcoming the tensions and achieving the practices' end tasks are explained and evidence provided.

4.1.3.1 Difficulty in communicating the ideas with various stakeholders involved in the process of creativity:

Based on the described tensions in table 4.1, i.e. the difficulty in communicating the ideas with various stakeholders, the ad agency members need to externalise the ideas. This is essential if they are to communicate them with these different stakeholders: the aforementioned users, collaborators, and perceivers. This communication provides the ad agency members with some feedback which, in

turn, can help them check the ideas against the developed channel for doing creativity practice, the concerns of the target audience, as well as the capabilities of the advertised product/service, so as to have higher chances of acceptance and success (i.e. achieving the end tasks of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval). In addition, externalising different ideas helps ad agency members to not only incorporate the client's preferences but also to put forward their own desired route which can help them in achieving the end task of B) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns. For doing this they rely on the aggregated practice of "Reifying the selected ideas into several visuals prior to copies", where based on art as the language of communication among creatives⁴⁵, the externalisation of ideas starts with visuals prior to copies, This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of "Developing story boards", "Developing mood boards", and "Categorising the developed visuals and developing the appropriate slogans for them".

⁴⁵ As Kar (2011) stated: "Arts creation is inherently in contradiction with ideological censorship".

Therefore the Islamic rules and regulations of society allow creativity to take place but by relying on indirect ways, creatives make sure that the work is not against Islamic regulations. This point was reiterated by one of the art-directors in the ad agency when he talked about the particular role of Islamic and conservative regulations and societal restrictions regarding creativity in advertising:

"It's [the Islamic and conservative rules and regulations] negative as it makes us far from our audience and we need to show the products in indirect ways but in some cases, it can be beneficial, like other stuff in Iran, which is my opinion. Because people [in Iran based on the shortcomings imposed by the Islamic and conservative parties] need to be curious and connect everything in order to conclude, this make us creative as we are trying to find new ways and not following the clichés".

This indirectness and abstract expressions in being creative in advertising in Iran leads to the dominance of art over the copy as the former is a more implicit way of communication (see Schapiro, 1937). This can be seen in the copywriter's quote:

"There are limited numbers of copywriters in Iran [post-revolution], I think we are not more than 10 people or even fewer...Everywhere in the world copywriters become creative directors and it is less usual for graphic designers to become creative directors... this is because [foreign ad agencies know] that it's the peoples' ideologies and thoughts that need to be provoked [by using copywriters' thoughts in the creative ad] But not here [post-revolutionary Iran]... in Iran [post-revolution] as advertising belongs to graphic designers..."

Developing story boards:

According to the developed ideas and scenarios from the generating idea bundle, the production team externalise the scenarios into storyboards. For this, the image maker in the production team develops the required images and drawings for the story, and sometimes, when time is available, the production manager makes motion graphics. Later, the externalised storyboards, with a minimum of two stories for each concept, are checked by the creatives. This is to check whether they are in line with the developed channel for doing creativity practices, the concerns of the audience, the capabilities of the product/service, and convey the logics and message(s) behind the developed scenarios. After this the copywriter writes the narrations ⁴⁶for the scenarios.

Developing mood boards:

For externalising the selected ideas as visuals, the selected creative team, (the art-director and graphic designers) produce mood boards. This usually involves making more than one for each selected idea and each needs to receive approval from the target audience, creative director, and account team before introducing the copy and slogan into the visuals. For this, the creatives **a)** collect the required materials (photos and visuals) for executing the selected ideas, **b)** build an appropriate territory to increase their productivity and come up with more than one mood board for each selected idea so as to accord to a wide range of tastes and preferences. Next, the creative director, the account team, and the potential target audience need to affirm the developed visuals. Subsequently, the copywriter categorises the developed visuals and develops the appropriate slogans for them. After that, the copywriter and creative director consult with each other to improve the developed slogans, after which, the graphic designers or art-directors with the copywriter's supervision, combine the visuals and copies. Later, the best matches from each category are selected by the creative director and incorporated in a presentation which is put together with the purpose of convincing and selling the ideas to the client.

⁴⁶ At this stage the narration is general and later after the film production, the narrations are revised by the copywriter with the supervision of the production manager and the creative director.

a) Collecting the required materials for executing the selected ideas:

Sometimes the creatives use photos already available in the ad agency archive file⁴⁷. However, if they need something that can't be found, they order this via the traffic manager⁴⁸, who is responsible for purchasing and providing the required materials for the creative team. Also, they may ask the image-maker⁴⁹, to develop the required picture or the ad agency photographer to take the required photos for them.

b) Building an appropriate territory to work in: When developing visuals, most of the time the art-directors, graphic designers, and even the creative director listen to music on headphones while they are working, in order to have the appropriate ambiance for developing and externalising their ideas. For example, in the World cup campaign for "X13", the creative was listening to music about football and for a while he played it in the department. He said "*sorry [to the creative team], it's not relevant to you but so relevant to what I am doing*". After evaluating the developed visuals, the copywriter develops appropriate copies for the visuals which are incorporated later in the mood boards.

Categorising the developed visuals and developing the appropriate slogans for them:

After the approval of the developed visuals, the author(s) of the visuals, (the creative director, senior art-directors, or graphic designers), communicate the intentions and reasons behind them with the copywriter. However, often the copywriter needs to re-categorise the visuals based on the message she thinks they can convey and sometimes according to new logics that go beyond the original logics of the selected ideas. This is because the art works and visuals are not always within the concepts of the selected ideas and sometimes contain

⁴⁷ In this ad agency the purchased and collected pictures and photos are stored in the IT network for creatives to access.

⁴⁸ This can be done through downloading the required fonts through: <http://www.dafont.com/> and photos from <http://www.shutterstock.com>, <http://www.istockphoto.com>.

⁴⁹ This refers to who is in the production department and responsible for developing the images for the characters and scenes in the animations.

other messages. Thus, after categorising the visuals, the copywriter develops the appropriate slogans for each category.

For example, in the campaign for “X4” mobile phones, the copywriter told me that:

“Babak [the creative director] had a category in his mind when he was producing these art works but when he sent the art-works to me I changed the category of one art work from having its focus on instruments for workers [what the creative director thought as the meaning behind the art-work] to the category that focuses on resilience [what the copy-writer thought this art-work can convey]”.

She also mentioned that:

“Something that most often happens is that the generated concepts and ideas would be somehow changed [from the sessions where they generated the ideas] and some art works incorporate some other logics rather than those that were generated in the meetings. In these occasions my task is harder as I have to come up with a different logic that is not in the generated concepts and ideas”.

Thus, it is the responsibility of the copywriter to make sure the artworks are within the logics of the generated concepts. However, if they are not, then the copywriter has to try and find a suitable logic that not only suits the art works but also is in line with the generated ideas. After categorising the visuals, the copywriter develops the campaign’s slogan. This is based on the logic behind each category, the acquired knowledge about the audience, and the capabilities of the product/service in line with the developed channel for doing the creativity practice.

For example, in the campaign for “X7” animal-shaped flakes, the copywriters acknowledged a very popular programme for children shown on the Iranian national TV, where the characters always added a suffix “inga” to their words when communicating. The copywriter came up with the word “jungle–inga” to refer to the name of the advertised product in her slogan. The popularity of this way of talking is evident to the extent that people add this suffix to their vocabularies in their everyday speech.

After developing the slogans, the creative director or/and the ad agency CEO evaluates them before giving their approval. After this, the copies and visuals can be combined.

Further, another aggregated practice is employed to communicate the ideas with various stakeholders: “Reifying the selected ideas into copies prior to developing visuals” is employed, where externalisation started from copy prior to visuals. This is done when creatives have enough time for reifying the ideas, or when they do not want to invest a lot of time and effort on the clients’ project, also when the message behind the idea is developed by the copywriter. This involves the sub-practices of “Developing copy”, and “Adapting the visual production according the logic and concept behind the generated copy and getting the copywriter’s approval for the developed visuals”.

Developing copy:

The copywriter tries to externalise the idea into copy after which visuals will be developed accordingly. In addition, in order to make sure copies can be produced as visuals, an expert in design like the graphic designer is also needed.

For example, in the campaign for “X2”, based on the client’s preferred target audience, i.e. the A social grades, and knowing the capabilities of the “X2” products and the concerns of the target audience, the creative team decided to work on the B and to possibly expand to the A social grade audiences (See manoeuvring around the tangible and intangible features of the advertised product/service in subsection 4.1.2.1). The aim of the “X2” campaign was decided on as centring around the “X2” brand image as people were found to be aware of the brand but its plausibility was something that required working on. Hence, the copywriter decided to work on two different categories and lifestyles, 1) “natural beauty”, those who love themselves for what they are, and 2) “the science of nature” targeting those who follow the trend of using organic and natural products and get their identity by being approved by their peer group and society in general. Also, she elaborated on the country of origin, Iran, as

something that can be applied to both groups. This decision was based on the client's emphasis on their product's natural ingredients and being Iranian⁵⁰ and the capabilities of "X2" skincare products as well as the concerns of the target audience, i.e. social grade B individuals. In order to be sure that the developed paths and ideas for "X2" could be produced as visuals, the copywriter had assistance from the graphic designer, who was present with her in the idea reification and development sessions. The copywriter based on these two lifestyles and viewpoints decided to use "I am beautiful and I like myself من زیبا هستم و خودم را دوست دارم" for the natural beauty group (group1) and "I gain my beauty from the nature من از طبیعت زیبا میشوم" for the science of nature group (group 2).who were individuals who followed the social trend of using organic and natural products.

Adapting the visual production according the logic and concept behind the generated copy and getting the copywriter's approval for the developed visuals:

After the copy development, for the visual externalisation, the copywriter and the graphic designer need to explain the logic behind their developed slogan and messages to those who want to develop the visuals. They work closely with the creatives to make sure the visuals are in line with the developed ideas and can convey their messages.

For example, in the "X2" campaign, Melissa and Elham, the copywriter and the graphic designer, explained the developed ideas and their corresponding slogans to the creative director and Leila, another graphic designer who was responsible for developing visuals. Subsequently the creative director asked the copywriter and the graphic designer about a photo of a woman, which he wanted to work on for the visuals targeted at the natural beauty group to make sure it is in line with the logic of the developed slogans.

⁵⁰ However, focusing on being Iranian was not included in the presentation.

4.1.3.2 Clashes between the client and the account team's requirements and the creative team's capabilities regarding time:

Based on the role of the account team as the intermediary between the client and the creative team, and the client's concerns which mainly concern time schedules (see Hackley 2000), the creative team members need to set limits to the client's expectations, having had the expectations passed to them by the accounts team, and ensure that they have enough time to deliver the required tasks (i.e. achieving the end tasks of B) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns). They do this by relying on the aggregated practice of "Managing time", where the creative director manages the workload by making sure that there is enough time for the creatives to do their job. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of "Setting and managing the expectation of the account team, and "allocating the development of visuals to senior staff".

Setting and managing the expectation of the account team:

The creative team, especially the creative director tries to manage the time by setting and managing the expectations of the account team. This can be achieved by keeping the developed works that the creative team have done in a short period of time, away from the account team.

For example, regarding the "X5" mobiles project, the creative director told the photographer:

"Don't show the visuals to the account team; since we got the brief yesterday and we came up with the visuals in a day, they will expect more from us from now on. However, this is not the case for all the projects, as this one was interesting but some might take 2-3 days to be able to come up with an idea".

Allocating the development of visuals to senior staff:

Allocating the development of visuals to senior roles is another technique to save time by reducing the time needed for evaluations and revisions.

For example, in the campaign for "X3", Azadeh, the senior art-director was individually working on the art-works and she told me *"in these situations [short*

time] I prefer working on my own as if I ask graphic designers to help then I have to control their output which is time consuming”.

4.1.3.3 Different views held by creatives and other stakeholders:

As mentioned above, in the process of creativity there are various stakeholders who might have different preferences and worldviews. In light of this, the ad agency members need to try to reconcile the views held by creatives as the authors of the ideas with the client preferences in order to increase the chance of receiving approval for the ad (i.e. the end tasks of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers’ approval). This can be achieved by having an evaluation of the creatives’ generated ideas carried out by those who know the client, such as the account team staff or the client’s representatives. Also, since creatives are asked to incorporate feedback and not just robotically deliver on the instructions handed to them, this in turn can increase their degree of psychological ownership and perceived level of competences which can lead to achieving the end task of E) increasing the creatives’ motivation. Getting the gatekeepers’ approval (i.e. from the senior staff in the ad agency, the client and the governmental institutes) before starting the real production of printing the ads for billboards or/and producing animations or real footage for films, means the ad agency members save time, effort, and money. For doing this they rely on the aggregated practice of “Receiving feedback on the reified ideas and concluding the refined visuals with copies”. The evaluation is made on the externalised ideas in order to them closer to the different stakeholders’ preferences, mainly those of the client, and for providing some degree of autonomy for individual creatives to revise their work based on the feedback. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of “Evaluating Visuals, “Evaluating Copies”, and “Combining the refined copies and visuals accordingly”.

Evaluating Visuals:

The visual components, mostly in the preliminary stage of their reification, are evaluated by the creative director, the account team, and the potential target audience. Although the story outlines have already been verified by the creatives and account team in their brainstorming session, in order to make sure the

externalised storyboards convey the intended message of the generated ideas and story outlines, the creative director needs to verify them at this stage.

For example, in the campaign for “X9”, the creative director considered the visual developed by Mehdi, the image-maker, for the storyboard regarding the above mentioned scenario about the motorway accident. Mehdi was advised to change the lamp posts featured in the drawings as they, apparently, were more typical of an urban setting and were not consistent with the context of the motorways between cities, which formed the basis of the central idea.

In addition, for the campaign for “X5” mobile phones with OS KitKat, the creative director told the art-director to focus more on the mobile phone instead of the Kit Kat element. This was based on the campaign’s aim, which was awareness about the new OS KitKat and not the chocolate bar.

Regarding storyboards, for example, in the campaign for “X9”, when Elham, the graphic designer, was working on the visuals for the idea of “being careless and its consequences on friends and family members’ lives”, the creative director came to her desk and told her to emphasise how the unitedness of a family can be destroyed by being careless on the roads. He told her: “*They [the client] were obsessed about showing family scenes and their centrality.*”

As for the evaluation from the account team, in the campaign for “X7”, Somayeh, the project manager visited the creative department. She carefully reminded Roxana, the art-director, that for the billboards designed for display in Tehran, the product, a snack, could not be shown. This was based on the recent rule imposed by the government about not being able to show the snack like products on billboards in Tehran.

As discussed above, most of the time, the externalisation of ideas starts from visuals and instead of testing copy, visual testing is carried out. For the evaluation by the potential target audience, agency members are used as substitutes for the real potential target audience. For example, in the campaign for the “X4” mobile phones, the creative director asked the production team, who were thought to be among the campaign target audience, to come to his desk.

He showed them the visuals and they were excited and were animated when talking about their preferred visuals. Later, the creative director showed them the visuals for a different product, “X5” mobile phones. They were not among its potential target audience and their negative facial expressions gave a decent indication of their largely unfavourable reactions. When I asked the creative director his reasoning behind this practice, he said: *“I did it for receiving their [production team] opinions about the visuals as they are the target for this product [brand]”*.

Evaluating Copies:

After inspecting the developed visuals, and the development of copies for them, copy inspection takes place. Regarding this, the creative director or the ad agency CEO try to improve the copies by drawing on his experiences and vast knowledge about the effects of advertising features such as specific words on their target audiences. He consults with the copywriter to improve the developed slogans. This critique from the creative director and the ad agency CEO is of value for the copywriter as instead of changing the copy unilaterally, selected amendments are made. This potentially increases the copywriter’s job motivation which in turn can be beneficial to the ad agency. This strategy of the creative director and CEO is similar to those used, where creatives’ different viewpoints are valued and incorporated in the selected ideas.

For example, in the campaign for the potato crisps “X7”, the copywriter and the creative director went to the CEO’s office and presented the copies. When I asked the copywriter about the meeting, she told me that *“the boss, CEO, didn’t liked my preferred slogan, CHEETZIA BA MAST چی توزیا با ماست, but I insisted and asked him to just keep it as one option in the client presentation and finally he accepted”*. The slogan, CHEETZIA BA MAST چی توزیا با ماست, has a double meaning, mast ماست in Persian means yogurt, so CHEETZIA BA MAST means crisps covered with yogurt which is a famous combination in Iran. It also means ‘being with us’, so CHEETZIA BA MAST implies “X7”ia is with us.

After the visual and copy inspection and evaluation, the refined items are combined to form the mood boards and storyboards.

Combining the refined copies and visuals accordingly:

After approval on the slogans and copies is received from the creative director or ad agency CEO, in order to come up with a suitable format for the copy and slogan, the copywriter with the help of the campaign project manager, based on the preferences of the client, and other gatekeepers, develop the appropriate format for the copy. These developed formats and instructions are sent to the graphic designers or art directors who combine the copy with the art accordingly. Although the instructions regarding the copy format are emailed to the graphic designers and art-directors by the account team, sometimes an explanation by the copywriter is made in person. This is to make sure their work is in keeping with the format of the emailed instructions.

As the copywriter said: *“I will make some parts that I think are more important bold and also if writing in two lines is helping to convey that message, I will explain it to the designers to make sure they will work with the words accordingly”*⁵¹.

4.1.3.4 Difficulty in convincing different stakeholders about the selected ideas:

Due to the huge budget involved in each campaign, the client needs to be convinced about the reasons why certain ideas and routes are selected by the ad agency members. For achieving this goal, the creatives try to put the externalised ideas in context, that is, they draw together the selected externalised ideas, the required information from the brief (e.g. the aim of the campaign and the target audience), and the story behind the selected ideas and concepts, more specifically, the reasoning behind the chosen ideas. This can be addressed by preparing a presentation in which all these ideas and their underpinning reasons

⁵¹ This supervision from the copywriter is required due to the dominance of art in the organization. The art-directors and graphic designers treat copies as a kind of visual art and tend not pay enough attention to reading them. Often they just consider the style of the copy and not its meaning. This was seen when the copywriter found a typographical mistake in one of the combined art and copy works produced by the art-director. He excused his mistake: *“I am not a copywriter, this is not my job to read it, I just put it into visuals”*.

are provided for the client. Further, the ad agency members try to provide more than one route for the client in order to convince them about the creatives' desired idea (i.e. the end task of B) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns) while giving them the space in the form of other options, to decide which to go for, based on their having different preferences, to achieve the end task of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval. Furthermore, as has been said before, since the voices of a number of individual creatives are incorporated in the presentation, this can help with achieving the end task of E) increasing the creatives' motivation. For doing this they rely on the aggregated practice of "Compiling the ideas for preparing different routes for presentation to the client", where the reified and evaluated visuals and copies need to be compiled into a presentation for showing to the client. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of "Selecting the preferred visuals and copies from each category of idea", and "Incorporating reasons for the selected ideas".

Selecting the preferred visuals and copies from each category of idea:

As discussed earlier, each selected idea is externalised into more than one artwork, categorised by the copywriter. After incorporating the approved copy with the corresponding visuals, the best matched mood boards/ storyboards, from each category are selected by the creative director. For example, when I asked the copywriter who selects the visuals, she told me:

"I have already selected the visual arts by categorising them based on the theme I think they have and writing the message I think they can convey but as for the detailed selection, the creative director will select the best one, the selection of the best art work within a category and its copy is done by the creative director. She gave me the example of two art works within a category for the idea of "Resilient for "X4" mobile phones" which Babak, the creative director had omitted one and selected the other".

Incorporating reasons for the selected ideas:

After the creative director's selection of the preferred visuals and copies from each category of ideas, the required information from the brief (e.g. the aim of the

campaign and the target audience), the story behind the selected ideas and concepts, (i.e. the reasons behind the chosen idea, referring to the market research data or their personal knowledge in developing the ideas or referring to previous successful campaigns), the ideas, messages, and usually the copies and visuals (the selected mood boards, and storyboards) are incorporated in a presentation for the client⁵². Further, if the campaign involves below the line marketing strategies⁵³ such as public relations activities⁵⁴ and marketing activation ideas, then those in line with the developed advertising ideas are also incorporated in the presentation. Finally, based on the client requirements, sometimes the media plans, which are the campaign's suitable channel of communication(s), being decided by the ad agency media department to be appropriate channel to reach the audience, are also integrated in the presentation. Usually it is the responsibility of the creative director to prepare the presentation, however, sometimes the senior art-director or graphic designers do this under the supervision of the creative director. In the presentation, creatives try to incorporate different routes based on the selected ideas. This is so that the client is persuaded about their desired idea, but with space for different options for the client to decide based on their preferences.

For example, regarding the "X2" presentation to the client, the creative director followed the following format.

First, the target audience was explained. The market research, mainly a questionnaire and focus group carried out by the ad agency, showed the

⁵² As mentioned sometimes creatives, when don't want to put in too much effort for the client before their approval, and so skip over the externalizations (visuals and maybe copies) and just put the idea and message in their presentation. However, in some of the presentations, like in participating in pitches, the visuals and slogans are necessary parts of the presentation.

⁵³ Below the line marketing strategies refers to 'a group of media including point of purchase, public relations, direct mail, in-store promotions and all other media, and is usually contrasted with above-the-line media, this includes press, radio, television, cinema and outdoor and transport media' (Ellwood 2000, p. 304).

⁵⁴ Public relations involve the integration of all available communication means in a platform to bring brands to life and encourage consumers' positive participation - physically or digitally (Perry 2014).

creatives that categorising the “X2” target audience based on their social grade was not achievable as they are dispersed among different social grades. Therefore, the reasons for not targeting social groups but different mind-sets and viewpoints was elaborated on (i.e. What people think about “X2” and what their behaviours are towards cosmetic and hygienic products). Second, based on the explained target and the client’s interest in the natural ingredients in the products, two concepts beautiful (Ziba, زیبا) and belle (Khoshgel, خوشگل) were shown to the client. The former refers to the inner beauty and the latter to superficial beauty. The concerns of each target group and the message that needs to be communicated with each group was explained to the client. Third, the slogan and visuals for each route are shown to the client. For the beautiful group, “I am beautiful and I like myself” with photos of women from this group, and for the belle group, “I gain my beauty from the nature” with the appropriate photos. Finally, the client had chosen the ad agency based on its credentials for working on the Philips Nivea shaver activation. This was the first non-traditional advertising in Iran that involved using a branded bus travelling around the country and offering people the chance to try out the product and receive free giveaways such as t-shirts. Hence, some brand activations for “X2” in line with the developed ideas were also integrated in the presentation. Three routes of activation emerged: 1) for the natural beauty group the chosen brand activation was to go to organisations and offices, where successful business women are invariably located, and give them free services or to go to fitness centres and do photography without make up, just by applying “X2” crèmes. This is because Iranian women are rarely present in public places without make-up (Samimi 2013; Jafari and Maclaran 2014). 2) for the science of nature group the brand activation was to show the products and the natural ingredients of each product, and 3) in general, a brand activation that could be applicable to all groups was digital, i.e. to take photo of people and edit them to claim that by using “X2” products they could experience a new look. Another general brand activation was to go to spas and pools or provide a mobile beauty service located near shopping malls to offer free services e.g. feet massages with “X2” products.

In table 4.4, the potential tensions in the execution and reification of the selected ideas bundle along with the practices and sub-practices used for overcoming these and their contribution toward achieving the identified end tasks, namely: A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns, and E) increasing the creatives' motivation are given.

Table 4.4: Tensions, practices, sub-practices, and contribution toward end tasks in the execution and reification of the selected ideas bundle of the process of creativity in advertising

Tensions	Sub-practices	Aggregated practices	Contribution toward end tasks
<p>Difficulty in communicating the ideas with various stakeholders involved in the process of creativity</p>	<p>Developing story boards: Externalising the selected ideas and scenarios into storyboards by relying on the required images, drawings for the story, and occasion motion graphics.</p> <p>Developing mood boards: Collecting the required photos and visuals for executing the selected ideas as mood boards.</p> <p>Categorising the developed visuals and developing the appropriate slogans for them: Re-categorising the developed visuals based on their message and developing the appropriate slogans for each category.</p>	<p>Reifying the selected ideas into several visuals prior to copies: Developing more than one art-work for each selected idea, categorising the developed visuals and developing the appropriate slogans for them.</p>	<p>Conveying the messages behind the ideas to different stakeholders in order to A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval</p>
<p>Clashes between the client and the account team's requirements and the creative team's capabilities regarding time</p>	<p>Developing copy: Externalising the selected ideas into slogans.</p> <p>Adapting the visual production according the logic and concept behind the generated copy and getting the copywriter's approval for the developed visuals: Explaining the logic behind the developed slogans and messages to those who want to develop the visuals and work closely with them to make sure the visuals are in line with the developed slogans.</p> <p>Setting and managing the expectations of the account team: Keeping the developed works away from the account team in order to ensure the account team's expectations are in line with the creative team's capabilities.</p> <p>Allocating the development of visuals to senior staff roles: Assigning work to senior creatives to avoid possible revisions and save time.</p>	<p>Reifying the selected ideas into copies prior to developing visuals: Developing copies for each selected idea prior to visual externalisation.</p> <p>Managing time: Managing the workload by making sure that there is enough time for the creatives to do their job.</p>	<p>Bringing the client and account team's expectations in line with the creatives' abilities and ensuring enough time for performing the required tasks in order to B) achieve the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns.</p>

Different views held by creatives and other stakeholders

Evaluating Visuals: Verifying the visuals by the creative director in order to make sure the externalised storyboards convey the intended message of the generated ideas and story outlines.

Evaluating Copies: Trying to improve the copies by drawing on the ad agency's creative director or CEO's experiences and vast knowledge about the effects of advertising features, such as specific words, on their target audiences.

Combining the refined copies and visuals accordingly: Based on the preferences of the client, and other gatekeepers, the appropriate format for the copy is developed and their instructions are sent to the graphic designers or art directors who combine the copy with the art accordingly.

Difficulty in convincing different stakeholders about the selected ideas

Selecting the preferred visuals and copies from each category of idea: The best matched combined copy and visuals from each category of ideas are selected by the creative director.

Incorporating reasons for the selected ideas: The required information from the brief, the story behind the selected ideas and concepts, the ideas, messages, and usually the copies and visuals are incorporated in a presentation for the client.

Receiving feedback on the reified ideas and combining the refined visuals with copies:

Evaluating the visuals and the copies based on the messages of the selected ideas, editing them and combining them.

Compiling the ideas for preparing different routes for presentation to the client: Incorporating the selected reified and refined ideas and the reasoning behind their selection in a presentation.

Making the externalised ideas closer to the different stakeholders' preferences, mainly those of the client and providing some degree of autonomy for individual creatives to revise their work based on the feedback in order to **A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval, and E) increase the creatives' motivation.**

Increasing the reified ideas' comprehensibility by different stakeholders and listening to different creatives' voices in order to **A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) achieve the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns , and E) increase the creatives' motivation**

In following subsection, the summary of the execution and reification of the selected ideas bundle, the employed practices and their trajectory toward the identified end tasks are explained and illustrated (see figure 4.3).

4.1.3.5 A summary of practices' contributions in execution and reification of the selected ideas bundle:

As discussed above, in this bundle, i.e. the execution and reification of the selected ideas, the ad agency members try to convey the messages behind the selected ideas to the various stakeholders involved in the process of creativity in advertising by externalising the ideas into copies and visuals (see the first line from the top in figure 4.3). In addition, the ad agency creatives try to ensure they have enough time for their required tasks by setting the client and account teams' expectations within the limits of the capabilities of the creative team members and allocating the development of visuals to senior roles (see the second line from the top in figure 4.3). Further, the ad agency members try to make the externalised ideas closer to the preferences of the various stakeholders by receiving feedback from various stakeholders and to at least incorporate each stakeholder's preferences in one of the routes they offer (see the third line from the top in figure 4.3). Last but not least, through preparing a presentation and putting the ideas in their context, the ad agency members seek to increase the level of comprehension regarding the externalised ideas, and as a result, raise the chance of the ads receiving approval (see the last line from the bottom in figure 4.3). Having different routes helps the creatives to increase the chance of appealing to the gatekeepers' preferences whilst, at the same time, trying to convince them to adopt the creatives' own desired route.

In figure 4.3 below, the sub-practices, aggregated practices in the execution and reification of the selected ideas bundle and their contribution (shown as orange circles) that can be used in later bundles of the creativity process to achieve the end tasks of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns, and E) increasing the creatives' motivation are shown.

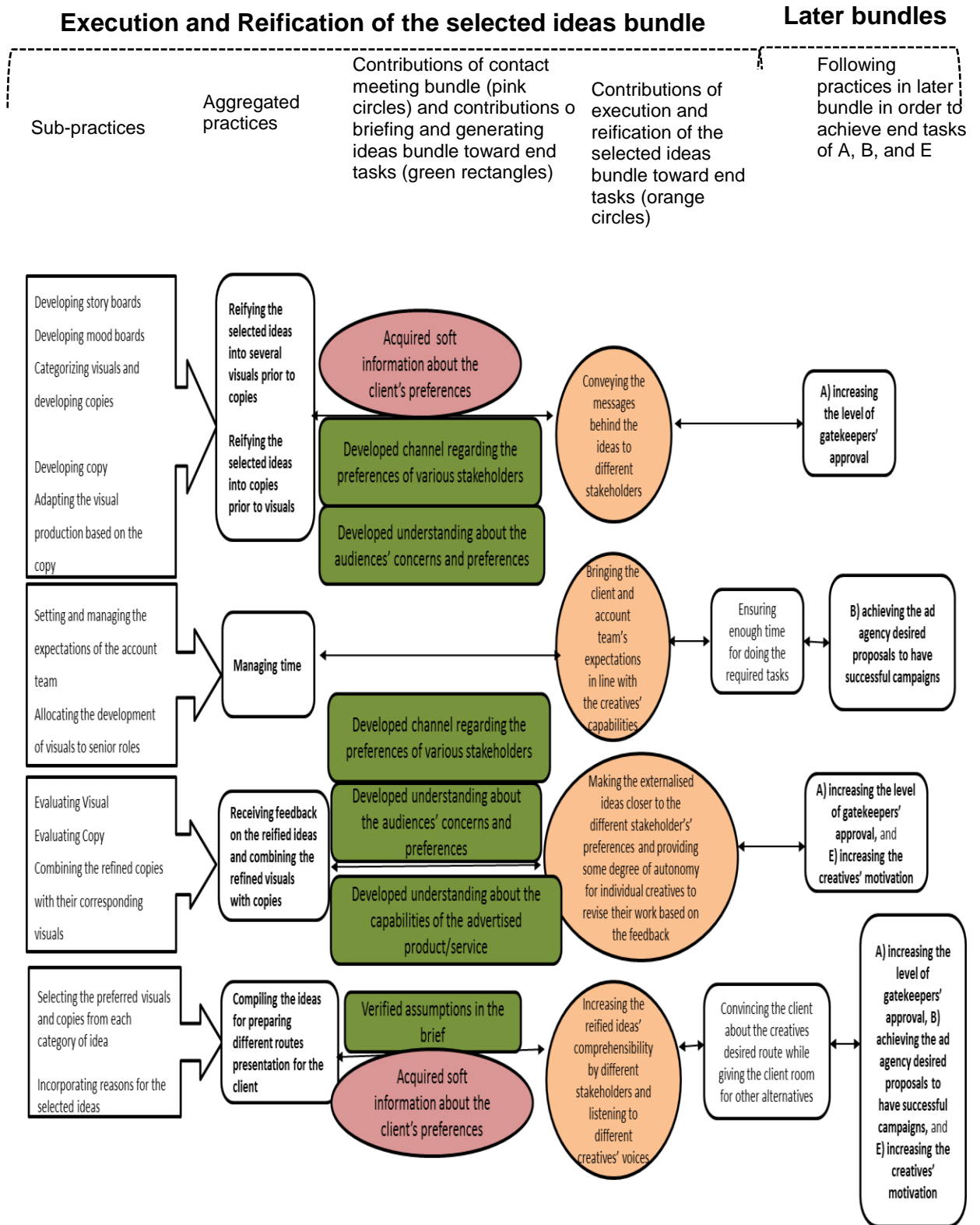


Figure 4.3: Execution and Reification of the selected ideas (The pink parts are the contributions of 1st bundle, the green parts are the contributions of the 2nd bundle that are used to shape the 3rd bundle contributions (i.e. the orange parts) toward end tasks of A, B, and, E.

4.1.4 Bundle 4, the pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation: a detailed account

Socialisation refers to the social interaction between the creator and audience for the validation of the creative artefact (Glăveanu 2011)⁵⁵. In this bundle, creatives share the presentation with other ad agency members (i.e. the account team) or the client's representative in order to get their opinions about the presentation and make it closer to the client's preferences. In this bundle (see table 4.1 coloured in blue), there are practices (i.e. Evaluating and sharing the presentation information with the ad agency members, Socialising and customising the presentation based on the ad agency members and client representative interactions) that are employed to overcome the tensions in this bundle (i.e. Different views held by creatives and the client as the stakeholders of the process of creativity in advertising, and The dominance of scientific ideologies in the advertising process, and the creatives' lack of power to convince the clients of their selected ideas) and contribute toward the identified end tasks (i.e. A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval, and B) achieve the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns). These are illustrated in table 4.5. Finally, at the end of this section, the summary of these details and the trajectory toward the identified end tasks are depicted in figure 4.4.

In the following, the tensions in the pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation bundle, the employed practices and sub-practices for overcoming the tensions and achieving the practices' end tasks are explained and the evidence regarding these is provided.

4.1.4.1 Different views held by creatives and the client as the stakeholders of the process of creativity in advertising:

As seen above in table 4.1, in this bundle, there are tensions relating to the different views held by creatives and clients as stakeholders of the process of creativity in advertising. Given these, in this bundle, i.e. the pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation, the ad agency members need to

⁵⁵ see figure 2.3 in chapter 2

evaluate their externalised ideas based on the views of those who know the client well (e.g. the ad agency CEO, the CEO from the ad agency's sister companies, the members of the ad agency marketing team, or sometimes the client's own marketing team). This is carried out to make the presentation a closer fit with the client's preferences and thus, increase the chance of its approval by the client (i.e. achieving the end task of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval). For doing this they rely on the aggregated practice of "Socialising and customising the presentation based on the ad agency members and client representative interactions". For this the presentation needs to be checked to make sure it accords with the client's persona and world view in order to ensure that the agency's work has a high chance of receiving approval from the client. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of "Sharing the presentation", "Assessing the presentation and receiving feedback", "Improving the presentation through cooperative evaluation".

Sharing the presentation:

The presentation is sometimes conducted with the intermediary person liaising between the client and the ad agency⁵⁶, particularly when the client has strong ties with other departments of the ad agency, such as the marketing department and companies outside the ad agency. When the client is new and the developed soft data about the client's preferences is not sufficient, or when the client's ideology is very different from that of the ad agency, perhaps sited within the conservative part of society, a mock presentation is done with a client's representative such as the client's PR and marketing members in order to consolidate any possible gap between the ad agency members and the client's senior board member's viewpoints.

For example, in the campaign for "X9", there was a meeting held for customising the ad between the client's PR manager accompanied by her assistant, the marketing members of the ad agency, and the creative director. The creative director showed the presentation and explained the chosen routes.

⁵⁶ For instance, the ad agency's sister companies who may have referred the client to the ad agency in the first instance .

Another example of this concerns the campaign for “X2”, regarding which the creative director told his team that they were going to have a rehearsal (his term) three days before the final presentation. In the rehearsal session, the following people presented the developed work to the ad agency’s marketing manager (Payam), who was the intermediary person between the client and the ad agency: the creative team (Babak, the creative director, Elham, the graphic designer and Melissa, the copywriter), and the account team members (Sanaz, the senior project manager and Speideh, the junior project manager). Regarding this, Melissa and Elham reported to me that: “Payam [the marketing manager] is the ad agency advisor and this meeting is based on the fact that he knows the client very well”.

Assessing the presentation and receiving feedback:

This interaction is aimed at receiving the client representative’s viewpoints about the preferences and world views of the client’s board members who, ultimately, are responsible for accepting or rejecting the ad. This activity means that the presentation can be edited in order to accord with the client’s tastes and preferences and have its level of comprehensibility for the client raised.

In the campaign for “X9”, the client’s PR manager and her assistant, drawing on their well-developed understanding of their managing director’s preferences and concerns, suggested some modifications regarding the agency presentation. The creative director showed a story board comprising a person telling a story about an accident. In the story, the camera zooms in on him and shows that he, the driver from an earlier scene, now uses a wheelchair, and he says the campaign slogan: “Ey kash mitoonestam dobareh entekhab konam ای کاش می‌توانستم دوباره انتخاب کنم” which means “I wish I could have another chance to decide”. On seeing this, the client’s PR manager asked the creative director to put the slogan on the storyboard for her managing director to see during the final presentation and asked that the creatives highlight the fact that this TVC could be shown in a very short period of time. In addition, the creative director explained the emotional route and showed the visuals (e.g. a picture of a family with four members, who, after a road accident, became three) and its slogan “Ba biehtiyati yek faseleh ast, ”با بی احتیاطی یک فاصله است”, translated as “carelessness is one step further”. The

client representative told him to work further on this because of its tangible and comprehensible nature for the client's managing director. She recommended that they use more visuals. Moreover, she asked the ad agency team to make an estimate regarding the cost for the project and tell her managing director about it during the final presentation.

Another example is clear in the campaign for "X2", Payam (the ad agency's marketing manager and the intermediary person between the client and the ad agency) initially was confused as he didn't understand why the creatives had divided the target audience into two: "the natural beauty" and "the science of nature" groups. He said "*the client wants to target the A social grade so as to reach the B social grade*". He also told the team: "*The client is marketing based and can easily challenge your ideas as it is not based on concrete market research*".

He commented that since the client had chosen the agency based on the Philips Nivea shaver activation, it was necessary to show some activations and creative works.

Improving the presentation through cooperative evaluation:

Whilst the creative director tries to shape the presentation, based on the comments of those who share closely the client's preferences, he also endeavours to convince them about the selected routes which the agency staffs think could lead to a successful campaign. Hence, through this, a cooperative evaluation procedure is followed to guarantee they adopt the optimal way of presenting the routes with the intention being to secure acceptance by the client and launch a successful campaign. Sometimes when the creatives and the client representatives cannot convince each other, the points elicited from the client representatives are added to the presentation, whilst maintaining the creatives' desired route.

As for collaborative evaluation, in the campaign for "X9", the client representative told the creative director to show deaths instead of injuries as visuals for the billboards as this was their main concern. The creative director asked the members present in the meeting to decide between the scariness of death and

the spinal cord injuries. The members declared the injury to be scarier, and the creative director responded:

“It is because we haven’t experienced death and it’s too farfetched for us and by dying we will enter another phase while by injury we have to deal with the disabilities”.

Therefore, they decided to work on injuries as the visuals for the billboard campaign.

On the other hand, the creative director talked about showing the emotional consequences of an accident on the family and friends. The client representative instead asked him to focus on financial loss that occurs from each death. The creative director said that is quite rational and they want to make it more emotional. Although the client accepted this argument, she asked him to include the various organisations such as the legal and personal entities that become involved in every accident, e.g. hospitals, the police, etc. This point was agreed and incorporated in the presentation ideas.

As for the campaign for “X2”, Payam (the ad agency’s marketing manager and the intermediary person between the client and the ad agency) accepted the creative team’s justifications regarding categorising lifestyles without having concrete market research, providing they showed a creative activation at the end of their presentation. The presentation had been based solely on concepts without any visuals, and the fact that the ad agency marketing manager, in the role of the client, had been confused, the creative director decided to add some visuals so that the client would be more likely to understand the proposals.

4.1.4.2 The dominance of scientific ideologies in the advertising process, and the creatives’ lack of power to convince the clients of their selected ideas:

Since the language of creatives is difficult to comprehend particularly by the client due to the dominance of scientific ideologies in the advertising process (Hackley 2003; Kelly et al. 2005), in this bundle, creatives try to liaise with the other ad

agency members who are going to be present in the final client presentation. Usually this takes place with the presence of the account executive and the project manager who can equip them for supporting the creative director during the final presentation. This collaboration between creatives and other ad agency members, mainly the account team staff, can increase the chance of the client understanding the reasoning underpinning their selection of ideas and, in turn, increase their chance of receiving approval (i.e. achieving the end tasks of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval and B) achieve the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns). This is because the account team members are in direct communication with the client and have built a relationship with them. Moreover, the client and the account team's mutually shared language, which is science based, often helps them understand each other more readily than is the case with the creatives. For doing this, they rely on the aggregated practice of "Evaluating and sharing the presentation information with the ad agency members". The account team are apprised of the presentation content in order to make sure they can support the creatives in convincing the client and selling the ideas and to draw on the account team's developed sense regarding the client in order to make the presentation move closer to the client's preferences and increase the chance of its receiving approval. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of "Showing the presentation to the ad agency members and explaining the reasons behind each selected route", and "Polishing the presentation by using the account team's developed sense about the client".

Showing the presentation to the ad agency members and explaining the reasons behind each selected route:

In this stage, the presentation is shared with the other ad agency members mainly the account team in order to equip them with the necessary information regarding the developed routes and ideas. In this way the account team can assist the creative director in selling the ideas to the client.

For example, in the campaign for "X9", after the meeting with the client's representative and editing the presentation, the creative director asked Behnaz,

the account executive, to visit the creative department. He then showed her the presentation while explaining the reasons behind each selected route. This information sharing happened during all the campaigns that I observed such as the ones for “X4” mobiles, “X2”, “X12”, and “X11” to name just four.

An example of teaming up was seen in the “X6” campaign. Babak, the creative director, presented different routes to the client and emphasised on the preferred route, emotional one. When the client preferred route was not the one desired by the ad agency, Behnaz, the account executive, backed creative director up by pointing out the success of emotional advertising as being more effective and gave some example of those types of ads that are using the same strategy and are very successful. Her effort in supporting the creative director in convincing the client about the desired route was so successful that the client’s communication manager told her in a friendly way: *“you really like that route, so I think we need to select that route, even if we don’t want to.”*

Polishing the presentation by using the account team’s developed sense about the client:

The creative team try to use the account team’s developed sense about the client (mainly for long established clients) in order to make the presentation closer to the clients’ preferences and increase the chance of approval. The account team members developed sense regarding the client’s preferences stems from their frequent contact and interactions⁵⁷, which do not take place between the creative team and the client.

For instance, in the campaign for “X3”, one of the ad agency’s long established clients, Azadeh, the senior art director, discussed the presentation with Sepideh, the project manager. They agreed on the best way to draft the presentation for the client. The project manager told the art director that *“they [the client] really like the idea of towers, so maybe we can add this visual to the existing visuals in*

⁵⁷ This close relationship is evident from the fact that in this ad agency, one account member who was dealing with “X8”, as one of the ad agency’s client organisations, joined “X8” as the brand manager. By contrast, a PR manager from the Child Foundation in Iran, one of the agency’s clients, joined it as a PR manager.

the presentation". Also as for justifications of the chosen routes and ideas in the presentation she highlighted "resistance" as an important point given by the client and asked the art director to explain the linkage between the concept of resistance and the developed visuals given in the presentation, which included: a cedar tree, gabbeh carpet, magic beans, a mine, a lotus, and a flock of birds.....

In table 4.5 below, the potential tensions in the pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation bundle along with the practices and sub-practices used for overcoming these and their contribution toward achieving the identified end tasks, namely: A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, and B) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns, are given.

Table 4.5: Tensions, practices, sub-practices, and contribution toward end tasks in the pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation bundle of the process of creativity in advertising

Tensions	Sub-practices	Aggregated practices	Contribution toward end tasks
<p>Different views held by creatives and the client as the stakeholders of the process of creativity in advertising</p>	<p><u>Sharing the presentation:</u> Conducting the presentation with the intermediary person liaising between the client and the ad agency to know their views and get feedback on it.</p> <p><u>Assessing the presentation and receiving feedback:</u> Evaluation of the presentation by the client representative in order to know their views about the preferences and worldview of the client's board members who, ultimately, are responsible for accepting or rejecting the ad.</p> <p><u>Improving the presentation through cooperative evaluation:</u> Shaping the presentation based on the comments of those who share closely the client's preferences, and convincing the client representatives about the selected routes which the agency staff think will lead to a successful campaign.</p>	<p>Socialising and customising the presentation based on the ad agency members and client representative interactions: Checking the presentation with those who know the client to make sure it accords with the client's persona and worldview and hence increase the chance of receiving the client's approval.</p>	<p>Making the ideas closer to the clients' preferences and increase the chance of receiving approval for the ad from them in order to A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval.</p>

The dominance of scientific ideologies in the advertising process and the creatives' lack of power to convince the clients of their selected ideas

Showing the presentation to the ad agency members and explaining the reasons behind each selected route: Informing the account team about the presentation to prepare them for the next bundle, which is convincing and selling it to the client.

Polishing the presentation by using the account team's developed sense about the client: Drawing on the account team's developed sense regarding the client in order to make the presentation move closer to the client's preferences and increase the chance of its receiving approval

Evaluating and sharing the presentation information with the ad agency members: The account team, who are expected to be present in the final presentation, are apprised of the presentation content in order to support the creative director in convincing the client about the ad agency desired routes.

Making the ideas closer to the client preferences in order to increase the chance of the ads being approved by them in order to **A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval**

In addition, increasing the creatives' power in order to be able to convince the client about their particular desired ideas in order to **B) achieve the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns**

In following subsection, the summary of the pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation bundle, the employed practices and their trajectory toward the identified end tasks are explained and illustrated in figure 4.4.

4.1.4.3 A summary of practices' contributions in pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation bundle:

As discussed above, in this bundle the presentation receives feedback from the client representative, who serves as the intermediary between the client and the ad agency, and/or the account team members who know the client's preferences and world view in depth. Based on the comments received, the presentation is edited so as to become more in line with the client's preferences and to ensure it appeals to them. Through these, the chance of the ad receiving the client's acceptance is enhanced (see the first line from the top in figure 4.4). In addition, the creatives try to share the presentation with account team and other members of staff in order to benefit from their developed sense about the client to edit the presentation accordingly and increase the likelihood of approval. In addition, they do this to team up with the account team and other ad agency members who are present in the final presentation to increase the ad agency members' power regarding convincing and selling the desired proposals and ideas to the client (see the second line from the top in figure 4.4).

In figure 4.4, the sub-practices and practices in the pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation bundle along with their contributions (shown as the blue circles) that can be used in later bundles of the creativity process to achieve the end tasks of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, and B) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns are shown.

Pre-approval evaluation and socialization of the presentation bundle

Later bundles

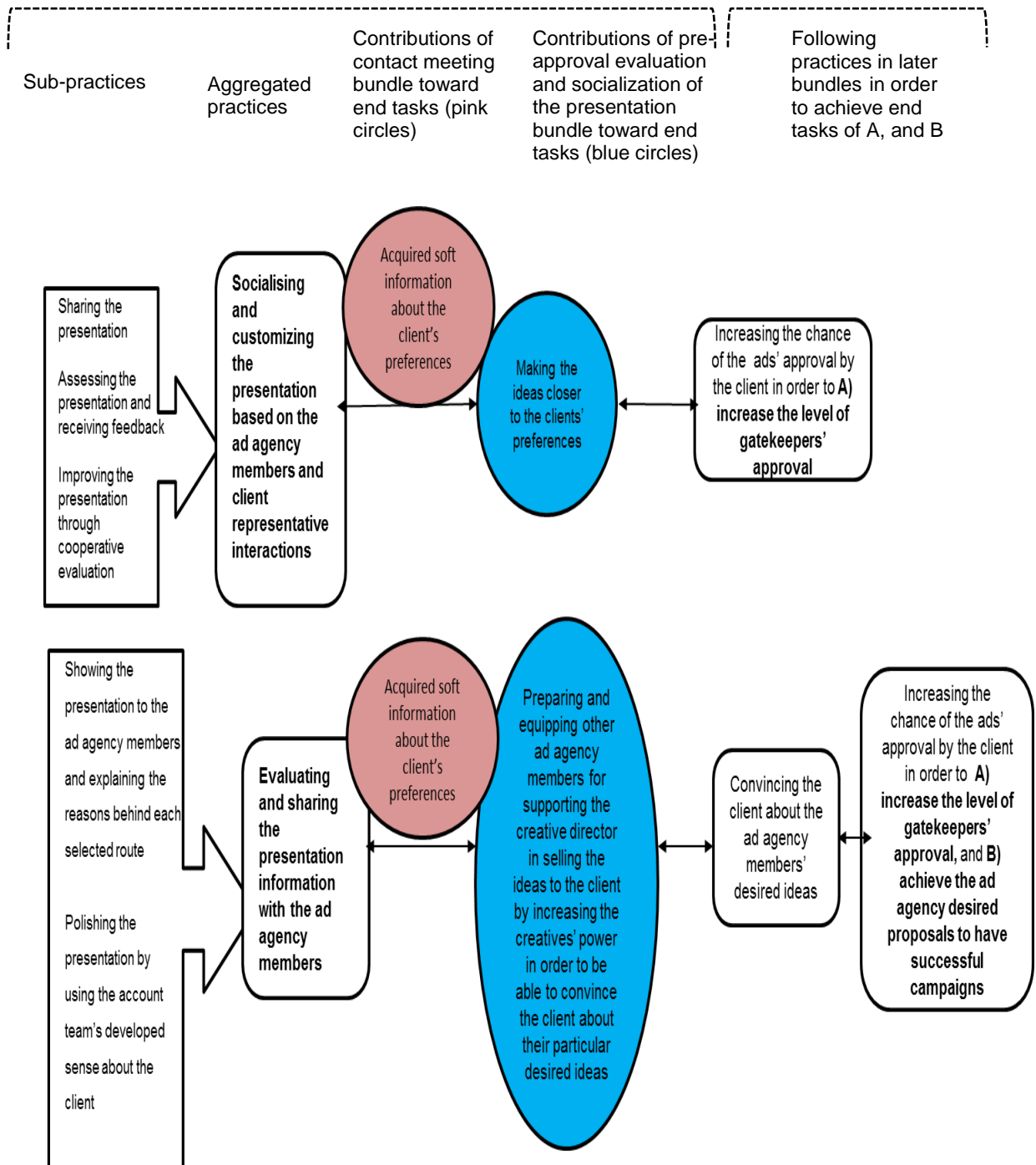


Figure 4.4: Pre-approval evaluation and socialisation (the pink parts are the contributions of the 1st bundle (i.e. contact meeting) that are being used and the blue parts refer to the contributions of the 4th bundle, (i.e. pre-approval evaluation and socialisation) toward end tasks of A, and B.

4.1.5 Bundle 5, the convincing and selling to the client via having a presentation: a detailed account

In this bundle, the ad agency members use different practices to convince the client about the proposed routes and the ideas that the agency members have put forward regarding the ad, in order to finalise the contract. It is worth mentioning that when the client is new and the level of built trust has only been obtained during the contact meeting bundle and thus is relatively low, or owing to the client's potential, winning the approval is of high importance to the ad agency, then senior members of staff, such as the ad agency CEO are present for the presentation. In this bundle (see table 4.1 coloured in purple), there are five practices (i.e. Presenting the routes and ideas in the client's tone of voice and from their perspective, Justifying the selected routes and ideas to the client, Warning the client about the consequences of not accepting the proposed routes and ideas, Selling the proposed ideas by impressing and exhausting the client through showing various routes and ideas, Finalising the contract by compromising with the client and listening to them) that are employed to overcome the tensions in this bundle (i.e. Different worldviews between the client and the ad agency members, Creativity versus effectiveness debate, Difficulty in getting the client's approval by justifying those ideas developed by the ad agency, Client's high level of expectation from the ad agency members, and Client and ad agency power imbalance and the tension between the client and the ad agency members regarding who is in control). These contribute toward the identified end tasks (i.e. A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, and F) avoid clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk. These are illustrated in table 4.6. Finally at the end of this section, the summary of these details and the trajectory toward the identified end tasks are depicted in figure 4.5.

In the following, the tensions in the convincing and selling to the client via having a presentation bundle, the employed practices and sub-practices for overcoming the tensions and achieving the practices' end tasks are explained and the evidence regarding these is provided.

4.1.5.1 Different worldviews between the client and the ad agency members:

Based on the described tensions in table 4.1 regarding this bundle (i.e. the possibility of having different world views shared between the client and the ad agency members), the ad agency members need to make the client feel that the ad agency members share their preferences. This, in turn, can increase the level of trust and the likelihood of approval for the ad being granted (i.e. achieving the end task of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval). For doing this they rely on the aggregated practice of "Presenting the routes and ideas in the client's tone of voice and from their perspective". The ad agency members by relying on their developed sense about the client try to present the ideas in the client's tone of voice in order to increase the comprehensibility of ideas for the client and in turn raise the chance of receiving approval. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of "Incorporating the client's concerns and requirements in one of the presentation routes", and "Speaking in the clients' preferred language and referring to the client's concerns".

Incorporating the client's concerns and requirements in one of the presentation routes:

As mentioned before, having a presentation in which the different routes and ideas are shown to the client can give the creatives the possibility of shifting closer to the client's preferences, through at least one of the proposed routes or ideas. This can ultimately increase the chances of approval.

For example, Azadeh, the senior art director told me that:

"We might think all three paths are going to work but we will show all of them to the client and see which one is closer to their path".

Also, Roxanna, another senior art director explained:

"We offer some routes as we might not come to common ground with the client".

Speaking in the clients' preferred language and referring to the client's concerns:

Ad agency members have already built some trust with the client through impression management in the contact meeting bundle. They have considered the client's persona and world view and incorporated these while generating and selecting the ideas, as well as in the presentation of the proposed different routes for the client and made sure that these are comprehensible and communicable for the client. In this bundle, based on the acquired soft data about the client and deploying their developed sense about the client's concerns and preferences through evaluating their marketing and advertising strategies, the ad agency members try to adopt the client's tone of voice and to show a mutual level of understanding. This can increase the level of trust and help the ad agency get the client's approval for the ad, as well as maintain their relationship with them (see more in Chumpitaz and Paparoidamis, 2004).

Hence, based on the acquired soft data about the client, the ad agency members who have already incorporated the preferences of the client in their developed ideas try to perform the presentation in the client's preferred tone. This is to show their level of mutual understanding with the client and increase the degree of built trust that can lead to higher chance of ad's approval. In this regard, the creative director commented:

"First, we have to show our clients that we have understood them, first we need to become the client to understand their concerns and requirements after that we can show them that we understood and the solutions we have offered can convey your messages and help you achieve your goals".

Further, Azadeh, the senior art director told me in an interview that:

"We need to speak in the client's way for them to understand and for us to be able to sell. For example, for traditional clients we can't convince them by delivering a PowerPoint presentation, we need to speak in their own way, talking in their language and way of speaking".

4.1.5.2 Creativity versus effectiveness debate:

Based on the level of effectiveness of the ad, described as one of the important features of creativity in advertising (Hackley 2003; El-murad and West 2004), the ad agency members try to assure the client about the effectiveness and future success of the developed ideas. This, in turn, can increase the chances for the approval of the ad by the client (i.e. the end task of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval). For doing this, they rely on the aggregated practice of "Justifying the selected routes and ideas to the client", where the creative director and other ad agency members try to justify the selected routes and ideas so as to convince the client of their worth. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of "Justifying the proposed ideas by referring to previous successful campaigns and ads", "Justifying the proposed ideas by referring to the culture and behaviour of the audience", "Justifying the proposed ideas by referring to the market research regarding the client's marketing problem and showing the linkage between the proposed ideas and the aim of the campaign", and "Justifying the proposed ideas by showing the benefits of the campaign or the ad to the client".

Justifying the proposed ideas by referring to previous successful campaigns and ads:

One way to reassure the client about the appropriateness of the suggested routes and ideas is for creatives to use their knowledge about prevailing socio-cultural conditions, and draw upon existing ads and campaigns in order to show similarities between their proposed ideas and those used previously. In this way, the client may feel more secure about the suggested ideas and there may be a better chance of the creatives receiving the approval they are seeking.

For example, in the campaign for "X6", the client was hesitant about whether to keep the previous campaign's slogan. The creative director told them, "*this is up to you and your brand strategy, whether to have a unified slogan in all your campaigns or not*". He gave the example of Nokia that has kept its slogan, "Nokia connects people", and, then as a contrast, talked about Adidas explaining that previously its slogan was "impossible is nothing" and the firm had changed it to

“Adidas is all in”. Moreover, for this “X6” campaign, when the musical tone and traditional songs in the proposed TVC were not appreciated by the client, the creative director and the production manager teamed up and talked about the “Delvazir TVC”. They cited this as one example of an ad about edible products, in this case, a mayonnaise sauce popular in Iran that had taken a similar approach and been very successful.

In the campaign for “X13”, Babak, the creative director justified the use of a brand tagline for the client’s product, “X13 like a captain”, by referring to a previous TVC created by the oil company Total that had adopted a tagline, namely “super engine oil”.

In addition, Leyla, the graphic designer, and Roxana, the senior art director, in the interview told me:

“[...for convincing the client] I will talk about the paths their competitors have taken and became successful, also sometimes referring them to some case studies”.

“[...for convincing the client] I will tell them about the works that I have done previously, for example, the work that brand X has done that makes him/her successful”.

Justifying the proposed ideas by referring to the culture and behaviour of the audience:

A way to justify the proposed routes and ideas to the client is through highlighting the target audience of the campaign and their behaviour, specifically, their consumption behaviour regarding the advertised product/service, which may include explaining the socio-cultural attributes of the people for whom they have crafted the ad. Through receiving this explanation, the client can understand why the proposed idea can be effective and be believed by its target audience which, in turn, can make the campaign effective and help the client achieve their goals. The ad agency members expect that, having understood these matters, the client will sign off the contract.

For example, in the campaign for “X6”, the client wanted to decide about the billboard advertising before getting to an agreement about the TVC. The creative director talked about Iranian people having different media behaviour in the current era, i.e. modernized people watch satellite more regularly and use national TV less, therefore he concluded that the message in a TVC should be different from that on billboards as they have different target groups. He, however, was of the opinion that both the TVC and billboards conveyed the same message but in different ways.

Through this commentary, regarding contemporary Iranians’ different media behaviours (see Appendix II), the creative director tried to convince the client that their view was wrong and if they pursued it, the effectiveness of each channel might be compromised. In response, the client talked about their past experiences regarding having similar graphics and copies across all channels which, in their opinion, had worked successfully. On hearing this, the creative director drove home his point through citing the example of previous campaigns and tried to convince the client that the social situation had changed considerably and they needed to craft the ad based on the current situation. He emphasised this by saying that *“even the rules Ogilvy⁵⁸ was stating cannot be applied without the consideration of the current era”*.

Justifying the selected routes by referring to the target audiences’ behaviour was also seen in the campaign for “X2”, when the creative director explained their chosen ideas were based on the people’s behaviour regarding cosmetic products.

Justifying the proposed ideas by referring to the market research regarding the client’s marketing problem and showing the linkage between the proposed ideas and the aim of the campaign:

In the previous sub-practice (i.e. justifying the proposed ideas by referring to the culture and behaviour of the audience), the ad agency members seek to justify their chosen ideas by referring to ethnographic and observational data. However,

⁵⁸ A very famous advertising executive who is known as the father of advertising

many of their clients prefer to rely on statistical and more numerical forms of information, as they are usually marketing based in outlook and prefer the latter form of communication details. This can be seen in what the copywriter revealed in an interview:

"Since we don't have concrete reasons we can't convince the client [about the proposed ideas] based on what I am proposing the customer [target audience] would react in this way.... Instead [of statistics] I have examined the customer [target audience] and I know what I am saying is right, but we can't prove it to our client and the client will stick to their own idea... This might be because our reasons are not tangible enough to the client and he / she wants statistics ...for instance if we have the data from a focus group or questionnaire, then the chance of getting the client's approval is higher..."

As discussed above, justifications offered with statistics are more convincing and acceptable to the client, based on the fact that they are often engaged with sales in the world of marketing and not so much with communication and advertising dimensions. Thus another way forward for the ad agency members is justifying their selected routes and ideas through referring to market research regarding the client's marketing problem and the aims of the campaign. This way of approaching the clients helps them come to appreciate the proposed routes and ideas as solutions to their marketing problem, which once resolved, can help them achieve their goals. As for the use of statistics the creative director related in an interview that:

"The process [through which we get to insights] is not very interesting and understandable for the client. For example, in the campaign for "X2" when I showed the path that led us to the insights, they didn't care. On the other hand, most of the time, statistics are important for them [the client] as they are marketing based and their mind-set is like that. For example, for "X2" we had conducted questionnaires and found that 90% of people know the brand. So [we found that] people know our brand and the field we are working in thus we have to think about the way we want to communicate with them. Thus, this fact helped us in our insights...in these cases statistics are interesting for our clients".

Another example was seen in the campaign for X13 insecticides, one of the products of the client, "X13". Based on the outcomes of the focus group they had conducted, the creatives had realised that the target audiences believed that those insecticides that had no odour were powerless to kill bugs. Therefore, since the client's product had no odour they justified their proposed idea, which was to use the message that this particular product was "the hidden killer", by referring to this essential data gathered from the focus group.

Justifying the proposed ideas by showing the benefits of the campaign or the ad to the client:

As mentioned in the previous bundle of the contact meeting, the ad agency members try to get a sense about their client. Later they develop further their sense regarding the client's preferences by evaluating the client's marketing and advertising strategies. Based on this, i.e. the acquired knowledge and information, in this part, the creatives and sometimes together with other ad agency members, try to link the proposed routes and ideas to the client's concerns and preferences by pointing out the benefit to them of accepting the proposals. This can make the client feel appreciated and understood, which in turn, can increase their level of trust and consequently the chance of the creatives receiving approval for the ad.

For example, in the campaign for "X6", based on the well-developed sense about the client's concerns and preferences, the creative director highlighted how the budget was being used to the fullest extent in the proposed idea. He said to the client: *"one reason for selecting this scenario is that "X6" brand, can be seen in all the moments in this TVC, which means you are using all your time and budget effectively"*. Following up this point, the client expressed a preference for an alternative scenario to that proposed by the agency members. Drawing on his developed sense about the client's preferences, namely, that the client was cost sensitive, the account manager commented: *"the expense for the second scenario [the one that the client preferred] is higher"*.

Another example of this type can be seen in the campaign for "X13". The developed sense about the client was that they were keen on being associated

with the elite of society, passionate about setting trends and wanted to be seen as ground-breaking. To respond to these notions, the ad agency proposed the idea of celebrity endorsement. This could be justified on the basis that it made the client's company the first brand to achieve celebrity endorsement after the banning of celebrity endorsement in 2008.

4.1.5.3 Difficulty in getting the client's approval by justifying those ideas developed by the ad agency:

As discussed previously, clients are often engaged with sales in the world of marketing and not so much with communication and advertising dimensions. Consequently there might be difficulties in understanding the preferred routes and ideas put forward by the ad agency members. In order to overcome this, the ad agency members try to warn the clients and increase the chance of receiving their approval. For doing this they rely on the aggregate practice of "Warning the client about the consequences of not accepting the proposed routes and ideas", where the ad agency members try to warn the client about the consequences of not accepting the proposed routes. This is mainly used as a technique to supplement other practices that have been discussed above that seek to increase the chance of receiving approval for their work from the client. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of "Referring to unsuccessful campaigns" and "Referring to the difficult issues regarding getting government approval".

Referring to unsuccessful campaigns:

Most of the time, this warning is used when the proposed ideas are not welcomed by the client and they demand amendments that are not favoured by the creatives and other ad agency members. In such instances, the ad agency members tend to refer to previous unsuccessful ads and campaigns to prevent the client from insisting on introducing amendments that, in their considered opinion, could make the campaign unsuccessful.

For example, for the campaign for "X6", the client insisted on having their whole range of products shown in their TVC and on the billboards. At this, the agency's CEO butted into the conversation and very strongly told the client that:

“I personally totally disagree with having the range of products on the billboard, we just need to work on the brand on billboards, having all these pictures would occupy the available space and does not have any advantages. This would be like taking a collective photo instead of a single portrait; we want to take a portrait. You can talk about your range of individual products on posters in stores”.

To emphasise his reasoning he clearly explained:

“In advertising the task is to reach to the bone and get rid of the meat. We have to have a clear message, for example, if you look at “Golestan” ads [a brand of tea] its rubbish- showing all the products. They spent a lot of money but it’s so confusing. Whatever you use in a visual that is not in advertising or your brand strategy is additional, and not useful. Whatever makes the brand image get closer to coffee, we have to work on thatBut in the end, it’s your [client] decision”.

Referring to the difficult issues regarding getting government approval:

In Iran for the ads to be disseminated, they need to get the approval from the appropriate governmental institute (see Appendix II). Although most of the time this, i.e. the governmental approval, takes place after the client’s confirmation of the proposed ideas, sometimes when the ad agency members consider the generated and developed ideas to be risky⁵⁹, they try to get the governmental approval before presenting the work to the client. In these situations, when the client demands amendments, the ad agency members try to redirect the client’s attention to the issues regarding getting approval from the governmental institutes.

For example, in the campaign for “X6”, another situation arose because the client changed their mind and wanted the ad agency members to revise the visuals and copies for the billboards. The account executive tried to prevent them from

⁵⁹ Risky ideas in this stage are those that are something beyond the rules of governmental institutes and their officers’ preferences.

making such a decision by pointing out that, by then, they had already received government approval for the suggested idea. Moreover, he expressed the view that if the client required amendments at this stage, it might take a considerable amount of time to get renewed approval from the governmental institutes. This made the client back down, accepting what had already been agreed. They subsequently let the ad agency members carry on to the next phase of their contract, which concerned the execution and real production of the ideas.

4.1.5.4 Client's high level of expectation from the ad agency members:

Since, the client is the stakeholder who brings money to the ad agency, the ad agency members try to make sure they are satisfied regarding the provided service (i.e. the ads) in order to: increase the client's level of trust in the agency, increase the possibility of the ad being approved, maintain the client-ad agency relationship and ultimately, increase profitability for the ad agency (see Bolton 1998). For doing this they rely on the aggregate practice of "Selling the proposed ideas by impressing and exhausting the client through showing various routes and ideas", which is showing the huge amount of work and the level of effort the ad agency members have extended on behalf of the client to impress the client but also to exhaust the client and distract them from being too critical at the crucial point of giving their approval. In other words, it ultimately forces the client into accepting one of the given routes and ideas. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of "Making slight changes in the visuals", "Making the client tired".

Making slight changes in the visuals:

Creatives try to make slight changes, mainly to the developed visuals, in order to have a variety of visuals in the presentation. Showing the client the amount of work the ad agency members have done, can impress the client which in turn can increase the built trust between the ad agency and the client and distract them from being too critical which eventually can lead to a higher chance the ad receiving approval from the client.

For example, in the campaign for "X13", the ad agency CEO advised the creatives to make a slight change in the visuals to show various visuals, the

creative director was presenting these various visuals and the client became overwhelmed and his priority shifted towards meeting the time limits and deadlines that they were facing in their World Cup advertising campaign. The client accepted the proposed idea and one of the corresponding visuals as well as the slogan for it and simply asked the ad agency members 'hurry up' with the project so that they could broadcast the ad within two weeks' time, just prior to the commencement of the World Cup event.

Making the client tired:

Showing various routes or visuals in each route to the client can not only impress the client but also make them tired and hence distract them from being too critical. This, i.e. making the client tired, in turn, can increase the chance of approval by the client. To confirm this strategy, Elham, the graphic designer made the following clear during an informal interview:

"One way to get the clients' agreement is to make them tired. As for "X13", we were showing them all the produced works, mainly visuals. Thus the client said it is all fine and they just wanted to launch the campaign quickly".

Having multiple routes in the final presentation with the client was seen in all the fourteen campaigns that I was present.

4.1.5.5 Client and ad agency power imbalance and the tension between the client and the ad agency members regarding who is in control:

Due to the client and ad agency power imbalance, the ad agency members try to increase their level of power by relying on certain practices (e.g. impression management in the contact meeting bundle). However, in the cases where their practices do not shift the power balance in their favour, the ad agency members try to make the client feel in control of their brand and increase their level of trust regarding the ad agency (Grönroos, 2004). This, in turn, can help the agency achieve the client's approval regarding the proposed campaign by aligning the client and ad agency members' preferences and achieve the end task of F) avoid clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk. For doing this, they rely on the aggregated practice of "Finalizing the contract by compromising with the client and listening to them".

Owing to the dichotomy creatives are facing namely, that between their roles as creatives and that of being the ad agency's employees, sometimes the creatives have to accept what the client wants. This means that they have to accept their clients' comments and deal with the fact that they have to try to juggle both roles (see West et al. 2008). This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of "Compromising with the client", and "Attending to the client's commands".

Compromising with the client:

In order for the creatives to initiate and then maintain the business relation with the client and keep revenues coming in for the ad agency, thus fulfilling one of their employment responsibilities, inevitably, they are bound to listen to client comments. However, instead of listening to the clients and purely following what they say, sometimes creatives can compromise with clients to reach common ground.

The dichotomy between their professional identity as creatives and their responsibilities as ad agency employees can be observed in the following.

Melissa, the copywriter, expressed this view during an interview:

"We need to pursue our goals in the creation of the preferred ads but, at the same time, we need to maintain and keep our positions as an employee of the ad agency. Therefore, we need to consider the rules, protocols, and policies required from us as an employee while we are pursuing our goals [as creatives] in producing creative ads".

Iman, the art director told me:

"...in Iran most of the time the ad agency asks us to listen to the clients' requests and commands and do what is preferred or what is not preferred by the client. The clients in Iran have power as they are bringing the money to the agency..."

The process of reaching a compromise was demonstrated in the campaign for "X6". The client was insisting on focussing on functional facts about the product but the agency members wanted to focus on the emotional outcomes of the product for people. The production manager said "we can indirectly show the

function of the product by wisely selecting the appropriate scene, like when we want to show that coffee can keep people awake, we can show a student in the library drinking “X6” products...” Moreover, in the same campaign, the client wanted to show in their ads, the price, the diversity of their product and the freshness of the products. By contrast, the creative team wanted to focus on just one message and so the account manager tried to convince the client that all the other messages, although important, could be worked on in below the line marketing (BTL).

Another example of compromise arose in the campaign for “X4” mobile phones. The creative director told the client that this product was not like Nokia mobile phones that could be targeted at the mass market. However, he somehow agreed with the client that the ad agency members, because they were fans of this particular product, had exaggerated the facts in their message for the product. The result had been to make it appear as an overly niche product and excessively oriented towards use in an industrial setting. Thus they agreed to make the message less slanted so that it could appeal to a broader range of potential audience.

Attending to the client’s commands:

As has been discussed above, it is the creatives’ priority to convince the client to accept the proposals which the creatives prefer, or, if this cannot be achieved, compromise with them on what is acceptable to both parties. Ultimately, when the client insists on something that the creative would rather not carry forward, they give up their professionally driven desires and carry out the client’s instructions.

An example of where compromise could not be achieved emerged in the campaign for “X3”. Azadeh, reported to me in an informal interview that as she was the senior art director she had to tell Babak, the creative director, that the slogan for the campaign had been slightly changed by the client and thus could affect the visuals. Babak told her in response: *“they [the client] can go to hell; we cannot commit suicide for them!”* He showed his anger and frustration regarding

the client's command but still told the art director to carry out what the client requested.

In table 4.6 below, the potential tensions in the convincing and selling to the client by having a presentation bundle along with the practices and sub-practices used for overcoming these and their contribution toward achieving the identified end tasks, namely: of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, and F) avoiding clashes among practices by harmonizing the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk, are given.

Table 4.6: Tensions, practices, sub-practices, and contribution toward end tasks in the convincing and selling to the client by having a presentation bundle of the process of creativity in advertising

Tensions	Sub-practices	Aggregated practice	Contribution toward end tasks
Different worldviews between the client and the ad agency members	<p><u>Incorporating the client’s concerns and requirements in one of the presentation routes:</u> The ad agency members try to present the work to the client, based on the acquired soft data about the client and by deploying their developed sense about the client’s concerns and preferences, achieved through evaluating their marketing and advertising strategies.</p> <p><u>Speaking in the client’s preferred language and referring to the client’s concerns:</u> The ad agency members, based on the acquired soft data about the client, try to perform the presentation in the client’s preferred tone.</p>	<p>Presenting the routes and ideas in the client’s tone of voice and from their perspective: The ad agency members by relying on the developed sense about the client try to present the ideas in the client’s tone of voice (i.e. the client’s used language and manner of speaking)</p>	Increasing the comprehensibility of the ideas for the client and impressing the client with ad agency members’ level of understanding, in order to A) increase the level of gatekeepers’ approval
Creativity versus effectiveness debate	<p><u>Referring to previous successful campaigns and ads:</u> The creatives try to use their knowledge about prevailing socio-cultural conditions, and draw upon existing ads and campaigns to show similarities between their proposed ideas and those used previously.</p> <p><u>Referring to the culture and behaviour of the target audience:</u> Showing to the client the reasons why the ad agency members think the proposed idea can be effective and be believed by its target audience. This is done by referring to the campaign target audience and their consumption behaviour.</p> <p><u>Referring to the link between the suggested ideas, the aim of the campaign and the problem being experienced with the client’s brand:</u> Explaining the developed ideas as a solution to the client’s marketing problem by referring to the market research regarding the client’s marketing problem and the aims of the campaign.</p> <p><u>Showing the benefits of the campaign or the ad to the client:</u> Linking the proposed routes and ideas to the client’s concerns and preferences based on the acquired soft data about the client.</p>	<p>Justifying the selected routes and ideas to the client: The ad agency members present in the final meeting with the client try to justify the selected routes and ideas so as to convince the client of their worth.</p>	Reducing the client’s uncertainty in order to A) increase the level of gatekeepers’ approval

Difficulty in getting the client's approval by justifying those ideas developed by the ad agency

Referring to unsuccessful campaigns: The ad agency members try to refer to previous unsuccessful ads and campaigns to prevent the client from insisting on introducing amendments to the ideas developed by the ad agency.
Referring to the difficult issues regarding getting government approval: The ad agency members try to prevent the client from insisting on introducing amendments to the ideas developed by the ad agency by highlighting the issues regarding getting approval from the governmental institutes.

Warning the client about the consequences of not accepting the proposed routes and ideas:
Informing the client about the repercussions of not accepting the proposed routes

Warning The client regarding the consequences of unsuccessful campaigns in order to **A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval**

Client's high level of expectation from the ad agency members

Making slight changes in the visuals: Creatives try to make slight changes, mainly to the developed visuals, in order to have a variety of them in the presentation.
Making the client tired: Showing various routes or visuals for each route to the client in order to make them tired.

Selling the proposed ideas by impressing and exhausting the client through showing various routes and ideas:
Showing the client the huge amount of work and the level of effort expended by the ad agency members.

Showing the client the ad agency members' high degree of efforts, impressing the client, increasing the client's level of satisfaction, distracting them from being too critical, and exhausting them so as to **A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval.**

Client and ad agency power imbalance and the tension between the client and the ad agency members regarding who is in control

Compromising with the client: Creatives try to compromise with the client to reach common ground regarding the ideas developed by the ad agency.
Attending to the client's commands: When the client insists on something that the creatives would rather not carry forward, they inevitably carry out the client's instructions.

Finalizing the contract by compromising with the client and listening to them:
Creatives try to compromise with the clients to reach common ground, however, sometimes they are bound to listen to the client's commands to keep them.
Meaning unclear?

Making the client feel they are in control of their own brand in order to **A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval**, and aligning the client's and ad agency members' preferences **in order to F) avoid clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk**

In following subsection, a summary of convincing and selling to the client via having a presentation bundle, the employed practices and their trajectory toward the identified end tasks are explained and illustrated in figure 4.5.

4.1.5.6 A summary of practices' contributions in convincing and selling to the client via having a presentation bundle:

As can be seen in this bundle , the creatives, as the authors of the ideas and ads (Hirschman 1989) and the other ad agency members (the account team, the production team, the ad agency CEO) working as their auxiliaries, team up to convince the client about the ad agency's preferred routes and ideas. They do this by relying on the acquired soft data about the client, gained during the contact meeting bundle, by performing the presentation in the client's tone of voice so as to increase the comprehensibility of the ideas for the client and impress them with the ad agency members' level of understanding, which, in turn, can increase the level of trust built and the chance of the ad being approved (see the first line from the top in figure 4.5). Furthermore, the ad agency members try to justify the selected routes and ideas by referring to previous successful campaigns and ads, the culture and behaviour of the target audience, the link between the suggested ideas, the aim of the campaign and the problem being experienced with the client's brand, as well as showing the benefits of the campaign/ad to the client. These are carried out to reduce the client's sense of uncertainty and make them more comfortable regarding the ideas developed by the ad agency. This, in turn, can increase the likelihood of the ads receiving approval from the client (see the second line from the top in figure 4.5). If this initial strategy does not lead to success, then they deploy different techniques, such as warning the client about the consequences of making the wrong decision and not accepting the proposed ideas to increase the level of approval (see the third line from the top in figure 4.4). In addition, showing the huge amount of work and the level of effort the ad agency members have taken can not only impress the client but also exhaust them and distract them from being too critical and increase the level of approval(see the fourth line from the top in figure 4.5). Finally, if none of these appear to be successful for them, then the ad agency members listen to the client's direction, in order to make them feel in control of

their brand and increase the chance of receiving approval for the ad (see the first line from the bottom in figure 4.5).

It is acknowledged that modifying and accommodating the client's views are happening constantly, during each of the aforementioned bundles, but the final approval by the client occurs at the end of this bundle, bundle 5. Therefore, if an agreement cannot be reached in this bundle, then creatives might be forced to restart the process. It may be required that they go back to the point of modifying the brief from the contact meeting bundle, or recommencing from the briefing and generating the ideas bundle, or, sometimes when the ideas are accepted but a slight amendment is requested, they may have to recommence from the bundle of execution and reification of the selected ideas. Sometimes despite all the efforts taken by the ad agency members, the client does not sign the contract and they might move their custom to another ad agency. Ultimately, when the client's approval is received, the ideas need to be taken forward in order to seek and obtain approval from the corresponding governmental institutes.

In figure 4.5 below, the sub-practices and practices in the bundle of convincing and selling to the client and their contributions (shown as purple circles) that can be used in later bundles of the creativity process to achieve the end tasks of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, and F) avoiding clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk, are presented.

Convincing and selling to the client bundle

Later bundles

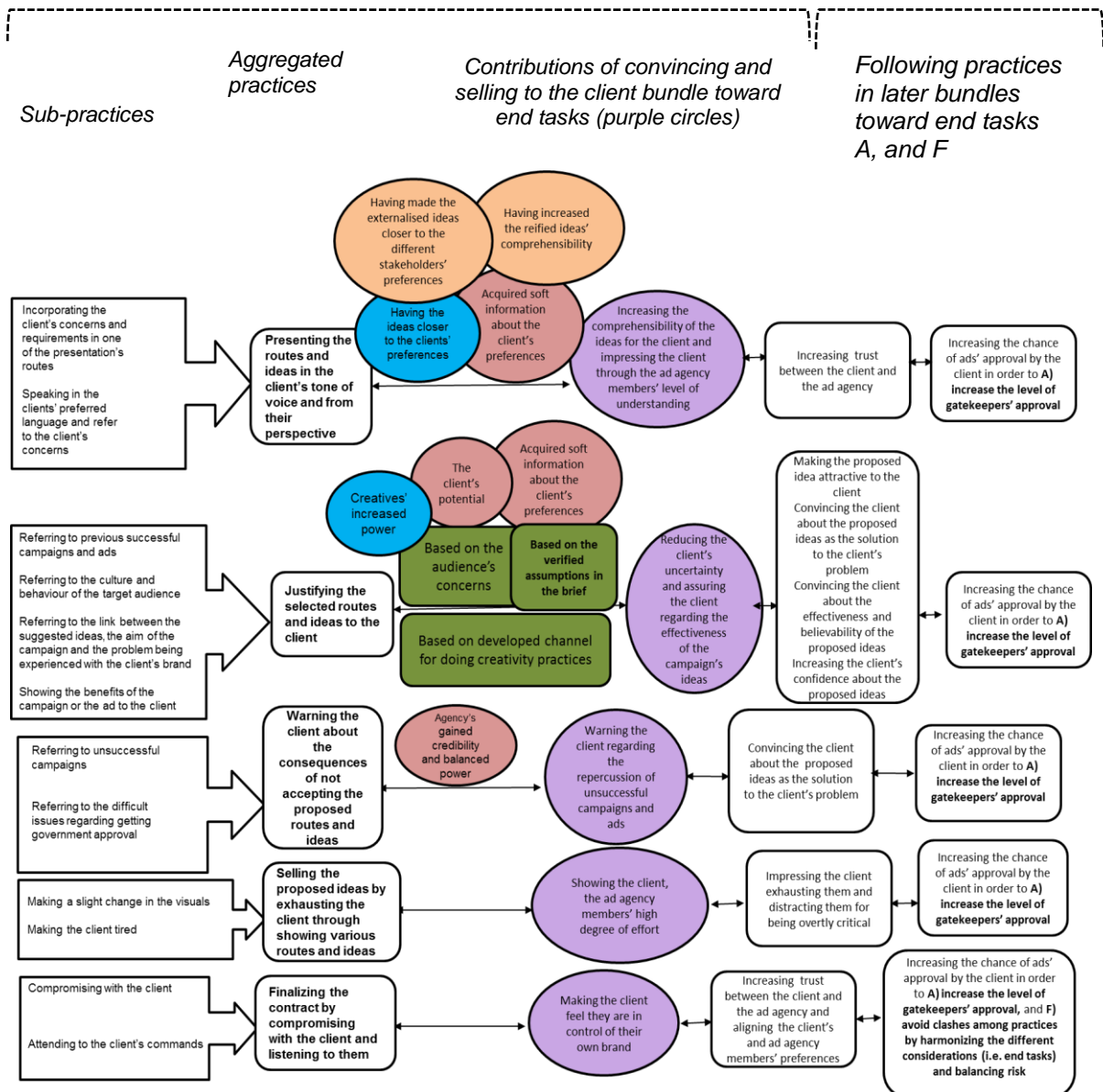


Figure 4.5: Convincing and selling to the client. The pink parts are the contributions of the 1st bundle (i.e. contact meeting), the green parts are the contributions of the 2nd bundle (i.e. briefing and generating the campaign's ideas), the orange parts are the contributions of the 3rd bundle (i.e. execution and reification of the selected ideas), and the blue parts are the contributions of the 4th bundle (i.e. pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation). All these are used here to shape the 5th bundle contributions (i.e. convincing and selling to the client) which are shown as the purple parts working toward end tasks of A and F.

4.1.6 Bundle 6, the governmental approval: a brief account

Most of the time, this bundle starts after the client's approval has been received. However, on occasion there are risks in the crafted creative ad, relating mostly to doing something beyond the rules of governmental institutes and their officers' preferences which means that their positive reaction toward the ad cannot be guaranteed. In such instances, the ad agency members sometimes try to obtain governmental approval prior to the client giving theirs. This is in order to assure the client of the strong likelihood that the ad will be suitable for broadcasting, publishing, or other dissemination and thus increases the chance of the agency receiving approval for the crafted ad from the client. As discussed before, for an advertisement to receive approval, it has to have confirmation from the appropriate governmental institute. In this bundle, (see table 4.1 coloured in yellow), there are three practices (i.e. Preparing backup plans, Showing the potential benefit of the ad to the pertinent governmental institute, Appeasing the governmental institutes) that are employed to overcome the tensions in this bundle. These tensions refer to Clashes between different ideologies held by ad agency members and the governmental officers, Different objectives of various stakeholders (i.e. those of the ad agency and those of the governmental institutes, as well as the heterogeneous opposing views held by the governmental institutes and their officers). These three practices contribute toward the identified end tasks (i.e. A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval and F) avoid clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk). These are illustrated in table 4.7. Finally, at the end of this section, the summary of these details and the trajectory toward the identified end tasks are depicted in figure 4.6.

In the following, the tensions found in the governmental approval bundle, the employed practices and sub-practices for overcoming these tensions and achieving the practices' end tasks are explained and the evidence regarding these is provided.

4.1.6.1 Clashes between different ideologies held by ad agency members and the governmental officers:

Given the described tensions in table 4.1 regarding this bundle, i.e. governmental approval, that is, the clashes between the ad agency members and the governmental officers who espouse vastly different ideologies, i.e. modern and conservative worldviews respectively, the ad agency members need to impress the governmental officials with their level of sodality. This can convince the officers that the ad agency members share mutual principles and they have already considered these when producing their crafted ad. This may make the ad more plausible to the responsible governmental institute and its officers and so raise the chance of the ad being approved and avoid the potential clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk. For doing this the members rely on the aggregate practice of “Appeasing the governmental institutes”, wherein creatives need to consider two types of rules to achieve the governmental officers’ approval. One is the set rules that ad agency members are aware of and the other refers to the personal preferences of those officers who are responsible for accepting or rejecting the ad. As for the latter, creatives and other ad agency members by being in the field for a while have developed a strong sense about what is preferred and what is not by government officers. Therefore, while crafting the ads, they try to consider these explicit rules and also their tacit understandings to make sure that the crafted ads accord with the all the governmental rules and preferences in order to increase the chance of the ad receiving approval. In addition, those ad agency members who are responsible for getting approval from the governmental institutes try to obey the governmental rules by dressing and speaking in plausible ways. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of “Incorporating the preferences of the government” and “Obeying the ostensible rules of the government”.

Incorporating the preferences of the government:

The ad agency members craft the ads based on their knowledge of prevailing rules in society and those required by the governmental institutes and ensure their crafted ad accords with the preferences of those responsible for certifying its

approval (see subsection 4.1.2.2; assimilating the government's requirements and preferences and subsection 4.1.2.6; evaluating the generated ideas). This can increase the chance of the ad receiving approval by the governmental institutes and officers.

Obeying the ostensible rules of the government:

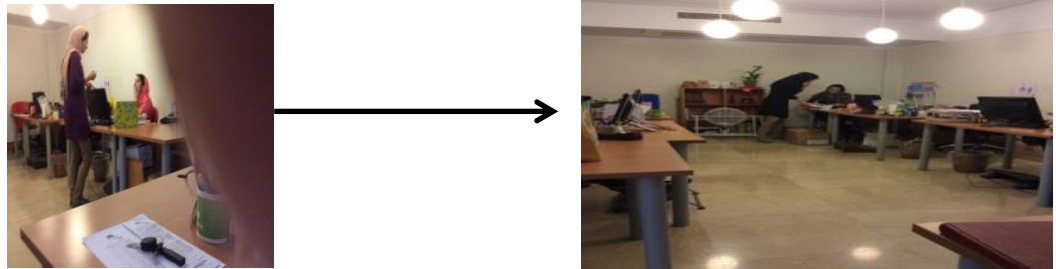
The creatives have already considered the government's requirements and preferences by relying on the developed channel for doing creativity practices (see subsection 4.1.2.2, assimilating the government's requirements and preferences and evaluating the generated ideas). However, it is necessary to obey the ostensible rules of the government to increase the chance of the ad receiving approval.

The chance of governmental approval can be increased by conforming to the governmental institute's regulations and the officers' preferences through actions such as dressing, behaving, and speaking in ways that are in keeping with the rules of the governmental institutes and wider society⁶⁰. Demonstrating that the ad agency members share similar tastes and preferences can be appreciated by the governmental officers and taken as an indicator that the ad agency members are aware of and have taken in to account governmental concerns and have already incorporated these within the crafted ad.

For example, Simin is the member of the media department in the ad agency who is responsible for obtaining the relevant codes from the governmental institutes. She adopts black apparel and a special type of scarf that is more appealing to the preferences of governmental institutes, when she visits the governmental institutes and is presenting the work/ad to officials in order to get approval (see picture 4.1 below). This, as discussed above, shows the

⁶⁰ The governmental institutes in Iran are predominantly governed by conservative officials who follow the Islamic rules and the prerogatives of the traditional classes who consider the reformist trend as a threat to their existence (Curtis, and Hooglund 2008, see appendix II). Therefore, modest Islamic clothing is preferred which, for women, is the head scarf (roo-sari, روسری) and the knee-length coat called roo-poosh (روپوش) and a long dress or pair of trousers mainly in black or dark colours. For men, wearing trousers, a shirt and jacket, and a collarless shirt without a necktie (kwintessential 2014) is the preference.

consistency of the ad agency members' philosophy with that of the governmental officials and can increase the chance of the ad receiving governmental approval.



Picture 4.1: Simin adopts black clothing for visiting the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance when she presents the ad for their approval.

4.1.6.2 Different objectives of various stakeholders (i.e. those of the ad agency and those of the governmental institutes:

In addition, there is the possibility of there being different objectives between those of the ad agency and those of the governmental institutes as they are different stakeholders involved in the process of creativity in advertising. The former may value the positioning of their ad agency as an international avant garde agency whilst the governmental institutes support a pro-Islamic nation state. In light of this, the ad agency members need to reconcile these differences and make the ideas appealing to the governmental officers. The ad agency members by knowing the socio-cultural attributes and conditions of their society may try to formulate some practices to overcome these incongruences and show the ad's benefits to the pertinent governmental institute in order to achieve the end tasks of A) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns, and F) avoiding clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk. For doing this they rely on the aggregated practice of "Showing the ad's benefits to the pertinent governmental institute", where, although the criteria set by the government are considered in depth by the creatives and other ad agency members, sometimes the agency members see the possibility of pushing the boundaries. This judgment is based on the client's potential (see Gauging by the agency of the client's potential in subsection 4.1.1.3) and their level of built trust with the ad agency (see subsection 4.1.1.1; Client and ad agency power imbalances). In

such an instance, the agency members somehow try to modify the set rules or the officers' preferences with the aim of not only helping the client's business but also to assist the agency in achieving its own marketing goals (see Referring to the client's profitability and using their (creatives') cultural reservoir in subsection 4.1.2.5). This, of course, depends on the ad agency members' knowledge about the socio-cultural context (see Exploring the socio-cultural attributes and conditions of the society in subsection 4.1.2.2) which informs them about the possibility of being successful in acting slightly against the established ways of doing things. The ad agency members draw on their cultural reservoirs and roles as active observers in their society as well as their insights regarding the concerns of the government (see exploring the socio-cultural attributes and conditions of the society and Assimilating the government's requirements and preferences in subsection 4.1.2.2) in order to justify the benefit of the proposed ad to the government. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of "Developing knowledge regarding the socio-cultural context", and "Explaining the benefits that the crafted ad can have for the government".

Developing knowledge regarding the socio-cultural context:

As discussed in subsection 4.1.2.2, under Exploring the socio-cultural attributes and conditions of the society, when assimilating the government's requirements and preferences, the ad agency members try to explore the socio-cultural attributes and conditions of society in order to be able to set the extent to which they can be creative and find the right moment for pushing the established social boundaries.

For example, in the campaign for "X13", the account executive over an informal interview told me:

"We need to know the news, for example recently in Keyhan [the national newspaper], there was a news about Rouhani [the current president] stating the need to increase the internet broadband width to have a higher speed internet in the country. Based on this, I know that they [the government] are more relaxed about the use of digital and social networks like Twitter, so I can use this in my campaigns. Also, Rouhani and Zarif [The president and his foreign minister] are

using twitter themselves. Thus I proposed to Khoshnam's manager [the football player and the celebrity in the campaign] to ask Khoshnam to tweet from their camp about the condition of the team and ask people to pray for them before the games. This could help him [the celebrity in the advert] to become the first footballer in Iran who followed the digital trend. However, they were concerned about the governmental consequences and initially reject the proposal but when they heard that two other football players had used Twitter and talked about the camp and the team in the preparation bundles; they became relaxed and accept tweeting."

Further, the ad agency members based on their knowledge about their society realised that Iran was trying to become more liberal after the presidency of Rouhani (BBC 2013), which coincided with the World Cup of 2014 which lead to a notable rise in the popularity of celebrity endorsement around the world. Hence, despite the local ban on celebrity endorsement, the ad agency members decided to employ a famous national team football player for the client's product, engine oil. In this regard Behnaz, the account executive, explained that:

"Considering the current situation, Iran is opening up its international ties and becoming more flexible, I want to do my best to get the governmental approval for the celebrity endorsement campaign ..."

Explaining the benefits that the crafted ad can have for the government:

The ad agency members, those who are going to work towards getting governmental approval, i.e. the media team or the account executive, draw on the socio-cultural attributes and conditions of the society and their developed sense about the plausible trends of the government. They do this to come up with some reasons why they think the proposed ad can be beneficial to the aims and objectives of the government and the wider society. They can increase the chance of receiving approval from the governmental institutes by providing convincing reasons to the governmental officers.

For example, in the World Cup campaign for "X13", Behnaz, the account executive, explained that:

“I have arranged a meeting with the deputy minister of Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting to explain the benefits of this campaign, talking about the reasons we [the ad agency members] think having Iranian celebrities in the adverts can be beneficial to the society as a whole”.

She told me she was planning to achieve this by referring to foreign celebrities broadcast in Iran and those Iranian celebrity endorsements that have been broadcast on satellite channels. She said:

“I want to tell him [the deputy minister] that in this way [using national celebrities in the ads] our athletes wouldn't be required to do advertising with the foreign brands and I want to give him the example of Hossein Rezazadeh [who holds the world record in weightlifting super heavyweight class and did the celebrity endorsement for a Dubai real estate agency on a satellite channel]. I also want to tell him that if we make it possible for our national celebrities to do the celebrity endorsement here, in Iran, they wouldn't be attracted to go on satellite channels. Also, I want to explain to him that in this way, we can show Iran is following global trends and is not an isolated country.”

Finally, after two weeks of going back and forth, she managed to convince the deputy minister and received his permission for the celebrity endorsement for the TVC.

4.1.6.3 Heterogeneity among the opposing view held by the governmental institutes and their officers:

There are diverse views found among governmental officers for although they are all conservative and uphold religious tradition, there are some who are very conservative whilst others favour modernity. As a result, the ad agency members by providing different options try to appease the wide gamut of tastes and preferences present in the governmental institutes and thus seek to increase the chance of receiving governmental approval. Overall, the aim is to convince the governmental institutes and the relevant officers of the suitability of the ad so that they give consent for the ad to be disseminated. Hence, in this bundle the end tasks of A) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful

campaigns, and F) avoiding clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk, are pursued. For doing this, they rely on the aggregated practice of “Preparing backup plans”, where the creatives and other ad agency members including the account and media team staff, based on their judgment regarding the chances of receiving approval, which comes from the acquired knowledge about the governmental rules and also from their developed insights to the preferences of governmental officers, take precautions. Where they calculate that the likelihood of receiving approval is slight, then to improve their position, they prepare backup plans comprising safer options. This aggregated practice involves the sub-practices of “Formulating three routes/ads, safe option, creatives’ desired route, and option sited in-between”, and “Getting approval on the safe option but trying to convince officials about the creatives’ desired one”.

Formulating three routes/ads, safe option, creatives’ desired route, and option sited in-between:

One way to prepare back up plans is to formulate three routes/ads, 1) the safe option developed by relying on their developed understanding about the government’s rules and preferences (see Assimilating the government’s requirements and preferences in subsection 4.1.2.2), 2) the creatives’ desired route that can be risky and in contradiction with the governmental rules, and 3) the option sited in-between these two. In light of the evaluation of what could be the officer’s reaction to the different routes, the members determine which one to use first in order to get approval at least for one of their proposed routes.

For example, in the World Cup campaign for “X13”, in spite of the ban regarding celebrity endorsement in Iran, the ad agency was employing a famous national team football player for the client’s product, engine oil. The ad agency members knew that the ad might not get approval from the pertinent governmental institutes. Taking this risk in to consideration, the agency members drew up three plans for their billboard scenario that needed to get approval from the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance. These were: 1) Khoshnam, the football player, was shown from the front with his face showing; 2) Khoshnam was pictured from

behind only displaying his well-known shirt number, and 3) Khoshnam pictured from the front without his face showing. With the TVC campaign that needed to get approval from the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting, they developed two options, one with Khoshnam's face showing and the other without.

Regarding the first strategy, the ad agency members knew full well that celebrity endorsement was banned and that, the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance located in the governmental offices in Tehran, was very strict about these rules. Therefore, with their billboard ideas, they started the convincing and selling process with the Tehran officials by showing the second option, i.e. Khoshnam pictured from the back with his shirt number shown. When I asked the account executive why they didn't start with the first scenario, Khoshnam shown from the front with his face displayed, she told me:

"We knew that celebrity endorsement is banned so we thought if we show them that ad and don't get the code on it then as for the second option which was Khoshnam from his back and his shirt number, the governmental officers would have become sensitive and we might not get the approval on either options. However, if we start from the second plan, Khoshnam from the back with his T shirt number we can decide based on the governmental reaction what to do next."

After showing the second option the ad agency did not get approval because the shirt number clearly indicated to the public that the football player in the advert was Khoshnam. Consequently, the ad agency members worked on getting approval for the third scenario and eventually received it. It has to be noted that branches of the ministry in other cities were more relaxed than the Tehran head office. Thus, when the three options were submitted and in some cities like Mashhad, the first was approved and for some others, such as Rasht, the second was approved.

Getting approval on the safe option but trying to convince officials about the creatives' desired one:

Another strategy to prepare back up plans is to have two options, the one desired by the creatives and a safe one which is presented to the responsible governmental institutes prior to the more desired one. This order is followed so as to get the governmental approval on the safe option and reduce the risk of not being able to broadcast the ad at all, while still trying to convince the officials to approve the other one. After receiving approval for the safe option, the responsible members of the ad agency start their efforts regarding selling the desired ad to the governmental officers. If the preferred ad fails to get approval, then at least the safe option can be used as a fall back in the client's campaign. The preparation of the safe option ad, as before, pays attention to the governmental requirements and officials' preferences (see subsection 4.1.2.2, assimilating the government's requirements and preferences). The main concepts and ideas of the ad that is preferred by the creatives are held constant, but in terms of the execution and reification of the ideas, these are more attuned to the governmental requirements and officers' preferences. That is, for the safe option the team members look to remove any elements that may not be entirely appropriate or seek to embellish additional parts (see Evaluating Visuals in subsection 4.1.3.3).

Regarding the second strategy, as mentioned above with the TVC, in the World Cup campaign for "X13" the ad agency had two options, one showing Khoshnam's (the star footballer/celebrity) face and the other without this. Therefore, because of the ban regarding celebrity endorsement, the agency members showed the scenario without Khoshnam face and received approval from the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting. Following on from the success with this option, the ad agency members started out to convince the officials about the other TVC that showed his face. Behnaz, the account executive, asked the ad agency CEO to talk to the middle manager in the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting to see whether it would be possible to get approval on the desired TVC option, the one showing Khoshnam's face. After the ad agency CEO had consulted with the middle manager, he was advised to send in two letters, one

from the ad agency and the other from the client company, “X13”, appealing for their request to be considered. Meanwhile, whilst the ad agency members were waiting for the governmental officer’s decision, the account executive, Behnaz, arranged a meeting with the deputy minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting to try to convince him about the second option by pointing out the potential benefits of having it broadcasted (see subsection 4.1.6.2).

In table 4.7 below, the potential tensions in the governmental approval bundle along with the practices and sub-practices used for overcoming these and their contribution toward achieving the identified end tasks, namely A) increasing the level of gatekeepers’ approval, and F) avoiding clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk, are covered.

Table 4.7: Tensions, practices, sub-practices, and outcomes in the governmental approval bundle of the process of creativity in advertising

Tensions	Sub-practices	Aggregated practices	Contribution toward end tasks
Clashes between different ideologies held by ad agency members and the governmental officers	<p><u>Incorporating the preferences of the government:</u> Crafting the ads based on their knowledge of prevailing rules in society as well as those required by the governmental institutes and ensuring their crafted ad accords with the preferences of those responsible for certifying its approval.</p> <p><u>Obeying the ostensible rules of the government:</u> Conforming to the governmental institute's regulations and the officers' preferences through actions such as dressing, behaving, and speaking in ways that are in keeping with the rules of the governmental institutes and wider society.</p>	<p><u>Appeasing the governmental institutes:</u> The ad agency members try to accord with the governmental set rules as well as the personal preferences of those officers who are responsible for accepting or rejecting the ad.</p>	<p>Impressing the officials about the ad agency members' level of sodality and increasing the chance of the ad being approved in order to A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval and F) avoid clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk</p>

<p>Different objectives of various stakeholders (i.e. those of the ad agency and those of the governmental institutes)</p>	<p><u>Developing knowledge regarding the socio-cultural context:</u> The ad agency members try to explore the socio-cultural attributes and conditions of the society and develop their knowledge in this regard.</p> <p><u>Explaining the benefits that the crafted ad can have for the government/or society in general:</u> Talking about the reasons why the ad can be of service to the aims and objectives of the government and society.</p>	<p><u>Showing the potential benefit of the ad to the pertinent governmental institute:</u> Based on the ad agency members' knowledge about the socio-cultural context, the client's potential, and their level of built trust with the client, sometimes the ad agency members try to modify the set rules or the officers' preferences by explaining the benefit the ad can have for the government and society in general.</p>	<p>Making the ideas appealing to the governmental officer and increasing the chance of the ad receiving approval in order to A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval and F) avoid clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk.</p>
<p>Heterogeneity among the opposing view held by the governmental institutes and their officers</p>	<p><u>Formulating three routes/ads: a safe option, the creatives' desired route, and an option sited in-between:</u> The ad agency members, based on their developed understanding about the government's rules and preferences, prepare 1) a safe choice, 2) the creatives' desired route that can be risky and in contradiction with governmental rules, and, 3) the option sited in-between these two.</p> <p><u>Getting approval on the safe option but trying to convince officials regarding the creatives' desired one:</u> The ad agency members based on their developed understanding about the government's rules and preferences, prepare the version desired by the creatives and 2) a safe one. After receiving approval for the safe option, the responsible members of the ad agency start their efforts regarding selling the desired version of the ad to the governmental officers.</p>	<p><u>Preparing backup plans:</u> Based on the ad agency members' judgment regarding the chances of receiving approval, the creatives and these other ad agency members take precautions by preparing backup plans comprising safer options.</p>	<p>Appealing to the wide range of tastes and preferences in the governmental institutes and increasing the chance of ad being approved in order to A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval and F) avoid clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk.</p>

In following subsection, the summary of the governmental approval bundle, the employed practices and their trajectory toward the identified end tasks are explained and illustrated in figure 4.6.

4.1.6.4 A summary of practices' contributions in the governmental approval bundle:

As discussed above, in this bundle, the ad agency members make great effort to receive approval from the governmental institutes and to avoid incongruences between the ad agency and the governmental institutes in order to get their desired ad disseminated. They can achieve this by impressing the governmental officials with regards to the ad agency members' level of sodality by incorporating the preferences of the government in their ads as well as by obeying their ostensible rules (see the first line from the top in figure 4.6). In addition, the ad agency members try to make the ad appealing to the governmental officers and increase the chance of its approval by providing convincing reasons regarding the plausibility of the proposed ad through their developed knowledge regarding the socio-cultural context (see the second line from the top in figure 4.6). Further, the ad agency members try to prepare backup plans to appease the wide range of tastes and preferences found in the governmental institutes and thus work towards increasing the chance of their ad receiving approval and avoiding clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (see the first line from the bottom in figure 4.6).

In the best case scenario, the ad preferred by the ad agency members and the client receives governmental approval and can be disseminated. The ad is communicated and socialised with its target audience, which, in turn, can help the client through their brand, achieve the aims defined in the campaign. However, the desired ad might not necessarily obtain governmental approval. In this instance, the safe option that has already received the government's approval is adopted. Moreover, in the worst case, that is, none of the options put forward by the ad agency receive approval, the required modifications are considered through going back to the execution bundle, so as to address the government officers' concerns.

At the end of this bundle, after getting approval for an ad, the ad agency members proceed to the real production phase (i.e. filming, shooting, and publishing) in order for the ads to be broadcast, published or otherwise disseminated. It is worth mentioning that, after the real production has taken place, especially for TVC, although the storyboards and scenarios have been accepted by the client and the relevant governmental institutes, the adverts once again need to be agreed by both the client and the relevant governmental institutes.

In figure 4.6 below, the sub-practices and practices in the bundle of governmental approval together with their contributions (shown in the yellow circles) toward the end tasks of A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval and F) avoiding clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk, are presented.

Governmental approval bundle

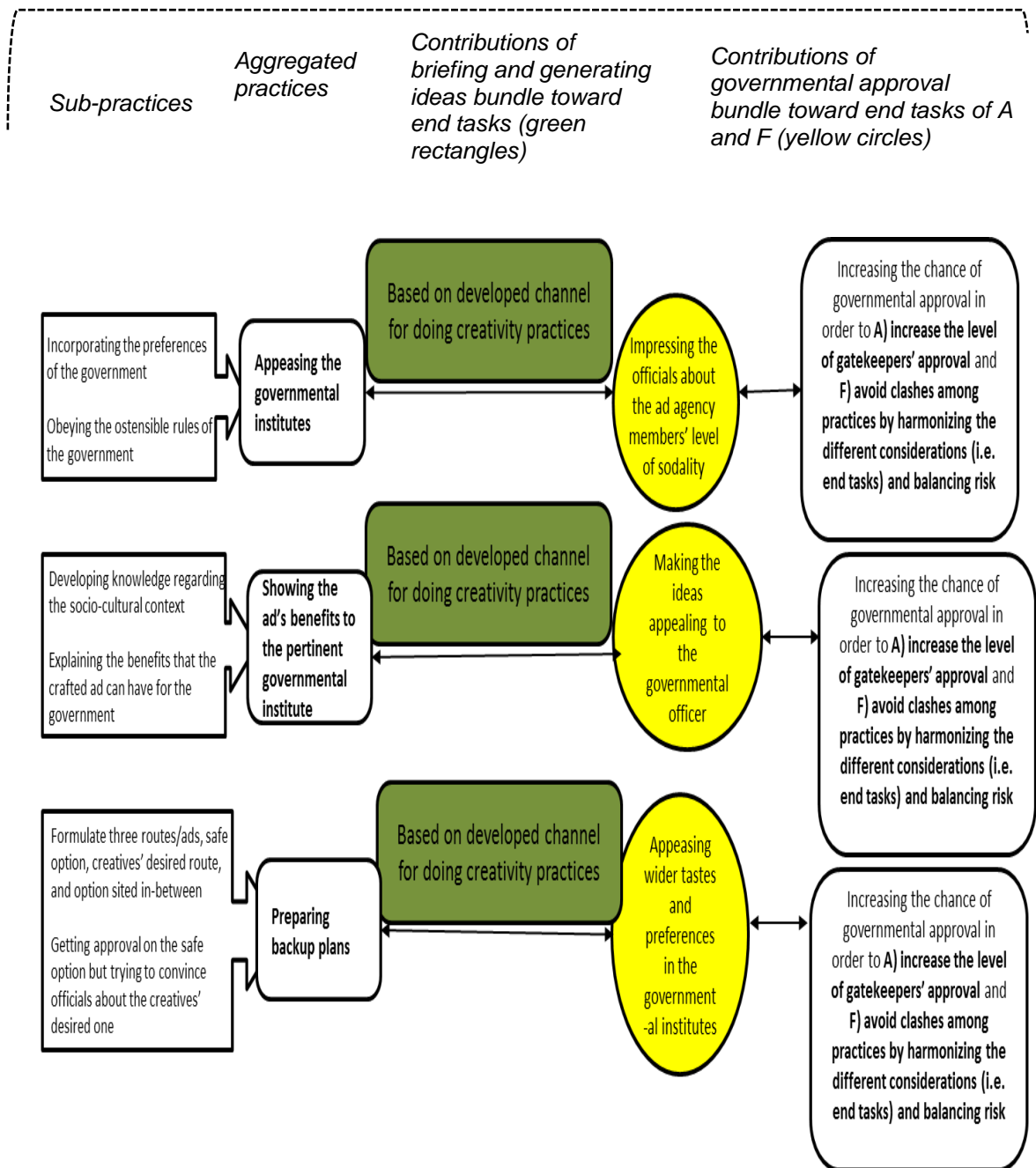


Figure 4.6: Governmental approval. The green parts are the contribution of the 2nd bundle (i.e. briefing and generating the campaign's ideas) that are used to shape the yellow part which are the contributions of the 6th bundle (i.e. governmental approval) toward end tasks of A and F.

4.2 Creativity as the alignment of different stakeholders' preferences:

In this part, the intertwinements of practices through pursuing end tasks which in turn can link the identified bundles are considered. This is covered through addressing, in turn, the six end tasks that are pursued (i.e. A-F, see table 4.1, column 5) which can be the preferences of same or different stakeholders.

In table 4.8, the practices from same or different bundles that are responsible for these intertwinements and in turn, pursuing the end tasks are shown. For example, for achieving the ad agency's marketing and positioning objectives labelled as C, practices such as 1) impression management and 3) understanding the client's persona and worldview from the contact meeting bundle, and 5) forming the brief, 9) generating ideas from briefing and generating ideas bundle are employed, which in turn, can link these two bundles. It is worth mentioning that practices can have more than one end, and thus belong to different end task collections, for example, as shown in tables 4.1 and 4.8, practice 1 belongs to the collection of practices in end tasks A and C.

Table 4.8: Common end tasks as the intersection of practices from the same or different bundles

		Practices in the process of creativity in advertising in Dalton agency in the context of Iran																							
Common ends		2	4	6	7	8	9	10	11	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24				
A	Increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval																								
B	Doing the ad agency proposals to have successful campaigns	1	5	10	11	12	14	16																	
C	Achieving the ad agency marketing and positioning	1	3	5	9																				
D	Developing creatives' professional identities	5	7	8	9																				
E	Increasing the creatives' motivation	10	13	14																					
F	Avoiding clashes among practices	21	22	23	24																				

* Numbers indicate the practices, and colours indicate the bundles where these practices emerge that are explained in Table 4.1

4.2.1 A) Increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval:

it was unearthed that the ad agency members relied on two techniques so as to improve their chances of receiving approval from the client: incorporating the requirements and preferences of the client in their proposals and using selling techniques. During the contact meeting bundle the ad agency members tried to acquire soft and hard information through the practices of “understanding the client’s persona and worldview” (see table 4.1 practice 2), and “drafting or redrafting a brief regarding the requirements of the client” (see table 4.1 practice 4) respectively. Subsequently, they applied this acquired information as their guide throughout the practice of “finding the appropriate channel for doing creativity practices based on the preferences of the gatekeepers” (see table 4.1, practice 6). With this outline guide and the acquired soft and hard information about the client, they could generate ideas (see table 4.1, practice 9) and select more than one idea and route (see table 4.1, practice 10) which incorporated the different preferences of the gatekeepers as well as the range of tastes shared amongst the client team. Finally, based on all their acquired information and insight, the selected ideas could be reified in a handful of visuals and copies (see table 4.1, practice 11) in order to move closer to the clients’ preferences. Moreover, to do this successfully, the ad agency staff performed the practices of “refining the reified ideas through relying on the expertise of those who know the client” (see table 4.1, practice 13) and “compiling the selected externalised ideas for preparing different routes of presentation for the client” (see table 4.1, practice 14). Furthermore, the ad agency staff members’ efforts in this regard could shape the practice of “customising the presentation based on the view of those who know the client” (see table 4.1, practice 15).

Turning to the strategy of relying on selling techniques, the ad agency members rely on the practice of “sharing (of) the information in the presentation with the ad agency members and equipping them for supporting the creative director during the final presentation to the client’s CEO” (see table 4.1, practice 16). Further, by relying on the acquired soft data about the client and their preferences the ad agency members “present the routes and ideas in the client’s tone of voice” (see table 4.1, practice 17) and “justify the selected routes and ideas” (see table 4.1,

practice 18). This justification was carried out through referring to previous successful ads, noting the culture and behaviour of the target audience, pointing to market research regarding the client's problem as well as showing the linkages between the proposed ideas and the aims of the campaign. In addition, by drawing on the acquired soft data about the client and their preferences, the ad agency members try to show the benefits of the campaign or the ad, to the client. Moreover, the ad agency members try to sell their ideas by "warning the client about the issues surrounding the matter of governmental approval and drawing their attention to the consequences of unsuccessful campaigns and ads" (see table 4.1, practice 19) and "exhausting the client through showing a number of routes and ideas" (see table 4.1, practice 20). Finally, if none of the above mentioned practices succeed, the ad agency members could try to obtain the client's approval through "finalizing the contract by compromising with the client and/or listening to them" (see table 4.1, practice 21).

audience approval is an important concern, hence to receive the appreciation of the targeted audience, the ad agency members tried to achieve an effective and believable campaign by performing the practices of "finding the concerns and requirements of the target audience" (see table 4.1, practice 7), "finding the capabilities of the advertised product/service" (see table 4.1, practice 8) and "generating the ideas accordingly" (see table 4.1, practice 9). In addition, in order to be in keeping with the audience's socio-cultural perceptions and the governmental institutes' preferences, the practice of "finding the appropriate channel for doing creativity practices based on the preferences of the gatekeepers" (see table 4.1, practice 6) was employed. Based on this, the staff perform the practice of "selecting more than one idea and route" (see table 4.1, practice 10) so as to embrace the preferences of the various gatekeepers. Furthermore, when it came to complying with the preferences held by the governmental institutes, the ad agency members exhibited a number of practices. These include "appeasing the government by conforming to the government's ostensible rules" (see table 4.1, practice 22) and "showing the benefits of the ad for the governmental institute" (see table 4.1, practice 23), as well as "preparing back up plans and providing different options to appease wider tastes and preferences in the governmental institutes" (see table 4.1, practice 24).

In sum, this end task, increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, appears to connect the above mentioned practices which have been listed in table 4.2 for this, the end task A. Following the discussion above, these practices appear to link the bundles of: contact meeting, briefing and generating the ideas, execution and reification of the selected ideas, pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation, convincing and selling to the client, and governmental approval i.e. bundles 1,2,3,4, 5, and 6, which are illustrated in Figure 4.7_a.

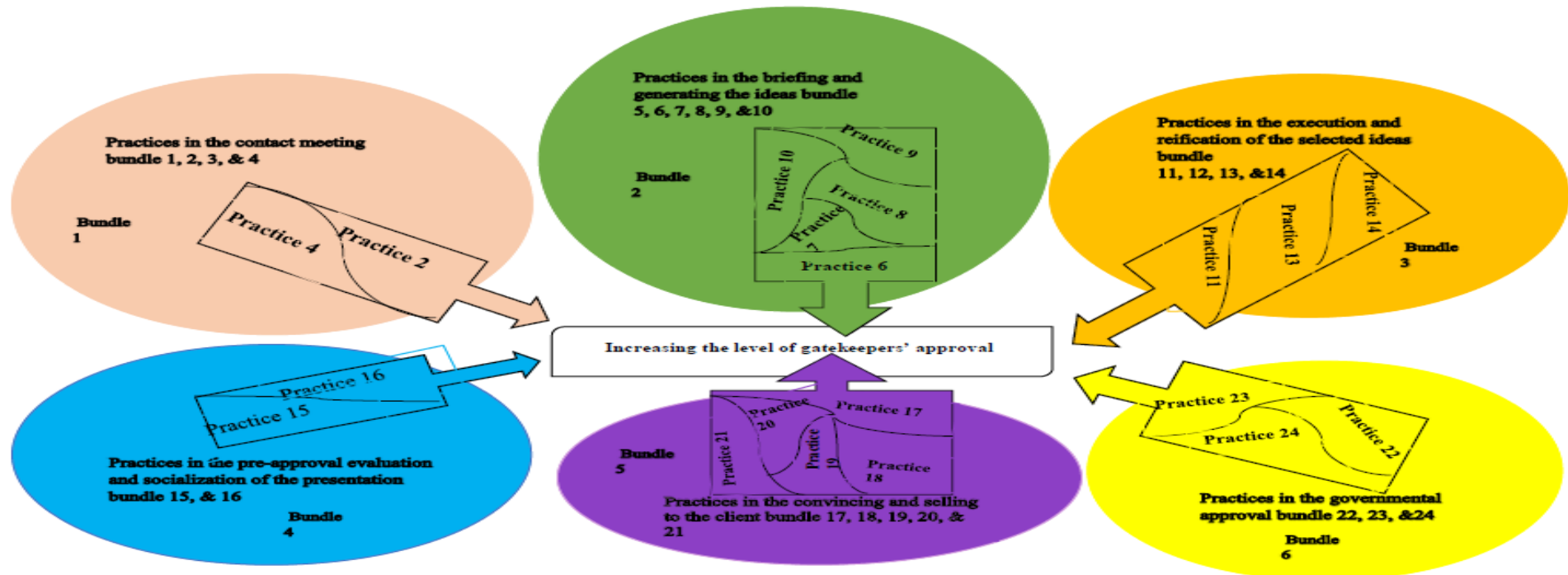


Figure 4.7_a: The intertwinement of 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th bundles in the process of creativity in advertising according the practices' end task A: increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval

4.2.2 B) Achieving the ad agency desired proposals in order to have successful campaigns:

Creatives through the practice of impression management (see table 4.1, practice 1) try to gain the clients' trust and show them the ad agency's level of capabilities. This, in turn, can increase the ad agency's level of credibility in the eyes of client and increase their power over the client to make him/her do what they think is required.

In addition, through the practice of forming the brief by examining the assumptions in the creative brief (see table 4.1, practice 5), creatives try to verify the assumptions in the brief in order to do what they think is plausible to have a successful campaign.

Furthermore, although the preferences of client would be considered in the ideas, the ad agency members try to put forward their own desired route as well as those that are closer to the client's preferences through selecting more than one route (see table 4.1 practice 10) and externalising them (see table 4.1 practice 11) and compiling them into a presentation with different routes (see table 4.1 practice 14).

Moreover, through the practice of managing the time by setting the account team expectations (see table 4.1, practice 12), creatives try to limit the account team's level of expectations and subsequently the client's, to have enough time and be able to do their own desired proposals.

In sum, this end task B, achieving the ad agency's desired proposals in order to have successful campaigns, would appear to connect practices numbers 1, 5, 10, 11, 12, and 14 which have been listed in table 4.8 for end task B. Following the discussion above, these practices may link the bundles of contact meeting, briefing and generating the ideas, as well as the execution and reification of the selected ideas, i.e. bundles 1, 2, and 3 which are illustrated in Figure 4.7_b.

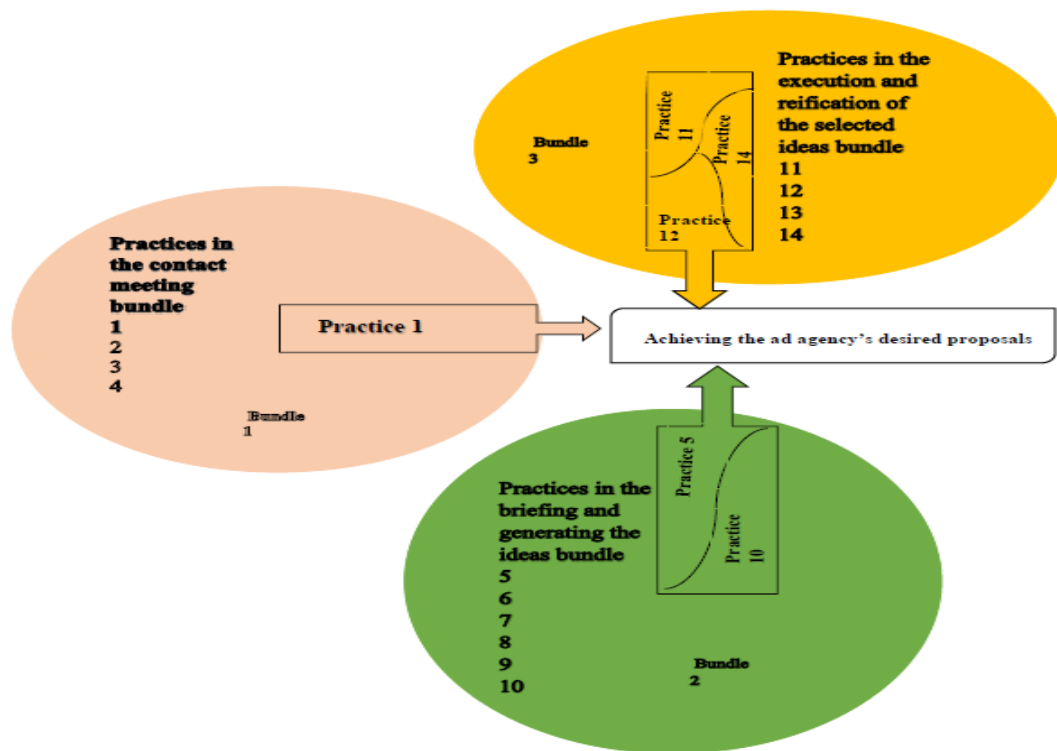


Figure 4.7_b: *The intertwining of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd bundles in the process of creativity in advertising according to the practices' end task B: achieving the ad agency desired proposals in order to have successful campaigns.*

4.2.3 C) Achieving the ad agency marketing and positioning aims:

Another end task that is considered behind some of the activities and practices of the process of creativity in advertising is to satisfy the marketing and positioning objectives of the ad agency. That is, the advertising agency helps other businesses to develop and be profitable through achieving the objectives of their marketing strategies such as: segmentations, targeting, differentiation and positioning (Kotler and Armstrong, 2013). Equally significant is the agency's endeavours to follow this objective to achieve its own marketing and positioning so as to flourish as a strong firm in its field. Regarding this, their prime aim was reported as being one of the leading international, modern, and creative agencies in Iran.

For achieving these objectives, the ad agency members had to gauge the client's potential (see table 4.1, practice 3) to see how far they could go in

generating ideas. In addition, to gain credibility, the ad agency members tried to build trust with the client by carrying out impression management (see table 4.1, practice 1). This could help the ad agency members achieve the client's approval on ad agency desired ideas. Furthermore, by finding the appropriate channel for creativity practices based on the preferences of the gatekeepers (see table 4.1, practice 5), the ad agency members could generate ideas (see table 4.1, practice 9) that would get the client's approval and help them to not only improve the client's business but also achieve the ad agency's own marketing and positioning objectives.

In sum, this end task C, achieving the ad agency marketing and positioning aims, would appear to connect practices 1, 3, 5, and 9 which have been listed in table 4.8 for end task C. Following the discussion above, these practices seem to link the bundle of contact meeting with the bundle of briefing and generating the ideas, i.e. bundles 1 and 2, which are illustrated in Figure 4.7_c.

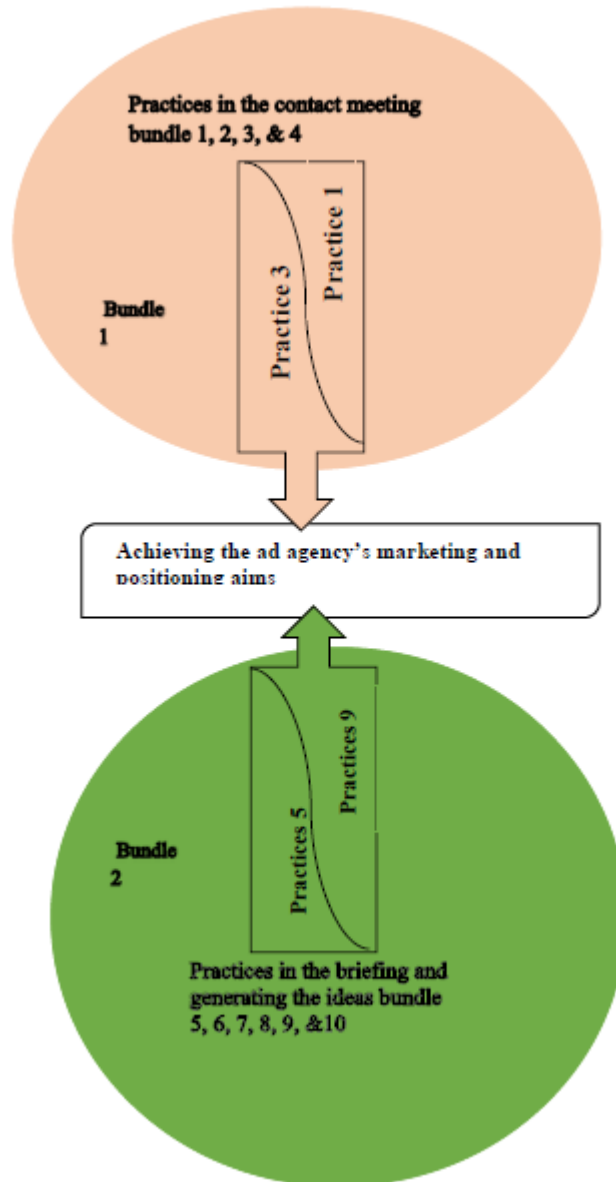


Figure 4.7_c: *The intertwining of 1st and 2nd bundles in the process of creativity in advertising according to the practices' end task C: achieving the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims.*

4.2.4 D) Developing creatives' professional identities:

Creatives faced the dichotomous challenge between their role as an employee and their identity as a creative and try to juggle both roles. How they try to respond to these roles and responsibilities as employees are discussed above under end task A where I explain the ways through which creatives try to increase the chances of approval and acceptance of their work by gatekeepers.

In the following, the ways adopted to develop their professional identities as creatives are explained.

Creatives, try to develop their professional identity through carrying forward the ad agency desired proposals (see B above) and getting the clients' approval on these, their desired routes (see A above). In addition, they employed certain practices geared towards having a believable, effective and successful campaign in order to be judged creative by their peers and develop their professional identity. Through the practice of "forming the brief by examining the assumptions in the creative brief" (see table 4.1, practice 5) creatives try to have accurate assumptions in the brief (i.e. regarding the accurate target audience and aim of the campaign) to be able to solve the client's problem and have a successful campaign. In addition, through the practice of "finding the concerns and requirements of the target audience" (see table 4.1, practice 7), and "finding the capabilities of the advertised product/service" (see table 4.1, practice 8), as well as "generating ideas accordingly" (see table 4.1, practice 9), they seek to have a believable, effective and successful campaign which could be judged creative by their peers and thus reinforce for them their professional identities as creatives.

In sum, this end task D, developing creatives' professional identities, seems to connect practices 5, 7, 8, and 9 which have been listed in table 4.8 for end task D. Following the discussion above, these practices seem to take place within the bundle of "briefing and generating the ideas", i.e. bundle 2 which is illustrated in Figure 4.7_d as a circle in which practice connections take place. In other words, the practice connections under this end task, developing creatives' professional identities, seem to happen within a same bundle as opposed to the above mentioned end tasks that seem to connect practices from different bundles.

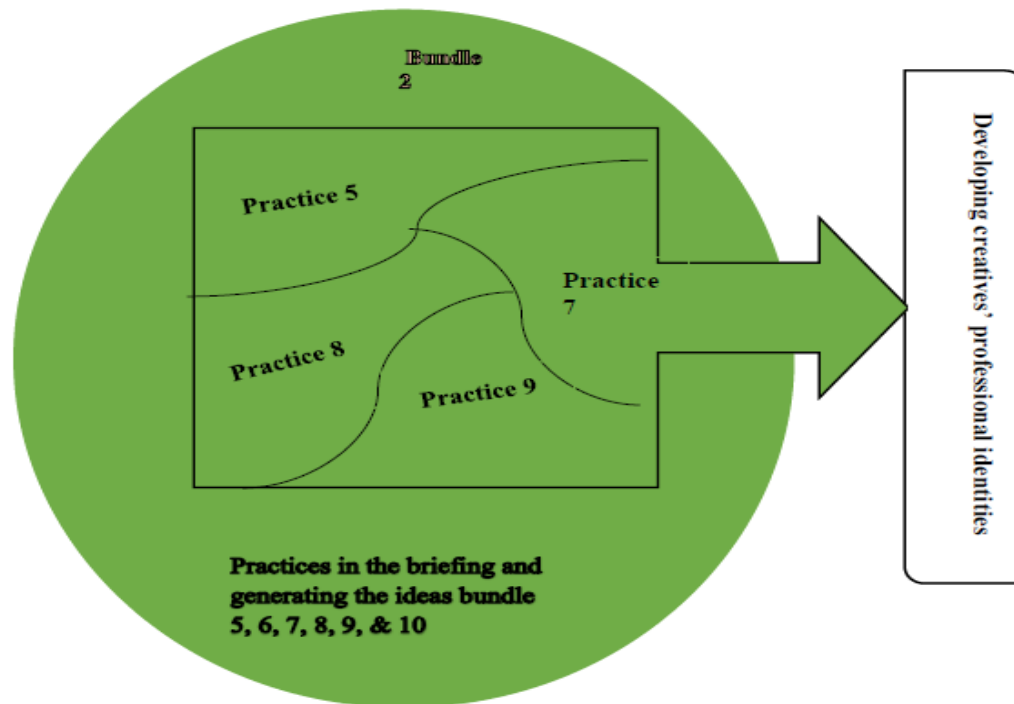


Figure 4.7_d: *The connection of practices in the 2nd bundle of the process of creativity in advertising according the practices' end task D: developing creatives' professional identities.*

4.2.5 E) Increasing the creatives' motivation:

Keeping motivated the creatives as the authors of creativity in advertising (Hirschman 1989), can be beneficial to the ad agency. This is because motivated staff can perform better (Avey et al. 2009), and having motivated staff can increase the rate of their retention, which likewise, is beneficial to the ad agency. Keeping creatives motivated certain practices are employed to make sure that the different voices of the creatives are heard and taken into consideration. These are: "selecting more than one idea and route" (see table 4.1, practice 10), and "refining the reified ideas (visuals and copies) based on the feedback" (see table 4.1, practice 13), as well as "compiling the selected externalised ideas (visuals and copies) for preparing different routes of presentation for the client" (see table 4.1, practice 14).

In sum, this end task E, increasing the creatives' motivation, appears to connect practices 10, 13, and 14 which have been listed in table 4.8 for end task E. Following the discussion above, these practices appear to link bundles of

“briefing and generating the ideas” with “execution and reification of the selected ideas”, i.e. bundles 2 and 3 which are illustrated in Figure 4.7_e.

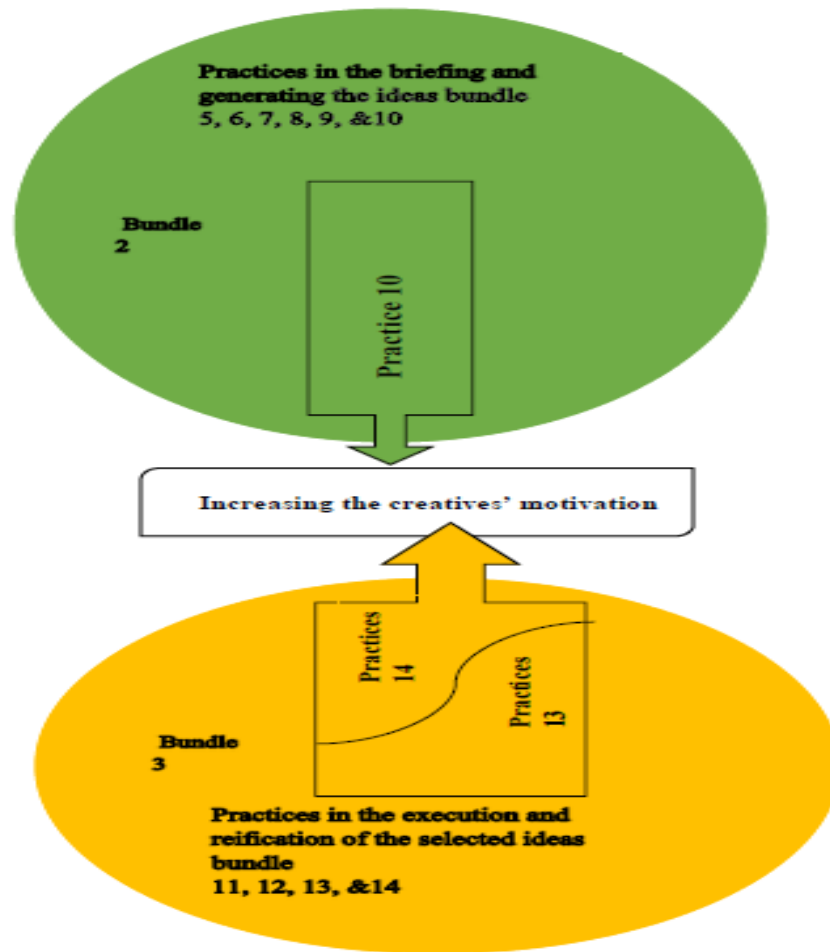


Figure 4.7_e: The intertwining of 2nd and 3rd bundles in the process of creativity in advertising according the practices' end task E: increasing the creatives' motivation.

4.2.6 F) Avoiding clashes among practices by harmonising different considerations/logics behind them and balancing the tension:

Although the ad agency members try to consider the different preferences of the gatekeepers through finding the appropriate channel for doing creativity, sometimes considerations behind the practices might not be harmonious with each other and hence might cause clashes. For instance, there might be disparities between the considerations behind practices regarding achieving the ad agency positioning objectives, which in the case of this ad agency, is to be an

international, modern, and creative ad agency (see end task C above), practices geared towards achieving the ad agency's desired proposals (see end task B above), those developing creatives' professional identities (see end task D above), as well as those pertaining to receiving gatekeepers' approval, specifically that from the government institutes (see end task A above).

For example, the ad agency wanted the celebrity endorsement when it was still illegal. Through celebrity endorsement, on the one side the ad agency could achieve its desired proposal (see end task B), foster the creatives' identities (see end task D), and most importantly, help its positioning as an avant garde and modern ad agency (see end task C). However, from the opposite side it was a risky campaign as there was a high chance of not getting gatekeepers' approval from the governmental institutes (see end task A). Faced with this, the ad agency members had to formulate practices to avoid clashes and deal with this potential negative outcome. In this study, the ad agency members tried to ease the discomfort among practices by relying on the practice of "appeasing the government by conforming to the government's ostensible rules" (see table 4.1, practice 22), "showing the benefits of the ad for the governmental institute" (see table 4.1, practice 23), and "preparing back up plans and providing different options to appease wider tastes and preferences in the governmental institutes" (see table 4.1, practice 24).

Furthermore, there may be occasions when disharmonies emerge between the practices aimed at increasing the level of clients' approval (see end task A) and those regarding achieving the ad agency's desired proposals (see end task B). In these instances the ad agency members could relieve the tension through performing the practice of "compromising with the client and/or listening to them to finalise the contract" (see table 4.1, practice 21).

In sum, this end task F, avoiding clashes among practices, seems to connect practices 21, 22, 23, and 24 which have been listed in table 4.8 for end task F. Following the discussion above, these practices appear to link the bundles of "convincing and selling to the client" with the "governmental approval", i.e. bundles 5 and 6 which are illustrated in Figure 4.7_f.

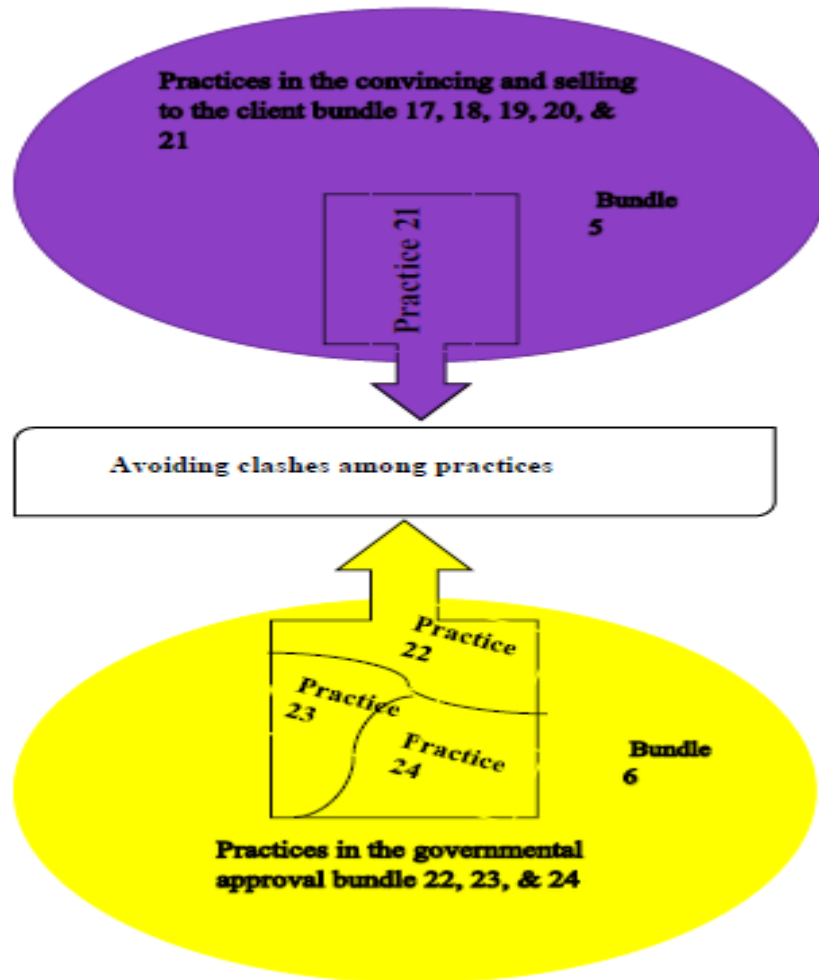


Figure 4.7_f: *The intertwining of 5th and 6th bundles in the process of creativity in advertising according the practices' end task F; avoiding clashes among practices by harmonising different considerations/logics behind them and balancing the tensions.*

Overall, the intertwinement of the bundles of practices and material arrangements for pursuing six end tasks and different stakeholders' preferences are illustrated in figure 4.13. As can be seen in this figure, the stages pursuing different end tasks in the process of creativity in advertising are interlinked and recursive. In this regard, the stages pursuing the end tasks of A and B are tightly related and there is an overlap between D and E end tasks. That is to say, the series of practices pursuing the end task B are contributing toward practices pursuing the end task A and there is an overlap between D and E end tasks that are creatives' motivation and developing their professional identities (Figure 4.8).

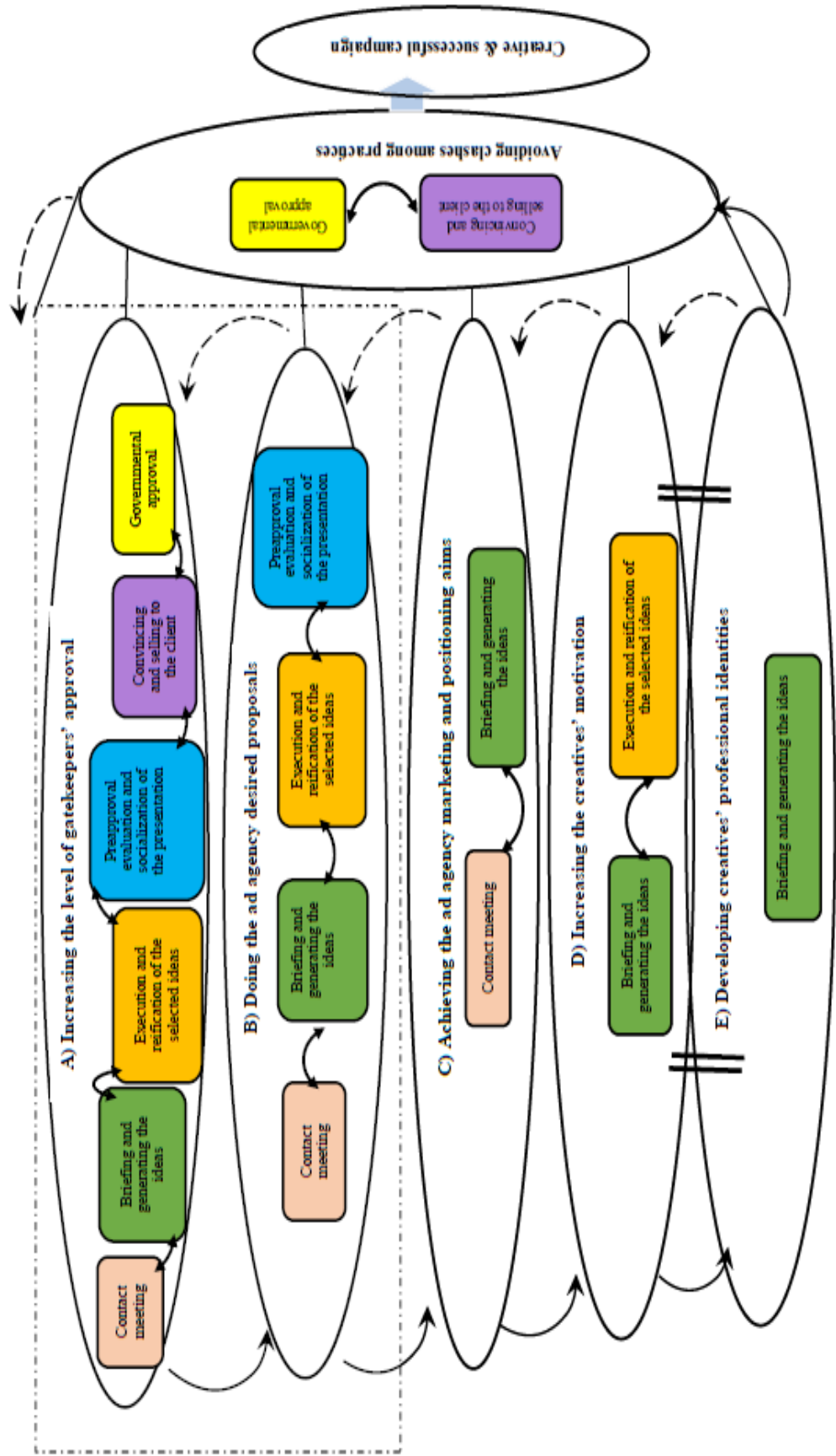


Figure 4.8: A Multi-Purpose Model of Creativity in Advertising based on the Practices' Common Ends

4.3 Creativity being a cumulative process: the dynamics and relations among identified bundles in the process of creativity in advertising

As was discussed earlier, creativity in advertising was found to be a cumulative process which entails the intertwinement of bundles of practices. That is to say sometimes practices irrespective of their spatial-temporality can be employed to pursue different end tasks.

In subsection 4.2, the connection of practices through having a common element in their organisation and structure i.e. having same end tasks, (i.e. rule, task, or understanding) were discussed (figure 4.8). In this subsection, other types of relationships among bundles of practices and material arrangements are discussed. This point, the connection of bundles, is explored in section 4.3.1 as practice-practice⁶¹relations; comprising dependability, the same doings and sayings, chains of action, as well as intentionality. This is followed in section 4.3.2 with a discussion regarding arrangement-practice relations, and, finally, in section 4.3.3 arrangements-arrangements relations are addressed.

⁶¹ It is worth mentioning that in this chapter the analyses are based on the identified aggregated practices. In subsection 4.1.3.2, however, the same doings and sayings as the building block of practices and sub-practices (instead of aggregated practices) as a source of linkage between practices.

4.3.1 Connection of bundles through practice-practice relations:

A brief account of each of the different types of relationships among practices, namely, dependability, the same doings and sayings, chains of action, and intentionality, is given in the subsequent subsections.

4.3.1.1 Connection of practices through dependability:

As discussed in the literature review, chapter 2, subsection 2.4.1.3.5 B, practices can be connected through dependability. In other words, sometimes there is division of tasks among practices and thus they are connected (i.e. collaborating) to be able to pursue their end goals by being performed (Schatzki 2011). In this subsection, the focus is the intertwinement of bundles according the connection of practices by division of task and the dependability among them. The bundles are the contact meeting (see table 4.1, bundle 1), briefing and generating ideas (see table 4.1, bundle 2), and convincing and selling to the client (see table 4.1, bundle 5). In the following discussion I draw out the dependability between the constituent practices of the bundles.

With regards to dependability, the practice of “doing impression management” (see table 4.1, practice 1), and “generating ideas” (see table 4.1, practice 9) are connected. This is because through the former, the ad agency members gain credibility and build trust which gives them more room to generate their desired ideas. For example, in all the campaigns that I observed during my nine months of ethnography, before starting the briefing and generating the ideas, the ad agency members invited the client to their office to show off their avant garde facilities and thus increase their level of credibility. Further, when the client preferred to have the meeting in their own office, the members of the ad agency who attended tried to mould their clothing and behaviour according to the client’s preferences. This was to increase the level of credibility and suitability in the eyes of the client (see subsection 4.1.1.1; client and agency power imbalances). Later on in the process, based on the built level of trust, the ad agency members could have a firm grasp of how far they could go and the extent to which they could be creative in the generation of their ideas (see gauging by the agency of the client’s potential in subsection 4.1.1.3).

In sum, these practice connections through dependability appear to link the bundles of contact meeting and the briefing and generating the ideas, i.e. bundles 1 and 2 which are illustrated in Figure 4.9a.

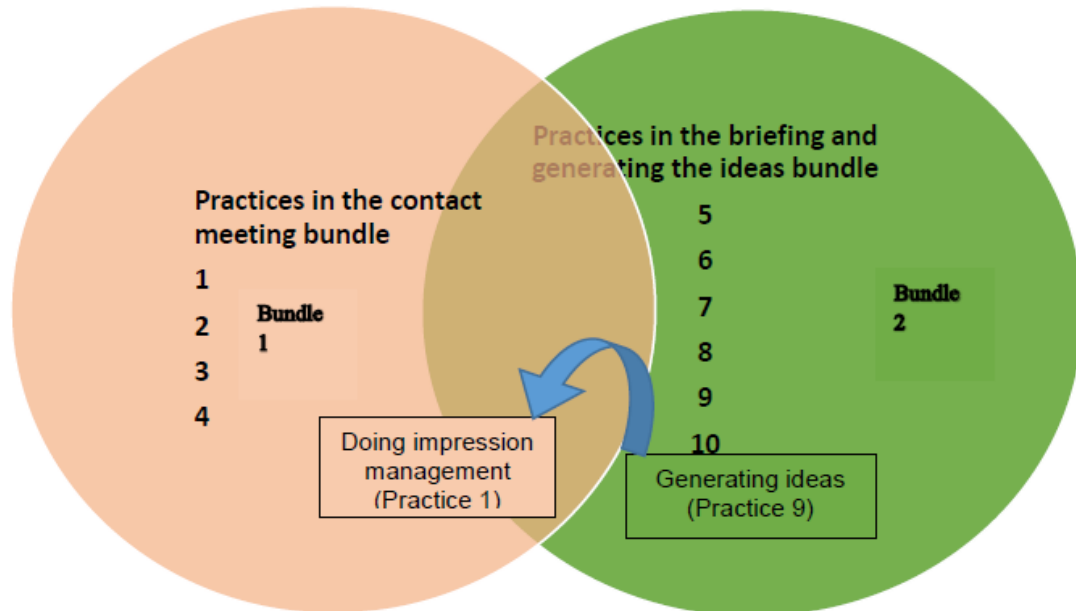


Figure 4.9a: The intertwinement of the 1st and 2nd bundles in the process of creativity in advertising according to dependabilities among generating ideas and doing impression management practices. *The blue arrow shows the dependability between practices

Dependability can also be identified in the following instance. The creatives seek to “find the appropriate channel for doing creativity practices based on the preferences of the gatekeepers” (see table 4.1, practice 6) by relying on their acquired information through “understanding the clients’ persona and worldview” (see table 4.1, practice 2), then they “generate ideas accordingly” (see table 4.1, practice 9). Later on in the process, the ad agency members, again by relying on the soft data about the client (see table 4.1, practice 2), work to “present the routes and ideas in the client’s tone of voice” (see table 4.1, practice 17) and “justify the selected routes and ideas by showing the benefits to the client (see table 4.1, practice 18).

For example, in the campaign for “X2”, regarding cosmetics and hygiene products, through understanding the client’s persona and worldview (see table

4.1, practice 2) the ad agency members realized that the client wanted to highlight Iran as the product's place of origin. At the same time, they knew that many Iranians did not value Iranian products (see exploring the socio-cultural attributes and conditions of the society in subsection 4.1.2.2). With this information, the ad agency members decided to focus on followers of social trends to the extent that when using an Iranian product became a trend then irrespective of the dominant negative perception, these targets would use the products (see developing copy in subsection 4.1.3.1). Armed with these insights regarding the client's passionate attitude about Iran and the fact that the client's representatives were members of intellectual contemporary social groups (see probing, observing and scanning in 4.1.1.2) the ad agency staffs were able to proceed. They tried to present the proposed routes in the client's tone of voice and justified their generated route through highlighting the point that their ideas could reflect the fact that "X2" products came from Iran.

In sum, these practice connections through dependability seem to link the contact meeting, briefing and generating the ideas bundles, and convincing and selling to the client bundles, i.e. bundles 1, 2 and 5 which are illustrated in Figure 4.9_b.

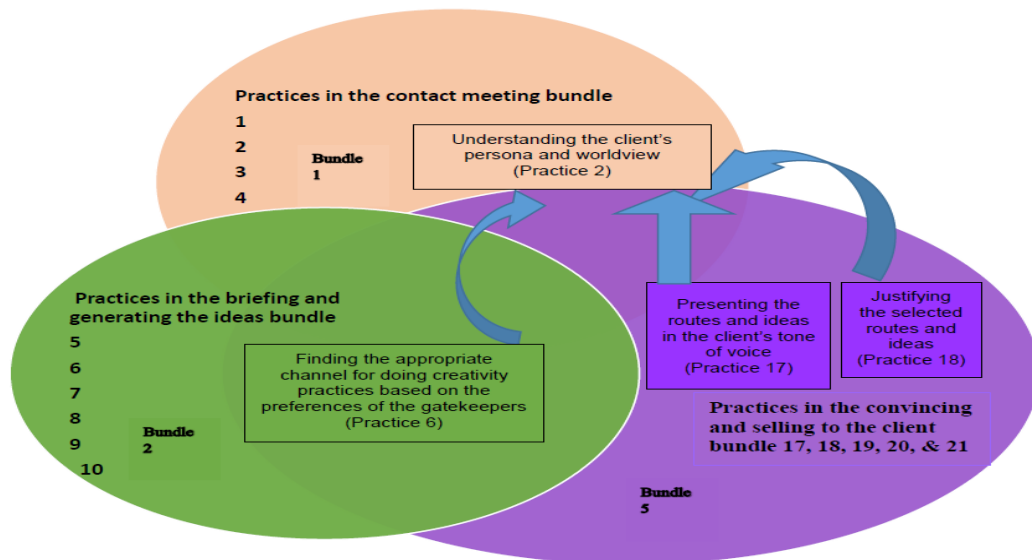


Figure 4.9_b: The intertwinement of the 1st, 2nd, and 5th bundles in the process of creativity in advertising according to dependabilities among the following practices: finding the appropriate channel for doing creativity, presenting the ideas in the client's tone of voice, justifying the selected routes, and understanding the client's persona and worldview.

***The blue arrow shows the dependability between practices**

A connection through dependability may similarly occur when the ad agency members “gauge the clients’ potential” (see table 4.1, practice 3) and then later, again consider the client’s potential and “generate ideas” accordingly (see table 4.1, practice 9). This was seen in the “X13” World Cup campaign, where, by knowing the penchant of their client for risk-taking and being the leader in the field, the idea of celebrity endorsement was proposed despite the ban.

In sum, these practice connections in terms of dependability appear to link the bundles of contact meeting, and briefing and generating the ideas, i.e. bundles 1 and 2 which are illustrated in Figure 4.9_c.

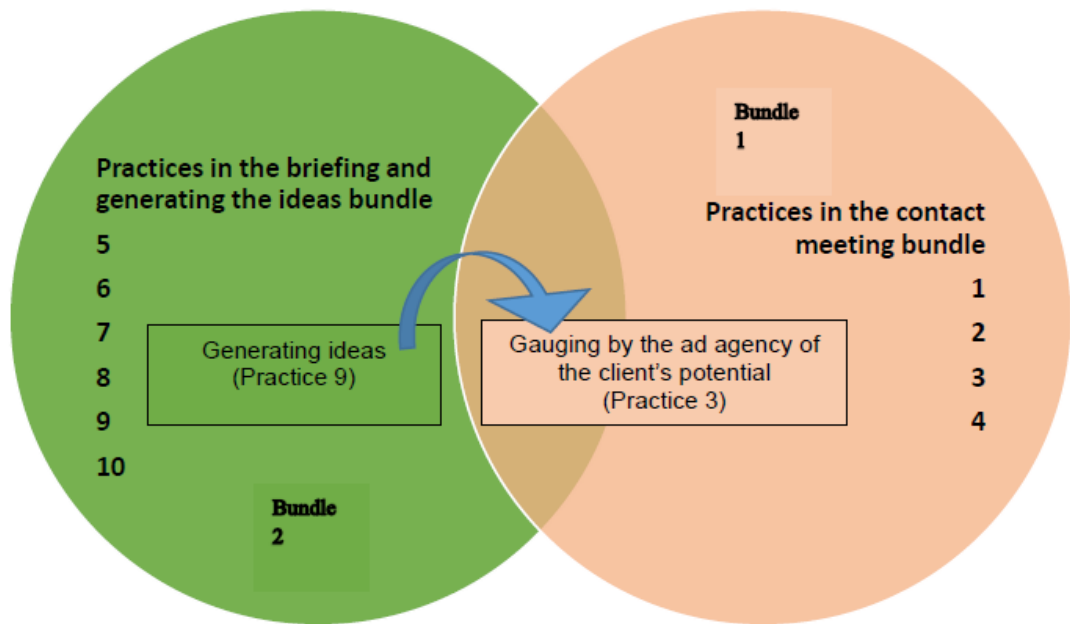


Figure 4.9_c: *The intertwining of the 1st and 2nd bundles in the process of creativity in advertising according to dependabilities among generating ideas and gauging the ad agency of the client’s potential practices. *The blue arrow shows the dependability between practices*

It is observed that “generating the idea” (see table 4.1, practice 9) was dependent on “finding the concerns and requirements of the target audience” (see table 4.1, practice 7), and “finding the capabilities of the product/service” (see table 4.1, practice 8). This can be seen in the “X6” campaign where the idea of being affordable was generated based on knowing the monetary concerns of the target audience, comprising mostly C1 and C2 social grade individuals. One of the assets of the “X6” products was their being cheaper than any competitors.

In sum, these practice connections seem to happen within the briefing and generating the ideas’ bundle, i.e. bundle 2, which is illustrated in Figure 4.9_d as a circle in which the practice connections take place. In other words, the dependability of practices in this part are among practices from the same bundle and not among different bundles.

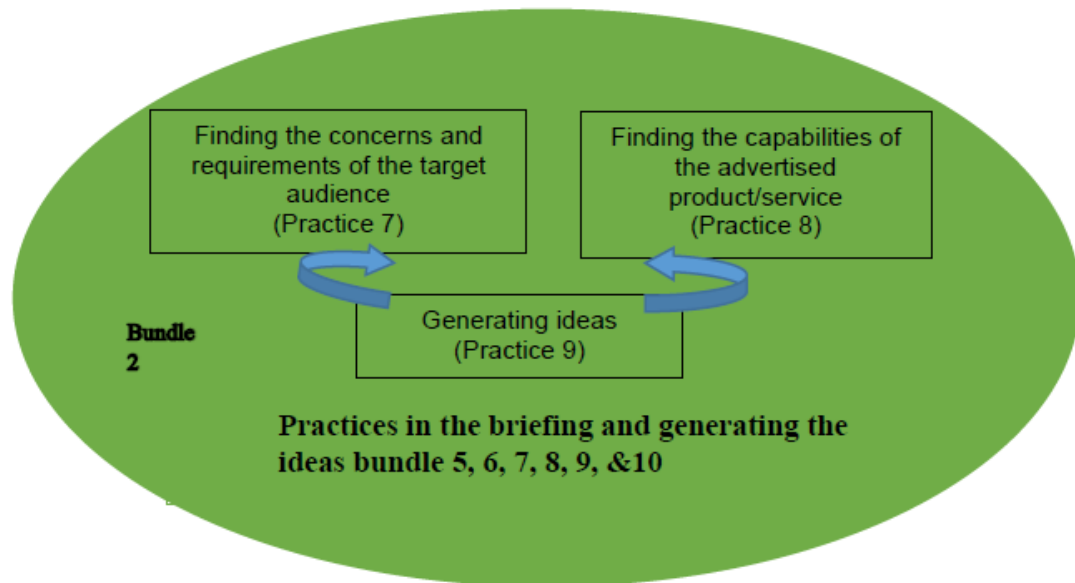


Figure 4.9_d: *The connection of practices 7, 8, and 9 according to dependabilities from the briefing and generating ideas bundle in the process of creativity in advertising.*

**The blue arrow shows the dependability between practices*

Another instance of dependability among practices from the same bundle can be seen as below. Creatives based on “the developed channel for doing creativity practices based on the preferences of the gatekeepers” (see table 4.1, practice 6), “select more than one idea” (see table 4.1, practice 10) and incorporate different preferences of gatekeepers to have higher chance of getting their proposal approved. For example, during my fieldwork, all the presentations for the clients always had more than one route and idea (see selecting campaign ideas in subsection 4.1.2.6).

In sum these practice connections seem to happen within the briefing and generating the ideas bundle, i.e. bundle 2 which is illustrated in Figure 4.9_e as a circle in which practice connections take place. In other words, the dependability of practice is among practices from the same bundle.

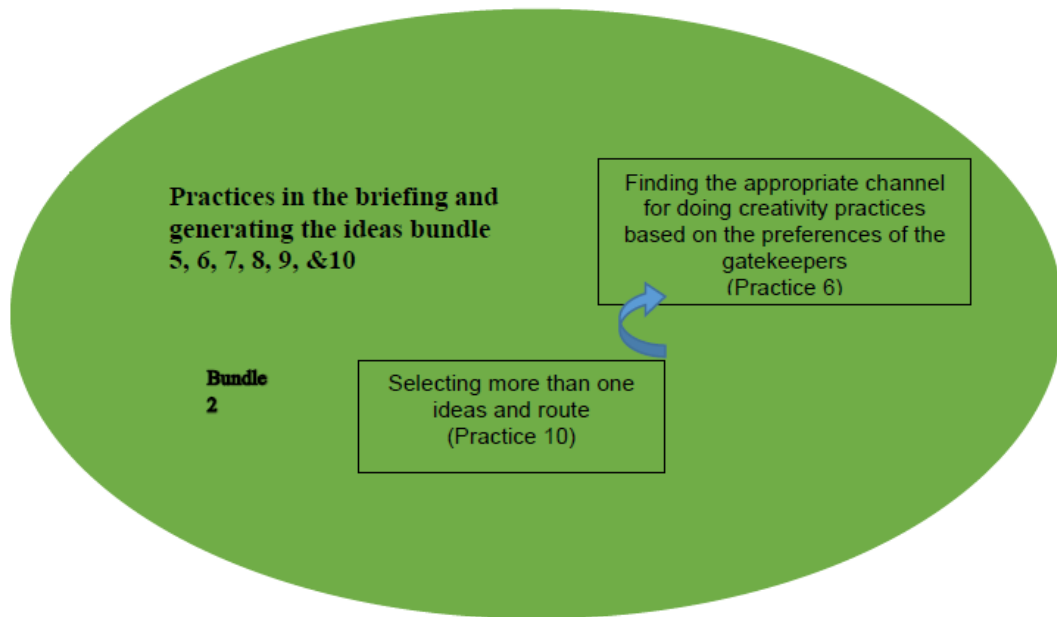


Figure 4.9e: *The connection of practices 6 and 10 according to dependabilities from the briefing and generating ideas bundle in the process of creativity in advertising.*

***The blue arrow shows the dependability between practices**

Note that I present the intertwinement of bundles according to the various dependabilities among practices pertaining to different bundles in Figures 4.9_a, 4.9_b, and 4.9_c. The connection of practices through dependability within the same bundle is shown in Figures 4.9_d, and 4.9_e.

4.3.1.2 Connection of practices through same doings and sayings:

As discussed in the literature review chapter (chapter 2, subsection 2.4.1.3.5 B), practices can be connected to each other by having the same doings and sayings or, in other words, they involve performing similar activities. In this subsection, an overview is given of the connection among the identified practices in the process of creativity in advertising on the grounds of their having shared doings and sayings. The same doings and sayings explained below are: “listening to the client’s discussion regarding his/her business”, “observing the client’s behaviour”, “conducting market research”, “developing visuals and copies”, “presenting”, and “considering and conforming to the government preferred manner”. It is worth mentioning that in this part of the analysis for the sake of simplicity, the same doings and sayings that can be seen in the identified aggregated practices are considered. This is to say that the same doings and sayings can be in all or some of the sub-practices that form the aggregated practices. For example, the same doings and sayings of “observing the client’s behaviour” that can be seen in the sub-practice of observing as part of the aggregated practice of “understanding the client’s persona and worldview” is considered as part of this practice without going into detail about its occurrence in the sub-practices.

The first shared doings and sayings that connect practices concerns “observing the client’s behaviour”. With regards to this, the aggregated practices of “understanding the client’s persona and worldview” (see table 4.1, practice 2) and “gauging by the ad agency of the client’s potential” (see table 4.1, practice 3), and “finding the appropriate channel for doing creativity practices” (see table 4.1, practice 6) are linked. For instance, by observing the client’s behaviour in the campaign for X6, the ad agency members realized that the client preferred less risky ideas (see understanding the client’s persona and worldview in subsection 4.1.1.2). Further, they found that probably the client was going to work with this ad agency for just this particular campaign rather than for the long term (see gauging by the agency of the client’s potential in subsection 4.1.1.3). The information help them develop a guide to generate the ideas accordingly and adapt their level of efforts for the client.

This shared doings and sayings, “observing the client’s behaviour” seems to connect the practices 2, 3, and 6 (see table 4.1), which in turn, can link the bundles of contact meeting with the briefing and generating the ideas, i.e. bundles 1 and 2, which are illustrated in Figure 4.10_a.

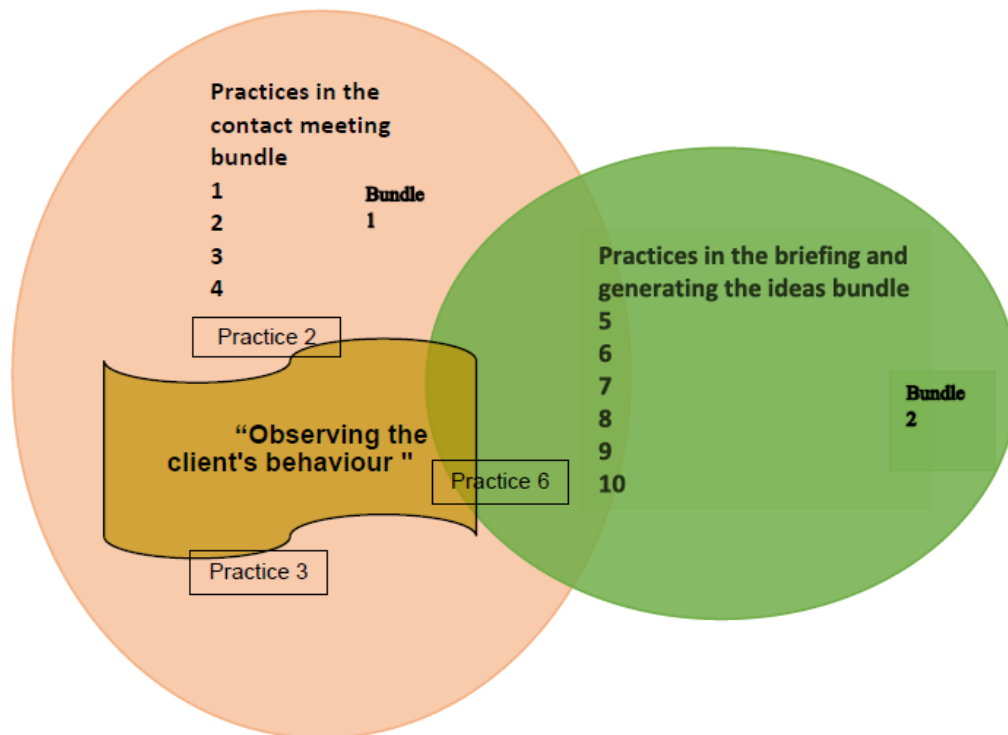


Figure 4.10_a: The intertwinement of 1st and 2nd bundles in the process of creativity in advertising according to same doings and sayings among practices, specifically observing the client’s behaviour.

***The brown flag shape indicates the same doings and sayings, the small rectangles indicate the practices and the circles show the bundles**

Furthermore, through another same doings and saying, namely, “listening to the client’s discussion regarding his/her business” and acquiring information in this regard, the practices of “understanding the client’s persona and worldview” (see table 4.1, practice 2) and “drafting a brief” (see table 4.1, practice 4) are linked. Recall that in the “X2” campaign the ad agency members by listening to the client’s requirements and instructions discovered that the client wanted to target social grade A women and work on branding their products. They also found that the client was placing great emphasis on the natural ingredients in their products

and the fact that they were made in Iran. Therefore, through listening to the client's requirements, the ad agency members drafted the target audience in the brief as social grades B to A. They highlighted in the brief the freshness (since most of the ingredients are from Iran) and naturalness of the ingredients as the advantages of the client's product and got the client's approval on this.

This shared doings and sayings, "listening to the client's discussion regarding his/her business" appears to connect the practices 2 and 4 which belong to the first bundle and is illustrated in Figure 4.10_b.

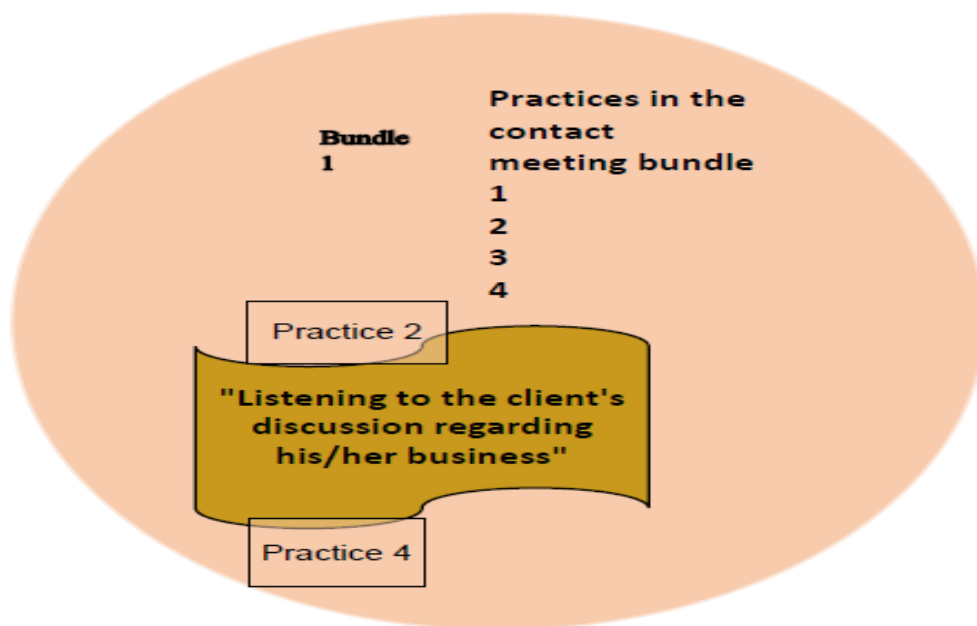


Figure 4.10_b: *The connection of practices 2 and 4 from the 1st bundle according to same doings and sayings, specifically, listening to the client's discussion regarding his/her business.*

***The brown flag shape indicates the same doings and sayings, the small rectangles indicate the practices and the circles show the bundles.**

In sum, the doings and sayings of "observing the client's behaviour" and "listening to the client's discussion regarding his/her business" are both happening among the practices from the first bundle. However, the former same doings and sayings can link the practices from the first bundle with the second bundle. In other words, the connection of practices 2, 3, and 6 (see table 4.1) through the same doings and sayings of "observing the client's behaviour"

appear to happen within the contact meeting bundle as well as between the contact meeting and the briefing and generating ideas bundles, i.e. the intertwining of bundles 1 and 2, illustrated in Figure 4.10_a as overlapping circles. Moreover, the connection of practices 2 and 4 (see table 4.1) through the same doings and sayings of “listening to the client’s discussion regarding his/her business” seem to happen within the contact meeting bundle, i.e. bundle 1 which is illustrated in Figure 4.10_b.

In addition, through another same doings and sayings, namely “conducting market research”, the following practices can be linked: the practice of “forming the brief” (see table 4.1, practice 5) and “finding the appropriate channel for doing creativity practices” (see table 4.1, practice 6), “finding the concerns and requirements of the target audience” (see table 4.1, practice 7), and “finding the capabilities of the advertised product/service” (see table 4.1, practice 8). This is to say that by conducting market research or obtaining market research data from the client or even from a third party (e.g. market research companies), the ad agency members try form the brief by verifying or exploring the target audience and the problem the client’s brand is experiencing. Further, the information from the market research could help creatives to understand the socio-cultural attributes and conditions of society and develop an appropriate channel for their creativity practices. In addition the information from market research can be used for creatives to understand the concerns of the target audience and the capabilities of the advertised product/service that could be used later to generate ideas.

For example, in the “X6” campaign, by using the client’s market research as well as that of the ad agency, the ad agency members found that the target audiences were social grades C1 and C2 and the client’s problem was poor brand awareness. The information from market research also helped them to reveal that the concerns of the target group were mainly monetary issues and that they used coffee for specific reasons such as to be awake or to be considered as being upper class in their tastes. The information helped the agency creatives to focus on caffeine as the main ingredient of the product as well as to identify the English logo as features that they could work on.

In sum, the connection of practices 5, 6, 7, and 8 (see table 4.1) through the same doings and sayings of “conducting market research” seem to happen within the briefing and generating ideas bundle, i.e. bundle 2 which is illustrated in Figure 4.10_c. In other words, the same doings and saying of “conducting market research” appear to connect the practices from the same bundle, i.e. bundle 2, briefing and generating the ideas.

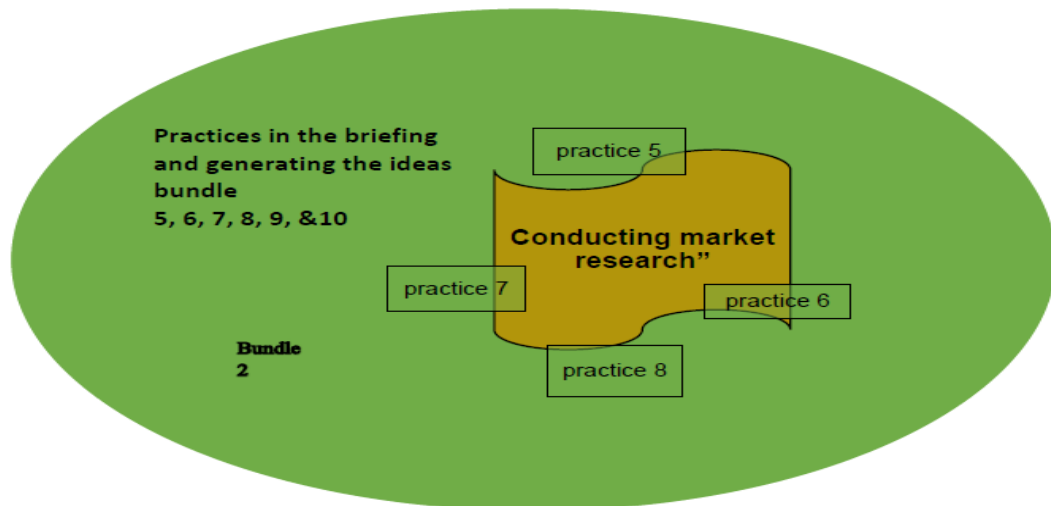


Figure 4.10_c: The connection of practices 5, 6, 7, and 8 from the 2nd bundle according to the same doings and sayings, specifically, conducting market research

****The brown flag shape indicates the same doings and sayings, the small rectangles indicate the practices and the circles show the bundles.***

Furthermore, there is another same doings and saying which is “developing visuals and copies”. Through this, the practice of “reifying the selected ideas into several visuals and copies” (see table 4.1, practice 11) and the practice of “refining the reified ideas” (see table 4.1, practice 13), and “compiling the selected ideas for preparing different routes of presentation” (see table 4.1, practice 14) appear to link. In other words, by developing visuals and copies for the generated and selected ideas, not only are the ideas externalised and reified but this also provides an opportunity for the creatives to share. This they do with other member of the ad agency to as to receive feedback and be able to refine

them further. These refined ideas can later be incorporated in a presentation for the client (see combining the refined copies and visuals in subsection 4.1.3.3).

In sum, the connection of practices 11, 13, and 14 (see table 4.1) through the same doings and sayings of developing visuals and copies appears to happen within the execution and reification bundle i.e. bundle 3 which is illustrated in Figure 4.10_d. In other words, the same doings and saying of “developing visuals and copies” appears to connect the practices from the same bundle, i.e. bundle 3, execution and reification.

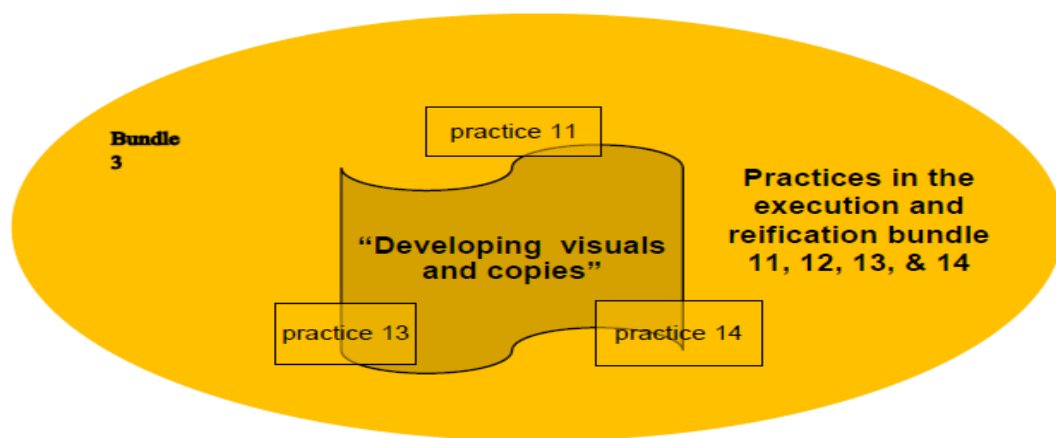


Figure 4.10_d: The connection of practices 11, 13, and 14 from the 3rd bundle according to the same doings and sayings, specifically, developing visuals and copies

***The brown flag shape indicates the same doings and sayings, the small rectangles indicate the practices and the circles show the bundles.**

In addition, through another same doings and sayings, that is “presenting”, the practice of “customising the presentation based on the view of those who know the client” (see table 4.1, practice 15), the practice of “sharing the information in the presentation with the ad agency members” (see table 4.1, practice 16) are connected. Further, the practices of “presenting the routes and ideas in the client’s tone of voice” (see table 4.1, practice 17), “justifying the selected routes and ideas” (see table 4.1, practice 18), “warning the client about the issues surrounding the matter of governmental approval and drawing their attention to the consequences of unsuccessful campaigns and ads” (see table 4.1, practice 19), and “selling the ideas to the client “(see table 4.1, practice 20) are linked.

For instance, in the campaign for “X9”, through presenting the selected ideas and reified routes to the client’s representative, the client’s PR manager and her assistant gave their feedback. At the same time, the ad agency marketing members, who were present in the meeting, took notes about these comments and became informed about the content of the presentation and the client’s concerns (See assessing the presentation and receiving feedback in subsection 4.1.4.1). Later on in the process, after refining the presentation based on the received feedback, the ideas and routes were presented to the director of “X9” campaign, the ideas were justified, and the client was reminded about the consequences of an unsuccessful campaign and/or ads. This resulted in their succeeding in selling the idea to the client (see difficulty in getting the client’s approval by justifying those ideas developed by the ad agency in subsection 4.1.5.3).

In sum, the connection of practices 15 ,16, 17, 18, 19, and 20 (see table 4.1) through the same doings and sayings of “presenting” seem to happen within the pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation and convincing and selling to the client bundles, as well as among them, i.e. bundles 4 and 5. These are illustrated in Figure 4.10_e as circles, with the overlap between them clearly demonstrated.

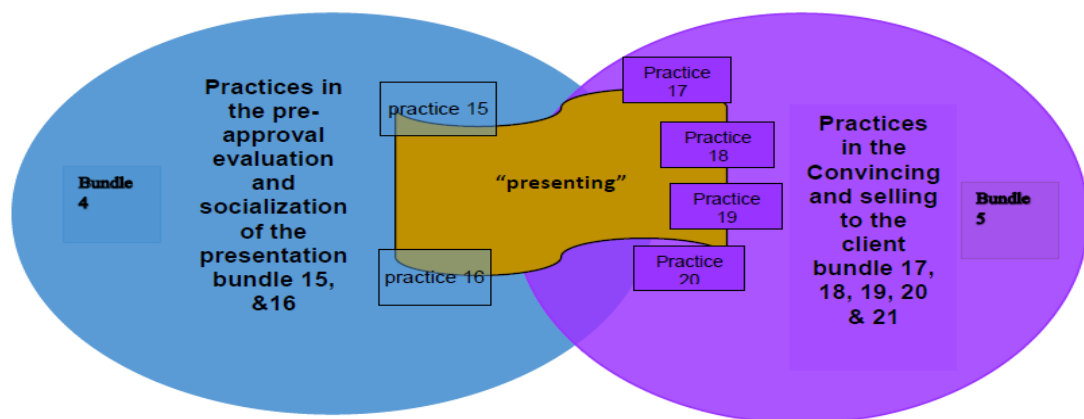


Figure 4.10_e: The intertwining of 4th and 5th bundle in the process of creativity in advertising according to same doings and sayings among practices, specifically, presenting.

***The brown flag shape indicates the same doings and sayings, the small rectangles indicate the practices and the circles show the bundles.**

Last but not least, there are the same sayings and doings pertaining to “considering and conforming to the government officials’ preferred manners”. Regarding this, a number of practices appear to be connected, namely: “finding the appropriate channel for doing creativity practices based on preferences of the gatekeepers” (see table 4.1, practice 6), “appeasing the government by conforming to the government’s ostensible rules” (see table 4.1, practice 22), “showing the benefits of the ad for the government” (see table 3, practice 23), and “preparing back up plans” (see table 4.1, practice 24). For instance, it is clearly understood that the Iranian government is conservative, religious in orientation and favours modesty. Therefore, the media members of the ad agency conform to these preferences and wear black clothing when they go to the governmental institutes for receiving approval on the generated ideas and routes (see obeying the ostensible rules of the government in subsection 4.1.6.1). As they are aware of these preferences, the staffs incorporate these in their generated ideas e.g. by avoiding including any representations of overt sexual behaviour in the generated ads. However, in the instances that the generated idea might be risky and against the preferences of the governmental institutes, the ad agency members try to justify their ideas. As described in subsections 4.1.6.2 and 4.1.6.3, they may achieve this by relying on the important elements that might be of interest to the government officers, such as promoting the image of Iran as an independent country free from western influences. They sometimes develop back up plans that are less risky and overtly conform to the government’s regulations and preferences.

In sum, the connection of practices 6, 22, 23, and 24 (see table 4.1) seems to happen within the governmental approval bundle (i.e. bundle 6) as well as between this bundle and the briefing and generating ideas bundle, i.e. bundles 6 and 2, which are illustrated in Figure 4.10_f as circles, with the overlap between them clearly indicated.

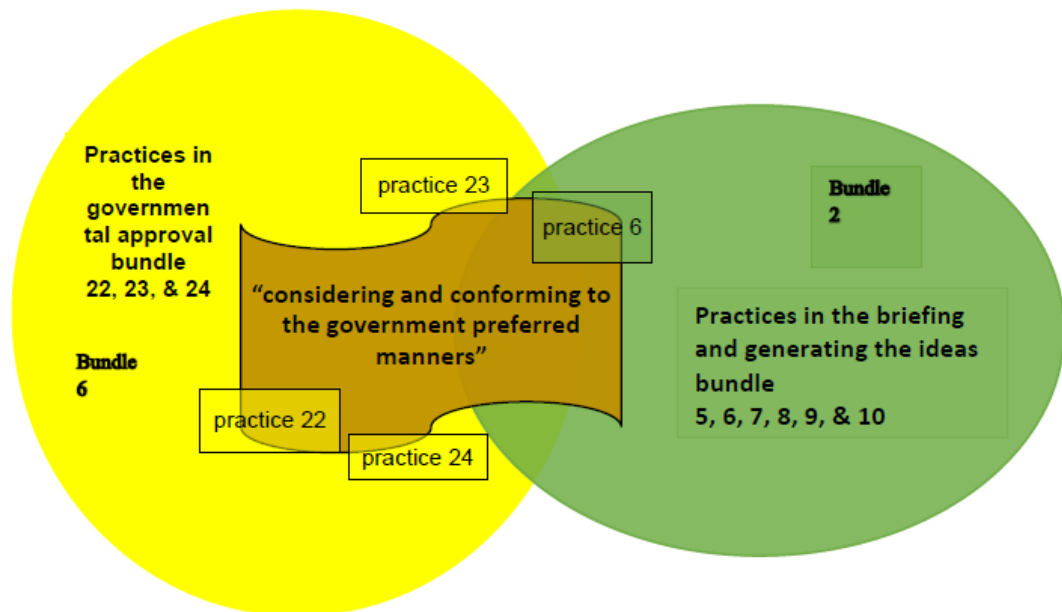


Figure 4.10: *The intertwining of 2nd and 6th bundle in the process of creativity in advertising according to same doings and sayings among practices, specifically, considering and conforming to the government’s preferred manners.*

**The brown flag shape indicates the same doings and sayings, the small rectangles indicate the practices and the circles show the bundles.*

Note I present the intertwining of bundles according to same doings and saying among the constituent practices from different bundles in Figures 4.10_a, 4.10_e, and 4.10_f. Further, the connections of practices within same bundles are illustrated in Figures 4.10_b, 4.10_c, and 4.10_d.

4.3.1.3 Connection of practices through chains of action:

As discussed in the literature review chapter 2 (subsection 2.4.1.3.5 B), a chain of actions, in other words sequential episodes, is another type of relationship between practices that can connect them and in turn, connect the bundles wherein they are performed (Schatzki 2005, Schatzki forthcoming).

Actions which form a chain can be seen in drafting a brief that can lead to verifying the assumptions and generating ideas accordingly. Later on in the process, the ideas need to be selected and reified so that the agency members

are able to communicate them to different gatekeepers such as the ad audience, other ad agency members, and/or client representatives. This is for the purpose of receiving feedback which results in refining the reified ideas, and preparing a presentation. Next the presentation is shared with other ad agency members in preparation for selling the ideas to the client and other responsible gatekeepers (see drafting a brief in subsection 4.1.1.4, forming the brief in subsection 4.1.2.1, generating ideas in subsection 4.1.2.5, reifying the selected ideas into visuals and copies in subsection 4.1.3.1, receiving feedback on the reified ideas in subsection 4.1.3.3, and compiling the ideas into a presentation in subsection 4.1.3.4 and preapproval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation in subsection 4.1.4, convincing and selling to the client in subsection 4.1.5, and governmental approval in subsection 4.1.6).

These actions form a chain that seems to link the practices of “drafting a brief” (see table 4.1, practice 1) with that of “forming the brief by examining the assumptions in the creative brief” (see table 4.1, practice 5). Subsequently, based on the verified brief the practice of “generating ideas” (see table 7, practice 9) is performed, which results in the occurrence of the practice of “selecting more than one idea and route” (see table 4.1, practice 10). Later on, after selecting the ideas, the practice of “reifying the selected ideas into several visuals and copies” (see table 4.1, practice 11) takes place, which results in communicating the reified ideas with other members of the ad agency or the client’s representatives so as to receive feedback. Further, based on the feedback, the practices of “refining the reified ideas based on the feedback” (see table 4.1, practice 13) and “customising the presentation based on the views of those who know the client” (see table 4.1, practice 15) are performed. Following this, the practice of “compiling the selected ideas for preparing different routes of presentation for the client” (see table 4.1, practice 14) is employed. The information in the presentation is shared with other members of the ad agency through engaging the practice of “sharing the information in the presentation with other ad agency members” (see table 4.1, practice 16). This, in turn, can lead to the selling to the gatekeepers (client and governmental officers) through the following practices: “presenting the routes and ideas in the client’s tone of voice” (see table 4.1, practice 17), “justifying the selected routes and ideas (see table 4.1, practice 18),

“warning the client about the issues surrounding the matter of governmental approval and drawing their attention to the consequences of unsuccessful campaigns and ads” (see table 4.1, practice 19), “selling the ideas to the client by exhausting the client through showing a number of routes and ideas” (see table 4.1, practice 20), and “finalizing the contract by compromising with the client and/or listening to them” (see table 4.1, practice 21). After selling the ideas and ads to the client, in order to get the governmental institutional approval, the following are carried out: “appeasing the government by conforming to the government’s ostensible rules” (see table 4.1, practice 22), “showing the benefits of the ad for the governmental institute” (see table 4.1, practice 23), “preparing back up plans and providing different options to appease wider tastes and preferences in the governmental institutes” (see table 4.1, practice 24).

It appears that these connections of the practices link the bundles of (1) contact meeting, (2) briefing and generating ideas, (3) execution and reification of the selected ideas, (4) pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation, (5) convincing and selling to the client, and (6) governmental approval. These bundles and the practices, as well as the chain that they form, are illustrated in Figure 4.11.

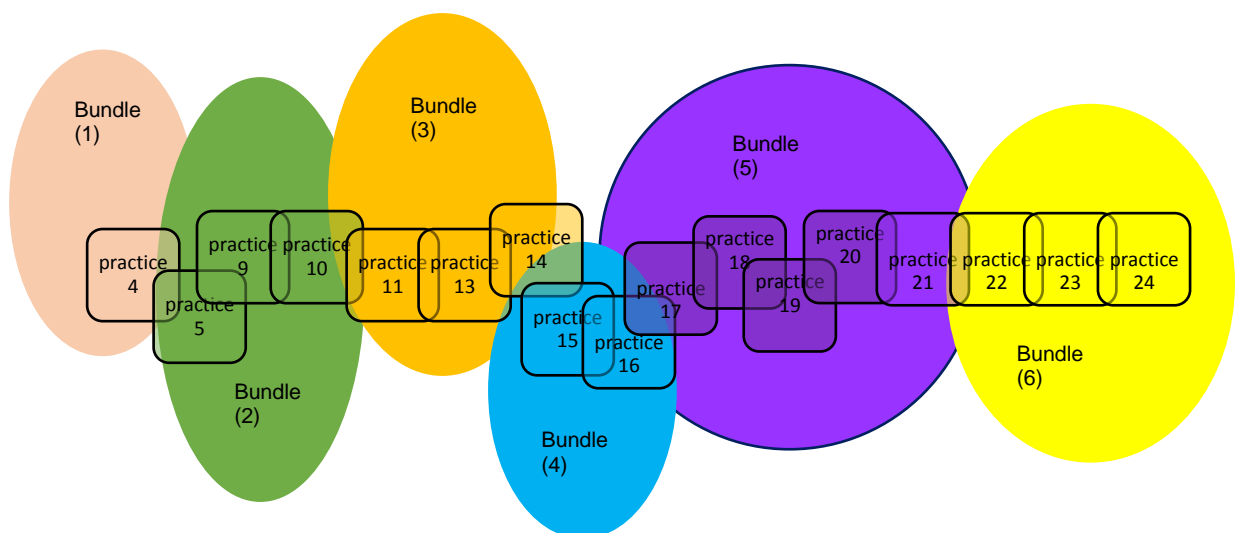


Figure 4.11: The intertwining of bundles (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6) in the process of creativity in advertising through practice-practice connection via the chain of actions shown by the overlap between the circles.

4.3.1.4 Connection of practices through Intentionality:

As discussed in the literature review, (chapter 2, subsection 2.4.1.3.5 B), intentionality and reflecting on the future actions and future practices can connect practices together which in turn can link their bundles (Schatzki forthcoming; 2011).

Regarding intentionality, in the process of creativity in advertising the ad agency members perform the practice of “doing impression management” (see table 4.1, practice 1) with the intention of acquiring more credibility with the client and having more flexibility for the practice of “generating ideas” (see table 4.1, practice 9). Furthermore, they “gauge the client’s potential” (see table 4.1, practice 3) to know how far they can go in performing the practice of “generating ideas” (see table 4.1, practice 9). In other words, when the ad agency members carry out the practices of “doing impression management” and “gauging the clients potential”, they think about and act toward the practice of “generating ideas” which is to take place at a later bundle (i.e. briefing and generating the ideas, bundle 2).

For example, in the World Cup campaign for “X13”, for generating ideas the ad agency members relied on the built level of trust between the ad agency and the client that rested on their long term collaboration that had lasted for more than 20 years. Further, through knowing the preferences of the client which in this instance were favouring new ideas and being risk takers, the ad agency members proposed the celebrity endorsement for their product when it was banned in the country.

In sum, the connection between practices 1, 3 and 9 (see table 4.1) seem to link bundles 1) contact meeting and 2) briefing and generating ideas which are illustrated in Figure 4.12_a.

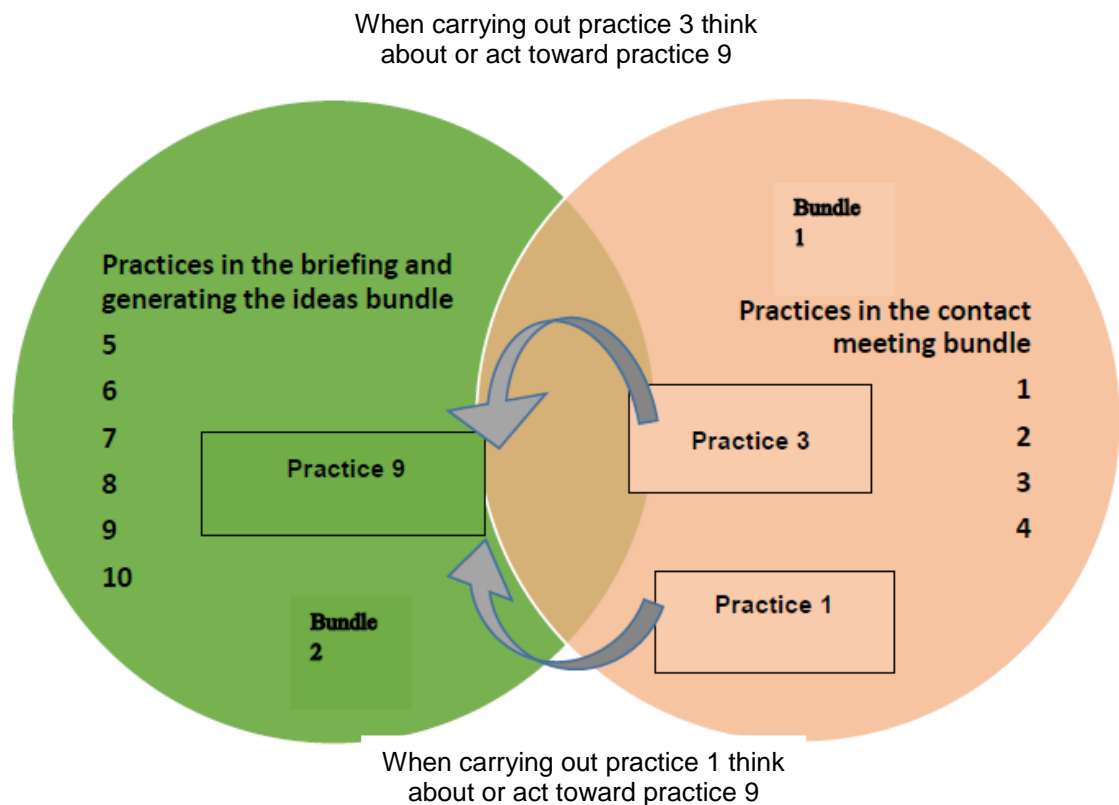


Figure 4.12a: *The intertwining of bundles 1 and 2 in the process of creativity in advertising through practice-practice connection via intentionality. This is shown by the arrows flowing from practices 1 and 3 (bundle 1) that are working toward practice 9 in bundle 2.*

In addition, the ad agency members tend to draw on the soft data gained from “understanding the client’s persona and worldview (see table 7, practice 2), and the hard data generated from “drafting a brief about the requirements of the client” (see table 4.1, practice 4, in performing the practice of “justifying the selected routes and ideas” (see table 4.1, practice 18). In other words, when the ad agency members carry out the practices of “understanding the client’s persona and worldview” and “drafting a brief about the requirements of the client”, they think about and act toward the practice of “justifying the selected routes and ideas” which is to take place at a later bundle (i.e. Convincing and selling to the client, bundle 5). In addition, the ad agency members by drawing on

the soft data gained from “understanding the client’s persona and worldview (see table 4.1, practice 2), can “present the routes and ideas in the client’s tone of voice” (see table 4.1, practice 17) that takes place in bundle 5, convincing and selling to the client.

For example, the generated ideas and routes in the World Cup campaign for “X13”, i.e. celebrity endorsement for their product engine oil, were justified through relying on the acquired soft and hard data about the client. The soft data revealed the client’s high level of risk taking and the hard data concerned their business aims, which centred on the notion that they wanted to be the leader in their market. In light of this understanding, the ad agency members could present the routes and ideas in the client’s tone of voice and justify their selected idea to the client through highlighting the fact that if the ad agency members managed to receive governmental approval for this idea, then the client’s business would enjoy being the first business to adopt celebrity endorsement after the ban in 2008.

In sum, the connection between practices 2, 4, 17 and 18 (see table 4.1) appears to link bundle 1) contact meeting and 5) convincing and selling to the client which are illustrated in Figure 4.12_b.

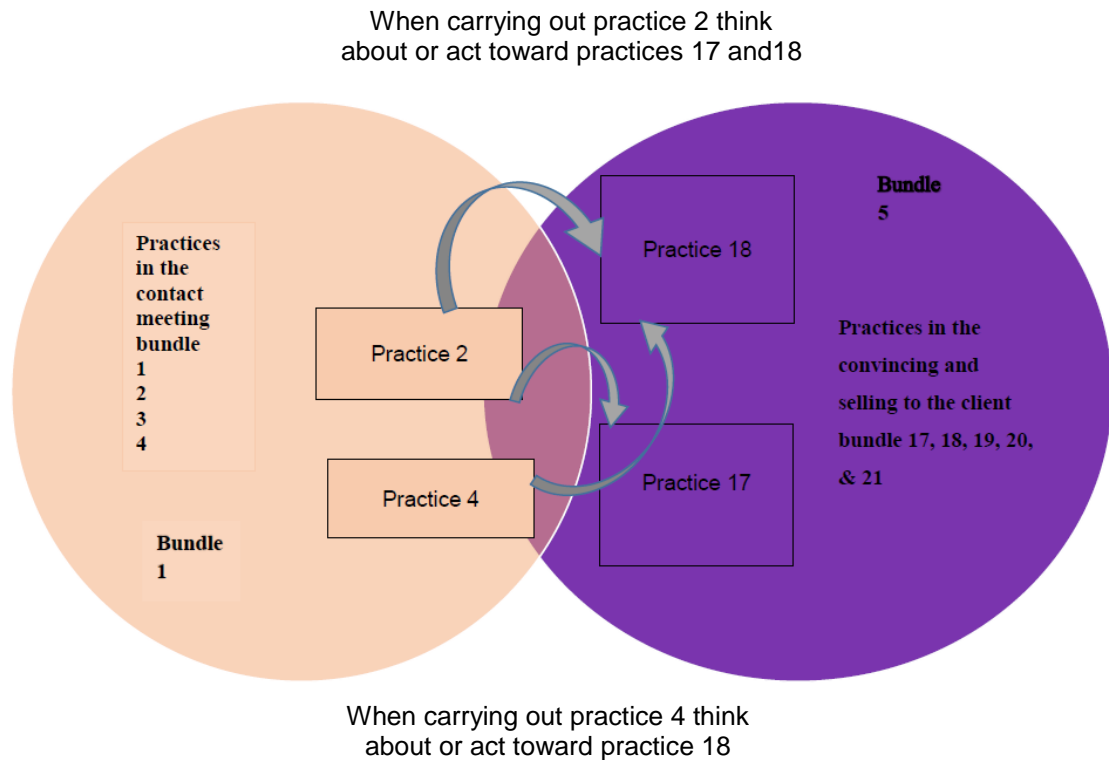


Figure 4.12_b: The intertwinement of bundles 1 and 5 in the process of creativity in advertising through practice-practice connection via intentionality. This is shown by arrows flowing from practices 2 and 4 (bundle 1) that are working toward practices 17 and 18 in bundle 5.

Another instance of intentionality is observed when the ad agency members perform the practice of “finding the appropriate channel for doing creativity practices based on the preferences of the gatekeepers” (see table 4.1, practice 6) with the intention of “selecting more than one idea and route” (see table 4.1, practice 10) in order to be able to appeal to the different gatekeepers’ preferences. The understood preferences of the gatekeepers (see table 4.1, practice 6) can be used later in the practice of “presenting the routes and ideas in the client’s tone of voice” (see table 4.1, practice 17) and “justifying the selected routes and ideas to the client” (see table 4.1, practice 18) as well as in “showing the benefits of the ad for the governmental institute (see table 4.1, practice 23) and for “preparing back up plans and providing different options to appease wider tastes and preferences in the governmental institutes” (see table 4.1, practice 24). In other words, when the ad agency members carry out the practices of “finding the appropriate channel for doing creativity practices based on the

preferences of the gatekeepers”, they think about and act toward the following practices: “selecting more than one idea and route”, “presenting the routes and ideas in the client’s tone of voice”, “justifying the selected routes and ideas to the client”, “showing the benefits of the ad for the governmental institute, and “preparing back up plans and providing different options to appease wider tastes and preferences in the governmental institutes”. All of these take place at some later point in the process of creativity.

For example, the proposed idea offered to the client in the World Cup campaign for “X13” took into consideration the client’s high level of risk taking as well as the agency’s members judgement that there was a favourable situation prevailing in the country that would give space for some modern and liberal thoughts, owing to the election of Rouhani as the so-called reformist president in 2013. Next, they justified their selected idea to the client by highlighting the fact that the client could enjoy the first move advantage of using celebrity endorsement. However, since there was a possibility that the idea of celebrity endorsement could be rejected by the governmental institutes, given the extant ban on celebrity endorsement, the ad agency members thought about a strategy to deal with this, should the need arise. This involved reminding the officers about the advantage of this type of advertising for the whole country in terms of ad, such as the one they were proposing, serving to bring Iran in to harmony with other parts of the world, as during the 2014 World Cup many global brands were using celebrity endorsements with famous football players. This undertaking was in line with the country’s espoused mission to become more flexible and to demonstrate a willingness to open its doors to the rest of the world, especially to the west (see explaining the benefits that the crafted ad can have for the government in subsection 4.1.6.2). In addition, another strategy employed by the ad agency members was to prepare back up plans, which comprised safer options which were known to be more in line with the regulations and preferences of the governmental institutes (see subsection 4.1.6.3).

In sum, the connection between practices 6, 10, 17, 18, 23, and 24 (see table 4.1) appear to link bundles 2) briefing and generating ideas, 5) convincing and

selling to the client, and 6) governmental approval. The connection is presented in Figure 4.12c.

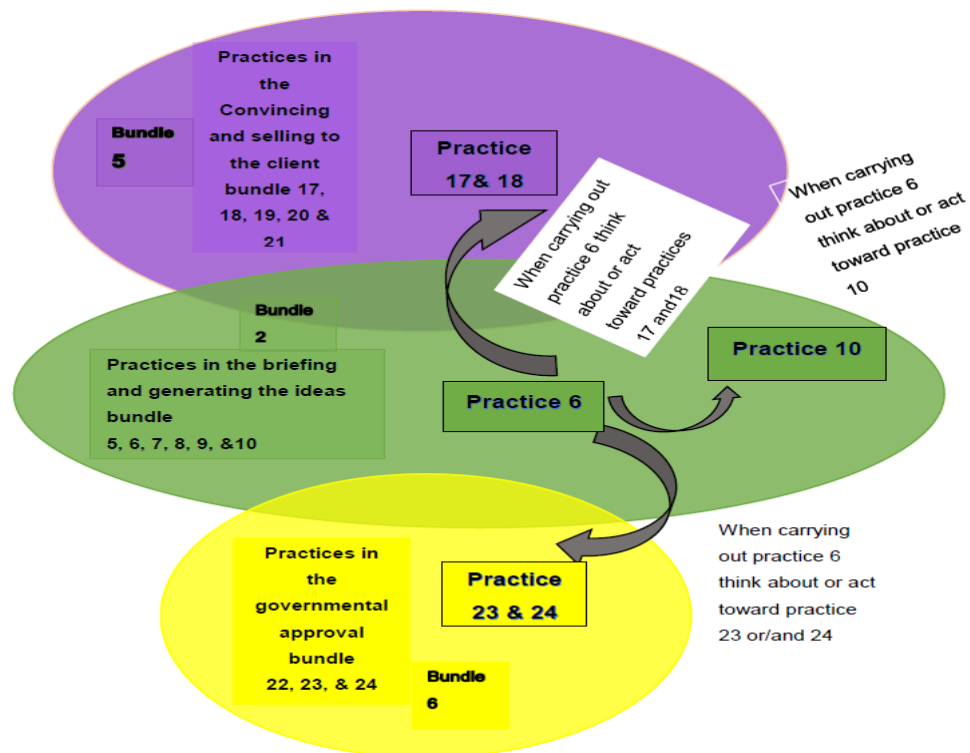


Figure 4.12c: *The intertwinement of bundles 2, 5, and 6 in the process of creativity in advertising through practice-practice connection via intentionality. This is shown by arrows flowing from practice 6 (bundle 2) that is working toward: practices 17 and 18 in bundle 5, toward practice 10 from bundle 2, and toward practices 23 and 24 from bundle 6.*

4.3.2 Connection of bundles through arrangements-practices relations:

As discussed in the literature review (chapter 2, subsection 2.4.1.3.5A), the relations between practices and material arrangements can be based on: causality, prefiguration, constitution, intentionality, and intelligibility. These relations tend to be fairly dense within a bundle but can be observed among practices and arrangements coming from different bundles (Schatzki forthcoming).

The focus in this subsection is on unfolding the relations among practices and arrangements within a bundle, as well as to reveal some instances of linkage

between the material arrangements from one bundle to practices from different bundles. These instances are illustrated below in Figures 4.13_a to 4.13_f.

Bundle 1: the contact meeting bundle. This happens in the ad agency office, the ad agency meeting room, or in the client’s office with the presence of the creative director, the account executive and sometimes the project manager, as well as the client’s team including representatives of their marketing department and management. The purpose is drafting or redrafting a brief. Among these material arrangements, the brief constitutes the practice of “drafting the requirements of client in a brief” for their approval (practice 4 in bundle1, see table 4.1) and it is intentionally related to the practice of “Forming the brief by examining the assumptions in the creative brief” (practice 5 in bundle 2, see table 4.1). In addition, the ad agency’s modern setting signals the modern positioning of the ad agency which increases the credibility of the ad agency in the eyes of the client. In turn this prefigures the practice of “justifying the selected routes and ideas to the client” (practice 18 in bundle 5, see table 4.1). These are illustrated in Figure 4.13_a.

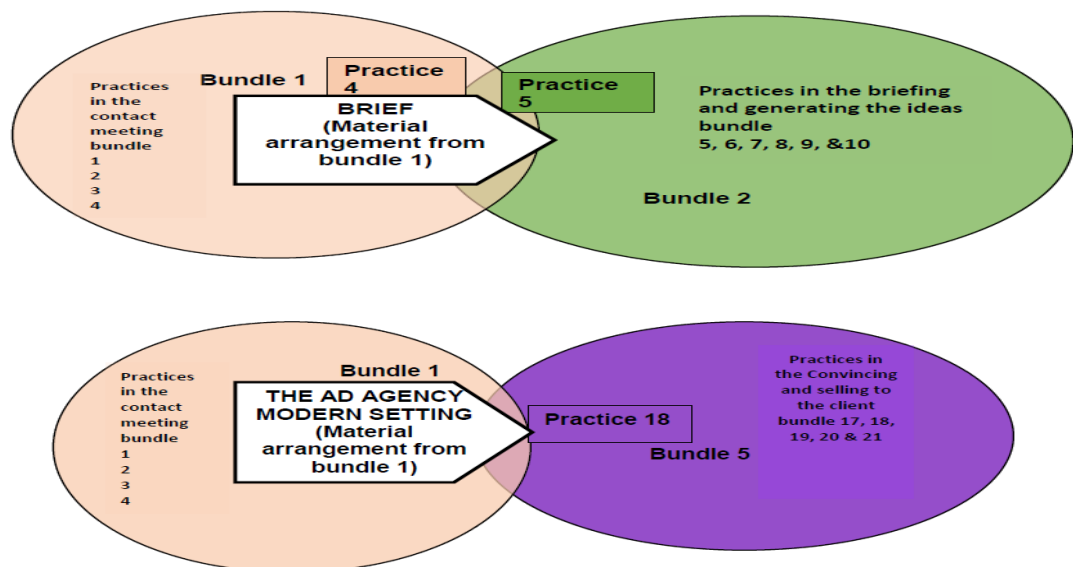


Figure 4.13_a: *The intertwining of bundles 1, 2 and 1, 5 in the process of creativity in advertising according to material arrangements-practices relations. These are shown as intertwining of bundles 1 and 2 based on having the brief and, bundles 1 and 5 based on using the ad agency modern setting.*

For example, in all 14 campaigns that I observed, either the client had a pre-prepared brief or when they did not have one, the account team (mainly account planners from the agency) drafted a brief based on their discussions with the client and received their client's endorsement on its content. Later in the process, the ad agency members, mainly creatives, tried to verify the assumptions in the approved brief (i.e. target audience and the campaign aim) to be able to start the process of generating ideas in an appropriate direction for a successful campaign.

As mentioned above, in order to gain credibility through showing off the avant garde office facilities and the ad agency's modern setting, the ad agency members try to invite the client to visit their premises, before starting working with them. The evidence for this can be seen in what Melissa, the copywriter, told me during a client's visit and tour around the different agency departments prior to going into the contact meeting: *"I always say it's our Apple computers which sell it, not us"*.

Bundle 2, briefing and generating the ideas: This takes place in the ad agency meeting room. To hand are: the approved brief, the data from market research, the client's company profile, and the client's products. Moreover, the attendees bring their insight regarding the available materials and techniques as well as a grasp of the socio-cultural conditions in Iran. For this bundle the creative director, the selected creative team for the campaign, the project manager, and sometimes members of the production team are present. Among these material arrangements, the market research data, the information about the client's product as well as the knowledge about the socio-cultural conditions can prefigure the practices of "justifying the selected routes and ideas to the client" (practice 18 in bundle 5, see table 4.1) and "showing the benefits of the ad for the governmental institute" (practice 23 in bundle 6, see table 4.1). These are illustrated in Figure 4.13_b.

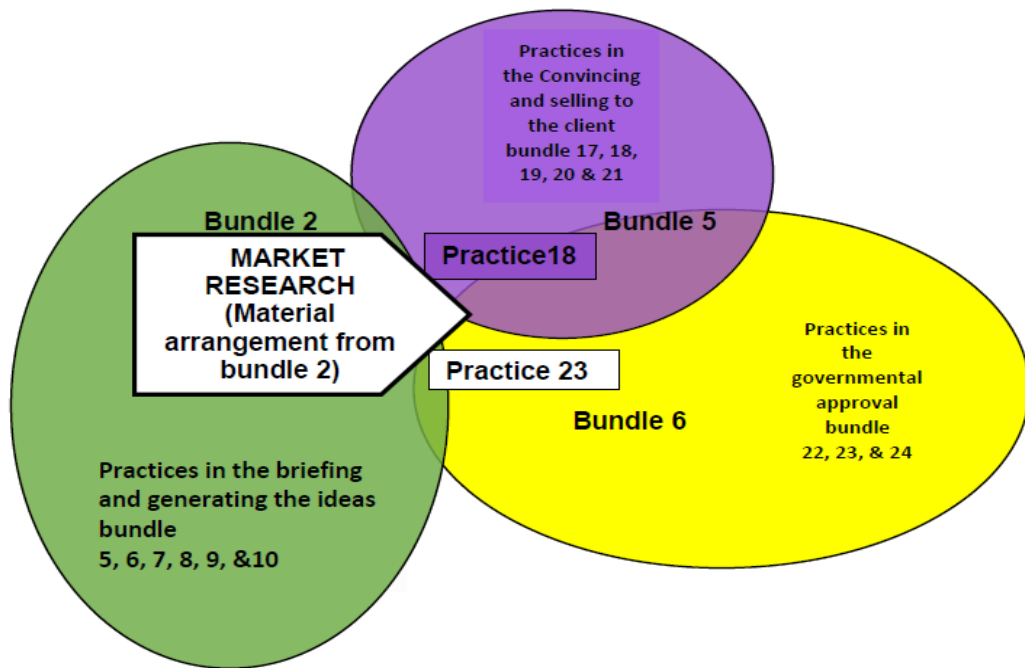


Figure 4.13_b: *The intertwinement of bundles 2, 5, and 6 in the process of creativity in advertising according to material arrangements-practices relations. These are shown as intertwinement of bundles 2, 5 and 6 based on having the market research in common.*

For example, in the World Cup campaign for “X13”, based on the ad agency knowledge about the situation in Iran and knowing the fact that the Iranian government at that time desired a good relationship with the west, the ad agency members tried to convince the client that despite the ban on celebrity endorsement, there was a strong possibility that they could receive approval from the governmental institute. After the client’s approval was received, in order to get governmental approval, the ad agency members tried to highlight the benefits of their ad for the government. They pointed out that the proposed ad was following the global trend as during the 2014 World Cup many household brands across the globe were using endorsement with a celebrity football player. With respect to this, from the perspective of the governmental officers this ad could help Iran accomplish its intention to be part of the global community and not an isolated country (see subsection 4.1.6.2).

Bundle 3, the execution and reification of the selected ideas: The setting for this involves the creative and account departments in the agency, both of which

are supplied with stocks of visuals and understandings of the available material and techniques. The creative director, members of the selected creative team for the campaign, the campaign project manager, and sometimes members of the production team, the account executives and the ad agency's CEO are present. Sometimes in this bundle, prior to compiling the reified ideas in a presentation, creatives share the crafted files among themselves on iChat to receive feedback from the art-director or the creative director. Finally, they produce a presentation (Power Point Presentation). Among these material arrangements, the presentation (Power Point Presentation) appears to prefigure the practices of "customising the presentation based on the view of those who know the client" (practice 15 in bundle 4, see table 4.1) and "sharing the information in the presentation with the ad agency members and equipping them for supporting the creative director during the final presentation to the client" (practice 16 in bundle 4, see table 4.1). These are illustrated in Figure 4.13c.

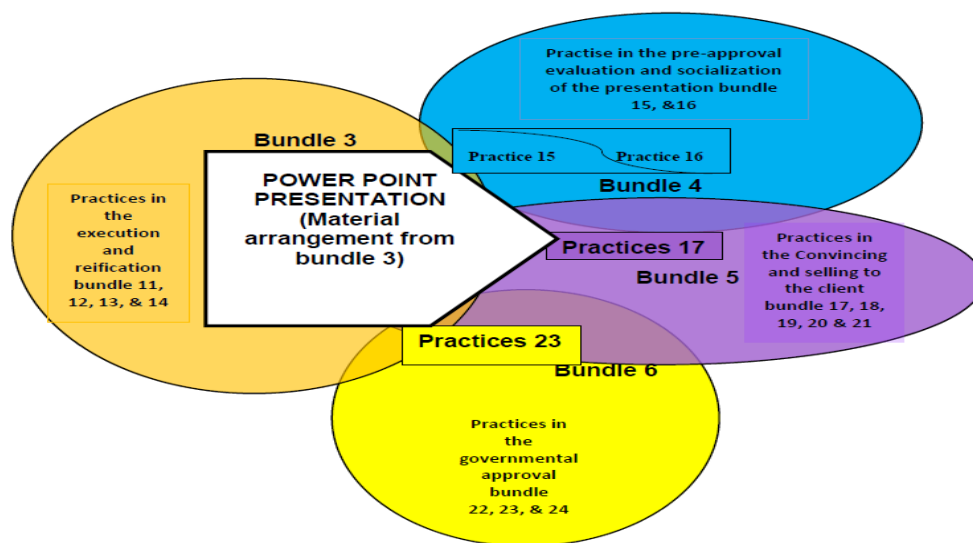


Figure 4.13c: *The intertwinement of bundles 3, 4, 5, and 6 in the process of creativity in advertising according to material arrangements-practices relations. These are shown as intertwinement of bundles 3, 4, 5 and 6 based on having the power point presentation in common.*

Regarding the connection of practices through the use of the Power Point Presentation, I observed that in all 14 campaigns for which I was present, Babak, the creative director, shared the presentation with the account team

(mainly the account executive) and used this feedback for revising and improving the presentation. In addition, through sharing the presentation, the account team could make themselves ready to support the creative director in the final meeting with the client (see subsection 4.1.4.2). These are illustrated in Figure 4.13_c.

Bundle 4, the pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation:

This is carried out in the ad agency meeting room, the creative department and the account department and draws on the prepared presentation. Present for this are: the creative director, sometimes his team, the account executive, the project manager, and sometimes the intermediary person between the client and the ad agency, as well as, on occasion, the client representative. The purpose is to prepare a ‘customised presentation’ for the client. Among these material arrangements, ‘the customised presentation’ through the intention of communicating the reified ideas with the client can serve to prefigure the practice of “presenting the routes and ideas in the client’s tone of voice” (Practice 17 in bundle 5, see table 4.1). These are illustrated in Figure 4.13_d.

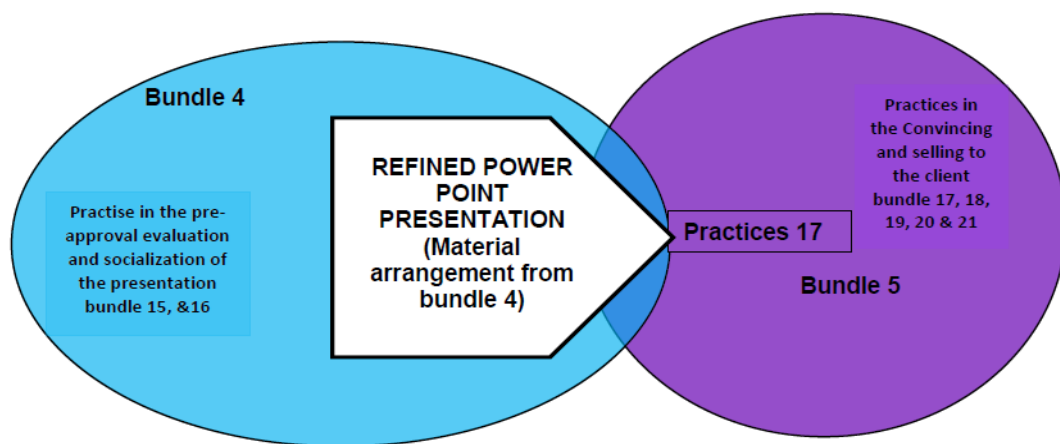


Figure 4.13_d: *The intertwinement of bundles 4 and 5 in the process of creativity in advertising according to material arrangements-practices relations. These are shown as intertwinement of bundles 4 and 5 based on having the refined power point presentation in common.*

An example of this connection of practices through the customised presentation can be seen in the “X9” campaign. The customised presentation was geared towards highlighting the dangers of accidents on motorways and their impacts on

victims' families. For this, the customised presentation was used as a medium of communication to discuss the generated ideas in the client's preferred way. For this client, the preference was for pointing out road traffic accidents and their repercussions (See socialising and customising the presentation based on the ad agency members and client representative interactions in subsection 4.1.4.1).

Bundle 5, convincing and selling to the client bundle: This takes place in the clients' office, or sometimes the ad agency meeting room when the customised presentation is delivered. This presentation is given in the presence of the creative director, the account executive, the project manager, the media planner, and sometimes the production manager, and senior members like the ad agency CEO for finalizing the proposal with the client. Among these material arrangements, the "finalised proposal" is used to intelligibly carry out the practice of "showing the benefits of the ad for the governmental institute" (practice 23 in bundle 6, see table 4.1). These are illustrated in Figure 4.13_e. This was seen in all the campaigns for which I was present. The finalised proposal with the client was used to communicate the finalised routes and ideas with the governmental officers for receiving their approval (see governmental approval in subsection 4.1.6).

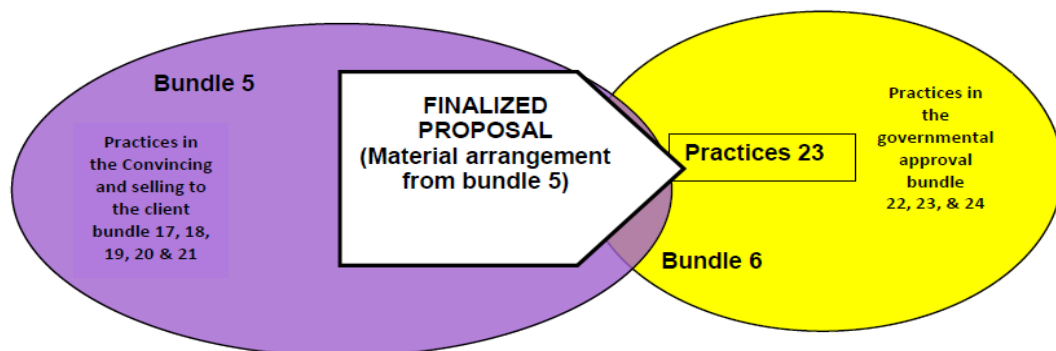


Figure 4.13_e: *The intertwining of bundles 5 and 6 in the process of creativity in advertising according to material arrangements-practices relations. These are shown as intertwining of bundles 5 and 6 based on having the finalised proposal in common.*

Bundle 6, the governmental approval bundle: This is carried out in the offices and meeting rooms of the governmental institutions and rests on showing the

finalised presentation. For this, the following people are present: media department members in the ad agency, the account executives, as well as sometimes the ad agency's CEO. The purpose is receiving the governmental approval or the opinions of the governmental gatekeepers (i.e. feedback reports from the governmental institutes). Among these material arrangements, the received feedback reports from the governmental gatekeepers can prefigure the practices of “generating ideas” (practice 9 in bundle 2, see table 4.1), “reifying the selected ideas into several visuals and copies” (practice 11 in bundle 3, see table 4.1) and “refining the reified ideas (visuals and copies) based on the feedback” (practice 13 in bundle 3, see table 4.1). These are illustrated in Figure 4.13f.

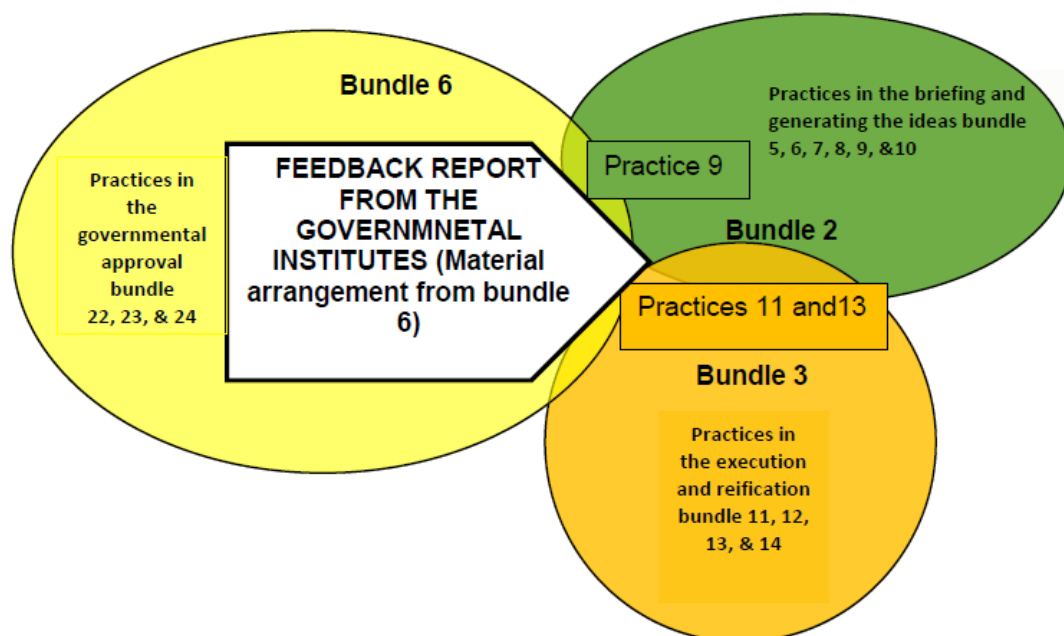


Figure 4.13f: *The intertwining of bundles 6, 2, and 3 in the process of creativity in advertising according to material arrangements-practices relations. These are shown as intertwining of bundles 6, 3 and 2 in based on having the feedback report from the governmental institute in common.*

With regards to this, Simin, a member of media department reported that when the governmental officers have some concerns with the developed routes or ideas they [the governmental officers] hold a confidential meeting with other members of the governmental institute and prepare a list of notes. She told me

that most of the time they list minor revisions (mainly executional, different visuals or different terminologies in the copy) that the ad agency members need to incorporate in order to get the governmental approval. However, for some very rare occasions the governmental officers might consider the generated ideas and route to be completely inappropriate. In those instances, the creative team needed to start the process from the beginning again (i.e. the briefing and generating ideas bundle).

4.3.3 Connection of bundles through arrangements- arrangements relations:

As discussed in the literature review, (chapter 2, subsection 2.4.1.3.5C) the relations between arrangements-arrangements can be identified as there being same elements, causal relations, or prefiguration. In this subsection, some instances of the linkage between arrangements-arrangements through having same elements are shown.

The matter of same elements can be observed as follows. As such, the material arrangements of bundle 1, the contact meeting, are linked to those of bundle 2, briefing and generating the ideas, for in this case, the brief is the common material entity. Bundle 2 is linked to bundle 3, execution and reification of the selected ideas, through sharing common individuals and the listed generated ideas. Bundles 3 and 4, pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation, are connected with the presentation as their common material entity. Similarly, bundles 4 and 5, convincing and selling to the client, are linked through having the customised presentation as their common entity and bundles 5 and 6, governmental approval, are linked through the finalised presentation (see Figure 4.14).

In sum, during all the campaigns that I observed, the **brief** from the contact meeting was used in the briefing and generating idea bundle for verifying the assumptions in the drafted brief as well as for forming it. Subsequently in the same bundle, appropriate **ideas** were generated by **creatives** with the presence of the **account team**. Later in the third bundle, that is, during the execution and reification of the selected **ideas**, the ideas were reified into visuals and copies by the **creatives** and evaluated by the **account team** members so that these could be compiled into a range of **different routes for presentation**. The **presentation** was used in the next bundle, i.e. the pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation, to communicate the developed ideas to other members of the ad agency including the account executives in order to receive their view points and share the information in the presentation. This resulted in a **customised presentation** that was compiled based on the preferences of the client which

was subsequently adopted in the next bundle for convincing and selling to the client and eventually to finalise the developed routes and ideas (proposal) with the client. The **finalised proposal** was used in the next bundle, that of seeking governmental approval (see Figure 4.14).

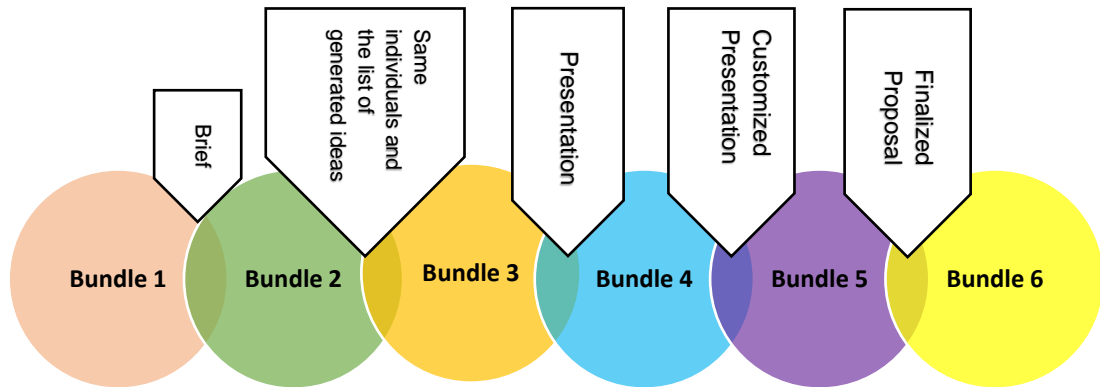


Figure 4.14: The intertwinement of bundles (1 to 6) in the process of creativity in advertising through having the same material entities. The connections are shown by the overlap between the circles that share in common the material entities listed in the boxes.

4.4 Chapter summary:

In this chapter six bundles of practices and material arrangements involved in the process of creativity in advertising in the context of Iran have been identified and explained. First creativity as entwined in practices was discussed through the practices and sub-practices employed in six bundles. Subsequently, creativity as the alignment of different stakeholders' preferences was explained. The aim was to look at the relations between these six bundles of practices and material arrangements, i.e. between these identified bundles as they are brought together and shape the process of creativity in advertising. The intertwinement of these practices and bundles through having end tasks identified to be: A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) achieving the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns, C) achieving the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims, D) developing creatives' professional identities, E) increasing the creatives' motivation, and F) avoiding clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk. Later, creativity as a cumulative process that involves interaction among practices was elaborated on through explaining other types of relations between practices and material arrangements. This was investigated through the practice-practice relations occurring through dependability, same doings and sayings, chain of actions, intentionality, the practice-arrangement through investigating intentionality, intelligibility, prefiguration as well as arrangements-arrangements relations by identifying the same elements that can link the bundles. In the following chapter, the data presented in this chapter are reflected upon and discussed.

Chapter 5: Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter a brief summary of the theoretical framework is presented in subsection 5.1, which is followed by the key findings and theoretical contributions in subsection 5.2. Overall conclusions including the theoretical contribution, managerial implications, limitations of the study and avenues for future research are outlined in subsection 5.3.

5.1 Overview of theoretical framework:

In this research the main argument was regarding the ontological and epistemological stands of previous studies geared towards understanding the process of creativity mainly in advertising (see Styhre 2006).

First I looked at the evolution of the concept of creativity from being considered as an act of God to that of cultural participation. In other words, initially creativity was believed to be a mysterious act performed by God or a few talented people who were uniquely inspired beings (see Pollert et al. 1969; Martindale and Greenough 1973; Mumford et al. 1991). However, later, scholars acknowledged the role of other attributes such as socio-cultural conditions and collaboration with other members of a group for accomplishing creative work (Montuori and Purser 1995; Csikszentmihalyi 1999). This has been extended to the recent introduction of creativity understood as a cultural participation act. Under this lens, a creative individual through having a dialogue with other group members as well as the audience, drawing on existing artefacts in the culture, introduces something novel and relevant to the predefined problem. This can be socialised by the audience, other members of the community and disseminated across the existing culture (Glaveanu 2010, 2011).

In line with this stream of thought, in the literature pertaining to organisational creativity scholars have suggested that are multiple levels involved in implementing creativity. For example, Jeffcutt and Pratt (2002) discussed four levels of analysis i.e. the micro, meso, macro, and meta levels, for understanding commercial creativity. Likewise, Woodman et al (1993) proposed an interactional framework of commercial creativity and highlighted interaction among groups, contextual conditions and the larger environment existing outside the system. Similarly, Bank et al. (2002) and Moeran (2011) underlined the importance of understanding the internal workplace culture and external social and economic conditions pertaining to the process of creativity in commercial settings. Consistent with the above regarding the process of creativity in organisations and commercial settings i.e. a complex social phenomenon that incorporates multi-levels, Hackly (1998) recognised

two dimensions to the process of creativity in advertising; agentive and organisational.

However, despite the fact that scholars acknowledge the involvement of multiple levels and the interplay between them for the formation of creativity in commercial settings (e.g. Woodman et al. 1993; Hackley 1998; Jeffcutt and Pratt 2002), in the previous studies there has not been sufficient effort exerted with respect to tackling all the levels at once. Hence, our understanding of the process of creativity in general and specifically in advertising remains fragmented. That is, studies have adopted multi-level ontologies (e.g. individualism, socialism) and looked at this process from different levels but a holistic approach that grasps the interplay of the different levels in one study is somehow lacking.

Therefore, the existing dichotomy of agency and structure in the applied philosophical strands for understanding the social phenomenon of creativity in advertising (see Styhre 2006) as well as the fact that studies have been undertaken in laboratory and experimental settings (Griffin 2008) or were retrospective (Marsh and Vollmer 1991; Cawelti et al. 1992) and thus lacking external validity (see Campbell and Stanley 1963) has led to our fragmented knowledge regarding the process of creativity in advertising. This fragmented knowledge is reflected in the contradictory views regarding the role of social conditions on the process of creativity i.e. constraints are considered to be fruitful (Stokes 2001) as well as thwarting (Hennessey 2003).

Hence, in this research for understanding the formation of the social phenomenon of creativity in advertising through the interplay between different levels, I adopted Schatzki's practice theoretical approach, based on a flat ontology, in which social phenomena can be unfolded as bundles of practice-material arrangements (Schatzki 2005, 2006, forthcoming). In this way, a specific practice can be studied and "the dynamic that occurs between the becoming of [this] practice as a socially sustained mode of action in a given context and the given socio-material context" (Gherardi, 2011, p.52) can be explained.

According to Schatzki, “social phenomena are bundles of practices and material arrangement, more specifically, as constellations of such bundles or of slices or features thereof” (Forthcoming, p.2). Practices are spatially-temporally dispersed, open sets of doings and sayings organised by common understanding, teleologies (ends and tasks), and rules (Schatzki 2005, forthcoming). Material arrangements are “set-ups of material objects” comprising human-beings, artefacts, other organisms, and things in which practices transpire (Schatzki, 2005). Materials in this sense form arrangements that are co-produced with practices but are nonetheless, distinct (Shove et al. 2012).

As discussed in chapter 2, subsection 2.4.1.3.2, Schatzki’s approach is based on a flat ontology, where all social phenomena emerge from – or are constituted by – local phenomena. However, his approach considers these social phenomena to be part of interrelated practice-material arrangement bundles and therefore he does not consider a structural level of social life to exist beyond practices and arrangements. Therefore in flat ontology, the macro and micro are not “distinct” levels of society (Schatzki 2005; Schatzki, forthcoming). A large phenomenon (i.e. macro or global) is considered to have the same composition as a small one (i.e. local or micro). That is, they consist of bundles of practices and material arrangements and the difference between smaller and larger phenomena (i.e. a local or single bundle or a large constellation of bundles) is a difference in “spatial-temporal extension” (Schatzki, forthcoming, p.3). Thus in this current research, the socio-cultural conditions of the context are considered to be other bundles [sites] of practices and material arrangements that interact with the bundles of practices and material arrangements involved in the process of creativity (see Schatzki forthcoming).

As Schatzki in his forthcoming paper explains, the connection between bundles can be through practice-arrangement, practice-practice, and arrangement-arrangement relations; sometimes bundles overlap and sometimes they interact. They overlap when elements of one practice-arrangement bundle can be seen in other, different bundles. They interact in

many ways, which can result in coherence or conflict (Schatzki 2005). In this study by looking at the routinized doings and sayings and the way they are organised through understanding, rules, and teleoaffective structure (Schatzki 1996), the aim was to bring together in one study all the fragmented knowledge regarding the process of creativity in advertising which to date has focused on different angles and levels in isolation. Adopting a practice theoretical lens helped me in achieving a holistic approach that incorporates the interaction of all the levels (i.e. micro, meso, macro, and meta) for the formation of creativity in advertising, in one study.

In this research in order to understand the aims and objectives of the process of creativity in advertising from a practice perspective, the focus of analysis was on the common ends in practices that can connect them and, in turn, can link bundles. However, in order to provide a holistic picture and do not lose any insights, other types of relations and dynamics among bundles of practices and material arrangements are also explored. Therefore the following questions were proposed and subsequently addressed in the following section of this final chapter:

“How is the process of creativity in advertising from a practice perspective?”

For answering this, the main question, the below sub-questions were posited:

What are the bundles of practices-material arrangements involved in the process of creativity in advertising?

How are the bundles connected through practice to practice, practice to arrangements and arrangements to arrangements relations in general? What are the practices' common end(s) and aims that link them?

How are internal and external rewards associated with practices of creativity in advertising reflected in them?

5.2 Key findings and theoretical contributions:

This thesis makes contributions to theories of creativity in advertising as well as theories of practice. The findings illustrate creativity in advertising to be entwined in practices, to be the alignment of different end tasks and preferences of different stakeholders rather than just an outcome, the creative nature of which is to be defended, and to be cumulative and conjunctive yet in a non-linear manner. Further, socio-cultural conditions and rewards have been found to be embedded in practices and not distinct.

As discussed in chapter 4 subsection 4.1, in the process of creativity in advertising in this study, there are twenty four practices that take place in six event like settings (i.e. bundles), namely: 1) contact meeting, 2) briefing and generating the ideas, 3) execution and reification of the selected ideas, 4) pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation, 5) convincing and selling to the client, and 6) governmental approval (see figure 5.1). These practices can become connected through having six common ends, namely: A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) achieving the ad agency's desired proposals so as to have successful campaigns, C) achieving the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims, D) developing creatives' professional identities, E) increasing the creatives' motivation, and, F) avoiding clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk. These are discussed in chapter 4, subsection 4.2 and illustrated in figure 4.8.

Further, in chapter 4, subsection 4.3, other dynamics among practices and material arrangements including practices–practices relations through dependability, same doings and sayings, chains of actions, and intentionality and practices–material arrangements relations through having intentionality, intelligibility, and prefiguration and material arrangements-material arrangements relations through having same elements and material arrangements are discussed.

In the following subsection, an extended discussion of my key findings as related to literature (i.e. creativity in advertising as entwined in practices, as

the alignment of different end tasks, the cumulative and conjunctive formation of creativity in advertising, practices as carriers of culture, and internal and external rewards in practices) is provided.

5.2.1 Creativity as entwined in practices:

As discussed in chapter 4, subsection 4.1, there are six overlapping events like bundles incorporating twenty four practices that are situated in the organisational culture like creative code and preferences of senior members of the ad agency and societal culture like regulations and preference of social gatekeepers.

In the first bundle, i.e. contact meeting, there are four practices, namely: impression management, Understanding the client's persona and worldview, Gauging by the agency of the client's potential, and Drafting a brief that are employed to A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) follow the ad agency's desired paths leading to a successful campaign, and C) achieve the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims (see figure 5.1, the pink dotted circle).

In the second bundle, i.e. briefing and generating ideas, there are six practices, namely: Finding the appropriate channel for doing creativity, Forming the brief, Finding the concerns and requirements of the target audience, Finding the capabilities of the advertised product/service, Generating ideas, Selecting the campaign ideas that are employed to A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) achieve the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns , C) achieve the ad agency's marketing and positioning aims, D) develop creatives' professional identities, and E) increase the creatives' motivation (see figure 5.1, the green dotted circle).

In the third bundle, i.e. execution and Reification of the selected ideas, there are five practices, namely: Reifying the selected ideas into several visuals prior to copies, Reifying the selected ideas into copies prior to developing visuals, Managing time, Receiving feedback on the reified ideas and

combining the refined visuals with copies, and Compiling the ideas for preparing different routes for presentation to the client that are employed to A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval, B) achieve the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns , and E) increase the creatives' motivation (see figure 5.1, the orange dotted circle).

In the fourth bundle, i.e. pre-approval evaluation and socialisation of the presentation, there are two practices, namely: Evaluating and sharing the presentation information with the ad agency members, Socialising and customising the presentation based on the ad agency members and client representative interactions that are employed to A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval, and B) achieve the ad agency desired proposals to have successful campaigns (see figure 5.1, the blue dotted circle).

In the fifth bundle, i.e. convincing and selling to the client via having a presentation, there are five practices, namely: Presenting the routes and ideas in the client's tone of voice and from their perspective, Justifying the selected routes and ideas to the client:, Warning the client about the consequences of not accepting the proposed routes and ideas, Selling the proposed ideas by impressing and exhausting the client through showing various routes and ideas, Finalizing the contract by compromising with the client and listening to them that are employed to A) increasing the level of gatekeepers' approval, and F) avoid clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk (see figure 5.1, the purple dotted circle).

In the sixth bundle, i.e. governmental approval, there are three practices, namely: Preparing backup plans, Showing the potential benefit of the ad to the pertinent governmental institute, Appeasing the governmental institutes, that are employed to A) increase the level of gatekeepers' approval and F) avoid clashes among practices by harmonising the different considerations (i.e. end tasks) and balancing risk (see figure 5.1, the yellow dotted circle).

It's worth highlighting that the process of creativity in advertising is not linear and can incorporate many back and forth. For example, if the client or

government requests some modifications, then depending on the severity of requirements, the process might require to start from different bundle. For example, if it just require basic amendments then will restart from performing in the execution and reification of the selected ideas bundle (line 1 in figure 5.1), or if need more fundamental change like the idea itself requires to be changed, then will start from the briefing and generating the ideas bundle (line 2 in figure 5.1), or even more severe when the idea is completely rejected and requires more fundamental amendment then the brief and its content might need to be changed and hence it will require to start from the contact meeting bundle (line 3 in figure 5.1).

This finding in contrary to most previous studies where creativity was considered to be end product (e.g. Jayanti 2010; Djafarova 2008), shows creativity to be in action and requires certain practices to be employed in order to fulfill different stakeholders preferences and have a successful campaign.

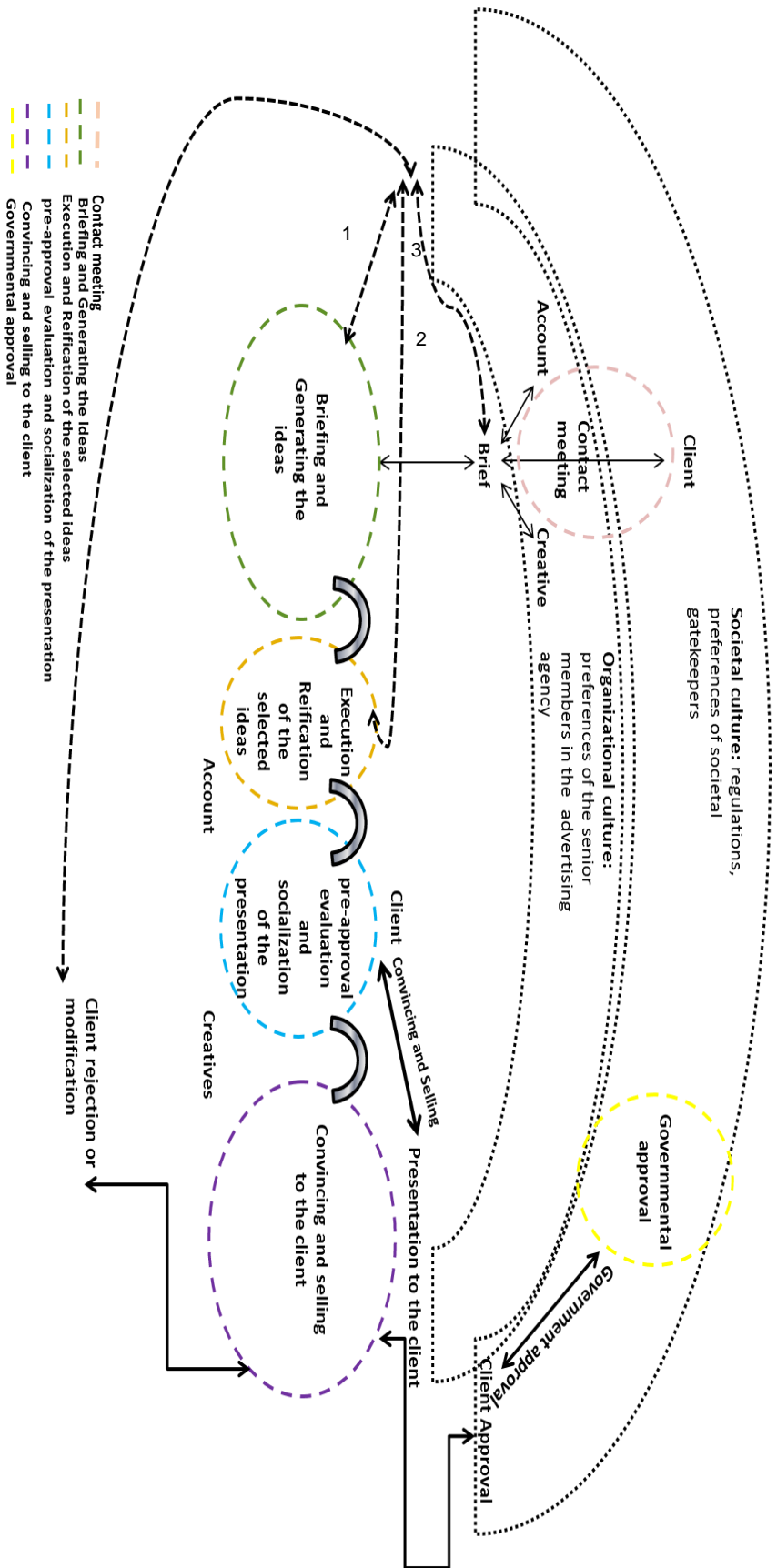


Figure 5.1: Different bundles of practices and material arrangements involved in the process of creativity in advertising in the context of Iran

5.2.2 Creativity in advertising as the alignment of different end tasks:

In the literature, creativity in advertising as one of the commercial creative industries (DCMS 2011) is described as something novel and relevant (e.g. Amabile 1996) to solve the predefined problem set by the client (El-Murad and West 2004) which needs to be assessed by different groups of people who might have different worldviews (Hill and Johnson 2003). Furthermore, scholars have acknowledged the role of different levels (i.e. micro: individuals, meso: groups, macro: contextual influences including the organisational culture and, meta: the larger environment in which they are operating) in the formation of commercial creativity (Woodman et al 1993, Jeffcutt and Pratt 2002). However, despite the acknowledgment of different players in the process of creativity such as users, collaborators, and perceivers, who through interaction can generate creativity which then needs to be validated by these players to be disseminated in the cultural context (Glăveanu 2010;2011), the focus of advertising creativity has revolved around the client-agency relation. In other words, the focus is on the client/agency relationship and considered as a matter of advertisers/clients buying ad-agency's services (see West and Paliwoda 1996; Lichtenthal and Shani 2000).

In this research, consistent with previous studies, I found multiple stakeholders in the process of creativity in advertising (Csikszentmihalyi 1999; Hill and Johnson 2003; Glăveanu 2010; 2011; Moeran 2011). However, the findings in this research transcend the focus of creativity in advertising as being a business to business service and the associated client-agency relation (e.g. West and Paliwoda 1996; Lichtenthal and Shani 2000). That is, in this process not only do the preferences and requirements of client and her brand's audience have to be considered, but also those of the creatives, other ad agency members and governmental officers. Thus, there are various stakeholders within this process whose voices need to be heard and whose objectives need to be satisfied in order to have a successful campaign. In other words, the process of creativity in advertising

is addressing all the stakeholders' objectives and at the same time, making sure that the client is going to buy into it and sign it off.

In this regard, creatives need to generate ideas based on the brief and the requirements of the client. Moreover, they have to make sure about the accuracy of the assumptions in the brief by exploring and considering the preferences of the right target audience, their socio-cultural attributes and governmental rules in order to generate appropriate ideas that can satisfy all these players' tastes and preferences in order to have a successful campaign. Through having a successful campaign, not only is the marketing problem facing the client's business solved and the client-agency relationship maintained, but also the marketing aims of the ad agency can be achieved and the creatives' professional identities developed. However, there will may be divergent views and preferences among creatives, the client, the ad agency members, the target audience and the governmental officers who are responsible for approving the ads. On these occasions where the client's stated strategy in the brief, his/her preferences and requirements, the creatives' revised strategy, the target audiences' preferences as well as the governmental rules are not in harmony, the creatives need to deploy certain techniques to align these possible incongruences and have a smooth process that eventually can lead to a successful campaign (see subsection 5.2.2.1 below).

Hence, creativity in advertising is suggested to be a way of successfully communicating with different stakeholders and balancing any possible incongruences. This was seen in West et al.'s (2008) study where practitioners reported creativity to be various forms of boundary negotiation that take place in order to make clients' objectives reachable. However, my research outcomes illustrate that not only clients' objectives but other stakeholders' objectives (i.e. creatives, ad agency, and government) also need to be satisfied in order to have a successful campaign (see chapter 4, figure 4.8). Instead of battling through the various struggles creatives might face when seeking to get approval for their ideas from clients and other ad agency practitioners (Kelly et al. 2005b), these findings show that for

minimizing conflict and increasing the likelihood of receiving approval from the client and other stakeholders the creatives try to understand the preferences and requirements of the client and other stakeholders by deploying certain practices, as discussed in chapter 4, subsection 4.1, (see table 4.1), and align these different preferences and requirements so as to have a successful and creative campaign.

In addition, these findings contribute to our knowledge regarding the ways creatives take risks in a situation where other stakeholders, such as the senior ad agency members and the clients prefer less risky ideas (El-Murad and West 2003). Creatives in this research, consistent with El-Murad and West's (2003) study favoured risk taking behaviour but it emerged in this investigation that creatives' risk-taking is a strategic behaviour whereby they try to align different preferences. They do this by understanding the client's persona and worldview, gauging the client's potential for providing profitability for the ad agency. After deciding the extent to which they are willing to take the risk for a particular client, by relying on the socio-cultural attributes and conditions of the society, they try to find a risky yet safe option that is "at the cutting edge of creativity while connecting with their audience without crossing the normative boundaries" (West et al. 2008, p.43).

Furthermore, in line with the practice theoretical lens adopted in this study where practices have different understandings, rules and teleo-affective structures (Schatzki 1996) the findings show that when practices intersect they either can convince each other about their meanings or result in the formation of new practices with different meanings (see Wittingstein 1976; Seidl 2007). For instance, when practices have different logics and structure, while performing the practice, they can think about the other practice in order to be able to get connected, a concept which is referred to as "intentionality" among practices (Schatzki forthcoming, see chapter 4, subsection 4.3.1.4). For example, in the contact meeting bundle the ad agency members deploy the practice of "doing impression management" with the intention of acquiring more credibility with the client and having more flexibility for the practice of "generating ideas" in briefing and generating ideas bundle (see chapter 4,

figure 4.12_a). This can help creatives align their perspective with their clients' in terms of the level of risk they can take (see West and Ford 2001).

This particular finding further contributes to our understanding regarding constituents of a complex social phenomenon by showing that an integrative (more complex) practice, which is creativity in advertising to have a successful campaign, not only can include dispersed practices that can be used in a wide variety of social situations (e.g. observing, scanning, to name but two) but also specialized practices that are sensitized to the task at hand based on the understandings, explicit rules, as well as teleoaffective structures of the aggregated practice (Schatzki 1996). For example, based on the understandings, explicit rules, as well as teleo-affective structures of creativity in advertising, the practice of doing impression management (see chapter 4, table 4.1) is sensitized to gain credibility and shift the power balance in favour of the agency in order to accomplish creativity in advertising and have a successful campaign (see Schatzki 1996, Warde 2004). In the following subsection, the techniques for aligning different end tasks are discussed.

5.2.2.1 Techniques for aligning different end tasks:

As discussed in the previous subheading (5.2.2), there are multiple stakeholders involved in the process of creativity in advertising (Csikszentmihalyi 1999; Hill and Johnson 2003; Glăveanu 2010; 2011; Moeran 2011), who might hold different objectives and preferences. Below, there is a discussion of techniques for addressing possible tensions among various stakeholders, i.e. between internal members (i.e. creatives and other ad agency members), as well as in the external relations between creatives and clients, creatives and the campaign's target audience, and creatives and governmental officers.

When aligning the preferences of different creatives, in order to avoid possible tension, various opinions among creatives are valued and more than one route and idea is selected. In this way creatives become more motivated which can result in their better performance. This strategy can lead to a

successful campaign which is not only beneficial for the ad agency as well as the client but also helps creatives develop their professional identities. This confirms the outcomes of some previous studies where having a flat structure in an organisation was found to promote creativity (e.g. Arad et al. 1997).

In addition, regarding the alignment of creatives' preferences with other ad agency members mainly the account team staff and the tension between art versus science and business (Koslow et al. 2003), creatives try to develop a sense about the preferences of the ad agency members and those who are powerful regarding the acceptance or rejection of the ideas. They use their developed sense about the agency's creative code (Stuhlfaut 2011) to find an appropriate channel for doing creativity practices. Based on the developed channel for doing creativity practices, creatives generate ideas accordingly (see chapter 4, subsection 4.1.2.2) which in turn, can have a higher chance of meeting with approval internally from the senior ad agency members. This is reflected in the "internal integration" in the organisational culture where members of an organisation try to make sense of the environment in terms of acceptable behaviour and social system stability (Furnham and Gunter 1993).

Aligning the creatives' and the clients' preferences is a matter of reducing the risk for, on the one side there are creatives longing for creative and novel ideas that have higher levels of risk attached (El-Murad and West 2003; West and Ford 2001), and on the other side, there is the service provided for their clients (West and Paliwoda 1996; Lichtenthal and Shani 2000). Hence, for balancing this possible tension, creatives try to make an investment early on in the process to be able to harmonise these objectives. They do this by relying on two techniques⁶²; one is incorporating the requirements and preferences of the client in their proposals (see subsection 4.1.1.2 in chapter

⁶² It is worth mentioning that not only are some techniques used to convince the client about the ad agency members' desired routes, but also there are some practices deployed to prepare the platform; like impression management to shift the power in favour of the ad agency.

4) and the other is using selling techniques (see subsection 4.1.5 in chapter 4). For the first, creatives try to understand the client's persona and worldview by probing the client, observing his or her behaviours and scanning his or her previous marketing and advertising activities, in order to develop a sense about the client's preferences and incorporate them in generating the ideas and selecting the ideas accordingly. Also, creatives try to polish the selected ideas based on the knowledge of those who know the client well so as to make them fit more closely to the client's taste and preferences. Hence, "developing an understanding about the client in order to incorporate them in generation of the ideas", is deployed by creatives to align different worldviews and balance possible tensions among the ad agency members and the client (see West and Paliwoda 1996; West and Ford 2001). This is in line with Gruber's (1998) notion of communication and social exchange where through an implicit/explicit dialogue with the audience, who might have a role in the process of creativity and dissemination, creators can generate creative ideas (Glăveanu 2011).

With respect to the selling techniques, in line with Kover and Goldberg (1995), I found that certain games were played by the ad agency members (see chapter 2, subsection 2.3.1). My research outcomes extend our understanding by showing the means and techniques through which these games are pursued. For example, in the final presentation with the client, ad agency members try to present the routes and ideas in the client's tone of voice and by using their perspectives. This is in line with the notion of proactivity in building a client–agency relationship and goes beyond just responding to client's request (i.e. balancing proactivity and reactivity) to ensure ongoing satisfaction (Beverland et al. 2007). Furthermore, the ad agency members try to justify the selected routes through referring to successful campaigns, the behaviour of the brand's target audience, the aim of the campaign, the benefits of the campaign to the client, as well as warning the client regarding the repercussions of not accepting the proposed ideas. In these ways the ad agency members try to deploy personal selling (micromarketing) where they not only try to maximize the fit between the generated ideas and their environment they are working in, but also seek to

fulfil the customers' requirements (Brooksbank 1995). Finally, if none of the above strategies work, the ad agency members attempt to compromise with the client and listen to him/her so as to secure the deal.

Further, the concerns and requirements of the campaign's target audience as the users of the creativity in advertising (Glaveanu 2010; 2011) and those of the creatives who are the authors of creativity in advertising (Hirschman 1989) might not be the same. In this case the creatives by conducting ethnographic and netnographic research, exploring and studying the cultural resources of the audience, finding the audiences' archetypes, and empathizing with the audience and playing out their roles through method acting (see Vineberg 1991), try to unearth the concerns and requirements of the target audience and generate ideas accordingly. This leads to having ideas that are believed by the audience which can lead to a successful campaign (Beltramini 1982). This is consistent with Kover's (1995) finding where the internalisation of experience or approaching with arrogance were found to be ways to have communication with the target audience. This current study expands our understanding by offering the aforementioned techniques as additional means for pursuing these strategies.

Governmental rules in the context of this study (i.e. Iran) pertain to promoting inside the box thinking in a conservative, traditional society (see Appendix II), which is not congruent with creatives' intention to achieve outside the box thinking practices and the modern ideology of doing creative practices. Thus, ad agency members try deploying certain techniques to promote their creative and so called outside the box thinking practices. This supports the suggestion by Martin and Terblanche (2003) that of creating an environment with constructive conflict that can lead to information flows and an organisational culture that supports change (Arad et al. 1997) can nurture creative behaviours so that they flourish.

With regards of this, the ad agency members through assimilating the government's preferences and requirements and incorporating them in the proposed ideas as well as by obeying the ostensible rules of the government, try to increase the ad agency members' level of sodality, smooth out the

possible tension between the agency and the governmental institutes so as to receive governmental approval for their work. In addition, based on acquired information through assimilating the government preferences and requirements, the ad agency members try to find convincing reasons regarding why the ad is of benefit to the government and society as a whole. Furthermore, the ad agency members try to use their acquired information about the government to test and experiment regarding possible options that might receive governmental approval.

Overall, the techniques for overcoming incongruences and aligning the different end tasks of various stakeholders in the process of creativity in advertising are listed as follows:

- Incorporating different opinions internally
- Developing sense about different gatekeepers and stakeholders and incorporating them in their ideas (social exchange)
- Deploying selling techniques (proactive and reactive techniques)
- Empathizing with the target audiences
- Incorporating and conforming to the assimilated governmental preferences and requirements
- Testing and experimenting by having the assimilated governmental preferences and requirements in mind.

5.2.3 Cumulative and conjunctive formation of creativity in advertising:

As discussed in chapter 2, section 2.2, the extant literature on organisational creativity is mainly based on a scientific approach, thus adopting an empirical approach is somewhat missing (Styhre 2006). This has resulted in normative process models being advanced in which various sequences of events are described (e.g. Reid and Rotfeld 1976; Hill and Johnson 2003; Turnbull and Wheeler 2015). In this research however, by adopting a practice theoretical lens (Schatzki 1996) that is capable of bridging the gap between management theories and practices (see Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011), I found a non-linear formation of creativity in advertising. This accords with the concept of a more heuristic path for creative endeavours (Amabile 1983) and

echoes the attitudes of practitioners who favour a cyclical and iterative process of creativity (Buijs 2003).

The findings show an accumulative formation of creativity in advertising through the way practices get together and shape creativity in advertising. This is in keeping with Schatzki's (2005) notion of flat ontology that considers an agentic level formation of a phenomenon but does not stop at this and goes on to look at the trace of behaviours and the way practices conjunctively shape a social phenomenon. For instance, in this research I identified twenty four practices within six bundles that can get together through six common end tasks and form the social phenomenon of creativity in advertising in order to have a successful campaign (see chapter 4, figure 4.8). In addition, other types of relationships among bundles of practices and material arrangements, practice-practice relations comprising dependability, the same doings and sayings, chains of action, as well as intentionality, arrangement-practice relations, and, arrangements-arrangements relations are discussed in chapter 4, subsection 4.3. Findings show that practices are accumulative but in a non-linear manner, and sometimes they are conjunctive but not necessary in a sequential order. In other words, the cumulative and conjunctive nature of practices are nonlinear and are not space and time related. This accords with the definition of practices by Schatzki (2005, forthcoming) where they are spatially-temporally dispersed open sets of doings and sayings. In other words, practices transpire in a specific material arrangement and structure which are event like and although the bundles are taking place in order, practices can hover around and are not spatially and temporally bound. For instance, the practice of "understanding the clients' persona and worldview" that takes place in contact meeting bundle can help creatives to find the appropriate channel for doing creativity practices based on the preferences of the gatekeepers and generate ideas accordingly which takes place in the briefing and generating the campaign ideas bundle. In addition, later the soft data about the client through the practice of "understanding the clients' persona and worldview" from the contact meeting bundle can be used to "present the routes and ideas in the client's tone of voice" and "justify the selected routes and ideas

by showing the benefits to the client, that are taking place in convincing and selling to the client bundle.

Drawing on this, creativity in advertising is proposed to be shaped through routinized practices and their relations, i.e. the connection of bundles of practices and material arrangements. In other words, there are certain practices that need to take place in earlier bundles for accomplishing other practices in later bundles to form a successful and creative campaign.

5.2.4 Practices as carrier of culture:

The extant literature tends to treat socio-cultural conditions as being separate entities (e.g. Amabile 1983; Moeran 2011). For example, Moeran (2011) talked about different socio-cultural conditions that impact upon on the cultural production sector and its component industries, namely: available materials, time, space, and the prevailing social, representational and economic conditions. However, in this research I found that culture is not a distinct entity for it is embedded in practices and can be manifested in different forms of practices. In other words, it is suggested that cultural conditions found to be embedded in practices (i.e. rules, understandings, and teleoaffective structure that organise a practice) or be reflected in different types of practices (Shove 2013; Schatzki forthcoming). For example, some practices can carry identity, some economic considerations whilst others bear social conditions, to name just three.

The findings reveal that instead of looking at cultural conditions as hindering or fostering creativity (Amabile 1983; Stokes 2001; Hennessey 2003), attention should be paid toward the way(s) practices, as the carriers of cultural conditions, intersect. Therefore it is suggested that practices can be strategically designed to overcome the incongruences between them (see subsection 5.2.2.1). This can result in either reinforcing the cultural load of a practice by convincing other practices regarding its importance or can result in the formation of a new meaning (i.e. cultural load) (see Wittingstein 1976; Seidl 2007). For example, it was seen in this study that creatives tried to adopt celebrity endorsement when it was banned by the authorities. When

the creative thinking reflected in the practice of celebrity endorsement intersected with the conservative and religious thinking reflected in the practice of governmental approval, the creatives deployed certain strategies in their practices to increase the chance of reinforcing their outside the box thinking logic of their practices. They achieved this through: 1) appeasing the government by conforming to the government's ostensible rules, e.g. agency representatives wearing traditional clothes during meetings and discussions (2) showing the benefits of the ad for the governmental institute and (3) preparing back up plans and providing different options to appease a wide range of tastes and preferences in the governmental institutes.

5.2.5 Internal and external rewards in practices:

As discussed in chapter 2, section 2.1, task motivation comprising both internal and external motivations/constraints, creativity and domain skills are essential for creative individuals and can play a role in hindering or fostering the creativity process (Amabile 1983). However, a clear understanding regarding the role of social and situational factors on the process of creativity is lacking in the scholarship to date as some studies have found constraints to be fruitful (Stokes 2001) and some others have described them as thwarting (Hennessey 2003). In this research by adopting a practice theoretical lens (Schatzki 1996) and following a flat ontology (Schatzki 2005), I elicited that internal and external rewards are part of practices which can be achieved by performing them. Hence, instead of treating task motivation, including the intrinsic and extrinsic motivations or in other words internal and external rewards, as being outside practices, e.g. individual desires for doing the practice and incentives outside doing a practice such as the monetary reward (see Amabile 1996), the findings show that internal reward is the perceived competences of the practice at hand and external reward is embracing the identity of that practice. This is line with Warde (2005) who stated that "practices, rather than individual desires, we might say, create wants" (Warde 2005 p. 137).

Internal reward as the perceived competences of the practice reiterates Csikszentmihalyi's (1997) concept of flow whereby individuals, based on their

proficiency in the practice at hand and the level of difficulty regarding the task/practice, can experience a flow of challenges that tend to lead to more internal rewards. For example, in this research it was seen that by providing room and giving autonomy to creatives, i.e. when senior ad agency members give them autonomy to revise their work rather than dictating the instruction, they can be more engaged in their work and generate better results (see chapter 3, subsection 3.5.1.3 and chapter 4, subsection 4.1.3.3). This is consistent with Arade et al.'s (1997) work where a flat structure, autonomy and a work team were found to promote creativity and innovation while centralisation was seen to have the opposite effect and hindered creativity and innovation. However, the findings of my research extend our understanding by showing the reasons why providing autonomy can promote creativity. The findings show that providing room and giving autonomy for doing a practice can increase the perceived competences for the carrier of that practice and thus results in more engagement and better performance (see chapter 4, subsection 4.1.3.3).

External reward in this research is revealed as embracing the identity of the practice at hand, rather than as separated from practices (e.g. monetary rewards). This is in line with what Warde (2005) has called the prestige of the practice. Moreover, this outcome shows that the external reward can go beyond the prestige of the practice for the identity of a practice is referring to a particular sociomaterial practice which, despite some dissimilarities, has its own identity that defines that particular practice (Smith 1997). This identity can be a compelling motivation for the carrier of practices to perform and embrace, and which later can become the individual's "extended identity", which refers to acquiring an identity that can be inclusive of others' actions (Semin and Papadopoulou 1990). For example, creatives in my research tried to develop their identities as creatives by deploying certain practices to ensure the success of their campaigns. Moreover, they disseminated their work in different platforms in order to get peer validation and appraisal (see chapter 4, subsections 4.1.2.3 and 4.2.4 D) Developing creatives' professional identities).

5.3 Conclusion, limitations, and future research:

It was found that creativity in advertising is entwined in practices and actions thus instead of trying to have full emphasis on the evaluation of the end product, a more ongoing appraisal of the activities and practices is required in order to improve creativity and increase the chance of having a successful ad campaign. The suggestion here is that practitioners take a practice-based guideline for evaluating creativity in advertising as a complementary method in keeping with post hoc evaluation methods for appraising advertisements, for example in award shows (see West et al. 2013). In other words, the findings of this current study can be used in assessing creativity regarding the process and evaluation of actions rather than merely relying on assessment of the final outcome. A practice-based evaluation approach can be used that can prevent ads from becoming rather dull and unsuccessful and instead, reassure practitioners that their endeavours will lead to a successful and creative campaign. To do this, rather than solely relying on judgement criteria (e.g. creativity, originality, and execution) used by judges in arenas such as award shows (West et al. 2013), there needs to be an examination of the identified practices in the process of creativity in advertising (see chapter 4, table 4.1). It should be reiterated that in this research different types of clients and corresponding practices were not fully scrutinised. A logical next step would be to extend this study to explore further the length of a client-agency relationship and the type of practices, specifically the selling strategies employed (see Beverland 2001).

In addition, creativity in advertising was found to be the alignment of different stakeholders' preferences or in other words, practices' end tasks. This is to say that several objectives need to be pursued in this process for creativity in advertising to be accomplished. Thus, the issue for practitioners is how to pursue and align all objectives and avoid potential conflicts. For aligning the stakeholders' different preferences, an agency would need to move toward an appropriate reward structure, one that values multiple objectives and end tasks (see chapter 4, figure 4.8). This can be achieved by breaking down the process into different stages (e.g. in this research I investigated six bundles;

see figure 5.1), and evaluating the associated performance as well as providing an appropriate reward for each. However, this might lead to control over the practices of creativity in advertising. An alternative to ensure that practices are on the right track is for creatives to present their work at the end of each identified bundle to other agency members. In this way not only can the ad agency members' performance be evaluated, but also other ad agency members can learn from the performed practices. Furthermore, based on the identified techniques for aligning different end tasks, which was discussed in subsection 5.2.2.1, ad agencies can offer training for newcomers and induction regarding the required techniques and capabilities needed for aligning different stakeholders' preferences in order to achieve multiple end tasks. In addition, more senior members in terms of their length of stay in the ad agency who have already developed a comprehensive sense about multiple stakeholders (i.e. the culture of the agency, the long-established clients, and the field in general) should mentor newcomers to accelerate their learning process. This would also help ad agencies to consolidate their creative philosophies/identities (i.e. ideas of how advertising works) and support creatives' desire for taking risks in advertising (see West and Ford 2001). In this regard, future research can explore in more details the required capabilities for pursuing the identified techniques (see subsection 5.2.2.1) for aligning different end tasks and having successful and creative campaigns.

Furthermore, it was found that creativity in advertising is a cumulative process, but does not happen in a linear way. That is, some practices irrespective of their spatial-temporality can move around and become connected to fulfil various stakeholders' preferences and achieve different practices' end tasks. For instance, spatial separation was used by creatives to manage the level of accounts' time-related expectations which later helped creatives follow their desired routes (see chapter 4, subsection 4.2.2B) and avoid any potential tension between creative and account teams. Hence, the suggestion is that agencies use an appropriate layout and structure where appropriate material arrangement like private places for creatives are provided in order to enable the alignment of various objectives

and avoid any possible tensions between the account and creative team members (Kelly et al. 2005a).

In addition, based on the findings, it became apparent that having a flat structure which promotes cooperation among creatives instead of imposing instruction can facilitate an increase in the level of the creatives' perceived competences in doing the practices involved in the process of creativity. This in turn can increase their engagement with those practices and enhance their performance (see chapter 4, subsections 4.1.3.3 and 4.2.5E). This highlights the internal reward in practices and perceived competences of doing a practice at hand. Subsequently, the suggestion for ad agencies is to use an appropriate type of leadership, such as collaboration to control creatives. This preferable so as to increase their perceived competences in doing the practices involved in the process of creativity and increase their engagement, which in turn can enhance their performance.

Further, the findings show that embracing the identity of the practice at hand is an important motivation for the carrier of that practice. For instance, creatives in this research use different platforms to disseminate their work to receive peer verification and be considered as creatives (see chapter 4, subsection 4.1.2.3). This was demonstrated in the fact that they were willing to go to the extent of using celebrity endorsement for their account even in when it was banned in their context. This indicates creatives' willingness to take risk as part of the identity of being creative which is attached to and achieved by performing the practices involved in the process of creativity in advertising (see chapter 4, subsection 4.2.4D). Hence, instead of relying on external rewards that are detached from practices, like monetary rewards, the suggestion here is for ad agencies to provide different platforms for creatives to disseminate their work, thus gaining peer verification in order to increase those external rewards which embrace the identity of a practice and support the promotion of creativity in advertising.

It is also important to reiterate that this researcher by conducting an extended case study aimed to generalise to theory and not to population (Burawoy 1991). In light of this, future research could extend the applicability of this

study by conducting the same study in different contexts. In light of this, the interview questions (see appendix I) and the reflexive account of my time spent conducting this research (see chapter 3, section 3.6), are provided to ensure stability and consistency for researchers who wish to execute the same form of study (Riege 2003). Also, the model developed in this research (chapter 4, figure 4.8) could be used as an auto driving technique whereby ad agencies' members through the use of the developed multi-purpose model of creativity in advertising based on the practices' common ends are encouraged to comment on their behaviour (see Belk et al. 2013; Heisley and Levy 1991). This also can help to find the extent to which this model is applicable to other contexts.

It would prove worthwhile to quantify the identified measures in the developed model and conduct surveys into different contexts to provide a better understanding about the relationship between practices and assess the applicability of the findings in other settings. For example, the dependent variable in the developed model (see chapter 4, figure 4.8) is achieving a creative and successful campaign and the independent variables are the six identified end tasks which include different practices. Further research could target and explain the relation between these variables i.e. the six end tasks and having a successful campaign, to develop better understanding regarding the practices involved in the process of creativity in advertising. This could extend the applicability of this research in other contexts. In addition, this study was based on an international creative agency in Iran, rather than different types and sizes of agencies (Hackley and Tiwsakul 2008). The adopted approach was considered reasonable given the time constraints, confidentiality and difficulty of gaining full access to advertising agencies. Future research endeavours could seek to explore the correlation among variables in the multi-purpose model of creativity in advertising based on the practices' common ends in this research and the type and size of the ad agency. In light of the importance attached to the effectiveness attribute of creativity in advertising (El-Murad and West 2004), future research is also required to look at the hierarchy and importance of the identified practices for having a successful and creative campaign. This could be achieved by

examining the relation between the deployed practices in both successful and unsuccessful campaigns.

Furthermore, the aim in this research was to understand the process of creativity in advertising, thus the focus was on commonality among practitioners' practices. However, as Warde (2005) has noted "the approach [practice theory] offers a distinctive perspective, attending less to individual choices and more to the collective development of modes of appropriate conduct in everyday life" (p.146). Hence, future research could usefully look at diverse individual differences and their inputs to the practices with which the individuals are engaged. This could probe the different internal and external rewards which relate to task complexity and the prestige gained by engaging with a particular practice (Warde 2005). For instance, it would be worthwhile studying practitioners' life histories and unpacking the nuances associated with performing the same practice.

Finally, in this research, the main focus was on the practices' common ends as the source of linkage among practices in order to understand the aims and objectives of creativity in advertising. Other types of linkage and connections among practices were not explored in detail owing to the limitations of time and resources. Hence, future researchers could look at other types of connections among practices. For example, in order to understand the competences required for performing different practices involved in the process of creativity in advertising, future researchers could focus on the competences and skills (i.e. doings and sayings) that could form the source of connections among practices. This is in line with the contents of chapter 4, subsection 4.3.1.2, where I mentioned briefly the connection of practices through having similar doings and sayings.

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Appendix I: Semi structured interviews

Details of semi-structured interviews:

Interview questions /creatives:

1. Could you please tell me about yourself, your age, personal background, education, work experience, and the length of employment in this ad agency?
2. Could you please explain the role of this department? What is your role?
3. In your opinion, what is the role of advertising? Does advertising have different roles and procedures or irrespective of different aims (i.e. brand awareness, brand recall, etc.), the procedure is the same?
4. While clients are concerned about an increase on sales, what is your concerns and aims?
5. What do you as creatives want to achieve by generating a creative ad?
6. In the process of generating a creative ad, finding the requirements and concerns of the audience is a must. First could you please elaborate on how you find the audience and secondly how you get close to them?
7. How do you find the product/service capabilities?
8. You mentioned about Jungian myths, could you please elaborate and also clarify whether they are related to Persian/Iranian or Islamic mythology?
9. What counts as a successful brain-storming session?
10. How do you craft the ad for the product designed exclusively for women considering the tight regulations?
11. How do you consider and weigh the regulations in the process of creativity for generating ideas and embellishing in order to get the approval?
12. You mentioned that time constraints can help you in flourishing your insights and ideas? Could you please elaborate more?
13. What is risk in advertising? How do you know what is risky and what is not and what are the consequences of taking or not taking risk?
14. How do you know what ad will work/ won't work?
15. What is the role of creativity for the audience and its role on satisfying their needs? Also what are the unique characteristics of Iranian audience?
16. How do you heuristically reject or accept an idea?
17. What kind of evidence are compelling for the client? How do you try to convince the client about the proposed ideas?

18. You mentioned different types of creativity, what are their differences and how does this reflect in the process of creativity and crafting an ad?
19. As for the international clients and the political situation of Iran you mentioned there are some sales agents. Could you please explain the procedure of crafting an ad for them and elaborate on the role of these agents and your strategies?

Interview questions / account team:

1. Could you please tell me about yourself, your age, personal background, education, work experience, and the length of employment in this ad agency?
2. Could you please the role of this department? What is your role?
3. Regarding clients, are there different types of clients? If so, could you please explain?
4. Do you have different strategies for different clients?
5. How do you write or reform a brief? [As for account executive who assign the task to account managers] what is your role in forming a brief, how do you train the account managers and how do you inspect the process?
6. How do you set the timelines for the client projects?
7. Is it your responsibility or the creative team responsibility to sell the proposal? If it's yours how do you do that and what are your techniques for selling the ideas to the client?
8. Could you please briefly explain a campaign and its procedures from the beginning to then end? Does it differ based on different types of clients?
9. Could you please explain to me the history of Dalton and the previous and current arrangements?

Interview questions /media:

1. Could you please tell me about yourself, your age, personal background, education, work experience, and the length of employment in this ad agency?
2. Could you please the role of this department? What is your role?
3. You mentioned that sometimes you propose the best channel of communication for the client's advertising, could you please explain how you do it? Does the client embrace the proposal? If not, do you have any strategies to convince them?
4. Also, you mentioned that you are responsible for getting approval from the government? Can you tell me about the responsible governmental institutes for different types of advertising? Are they

different in terms of their regulations and process for approval or the same?

5. How do you deal with these institutes, could you please explain?
6. Have you notice any differences in the governmental regulations based on different presidency, i.e. now during the president Rouhani as to before during president Ahmadinejad? If yes, could you please elaborate?

Appendix II: Full account of omnibus and discrete context of Iran regarding creativity in advertising

1. Omnibus context of Iran:

In this section, based on literature, news and information bulletins, as well as data from the fieldwork, a summary of the context, Iran, where my research was conducted, is presented. This is to give an informed stand for comprehending the data and the analyses. The discussion starts with listing the formative events during in recent decades in Iran along with their influences on the society and people's lives.

1.1 Formative events during past decades in Iran (BBC 2013):

- **The 1979 Islamic Revolution and the overthrown of the Iranian monarchy:** This put a stop to the rule of Shah of Iran, who by allying with the west and specially America, was trying to achieve modernization and westernization for the country. The revolution gave rule to clerics and conservatives who, under their leader Ayatollah Khomeini, came to power.
- **Victory of the liberals in the parliamentary elections held in 2000:** This heralded a new era of political and social transformation. Mohammad Khatami the leader of the liberals and the president at the time supported greater freedom and provided space for modernization. This put him and his followers at odds with the supreme leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, and the hardliners who insisted on observing strict Islamic traditions.
- **2002 propagation of Iran's nuclear programme:** This and the inability of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to confirm its peaceful usage exacerbated the gap between the west and Iran. Hence, despite the existing sanctions put in place by the American government after 1979, the situation became worse for Iranians.
- **2005 election of the ultra-conservative mayor of Tehran, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, as the president:** This highlighted the conflict between liberals and conservatives and the competition for power between them.

- **Re-election of Mr Ahmadinejad in 2009:** This caused mass demonstrations by the opposition (liberals) as they claimed that the election had been rigged by the incumbent government. These uprisings led to violent suppression by hardliners and governmental forces. Consequently, the gap between the conservatives and reformists within Iran's political establishment became wider.
- **2011 threat by the US to cut off Iran's oil revenues from being handled by foreign financial institutions:** This affected companies and institutions who conducted oil transactions with Iran's central bank. As a result, Iran faced huge problems regarding international oil transactions which in turn, affect the country's economy.
- **2013 Further sanctions imposed by the US on Iran's oil and petrochemical sectors, as well as her shipping trade:** This made the situation even harder with regards to everyday life. It pushed the economy in to such a deep crisis that the supreme leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, called for some flexibility to be shown by the west.
- **2013 election of Hassan Rouhani, the so-called moderate reformist as president:** This brought hope in terms of rebuilding relationships with the west and improving the state of the economy.

1.1.1 The influences of the above events on society and people's lives in Iran:

Recent events have had great influence on the structure of society and the lives of the people. The imposed sanctions and the widening gap between Iran and the west resulted in the isolation of Iran from the rest of the world. There were so few relationships with western businesses that many foreign products were banned from being imported and many foreign businesses could not have any subsidiary or direct agents operating in Iran.

These social and situational forces also had huge impact on Iranian people's ideologies and, subsequently, their ways of living. Certain people, resistant to secularism and modernization due to their deeply grained customs and traditions (Jelodar et al. 2013), have started to experience bottom-up secularisation (Semati, 2007). This means instead of having the structural forces to dictate

people for becoming secular (i.e. forcing individuals to become modern), people by seeing the opportunistic use of religion, start separating the religion from the other activities.

This novel ideological approach, that is, bottom-up secularisation, has been reflected in many aspects of Iranian people's lives, ranging for instance, from individuals' clothing and consumption opportunities to marketing and business practices in society. For example, despite the obligation placed on women to wear the hijab covering their head and body many Iranian women have customised this mandatory rule according to their tastes and ideological preferences. Regarding this, those women who consider it appropriate for they are conservative in orientation wear the chador i.e. loose fitting long black clothing, whereas those adopting modernising perspectives opt for colourful scarves and loose fitting dresses (Jelodar et al. 2013).

These ideological differences can also be seen in peoples' media behaviours. In Iran there are two main TV sources, satellite and national TV. Despite the illegality of having satellites, a huge proportion of people, mainly amongst modernised groups watch satellite channels and programmes. As for the national TV, this has its own viewers who like to watch Islamic formulated programmes. The latter may be considered to be conservative hardliners (BBC 2013, the creative team in Dalton).

It has been noted that there are two trends that have influenced the use of different terminologies by people with different ideological positions. In line with effort enduring from the tenth century to eradicate the use of Arabic words in the Persian language, and the peak of this in the twentieth century under the Pahlavi dynasty (Curtis and Hooglund 2008), those people who are pro-secularism and modernism tend to avoid using Arabic words in their speech and replace them with French (the language of the royal court) and English (a symbol of westernisation). However, after the 1979 Islamic Revolution the tendency to use Arabic words in both spoken and written Persian as a sign of upholding religious beliefs, dramatically increased specifically among government officials, revolutionary leaders and conservative party loyalists (Curtis and Hooglund 2008).

As for the business environment, in contemporary Iran there are public, semi-public, and private entities (Khajehpour 2000). Despite the fact that all organizations should obey Islamic rules, there is some heterogeneity among private businesses. For example, among these there are some conservative and some rather modern ones. The former are those businesses that rely deeply on their power gained from their networks and clientelism-based relationships with governmental parties. By contrast, modern businesses are those who, despite the obligation to conform to Islamic rules dictated by the government, try to find ways to be modern and western. The ad agency investigated for in this study may be considered to be one of the latter.

Overall, as mentioned above, there are two streams of thought dominant in the country, conservative and liberal (BBC 2013). The dominance of one or the other depends to a large extent on the outlook of the president and his cabinet (see Semati 2007). The impacts of their orientation are reflected in the Iranian people's behaviours and business practices.

1.2 The discrete context of Iran regarding the practice of being creative in advertising:

For understanding the discrete context for the practice of being creative in advertising as a process of cultural participation (Glaveanu, 2010), an overview of the rules and regulations regarding cultural production sites, such as advertising, is given.

1.2.1 The societal conditions regarding advertising in the context of Iran:

As discussed above in subsection 1.1.1, conflicts between different ideological stands in society, that is, conservative and liberal modes of thinking, are reflected in new happenings in various aspects of everyday life, such as choice of clothing and use of words. The peak of this ideological tension in Iran can be seen in the cultural creative industries such as advertising. That is, creativity in advertising prizes risk-taking (Hackley and Tiwsakul 2008) and outside the box thinking while the imposed rules of the society are demanding conservative and within the box thinking.

In present day Iran, all institutes, including those in the field of the media, are under the control of the Islamic government (BBC 2013). When creatives produce creative works, they need to rely heavily on graphic design and abstract art and less on copy to accomplish their goal of creativity (stated by creatives in the ad agency). By so doing, they are employing implicit and indirect techniques to get their message across to the audience. Moreover, this may be a means to reconcile any potential conflict arising between, on the one hand, creative work and outside the box thinking, and on the other, imposed rules and routine inside the box thinking. This approach lends power to art over copy in the process. In this regard, Melissa, the copywriter working in the ad agency commented on the limited numbers of well-known copywriters in Iran. Further to this, the number of copywriters to art-related experts (e.g. art directors, graphic designers) in the focal ad agency, Dalton, was in the region of 1:10. This perhaps supports the suggestion that the power of art is far superior to that of copy in advertising in contemporary Iran.

Appendix III: Data source and use

Table A1: Data source and Use

Data Source	Type of Data	Use in the Analysis
Observations (250 pages single-spaced)	Field-notes from observations as well as meetings over 14 campaigns. Detailed record of activities, social interactions, conversations, and the material arrangements where and by which practices transpire. This detailed observation was carried out from the start of the creative process until the client's and relevant governmental institute's approval. Pictures. Visual documentation of doings and sayings amid material arrangements (i.e. taking photos from ad agency members while they were engaged in their practices)	Familiarize myself with the organizational context and its culture, gain trust of the participants, identifying the actions, practice-arrangement bundles that actions are part of, discovering the overlap and interact of bundles, discuss insights from the observation, clarify uncertainties, and support emerging interpretations.
Interviews (136 pages single-spaced)	Unstructured interviews. Informal talk with ad agency members during their work, after their work, and longer talks during their breaks. Semi-structured interviews. Asking open ended questions from the main ad agency members who were involved in the process of creativity in advertising	Exploring the structure and organisation of activities (i.e. the rules, practical understanding, and motivations) that organise them into practices. Integrate data from observations with interviews' data
Projective Techniques (some diagrams, and metaphors)	Metaphors. Asking informants to think of an analogy or metaphor for explaining the parts that were difficult for them to articulate Drawing. Visual drawings by the creative director and copywriter regarding the process of creativity in advertising and interpreting them.	Explore the tacit elements of the process of creativity in advertising, support, and triangulate evidence from observations and interviews.

Appendix IV: literature Review Tables:

Table A2: Studies regarding Creativity in Advertising

Journal name	Title of the article	Codes	Focus of the study	Findings
Journal of Advertising Research	The definition and measurement of creativity: what do we know	1+3	Factors influencing creativity & measuring it	Suggested factors like environment and the management practices that can influence the creativity in advertising (self-doubt, fear of risk taking, and fear of opposition and criticism) & different ways of measuring creativity from social scientist and ad practitioners
	What is creative to whom and why? Perceptions in advertising agencies	2	Perception of creativity from creatives and non-creatives	Different perspectives on creativity from creatives' points of view and non-creative ones (different perceptions toward strategy, originality, and artistry)
	Creativity vs. Effectiveness? An integrating classification for advertising	3	Defining creativity and impactful ads	Finding that those ads that trigger the audiences' emotions can be perceived to be both impactful and creative.
	Advertising creativity matters	4	Impact of creativity on brand	Finding that advertising creativity can increase both brand interest and perceived brand quality. Ad creativity doesn't need to focus on the content and new messages but as long as the form is new, it will be impactful. Ad creativity can be seen as a new way of communicating even previous messages.
	Assessing advertising creativity using the creative product semantic scale	2	Shared factors about creativity among professionals, the public, and students	They found different judgements from professionals, the general public, and students about creativity of advertising and the impact of demographic variables on the judgement. However, all three groups agreed on which advertisements were the most original and made the most sense.

Creative differences between copywriters and art directors	2	Different attitudes and beliefs of the copywriters and art-directors	Found different attitudes and beliefs among copywriters and art-directors about TV commercials and suggested that this might be a reason that why Bernbach's practice of 'creatives as one group', including the copywriter and art-directors were successful. Blending the two creative types can improve the chemistry of the creative process.
An ethnographic exploration	5	Ways to achieve better memorability which is the prerequisite of creativity	Collective interactions (in net) can provide better creative insights and consumer vernaculars will add to believability that could be more relevant to targeted consumers which in turn, increases memorability which is one prerequisite of creativity.
Evidence proves the future is now	6	Using research in order to come up with creative ads that are effective	Asserting that creativity is important since it can obtain feedback like other creative crafts. However in order for this to be effective, testing can be done to assure that creativity (means) can achieve the ends of effectiveness. Also, it was suggested that research can be fruitful in the process of making creative ads since insights, from the consumer market and research agencies can be used by creatives to shape a more engaging product.
Management slant			Reviews the trends in creativity based on El-Murad and West 2004
The games copywriters play: conflict, quasi-control, a new proposal	7	Different practices that an account manager and creative team employ to protect the creative work	Account managers and creatives need to protect the creative work but their practices are quite different. The control game of account managers is clear whereas the games creatives play are more subtle.

Why do advertisers use puns? A linguistic perspective	5	Using linguistic methods and humour to trigger creativity	Finding that linguistic devices like puns can fulfil the purposes of advertising via generating more attention with a humorous effect and double meaning.
How web banner designers work: the role of internal dialogues, self-evaluations, and implicit communication theories	7	Implicit theories of communication in the process of creativity in web banner designs.	Although it was difficult for the designers to verbalize the process that they were involved with implicit theories of communication in the process of creativity in web banners were revealed.
Does doing good do good?	1	Creativity can be increased by less pressure and more room for risk taking.	Suggesting that pro bono campaigns can have six advantages among which increasing creativity is one. This implies the effect of risk taking and less pressure from the client as a factor increasing creativity.
How effective is creativity	5+8	Suggesting emotive creativity as a way to make creative and effective ads by lessening the audience's attention	Suggesting emotive creativity to be effective by getting less attention and encouraging consumers to drop their guard. The way they suggest is contrary to the belief of copywriters in the Kover studies who believe that creativity will work by force and subverting which in turn, can get an audience's attention.
Creative and interactive media use by agencies: engaging an IMC media palet	5	Creativity can be applied in media selection as well	Finding that integrated interactive media campaigns using IMC can be highly creative. Although it is thought that creativity exists in a unique dimension, independent of the media selection, a great idea can be applied to any media that the target audience is exposed to, but it doesn't work that way.

Recall, liking, and creativity in TV commercials; a new approach	4	Creative ads are more likely to be recalled and liked	Finding that the more creative ads would be more recalled among which seventy percent of the liked commercials were deemed creative versus only forty six percent of the disliked.
360 [degrees] of creative risk	1	Creativity can be increased by higher level of risk taking	Risk taking behaviour can increase the probability of coming up with greater creative ideas, and clients have the most influence on advertising agency risk-taking behaviour. The chances of coming up with greater creative ideas for smaller clients are higher.
Cross-national creative personalities, processes, and agency philosophies	1+5	Creatives' personalities are quite similar among different countries. The process can be affected by their degree of freedom and creatives' right to speak. Majorly similar philosophies are applied in the agencies.	Reports that in America, the UK and Canada the personalities of the creatives are quite similar. In terms of process there are some differences but that depends on the degree of organisational freedom and the creatives' involvement in the strategy development of the ad and execution. In terms of philosophies 2/3 of the agencies use similar formal philosophies and those who did not use a firm philosophy justify this with the claim that each campaign is different and therefore needs a different approach.
Creative strategies in American and Japanese TV commercials: a comparison	5	Different creative contents between Japan and America	They found some similarities and some differences between Japanese and American commercials. The most obvious difference was among the informational strategies for these countries. In this regard, the media and creative content needs adaptation. The transformational strategies were somehow similar.
To whom do advertising creatives write? An inferential answer.	6	Use of research in the creativity in order to know who we want to talk to	They found that the creatives' feeling toward the ad is somehow different from the viewer's. As such they suggested the use of research or any kind of other means to introduce people within the creation process (like through dialogue)

	<p>Accord and discord in agency-client perceptions of creativity</p>	<p>7</p>	<p>Role of account planner as smoothing the conflict between agency and the client over creativity</p>	<p>Some similarity and dissimilarity between the client and agency about creativity in advertising. A good relationship can be achieved by treating these differences through employing the role of account planner who is welcomed by both the creative department and client.</p>
	<p>Point of View: Creatives versus Researchers: must they be adversaries</p>	<p>1+7</p>	<p>Aligning the existing conflict between the research and creativity by getting them closer to each other: the creativity and the research</p>	<p>Since in the process of ad creation there is conflict between creatives and researchers similar to the existing conflict between arts and the sciences, this study suggested that creatives and researchers should work together. That is, creatives can help themselves by opening up to testing opportunities and researchers can provide useful inputs by emphasizing goals (qualitative insights about the consumers' experiences) rather than methodologies.</p>
	<p>Creative strategy and magazine ad readership</p>	<p>5+4</p>	<p>No specific strategy will lead to the ad readership, suggesting that creativity is an artistic function not merely scientific.</p>	<p>They didn't find a strong relationship between specific strategies and the ad readership. However the number of strategies used in an ad had a reverse effect on the ad readership. The study concludes that the present finding alongside previous ones signal the fact that the creative function is an artistic-if disciplined- function.</p>

International Journal of Advertising	Agency practitioners' meta-theories of advertising	8	Different perspectives on how an ad works among practitioners and academics	Finding the different perspective about how an ad worked among practitioners and academics; practitioners reject moderator focused theories but give some weight to the basic level theories like break through and engage and mutation of effects. Academics consider the ad to be scientifically knowable and neglect the artistic/creative aspects and tacit skills involved in the production of advertising.
	The creative code: an organisational influence on the creative process in advertising	1	A creative code, namely, implicit theories held by creatives can influence the process of creativity.	Finding a creative code that can influence the process of creativity in advertising; a creative code which is a group of implicit theories held by creatives about the creative ad. A discussion of the creative code which comprises: sources, conditionality, and consequences.
	Paradox, advertising and the creative process	4	Creativity can solve the conflict in advertising	Finding that the existing paradox in advertising can be solved by creativity.
	How do advertising creative directors perceive research?	6	Research is not unwanted, for this depends on the kind of research and if it can be used in the creative process	Finding the relatively negative attitudes of the creative director towards research. However, ad research that focuses on providing fresh consumer insights and product truths rather than testing advertising ideas would be very welcome.

	Brands as symbolic resources for the construction of identity	5	Using lived experiences plus the mediated experiences /symbolic meanings (through evoking nostalgia, comfort, and security) that are interwoven with lived experiences in the advertising, so as to appeal to the consumers	Lived experiences (practical experiences)/ mediated experiences (advertising) advertising can use the lived experiences of consumers to appeal to them and also use symbolic meanings (mediated experiences). These symbolic meanings can be the stuff that people are unable to articulate or their past experiences, whether conscious or unconscious, which then can be concretized in the consumers' mind either by assisting them to articulate their thoughts that previously they were not able to express or by evoking the feelings of nostalgia, comfort, and security. Moreover, for these mediated experiences to be remembered they need to be interwoven with the lived experiences or validated through the socialisation process.
	The trouble with creatives; negotiating creative identity in advertising agencies	10	Tensions between the creatives and the managerial side plus their colleagues, within which they can achieve their professional identity	They found two contradictions, one is the tension between the creatives and the managerial side and the other is the contradictions of collegiality in and outside of the agencies. The ad agency is a site of conflict and insecurity for creatives, but also of offers rich potential fulfilment. Since creatives can achieve their professional identity through these conflicts this study suggests that they may be complicit in the conflict.
	Cognitive Surplus: Creativity and generosity in a connected age	5	Advertisers in a creative way can invite people via interactive media to do good	Shirky's idea suggests that through cognitive surplus, advertisers in a creative way can invite people via interactive media to do good and make a better life for everyone on the globe.
	Managing Creative People: lessons in leadership for the Ideas economy			Who creative people are and the best environment for their creativity to flourish is reported on. According to Kover there are two flaws in this work: they do not assume everyone to be able to be creative and the academic literature is not reviewed.

Internet advertising effectiveness The effect of design on click-through rates for banner ads	5	Identifying the relationship between creativity characteristics in banners and their effectiveness	They tried to reveal the relationship between the creative characteristics of the internet banner and its effectiveness. The following were effective: a larger size, absence of promotional incentives and the presence of information (about casino games). On the other hand, animation, action phrases and the presence of company brands or logos were ineffective in generating click through.
The importance of creative match in television sponsorship	4	Creativity can compensate for absence of match between the program/sponsored and the product/sponsor	Although previous studies focus on the fit between the sponsor and sponsored, this study suggests that the only fit that matters is audience fit. Sponsors need to use the sponsor credit to invent a link between the programme and the product, if necessary. Also, a good creative treatment when the programme and the product do not match can be enjoyed by the audience.
Emotional or informative? Creative or boring?	4	Creative and emotional types of commercials can lead to positive attitudes toward ads and brands.	The information-dominant, emotional/creative type of commercial resulted in the most positive attitudes towards ads and brands. They reported that emotionality and creativity can work as a catalyst for the consumer to process the brand related information.
Understanding creative service: a qualitative study of the advertising problem delineation, communication and response (APDCR) process	7	Finding APDCR as a process of ad creativity from the clients/advertisers point of view	By interviewing clients (advertisers) they found an APDCR (problem delineation, communication and response) process for advertising creativity within a b-b context.
Leap: a revolution in creative business strategy	11	Creatives should move from being a communication supplier to a strategic partner.	Suggesting that the creative thinking has to move beyond the advertising and that this requires a profound understanding not just of consumers, but also of the clients' business and brands. Also, clients should trust ad agencies as their strategic partners rather than relegating them to the ranks of communications suppliers.

	Model-based development and testing of advertising messages: a comparative study of two campaign proposals based on the MECCAS model and a conventional approach	7	MECCAS guidelines for developing the message lead to better agency-client communication and also are perceived by the targeted group to be more focused and stimulate better central processing.	Comparing the conventional (creative independence which can be catalysed by empirical data) message development and the MECCAS model. Discussion of the advantages of the model based approach in development and testing of advertising campaigns; finding that the MECCAS guidelines lead to better agency-client communication and being perceived by the target group to be more focused and stimulate better central processing.
	Creativity, TV commercial popularity, and advertising expenditures	5	Ad expenditure can result in their popularity and likability and some common attributes in certain ads which implies that creativity can be bought	Finding that advertising expenditure can increase the popularity and likability of the ad. This can imply that creativity can 'be bought'. Also they found that a high level of reach, frequency, and extended continuity in advertising are needed to gain popularity. Identified the common attributes in popular TV ads.
	The Creative Potential of Research	6	Research can increase creativity. Clients, agencies, and researchers can benefit from this if it is in the direction of understanding the customers.	Continuous and cyclical research can enhance creativity and all three participants involved in the production of advertising (clients, ad agencies, and the researchers) will benefit, mainly through an improved understanding of the consumers.

	Creative strategies in highly creative domestic and international television advertising	5	Based on Simons' classification scheme of generalised creative strategies there are almost similar creative strategies among domestic and international commercials.	Based on Simon's classification scheme of generalised creative strategies limited support was provided for the notion of cross-cultural differences in the creative strategy of domestic and international television advertising. The differences were significant among domestic and international commercials in the subliminal oriented category and not in the conscious oriented category. The motivation with psychological appeal strategy was found to occur more in domestic commercials than in international commercials, while the command strategy was found to occur more in international commercials than in domestic ones.
	The language of advertising: The language of advertising	5	Creatives break the rules of grammar purposely - not carelessly.	When advertisers break the rules of grammar and spelling purposely rather than carelessly, the result is powerful messages and an increase in the probability of effective communication.
	Being positive about negative in advertising	5	The way of using language in advertising /negative grammar with positive connotation	Although there are good reasons for avoiding negative sentences in advertising, for certain reasons a negative may be useful where the grammatical subject of a sentence presuppose something positive.
	Directing advertising copy creativity through benefit segmentation	6	Benefits of using market research in forming the creativity	Good creative advertising, effectively directed, is the key to achieving the positioning of the product in an advantageous niche in the market place. They found that a market research/segmentation and conjoint measurement techniques can guide creative thoughts.
Journal of Advertising	Desperately seeking advertising creativity		3 Ps in creativity in advertising	They found three Ps (people, process, and press) emphasised in the literature on creativity in advertising and mentioned research on creativity is important as it is essential to advertising.

	Envisioning the future of advertising creativity research	7	Proposing steps to make the creative ad effective. The remote conveyor model to achieve creative ads and concretion as a way to increase the imagination.	Proposing the five step process (identify the problem, think deliberately, illuminate, evaluate and verify) for providing a way to balance spontaneity in creativity with effectiveness. Suggested the remote conveyor model to achieve creative ads. Finally, offered ways to intensify imagination via concretion.
	Insight: advertising -creativity in business	4	The importance of creativity in organisational growth and business.	Asserted the need for creativity in business in Asia for success by illustrating the power of creativity for the growth of the organisation and offering four key pillars for establishing a new creative enterprise.
	Top-level agency creatives look at advertising creativity then and now	11	Certain aspects of creativity, due to organisational change, have been modified but the degree of creative involvement in strategy development remains the same.	They found that creativity in today's advertising has not declined. Certain aspects of it have changed such as increased 'oversight' pressure due to the changes in organisational elements of the business. The degree of creative involvement in the development of copy strategy (consumer) remains the same.
	Advertising creativity in Korea	5	Finding the indicators of creativity in Confucian societies.	They found originality, considerateness, clarity, and product relevance as factors that can be used to measure creativity in Korea or other collectivist, Confucian-oriented societies.
	Toward an associative model of advertising creativity	7	Suggested a normative model for advertising creativity which is not based on real facts.	They proposed a model for ad creativity but it was not conclusive and not based on the practices of creatives (normative model).

Practitioner and customer views of advertising creativity	2	The different views on creativity from practitioners and customers' perspective.	The practitioners' views on ad creativity are different from those of customers. For practitioners, creativity is what makes their clients' objectives reachable, and for the public it is whether the advertisement is relevant to their needs. Practitioners work is within an organisational boundaries i.e. edge work (Bourdieu 1984) and the degree of risk that one can take.
Creativity in advertising: a Janusian perspective	5	Janusian thinking as the logic of creativity in ads	Janusian thinking is presented as a 'logic of creativity' that can be described and managed. This has been seen in many ad campaigns and it involves the emotive mental resolution of apparent opposite or contradictory ideas.
From the Editor: Advertising, Design, and Corporate Identity	12	Using humanities and fine arts methods to study creativity as an under covered topic.	Creativity is really important but recently few studies have been done on this topic which can be related to various reasons, one being that creativity is a difficult topic to be studied. Some humanities and fine art methods proposed for studying creativity in advertising.
Creativity the x factor in advertising theory	7	Showing the practices creatives employ to escape the scientific probing by the researcher and decision maker so as to make the ad creative.	Asserting creativity as the x factor in advertising as the core of advertising is the function of thinking up persuasive new ways to state selling propositions. Creativity escapes the scientific probe of the researcher and the decision-maker. Compiled the normative processes that are suggested in the literature and somehow the creatives focus on the practices to achieve those outcomes.
Recall and persuasion: does creative advertising matter?	4	Effectiveness of creative ads on unaided recall	Creative commercials help unaided but not aided recall
Creative leaders	4+5	Big ideas that are the most important part of creative ads as they solve the problem and communicate more effectively.	Found that the role of creativity is to solve the problems and communicate more efficiently and this can be done through 'big ideas'.

	Psychographics and creativity	6	Using psychographic research for knowing the audience better in making creative ads.	Having psychographic research can help copywriters to visualise their audience and communicate with them better
	How many creative alternatives to generate?	7	The number of ideas will increase the probability of coming up with the best creative idea	'More creative alternatives, more chance of finding the best creative idea.' In turn this gives a better chance of having an effective campaign.
	Speculations on the future of advertising research	7	Informing creativity rather than formulating it.	Creativity due to its nature cannot be formulated in a framework, however it can be 'informed' (Steward, 1992).
	Symbiotic postures of commercial advertising and street art	7	Practices of street artists	They found the practices used by street artist through ethnography.
	Role-based models of advertising creation and production	7	Six roles based model for advertising production process and the inherent conflict due to various personal utilities of the advertisement	Looked at the collaborative efforts needed among both institutions and individuals as required to generate advertisements. Elicited six role-based models for the advertising production process based on the: subjectivity of participants' perspectives, the determinants of perceived authorship of the advertisement, and the inherent process conflicts due to the varied personal utilities of the produced advertisement.
	Creativity via cartoon spokespeople in print ads	5	Applying distinctive theory /cartoons to make the creative ads	The cartoon spokesperson can offer more creative and distinctive ad outcomes. This can be justified through distinctiveness theory which suggests that if an unusual trait, which is different from other marketing stimuli, is used in the ad, it can be considered 'distinctive'.

	From performance to mastery	7	Proposed two models of process of creativity based on students' levels of mastery	Two models of students' creative process were proposed. They investigated the nature of the cognitive processes students use to generate ideas, namely: orientation of the work, approach to the problem, mind scribing, and heuristics.
	The impact of advertising creativity on the hierarchy of effects	3+4	Divergent and relevance as two indicators of creativity and finding the effectiveness of creativity/on HOE	The entire HOE process has seen to be affected by creative ads and D*R interaction has been recognised as the best representatives of creative ads.
Journal of Current Issues and Research in Advertising	Evaluating the work preference inventory and its measurement of motivation in creative advertising professionals	1	Finding the intrinsic and extrinsic motivational factors important to creatives	Finding the motivational factors (intrinsic and extrinsic) that are important to creatives in advertising based on Work Process Inventory (WPI).
	Insights on account planning: a view from the Indian ad industry	7	Indian professional perspective about the account planning roles in the creative process	Provides information on how Indian ad professionals view planning's role in the creative process in India. Based on organisational innovation diffusion and institutional theory, five themes regarding account planning were found: a localized planning ethos, environmental factors as primary planning growth drivers, demand-supply issues as developmental constraints, lack of variety in planning roles, and lack of institutionalized measures to evaluate planners' performance.

	Appraising Account Executive Performance Appraisals: Current Practices and Managerial Implications	7	Irrespective of the size of the agency, the account executives' appraisals are more internally focused. Also, the AE have a bigger role in creativity in larger agencies	Analysing the performance appraisal of account executives in large and small agencies in US and comparing them with the literature guidelines. The agencies' appraisal are more internally focused than externally (client) focussed, There is no dramatic difference between the size of the agencies and their performance appraisal forms, however, larger agencies are more likely than smaller ones to consider the AE's contribution to the creative product.
	A nation under the influence: the creative strategy process for advertising in Thailand	5	Creative strategies and tactics are integrated and the culture is portrayed in the creative execution	In the Thai process of creative strategy development, creative strategies and tactics are not separated. These were influenced by western as well as Japanese advertising and Thai advertising itself. The easy going Thai culture can be seen in the creative executions.
	Advertising creativity: A review and empirical investigation of external evaluation, cognitive style, and self-perception of creativity	7	Asserting different components of the creative process	Finding the different components of the process of creativity based on the literature: organisational characteristics, social/group characteristics, individual characteristics, creative task, and creative output. Furthermore, they added self-perception as an important factor in this process and found that external evaluation (social/group characteristics), and cognitive style (individual characteristics) have an impact on self-perception.
	Combinations of creative elements in radio advertising.	5	Showing the elements used in radio to make the creative ads	Finding the elements used in radio advertising to build creative strategies.
	Journal of Marketing and Communications	Right measure for the right site: on-line creative strategies by Japanese multinational corporations	5	Tailoring the creative strategies according to the targeted market

Account planning in Scottish advertising agencies: a discipline in transition	7	Noting the existing conflict between the creatives and the account planners as a productive one.	Finding the agency ethos, type of clients, size of agency, and agency location as determinants of how principles are converted into practices. The planner's role was found to comprise: voice of consumer, strategic pivot, creative catalyst, client confident, super planner. Finally the conflict between creatives and strategic planners was seen as productive tension /collaboration.
Encouraged motivated and learning oriented for working creatively and successfully: a case of Korean workers in marketing communications	1	Showing organisational and motivational factors important in the creative process. Also, showing the lack of research on creativity apart from focusing on personal characteristics and the indicators of creativity in a US context.	Assessed organisational and motivational determinants in creative and successful marketing communication campaigns in Korea. Creativity is a relatively unexplored area in marketing communications. Research in marketing communications has only focused on either as personal characteristics predictive of creative performance or as conceptualizations of what creativity is in marketing communications messages. Little research in cultural contexts other than the USA has been conducted.
An epistemological odyssey: toward social construction of the advertising process	12	All the studies about the process of creativity are around cognitive process rather than discursive construction.	There are various research studies about the process of creativity in terms of their position. They all share one thing in common which is seeing meanings as the result of cognitive process (private) rather than discursive construction.
Issues of creative communication tactics and positioning strategies in the UK plastic card services industry	5	Showing the creative tactics and strategies	Finding the creative tactics and positioning strategies in the UK plastic card services industry.
Inhibition of brand integration amid changing agency structures	9	The creative use of media space as well as the brand strategy and the inspired message.	Creativity has always been about insightful brand strategy and inspired message content. However, a third dimension may be emerging, using media spaces creatively in an integrated way. Although the principles of IMC is sound, agencies have trouble using it due to issues with clients (based on their demands) as well as the agencies themselves. There seems to be an issue with remodelling working practices to accommodate new and seamless ways of working creatively across all promotional mix elements.

	Winning a Clio advertising award and its relationship to firm profitability	4+3	Usually the creative ads increase the firm's financial return however there are some abnormalities which can be due to the fact that ROI of the ads cannot be vigorously measured	Finding the effect of creativity in ads on the financial returns. Using the event study methodology, this paper extends the growing body of research that seeks to explain how specific events affect a firm's expected future earnings. The findings suggest that, for food manufacturers and retailers, winning one or more Clio Awards may result in positive cumulative abnormal returns. However, the results also suggest that there may be some negative connotations associated with Clio Awards that may be derived from the difficulties in determining the actual return on investment for specific advertising activity.
	Advertising's imbroglia	12	Suggesting that advertising can be studied from different perspectives that exist between the production and the consumption	Proposed that advertising can be studied by a network of relationships that exist between production and consumption, namely: company, the brand, the advertising agency, the advertising for the brand, and the consumer of advertising. This suggests that meanings can be generated from producers and reformed by consumers (encoding and decoding).
Journal of Consumer Research	Asian brands and the shaping of a transnational imagined community	5	Looking at time, space, and culture to form the transnational identities	Looked at the way marketers imagine Asia and Asian consumers to determine the way of cultural meaning. They found three key dimensions, namely, time, space, and culture through which transnational identities can be formed.
	How nothing became something: white space, rhetoric, history, and leaning	5	White space does mean something to both producers and consumers	By considering the history of a commercial language act, they found that 'white space' does mean something to producers and consumers of the ads.
	Copywriters' implicit theories of communication: An exploration	7	Imaginative dialogue with the intended consumer to break through and deliver the message	Two step process of copywriter's implicit theory: 1) breaking through via subverting and force, 2) delivering the message through internalized dialogue with the intended audience.

Journal of Marketing	Facilitating and rewarding creativity during new product development	1	Incentives and creative training can enhance the creativity	They found using rewards as incentives and creative training can enhance the creativity in innovation product design. Also, they mentioned creative training can enhance creativity; for example, idea production training which involves encouraging the person to visualise how someone might experience a problem and new ways in which it can be solved. Finally they used two judges from the target market to evaluate the new product design who were asked to rank the design based on its novelty and usefulness.
	Ogilvy on advertising/book review			Ogilvy shares his knowledge and experiences on advertising.
	Humour in advertising and how to make it pay/book review			A personal view (positive and negative) of humour in advertising.
	How to advertise/book review			Discussing different phases of modern advertising in America similar to their culture; like a pendulum, going to do extremes. Later discussing the way to make advertisings like selling propositions, brand image, etc. The ways to achieve them like testing, research...
	Applied imagination/book review			Talking about the importance of creativity plus the techniques for increasing it and the way to transfer and teach it.
	Industrial advertising for profit and prestige/book review			Emphasis on the underlying causes rather than just describing the effects. Also, demonstrated the importance of subjectivity in advertising rather than general principles.
	Management and advertising problems in the advertising - agency relationship/book review			Part I— Perspective on advertising problems; Part II—Management practices characteristic of successful marketers; Part III—Future outlook; Part IV—Guidelines. A short addendum titled "Opportunities for Agencies" is included. A common theme running through the report is the feeling that bringing about greater "creativity" is the most pressing problem in advertising.
	Common sense in advertising/ book review			Ad men focus on the 'common sense' needed in advertising and illustrate the common mistakes in contemporary ads. They explain the research, consumer behaviour, client and agency relationship, and the role of account management, and the role of time pressure in ad agencies.
	Marketing's credibility: longitudinal investigation of marketing communication productivity and shareholder value	4+1	Marketing communication productivity role on shareholders' value which can be moderated by R&D	Showing the impact of marketing communication productivity (MCP) on shareholders' value is positive and nonlinear, also the role of R&D as the moderator.

	The repetition break plot structure makes effective television advertisements	5	Finding that repetition of plot structure can increase the brand favourability, attitudes and purchase intention in some specific marketing purposes.	Found that repetition break advertisements are persuasive, leading to more favourable brand attitudes and greater purchase intentions than similar plot structures and that this effect is attributable in part to the advertisements being more engaging. Also these form a large percentage of Clio and Effie award-winning advertisements. Repetition break advertisements are not all-purpose advertising solutions but an ad structure targeted for specific marketing purposes. For example for building or sustaining brand awareness, the repetition break advertisement are not as effective as others.
International Journal of Market Research	Gender effect in advertising	5	Find that those advertisings that are targeted to either men or women are more effective.	Studied the gender differences and looked at the gender differences in advertising; advertising directed to just men or just women is more effective but is seldom utilised, as most advertising appears to target both genders.
	The gear model of advertising	4+3	Finding a model to predict peoples' ultimate response to advertising/purchase intention; creativity through watch ability was tested as one of the stages in peoples' responses	The model (gear model) through which people respond to advertising and show how it is possible to predict the ultimate goal of advertising which is 'purchase intent'. Demonstrates the importance of the right creative advertising, and identifies the principal human responses that occur when the creative is either successful or unsuccessful
	The implicit and explicit role of ad memory in ad persuasion: rethinking the hidden persuaders	3	Introducing a psychological mechanism to test the sub-conscious persuasion role of advertising as opposed to recall which is only the explicit persuasion measurement.	Arguing that ads work on two levels; explicit and implicit. The former can be accessed through recall but the latter cannot be recalled and just make something more familiar. Using the knowledge of implicit memory, this paper provides a testable psychological mechanism by which advertising can persuade sub-consciously. A case study is presented that illustrates how ads work at a subconscious level and how this understanding led to insight into why creative ads often fail in conventional qualitative research.

	Social constructionism and research in marketing and advertising	12	By introducing a social constructionist approach to study marketing, two levels for the process of creativity have been revealed; organisational and agentive	Suggesting a social constructionist approach for research in marketing /creativity. Finding an organisational and agentive process of creativity.
	Fifty years using the wrong model of advertising	12	The shortcoming of informative models of advertising and blaming the philosophical approaches that fail to give room to intangible facts. Critical realism has been suggested as an alternative.	The reasons why informative processing of advertising is so persistent; bringing up the philosophical issues and suggesting a critical realism perspective to accept the fact that everything cannot be verified and measured. We should accept this and give room for some intangibles like emotions.

Code Meaning

- 1 Factors influencing creativity
- 2 Definition of creativity
- 3 Measuring creativity
- 4 Impact of creativity
- 5 Executional techniques in creativity
- 6 Using research in creativity
- 7 Process of creativity
- 8 Academics and practitioners' views about creativity
- 10 Tensions in the process of creativity
- 11 Roles of advertising creativity
- 12 Ways to study creativity

Table A3: Related studies from the holistic review by Sasser and Koslow (2008) concerning the process aspect of advert production

Journal	Title	Code	Focus of the study	Findings
Psychology & Marketing 2000	Exploring the dimension of ad creativity	3	Definition	Based on novelty, relevancy, and valence of feeling as the dimensions of creativity. They found unexpected, relevance and positive feeling (creative ads) generated more favourable attitudes toward the ad.
Academy of Marketing Science 2007	The ad creativity cube: conceptualization and initial validation	3+4	Definition impact	Suggested three dimensions of novelty, meaningfulness, and connectedness for ad creativity. The result demonstrates the effects of the various dimensions on a range of consumer ad responses.
Journal of Advertising 1982	Creativity's paradoxical character: a postscript to James Webb's technique for producing ideas	1+7	Press agentive process	Reconsiders the classical work of James Webb Young, a technique for producing ideas. Knowledge is shown to be something less than a creator's perfectly. Creative insight is not always the final step in a progression of identifiable events. Sometimes genius is more a matter of serendipity than of intellectual brilliance deadlines are blessings.
Journal of Advertising 1986	Creativity in advertising: a Janusian perspective	5	Implementation technique	Janusian thinking is presented as a 'logic of creativity' that can be described and managed. This has been seen in many ad campaigns; it involves the emotive mental resolution of apparent opposite or contradictory ideas.
International journal of advertising 2006	How do advertising creative directors perceive research?	6	Use of research	Finding the relatively negative attitudes of the creative director towards research. However, ad research that focuses on providing fresh consumer insights and product truths rather than testing advertising ideas would be very welcome

Journal of Advertising 1974	The second meaning of the word creative should be first in the hearts of advertising people	3+4	Definition and impact	Productive advertising, that is creative advertising, in the best sense of the word, talks to the best prospects for the product about things that interest them.
Journal of Advertising 1976	The triumph of creativity over communication	7	Process	Creativity 1: You have to write how the product or service solves the prime prospect's problem. There are a great many facilities that you could use to help you arrive at this idea. Creativity 2: how you are going to tell the prime prospect the solution. Creativity 3: plan for executing what you have decided to do on creativity.
Journal of Advertising research 2004	The definition and measurement of creativity	3+1	Measurement+ press	What do we know about advertising creativity, (2) how can we measure it, and (3) how can we enhance and encourage it?
Journal of Advertising	Toward an associative model of advertising creativity	7	Process	They proposed a model for ad creativity however their model was not conclusive and was not based on the practices creatives do (normative model)
Journal of Consumer Marketing 2008	Creating passion to engage versus engage consumer co-creators with agency co-conspirators: unleashing creativity	5	Techniques of implementing creativity	Found how new interactive media trends affect the creative process in agencies and engage consumers as co-creators
Journal of Marketing Theory 2004	Toward a general theory of creativity in advertising: examining the role of divergence	3+4+7	Definition impact+ process	A model is developed which defines a creative ad as both divergent (i.e. novel or unusual) and relevant. The effects of divergence and (to a lesser extent) relevance on consumer processing and response are examined. A general theory of creativity in advertising is developed that calls for research in five primary areas: advertising as a communication process, management process, societal process, group process, and personal process.

Marketing Science 2007	Modelling the determinants and effects of creativity in advertising	3	Definition	Perceptions of ad creativity are determined by the interaction between divergence and relevance. Creativity, in general, did mediate the effects of divergence and relevance on the dependent variables.
Journal of Advertising 1974	Zen theory and the creative course	1	Press/training creativity/methods to understand creativity	Zen Masters offer insights which can help instructors help students search within themselves to find their unique creativity
Journal of Advertising 1992	Speculations on the future of advertising research	7	Process/training creativity by informing it	It suggests different realms for future studies in advertising, one of them is how can research support advertising's inherent creative function?
Journal of Advertising 1989	Executorial factors and advertising effectiveness: a replication	4	Impact	Suggest that memorability and persuasiveness are enhanced when the product and its benefits are the primary focus of the commercial. When less attention is given the advertised brand and more attention is devoted to superfluous execution, such as background casts or information the consumer does not understand, the effectiveness of the commercial suffers. These empirical findings are quite consistent with the best creative wisdom, which has long advocated creating unique selling propositions, distinctive brand images, and making the product the "hero" of the commercial. Indeed, it is likely that the most important factor in effective advertising is the creative combination of many elements into a persuasive art form.

Journal of Advertising Research 2000	Recall, liking, and creativity in TV commercials, a new approach	4	Impact	Identifying memorable advertisements (memorability and recall) and assessing creativity: outcome shows the link between recall, likeability, and creativity.
Journal of Advertising 2005	Recall and persuasion: does creative advertising matter?	4	Impact	Study of the effect of creative advertising in enhancing recall, brand attitude, and purchase intent. Results suggest that creative advertisements generate significantly greater brand and execution recall on an unaided basis. This advantage dissipates when product category prompts are given as an aid to recall. In addition, creative advertisements in the study did not have an effect on purchase intent or attitude toward the brand.
Journal of Advertising 2001	The role of myth in creative advertising design, theory, process, and outcome	5	Implementation techniques	All ad creators say something in common and they reflect their thoughts on myths whether just one or multi-mythic approach. The successful ad has the highest self-rating score. Personality of target group and the creator is reflected in the chosen myths. Divergent thinking [can be used by multiple domains, intergroup diversity], here seems to lead to more creativity [balance between freedom and constraints]. Applying multiple approaches like myths, metaphorical, allegorical and so on, in the creativity process.

Journal of Consumer Research 1995	Copywriters implicit theories of communication: an exploration	7	Agentive process	Two step process of copywriter's implicit theory: 1)breaking through via subverting and force 2)delivering the message through internalized dialogue with the intended audience.
Journal of Advertising 1996	The value of competition among agencies in developing ad campaigns: revisiting Gross's Model	4	Impact	Gross' model suggested spending more on the creative component, thus shifting a sizable percentage of a campaign budget away from media spending and into competitive generation of creative renderings can apparently be very profitable.
Management Science 2002	Breaking through the clutter: benefits of advertisement originality and familiarity for brand attention and memory	4	Impact	Original advertisements drew more attention to the advertised brand. More importantly however, advertisements that were both original and familiar attracted the largest amount of attention to the advertised brand, which improved subsequent brand memory directly.
Journal of Advertising 1972	The x factor in advertising theory	7	Process	Asserting creativity as the x factor in advertising: the core of advertising is the function of thinking up persuasive new ways to state selling propositions. Creativity escapes the scientific probe of the researcher and the decision-maker. They compiled the normative processes that are suggested in the literature and somehow pointed out the practices the creatives do to achieve the outcomes.

Journal of Advertising 1973	Psychographics and creativity	6	Use of research	Having psychographic research can help copywriters to visualise their audience and communicate with them better
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<u>Code</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
1	Press
3	Definition/ Measurement
4	impacts
5	Techniques of implementing creativity
6	Use of research
7	Process