

The Architecture of Cultural Enterprise:

A Study of Design Reflexivity in Action

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Abstract

The cultural industries have an increasingly important role to play in policies addressing the UK's present and future economic competitiveness. Researching how entrepreneurial activity leads to the creation and maintenance of cultural enterprises is central to understanding the value added by such organisations. The present research contributes to our understanding of these important issues. An ethnographic approach, which is defined here as a set of methods for conducting field work (e.g., participant observation and semi-structured interviews) and a methodology for textual representations of social activity, is adopted to explore design thinking in action.

The study aims at developing existing analyses which claim that contemporary production is becoming more design intensive and therefore reliant upon individuals and organisations supplying knowledge about design. This heightened awareness about the value of design for business is defined as design reflexivity, although the term is not used to indicate an epochal shift in capitalist production. Instead, design thinking is represented as central to the modern institutionalisation of knowledge. By adopting the concept of identity work, the research addresses the importance of the role of the cultural entrepreneur to the contemporary organisation of work.

Empirical material, comprised of interview transcripts and field notes, is examined to understand how research participants engaged with the role of owner-founder of a design business. By 'limiting' the research to individuals located in an inner-city area and the design sub-field of the cultural industries, the research presents localised interpretations of the typical process of cultural enterprise. The metaphor of architecture is adopted to describe the act of arranging the voices of research participants through the application of an analytical model comprised of three phases. This phased analysis is not over-privileged above the participants' accounts, but to organise empirical materials which show how research

participants accounted for their engagement with contemporary role of the designer (articulation); the limitations and opportunities of place and time (emplacement) and the accumulation of economic wealth comprised of tangible and intangible property (entanglement). The research connects the research participant's entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity together with analyses of the centrality of reflexive knowledge to study one area of knowledge intensive contemporary production.

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my highly individualistic orientations to research which have been augmented with an appreciation of the ethical responsibility social research awards bestow upon recipients.

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Preface

'In the social sciences, the progress of knowledge presupposes progress in our knowledge of the conditions of knowledge. That is why it requires one to return persistently to the same objects...each doubling back is another opportunity to objectify more completely one's objective and subjective relation to the object. One has to endeavour to reconstruct retrospectively the successive stages of the relationship...The essential point I try to put over in this book, a point which is in no way personal, would be liable to lose its meaning and its effectiveness if, by letting it be dissociated from the practice from which it started and to which it ought to return, I were to leave it in the unreal, neutralized mode of existence which is that of theoretical 'theses' of epistemological essays.' (Bourdieu, 1990a, Preface, p1)

The quote above has been included to recognise how a preface should draw a reader's attention to the author's account of how a text came into being. In the social sciences, as Bourdieu's quote indicates, the production of a text is reliant on a specific set of social conditions which make the construction of such texts possible. The preface of a social text connects an author's account to the presuppositions that the text will connect with certain 'conditions of knowledge' production. Implicit in this claim is the assumption of a reader and spaces for reading social science texts. This preface will briefly acknowledge how the author is seeking to connect with specific conditions of knowledge production.

This text has adopted a writing strategy that will address the following research question: how are novel (symbolic) ideas translated into reasonable (economic) activity through entrepreneurial activity in the cultural industries by attending to the thresholds of conditions that make such activity socially meaningful? What follows is not a relativistic deconstruction of the possibility of social science, but a reflexive accounting of the conditions which enable and constrain the practice of social science. The knowledge claims made in this research seek to legitimise actions associated with the entrepreneurial organisation of design thinking and the institutionalised practice of turning the subjects involved in such action (from now on research participants) into an object of reflection.

This writing strategy adopted for this research was one designed to organise the production of a polyphonic text (Czarniawska, 1999). At one level this organising style means recognising how social texts enmesh a plurality of voices typically including social theorists, research methodologists, research participants, policy makers and, more recently, the researchers' voice. However, to avoid these voices collapsing into a cacophony attention is paid to how social science texts are also constitutive of the social reality they represent (Bourdieu, 1990a, Giddens, 1991). Social science texts must therefore appeal to an enjoining of two or more reading subjects (writers are readers and readers are writers). The practice of 'forming lines from words' (Perec, 1997) for a polyphonic exposition therefore requires space and it is for this reason this preface makes a direct appeal to the reader's sympathetic treatment of the length of this text. Its weight is not a thinly disguised equation of longer quotes equate to greater validity. Such a claim would be an over-simplification of the complex conditions of possibility which make possible the enjoining of spaces that sustain the practice of writing and reading social science texts.

It is hoped the reader will, having engaged with the text, concur the length is warranted given the aim to provide a platform for the seldom heard voices of individuals engaged in cultural enterprise. Lengthy passages have been included so as to add density to 'curiously thin' selection of empirical studies of individuals engaged in production of cultural industry in the UK (Banks, 2006). Given this sector is relatively young, at least as a collective grouping, I felt over imposition of analytical categorisation would be inappropriate and unwarranted. I have become acutely attuned to the dangers of imposing general business and management theory to explain cultural enterprise. Citing management theory threatened speaking over participants' reflections and curtailed the aim of using 'ethnographic encounters' to stimulate and channel a 'mutual curiosity' (Rabinow, 1996) about design intensive production. It would be unethical to have reduced the space afforded to participants voices in this text, hence its somewhat elongated size. Over zealous imposition of analytical

structures, typologies or coding frameworks would I believe undermine what has emerged as a longer term aim. This appeal to future work, another typical feature of the social science preface (Bourdieu, 1990a), is to continue not only gathering and interpreting accounts from individuals engaged in cultural enterprise but to move closer to research participants becoming co-authors (Van Maanen, 2006) or co-constructors of knowledge about contemporary work and organisation.

This text was constructed through a dynamic tension of avoiding the dangers of symbolic violence as well as the necessity of maintaining authorial control, relevance and rigor that is befitting of the ascetics of social science methodology. Above all it is hoped the text conveys the rich complexities involved in cultural enterprise and has not killed the joys and frustrations of creating contexts for design thinking through entrepreneurial activity.

The research is primarily dedicated to those who tolerated my presence in their spaces of creation. Above all I would like to extend my gratitude to them for carving out time to spend with an aspiring social researcher. That most were welcoming to such an intervention, despite my often obtuse, irritating and crushingly naïve questions, is I believe evidence of a desire for opportunities to share knowledge about cultural enterprise with management researchers. If this research contributes to facilitating this process for the benefit of others then it will have achieved its aims.

Introduction

‘Architecture is the art which so disposes and adorns the edifices raised by man, for whatsoever uses, that the sight of them contributes to his mental health, power, and pleasure.’ (John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 1849).

From the smallest material artefacts of contemporary culture to the grandest edifices and the circulation of intangible medial objects, the cultural industries affect, to varying degrees, how ‘we’, (i.e., inhabitants of advanced capitalist societies), construct relations to our selves, to others and to environments. In the UK, the value of the cultural industries has been rendered ever more visible in recent debates about economic competitiveness. The contribution of the cultural industries has been repeatedly invoked in policy discourse and academic critique because of claims of an intensified economisation of culture and the culturalisation of economy (Amin and Thrift, 2005, du Gay and Pryke, 2002, Ray and Sayer, 1999). However, what is lacking are the voices of those engaged in work and organisation in the cultural industries.

This research offers an empirical study of how one sub-set of individuals within the cultural industries, owner-founders of cultural enterprises interpret the process of mixing cultural knowledge with the creative economy. This introduction outlines how this study will construct a (textual) space to represent accounts of cultural enterprise. It introduces the reader to the rationale, methodology, methods, organisation of empirical material and the conclusions emanating from the use of an ‘ethnographic approach’ constructed so as to get closer to individuals engaged in cultural enterprise in the sub-field of design within the city of Nottingham between 2004 and 2007.

Chapter 1 outlines a rationale for management and business researchers thinking about design thinking (i.e., design reflexivity). In doing so it will situate the central research question (i.e., how individuals interpret entrepreneurial activities associated with design

reflexivity) by conceptualising it as connected to recent theories of contemporary capitalist production, especially those emphasising the importance of reflexive knowledge to design intensive production (Lash and Urry, 1994, Thrift, 2005). Design reflexivity, originally a term coined by Lash and Urry (1994), is theorised as an ‘expert knowledge’ central to what Callon et.al. termed the ‘economy of qualities’ (2002). As an ‘expert knowledge’ design reflexivity is a relevant concept since it refers to a heightened perception of commercial signs and an enhanced competency at manipulating those symbolic meanings which affect the circulation of contemporary products and services.

This Chapter therefore signals a shift from the initial aim which was to explore the possibility of a creative class (Florida, 2002, 2004) and the spatial aspects of creative cities or creative industries milieux (see Appendix 1). Instead it examines the social processes involved in creating and maintaining contexts for applying design reflexivity in a ‘local’ bounded context. The focus is how individuals engaged in the design sector¹ interpret their application of design reflexivity in action. Their accounts provide insights into the types of mixtures of symbolic and economic capital which contribute to mechanisms that enmesh producers and consumers. Chapter 1 therefore suggests design reflexivity, along with other forms of expert knowledge (e.g., bio-science, ICT and management knowledge), is central to ‘future making’ (Thrift, 2005, 2006) and the ‘design’ (i.e., organisation) of production in a ‘turbulent’ (Roberts, 2004) global capitalist market. Chapter 1 concludes by suggesting design reflexivity has become significant because it contributes an affective layer to contemporary calculativeness and is a resource for contemporary work and organisation favouring those individuals and firms with competency at supplying such thinking.

¹ This is a loose collective of activities requiring design thinking. The Design Council (2006) recognizes some 28 such sub-fields and the Centre for Creative Business (2007) recently grouped design into a category it called ‘process’ (as opposed to product) centric creative industries. This research refers primarily to the latter, providers of services organising design thinking into architecture, copywriting, crafts, digital interface design, graphic communication, illustration, interior design.

However, to avoid the dangers associated with ahistorical epochalist theorisations (du Gay, 2003, 2004) Chapter 1 also briefly makes reference to the long standing ‘cultural sociological thinking’ (Inglis, 2007). The purpose of a short consideration of social science accounts of culture (Adorno, 1991, Benjamin, 1899, Simmel, 1903, 1904, 1908, Veblen, 1899, Williams, 1967, 1981) is to show how design thinking has been articulated (symbolically) and entangled (economically) since the 18th century (see also Bourdieu, 1996a, McKendrick et.al.1981).

Having situated the research question into wider theoretical debates about design intensive production, Chapter 2 provides the methodological justification, or ‘theorists’ architecture’ (Brewer, 2000) underpinning the conceptual framework. This framework draws upon a ‘pragmatic conceptualization’ (Mouzelis, 1995) of sociological theory to organise conceptual tools which are integrated into a ‘personal paradigm’ (Watson, 1997). This introduces Bourdieu’s logic of practice (1990a, 1990b) and theory of cultural production (1984, 1996) as containing a series of ‘pragmatically forged’ (Swartz, 1997) ‘open concepts’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) relevant for conceptualising cultural enterprise. Bourdieu’s oeuvre is subjected to a critical evaluation to examine the claim that Bourdieu’s legacy is a series of failures to resolve the subjective/objective dualism and transcend the agency-structure dualism (Jenkins, 2000). Whilst Jenkins’ criticism has been rebuked by Bourdieu himself (2005) and his defenders (Grenfell, 2004, Robbins, 2007) this section examines the methodological problems of using Bourdieu’s logic of practice.

Chapter 2 argues for a position of ‘informed divergence’ (Robbins, 2007) so as to interpret of Bourdieu’s texts as a ‘virtuoso’ performance which exposed the opportunities and constraints within the practice of social science (Rabinow, 1996). Bourdieu’s synthesis of anthropology, sociology and philosophy will be used to conceptualise the ‘positional struggles’ involved in enjoining cultural and economic action. However, so as to address the ‘situational interaction’ (Mouzelis, 1995) Bourdieu’s pre-dispositional habitus is decoupled

by drawing from theorists who, whilst still addressing the agency-structure interrelationship, afford a greater emphasis to agency. The social constructionist theory of knowledge (Berger and Luckmann, 1967), symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1934, Charon, 1979) and pragmatist aesthetics (Dewey, 1934, Shusterman, 2000) provide equally useful conceptual tools.

Together these are summarised as a conceptual framing of the mixing of culture and enterprise through a process of *commutation*, *translation* and *consummation*. These 'phases' (not linear stages) provide an analytical framework from which it is possible to represent processes or patterning activities (e.g., narration and identity work) of cultural enterprise.

Chapter 2 concludes by suggesting an ethnographic approach was appropriate since the encounters it enabled provided opportunities to stimulate a 'mutual curiosity' (Rabinow, 1996, 2007) about design reflexivity. By encouraging research participants to describe their trajectories into cultural enterprise, both in formal interviews and informal interactions, Chapter 2 claims that epistemologically it was possible to capture typical discursive repertoires drawn upon to articulate, emplace and entangle design reflexivity through cultural enterprise. Chapter 2 suggests a 'language sensitive sociology' (Watson, 2007) rooted in a pragmatist epistemology is an appropriate 'methodological instrument' (Czarniawska, 1998) for representing the research participants interpretations of cultural enterprise. The chapter ends with a diagram of a provisional analytical abstraction of the architecture of cultural enterprise. This is not a step towards a generalisable structure of cultural enterprise but an attempt to map the contours of useful social science research methodologies which can be deployed to craft representations of design reflexivity in action.

Chapter 3 is a bridge into the empirical chapters. It is a bridge in the metaphorical sense as it connects the reader to the construction of a field in which ethnographic encounters occurred. It validates the ethnographic approach by detailing field roles adopted over a three year period so as to engage with the owner-founders of cultural enterprises in Nottingham. The chapter begins with a 'confessional tale' (Van Maanen, 1988), a prequel which abridges

the specific circumstances which enjoined my 'private troubles' to the 'public issue' (Mills, 2000) of the need to research creativity, design and enterprise. This is followed with a discussion of access, rapport, consent and the experience of conducting field work in the creative industries.

Chapter 3 examines the extent to which 'participant observation' permits me, or indeed any other social researcher, to make claims of 'becoming the phenomenon' (Rose, 1990). That the researcher did not become the founder of a design enterprise is not seen as a fatal flaw in the research design. Instead an ethnographic approach permitted, no matter how brief, a series of encounters with design professionals. The validity of the representations of the processes of cultural enterprise which follow in the subsequent chapters are premised on the unique position comprised of formal roles, informal interactions and serendipitous events that shaped a nexus of economic, social, cultural relations which were 'epistemologically productive' (Coffey, 1999).

Chapters 4-7 are representations of the empirical material. What unfolds across these chapters is a 'polyphonic' (Czarniawska, 1997) writing strategy (Czarniawska, 1999) designed to explore the tension between 'cultivated estrangement' and the risk of 'loosing oneself in the Other' (Czarniawska, 1997). The sociological imagination (Mills, 2000) is invoked by connecting the participants' biographies to the public issue of design industry as I transited into the 'space of possibilities' (Bourdieu, 1990) in which it was possible to observe social practices involved in cultural enterprise. This journey into the architecture of cultural enterprise is organized according to the analytical framework developed in Chapter 2. Chapters 4-7 explore three (analytical) phases which are tailored to the typical processes research participants described as key to the mixing of symbolic novelty and economic reasonableness. This organisation is an abstraction from practice held together by the metaphor of architecture which is defined as an encounter between the 'will to architecture' and the subsequent interpretations of such acts by others (Karatani, 1995). The

representations provide an interweaving of the ‘will to architecture’ of the research participants and that of the researcher. Whilst a reflexive sociological methodology has been deployed to avoid ‘symbolic violence’ (Bourdieu, 1992) these chapters require the symbolic capital afforded to ‘detotalized’ scientific analysis (Bourdieu, 1990b). As a consequence some degree of ‘colonisation’ of the everyday tactics of others (de Certeau, 1984) is unavoidable as a researcher enters into the spaces ‘where the Other lives’ (Czarniawska, 1997). Such intervention is justified as it enables encounters of co-evaluation between researcher and research participant. The representations are therefore comprised of both ‘synchronic’ (i.e., interviews) and ‘diachronic’ (participant observation) interactivity (ibid) or the ‘evaluative aspect’ of recognising what is significant about the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity.

These chapters re-contextualise the evaluation of typical processes involved cultural enterprise to allow the reader to explore how contexts for sustaining design reflexivity are created and maintained. In doing so an ‘institutional reflexivity’ is engaged as the interpretive work of ‘our’ (i.e., management researchers) other (i.e., research participants) is translated and transformed through the ascetic of social science methodology. Utilising a combination of formal interview transcripts, field notes containing observations and informal conversations as well as self-reflective prolepsis the chapters are fabricated in a similar fashion. Each presents a plurality of points of view before providing in-depth cases within cases of individual research participants.

Chapter 8 offers concluding remarks based on the experience of entering the environs of cultural enterprise. The key claim is that management and business researchers should continue to search for openings to access activities which can too easily be dismissed as indulgent, weird, lacking ambition and a merely ‘lifestyle’². Rather than treating participant’s

² These descriptions were all recorded during the field work. Sadly they were most frequently used by representatives from public sector organizations established to support the creative industries.

interpretations of entrepreneurial activity as ‘madcap behaviour’ (Bourdieu, 2005b) sustained immersion has provided a different insight. The research experience highlighted a different tempo-spatial rhythm to practices in the design sector than was initially expected. Chapter 8 summarises the implications of this finding by recommending more empirical social research is conducted so as to explore the complex set of processes involved in mixing culture and economy through entrepreneurial activity.

The relevance of this study is evaluated in terms of its ability to convey the stratagems that were available to research participants to articulate, emplace and entangle their design reflexivity. One claim is this challenges the writing off of some cultural enterprises as ‘merely’ ‘lifestyle businesses’ (i.e., lacking in ‘true’ ambition) without valorising the celebrity Schumpeterian designer entrepreneur superhero/heroine. Instead this research hopefully provides an insight into the chaotic order (but in no means unorganized) emerging from the complexity of a dual investment into symbolic capital and economic capital.

If this process is conveyed to the reader this research will fulfil its aim of using sociological theories to understand cultural enterprise by enjoining the individual’s internal investment in a heightened appreciation of commercial cultural symbolic meanings and the public issue of encouraging design intensive production as a source of wealth generation. By examining both the symbolic (field of culture) and economic (field of power) this study aims to understand the social role designers occupy. Their actions contribute to collective sense of belonging together, or to a ‘social aesthetics’ (Shields, 2002). Studying how they manipulate shared symbolic meanings is relevant to understanding how designers reveal and obscure power by creating objects which represent something of the ‘sensibilities of man (sic.) as the maker’ (Mills, 1963).

To summarise, this introduction has suggested this research will achieve the following. First, it contributes an understanding, based on rich empirical research, of how

individuals directing small design businesses contribute to economic competitiveness. If design thinking is vital to the metabolism of contemporary production then management researchers must find ways of developing vocabularies (Denzin, 2003) for understanding how design knowledge is created, circulated and enmeshed with contemporary work and organization. This present study contributes to this aim by offering representations of how a small sub-set of individuals engaged in entrepreneurial activity interpret the organisation of design reflexivity in action.

This research takes small steps towards the goal of co-authoring understanding about the relevance of design knowledge to contemporary work and organisation. The architecture of cultural enterprise is offered as a tool to encourage mutual reflection about the value of design by considering how it is articulated, emplaced and entangled. An ethnographic approach is validated as a means of exploring what architects' plans and abstractions reflect about contemporary designs for creating wealth and humanising somatic experience. The aim of this research is to encourage other researchers to engage with design reflexivity and cultural enterprise and is therefore an appeal for a 'critical cosmopolitanism' (Rabinow, 1986). Returning to Ruskin's quote at the start of this introduction, both literally and figuratively, architecture although not solely contained, as in Ruskin's definition to ecclesiastic design, is culturally, economically and socially significant. The outpourings of design reflexivity, and representations thereof, deposit artefacts of cosmopoiesis or world making (Fracari, 2008). As these sediment into layers of cultural memory the collective endeavour of this 'enterprise of work building' (Berger and Luckmann, 1967) provides a record from which the contemporary articulation, emplacement and entanglement of the 'will to architecture' in the early 21st century will be evaluated, or to restate Ruskin's claim, what contemporary cultural enterprise says about our designs for 'mental health, power and pleasure'.

Chapter One

Situating Cultural Enterprise within Design Reflexive Capitalist Production

This chapter explores how issues of creativity, cultural enterprise and design thinking so as to situate design reflexivity (i.e., thinking about design) in the context of recent economic policy commentaries; social theories about contemporary capitalist production and the historical tradition of cultural sociology.

Making Creativity and Design a Public Issue

‘In today’s global economy...it is the power of a country’s creativity, the power of ideas and innovation, of creativity and design adding value that will make the difference between economic success and economic failure’ (Gordon Brown, Chancellor of the Exchequer. *DesigningDemand*, 2007).

Creativity and demand have recently been emphasized in discussions about the future economic competitiveness of the UK. Commentating on the extent to which this has occurred Bilton claimed creativity has become a ‘promiscuous prefix’ (2007). Whilst Osborne went further, suggesting academics risk philistinism to create a position ‘against creativity’ (2003). The quote above is typical of the object of their critique. It enjoins creativity with an economic context which is driven by design, ideas, innovation and globalisation. The aim in this chapter is to extend an initial interest in Richard Florida’s work and policy research both of which argued creativity should be foregrounded in economic policies.

Florida became synonymous with debates over creativity in his economic sociology of the ‘social structure of creativity’. His ‘popular’ books have categorized as ‘normalizing’ (Neff et.al.2005) the centrality of creativity to economy and society due to the rise of the creative class (Florida, 2004, 2005) clustered in ‘creative cities’. His claim was based on statistics and

composite indexes which measured the 'creativity' of certain locations. Initially this focused on US cities, but was later applied to rank nations according to the proportion of creative class present in a working population (2004).

Florida's privileging of creativity was premised on the significance he attached to the occupations of a creative class as the catalyst for recent economic development. This group was defined using existent occupational categories but was not a proxy for 'cultural' producers. Florida later explained he never intended the creative class to refer exclusively to cultural producers (2005). Instead his 'creative' type referred to post-industrial knowledge workers (Bell, 1976) and 'symbol analysts' (Reich, 1991). When Florida discussed the '3Ts' (e.g., Technology, Talent and Tolerance) he was primarily referring to a 'social structure of creativity' that encourages post-industrial knowledge intensive economic production in its broadest sense.

Florida's analysis is ethnocentric in its empirical material and intent. His arguments are US centric in recommendations for economic governance, social tolerance (e.g., gender, sexuality and race), immigration and foreign policy. Florida equated the social structure of creativity with the 'totemic' (Armstrong, 2005) image of West Coast high-tech industry. Although on occasion he suggested 'creativity is not a panacea for all society's ills' (2002) he promoted the image of the 'bobo' entrepreneurial type (i.e., bohemian-bourgeoisie, Brookes, 2000) as operating a magic hand of creativity that will work for the betterment of all. His research raised interest in creativity and the spatial factors associated with fostering the social structures in which the creative class could be nurtured. His analysis was rooted in statistical abstraction and silenced the stories of creative class types which he claimed have told the story of their rise to prominence. He stated composite indices were of greater value for drawing attention to this social group. (2002). His omission of individual stories of the creative class created a gap for capturing detailed insights into the ambiguities and struggles of such an affiliation. Florida's normative assertions leave him open to being a 'sunshine moralist' (Mills, 1959, p78).

The lacunae caused by the silencing of voices of the creators of ‘creative capital’ helped frame this research. Florida never developed the notion of creative capital preferring to couple it to Putnam’s use of social capital, Inglehart’s surveys of shifts in world morals (2000) and Brookes’ notion of ‘bobos’ (2000). This research is indebted to Florida for raising the importance of the role of creativity within contemporary capitalist production. However, unlike Florida who included a wide range of industrial sectors under creative production (e.g., software engineering, bio-chemistry, law, and pharmaceuticals) this research focuses on cultural production. This is because the cultural industries have, at least in the UK, been privileged as a key economic sector in policy discourse.

A UK equivalent to Richard Florida is Charles Leadbeater. Journalist, author and policy researcher he produced two books in the late 1990s which emphasised the importance of creativity. *Living on Fresh Air* (1999) was closely linked with then Prime Minister Tony Blair as was his report for Demos, a policy think tank. Leadbeater argued the UK’s economic competitiveness was doomed if it remained wedded to outmoded Victorian infrastructure and values. He proposed a wholesale re-modernisation of public health, education and an underlying ‘manufacturing logic’. He identified portfolio workers in the cultural industries as the entrepreneurial model for employment in the knowledge intensive new economy.

In ‘*The Independents: Britain’s New Cultural Entrepreneurs*’, co-authored with Kate Oakley (1998), Leadbeater interviewed star cultural entrepreneurs drawing attention to the high growth interactive media and computer software sectors. The report established several images of ‘culture entrepreneurs’ as informal, dressed down, ICT knowledge rich and media savvy; capable of sensing minute ripples in popular culture and technology. Like Florida, Leadbeater noted how these individuals were drawn to deprived areas and became a catalyst for urban regeneration. The cultural industries were also promoted as employment and wealth creators due to the generation of intellectual property with high export value. The term ‘Independents’ became shorthand for

privileging the contribution made by small scale entrepreneurs in the cultural industries.

Leadbeater's ideas were latterly challenged by academics as 'journalistic' (McRobbie, 2002) and a conduit for the 'importation of (US) neo-liberalism' into Labour policy (Armstrong, 2005).

Leadbeater's contribution occurred as other publications promoted the role of creativity and entrepreneurship. These included reports from the Creative Industries Task Force, Rt. Hon. Chris Smith (1998) and the Department for Media, Culture and Sport (DCMS) (2001). These reports shifted political interest away from the Conservative party's association of culture with heritage and museums towards the opportunity/threat of global competition and the possibilities of new media technologies. The cultural sub-sectors were re-categorized as 'the creative industries'. In two mapping documents the DCMS (1998, 2001) created a definition of the creative industries which comprised of 13 sub-sectors³. These were ranked according to their relative economic contribution (i.e., employment and revenues). The headline claim was that the creative industries grew 2-3 times the UK's annual GDP. Amidst fears the UK was becoming a slow growth economy, the creative industries offered a beacon of high growth potential.

The DCMS defined the creative industries as follows:

'Those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property.' (DCMS, 2001, p3).

The initial DCMS efforts have continued via update reports on the creative economy (DCMS, 2008) and other organizations such as; the Design Council (2007), the Work Foundation (2007), NESTA (2008) and the Department for Trade and Investment (DTi). The latter published the *Cox Review of Creativity* (2005) which argued design was the missing element in the UK's economic future. It advocated for a closer alignment between creativity and design defining the latter as follows;

³ advertising, architecture, arts and antiques, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, performing arts, publishing, software, TV and radio.

‘Design is what links creativity and innovation. It shapes ideas to become practical and attractive propositions for users and customers...Design may be described as creativity deployed to a specific end.’ (2005, p2).

The above has illustrated how creativity and design became more prominent in political discourse. Acknowledging this is significant as they have partially shaped the ‘relational setting’ (Somers, 1994) in which this research was conceived and conducted. From Florida this research has adopted the notion that the ‘social structure of creativity’ warrants researching as it is vital to the metabolism of knowledge intensive capitalist production. However, rather than relying on statistics or privileging the spatial structures of creative production, this research builds on Florida’s term ‘creative capital’ to examine how individuals interpret their entrepreneurial activity within the design sector. Florida, Leadbeater and policy literature has been cited here to expand the context in which accounts about the creative industries occur, or are part of the contemporary ‘relational setting’. This chapter now explores sociological theories of cultural production so as to begin a more rigorous study of the processes involved in design intensive production.

Cultural Sociology, Mixtures and Intra-Field Boundary Investments

Although allegedly languishing in ‘semi-obscurity’ (Jones, 2007, p77), at least in cultural studies, the theories of ‘dull of Raymond’ (ibid, p77) (Williams) remain useful to understanding the sociology of culture. Williams is still relevant to the study of creativity, upon which he wrote;

‘No word in English carries a more consistently positive reference than ‘creative’, and obviously we should be glad of this, when we think of the values it seeks to express and the activities it offers to describe. Yet, clearly, the very width of the reference involves not only difficulties of meaning, but also, through habit, a kind of unthinking repetition, which at times make the word seem meaningless’ (1967, p3).

This quote is a reminder of how precise sociological terminology aids in avoiding ‘unthinking repetition’. Williams advised that the sociology of culture should, for analytical purposes,

separate the manifestly 'cultural' from other spheres of signifying activity. Adopting a chemical metaphor Williams acknowledged that culture was fundamental to any social totality, but within any social organisation specific types of cultural activity could be studied as they were 'mixed' with other signifying systems to create new 'solutions' (1981). Jenkins (2003) argued a sociological study should distinguish between culture (with a small c) and Culture (with a capital C) so as to indicate the analytical separation necessary for analytical purchase over certain forms of cultural organisation.

Analytically separated 'culture' is definable as a qualitatively different 'realized symbolic system' (1981). Williams identified certain cultural practices as demanded the application of specialized aesthetic knowledge divested into giving specific meanings to specific objects. The logic of this separation was premised on the claim that it enabled sociological analysis of 'manifestly cultural' forms as an exaggeration of general cultural understanding, or a 'structure of feeling' present within an historical moment. This separation is retained in this study as evidence of what is, at least in theory, a 'personal organization' of 'culture'. However, Williams' reliance on elite forms, (e.g., poetry, art and literature), has led some to criticize his approach as biased towards 'literary criticism' (Jones, 2007).

Williams remains relevant since his claims for the sociology of culture help define, in the most general sense, the area of social activity this study is focused on. In *Keywords* (1976) Williams defined the sociology of culture as distinct from the biological, anthropological and philosophical definitions of culture. The sociology of culture he argued should focus on the 'repertoires of cultural forms' specific to a historical period. These were shared in that they become the means through which social experience is 'communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored' (1976, p13). And are specific to the 'particular living result of all the elements in the general organization' (Williams, 1969, p48) of a social totality.

This research maintains that Williams' analytical separation of a cultural sphere is useful for 'cultural sociological thinking' (Inglis, 2007). The empirical instances of entrepreneurial activity that will be represented later in this study are theorized as examples of mixtures of 'culture' which reflect an historically contingent 'social character' (Williams, 1981). Design reflexivity is conceptualized as the organization of abstraction and planning so as to affect 'the deep community that makes communication possible' (1967, p48). Entrepreneurial activity in the design sector is conceptualised as a 'reaching out of the mind' (Williams, 1967, p71) occurring alongside, yet distinct (analytically) from other outpourings in industry, engineering and politics. As Williams stated:

'Thus the social organization of culture as a realized signifying system is embedded in a whole range of activities, relations and institutions, of which only some are manifestly 'cultural'.' (Williams, 1981, p208).

Design reflexivity is theorized as one type of 'cultural' mixing which creates new solutions that affect shared understanding, or cultural repertoires within the social totality. Design related activities encompass both the cultural sphere and other signifying systems, including the economic via entrepreneurial activities. This research adopts Williams' sociology of culture so as to study how 'culture' is mixed within historically contingent repertoires, a process referred to as the architecture of cultural enterprise. The challenge is to conduct an empirical study of how individuals interpret practices involved in creating and maintaining contexts for mixtures of cultural and economic practices. Instances of how individuals organise such mixtures will be the subject of the representations in Chapters 4-7. These chapters will show how, through entrepreneurial activities, cultural entrepreneurs intensify the experience of 'what links us, constrains us, holds us, and what we love, what binds us, that of which we are a part' (Hennion, 2007, p109).

Useful as this general conception of 'culture' is, as Hesmondhalgh (2003) noted, Williams' approach outdated and over ambitious. His plan was an ideal that is unrealistic for

individuals attempting to conduct a sociological study of culture. To account for the interrelationships linking the organization of the circulation, communication and consumption of culture academic specialization has led organizational studies, media studies, sociology, cultural studies and communication studies (2003) to sub-divide the study of cultural organisation. This research will depart from Williams' general notion of mixtures and turn to Bourdieu's theory of fields and capital. Bourdieu's 'economic heuristic' (Lash, 1993) will be used throughout this research. In this chapter his logic of practice will be drawn to introduce his lexicon and to situate the role of the cultural entrepreneur in the organisation of cultural production.

Bourdieu's theory will be used to suggest that cultural enterprise is a practice which involves investing in two species of capital. These are symbolic capital from the 'field of culture' and economic capital from the 'field of power'. What this study develops is a finer appreciation of the positioning struggles individuals engage in through a dual investment to accumulate symbolic and cultural capital through 'position taking'. Whilst Bourdieu's logic of practice will be explained in detail later in this study, for now it is claimed the architecture of cultural enterprise can be theorised as a struggle to gain 'access to exchange' (Bourdieu, 2005b) mixtures of 'culture' on the market. The act of creating and maintaining organisational contexts via entrepreneurial activity is therefore proposed as requiring an inter-field exchange in and between the field of culture and the field of power.

Whilst there are of course many differences between Williams and Bourdieu (Garhnam, 1986, Hesmondhalgh, 2006) the important claim here is that both argued for the need to separate 'culture' in sociological analysis to avoid 'unthinking repetition' associated with the term 'creativity'. The next section now turns to recent social theories that suggest why design is central to contemporary capitalist production.

Knowing Capitalism: Future Making through Design Intensive Production

'No one can predict the future, but we are under more pressure to try to prepare for the future than ever before. The world of work is changing more rapidly than at any other time in our history. Private, public, and third sector organizations are experiencing shifts that make the business models that have worked for decades untenable. The pressure and pace of change feels unrelenting and very few of us truly understand how to adapt. The organizations of today are expected to be flexible and agile. They must react to unexpected developments and opportunities in the present, while also meeting the whole range of needs presented by partners, customers, wider stakeholders and, of course, their own employees... Handling uncertainty and taking risks are acknowledged attributes of entrepreneurs, but not currently of established organizations. This needs to change. Management amid constant change has become an essential skill. Finding the correct balance between controlling employees and intellectual property, and creating a people-focused, flexible organization lies at the heart of the challenge organizations face.'

(*Orange Future Enterprise Coalition*, Henley Centre, 2006, p1).

The above quote highlights the importance of future making to contemporary economic activity. Even though the quote is taken from a futurist consulting coalition it is suggestive of several interrelated changes social theorists have also attributed to contemporary capitalist production. As this section will suggest a tempo-spatial shift has been theorised to be occurring, thus requiring a re-organisation of capitalist production. The quote is a normalised account of these changes which include the obsolescence of 'decades' old business models, rise of entrepreneurial organisations, intangible assets (IPR) and flexibility. What this suggests is a new image of organization (Morgan, 1984) which is capable of adapting to endemic uncertainty and greater risk taking. As discussed in the previous section above the emphasis is placed on knowledge intensive production and acceleration towards '*more* pressure to prepare for the future'; and that 'the world of work is changing *more* rapidly than any other time'.

Similarly social theorists have argued capitalist production has become disorganized (Lash and Urry, 1994, Urry, 1990); unruly (Thrift, 2005) and complex (Urry, 2005). In management texts, such as Roberts (2004), it is further claimed that firms must adapt to decades

of downsizing, ICT, rise of futures markets and globalization. As Roberts claimed, managers must today 'increase the speed of decision making and to tap into the knowledge of their employees in ways that had not been tried before' (2004, p2). For Roberts management is a 'design problem' (2004, p13) and managers must transform into 'organizational designers' (2004) capable of good design, or a form of 'architecture' (ibid) which links strategy, roles, cultures, and environment. As he stated:

'The role of the designer is to shape the relatively inert elements of the organization, like the culture, that will exert a persistent effect on the strategic and organizational choices that are made by people in the firm; and to design a set of processes that will allow them to make good decisions. The designer should also set broad strategic intent to inform and shape the dispersed decision making. Finally the design must adapt the strategic intent and the controlled elements of the organization over time.' (2004, p28)

Robert's designer-manager must create an organisational architecture capable of 'affecting performance' (2004, p34). He stresses temporal factors such as 'flexibility, speed and economies of scope' (ibid) because of short production runs, continuous product improvements, broad product ranges and targeted specialist markets. The challenge of contemporary management is creating environments in which skilled knowledge workers create knowledge by combining self-regulation and cross-functional collaboration. Ultimately this activity is designed to create an organisational architecture that is more responsive to extensive communications with customers, which is required to engender trust (2004, p49). Roberts contrasts this with the manufacturing logic of 'interchangeable parts and economies of scale', claiming turbulent capitalism gives no rewards to the owners of machinery, mass marketing, low skilled workforces, volume, static optimisation, high inventories or limited communication with customers.

If there are similarities between Roberts claims and the Orange Futures report this could be attributed to what Thrift called the 'cultural circuit of capital' (2005). This refers to the growth in a layer of reflexive knowledge, or knowledge about business and management. Thrift attributes this 'knowing capitalism' to markets for business knowledge circulated via business schools,

consultants and business journalism. Urry referred to this as the emergence of a 'complex structure of feeling' (Urry, 2005) and argued that capitalist production was becoming 'more' complex as a result of the focus on knowledge production. The 'circuit model of capital' refers to a web of interrelated knowledge production sites, each contributing to the management of complexity due to the turbulence of contemporary business. Bourdieu took a more critical line against business knowledge claiming it blurred the lines between autonomous intellectual craft (the field of culture) and practical knowledge (the field of power). He claimed knowledge creation in the business school was 'instituted cynicism' and compared business school professors to 16th century Jurists who by describing the state legitimised the rise of state bureaucracy (2005b) and their position within the new state apparatus.

This section does not seek to debate the efficacies of whether issues such as creativity, innovation and future making are fashions (Sturdy, 2004) that require debunking (Abrahamson, 1996) or a 'critical management studies' which is against management (Parker, 2002) or against enterprise (du Gay, 2004). Instead, it draws attention to how certain theorists create an image of organisation in which 'business as usual' is defined as catching up with a tempo-spatial shift. Future making is fore-grounded due to accelerated temporality and expanded spatiality in contemporary capitalist production and consumption. Contemporary business is therefore theorised as requiring designs for the reflexive construction of knowledge about the conditions of business.

The relevance of theories espousing a tempo-spatial shift to this research is two fold. First, the alleged increased rhythmic intensity of contemporary capitalism is attributed to an increased demand for expert knowledge to the supply of ideas, innovations and novelties. Knowledge about design is conceived as one such source of reflexive knowledge. Second, the plethora of new or enhanced informational surfaces (Liu, 2004) or 'architectextures' (Bruno, 2007), (e.g., the Internet, digital TV/Radio, computer games consoles and mobile devices) related

to mass personal digital technology have created opportunities for new mixtures of 'culture' and those individuals able to organise new media languages and affect. The question this raises is how individuals account for channelling their agency within these structural shifts by creating architectures of cultural enterprise. In other words how they develop competencies at organising conditions for producing knowledge about design and direct this productive activity towards the new techniques and spaces of circulation and consumption (Liu, 2004, Lee and LiPuma, 2002).

Theories of tempo-spatial change are relevant as they have a bearing on the conditions within which what is considered reasonable economic activity is received, legitimized and contested. In order to study how design reflexivity becomes relevant for contemporary calculativeness, or economic 'framing' (Callon, 1998), it must be explored without reducing the participants in this research through rational actor theory or other decontextualised and trans-historical explanations. It is claimed therefore that knowledge intensive production is currently privileging those individuals, entrepreneurial firms and incumbents which supply future making. The demand for services and products which assist in the search for self-identity, such as those produced within the creative industries, are considered increasingly valuable as they channel a mixing of 'culture' with economic reasonableness (not rationality). It is argued that design is valuable because it assists in contemporary framing of objects and to a continuous 'process of configuration' (Callon, 1998, p22) which is contingent upon historical situation and technical knowledge legitimised at this time.

Callon et.al (2002) argued knowledge that design is vital in an 'economy of qualities' because it contributes to how the value of a product or service is calculated. Design is not the only reflexive knowledge, as there is also science, technology and engineering. Design is noted as central to a 'qualification-requalification' process. Thrift summarised this as one in which 'products (are) always in process' (Thrift, 2005). Rather than conceptualizing production as resulting in 'finished' objects, Callon et.al agree the 'quality' of contemporary products is only

understandable in relation to a 'constellation of characteristics' (Callon, et.al.2003, p199) forever in flux.

Callon et.al. argued this process involved two simultaneous moves; first the 'creative' challenge to establish deep affective connections with consumers; second ensuring these relations can be severed so as to insert new products and services without endangering an overall emotional connectivity to a brand. Given the complexity of managing this process it is argued that it is unlikely any single producer could control it alone. Instead expert knowledge is required to curate brand relationships through a system of competitive and collaborative links with other brands. By connecting to this nexus of relations, brands work by 'acting on the collective in which consumers are immersed' (Callon et.al. 2002, p206). This argument brings in Gadrey's (2000) notion of 'relational services' or expert services that supply a 'change of condition' of other organisations. Given the importance placed on attributing identities, or colonising the future, it follows that such services have become valued in affecting change in the relations entangling consumers and producers Callon's argument the economy of qualities is comprised of 'relational service' is organised as follows.

'Consumption becomes both more rational (not that the consumer is more rational but because (distributed) cognition devices become infinitely richer, more sophisticated and reflexive) and more emotional (consumers are constantly referred to the construction of their social identity since their choices and preferences become objects of deliberation: the distinction of products and social distinction are part of the same movement). As for suppliers, one of their main concerns is to facilitate and organize their own advantage in this process of (re)qualification.' (2002, p212).

The last sentence highlights the need to 'facilitate and organize' the conditions of (re) qualification. The suggestion is that contemporary capitalist production is becoming more reliant on facilitating the conditions which produce a certain type of creativity (i.e., that which creates new knowledge about capitalism). This is entirely congruent with a number of recent management theorists who stress the importance of 'ideation', 'entrepreneurship' and 'innovation'.

One example is the notion of 'situated learning' or 'Communities of Practice' (Lave and Wenger, 1991, Wenger, 1999, Wenger and Synder, 2001) that encourages informal learning and the sharing of tacit knowledge. This is considered essential for creativity and collaboration as it produces shared social bonds (i.e., community, trust) and 'deeper' involvement in a task to the extent that individuals undergo an identity change. This process is compared to apprenticeship and various anthropological examples of how community belonging can be applied to encouraging employees into becoming other, through an alignment with the goals of an organizational culture. Clearly such ideas have relevance to attempts to build 'learning organizations' (Schein, 1992) and organizational cultures designed to normalize certain (knowledge intensive) behaviours (Kunda, 1992) and even as models of excellence (Peters and Waterman, 1982) and identity regulation (Alvesson and Willmott 2002). The importance of these theories is how they stress the importance of 'architectures of knowledge' (Cohendet and Amin, 2004) or ways of organising connections between informal (tacit) encounters and formal (codified) rules.

The cultural industries are often drawn to develop theories about contemporary organisational practices. Hirsch (1973) was among the early organisational sociologists to study cultural production as organising against and within business sectors in which endemic uncertainty was the norm. Bilton has more recently argued the cultural industries 'ad hoc' strategies (2002) are indicative of management in all sectors must adjust to rapidly changing tastes, new technologies, limited capital reserves and high competition; challenges which are being portrayed as the norm in the cultural industries (Bilton, 2007). The cultural industries have therefore been presented as relying on self-managing individuals competent at temporally aligning their personal goals with project teams and therefore organising without the need for bureaucratic hierarchies. Bilton argued the 'natural' management style in the cultural industries has always been pitched between 'chaos and order', or 'connection without consensus' (p41,

2007). Successful management in this sector has always required collaboration, trust and the facilitation of *balance* (individual cultural tastes /organizational culture and aims); a *release* (freedom verses control) and *recollection* (mechanisms for retaining creativity). Managers in this sector have always been ‘conductors and facilitators’ (2007, p153) competent at understanding production and ‘creative consumption’. He noted:

‘the real work of today’s creative media industries centres on the forms and technologies through which that content is delivered, and real creativity is needed to engage the mind of the consumer in the work of creative consumption. Creativity encompasses not only novelty, originality and product origination, but the whole process which turns ideas and content into a valuable and valued experience for customers. From this perspective the real creative work of the creative industries lies not in the origination of new content, but in the selection, filtering, delivery and interpretation of that content by consumers and their collaborators’ (2007, p156).

Creative management requires encouraging both ideation and a customer centric production that emphasizes the ‘selection, filtering, delivery and interpretation’ of content. The conditions of managing creativity in the cultural industries are therefore made relevant to all sectors through the claim that contemporary economic production requires the following:

‘(a) new economic and organizational model, characterized by self-employment, autonomy and flexibility, a highly skilled workforce of highly motivated freelance individuals, clustered into communities and networks of specialist knowledge and expertise’ (2007, p173).

A similar conclusion was developed by Davis and Scase who claimed that ‘meta-reflective facilitation’, as opposed to ‘authoritative direction’, was the key management innovation within the cultural industries. They claimed these industries were exemplary due to the high value placed on ‘personal autonomy (independence)’; ‘nonconformist ways (displaying divergent thinking, unorthodox ways of doing things)’ and attracting individuals that thrived on ‘indeterminacy (the ambiguities, unpredictability and the uncertainties of their creative ideas)’ (2000, pviii).

A line can be traced between claims of a generally turbulent capitalism and the cultural industries ‘natural’ advantage in such an environment. Bilton’s ‘conductors and facilitators’ in

the cultural industries (2007) and Roberts' 'organizational designers' of 'economies of scope' (2004) share the central concern of temporal acceleration and need to design architectures conducive to organising trust and novel ideas. This era of unruly capitalism comes complete with smart and creative space or environments that appeal to 'fast subjects' in high-tech knowledge work (Thrift, 2005, 2006). The new architecture of organisation and organisations (i.e., Etzioni, 1964, Dale and Burrell, 2008) includes the 'campus' style learning environments that many authors have claimed appeal to the knowledge intensive production (Florida, 2002, Kunda, 1992, Liu, 2004, Ross, 2003, Thrift, 2005).

Another central element in the organisational practices associated with the cultural industries is place. As Pratt explained this is the appeal of 'cool' places and 'hot jobs' (1999). A larger number of studies has emerged exploring the relationship between cultural industry and place in general (Landry, 1999, Florida, 2003, Scott, 2006) and specific locations. Grabher for instance researched the formation of 'project ecologies', in (London) Soho's advertising industry (2001, 2004). He argued success in the cultural sector was highly dependent on place because of the social embeddedness that encourages a high degree of informality, mitigates risk and encourages cross-fertilization of ideas. Wittel made similar observations of the network sociality (2001) he observed in London's new media circles where individuals aligned themselves to a shared community of creatives rather than to individual firms.

Other studies that stressed the importance of place to cultural industries tend to focus on the issue of clustering. Building on economic geography associated with 'associational economies' (Cooke and Morgan, 1998) and agglomerations (Marshall, *ibid*), clusters are not only a means of organising the sharing of ideas but also for achieving cost savings. Examples of studies of creative clusters include Manchester's Northern Quarter (Raffo et.al 2000), the 'fashion cluster' in Nottingham's lace market (Crewe, 1996) and fashion markets in London (McRobbie, 1997), as well as international studies of Hong Kong (Wang, 2004), San Francisco (Pratt, 2001)

and St Petersburg (O'Connor, 2004). Interesting as these studies are, they leave open the question of how individuals engaged in cultural production account for how certain types of 'reflexive knowledge' (i.e., design reflexivity) is considered symbolically novel and economically reasonable. To understand why design reflexivity is vital to the organisation of contemporary work and organisation it is helpful to consider theories of reflexivity.

Beck, Giddens and Lash each argued, with different emphasis, that reflexivity is the defining condition of late modernity. They argued that individuals have developed greater self-awareness as a result of structural changes associated with globalization, individualisation and de-traditionalization. Under such conditions individuals have become disembedded, or sequestered (Giddens, 1991) from experiencing their self in a 'traditional' social organization. In this deterritorialized state they become increasingly (reflexively) aware at an ontological level of the contingency of modern life. The reason this is central to this research is that reflexivity is associated with a temporal shift. These authors argued traditional societies were more strongly organized around shared time, perception, ritual and repetition. Late modernity is theorised as reliant on knowledge about knowledge that acts from afar. This means individuals are faced with 'no choice but to choose how to be and how to act' (Beck, Giddens and Lash, 1994, p75).

Reflexivity is defined as a de-coupling of social relations from traditionally embedded associations (e.g., location, institutions, temporal relations) by an increased reliance upon abstract authority. Expert knowledge, everything from environmental science to self-development courses, serves to stretch the temporal-spatial positioning and experience of self. As the authors claimed:

'Tradition is about the organization of time and therefore space; so too is globalization, save that the one runs counter to the other. Whereas tradition controls space through its control of time, with globalization it is the other way around. Globalization is essentially 'action at distance' absence predominates over presence, not in the sedimentation of time, but because of the restructuring of space (Beck, Giddens and Lash, 1994, p96).

In *Modernity and Self-Identity* (1991) Giddens drew specific attention to this accelerated experience of time. He suggested:

‘...modern social life is characterized by a profound process of the reorganization of time and space, coupled to the expansion of disembedding mechanisms which prise social relations free from the hold of specific locales, recombining them across wide time-space distances. The reorganisation of time and space, plus the disembedding mechanisms, radicalise and globalise pre-established institutional traits of modernity; and they act to transform the content and nature of day-to-day social life’ (1991, p3).

To achieve ‘ontological security’ individuals must learn to ‘bracket off’ their self-identity from ‘disembedding mechanisms’ through ‘reflexively organized life-planning’ (1991, p6). Giddens argued the enjoining of individual biography with shared culture was increasingly disrupted by stretched tempo-spatial scales. Distant events could have greater resonance in local sense-making, and the massive proliferation of mass media means individuals experience the world as a collage. In the search for self-identity individuals turn to the ‘lifestyle sector’, which becomes a milieu through which individuals are continuously reflexively assembling their auto-biographies.

The importance of Giddens’ theory of reflexivity is that it provides a means of theorizing the importance of knowledge about design as an expert knowledge that affects how the self is experienced as ontologically secure/insecure. In Giddens’ lexicon, design contributes to the ‘colonization of the future’ and to ‘future making’. This is not suggesting design reflexivity is the only or the most important type of expert knowledge. It coexists along with increased surveillance of personal risk, (e.g., disease, hygiene, terrorism, environmental pollution) and institutionalized risk-assessment (e.g., global stock markets, therapy clinics). Although Giddens did not focus on design, this research applies his notion of how expert knowledge affects ontological security by claiming knowledge about design is valuable when applied to the future making of identity. These can be individuals, organisations, cities (e.g., place marketing), nations and so forth.

Beck’s argument, whilst remarkably similar to Giddens (McRobbie, 1994), is also useful as it draws a connection between reflexivity and the flexibilisation of labour. Beck’s notion of the

Brazilianification of work attracted interest from those claiming cultural work involves a higher degree of self awareness of the precariousness of one's chosen line of work (McRobbie, 2002). Although as Banks noted (2006) McRobbie overstates the 'corrosive' (Sennett, 1999) aspect of modern work and neglects the potential of individuals experiencing work as empowering (Webb, 2004, Banks, 2006). What is significant is how sociologists tend to agree that the cultural industries are premised on a continuous self-reflexive awareness of the conditions of one's work. Nixon (2003, 2006), for example, made similar claims based on his observations of how employees in the advertising industry, many of whom lack clearly defined professional roles rely on precarious differences to achieve a sense of belonging and value.

Examples of how individuals manage precariousness include the conspicuous display of branded clothes and sub-genres of underground music. Nixon interpreted these as displays of 'narcissism of minor differences' (2004). These were verbal and non-verbal displays of shifts in popular taste (i.e., relevant to the job) and helped to prove the value of one's labour as 'cool'. Ross (2003) too made similar observations in his ethnography of a new media company. He noted how individuals would often bring their 'outside' interests (e.g., acting, making music, burlesque) into work as a means of displaying cultural understanding and economic value. All these performances are evidence of what Liu called the struggle to maintain an 'insider-outsider' (Liu, 2004) status as counter-cultural and wealth generator. Illuminating as these studies are they are less relevant to this study as they address issues of employment, as opposed the entrepreneurial activity.

Another element of reflexivity is 'aesthetic reflexivity' (Lash and Urry, 1994). This refers to how the products and services of the cultural industries are integral to the economy of signs and symbols. By 'sign' the authors referred to manipulation of the semiotic or mythical value (Barthes, 1959) of goods. In other words how goods are increasingly valued according to their atmospheric or symbolic qualities, rather than use or exchange value (Baudrillard, 1996).

Aesthetic reflexivity refers to claim that capitalism has shifted to post-Fordism where production is orientated to 'life goods' that provide 'moral sources of the contemporary self' (1994, p55). Under these conditions successful capitalist production becomes characterised by its capacity to harness 'design intensity' (Lash and Urry, 1994).

Success in the economy of signs and symbols is attributed to cultivating 'hermeneutic sensibility', or the ability to sense 'semiotic needs' and provide individuals with 'reflexive objects' for their identity construction. Enterprises that exploit aesthetic reflexivity are those which create a 'semiotic achievement' (Lash and Urry, 1994, p137) through branded 'mobile objects' suited to circulation in the spaces of flow opened by ICT and new media. Competitive advantage is therefore dependent on the ability to continuously 're-subjectivise space' with symbolic goods (ibid).

Lash and Urry's analysis is dependent upon a number of epochalist claims, for which they have been criticized (McFall, 2004, Du Gay, 2004, Du Gay and Pyrke, 2002, Miller, 2002). The key objection relevant to this argument is how they overstate the influence of aesthetic reflexivity to *all* sectors and *all* consumption. Their 'differencing' of all traditional boundaries between production and consumption is typical of post-modern accounts (Mouzelis, 1995) which emphasise the relevance of sign value (see also Baudrillard, 1996, Debord, 1969, Featherstone, 1987); and consumption above all other social activity (Bauman, 2000, 2005). Their notion of aesthetic reflexivity has also been criticized as failing to address a specifically aesthetic quality and for differing little from the cognitive reflexivity of Giddens or Beck (Warde, 2003).

The cultural industries are canonized by some as *the* model for contemporary production (Virno, 2004). This claim is not adopted here, although claims about the importance of aesthetic reflexive knowledge (including knowledge about design) are seen as integral to the organisation of contemporary capitalist production. This section turns to two specific instances where design reflexivity is heightened; first the exploitation of digital convergence and second branding.

Network Technology: Affecting the Interface

The importance of networked technologies for this study lies in the convergence of digital content creation, circulation and consumption. This section does not how follow Florida (2002) who ascribed a cultural aspect to all information work professions and instances of entrepreneurship. It does however claim that relatively new digital cultural forms (e.g., computer games, pervasive mobile computing, website content and so forth) have created a sub-field into which those with relevant interface expertises can channel design reflexivity into ‘organizational creativity’ (Hjorth, 2004) or the organisation of affective interfaces into and of ‘new’ ‘medial forms’ (Fuller, 2005).

As Liu suggested, a great amount of entrepreneurial activity has occurred in the past decade as individuals harnessed the ‘languages of new media’ (e.g., Flash, PHP, Html) (Manovich, 2001) to process digital audio, film, photography and contribute additional layers to the ‘informed’ services economy (2004). This activity has become valuable as it creates expanded product ranges (e.g., DVDs, short Digital Video films, MP3s, MPEG videos streamed from web servers etc). And it provides an opportunity for new relational services capable of bringing about a ‘change in condition’ by linking producers to consumers via networked technologies. The suggestion here is that part of the value of design knowledge is the ability to control the language of new media so as to affect the interfaces to the ‘culture of circulation’ that is central to contemporary capitalist production and consumption (Lee and LiPuma, 2002).

There are a number of popular accounts that have recently emerged to encourage thinking about how network technologies can be used to manage the complexity (Thackara, 2005) of contemporary design as traditional space is augmented with network infrastructures and objects capable of co-existing in both offline online temporal zones, or ‘the technoscape’ (e.g., RFID tags) (Sterling, 2005). Other accounts include those overlaps between business schools and design school thinking, as in the rise of Human Computer Interaction (Moggridge, 2006) and design

management education (Dunne and Martin, 2006). Thrift summarized the importance of these shifts as indicative of how space is no longer a background but has become part of the foreground as networked technology makes spaces 'more' intelligent because they are amenable to greater levels of manipulation (2006b). Such change must not be over privileged to the point where it becomes deterministic and epochalist (McFall, 2002, Du Gay, 2004). Instead the emphasis should remain on understanding how network technologies become relevant within the context of work and organization (Castlillo, 1999, Watson, 2003).

If there is nothing essentially epochalist about the affects of networked technology then its relevance to this study is through an intensification of opportunities for those able to organise the development and use of networked technology. This is tied to the wider opening up of ICT infrastructures following deregulation and attempts to create wealth by harnessing the convergence of media, computing and telecommunications (Drucker, 1985). The result, as Castells explained, has been the emergence, in the 1990s of 'networked enterprises' and a new 'cultural code' which he defined as:

'made of many cultures, many values, many projects, that cross through the minds and inform the strategies of the various participants in the networks, changing at the same pace as the network's members, and following the organization and cultural transformation of the units of the network. It is a culture, indeed, but a culture of the ephemeral, a culture of interests rather than a charter of rights and obligations. It is a multifaceted virtual culture, as in the visual experiences created by computers in cyberspace by rearranging reality. It is not a fantasy, it is a material force because it informs, and enforces, powerful economic decision at every moment in the life of the network. But it does not stay long; it goes into the computer's memory as raw material of past successes and failures. The network enterprise learns to live within this virtual culture. Any attempt at crystallizing the position in the network as a cultural code in a particular time and space sentences the network to obsolescence, since it becomes too rigid for the variable geometry required by informationalism. The 'spirit of informationalism' is the culture of 'creative destruction' accelerated to the speed of the optoelectronic circuits that process its signals. (1996, p199).

The 'network logic' outlined above is crucial to understanding how contemporary capitalist production has become more reliant on ICTs because it is increasingly visualized and worked within and upon as:

'a set of networks which, though they may link in many ways, form not a total system but rather a project that is permanently 'under construction'...a constantly mutating entity made up of fields or networks, which are only ever partly in its control'(1996, p3-4).

Networked technologies have created conditions in which there is an advantage for designers capable of fashioning new media tools for the production of with their own branded content or the production, circulation and consumption of other organizations' content. Design reflexivity becomes vital to the transformation of 'culture' via 'user friendly interfaces' (Liu, 2004).

Theories of networked technologies focus on the creation of new spaces and temporal relationships which enable the organisation of relational services with other organizations and consumers. These are not however utopian or free from social hierarchies and question of governance. If capitalism now 'operates less on a quantity of labour' than by a complex qualitative process to control 'ways of perceiving and feeling' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p543) then, as Barry argued, networked technologies must be understood as interfaces into 'technological zones'. He described these as being governed by various protocols.

'Technological zones take varied spatial forms which may both reinforce or cut across and subvert formal political boundaries; they may even create new ones. Their ends are in principle contestable; and due to the importance with which they are invested, they may be contested and reconfigured. They serve to prevent and to establish sites for political conflict.' (2001, p61).

Network technologies have therefore provided new surfaces (Liu, 2004) for design related enterprise. As with all social spaces these network spaces are still subject to a 'process of ordering' (Barry, 2001) and the political struggle for control and resistance (Terranova, 2003). They can be studied as another instance of the struggle to gain 'access to exchange' reasonable economic activity (Bourdieu, 2005). Barry and Slater suggested (2002) the challenge for researchers is to study empirical examples of how 'discrete transactable entities with (temporarily) stabilized properties, can be placed within a frame of calculation' (2002, p181). Given the importance of networked technologies they feature throughout Chapters 4-7 in the

representations of empirical instances in which participants interpreted their architecture of cultural enterprise. Network technologies play a role in the mixtures emerging from design reflexivity. The next section will explore how branding is also a key mechanism through which design reflexivity becomes reasonable to the organisation of contemporary capitalist production.

Brands and the Co-Construction of Value through Unfinished Social Objects

Theories of branding are discussed in this section in relation to design to illustrate how designing brands becomes central to the general cultural process through which design reflexivity is called up to maintain relationships between producers and consumers. This general presence of branded information has been popularised by Naomi Klein's *No Logo* and is a target for anti-managerialist sentiment as evidenced by the anti-branding or 'subvertising' movements (Parker, 2002). This contemporary situation is related to an intensification of the long standing relationship between design and capitalist production which can be traced to the use of Trademarks and Copyrighted information (e.g., product shapes, colours, sounds, images) which stretches to the 18th century (Lury, 2004, Arvidsson, 2006).

Recent theorists of branding draw attention to the tempo-spatial affects of branded social objects. As Lury suggested, brands have become 'unfinished objects' or:

'a set of relations between products or services while the brand is not fixed in time or space in terms of presence or absence, it is a platform for the patterning of activity, a mode of organising activities in time and space.' (Lury, 2004, p1)

Central to this is the need to organise a tempo-spatial ordering so as to create a 'dynamic unity', or set of 'affective relations between brands and consumers' (2004, p12). For Lury, as with Callon et.al (2003), the end goal of production is no longer a finished object. Instead it is the creation of an ongoing assemblage of scientific, technological, legal and economic knowledge.

The challenge for brand design is to create a 'window' or 'face' (Lury, 2004) which simplifies the

complexities of product ranges common to one brand and to emplace these relations into a broader universe of branded objects. Design knowledge is invaluable as it cuts through the semiotic noise and establishes an ‘intimacy of experience’ (Lury, 2004) between producer and consumer. As Lury suggested:

‘the brand has been a successful commercial strategy because it is produced interactively, because it is an artefact in which the dynamic qualities of relationality are managed in a process of design intensivity.’ (2004, p52)

Lury provides an expanded notion of Lash and Urry’s ‘design intensivity’ recognizing brands as an nexus of material processes (e.g., new chemical properties for product development); communication (e.g., linguistic strategies for constructing desirability, such as ‘limited editions’); performance (e.g., events marketing); networked technology (e.g., loyalty cards to capture the co-production of social co-operation in consumer spending and brand loyalty) and ‘cultural’ forces (e.g., the entangling of branded products with media celebrities, TV shows, lifestyles etc).

Arvidsson takes the notion of branding as a complex ‘co-construction’ further by drawing on Italian Autonomist Marxist theory. He claimed brands are ‘unfinished products’ because they rely on the ‘autonomous social processes’, or the vitality of a general intellect. So that:

‘brand management is mainly about managing a productive process which is *external* to the brand-owning organization and which cannot be controlled in its entirety...the reliance of autonomously produced externalities as a source of surplus value and profits – makes the brand a paradigmatic embodiment of the logic of informational capitalism’ (p5, 2006).

The ‘externality’ to which he refers is the crucial term. This extends the role of designing brands to creating conditions that pre-structure the production of (general) social relations, or culture, which are beyond the control of a single organization. Arvidsson relied on Lazzarato to explain how contemporary capitalist producers extract value by cultivating a specific subjectivity or ‘immaterial labour’ (Lazzarato, 1996). Production is no longer a question of solely what occurs within firms, it is also about how this firm seek to influence the circulation of ideas through social co-operation (1996). Hence, every time branded information is referenced (i.e., sponsored events,

or product placement in TV/Films) 'immaterial labour' is theorised as occurring. This implies brands seek to control the 'cultural repertoires' (Williams, 1981) through which social communication is made possible. Arvidsson claimed the cultural industries were central to this process, Virno (2004) also makes related points. As Arvidsson stated:

'Media Culture works as a productive infrastructure that enables the creation and reproduction of a valuable context of consumption (in excess of what is supplied by other interests, like the state apparatus). At the same time, consumers are known to use goods and Media Culture as tools to be employed in the everyday performance of identity, community, solidarity, emotional attachments and other immaterial use-values, in ways that are no longer directed by tradition or social structure in any simple or straightforward way. From the point of view of consumers, Media Culture works as a productive infrastructure that is put to work in the construction of a common social world' (2006, p35).

In this sense then design reflexivity is valuable when it combines popular cultural forms with branded information so as to create a 'productive infrastructure'. This in turn entangles a product into social relations as individuals construct their biographies as meaningful to others. As with Lash and Urry (1994), Arvidsson arguably over-privileges the power of the cultural industries in identification. However, what he does draw attention to is the interrelationship between branding and the same affective techniques used in the production of popular culture. What this requires is an empirical exploration of how individuals involved in constructing cultural enterprise account for the blurring of 'culture' and economy.

In summary, this section has argued the recent revival in theorizing about the organisation of capitalism (Kemple, 2007) has placed an emphasis on a tempo-spatial shift. There exists a homology between academic, consulting and 'native business knowledge' (Bourdieu, 2005b) which stresses the effects of deterritorialization, detraditionalization and dedifferentiation between work and non-work. The result is an acceleration and management technique that favours the design (Roberts, 2004) of conditions of continuous production of knowledge about capitalist production that is relevant to qualifying value (Callon et al. 2002). Under these

conditions it has been argued design reflexivity becomes an expert knowledge vital to the reflexive 'future making' of agents (Gadrey, 2000, Giddens, 1991, Thrift, 2005).

The suggestion is that 'business as usual' relies, at least in part upon design reflexivity, for creating novel and reasonable mixtures of 'culture'. It was suggested networked technologies and branding are two mechanisms in which 'culture' is placed within the frame of calculation in contemporary capitalist production, or the economy of qualities (Barry and Slater, 2001, Callon, 1998, Callon et.al.2002). The final section of this chapter now challenges the extent to which the changes discussed above are indicative of an epochal shift. The remainder of this chapter is therefore dedicated to arguing that knowledge about design can be historicized as a process immanent to modernity and that cultural entrepreneurs have existed since the origins of the modern organisation of capitalist production.

The Cultural Entrepreneur: Historicizing Cultural Enterprise

A very remarkable change in our ideas is taking place, a change whose rapidity seems to promise an ever greater transformation to come. Time alone will tell what will be the goal, the nature and the limits of this revolution whose shortcomings and merits will be better known to posterity than to us' (Jean D'Alembert, *Elements of Philosophy*, (cited in Cassirer, 1955).

This section argues knowledge about design has always been valued as a force within modern capitalist production. Since the Enlightenment, as Kant noted, modern thought demanded a commitment to *sapere aude* (dare to know). In his essay *What is Enlightenment?* Kant argued modern thought increased liberation and awareness of the self-responsibility that accompanies radical doubt (Foucault, 1984). The combination of natural philosophy, legal individualism, market capitalism, industrial production, urbanization and the emergence of bureaucratic state organisation relate to what Karatani, in his comparison of spatial theories in the Occident and Orient, referred to as the 'will to architecture' (1995). Slowly the 'natural' position of the clergy, nobility and ultimately the sovereign's ordained right to rule were eroded (Porter, 2001).

Modernity emerges from an architectural will, a desire to organise welfare, liberty, ownership and the productive use of materials through the possibilities of human knowledge production. Central to the Enlightenment project was the role of craftsmen and artisans who experienced new found ‘freedom’ (Williams, 1981) due to the presence of markets for their skilled labour. New material processes, technological innovations (e.g., printing press, time keeping devices); organisational techniques (e.g., division of skilled design labour); legal relationships (e.g., employment contracts) and nascent sales and marketing strategies (e.g., middle class fashionability, imitation buying) gave Artisanal labour a new mobility.

The Protestant work ethic and its ascetic is central to this re-organisation through the notion that spiritual salvation was not to be assured in some ‘other worldly’ reality but through an individual’s outpourings in this life (Weber, 2006). The moral duty and obligation to work and live a pious existence was an elective affinity that provided new opportunities for work outside regal and religious organisations. Earth bound designs became more acceptable and desirable. In Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries Artisans were able to explore a new social position or ‘subjective experience of difference’. Farr explained this as follows.

‘Social and self-definition were rooted in cultural experiences which included, but also transcended, production; these definitions were profoundly influenced by shifts in political, legal, intellectual, as well as economic developments...Artisans did not make themselves in isolation, nor were they hapless victims simply molded by forces beyond their control. They were products of their own ceaseless struggle, not just to earn a living, but to maintain rank and a sense of social place in the face of powerful, often inimical forces in their world, turning these forces to their advantage when they could, suffering fragmentation or transformation when they could not’ (2000, pp5-6).

The Artisan, to differing levels of status, joined the ranks of the architects of the modern world. Whilst their knowledge may have been denigrated to the aesthetic sphere, (Shields, 2002, MacIntyre, 1981) the origins of modern European society did place value on design thinking as a vital force in cultural, economic, social and political change. An example of how individuals with

artisanal skills inhabited the social role of cultural entrepreneur is Josiah Wedgwood – the Royal Potter.

In many respects Wedgwood is an historical archetype of what might be called the ‘image’ (Mills, 1959) of the cultural entrepreneur. His personal mastery over the materiality of craft and his ability to translate aesthetic and chemical experiments into objects considered to be fashionable proved culturally novel, socially desirable and economically reasonable. Wedgwood’s entrepreneurial activities emerged from a long process of learning (i.e., pottery apprenticeship, freelance master artisan) and entrepreneurial skills. His organization of knowledge about design fused new labour processes, sales and distribution techniques to create a globally recognized signature brand of desirable cultural commodities that captured the mood of the 18th century and sparked imitation buying (Dolan, 2004, McKendrick et.al, 1982).

In 18th century Britain a coterie of ‘Enlightenment entrepreneurs’, including Wedgwood (Dolan, 2004), competed for the symbolic consecration and economic rewards of medals provided by private charters and Royal Societies, such as The Royal Society for the Encouragement of Art, Manufactures and Commerce (RSA) which aimed to ‘embolden enterprise, enlarge science, refine arts, improve our manufactures and extend our commerce’ (RSA, 2007). It was an era of experimentation and circulation of capital and knowledge about capitalist production based on a mixing of craft, aesthetics, materials science, management knowledge, entrepreneurship and consumer identities.

A similar example is provided by DiMaggio’s account of the Boston Brahmin class of the late 19th century. These *nouveau riche* industrialists sought to legitimize their economic wealth by creating new institutions, such as the Boston Symphony Orchestra and Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Their actions were partly paternalistic to guard against the ‘promiscuous combining of genres’ (1982, p34) that characterized the city’s ‘popular’ culture. And partially contingent upon a mixture of philanthropy and entrepreneurialism emerging from the very specific milieu of a:

'densely connected self-conscious social group intensely unified by multiple ties among its members based in kinship, commerce, club life and participation in a wide range of philanthropic associations.' (1982, p45)

DiMaggio's account of cultural entrepreneurship showed how economic capital flowed from the field of power to the field of culture. The reverse flow to this process is the focus of this study, in other words how individuals mix economic and symbolic capital through their entrepreneurial mixtures. What DiMaggio's paper did highlight is how cultural entrepreneurship is historically contingent and is legitimised only by balancing economic and symbolic resources.

Moving on into the 19th century and Benjamin's observations of Parisian shopping arcades (1999) capture another example of how distinctions between 'culture' and the market were blurred. From the physical form (i.e., iron and glass) of the arcades, which reflected the industrial strength of Europe, to the adornments on the floors, walls and store fronts, Benjamin argued the phantasmagoria of the arcades was achieved since this was the route through which 'art enters into the service of the merchant' (1999, p15). Individuals entering into the arcades were transported onto another plane where cultural producers, retailers and consumers became aligned in a homologous appreciation of what he called 'connoisseur value'. The Arcades are a literal and figurative architecture which provided a 'fictional framework for the individual's life' (1999). As he noted:

'The collector is the true resident of the interior. He makes his concern the transfiguration of things. To him falls the Sisyphean task of divesting things of their commodity character by taking possession of them. But he bestows on them only connoisseur value, rather than use value. The collector dreams his way not only into a distant or bygone world but also into a better one – one in which, to be sure, human beings are no better provided with what they need than in the everyday world, but in which things are freed from the drudgery of being useful' (1999, p6).

Benjamin also noted how World Fairs also transformed design knowledge into 'engineered construction' divorcing it from its classical role of adorning the polis and coupling it with the celebration of Europe's colonial domination. Equally new technologies of seeing (MacPhee, 2002), such as photography and cinema, initially co-opted by the avant garde were soon stripped

of their 'radical' potential as they became commoditized into products (1934/1999b) such as mass publishing and reproduction (e.g., portraits and landscape prints). In the arcades, world fairs and new technologies 'culture' became converted to 'charm the fancy' (1999, p19) of the modern urban dweller.

Benjamin's contemporary Adorno took this notion of commerce as leveller of 'culture' further in his writings on the culture industry. He claimed 'culture' had become an 'interchangeable sameness' (1991, p89). By the early twentieth century culture was the manifestation of the negative dialectic of the Enlightenment. As he stated modern 'culture':

'arouses a feeling of well-being that the world is precisely in that order suggested by the culture industry, the substitute gratification which it prepares for human beings cheats them out of the same happiness which it deceitfully projects. The total effect of the culture industry is one of anti-enlightenment....It impedes the development of autonomous, independent individuals who judge and decide consciously for themselves'. (Adorno, 1991 p91-92).

Huizinga provided a similarly negative prognosis claiming popular culture was remiss of a 'play character'. Instead as 'all Europe was donning the boiler suit' (1938, p5) mass popular cultural enterprise, or 'mechanization, advertising, sensation-mongering' (p229), could lead only to 'collective voodoo and mumbo-jumbo' (Huizinga, 1938, p229). Veblen's critique of 'conspicuous consumption' (Veblen, 1899/2005), which included luxury goods, etiquette, education and domestic services, is also relevant as it reduced culture to a bourgeoisie to display of the 'non-productive consumption of time' (1899/2006, p21). He noted this created demand for a new group of 'handicraftsmen and servants' and creators of 'quasi-artistic' objects and services such as domestic music, household art, dress, furniture and other 'vogue' artifacts designed for the 'expression of the relation of status' (p25). Veblen highlighted the importance of consuming 'cultural' commodities long before theories of epochal shifts in post-war consumerism (Bocock, 1992, Gabriel and Lang, 2005).

Simmel also noted the role of cultural entrepreneurs in creating styles and fashions for expressing similitude and difference in modern urban metropolises (1902). Simmel equated these shifts with the socio-temporal shifts of modernity. To achieve a 'balancing within a multiplicity' (1908a p232) modern urban dwellers looked through and towards the 'applied arts'. These were valuable since objects could be easily combined with other 'similar' objects into styles with loosely related shared fashionability. Simmel did not make this distinction to discredit the latter. Instead he saw both art and applied arts coexisting on an 'aesthetic sphere'. He claimed both were poles of human creative ability and, as with Williams, referred to the interrelationship between art and applied arts as poles of 'infinite variety of mixtures' (1908b, p64).

Style and fashion were essential for providing a means of escape from the rational and calculative forms of life, or the 'unrelenting hardness' of 'weighing, calculating, enumerating and the reduction of qualitative values to quantitative terms' (1902, p328). For Simmel, the role of designed products and services was as part of the fabric of modern urban life and therefore created new social roles for those skilled in the arts of extending the possibilities for modern life. As he noted:

'the seller must seek to produce in the person to whom he wishes to sell ever new and unique needs. The necessity to specialize one's product in order to find a source of income which is not yet exhausted and also to specialize a function which cannot be easily supplanted is conducive to differentiation, refinement and enrichment of the needs of the public which obviously must lead to increasing personal variation' (1902, p336).

Simmel's observation of how producers required a 'sensitivity to distinctions' (Simmel, 1902) provides evidence of how the modern organisation of identity has required opportunities for individuals to compete but still feel connected to a grand game of imitation (Jenkins, 1996). Simmel pre-empted contemporary theories about how the cultural industries seek to pre-structure general conditions of culture (the road which all travel) by fetishising the new (the need for differentiation). He argued the temporal affects of modernity were evidenced through style and fashion as follows:

‘The distinctiveness which the early stages of a fashion assures, for a certain distribution, is destroyed as the fashion spreads, and as this element wanes, the fashion also is bound to die. By reason of this peculiar play between the tendency towards universal acceptance and the destruction of its very purpose to which this general adoption leads, fashion includes a peculiar attraction of limitation, the attraction of a simultaneous beginning and end, the charm of novelty coupled to that of transitoriness...Fashion always occupies the dividing line between the past and the future, and consequently conveys a stronger feeling of the present, at least while it is at its height, than most other phenomena. What we call the present is usually nothing more than a combination of a fragment of the past with a fragment of the future’ (1904, pp302-303).

Simmel captured the ‘turn to the present’ (1904, p313) or the notion that European modernity involved a ‘thickened and extended shared experience of simultaneity’ (Kern, p314). Simmel explained how the ‘radical rhythms’ of fashion expressed the ‘soul-movements’ (1904, p318) of the urban middle class and expansion of opportunities for those seeking to exploit the ‘charm of novelty’.

The notion of how style and fashion present an opportunity for productive activity is well documented in the area of cultural studies. These studies include the notion that youth cultures and alternative culture provide a space for ‘sub-cultural entrepreneurs’. This term belongs to Hebdige’s (1978) study of how punks re-appropriated the semiotic value of consumer commodities to create goods that were fashionable. Others studying youth sub-cultures include McRobbie (1997, 1998) who argued popular culture had become a resource for employment. She traced the career trajectories of fashion students and labelled their migration between self-employment, unemployment and full time employment as culture entrepreneurship (1997).

In order to conclude this brief historical overview this section turns to Bourdieu’s theory of cultural production for its relevance of offering a more precise situating of the space of cultural entrepreneurship in the modern organisation of cultural production. Bourdieu’s application of field theory to culture is complex as it blurs consumption and production. In *Distinction: The Social Critique of Taste* (1984) he focussed on the consumption of cultural commodities as evidence of how social position and taste were homologous. In his work on cultural production, such as the *The Field of Cultural Production* (1992) and *The Rules of Art* (1996), Bourdieu

extended the same logic of practice (1990a, 1990b) to argue that cultural producers adopt positions that are homologous to their social position, or habitus which is shared with their audience.

The reason for drawing attention to Bourdieu's application of field theory to cultural production is as a means theorising struggles through which individuals legitimise their position as a cultural entrepreneur. Culture (both production and consumption) was for Bourdieu a question of adopting a subject position within historically contingent 'hierarchies of taste' (1984). According to their personal biography individuals were predisposed to appreciate certain forms of culture. These ranged from the disinterested realm of art and the 'lower, coarse, vulgar, venal, servile' world of natural pleasures (1984, p7). In between these poles were 'cultural intermediaries', a sub-set of the dominated group of the dominant class, who struggled to legitimize new cultural forms. Cultural intermediaries were responsible for spreading the 'art of living' (p350) which included various forms of wellbeing (e.g., dieting, Yoga), counter-culture, sport and travel. He classified these as a 'thinly disguised expression of a sort of dream of social flying, a desperate effort to defy the gravity of the social field' (1984, p370).

In terms of cultural production Bourdieu applied his field theory to a reconstruction of the 19th century literary field in Paris (1996). The field of culture is brought alive as Bourdieu explains the production of a 'space within which an effect of field is exercised' (1992, p100). To achieve this he first established the relative autonomy of the literary field in relation to the field of power. In other words how bohemian writers and artists constructed a position of 'relative autonomy' away from the field of power. He then mapped the 'objective' structure of relations between the positions occupied by agents and institutions claiming cultural legitimacy. This was achieved by a detailed exploration of how each literary figure and work was positioned in relation to those closer to the field of power (e.g., serial fictionists, journalists and popular theatre writers) and the consecrated literary elite (e.g., academics and a select group of elite 'social fictionists').

Third he analysed the habitus of bohemians to claim their personal socio-economic backgrounds mapped to the massive influx of well educated but economically marginalized middle class provincial young men to Paris in the 19th century.

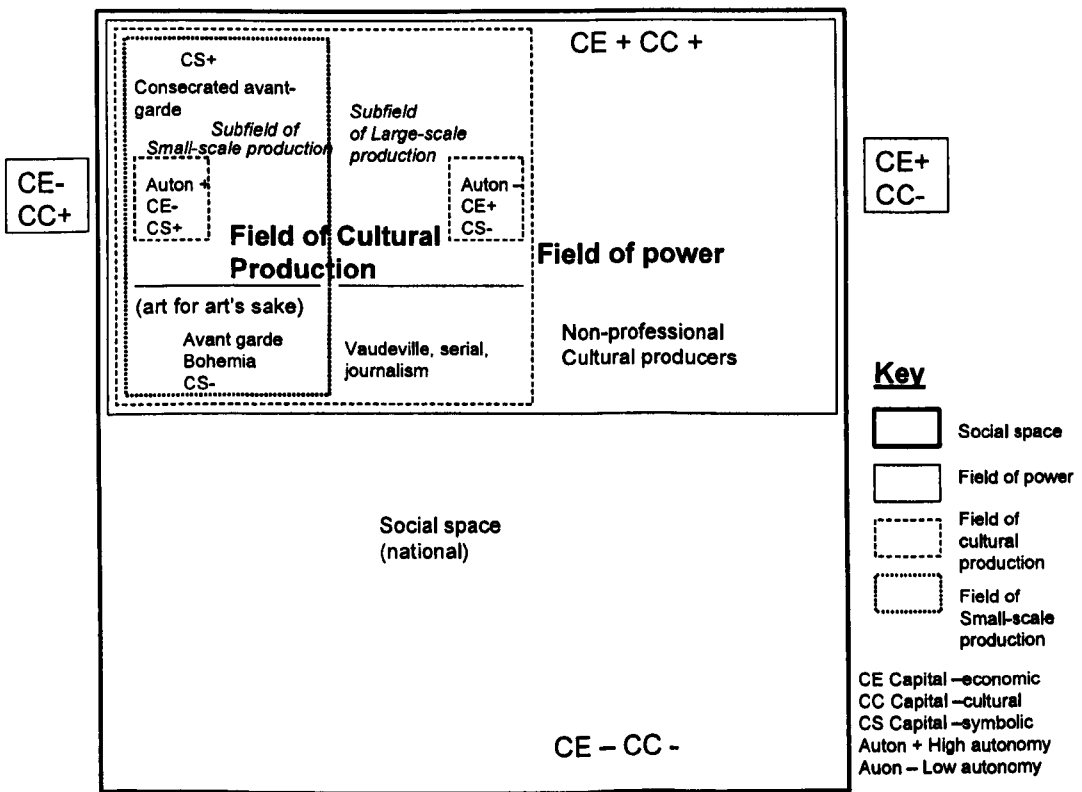
Bourdieu argued the ‘common function’ within the literary field was the accumulation of ‘symbolic capital’. This ‘species’ of capital was a resource for artists to position their work in relation to the market and state sponsorship. The bohemian authors created a double rejection of heteronomous positions (e.g., serial fiction, journalism and popular theatre) and consecrate elite positions of relative autonomy (i.e., academic chairs). To locate oneself in the ‘space of possibility’ that was *La Boheme* artists had to procure ‘a point of view they take on the field as a view taken from a point in the field (1992, p101). In *The Rules of Art* Bourdieu defended the relative autonomy of ‘restricted production’, or ‘production for producers’ against large scale cultural production. In the gap between culture and power Bourdieu’s reconstruction of 19th century literature identified the space for organisational creativity and the role of the cultural entrepreneur.

He provided only a brief insight into these owner-founders of small scale publishing houses, journals and other niche publications which were releasing bohemian literature (Bourdieu, 1996). Their role was two fold; partly they were required to keep up to date with the ripples in shifting tastes as bohemian authors moved within the ‘universe of positions’ (1996) of the literary field. Second, they were developing new markets and exploiting the demand for literature arising from demographic change. Exhibit 1 illustrates how Bourdieu conceptualized the relations linking the field of culture and the field of power. Particular attention is paid to his separation of small and large scale cultural producers as if no overlap were possible.

Just like the artistic producers who must struggle to create a subject position so too cultural entrepreneurs struggle to legitimize their right to exploit culture by placing their entrepreneurial activity into a nexus of relations comprised of artists, critics, gallery owners, patrons and

audiences (i.e., the ‘universe of celebrants’). Bourdieu differentiated between the more authentic small scale entrepreneurs and the ‘cynical calculation’ of large scale cultural producers. His cultural entrepreneurs are engaged in a competition not only for economic capital but also reputation and symbolic capital.

Exhibit 1:
The Field of Cultural Production



Source: (Bourdieu, 1996)

The struggle for symbolic capital therefore required an understanding of the contemporary state of cultural innovations. This knowledge of the ‘new’ required a fine appreciation of the ‘generational conflict’ or difference in novelty ‘younger’ artistic generations sought to legitimate

against 'older' consecrated definitions of legitimate culture (i.e., rearguard). Cultural entrepreneurs were as much a part of the field of culture as they were a channel to the field of power. They understood the minutiae of struggles for legitimate cultural reproduction or the 'symbolic distinctions' which were 'winks inside a milieu' (Bourdieu, 1996, p169).

For Bourdieu, the cultural entrepreneur was poised between 'total and cynical subordination to demand (and) absolute independence from the market and its exigencies' (1996, p141-2). As such the cultural entrepreneur is measured against both 'the crudest forms of mercantilism' and from abstaining from 'fully revealing their self-interested goals' (1996, p142). The challenge was to respond quickly to generational shifts by managing short production cycles and circulating products rapidly.

The cultural entrepreneur must be able to convert culture into 'the field of power' and speak the language of the sub-field of culture so as to accumulate the 'capital of consecration', or the 'power to consecrate objects' (1996). This 'conjugation of art and business' is only possible if the cultural entrepreneur acquires the 'practical mastery of the laws of the functioning in the field and of its specific requirements' (1996, p149). In other words becoming a cultural entrepreneur requires both cultural capital (i.e., specialized knowledge about a genre) and the skills to translate this knowledge into economic capital. Bourdieu summarized this position as follows:

'The entrepreneur in cultural production must activate a very improbable combination (or in any case a very rare one) of realism, which implies minimal concession to the denied (and not disowned) 'economic' necessities, and of the 'disinterested' conviction that excludes them.' (1996, p149).

Bourdieu recounts the biography of one cultural entrepreneur: an art dealer. His entrepreneurial trajectory journey begins with a 'rupture' (i.e., initial discovery) and challenge to the old patterns of production and shared perception. This implies a 'double rejection' of classical fine art taste and the heteronomy of large scale cultural production. By plunging into an 'unformed and

chaotic' position the dealer slowly developed a position of legitimacy by opening a gallery and therefore entering into relations with other dealers and institutions. Following his success with this strategy the dealer's story becomes nostalgic as he reminisces of battles fought against the establishment and current battles against the new upstarts. The dealer has become the orthodoxy (i.e., older generation) by constructing a position in the 'field of the present' that is in opposition to young pretenders (1996). This section has argued Bourdieu's sociology of culture based on his theory of the logic of practice (which is explained in more detail in Chapter 2) is useful for situating the role of the cultural entrepreneur and the space, within social organisation of cultural production, into which their organisational creativity and organisation of creativity (i.e., design reflexivity) occurs.

In conclusion, this section has argued that Enlightenment entrepreneurs; the 'liberation' of creative labour from pre-modern Artisanal organizations in the 17th century; the emergence of conspicuous consumption (Veblen, 1899), urban styles and fashions (Simmel, 1903, 1908) and the affectivity of media technologies, architecture and the phantasmagoria of the arcades (Benjamin, 1998) demonstrate that knowledge about design has always been an immanent layer affecting the accelerated rhythms of modernity. The importance of historicizing the social role of the cultural entrepreneur was to suggest that the demand for design reflexivity extends into the past to those able to supply 'connoisseur value' (Benjamin, 1999) and a heightened 'sensitivity to differences' and 'charm of novelty' (Simmel, 1902, 1908). Affective design thinking is not considered to have reached its zenith in contemporary period, instead, the above shows an intersection of commerce and cultural production dating back to least to the 18th century. McFall raised this issue relation to advertising in print media (2002, 2004), the affect of which she claimed must be historicized to avoid overstating contemporary media. Hence, individuals able to organise the conjugation of 'culture' and power have for centuries inhabited the social position of the cultural entrepreneur. The challenge for this study is to explore how the contemporary

incarnation of this process, labelled as the architecture of cultural enterprise, is interpreted by individuals engaged in such social activity within a specific location and at specific duration.

Conclusion: Towards an Empirical Study of the Architecture of Cultural Enterprise

This chapter has sought to locate this study of cultural enterprise in three ways. First, it suggested the term could be linked to the heightened role design and creativity has played in policy discourse (i.e., the creative industries). The significance of this connection is that specific types of creative activity (i.e., individuals generating IPR) have been recognized as crucial to a 'social structure of creativity' that enables advanced Western capitalist economies to compete against new global competitors. Second, it was suggested recent theories about capitalist production suggest a re-organisation is occurring due to a tempo-spatial reordering. This has resulted in a more complex, turbulent and reflexive or 'knowing capitalism' that is coming to terms with the multi-scalar effects of globalization, networked technologies, individualism and detraditionalization. Within these general theories it was suggested that design reflexivity (the organisation of knowledge about design affectivity) has become vital for calculating the value of contemporary economic activity because of its capacity for 'future making' which in turn creates and re-creates relations between producers and consumers.

The third section argued that cultural enterprise should be historicized. It suggested design thinking has always been a resource for entrepreneurs in modern capitalist social organisation since it, along with science, technology and other modern endeavours, helps construct 'an architecture around the void' (Bruno, 2007) prised open by the radical doubt of the Enlightenment. Cultural entrepreneurs therefore exert their 'will to architecture' (Karatani, 1995) and in doing so create a tension which, through style and fashion, affects the relationships available to objects, others and self. Such a process affects the struggle for identification by

inserting the possibility of commercial manipulation of similitude and difference. The role of the cultural entrepreneur is therefore to organise design reflexivity and entangle it into products and services.

From this chapter it is suggested there is a research gap for empirical studies that explore how individuals engaged in cultural enterprise in the design field interpret their activities within the context of wider changes theorised as occurring within contemporary capitalism. This chapter has prepared the path towards justifying an 'ethnographic approach' that claims it is possible to enter the field in which local articulations of the architecture of cultural enterprise are constructed. Empirical instances of individuals interpretations of such action providing material from which it is possible to understand how design reflexivity is organised so as to be both symbolically novel and economically reasonable. The literature examined in this chapter has served two purposes. First, it is a necessary element of the process of legitimising social science texts (Czarniawska, 1999) by appealing to a 'universe of references' (Bourdieu, 1990a). Second, it situates this researcher within a 'relational setting' (Somers, 1994) or the historical contingent present which is partially shaped by the policy discourse, social theories and historicised perspectives presented above.

It is now necessary to explore how, at a methodological level it is possible to enjoin the micro level of 'personal organization' of culture (Williams, 1969) together with macro theories, public debates and historical narratives about cultural enterprise, specifically that which relates to design. Chapter 2 will therefore present a conceptual framework capable of addressing these two interrelated scales of cultural entrepreneurship by presenting an epistemological justification for understanding the architecture of cultural enterprise. The purpose of Chapter 2 is to take another step towards entering the studios, bedrooms, creative industries shared offices, cafes, bars, university incubators, art galleries, garden offices and warehouse spaces and so on in which design reflexivity was witnessed in action.

Chapter Two

Knowing the Architecture of Cultural Enterprise

The previous chapter identified a need to empirically study how individuals construct their architecture of cultural enterprise to organise their design reflexivity. This chapter develops a conceptual framework which, by drawing from sociological theory enables the construction of a 'methodological instrument' (Czarniawska, 1997) capable of gathering and representing empirical examples of cultural enterprise. The chapter is organized in four sections. The first section connects this study with recent methodological debates within the field of enterprise studies. It draws attention to the new movements which advocate the use of anthropology, sociology and linguistics. The second section introduces 'conceptual pragmatism' (Mouzelis, 1995) and 'pragmatic pluralism' (Watson, 1997) as a strategy to justify the epistemological grounds upon which the claims in this research will be made. The third section examines key 'sensitizing concepts' (Silverman, 2000) used to conceptualize the architecture of cultural enterprise. This expands on how Bourdieu's logic of practice and his reflexive sociology will be used. The concepts of fields, capital and positioning struggles are selected as relevant to addressing the structuring structures of the agency-structure interrelationship (Mouzelis, 1995). This is then augmented with social construction, symbolic interactionism and pragmatist aesthetics which are more consistent with the voluntaristic or situational interaction (Mouzelis, 1995) aspect of agency-structure. The final section argues that a 'language sensitive sociology' (Watson, Forthcoming A, B), drawing again from a 'pragmatist epistemology', is consistent with the claim that the architecture of cultural enterprise can be represented from specific instances of patterning activity (e.g., narrative, identity and discourse). The chapter concludes with a provisional analytical framework for

developing knowledge about the organisation of design reflexivity through cultural enterprise.

The Field of Enterprise Research

Enterprise has become a topic for pedagogic innovation (Binks et.al. 2006); economic policy (Chiles et.al.2007) and ‘critical’ sociology (Armstrong, 2005, Du Gay, 1996, 2004). The review which follows summarises the debate about methodology in the field of enterprise research. The summary is structured around Howorth et.al. (2005) who claimed the field of enterprise comprised of four ‘lenses’. These are; normative, critical, dialogic and interpretive. Their key claim was that ‘paradigm interplay’ between these lenses should be encouraged (2005). A similar appeal was made by others calling for more ‘polyphonic richness’ (Steyart and Hjorth, 2003) in the methodological choices of enterprise researchers. The ensuing debate over enterprise research therefore echoes the question of paradigmatic status in management research. One aspect of this related debate is the attempt to define the boundaries, or acceptable limitations of making management research ‘cosmopolitan’ (Thomas, 2004) by embracing a ‘fragmented adhocracy’ (Whitley, 1984). As Howorth et.al. (2005) suggested enterprise research could also benefit also if it encourages the following:

‘paradigm interplay will be particularly insightful for entrepreneurship research by allowing greater creativity in developing theory, valuable illumination of context, increased understanding of the entrepreneurial process and more practical insights’ (p26).

Taking the ‘normalized’ position first, one could argue enterprise research has been dominated by the Austrian school of economics (Venkataraman et.al. 2003), especially the work of Joseph Schumpeter (1934). In *The Theory of Economic Development* Schumpeter argued capitalism relied on entrepreneurs to generate disequilibrium, or ‘creative destruction’, through the introduction of innovation which he defined as novel combinations of knowledge (typically scientific and engineering) (1934). Small scale enterprise was

therefore something theorised as a catalyst for changing the flow of 'normal' businesses. Schumpeter cast the entrepreneur into the role of extracting profit by creating temporal advantage through the exploitation of knowledge asymmetries. Due to high degrees of personal risk this made 'him' both 'child and victim' of capitalism (1934). The entrepreneur was neither manager nor employee, but creator of new economic relations. Entrepreneurship involved experimenting to disrupt 'normal' (i.e., equilibrium) economic activity, rather than the search for greater efficiency. Schumpeter claimed the full force of enterprise was felt in 'swarms' which drove the economy in new directions it might not otherwise have reached (1934). Entrepreneurial profit had a short duration since advantage was premised upon a temporal advantage arising from knowledge and production in relation to incumbents and other entrepreneurs.

Frank Knight is also significant for developing the 'normalized' view in enterprise research. He highlighted the importance of risk noting entrepreneurs had a higher propensity for conative power. Entrepreneurship was therefore a skill of distinguishing between 'genuine uncertainty' and 'calculable risk' (i.e., manageable uncertainty). Risk could therefore be institutionalization (i.e., banking, trading and insurance) or entrepreneurial if performed by individuals more willing to take responsibility for risk than 'the majority' (1921).

From this normalized view of the role of enterprise and the entrepreneur there has emerged a long standing debate about how best to define the object of enterprise research (Chell, 1985, Blackburn and Smallbone, 2008). This was illustrated by a bibliographic search conducted in *The Academy of Management Journal* for the 'entrepreneurship construct'⁴

⁴ The AMJ review counted a total of 50 entrepreneurship articles and noted acceleration in the number of articles published after 2000. These are classified into seven sub-categories, which include; Small Business, Institutional Entrepreneurship, International Entrepreneurship, Corporate Entrepreneurship, Initial Public offering, Individuals or Entrepreneurs and New Ventures. These reveal six key dependent variables, which are as follows; Entrepreneurial actions or behaviour; Organizational growth; Firm performance; Individual or entrepreneurship characteristics (traits); Survival or mortality of entrepreneurial forms and IPO performance.

from 1963-2005 (Ireland, Reutzel and Webb, 2005). The researchers reported difficulty defining enterprise and ended up incorporating entrepreneurship, innovation, small business research, management, 'intrapreneurship' and institutional entrepreneurship into their definition. This illustrates a key problem with the field of enterprise research which is the problem of identifying its object of research.

Given this 'problem' is it perhaps unsurprising there is much debate about how best to organize research to address enterprise. Some advocate a 'top-down' (Pfeffer, 1993) hierarchical organization arguing this would create a stronger paradigm with agreed ontological and epistemological commitments (Kuhn, 1996) and be most likely to yield 'useful' research. Advocates claim this would focus enterprise and help it overcome its 'adolescent' (Low, 2001), or 'relatively young' (Cooper, 2003) status as something of a 'hodgepodge' (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000) of 'loosely interrelated empirical phenomena' (Davidsson, Low and Wright 2001).

The justification of this action is that it would be a more efficient means of developing a foundational theory of enterprise research. Casson for instance argued this should be based on defining the 'individual-opportunity nexus' rather than getting 'distracted by the promise of new inter-disciplinary theory' (2005, p430). Others claim the 'common purpose' for entrepreneurship research should be explaining 'opportunity' rather than *merely* describing it (Low and MacMillan, 1988, Low, 2001, Shane, 2005). Advocates of a 'strong paradigm' also claim 'useful knowledge' (Low and MacMillan, 1998), which will be built from a 'yet to be collected...systematic body of information about entrepreneurship' (Shane and Venkataraman 2000, p224) would be validated by its contribution to 'the discovery and exploitations of profitable opportunities' (ibid, p217).

The debate in the field of enterprise in some ways recalls discussion of the paradigmatic status of management in which some scholars claim academic management

research is a 'loosely related family lacking a centre of gravity' (Thomas, 2004). Tranfield and Starkey made a related comment noting 'the most striking feature on which there is consensus within the discipline is that management research operates not a single agreed ontological or epistemological paradigm' (1998). Management scholars continue to debate this question in relation to various 'positions'. Using Bourdieu's lexicon these positions can be summarized as a constellation of shifting commitments between 'impartial umpires' (1990a); 'instituted cynicism' and 'radical chic' (2005). The latter perhaps relevant as a descriptor of the rise of the broadly categorized critical management studies with its differing degrees of opposition and, in its more exaggerated form, the alleged 'tyranny of elites' (Canella and Paetzold, 1994).

In order to take a position within the field of enterprise this study agrees with Howarth et.al. that enterprise research should seek 'paradigm interplay' so as to assist in 'illumination of context, increased understanding of the entrepreneurial process and more practical insights' (2005). This research shares an affinity with the interpretive lens and to some degree the dialogic lens. It pays less attention to the normative and critical lenses. This is not to suggest this researcher is not aware of such research, nor that he has not benefited from considering those who argue against the 'premature closure' over what constitutes definitions of entrepreneurship (Ogbor, 2000).

In relation to 'normative' positions on enterprise (i.e., conducting research to encourage entrepreneurial activity) I refer back to the comment in the earlier chapter from Williams about the dangers of 'unthinking repetition' (1969). This research does not set out to create a recipe or checklist for cultural enterprise. It therefore rejects any notion that this research should be accountable to encouraging more entrepreneurial activity. This is not however to suggest that this research may not, in some way, help those interested in the area

of entrepreneurial activity in the creative industries develop a finer appreciation of the processes involved in such activity. This aim will be addressed shortly in more detail.

In relation to the 'critical' lens this research questions the relevance of 'critical' theory to conducting empirical sociological research. This can be illustrated by two examples. First, Jones and Spicer who in their critique of the very possibility of enterprise research, deployed Lacan and Zizek to claim the entrepreneur is 'one of the central fantasies of economic discourse' (2005, p380). Be this as it may they go on to add entrepreneurship is 'essentially indefinable, vacuous and empty' (2005, p235) and researchers in the field are 'guilty' of continuously re-constructing an empty signifier by willing it into creation as a means of bringing into being a 'structured phantasmic attachment' (2005, p235). This may assist in illuminating something about the context of enterprise research, but fails to assist in gaining practical insights about enterprise.

A similar problem occurs in research into enterprise culture popular in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Such research claimed enterprise rhetoric and discourse was fundamentally altering western society. Enterprise culture was evidenced in the reconstruction of work as a site of pleasure seeking (Donzelot, 1981/1991); as ushering in a new ethos, or 'turn to life', so as to make the individual's life project a 'passionate quest for self-fulfilment and improvement' (Heelas, 1991, 1998); for reforming bureaucracy (Du Gay, 1996, 2004); destroying the work/non-work division (Abercrombie, 1991) and promoting the sovereign consumer (Bauman, 2000, 2005, Keat and Abercrombie, 1991).

Amongst this research were a number of British Foucaultian scholars (Miller and O'Leary, 1987, Miller and Rose, 1988, Rose, 1990, Rose 1999) to which du Gay added there is an 'enterprise of self' discourse that has a totalizing effect over subjectivity, or a technology for managing the relation to self (Foucault, 1988). Du Gay extended his analysis to include management texts, such as Peters and Waterman's *In Search of Excellence* (1983)

and Drucker's *Innovation and Enterprise* (1985); Conservative party policy and popular culture. All of which he claimed were promoting a subjective relation to self that encouraged greater self-reliance, competitive individualism and a self-governing individual economic rationality (du Gay, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2004). His claim is heavily reliant on Rose who claimed:

'Enterprise here designates an array of rules for the conduct of one's everyday existence; energy, initiative, ambition, calculation and personal responsibility. The enterprising self will make a venture of its life, project itself a future and seek to shape itself in order to become that which it wishes to be. The enterprising self is thus a calculating self, a self that calculates *about* itself and works *upon* itself in order to better itself' (1990, p146).

Again, helpful as this research has been to create more 'critical' reflection about enterprise there is an absence of empirical studies showing how individuals account for enterprise as 'meaningful lifestyle and career identity' (Thornton, 1999 p19). Instead critical studies of enterprise tend to be more relevant to general questions such as whether 'the British' have become more reliant on 'independence, flexibility, anti-collectivism, privatism and self help' (Burrows and Curran, 1991, p11) and critiques of economic policy and neo-conservative moral values (Burrows, 1991, Bridge et.al, 2004, Cross and Payne, 1991, du Gay, 2000, 2004, Fairclough, 1991, Keat, 1991, Ritchie, 1991, Rose, 1992).

The 'critical' lens is rejected on the basis that it is less 'useful' for an empirical sociological study of how individuals interpret their entrepreneurial activities. It therefore has more affinity to the interpretive and dialogic lenses. The latter is a response to the general 'linguistic turn' in the social sciences. Gartner has done much to develop this approach by asking the question 'what are 'we' talking about when 'we' talk about enterprise?' (1990). His reply was to encourage enterprise researchers to address the 'cornucopia of variation' (et.al.2003) in the language of entrepreneurial venture creation (1985). However, to avoid this approach becoming a 'label of convenience with little inherent meaning' (1990, p16) he

urged researchers to state the level of their analysis (e.g., individual, firm, cluster); the time frame involved and the exact methods used (2001). His approach was empirically grounded and advocated spending time with entrepreneurs to understand their motivations, rewards, values, expectancies and goals they pursued through new ventures (1993). He made a helpful shift in enterprise research towards toward the meanings constructed to interpret entrepreneurial ventures (et.al.2003).

Gartner's research is however reductive in its focus on the language of new venture creation or 'opportunity recognition' (1993, p234) as is evidenced by Spinosa et.al. who reduced the complexities of enterprise to three types of 'disclosure of new realities' (i.e., articulation, reconfiguration and cross-appropriation) (1997). To avoid this cul-de-sac researchers interested in the dialogic nature of enterprise have turned to narrative theory. These include Fletcher's research on small family businesses and the 'new movements' in entrepreneurship research (Hjorth and Steyaert 2003, 2004). Both make valuable contributions by seeking to define the genre of enterprise narratives as organizational emergence and more broadly as 'organizational creativity' (Hjorth, 2004, p210).

The danger with narrative theory is that practical insights from empirical studies are lost as narrative becomes an end goal in itself (Watson, Forthcoming A). Enterprise research then risks being reduced to story telling and closely resembles literary criticism, perhaps even 'narrative imperialism' (Phelan, cited in Watson, Forthcoming B). The benefits and limitations of the narrative approach are encapsulated in Steyaert's (2004) application of Bakhtin's architectonics to the study the aesthetics of narratives of venture creation (2004) as well as other recent analyses of entrepreneurial texts using narrative theory (Fletcher, 2003, Hjorth, 2007, Fletcher, 2007). One alternative has been to adopt identity theory.

Identity theory, which moves closer to an 'interpretive' lens, suggests the importance of the inter-subjective relations between individuals involved in enterprise. Hjorth (2004) argued

entrepreneurship should be studied as an instance of how individuals construct social reality through shared interaction and identification (2004). Hjorth is not alone here in his attempt to broaden the theoretical understanding of enterprise by conceptualizing it as social construction of knowledge (Downing, 2006, Fletcher, 2003). The benefit of this attempt is that it begins to provide space within enterprise research for interpretive sociological studies which aim to create representations, based on empirical studies, of how entrepreneurial activity involves the organisation of knowledge, practices and resources so as to create non-incumbent organisational realities.

Others who blur the lines between dialogic and interpretive enterprise research include Down (2006) who combined narrative, identity and interpretive sociology in his ethnographic study. By focusing on the activities of two entrepreneurs Down provided a number of instances in which entrepreneurial activity was defined as a continuous attention to certain practices across a range of settings which enabled the maintenance of an organisation (2006). Ram adopted a similar ethnographic approach in his study of how owner-founders of small textile businesses managed to survive (1994). Down helpfully suggested the 'homogenous archetype' of the 'entrepreneur' can be not be challenged by armchair reflection, but only through detailed field studies of how individuals construct 'entrepreneurial' aspect of their identity.

Other attempts to apply identity theory to empirical studies of enterprise include Cohen and Musson's (1999) research into GP's; Storey et.al. (2005) study of how media workers 'use and incorporate discourses of enterprise in their self-identity' (p1039) and various studies exploring work identities and entrepreneurship (Blair, 2001, Platman, 2004 and Smeaton, 2004). The problem is these analyses tend to conform to the critical lens by explaining entrepreneurial activity in relation to the totalizing effects of an enterprise discourse. Warren (2004) provides a different interpretation in her claim that enterprise is

only one amongst a plurality of discursive resources (e.g., professionalism, motherhood, empowerment) drawn upon in transitional discourse'. She defined this as a means of negotiating a legitimate presence as an entrepreneur by imagining and aligning only part of one's identity to a community of other 'entrepreneurs'.

Watson (Forthcoming C) offers some clarification of how a sociological interpretation of empirical examples of enterprise discourse would read. He argued individuals cannot 'have' or 'become' an entrepreneurial self anymore than an individual's identity can be reduced to manager, or any other single social role. Instead an individual's identity is partially shaped through 'cultural or discursive notions which people may, or may not, embrace or have attached to them by others in the course of their lives' (p7). Watson argued entrepreneurial identity is best understood through empirical studies representing the extent to which an individual adopts a social identity of entrepreneur which is constructed through a plurality of 'discursive resources' required to construct a 'human identity'.

This research draws from both the interpretive and dialogic lenses as opposed to the critical or normative. As the remainder of this chapter will now show it is sociological theory and a 'language sensitive sociology' (Watson, Forthcoming A) that are most relevant to address the research question. However, this is not to conform to the 'current vogue for identity studies' (du Gay, 2007). Instead it borrows a far less fashionable notion that a sociological imagination can be connected between an individual's biography and public issues. In what follows this connection will be explored for its relevance to illuminating the context of enterprise with practical insights.

The Pragmatic Pluralist Conception of Sociological Theory

The rationale for appealing to 'conceptual pragmatism' is that social theory will be utilized according to the 'criteria of utility rather than truth' (Mouzelis, 1995, p9). This contrasts with

the notion that social theory has the final absolute role in deciding ontological and epistemological claims. Mouzelis argued pragmatic pluralism questions the efficacy of claiming sociological theory can make ‘substantive universal propositions’ and ‘contextless generalizations’. Instead he claimed an ‘effective rapprochement’ is to argue against post-modernism and foundationalism. To avoid the Scylla and Charybdis of dedifferentiation and compartmentalization, Mouzelis helpfully defined the value of sociological theory not as creating a ‘monolithic paradigmatic unity’ but facilitating a ‘flexible vocabulary’ between disciplines.

Watson made a similar appeal to what he termed ‘pragmatic pluralism’ in management and business research arguing sociological theory could draw from a wide range of social science paradigms whilst remaining ‘internally consistent’. He claimed management research could be validated according to its usefulness for practicing managers as well as those interested in abstract questions about the process of management. Watson’s ethnographic study of how ‘managers manage to manage’ (2001) illustrated the conceptual breadth which pragmatic pluralist strategy could draw from. In this study Watson drew from anthropology, linguistics, social psychology and philosophy.

Appealing to a pragmatic conceptualization and pragmatic pluralism signals that sociological theory is used to construct conceptual tools so as to ask interesting questions by conducting empirical social research. This ‘epistemological pluralism’ is held together by a ‘conceptual integrity’ (Watson, 1997, p4) so long as concepts are linked logically and do not descend into indiscriminate borrowing. If this is achieved sociological theory is applied according to the logic of the ‘practicalities of concept use’ (ibid.) so long as they provide interesting insights for the reader. Watson argued this approach should be judged according to the following criteria:

‘a researcher in producing an analysis of some aspect of social life, draws from various disciplines or perspectives to produce what amounts to their personal

paradigm – with its ontological, epistemological and methodological integrity – to stand as the conceptual foundation of that particular piece of research’ (1997, p6).

The integrity of this study is premised on the ‘personal paradigm’ which will be constructed in this chapter to claim it is possible to record and represent individuals’ interpretations of their architecture of cultural enterprise. As Mouzelis noted pragmatic conceptualization raises awareness of the sociological practice of making second order abstractions of first order experience (1995). In summary, the methodological aim of this chapter is to provide a base from which to interpret local articulations of entrepreneurial activity. These ‘local’ interpretations are not hermetically sealed ‘islands’ (Van Maanen, 2006), but social actions situated in specific tempo-spatial settings. The study shares Watson’s commitment that social research should not aim to make epistemological claims based on a decontextualised generalisability, but instead argued for the typicality of research which should have relevance to those engaged in similar activities in different settings.

For Watson social research aims to empower agents entering organizational settings to understand that context (2001). Usefulness does not mean becoming slave to powerful actors therein. Watson claimed research should be valid for allies, enemies and observers of social activity (1997), in his case management. Mouzelis made a related claim that social research should be useful for both ‘micro actors’ (i.e., those new or in some way less powerful) as well as ‘macro actors’ (i.e., those more experienced and/or influential).

To return to the aim of illuminating the context of enterprise and developing practical insights, this study aims to develop ‘practical understanding’ (Watson, 1997) of how cultural enterprise is interpreted based on the evaluations of individuals engaged in one cultural sector (design) and one city (Nottingham). It is hoped this will have relevance to those also engaged in cultural enterprise, those aspiring to such action and to ‘macro actors’ who influence the

infrastructural forces which impact on such activity (e.g., education, finance, economic development policy).

To be clear, aiming for representations of ‘practical understanding’ is not seen as equating with normalised recipe style prescriptions (Czarniawska, 2004). Instead, this aim is justified on the grounds of engaging in the field of enterprise research through an application of ‘institutional reflection’ as has been claimed as the role for management scholars (Czarniawska, 1999). The value of which was conceived in the research proposal as building a ‘vocabulary of understanding’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003) so as to enable a more meaningful exchange to occur between practitioners, policy makers and researchers. The remainder of this chapter will outline the specific conceptual tools used to construct a ‘methodological tool’ (Czarniawska, 1997) to understand the architecture of cultural enterprise.

De-coupling Bourdieu's Positions from Dispositions

This section draws on the relevant aspects of Bourdieu’s logic of practice as it relates to the sociological study of the organisation of cultural production. It makes specific use of his concept of capital and field which he offered as ‘open concepts’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). But then seeks to de-couple these from his notion of habitus. What follows is a specific reading of Bourdieu’s oeuvre that aims at ‘informed divergence’ (Robbins, 2007). This reading means engaging with Bourdieu’s ‘radical scepticism’ but diverging from his political intent to continue using his tools as ‘pragmatically forged’ (Schwartz, 1997) and relevant for ‘cultural sociological thinking’ (Inglis et.al., 2007).

The key relevance of Bourdieu to this research is his challenge of the dominance of the ‘lexicon of decision making’ with what he called the ‘lexicon of dispositions’, or an ‘economic anthropology’ aimed at understanding how agents gain ‘access to exchange’

(Bourdieu, 2005). His 'economic heuristic' (Lash, 1992) was an ambitious break with the 'grand illusion of the ahistorical universality' of economic theory (Bourdieu, 2005). It provided an 'anthropological foundation of a theory of action, or of practice' (Bourdieu, 1990, p107) without recourse to neo-classical economics or Marx's 'ethnography of value' (Lee and LiPuma, 2002). Bourdieu's lexicon of dispositions will be drawn upon, with some qualifications, to conceptualize how individuals construct 'access to exchange' through an agency-structure interrelationship.

Before turning to Bourdieu's definition of capital it is necessary to outline his theory of the social totality. For Bourdieu, society was organised around the 'field of power' which dominated all other spheres of activity. These other social microcosms were 'relatively autonomous' fields, for example art, education, law, politics and science. Their autonomy was defined according to their proximity to the field of power; a close alignment would mean heteronomy and a more distanced relationship would mean relative autonomy. Agents (i.e., individuals, groups, firms, nations etc) were therefore surrounded by a nexus of 'bounded territories' (Grenfell, 2004) or 'spaces of possibility' (Bourdieu, 1990a).

This notion of fields introduces the key element in Bourdieu's logic of practice, the centrality of positioning struggles. There are two general causes of struggle. First the struggle between fields, or what we might call 'intra-field' forces emerging from the proximal relation to the field of power. Second the struggle, within fields, as agents compete for resources, or capital, specific to constructing and defending a 'subject position'. Fields are therefore intangible spaces which exert a structuring force over agents. This force is generated by the inter- and intra- field conflicts emerging from specific types of social action. Fields cannot be identified *a priori*, but must be constructed by the analyst each time she wishes to understand how position taking occurs within a field. Bourdieu's combination of forces and struggles is

often compared with 'structuration' (Giddens, 1979) which also accounts for the agency-structure interrelationship without reducing social action to either.

To become successful agents must devise strategies to establish 'subject positions' within the forces of fields. This requires learning the stakes of a game played out in a particular field. Hence in the field of power the stakes are economic capital, whereas in the field of culture it is symbolic capital, or the right to legitimately reproduce 'culture'. Bourdieu consistently argued his fields were not a form of structural determination as they allowed for 'improvisation' in position taking (1990a, 1990b, 1992). Hence, agents by enacting their positioning-repositioning activities against the 'relatively durable' 'rules' of a field were continuously in movement. The capital in a field can be understood as a resource, or token which has developed historically to measure the value of engaging in a positioning struggle. Individuals may find their position appreciating, in temporary stasis, or depreciating according to the 'fit' between their subject position and the direction of the field in relation to other fields.

To provide some concrete examples of how Bourdieu developed this theory, he argued that in Algeria he witnessed the differing degrees to which different groups appropriated the rules of capitalism imposed during French colonial control (Bourdieu, 1990b). Whereas in his home town of Béarn he witnessed the growing number of unmarried and ineligible male farm hands who, due to changes in work, were no longer socially desirable suitors (Bourdieu, 1990a, 1992, 2005). He also noted how business graduates from the *polytechniques* in the 1970s in France created a strong alignment, or homology, between their newly acquired knowledge and the needs of contemporary business (e.g., field of power) which elevated their social status (Bourdieu, 1984, 2005). And finally, there is the example (see Chapter 1) of bohemian artists who in their 'double rejection' of the market and

consecrated high art sought to define their position as being deliberately ‘out of time’ with the dominant (bourgeois) tastes of the 19th century (Bourdieu, 1996).

Each of these examples illustrates positioning struggles that emerge as agents seek to either insert different forms of practice, or align themselves with those agents and institutions in power. In each case it is access to the ‘instruments of reproduction’ (Bourdieu, 1984, p125) that ‘determines’ an agents ability to accumulate capital. Hence, one of his most famous and most relevant examples for this research is the struggle of ‘cultural intermediaries’. These were the growing group of *nouveau riche* petit bourgeoisie who sought to gain economic capital by converting their cultural capital (e.g., university education) through innovative (popular) cultural transformations. Commenting on the specific example of popular taste making in the cultural industries, and neatly summarising his notion of fields, Bourdieu stated his aim was to ‘reveal’ ‘the strategies, individual or collective, spontaneous or organized which are aimed at conserving, transforming or transforming so as to conserve.’ (Bourdieu, 1984, p156).

Each game works because there is a ‘collective orientation’ to a ‘common purpose’. This does not mean agents necessarily follow codified rules. Instead Bourdieu suggested that since the ‘species of capital’ within a field is always unequally distributed, agents ‘automatically’ develop strategies to compete against the forces of the field which control its distribution. This does not however imply such activity is conscious or necessarily rational. Instead agents construct subjective relations to objective ‘structures’ which are contained within the stakes of a game in particular field. Playing the game is a question of *doxa*, or a deep-rooted notion of ‘business is business (Bourdieu, 2005). Participation implies ‘intentionality without intention’ (Bourdieu, 1990, p108) so that successful strategies for position taking require an internalizing of the necessity of the game.

This internalization is an investment (e.g., time, energy) which is specific to the capital at stake in a field. Social action is therefore dependent on playing within an *'illusio'* or *'tacit recognition'* of the stakes of the game. Agents must continue to make an *'emotional investment'* (Bourdieu, 1990a, p87) to cover the *'admission fee'* into a game. This is *'at once'* or *'miraculously'* generates a reaction to the distribution of capital within a field. Through a *'rejection and reversal'* of subject positions, agents create meanings for the *'relatively autonomous social microcosms'* (Bourdieu, 1990a, p97) positions within fields they seek to inhabit. If players consider a game worth playing then the force of a field emerges as a *'space within which an effect of field is exercised'* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, p100). Bourdieu applied this to show how agents (i.e., individual journalists and print media firms) aligned their position to the *'standards of respectability'* operating within the field of journalism (Bourdieu, 1992).

The interrelationship between field and capital is expressed as competition for tokens in relation to the sets of forces, or relations of power, regulations, *'rules'* and profits that are peculiar to the struggles that develop from practice or having a *'point of view taken from a point of view in the field'* (Bourdieu, 1990a). This notion of a perception of the struggle arising from the struggle is the *'common function'* of and *'invariant property'* common to each field. The unequal distribution of capital among agents is the presupposition that there is something at stake in a field. The question for empirical study is to understand first the rules of the game relative to the field of power; second to map the objective positions of the strategies of agents and third to understand how agents internalize the *'objective structure of relations'* required for legitimacy (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Hence some agents' positions are more in alignment with the dominant definitions of practice within a field than others. The degree of competence is explained by Bourdieu as a *'singularity'*. An agents' singularity is conceptualised according to the degree to which they

are eligible for the 'accumulation of tokens' (i.e., capital). Achieving a singularity is therefore 'a particular case of the possible' (1990, p191), or a temporally inhabited territory within the available positions given at an historical moment. To reiterate the point made in Chapter 1, Bourdieu applied this to argue that cultural enterprise was the conjugation of art and business (Bourdieu, 1996). We might now add there will be a multitude of positions an agent could adopt to create a singularity or 'one conjugation among others of a structure of relations'. Empirical instances are therefore required to suggest how it is an 'individual trace of an entire collective history (Bourdieu, 1990, p91) can be read from interpretations of social practice (e.g., interviews).

To summarise, Bourdieu argued agents are confronted with their body always already being in relation to various spaces of possibility (1990a), or fields which require an investment of interest so as to accumulate different species of capital. The basic condition of social life is an 'antagonistic coexistence' (Bourdieu, 1990b, 2005). It is this that 'gets people moving' and what bonds agents together in historically contingent circumstances. As these bonds cannot be established *a priori*, empirical research is required to understand how a field 'generates the interest that is the precondition of its functioning' (Bourdieu, 1990a, p88). Turning to the field of power (i.e., the struggle for economic capital) what must be established (*a posteriori*) is how certain types of activity 'generate a belief in the value of its products' (p98) which for Bourdieu equated to the production of economically reasonable actions, or of *negotium* (business) rather than *otium* (leisure, rest) (Bourdieu, 1990a, 2005).

The *illusio* of economic activity, indeed all social activity (i.e., science, religion, and art) is only maintained because of the investment required to enter such games. This prevents agents from asking why there is nothing, or from 'revealing' the game as a game. A game

may seem absurd to an outsider because she is not involved in its 'real' competition⁵. This is a highly significant claim as it exposes a fundamental problem in Bourdieu. On the one hand he wishes to claim that games can only be known by playing them and therefore he (as the eminent sociologist) can deploy his 'neo-Enlightenment hermeneutic of suspicion' (Inglis et.al.2007) to reveal the games people play. On the other hand he urged sociologists to turn their conceptual tools on their own research to become more reflexive and question the epistemological possibility of being an 'impartial umpire' (Bourdieu, 1990a).

Before engaging in the 'flaws' with Bourdieu's theory of practice it should be remembered the aim here is to extract useful conceptual tools from sociological theory. With this in mind it is helpful to recall how Bourdieu applied his logic of practice to the firm. Bourdieu argued that individual firms entered into the game of accumulating economic capital with a stock of relations (e.g., human, technological, financial) and (temporarily) 'deform the space in the vicinity conferring on it a structure' (Bourdieu, 2005). Firms therefore play for stakes by imprinting a presence, or weight, which is partially determined by their own capabilities and partially dependent on the forces of the other firms in the field, or the accumulated objective sets of relations embedded in firms.

By competing for economic capital agents vie for the 'capacity to exercise control over one's fortune and that of others' (Calhoun et.al.1993). Over time this becomes objectified into reasonable economic activity as agents engage in the 'spirit of calculation' which, at least in the field of power, implies a suppression of other forms of calculating value. Critically the 'economy of economic practices' is not exogenous (i.e., a trans-historical universal human nature), but endogenous being acquired through learning and investing in

⁵ Huizinga makes a similar point noting how, since games require a withdrawal to specific set of relations (e.g., actor's roles, or scoring goals, winning medals), each player must respect the game for its duration. This tacit acceptance of 'rules' (often not codified) explains why cheating is permissible (i.e., it still acknowledges the rules), whereas revealing the rules and refusing to play (i.e., the spoil sport) is not accepted (1946).

the games present within the social totality. Therefore that which is considered rational or reasonable in a non-theoretical and practical sense (*sens pratique*) emerges from the 'pressure of action' which are 'local', or 'determined' by contemporary practice and expectation of what might happen in the future also present in the contemporary moment (i.e., quasi-future).

This brief overview of Bourdieu's work on cultural production conceptualises such activity as a dual investment into the field of culture (i.e., the accumulation of legitimacy, or the right to reproduce certain symbolically novel forms) and the field of power (e.g., gaining access to exchange reasonable activity on the market). Cultural enterprise therefore contributes to the 'tempo of transformation' (Bourdieu, 2005b, p202) within the fields of culture and power as agents compete for the right to the 'differential use of time'. Temporal difference refers to the variance between the 'embedded field' (intra-firm relations) and the field of other firms. Examples include moments where firms address demographic changes (e.g., the media industry addressing the new cultural tastes); regulatory changes and/or disruptive technologies which enable new configurations of services and products.

The remainder of this section now turns the problems associated with using Bourdieu by addressing his views on agency. This is not a question of methodological purism, as it does not seek to 'resolve' the problems of Bourdieu's theory. Instead it is necessary if internal coherence is to be maintained by retaining Bourdieu's notion of the competition for capital within fields (i.e., positional) whilst partially decoupling it from his theory of habitus (i.e., predispositions).

Bourdieu's logic of practice enables a 'finer' (Grenfell, 2004) sociological theorizing of social activity as it sets up temporal disturbance through invested activity and organisation and legitimacy between 'embedded fields' (i.e., organisations) and a 'local' space of possibilities within the social totality. Stopping here would be ideal, but it would ignore Bourdieu's 'predispositional' (Mouzelis, 1995) theory of habitus and therefore transgress the

rule of pragmatist conceptualization set up above is coherent in the use of conceptual tools. Habitus must now be examined before being decoupled in favour of more interactionist and interpretivist tools.

Bourdieu's use of habitus is problematic given the fixity which harbours Bourdieu's structuralism. Bourdieu vociferously defended habitus against accusations of structuralism claiming people misunderstood that it was a 'dynamic intersection' or singularity occurring from 'collective and individual history' (Bourdieu, 2005a, p211). He also claimed it transcended the subjective-objective dualism as it was not a mechanical principle or brute reflex. The habitus was a set of conditions which permitted 'conditional' or limited spontaneity' (Bourdieu, 2005a, p21). As he stated:

'(habitus) is that autonomous principle which means that action is not simply an immediate reaction to a brute reality, but an 'intelligent' response to an actively selected aspect of the real; linked to a history fraught with a probable future, it is the inertia, the trace of their past trajectory, which agents set against the immediate forces of the field.' (p212)

Bourdieu was insistent his use of habitus permitted a degree of voluntaristic action or 'intelligence' so as to avoid reducing agents to mere atoms. In the artistic field, individuals articulated their work in relation to other artists and in their rejection of the heteronomy of the field of power. Their 'choice' determines what generation of artist they are most closely aligned with (i.e., avant garde, rear guard etc). However, to make the claim that agents are continuously struggling to construct subject positions against fields, Bourdieu required the habitus to be 'relatively durable'. He attributed this durability to socialization and to a 'mutual anticipation' of what should occur in the future. It is this expectation of the quasi-future based on an agents' position (e.g., accumulation of capital of all forms), that 'determines' how agents 'fall into' certain positions, practices and not others. Again he claims this 'falling into' is not conscious or rational because is never entirely a question of free choice or mechanical forces (1990a, p90). He maintained habitus was:

‘a system of predispositions acquired through a relationship to a certain field...it becomes a generator of practices immediately adjusted to the present and even to the future inscribed within the present (hence the illusion of purpose) when it encounters a space proposing, in the guise of objective opportunities, what it already bears within itself as a *propensity* (to save or invest money), as a disposition (to calculate etc)’ (Bourdieu, 1990a, p90)

This quote explains the problem of trying to separate positioning from propensity (i.e., predispositions). Bourdieu acknowledged the phenomenological and interactionist claims that social action requires the acquisition of linguistic competence. Or that a ‘sense of positioning’ (*placement*) can (as Bourdieu did) be compared to Goffman’s ‘sense of one’s place’. However he then suggested acquiring the ‘sense of the place of others’ (Bourdieu, 1990, p113) is immediately adjusted by habitus. Hence, agency is deemphasised and social action is ‘collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor’ (Bourdieu, 1990b, p53). Likewise economic activity is possible because there is ‘calculation without a calculator’ (Bourdieu, 2005).

Hence, the alignment of a struggle for subjective aspirations (i.e., motivation to move into subject positions) and the force of the space of possibilities (i.e., objective historical relations in fields) are held together by ascribing a structuralist function to the habitus. The habitus is a mechanism for determining filtering (e.g., cultural taste, reasonable economic activity etc) not through rational calculation but because it mediates the reproduction of social inequalities. An indication of Bourdieu’s exposition of this problem is included below in a passage which reads as approaching a circular logic.

‘Produced by experience of the game, and therefore of the objective structures within which it is played out, the ‘feel for the game’, is what gives the game a subjective sense – a meaning and a *raison d’etre*, but also a direction, an orientation, an impending outcome, for those who take part and therefore acknowledge what is at stake (this is illusion in the sense of investment in the game and the outcome, interest in the game, commitment to the presuppositions – *doxa* of the game). And it also gives the game an objective sense, because the sense of the probable outcome that is given by practical mastery of the specific regularities that constitute the economy of the field is the basis of ‘sensible’ practices, linked intelligibly to the conditions of their enactment, and also among themselves, and therefore immediately filled with

sense and rationality for every individual who has a feel for the game...Because native membership in a field implies a feel for the game in the sense of a capacity for practical anticipation of the 'upcoming' future contained in the present, everything that takes place in it seems *sensible*: full of sense and objectively directed in a judicious direction' (Bourdieu, 1990b, p66).

The habitus is Bourdieu's control mechanism for explaining how the logic of practice is rendered sensible. It 'determines' perception of practices and the degree to which an agent can filter their experience according to their social position. As he was keen on recounting this is why in certain instances, for instance when confronted with contemporary art, some may state 'This is not for us'. It is a habitual response of self-enforced exclusion from cultural forms, practices and ambitions. In the area of taste habitus preserves 'distinctive distances' (Bourdieu, 1990a, p114) by reinforcing cultural capital (e.g., educational experience). This habitualized responsiveness, whilst not entirely fixed, is 'relative durability'. Hence the problem is that it overstates the extent to which social action, such as taste, is 'structured' by a 'propensity' towards certain practices which for Bourdieu was a question of revealing the reproduction of class based inequalities.

This propensity exposes a weakness in Bourdieu's theory which is often related to his lack of theory of cultural change and defence of the exclusionary practices of elite art (Jenkins, 2000). The situation is complex, for as Calhoun suggested, 'Bourdieu's emphasis on reproduction did not foreclose contrary action, though neither did it introduce any notion of systematic pressures for such action' (1993, p75). Others have attributed this to his use of capital without a theory of capitalism. In other words the economy transcends all practices but only as a 'point of reference' (Guillory, 1993) which over simplifies the 'long and complex game' through which symbolic capital must traverse to yield (profits)' (ibid). Hesmondhalgh made a similar observation that there is an almost total absence of discussion of the intricacies through which the cultural industries mediate between culture and the economy (Hesmondhalgh, 2006). Whilst others attribute the fixity in Bourdieu's research to

an ethnocentric bias in his Franco centric studies which may not be translatable to other national contexts (Garnham, 1986, Jenkins, 2000).

Shershow, commenting on the anthropological notion of the gift which runs throughout Bourdieu's logic of practice, raises an objection which is central to this research. He noted that Bourdieu fails to theorize adequately how if it is true that an agent renounces the possibility of knowing in advance future returns from the investment she makes in a game, there is any difference between the pre-capitalist gift ceremony and the capitalist entrepreneur? The problem is that Bourdieu's attempt to separate the disinterested (relative autonomy) of the (modern) cultural field from the naked ambitions of the (modern) market fails as both fields are 'mutually saturated' and no further qualitative distinction over the question of value is analytically graspable (Shershow, 2005).

Shershow's observation almost destroys the relevance of Bourdieu to explaining contemporary economic activity. He rightly draws attention to Bourdieu's reluctance to address boundary crossings between fields. In the cultural sector his rejection of large scale production and the potential for a finer analysis of the positions between small and large scale is attributed to Bourdieu's preference for a romantic attachment to small scale artistic production (Hesmondhalgh, 2006). This may be a thinly veiled attempt to further his political ambitions of preserving the autonomy of all intellectual activities including his own (Jenkins, 2000) against neo-liberalism (Bourdieu, 2002). His need to preserve the cultural field as an 'inverted' form of economic capital (i.e., cultural capital) or his 'denial of the economy' (Guillory, 1993) have been interpreted as a reaction to the events of May 1968 and to what he saw as the increasing power of the market. Lane (2006) argued this was hinted at in *Distinction* (1984) and later developed in *The Rules of Art* (1996) where Bourdieu used the safety of historical distance to reflect on his fear that during his own lifetime 'culture's transformative force had been exploited in the service of consumerism' (2005, p120).

Lane also suggested Bourdieu's analysis of French literature was inaccurate. Most significantly Bourdieu ignored the way authors utilised economic capital to construct their 'rejection' of 'the' market. For instance, Bourdieu treats Zola's *J'Accuse* as exemplifying the model of relative autonomy, but he failed to acknowledge that Zola was already financially independent from his previous book sales. For Lane this is just one illustration of how Bourdieu ignores the nuanced positions through which economic capital becomes a source of 'symbolic leverage' (2006, p127). Lane suggested the rejection of the market by Bohemians was actually a rejection of the existing market relations in favour of more direct control over how one's work was owned and sold. Hence, the cultural entrepreneurs Bourdieu briefly identified were an alternative form of framing (e.g., copyright and distribution) art, but not because they were dedicated to art for arts sake, but because their 'position' created a new market relation for artists which was more in time with what contemporary artists required.

Lane cites a letter in which Zola wrote:

'It is foolish to declaim against money, which is a considerable social force...It is money, it is the gain legitimately realized through his works that has delivered him from all humiliating dependency...Money has emancipated the writer, money has created modern literature' (1880, p 128, cited Lane, 2006).

The significance of this historical detail is that it suggests restricted production was not, as Bourdieu suggested, a total rejection of a single, heteronymous and transcendent economic field. Instead it was a 'renegotiation of their (i.e., artists) relations with that market' (Lane, 2006 p129). Lane's revision of Bourdieu is characteristic of those who continue to borrow from Bourdieu's theory of cultural production, but only by recognizing its flaws. Other useful examples include Benson's work on journalism (1999); Hesmondhalgh's exploration of the trajectories of two independent music labels continually negotiating a path between economic success and cultural value (1999, 2006) and Heise and Tudor's work on the field of contemporary film (2007).

The above criticisms return this discussion to Mouzelis' claim that the problem of sociological theory lies in the tension between creating a rigorous set of sociological theories and the challenge of applying these to asking interesting questions about pressing issues (1995). This section concludes by suggesting that Bourdieu's 'major' theoretical ambitions, perhaps attributable to his initial training in philosophy (Grenfell, 2004, Shusterman, 1997), which sought to transcend dualisms (agency-structure, objective-subjective) should be put aside in favour of his 'minor' ambitions, perhaps the anthropologist and sociologist, who sought to develop a set of 'open concepts' for others to deploy. If Bourdieu has 'failed' (Jenkins, 2000) his failures, to paraphrase Beckett, enable others, such as this researcher, to hopefully 'fail again and fail better'.

With these 'limitations' in mind this research borrows the 'conceptual apparatus' Bourdieu devised for addressing 'positional' or 'surface agitations' (Bourdieu, 1990a, Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) in social practice. This compares to reading Bourdieu and claiming sociologists should reveal misrecognized pre-dispositional forces through the privileged gaze that penetrates practice. This research retains a link to the claim that entrepreneurial activity leads to new organisational realities in which the organisation of design reflexivity is a source of creating a temporal advantage by constructing the architecture of cultural enterprise as a continuum, or plane, encompassing both novelty and reasonableness. Bourdieu's economic anthropology is drawn upon to conceptualize 'the economy of the conditions of production and reproduction of the agents and institutions of economic, cultural and social production and reproduction' (2005b). It is an attempt to utilise sociological theory and therefore must 'forfeit a measure of elegance' and 'abdication of the ambition of competing with the purest economics'. For Bourdieu's sociological theory should study how symbolic and economic practices can be studied from 'description rather than deduction alone' (2005b).

Bourdieu's theory of practice is important to the conceptual basis of this study. It enables a focussing on the local conditions in which individuals enmesh their 'personal organization' (Williams, 1969) of culture within the 'frame' (Callon, 1998) of (economic) calculation that is, if not necessarily rational, then at least reasonable economic activity (Bourdieu, 2005). As this must be addressed empirically the question this study addresses is how agents construct an architecture of cultural enterprise so as to position their entrepreneurial activity in relation to having the legitimate right to reproduce and accumulate symbolic and economic capital. It is the process of 'symbolic alchemy' through which agents must (to varying degrees) cloak their engagement in brute economic ambitions by engaging in subterfuge that this research seeks to understand.

However, if this alchemy is not to be attributed to pre-dispositional forces, or a habitus that creates homologies between producers and consumers tastes 'automatically' then the conceptual framework requires a second set of conceptual tools to address the 'situational interactionist' aspect of social action (Mouzelis, 1995). In other words, one that is more accommodating of voluntaristic interaction, though does not seek to over-privilege agency. The internal consistency moving between Bourdieu's positional theory to interactionist theory is maintained by recalling Wittgenstein's statement that in spite of their differences social theorists share a family resemblance (Inglis etc.a.2007). The conceptual link is that Bourdieu drew not only from continental philosophy (notably phenomenology and Weber's sociology of religion (Lash, 1992)) but also from Anglo-American analytical philosophers, including Herbert Mead and John Dewey (Shusterman, 1999) both of whose theories of social action are drawn upon in the following section.

Situational Interaction: World Making, Symbol Manipulation and Shared Perception

This section addresses sociological theory which can be drawn upon to add a ‘situation interactional’ (Mouzelis, 1995) aspect to thinking about how design reflexivity is organised through entrepreneurial activity. Agency will be addressed by drawing from three interrelated conceptualizations: The social constructionist theory of knowledge; symbolic interactionism and pragmatic aesthetics. The following offers a counterweight to Bourdieu’s ‘structuring structures’.

The Social Constructionist Theory of World Building

In the *The Social Construction of Reality* (1967) Berger and Luckmann asked how sociological theory could address the questions: ‘*What is real?* and *How is one to know?*’ Their treatise claimed the sociology of knowledge (*Wissenssoziologie*) should address the context in which knowledge is constructed as this was relevant to the broader philosophical question of how individuals cope with ‘existential determination’ (*Seinsgebundenheit*). They addressed the interrelationship between individual finitude and the creation and maintenance of social knowledge by drawing from a Marxian anthropological ontology; Nietzsche’s⁶ ‘will to power’ and historicism so as to stress the contingency of *all* knowledge.

This research will extract the world construction element of their sociology of knowledge (Berger, 1990) as this provides a useful antidote to any temptation towards a ‘situational determination’ of entrepreneurial activity. In other words theorising the process through which the construction of knowledge about design contributes to the *nomos* (norms), as it is converted into economically reasonable activity (Bourdieu, 2005), or part of the taken

⁶ Nietzsche’s work is referenced only once in the main text, along with several footnotes which refer primarily to Nietzsche’s genealogy. From this is it surmised that Nietzsche provides first an extension of the means through which individuals are seduced to avert the realization that ‘we are strangers to ourselves’ or that ‘we are never knowers’; second that his philosophy offers a means of critiquing the constructedness of morals, or the ‘value of these values’. The relevance to sociology of knowledge being the capacity to trace the creation, evolution and distortion of morality which, as Nietzsche believed were a narcotic ‘danger of dangers’ capable of constraining the ‘full’ potentiality of human existence (1967).

granted 'paramount reality', or 'relative-natural-world view' (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). Rather than revealing and debunking as the key aim of sociology, Berger and Luckmann advocated an 'accumulation of different perspectives' (p22), gathered from empirical fieldwork could help understand how individuals construct the value to their knowledge about in specific settings. Berger and Luckmann argued everyday knowledge as well as intellectual history (*Weltanschauungen*) was valuable to sociology of knowledge and stated:

'...only a few are concerned with the theoretical interpretation of the world, but everybody lives in a world of some sort. Not only is the focus on theoretical thought unduly restrictive for the sociology of knowledge, it is also unsatisfactory because even this part of socially available 'knowledge' cannot be fully understood if it is not placed in the framework of a more general analysis of 'knowledge'. To exaggerate the importance of theoretical thought in society and history is a natural failing of theorizers. It is then all the more necessary to correct this intellectualistic misapprehension. The theoretical formulations of reality, whether they are scientific or philosophical or even mythological, do not exhaust what is 'real' for the members of a society. Since this is so, the sociology of knowledge, must first of all concern itself with what people 'know' as 'reality' in their everyday, non- or pre-theoretical lives. In other words, common-sense 'knowledge' rather than 'ideas' must be the central focus for the sociology of knowledge. It is precisely this 'knowledge' that constitutes the fabric of meanings without which no society could exist.' (1967, p27).

This quote summarizes the 'dual character' of Berger and Luckmann's synthesis of Durkheim's explanation of 'social facts', (i.e., objective facticity) and Weber's understandings of the 'subjective meaning complex of action'. As with Bourdieu this objective-subjective synthesis assists in overcoming the dualist split of agency-structure by asking 'how is it possible that subjective meanings *become* objective facticities? In other words how individuals contribute to world construction whilst traversing multiple spheres of consciousness (e.g., dream, anxiety and wide-awake state of existing) and articulating these so as to organise the self towards certain goals which require interaction with others and objects.

World building is conceptualised as a competency in learning the relationships between self, others and objects as 'pre-arranged in patterns' and 'constituted by an order of

objects that have been designated as objects' (p35). The collective accumulation of which comprise a 'web of human relations' which are experienced through everyday social interaction. Language is the medium through which intentional consciousness is expressed as individuals pursue 'pragmatic motives' 'designed' to control their 'zone' of influence. This is an immediate (temporal) and graspable (spatial) zone which is knowable through 'typifications', or expectations which form the basis of common-sense categories.

Berger (1990), explaining the sacred act of the 'enterprise of world-building', identified three moments which were: externalization, objectivation and internalization. Externalization referred to the 'ongoing outpouring' of a human being's communication with the world. Objectivation referred to the realization of products which, when placed in a shared reality, confront the creator as objective facts. Finally, internationalization referred to the process through which objective reality is appropriated back into 'subjective consciousness' (Berger, 1990, pp4-7) as a basis for interpreting the past, present and future.

The majority of Berger and Luckmann's argument is focussed on explaining the process through which reality is institutionalized through socially constructed experience. However, they briefly mentioned instances where, during the process of world construction, certain roles permit a different type of world building. These included religion, play, theoretical contemplation and aesthetic experience. As these actions involve a temporal shift, or 'commutation', away from everyday reality, they permit individuals to enter a 'finite reality'. This is a 'non-shared reality' accessible through a 'turning away' from the everyday so as to encourage a 'radical shift'.

The term commutation is extracted as the first moment in a conceptual model of the architecture of cultural enterprise. Reality enclaves and commutations are valuable terms for conceptualizing how individuals construct qualitatively different tempo-spatial relations during world building. Such moments permit a 'radical' social positioning as an immanent

part of the process of inserting novelty and difference into existent social relations.

Commutations are conceptualized as a key moment in which individuals' articulate novel ways to establish relations between objects, others and the environment. As Berger noted these commutations are not un-constructed or non-doing. Instead they can become valuable 'leaps'⁷ only if they are translated into paramount reality. Assuming individuals want to communicate their commutations they must actions recognise the temporality of the 'difference' they seek to introduce will in turn be diminish as its otherworldliness is normalised. As Berger and Luckmann stated:

'All finite provinces of meaning are characterized by a turning away of attention from the reality of everyday life. While there are, of course, shifts in attention *within* everyday life, the shift to a finite province of meaning is a much more radical kind. A radical change takes place in the tension of consciousness... It is important to stress, however, that the reality of everyday life retains its paramount status even as such 'leaps' take place. If nothing else, language makes sure of this. The common language available to me for the objectification of my experiences is grounded in everyday life and keeps pointing back to it even as I employ it to interpret experiences in finite provinces of meaning. Typically, therefore, I 'distort' the reality of the latter as soon as I begin to use the common language in interpreting them, that is, I 'translate' the non-everyday experiences back into the paramount reality of everyday life. This may be readily seen in terms of dreams, but is also typical of those trying to report about theoretical, aesthetic or religious worlds of meaning... Yet all these – dreamer, physicist, artist and mystic – *also* live in the reality of everyday life. Indeed one of the important problems is to interpret the coexistence of this reality with the reality enclaves into which they have ventured' (1967, pp39-40).

The notion of a commutation into and out of reality enclaves is useful for conceptualising how individuals can mix a personal organisation of culture (Williams, 1981) with socially relevant actions. Temporal displacements are not entirely voluntary. They must be coupled with Bourdieu's notion of positioning struggles as individuals organise commutations within the spaces of possibility available to them. The act of making individual (voluntaristic)

⁷ Berger and Luckmann use this term to describe a religious experience. Here it is used to explain a leap of the imagination arising from the combinatory play between an individual designer's creative impulse and socially sanctioned action.

outpourings socially relevant to others is now further elaborated by drawing from symbolic interactionist theory.

Symbolic Interactionism: Design and Manipulation of Shared Repertoires

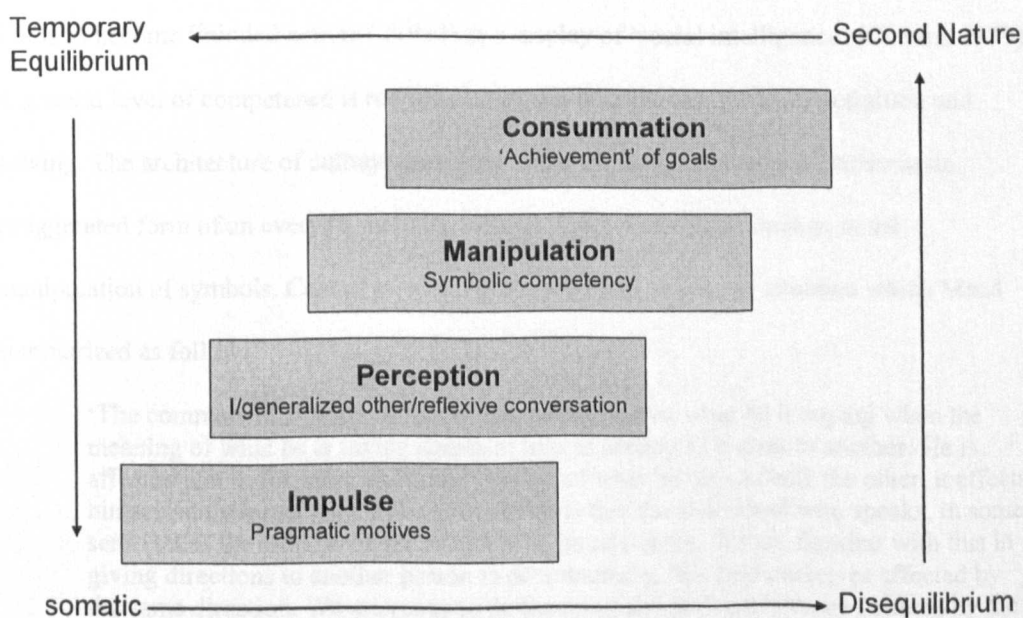
Symbolic interactionism is again consistent with Bourdieu and Berger and Luckmann owing to a commitment to phenomenology and the pragmatist epistemology of socially embedded knowledge production (Shusterman, 1999). The key symbolic interactionist argument is that symbols become meaningful during 'real' interactions between 'real' people in 'real' settings. Symbolic interactionism draws attention to the 'lines of action' tying agents to others, objects and environments. Empirical study was advocated to show instances in which individuals designate meaning for their self in relation to the world around them. The value of this approach is that it enables this study to claim that the entrepreneurial activities of individuals in the design sub-fields are exaggerations of a shared process of shaping reality through competency at manipulating shared symbols.

George Mead argued that 'shared repertoires' (i.e., socially constructed symbolic resources, or in Bourdieu's terms 'capital) emerge through socialization. First, the infant learns to separate 'self' from other (e.g., parent) a process which continues in complexity as individuals learn to adapt their self in relation to a 'generalized other' (i.e., other individuals, roles). As this process is socially embedded it is historically contingent on the symbolic interpretations held by others at a moment and social position. In order to achieve personal objectives, individuals must organise their actions in relation to generalized others, or by developing a '*Me*' (i.e., a socially negotiable self).

Symbolic meaning is dependent upon a shared capacity to negotiate self by continuously translating I through shared symbolic meanings or *Me*. Mead conceptualized

this as a four stage process. The first stage was the 'impulse' or general disposition to act. Mead attributed this to the disequilibrium, or compulsion to act (Charon, 1979) resulting from a somatic need to adapt to change. The second, 'perception', is the ability to shape individual action through thinking in social situations. This capacity for self-reflection is developed 'covertly' whilst participating in social interaction. Third is 'manipulation', or the competency at using symbols to control the flow of relations to objects, others and environments. The fourth stage was 'consummation' or the restoration of equilibrium, although this did not refer to a 'final' resting point but a prompt to react to new somatic impulses, changes in perception and others manipulation. This process is stimulated by the impulse to act and react to somatic needs rather than, as we saw with Bourdieu, to the motivation to move within and according to socially constructed habitus and therefore reliant upon

Exhibit 2 Symbolic Interactionism: From Disequilibrium and Creative Impulse to Consummation and Temporary Equilibrium



The relevance of symbolic interactionism here is how it addresses the continuous negotiated ordering of symbolic meanings via 'shared repertoires'. This manipulation layer, irrespective of the origin of motivation, suggests how in the pursuit of individual objectives agents must draw from shared symbols which do not determine manipulation. Instead they form an intangible social cartography individuals must learn to 'read' if they are to articulate sufficient alignment and difference between commutations and consummations. As Mead explained symbols are *only* meaningful when they become a 'stimulus (which) can affect the individual as it affects the other' (1934, p149). By engaging in symbolic play individuals develop different competencies for the 'interpretation of action', or 'ideational frameworks' which Charon summarized as follows:

'It is through thinking with symbols that each individual is able to create his or her own world beyond the physical, develop highly individual interpretations of reality and respond uniquely to that reality...The key is not so much the symbol as the *symbolizing* and the *manipulation* of symbols by active persons, defining and redefining their social relations.'(1979, p60).

All social action, not only the transformations of 'culture' by designers is therefore symbolic if it is to become 'minded activity' (1934) as a display of 'social intelligence' (Charon, 1979). A general level of competence is required to engage in collective problem definition and solving. The architecture of cultural enterprise is therefore conceptualised further as an exaggerated form of an everyday activity through which individuals engage in the manipulation of symbols. Central to which is the ability to define the situation which Mead summarized as follows:

'The common expression of this is that a man knows, what he is saying when the meaning of what he is saying comes to him as readily as it does to another. He is affected just as the other is. If the meaning of what he says affects the other, it affects himself in the same way. The result of this is that the individual who speaks, in some sense takes the attitude of the other whom he addresses. We are familiar with this in giving directions to another person to do something. We find ourselves affected by the same direction. We are ready to do the thing and perhaps become irritated by the

awkwardness of the other and insist on doing it ourselves. We have called out in ourselves the same response we have asked for in another person. We are taking his attitude. It is through this sort of participation, this taking the attitude of other individuals, that the peculiar character of human intelligence is constituted' (Mead, 1936, *Movements of Thoughts*, cited p106)

The ability to affect 'mutual social action' is therefore open to different degrees of manipulation. Variation in the ability to exert 'definitions of the situation' is a partially attributed to voluntary agency.

As Charon summarised:

'Symbolic interactionism is a perspective that sees humans actively defining their situations and acting according to their definitions. Further, humans also attempt to define situations for others in interaction. To do so is to help determine the direction the interaction takes. The presentation of self, the manipulation of the environment, and the definition of others are all attempts to define the situation for others and therefore attempts to exert power in relations to others. To lack the ability, the resources, or the willingness to define the situation is to put oneself in a situation where others are trying to do the defining and where one's dependence on others' definitions is increased' (1987, p143).

The notion of different competencies at 'defining the situation for others' is taken, through symbolic interaction, as heightened among individuals engaged in entrepreneurial activity in the design sub-fields. Commutations can now be added too 'translations; or the need to develop competency at manipulating common symbolizing activity. The architecture of cultural enterprise is said to be reliant on the ability to bring commutations into alignment with social definitions of the situation, or the collectively negotiated value of design reflexivity as novel and reasonable. The following section provides the final element of the conceptual framework by drawing from pragmatist aesthetics to conceptualizing 'consummation' in more detail.

Pragmatist Aesthetics: Design as Experience

Pragmatist aesthetics provides a challenge to the theoretical separation of art and ‘culture’ as separate from non-aesthetic experiences. This is important if the ‘aesthetic’ (i.e., artistic) and ‘non-aesthetic’ (i.e., ‘business’) are to be analysed as co-existing on the same plane, as Simmel suggested (1902). Shields has made a related claim that the etymological roots of the word aesthetics dates to the Greek *aesthesis* – or shared experience and ‘breathing in’ with others and the environment. He claimed this challenges the specialization of Enlightenment thinking which separated handicraft and surface arts according to their practical value. McIntyre made a similar observation arguing the Enlightenment forced a separation of the ‘aesthetic’ (passionate life) and the ‘ethical’ (duty bound life) (1981). Pragmatist aesthetics can be used to re-couple the two spheres so as to ask how design activity affects a shared ‘emotional ambience’ (Mafessoli, 1996). Shields has also argued how design sub-fields contribute a ‘social aesthetic’ to how individuals relate to their self, others, objects and environments (2002, p206).

The coherency in the conceptual framework is held since pragmatist aesthetics questions the a priori authority of *theoria* by asking how valid ‘detached contemplation’ is as the basis for understanding aesthetic experience. Pragmatist aesthetics urges empirical studies of how agents conduct an ‘envirning (of) the world’ which may or may not involve the professionalization and institutionalization of ‘aesthetics’ (e.g., theatre, museum and gallery). Instead aesthetic experience is conceptualized as a common somatic experience rather than only to be found in ‘art’ or the ‘beauty parlour of civilization’ (Dewey, 1934). Such a conceptualization is valuable to avoid *a priori* definitions of what art or aesthetic experience is and since this opens the problem of delineating ‘creative’ industry from ‘unasthetic industry’ (Shusterman, 2000, p49). Instead aesthetic experience can be relocated as central to

the experience of being with others. This is not a masked attack on high or elite art. As Shusterman suggested:

‘There is nothing intrinsically wrong with the specialization, erudition and avant-garde impulse of high art; it would be an impoverishing diminution to raise high art’s noble edifice to satisfying a populist urge for levelling. The problem is the exclusionary presumption that this tradition exhausts the realm of legitimate art and aesthetic experience’ (2000, p51).

Pragmatist aesthetics keeps open the possibility that individuals construct aesthetic experience relative to their locality (*genius loci*) or ‘practico-ethico realm’ (Shusterman, 2000). However, rather than ascribing this solely to the predispositions of habitus (i.e., occupation, social class, education, Bourdieu, 1984), it is conceptualized as also involving the ‘receptive undergoing and productive doing, both absorbing and responsively reconstructing what is experienced’ (Shusterman, 2000). Cultural enterprise can be said to be a channelling of experience which to be productive must affect how others develop their identities. Creating organisations for such novel and reasonable mixtures requires ‘controlled construction and captivated absorption’ (ibid. p58).

Aesthetic experience is defined as the ability to affect how others inhabit a commonality beyond brute stimulation. Dewey attributed this more-ness to an exaggerated moment in which creators and audiences experience enter into a qualitatively different experience of the patterning of time and space. As he stated:

‘Inner harmony is attained only when, by some means, terms are made with the environment. When it occurs on any other than ‘objective’ basis it is illusionary – in extreme cases to the point of insanity. Fortunately for variety in experience, terms are made in many ways – ways ultimately decided by selective interest. Pleasures may come about through chance contact and stimulation; such pleasures are not to be despised in a world full of pain. But happiness and delight are a different sort of thinking. They come to be through a fulfilment that reaches to the depths of our being – one that is an adjustment of our whole being with the conditions of existence. In the process of living, attainment of a period of equilibrium is at the same time the initiation of a new relation to the environment, one that brings with it potency of new adjustments to be made through struggle. The time of consummation is also one of beginning anew. (1934, p17).

Aesthetics will be located within the affective layer of social experience through which there is a continuous ‘adjustment of our whole being with the conditions of experience’ (Dewey, 1934), whether pleasurable or painful. Such experiences must affect individuals ‘selective interests’ by alluding to the conditions of a desirable shared experience. Dewey described such moments as ‘hushed reverberations’ since past experience and the will to project into the future are brought into close proximity and an aesthetic experience or consummation occurs from the creation and active reception of ‘heightened vitality’. He continued:

‘Instead of signifying being shut up within one’s own private feelings and sensations, it (art) signifies active and alert commerce with the world; at its height it signifies complete interpenetration of self and the world of objects and events. Instead of signifying surrender to caprice and disorder, it affords our sole demonstration of a stability that is not stagnation but is rhythmic and developing. Because experience is the fulfilment of an organism in its struggles and achievements in a world of things, it is art in germ. Even in its rudimentary forms, it contains the promise of that delightful perception which is esthetic experience’ (1934, p19).

Aesthetic experience is ‘commerce with the world’ through a heightened interrelation to self, objects, others and environments. This affective connectivity is occurring continuously through a ‘minuteness of differentiations’ (Dewey, p23), or ‘novelty in action’. Dewey’s aesthetic experience can intensify as individuals insert or interpret novel rhythms (individual milieu) which are counter posed to a social rhythm (i.e., milieux). These differing rhythmic intensities ensure ‘space becomes something more than a void in which to roam about’ and ‘time ceases to be either the endless and uniform flow or the succession of instantaneous points’ (1934, p34). The architecture of cultural enterprise is conceptualised as consummation if it has the potential to affect the shared ‘plane of meaning’ by bringing about an enmeshment of novel and reasonable mixtures of symbolic and economic activity. The role of the cultural entrepreneur is to ‘sense, need, impulse and action’ (Dewey, 1934, p25) and this particular organisation of aesthetic experience can be studied empirically. The question this permits is how an individual’s organisation of ‘culture’ in the design sector is capable of

influencing collectively negotiated contours of shared experience. Dewey's pragmatist aesthetics is useful for avoiding the lack of a word between 'artistic' and 'aesthetic'. Dewey's suggestion was that aesthetic experience should be linked to 'perception' which implies the construction of a shared 'incubation' between 'creator' and 'receiver'.

This section has suggested a provisional framework for justifying the research question of how there is a voluntaristic aspect to cultural enterprise. It was claimed cultural enterprise is one instance of 'world building', specifically through moments in which individuals construct novel knowledge and realise these must be enjoined with shared organisations of what is not only (symbolically) novel but also (economically) reasonable. It was then suggested that to become valuable these commutations must be translated into shared symbolic repertoires. The concept of symbolic manipulation was suggested to conceptualize how entrepreneurial activities in design sub-fields are an exaggerated version of a common symbolizing and manipulation process. Finally, pragmatist aesthetics were drawn on to argue that commutations must affect a shared experience or the aesthetic layer of the *nomos* if they are to be consummated. A broad definition of aesthetics as experience was argued as central to conceptualising cultural enterprise as an activity or organisation of an exaggerated shared aesthesis or sense of being with others. The challenge for the remainder of this chapter is to defend the claim that architecture of cultural enterprise can be witnessed via a 'language sensitive sociology' (Watson, Forthcoming B) capable of interpreting patterns deposited by individuals as they engaged in entrepreneurial activity in the design sector.

'Language Sensitive Sociology': Patterns of Design Reflexivity in Action

This section argues a 'language sensitive sociology' (Watson, Forthcoming B) is useful for studying how individuals construct their architecture of cultural enterprise via entrepreneurial

activity in one location. It is organized in three sections. First it argues narrative theory is useful for studying how individuals articulate their personal organisation of 'culture' in relation to broader conceptions of what constitutes reasonable knowledge about design. As such appeals are made within the genre of design that are contingent upon a 'relational setting' (Somers, 1994). This setting has already been explored in the social theories presented in Chapter 1 which highlight the increased role design thinking has in the capitalist production process. Second, identity theory is drawn upon for its relevance to understanding how individuals construct part of their identity by engaging with the social role of 'cultural entrepreneur' and 'designer'. Identity work provides a means of conceptualising how individuals legitimize their position taking through social activity. The third section focuses on discourse as it is vital to conceptualise how language use provides empirical material to study the agency-structure interrelationship of how design reflexivity is negotiated through social relations which are context specific.

Narrating Design Reflexivity

The vast literature on narrative theory is reduced here using Czarniawska's suggestion that in social science 'our' interest should be understanding how individuals narrate experiences of organising and being organised (1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2004). It returns to the earlier point that narrative theory is useful for 'illuminating the context' of entrepreneurial activity, organizational emergence and organizational creativity (Howarth et.a.2005). The suggestion is that via narrating, humans (*homo narrans*) organise unstructured experiences and this activity is valuable to understanding the quality of human experience, as opposed to *explaining* human behaviour through causal inferences and prediction (Bruner, 1990).

To become useful as a social science research methodology researchers stress the 'ontogenetic' quality of narrating (Czarniawska, 2004, Somers, 1994) as narration is an

intended activity through which individuals construct relationships to their self, others, objects and environments. This 'organizing function' (Weick, 1995) of narrative has become especially developed in organization studies where scholars apply narrative theory to understand the role that characterization, myth and story telling play in making sense of organizational life (Boje, 1984, Humphreys and Brown, 2002, Gabriel, 2004). What is relevant to this research is the coupling between narrative theory and ethnographic studies which show how individuals narrate their experiences of managing in specific settings. Examples include urban planning management (Czarniawska, 2000), the restructuring of Swedish public sector administration (Czarniawska, 1997); how managers manage in a telecommunications organization (Watson, 2001) and narratives of entrepreneurs (Down, 2006).

This research adopts the concept that narrating experience is a patterning action that conveys something about a 'relational setting' (Somers, 1994). By listening and even participating in the co-construction of narratives, social researchers capture something of the various 'definitions of a situation' present in social setting. The danger is that narrative theory contravenes the 'pragmatic pluralist' approach (Mouzelis, 1995, Watson, 1997) if it stops being a tool for asking interesting questions about the world and becomes an end in itself. Whilst there have been undoubtedly sophisticated uses of narrative theory in the field of enterprise (Hjorth, 2004, 2007, Steyaert, 2003) this is to the detriment of gaining practical insights into entrepreneurial activity through empirical sociology.

The danger is that narrative structures become reified. To avoid this narrative theory will be used modestly as a means of conceptualising how participants' interpretations of an entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity are constructed in relation to the public relevance of design. Examples of such acts of narration include interviews with this researcher, informal interactions, formal meetings with clients and at other public events

(e.g., at gallery openings, public lectures, conferences and so forth). Narrative is conceptualised in this study as a means of connecting individual biography to a relational setting (Carr, 1986, Currie, 2007, Hutto, 2007, Somers, 1994,) but it does not accept Down's claim these should be interpreted as an 'entrepreneurial narrative' which is monological due to increased individualism in late reflexive modernity (2006). Instead, whilst respecting basic conventions of narrative theory the aim is to provide rich empirical instances of how research participants interpret their architecture of cultural enterprise through an articulation of design reflexivity in action. As such the narration is not theorised as determined by detraditionalising and individualising forces but through the interrelationship of agency and making of a personal organisation of culture relevant and legitimate as a socially competent display of the manipulation of shared symbolic repertoires. This study relied both synchronic narration about enterprise (i.e., narrative acts in which the researcher (largely) witnessed the descriptions about cultural enterprise) and diachronic narration in which the researcher participated actively in moments and settings in which design reflexivity was articulated. Limitations are placed on the use of narrative theory so that it is not conceptualised as being responsible for the process of 'constructing a world' (Bruner, 1990, p56). This research only partially accepts Polkinhorne's claim that:

"We achieve our personal identities and self-concept through the use of the narrative configuration, and make our existence into a whole by understanding it as an expression of a single unfolding and developing story. We are in the middle of our stories and cannot be sure how they will end; we are constantly having to revise the plot as new events are added to our lives. Self, then is not a static thing or substance, but a configuring of personal events into an historical unity which includes not only what one has been but also anticipation of what one will be" (Polkinghorne, *Narrative Knowing*, cited Bruner, 1990 p116)

It is accepted that as part of meaningful social life individuals narrate elements of their existence through an unfolding set of interrelations. These acts are context specific i articulations of design reflexivity to others, such as clients, competitors, the press, students,

audiences and the researcher. This research does not accept that human meaning can be exhausted by Polkinhorne's claim that we 'make our entire existence whole' through narration. There were instances in which, as a result of 'being' immersed in the settings of entrepreneurial activity, this researcher became aware of the non-narrated affective experiences through which design reflexivity was performed. For example were silence would be filled with visual, aural and kinaesthetic stimulation and viewer, touching, wearing, and interacting with various objects (material and intangible). These actions were not always a prompt for narrative construction but performances of the designers role of demonstrating, or 'pointing out' (Brown, 2001), connections between their design reflexivity and an objective display of its actualisation. These performances were sometimes accompanied by verbal articulation but often were not. Equally in client presentations design reflexivity was not always articulated but inferred by reference to previous projects and imagery which alluded to a 'vibe', 'feel', 'style', 'look' and so on. During these moments the designer was temporarily exempted from narrating the reasonableness of their work by translating it into language. Instead they relied on the 'gesture' (Wijdeveld, 1992) their work implied and hoped its affectivity would lead to a consummation with the other.

It was simply not the case that participants narrated their design reflexivity as an historical unity or plot of their entrepreneurial life (although this was at times observed). It is suggested that narrative theory is more relevant to instances where individuals were placed in situations which required them to narrate. For example when conducting formal interviews, such as with this researcher, or with journalists, clients, funding institutions or social situations which required a narrative of one's entrepreneurial activity. This introduces Watson's question of whether it is really the case that individuals are always narrating their experiences (2007)?

This is significant as it reiterates the value of conducting ethnographic studies of those engaged in entrepreneurial activities so as to avoid a possible over reliance on literary criticism and hermeneutics. Narratives should not be treated as texts existing independent from life, or as a mimetic representation of social action (Czarniawska, 2004). Instead acts of narration should be studied as examples of the symbolic action that is continuously constructed through all human interaction. Individual's narratives are useful examples of the patterns of world construction but agents do not necessarily bring the world into being through narrative. Instead narrative theory is a tool to conceptualise 'situationally negotiated' patterns through which individuals relate their self to the ongoing production of organisational realities (Czarniawska, 2004, 2005) or rather the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity.

In terms of the 'truth' of interpretations of such instances of organisational creativity (Hjorth, 2004) that were witnessed being created during such patterning moments care must be taken not to separate the narrative from the interrelation in which it occurred. The individuals' architecture of cultural enterprise is a social act and negotiation within a design sector which acts as a structuring structure on what is considered novel-reasonable at a given moment. The narrations that were captured in this study therefore represent thin slices of a relational setting which, so it has been claimed from social theory, privileges the enmeshment of individual creativity (i.e., design reflexivity) with public narratives about innovation, design and creativity. The narrative element of this study is therefore in taking seriously the claim that ontologically some element of human existence, certainly not its entirety, is rendered meaningful through the act of narrating one's self in relation to others within a relational setting which also contains conceptual and meta narratives brought into the setting by the researcher so as to interpret narration.

The validity of such accounts is in the claim they are instances of how individuals translate the value of their organisation of design reflexivity within specific social settings. These appeals are not 'scientific' in the sense that they could be falsified according to the logic of their reliability as in say Popper's measurement of scientific value (1985, 1990). Instead they are considered valid examples of the 'surface struggles' (Bourdieu, 1992) through which individuals narrate the value of their entrepreneurial activities in relation to other definitions of the situation, or what constitutes valuable design. As such they form part of what Bakhtin referred to as an 'alternative science method' (1986) one that treats acts of interpretation seriously as they contain and contribute to the 'evaluative aspect' of human sense making. Further discussion of the validity of this claim is to be found in Chapter 8. For now it is claimed acts of narrating the value of how design reflexivity is organised through entrepreneurial activity provides material to study the 'syntax' of cultural enterprise. It is in the specific 'connectivity of parts' that individuals draw on to narrate their design reflexivity that is of interest since this connects an individual's organisation of culture to the situational relations that privilege certain forms of cultural expression because of their relevance to contemporary capitalist production. This connectivity is defined by Somers as follows:

'narratives are constellations of *relationships* (connected parts) embedded in *time and space*, constituted by *causal employment*... (narrative) renders understanding only by *connecting* (however unstably) *parts* to a constructed *configuration* or a *social network* of relationships (however incoherent or unrealizable) composed of symbolic, institutional and material practices' (1994, p616).

Instances in which individuals were observed narrating the value of their entrepreneurial design reflexivity will be studied as examples of attaching significance to events, characters, objects from the flow of social action. In these interpretations it is claimed there is an evaluative aspect of experience which assists in understanding the selection process through which individuals filter experience and exaggerate certain (affective) elements of it. Hence the narrative construction of the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity will be

used to represent individuals' interpretations of knowledge about design in relation to contemporary valuations of good design. The next section expands on how identity work provides an opportunity to gather material of how individuals organise a position for their design reflexivity in relation to a generalised other.

Identity Work: Engaging with the Social Identity of 'Cultural Entrepreneur'

This section argues that another key patterning activity through which the value of entrepreneurial activity in the design sector can be studied is identity work. Specifically the question of how individuals construct a part of their human identity as a 'cultural entrepreneur'. Identity work is defined as:

'the mutually constitutive process in which people strive to shape a relatively coherent and distinctive notion of personal self-identity and struggle to come to terms with and, within limits, to influence the various social identity which pertain to them in the various milieux in which they live their lives' (Watson, 2008).

This quote is valuable as a reminder to what Watson explains (Watson, Forthcoming B) as the temptation to reduce identification to a single role, social identity or a persona.

Identifying oneself as a manager, he stated, was likely to be just one aspect of an overall human identity. If individuals cannot be reduced to a single role then this is why research participants are rarely referred to in this study solely as cultural entrepreneur. Instead it is claimed empirical study can provide representations of instances in which individuals appealed to a plurality of social identities (e.g. artist, designer, owner-founder, father, creative) to construct part of their identity as a cultural entrepreneur.

Identity work is useful as a conceptual tool for focussing on the degree to which, by constructing a 'subject position' for their design reflexivity, individuals accept or reject the persona of cultural entrepreneur. This requires conceptualising identity analytically as comprising of both an interrelationship to self and to multiple social identities. This

separation is made for analytical purposes (Jenkins, 1996) to understand the dialectic between the personal organization of 'culture' and social categorisation of entrepreneurial organisation of knowledge about design. It does not suggest the research participants had divided selves. Instead identity work is used to explore the extent to which individuals accept, reject and modify their commitment to various social roles in the pursuit of intended activities (i.e., the creation and maintenance of organisations). Organisational scholars have developed the notion of identity to understand how individuals interrelate with various organizational settings and cultures (Sveningsson and Alvesson, Alvesson and Wilmott, 2002, Fenwick, 2002 Moeran, 2007, Nixon, 2003, Kondo, 1992, Watson, 2001, Forthcoming B, Forthcoming C). What these studies suggest is that identity is negotiated, as opposed to relating to a 'real analytic self'. And identity is increasingly worked upon in contemporary organisation, a process which has been studied by fieldwork in bounded settings as individuals seek to develop their identity within the organisation of identity regulation (Alvesson and Wilmott, 2002).

Identity work will be used in this research to expand the 'situational interaction' (Mouzelis, 1995), or improvised element of 'position taking' strategies. The term is used to refer to the process through which individuals devote a portion of their overall human identity into becoming a 'cultural entrepreneur' so as to legitimate their 'investment' aimed at mixing symbolically novel personal organisations of culture with economically reasonable activities. However, if identity is not theorised as a mechanical response to pre-dispositional forces, then neither is it entirely voluntaristic self-creation. Instead identification is defined as a process through which individuals construct a 'relative autonomy' necessary for symbolic novelty which is balanced against a 'relative heteronomy' necessary for reasonable economic activity. As such identification is partially defined by self and partially constrained by 'the

Other', (e.g., other designers, professional associations, design publications, institutions, objects, technologies, materials, clients, consumers).

The architecture of cultural enterprise can be studied empirically as individuals engage with the role of cultural entrepreneur through identity work. This implies identity is neither entirely individualistic nor structurally determined. Instead empirical materials recording how individuals construct their identity through self-determination and the categorising forces of social identities (1996, 2000) can be used to construct representations of the process of identifying with the role of cultural entrepreneur. This is also internally consistent with Berger's notion that identity is not a 'given', but must be created according to the opportunities present. As he stated:

'Identities are socially bestowed. They must also be socially sustained, and fairly steadily so. One cannot be human all by oneself and, apparently, one cannot hold on to any particular identity all by oneself' (1963, p118).

For Berger, identity must be 'continuously created and re-created in each social situation', so that the self becomes 'a slender thread of memory' (p124, 1963). As this activity is contingent on a set of historically formed social relations this slender thread is conceptualised as an attempt to form a position in relation to contemporary legitimate role of the cultural entrepreneur. Such a position was outlined in Chapter 1 as design reflexivity is an expert knowledge which assists in calculating value in a late modernity characterised by de-traditionalization, de-territorialization and de-differentiation (Beck, Giddens and Lash, 1994, Beck 2000, Giddens, 1991, Lash and Urry. 1994, McRobbie, 1994). The identity work of individuals engaging within the cultural entrepreneur social identity within the design sector should permit representations which show how individuals construct part of their identity to demonstrate how they can organise design reflexivity capable of affecting others attempts to construct their self-identities.

What empirical research should assist in understanding is how by engaging in identity work as organisers of design reflexivity individuals not only cope with the conditions of late modernity, but contribute to the ‘obsessive preoccupation’ or ‘restlessness, foreboding and desperation’ attributable to ‘generalized sources of unease’ (Giddens, 1991, p181). Local articulations of design reflexivity therefore connect individual biographical accounts to global flows of contemporary capitalism via identity work which legitimates one element of their identity. Echoing Mills’ comments about the sociological imagination as a bridge between private troubles and public issues, Jenkins framed the importance of identity theory by asking the following question.

‘How can we fruitfully bring into the same analytical space the active lives and consciousnesses of individuals, the abstract impersonality of the institutional order, and the ebb and flow of historical time? How to bring the public and personal troubles into the same frame’ (1996, p26).

To summarize, identity work will be used to conceptualise how it is individuals construct part of their identity as a cultural entrepreneur. Drawing on multiple examples of this process will help understand how the research participants’ identity work requires a negotiation between self and social identity. As individuals accounts of the architecture of cultural enterprise are analysed so social reality ‘thickens and hardens’ (Berger and Luckmann, 1966, Berger, 1963) and definitions of what is considered valuable design reflexivity will be rendered visible. The patterns created during such activity are understood as examples of ‘pragmatic individualism’ (Jenkins, 2000), or the notion that in the pursuit of entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity individuals construct part of their identity through the interrelationship of a part of their self (i.e., Mead’s Me) that is partially aligned with social identities (i.e., personas of entrepreneur and designer). The final section now explores how language and discourse underpin the conceptual framework.

Translating Interpretations of Design Reflexivity into Representations

This section argues language must be ‘contained’, as Watson suggested, by a ‘language sensitive sociology’ (Forthcoming A). Language use can be studied to understand sociological questions of how individuals engaged in cultural enterprise interpret their activities. First, I will outline the importance of Schon’s argument that design professionals construct reflective ‘repertoires’ through language to engage in design problems.

Schon (1983) argued architects used language to build repertoires for linking their ‘internal’ dialogue with the ‘external’ specificities of a design situation (e.g., a macro design problem consisting of micro elements such as a building’s setting, materials, sponsors, cost etc). Through linguistic interrelationship Schon claimed architects devised ways to ‘define the situation’ through ‘design vocabularies’. There is an internal consistency here with symbolic interactionist and social construction theory outlined above. Schon identified two types of vocabularies; first, ‘design language’ used to relate words and non-verbal communication (e.g., drawing and gestures) to design problems; second ‘language about design’, or the ability to converse meaningfully about design in general with others.

Schon emphasised the role linguistic competency played in controlling the abstraction of plans by enjoining self-creation with the ‘local’ details of a design problem and its overall ‘global’ objective’s. Buchanan (1993) made a similar claim that the value of design is actively constructed by individual designers’ through the articulation of their ‘design thinking’. He argued designers tended towards specific ‘places of invention’ or relatively durable repertoires to which individuals were continuously adjusting their personal approaches within wider ‘placements’ of design thinking. He suggested:

‘Individual designers often possess a personal set of placements, developed and tested by experience. The inventiveness of the designer lies in a natural or cultivated and artful ability to return to those placements and apply them to a new situation, discovering aspects of the situation that affect the final design. What is regarded as the designer’s style then, is sometimes more than just a personal preference for

certain types of visual forms, materials, or techniques; it is a characteristic way of seeing possibilities, through conceptual placements.' (p11, 1993).

Both Schon and Buccanan's privileging of the use of language to convey (reflexive) knowledge about design provides a means of conceptualizing how design professionals use language to define, negotiate and complete design problems. Their studies highlight how language use reveals something of the agency-structure interrelationships conceptualised earlier in this chapter. From a pragmatist perspective it will be assumed individuals engaged in entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity use language without problematizing it (in practice) so as to achieve certain ends (through practice) (Rorty, 1989). Empirical instances of narrating value and constructing part of one's self as a cultural entrepreneur therefore construct patterns, or interpretations which can be represented as exaggerated attempts to organise (through design) not only one's immediate 'zone of influence' but also to affect the organisation of others interpretations. This means the language individuals use can be studied as consisting of various discursive resources drawn upon to construct their architecture of cultural enterprise through commutation, translation and consummation.

This is not to over privilege the role of language to the point of denying the presence of a physical reality. Instead it is to support the claim Rorty made that:

'We need to make a distinction between the claim that the world is out there and the claim that truth is out there. To say that the world is out there, that it is not our creation, is to say, with common cause, that most things in space and time are effects of causes which do not include human mental states. To say that truth is not out there is simply to say that where there are no sentences there is not truth, that sentences are elements of human languages, and that human languages are human creations' (1989, p4-5).

If language is a human creation necessary to make design reflexivity affective then its truth is found within language use, as opposed to being a referent for some other reality 'out there', divine, transcendent or inherently 'real' external to human symbolic interaction. Building on Rorty's pragmatist conceptualization of language the value of design can be said to be

constructed from a set of vocabularies which co-exist but are ordered according to their usefulness for achieving certain (situational negotiated) intended actions. These specific discursive resources, or design repertoires, are contingent upon shared perception about what constitutes 'good' design as symbolically novel and economically reasonable.

The term discourse is used as Potter and Wetherall defined it as a plurality of 'discursive repertoires' which individuals draw upon through social interaction (1987); or as a 'a lexicon or register of terms and metaphors drawn upon to characterize and evaluate actions and events' (Potter and Wetherall, 1987, p139). It is through these 'interpretive repertoires' that it will be claimed individuals evaluate their identity as a cultural entrepreneur and therefore (discursively) construct a 'subject position' (Bronwyn and Harre, 1990). This active use of discourse can be studied as an instance of how, in this case through entrepreneurial activity, individuals to varying degrees seek 'redescription' (Rorty, 1992). Redescriptions are never entirely voluntaristic since agents must retain some thread of connection (i.e., narrative activity and/or identification) between their entrepreneurial activities and socially meaningful activity.

The degree to which agents engage a 'will to redescribe' (Rorty, 1992) their position in relation to 'spaces of possibility' (Bourdieu, 1990) is posed as a question for empirical study. It is anticipated some individuals will be more willing to accept positions of 'relative heteronomy' (reasonableness) whilst others will be driven by positions of 'relative autonomy' (novelty). Again the point is not to claim some positions are truer than others but that every position is an attempt to define one's ability to design within a 'constellation of things' and therefore to try and 'set the tone of a life' (Rorty, 1989, p37) for self and others.

The problem with this definition of discourse is that it has been criticised for downplaying the role of power relations (Cerulo, 1987, Bronwyn and Harre, 1990, Fairclough, 2005), or the structures which privilege certain discourses and silence others. An

alternative would be to adopt Foucault's post-structuralist theory to claim discourse is the alignment of power and knowledge (1980). Foucault argued in the *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969) that 'discursive formations' emerge as 'uncontested continuities', out of the 'epistemological mutation' of history. Foucault argued these should be 'revealed' as 'rules of formation' that combine power and knowledge with language to direct resources and create a powerful relation to self. Hence, the asylum, psychiatric knowledge and madness are coupled to control mental health. And Bentham's Panopticon prison architecture, criminology and the criminal are coupled to control deviancy (1980).

It could be argued a 'regime of truth' now exists to govern the production of a subjectivity, or technology for managing the relation to self (Foucault, 1986), that privileges a certain type of creative expression tied to power through innovation and design reflexivity which results in the creation of IPR and employment. However, as noted earlier, this use of the term discourse requires accepting that the role of the analyst is to reveal the ordering of dominant discourses which establish a 'model of acceptability' (Foucault, 1980). This would require an acceptance of Foucault's notion that the liberal Enlightenment project has involved an 'intolerable loss' (Rorty, 1992) in the search for 'self-emancipation, self-improvement and self-realization' (Foucault, 1980). However, since this research does not aim to reveal any such a loss, or claim language governs social reality by silencing 'alternative' types of design activity, the post structuralist discourse theory is not adopted.

Critical Discourse Theorists have also been posited as an alternative. Fairclough (2005), for example, argued there is a real social structure 'out there' independent of the actions of agents. The analyst's role is to define these causal mechanisms in the underlying reality which determine agency. Hence discursive causal mechanisms are ascribed with an ontological independence to actors and the social world. They exist as real without the need for language or actors. In order to develop a position that is more congruent with the

pragmatic pluralist position this research turns to Watson who proposed adopting a 'pragmatic epistemology' or 'language sensitive sociology' (Forthcoming A).

Watson argued individuals do have the capacity for self-creation but that in order to do so they must draw from a variety of discursive resources or 'soft' structures. Discourse is drawn upon for self-creation and this is partially constrained by the ongoing interrelation with social structures. Rather than treating language as the determining force (either as a totalizing discourse or as a causal mechanism) Watson's 'pragmatic epistemology' reiterates the importance of remembering that discourse theories are 'conceptual devices to help us make sense of the patterns of human relationships, processes and understanding which human activity shapes and is shaped by' (2007, p4). His use of discourse theory addresses the negotiated aspect of idealist (post-structuralist) position and the presence of 'hard' structuring forces, as argued by critical discourse analysts. Discourse is stripped of the ability for totalizing or causality and defined as:

'sets of concepts, statements, terms and expressions which constitute a way of talking or writing about a particular aspect of life, thus framing the way people understand and act with respect to that area of existence.' (2007, p6).

In keeping with this definition of discourse it is claimed a 'language sensitive sociology' is relevant so as to connect individual biographical accounts of entrepreneurial activity in the design sector to 'macro' socio-cultural patterns. For this study these include the theory that capitalist production is becoming more design intensive. This rejects the possibility that a single totalizing discourse, perhaps one might label something like 'the reflexive designer capitalist', dominates social reality and the ability to produce subjectivity and a self-identity. It also rejects the reification of discourse to the ontogenetic status of a mechanism 'under the surface' but with real causal power that exists independent of human agency. Instead, as has been argued in this section, discourse is understood as a conceptual tool for understanding how individuals develop narratives of value and identity work by drawing from a plurality of

discursive resources. The choices made to interpret such activity help develop vocabularies which are relevant to the theoretical question of how individuals channel novel design reflexivity by creating new organisational contexts through entrepreneurial activity. Interpretations of such activity allow textual representations which explore how such activity is legitimised, or not as the case may be, as both symbolically novel and economically reasonable to contemporary capitalist production. The final section in this chapter summarizes the sensitizing concepts used to construct the conceptual framework in this chapter and the provisional analytical framework going forward towards the empirical chapters.

Summary: Provisional Analytical Framework

This chapter has introduced a conceptual framework proposed to be useful for gathering empirical instances of how design reflexivity is organised through entrepreneurial activity. The central claim made is that such activity can be studied through a combination of sociological theory and empirical research. The first section proposed that understanding how individuals organise design reflexivity is relevant to the field of enterprise research if it helps illuminate the context of the area of cultural enterprise and provide practical insights. It was suggested an affinity with the interpretive and dialogic lenses would best address this aim, as opposed to the critical and normative lenses (Howorth et.al.2005).

The second section drew from Bourdieu's 'open concepts' to argue that cultural enterprise is subject to structuring forces which affect individuals' positioning strategies. It then suggested the dispositional elements of Bourdieu were too structuralist and should be decoupled so to retain the notion that the architecture of cultural enterprise is only partially shaped by 'structuring structures' of fields and the unequal distribution of capital. In order to reintegrate voluntaristic agency Mouzelis' approach was followed to suggest that the object

of study should be individuals engaged in enjoining intended activity with an aesthetic layer of world building. This process was then broken into three phases comprised of the following; 'commutation's into 'reality enclaves' (i.e., different temporal orderings) 'translation' via shared and negotiated symbolic repertoires; and 'consummation' achieved via affecting shared perception of experience.

It is proposed that the architecture of cultural enterprise can be analytically defined within two moments. First, the presence of structuring forces, such as shared cultural repertoires and a relatively durable field of (economic) power which exerts historically contingent pressures on the choices individuals make if they seek to accumulate symbolic and economic capital. Second, within these positioning struggles for legitimacy there are interpretations which are not entirely determined by pre-dispositional forces. Instead, they emerge from agency and the locally bounded aspect of an agency-structure interrelationship. As individuals engage in creating and maintaining entrepreneurial organisations of design reflexivity they create 'hushed reverberations', or patterns that affect the *nomos*. The interrelationship between these forces and agency are deposited as individuals construct narratives and engaging in identity work.

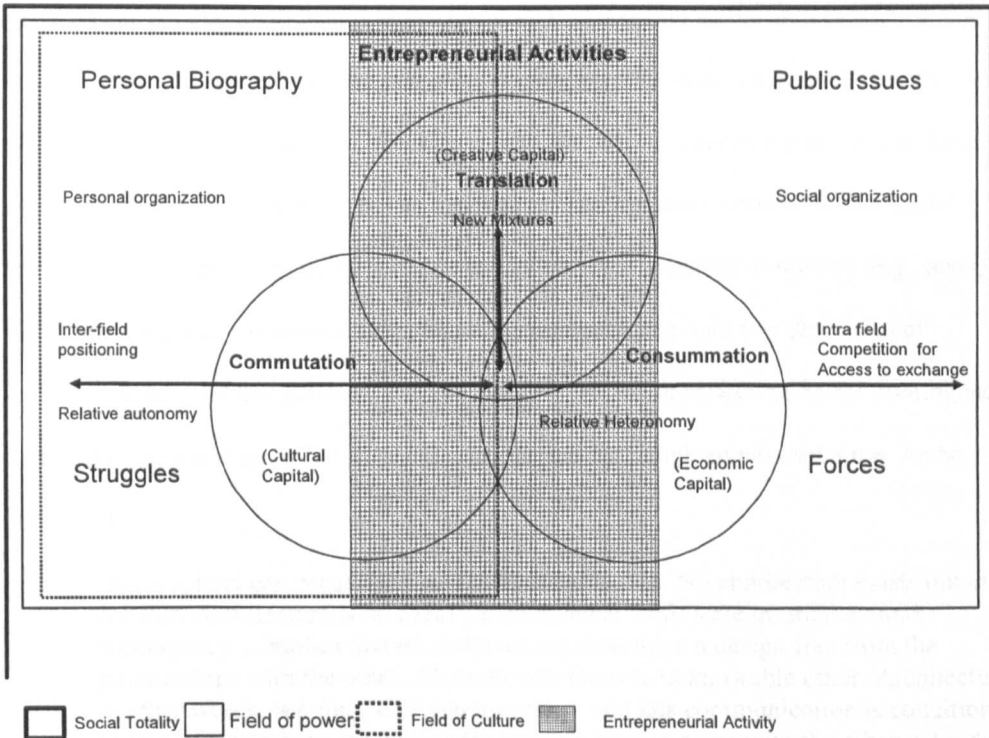
It can now be proposed that patterning activities can be studied in empirical instances where individuals must justify and define their design reflexivity to others. Examples of this activity will then be used to construct representations of how individuals construct their architecture of cultural enterprise. The discursive resources used to organise such activity can then be analysed so as to understand the differing degrees to which individuals seek to align their design reflexivity as novel (symbolically valuable) and/or reasonable (economically valuable).

The conceptual framework outlined in this chapter can now be connected to the discussion in Chapter 1 so as to claim the architecture of cultural enterprise aims to construct

representations of how knowledge about design is, via entrepreneurial activity, applied to create and maintain organisations that enjoin an individuals 'will to architecture' (Karatani, 1995) to the provision of a 'fictional narrative' (Benjamin, 1998) or 'charm of novelty' (Simmel, 1902) that is affective to others. Such activity is claimed to be especially relevant to contemporary organisation of production since it adds to the continuous qualification-requalification and 'future making' within contemporary production (Callon et.al. 2002, Lash and Urry, 1994, Roberts, 2004, Thrift, 2005). It should be anticipated empirical instances of how individuals negotiate their design reflexivity in action should connect to the use of network technological interfaces/informational space (Castells, 1996, Liu, 2004) and the capacity for building affective relationships between producers and consumers (Arvidsson, 2006, Lury, 2004, Virno, 2004).

Exhibit 3 is a diagrammatic representation of the conceptual framework of the architecture of cultural enterprise. It shows how such activity is conceptualized as occurring at the intersection between the field of culture and the field of power. It is useful since it illustrates how such activity requires mixtures of symbolic and economic activity so as to create and maintain organisations for commutations, translations and consummations. It is proposed this diagram of the methodological instrument developed in this chapter can now be applied so as to achieve what Czarniawska termed as 'institutional reflection' (Czarniawska, 1999) which management research offers. In this study the reflection is directed to connecting individuals' organisation of 'culture' to the public issue of design. The resultant sociological imagination (Mills, 2000) can then be applied to understanding the role of cultural entrepreneur responsible for creating and maintaining organisations within the design sector.

Exhibit 3: The Architecture of Cultural Enterprise



The next chapter will now explore how the ‘universe of references’ (Bourdieu, 1990a) constructed thus far within the walls of academy were enjoined, through fieldwork, with individuals engaged in cultural enterprise. It acts as a bridge by connecting the discussion to this point of the ‘interpretive repertoires’ (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000) common to the field of social research to the interpretive reflection witnessed in the field. Before reaching this bridge one further comment is required regarding the central metaphor which has been developed in this chapter, that of architecture. Architecture is not used in an unreflexive manner. Instead the term is defined as a practice which, although substantively different to social science, requires the use theory to devise plans that guide specific actions. These plans, models, diagrams, designs and so on remain contingent upon social relations specific to a

public issue. As the theoretical is enmeshed with social reality so the architect and social scientist engage in a performance that must encompass 'the other' so as to display the value of their respective practices. Architecture is not only used to refer to the act of translating design reflexivity into practice, but as a metaphor which signals a reminder that social scientists too are architects responsible for constructing relations to objects (e.g., texts) that direct tempo-spatial experience (e.g., listening, reading). It is with this definition of architecture in mind that Karatani's quote below is useful for reflecting on the contingency of architecture as a metaphor for all practices informed by Enlightenment thinking. As he suggested

'No architect can predict the results of construction. No architecture exists out of context. Architecture is an event par excellence...this state of architectural contingency...implies that no architect can determine a design free from the relationships with the other. All architects face the unknowable other. Architecture, in other words, is a form of communication, and this communication is conditioned to take place without common rules because it takes place with the other, who does not follow a commensurable set of rules' (Karatani, 1995)

Chapter 3 will now explore how an ethnographic approach was designed so as to 'draw the line of thought' (Berger, 1963) from the researcher to the research participants.

Chapter 3

Ethnographic Exchanges with the Architects of Cultural Enterprise

This chapter explains how an ethnographic approach, comprised of various methods, was employed to gather empirical material which could be used for textual representations of the plurality of points of view of individuals engaged in cultural enterprise. The chapter will familiarize the reader with the research setting, the participants and the methods. It begins by defining the use of ethnography and how it informed the construction of a field and subsequent organisation of key events, dialogue and observations believed to be valuable interpretations of design reflexivity being organised through a research participant's architecture of cultural enterprise.

The Architecture of Ethnography: Contingency and Authority

'Tradition is the alphabet. Form is the language. Architecture is the poem.' (Richard England)

Management scholars have used various metaphors to describe ethnography. Watson, drawing from Mills (2000), compared ethnography to craftwork, so as to emphasise the art and science of using ethnography in management research (1994, 2001). Czarniawska drew on Paul Klee's artwork to claim ethnographers do not enter a setting unproblematically since they must first construct a research 'instrument' capable of engaging in the social act of listening to participants in a concrete setting and then re-interpret these voices in a polyvocal textual representation (1997, 2004, 2005). Humphreys et.al (2003) used a musical metaphor comparing ethnography to Jazz. Emphasising the shared nature of jazz and ethnography the authors claimed both involve enjoining one's self-discovery to that of others (e.g., other musicians or research participants) and to an audience and reader.

Architecture is used as a metaphor in this chapter to describe the process of enjoining the ‘theorists’ infrastructure’ (Brewer, 2000) outlined in the previous chapters (i.e., social theory and methodology) together with practice. The metaphoric connection stresses the contingency involved in social science and cultural enterprise. Architecture, both literally and figuratively as a reference point to all design endeavours, relies on a similar confrontation with the unknown as the social scientist entering ‘the field’. Architect and researcher construct abstract plans, by drawing on repertoires specific to their fields, to negotiate their will to architecture into a shared and concrete reality. The practice of social research and of design therefore share the need for abstract plans, (i.e., buildings and research designs) and the aim of actualising ideas by constructing bridges between the theory and practice. Similarly the architect and social researcher navigate through uncertainty by engaging with tensions with ‘the other’ embedded in social relations to realise their ambitions. Architects must devise stratagems for dealing with numerous ‘structures of risk’ (Blau, 1983) which are specific to a project (e.g., site, aesthetics, materials). Ethnographers are exposed to various risks (e.g., finding key informants, legitimate roles, funding windows) that constrain their field work and the aesthetics of organising textual representations of social reality (Hjorth and Steyeart, 2003).

Both architecture and ethnography have responded to critical theory and post-modernism which affected the aesthetics of design and research. Although clearly differing in rationales, both disciplines, (perhaps due to their effect on social space and relations) have to recognise certain responsibilities incumbent upon the architect and ethnographer. The ‘crises’ of representation and legitimization have affected both. If architectural manifestos have integrated new concerns, such as ‘user centric design’, ‘sustainability’ alongside older concerns (i.e., form) then so too the reflexively aware contemporary management ethnographer has to integrate new concerns (e.g., the researcher’s social position, the limitations of textual representation) alongside older concerns (i.e., creating interesting and relevant representations of the organisation of social life). It is claimed that architecture and ethnography continuously engage in developing vocabularies that

justify interventions into shaping social relations and for engaging with 'the other'. Van Maanen stated the status of the other's 'career trajectory' has shifted from 'savage, to primitive to subject to native to informant to interlocutor to, ultimately, co-author.' (2006, p16). This quote reveals a questioning of the assumed authority of ethnographic representations which also affected the status of architectural knowledge.

Ethnography and Architecture: Architects One and All

'Architecture is an approach towards life. It is a social art.' Hugh Stubbins

'Design is form-making in order. Form emerges out of a system of construction.' Louis Kahn.

The above quotes, both from architects, echo Karatani's words which closed the preceding chapter. Karatani drew attention to 'architectural contingency' to explain how architects face unpredictability because each design problem is envisaged and implemented in a different context and requires a continuous reshaping of relations between self and others; as Karatani stated 'all architects face the unknowable other' (1995, p181). Reflecting on this, whilst reading various management researchers accounts of their ethnographic fieldwork and subsequent representations, there appeared to be a number of similarities the contingency faced by ethnographers. Czarniawska noted that ethnography occurs in 'the field where the other lives' (1997, p60). She suggested representations of encounters between researcher and researched, or its 'artfulness and instrumentality' (1997b), must be addressed as a co-construction (1997). This question of ethnographic contingency was also noted by Rock who argued theory and research methods might 'point one in the direction but cannot tell what one will find when one arrives' (2001, p30).

Architect and ethnographer share, at least metaphorically, a commonality in the contingency of their struggles to create abstract designs (i.e., architectural drawings/research designs) which enjoin abstract ideas with the lives of others' (i.e., clients and users/research participants and audiences of ethnographic texts). The ethnographer's research proposal and the

architect's plan are conceptual 'weapons' (Bourdieu, 1990a) which compete for commissioning from organizations which value their potential contributions. As Mills noted for the social researcher many research designs will remain unsuccessful. Although creating them is integral for the practice of developing the craft of sociological investigation (2000). Blau (1984) noted a similar process in architecture where it is the norm to invest years working on plans before winning a competition.

Both architect and ethnographer must construct meanings to justify their authority. Practitioners in both professions require relative autonomy in relation to the historical and contemporary standards of their practices. For architects this means balancing aesthetics (innovative designs that 'delight' and conform to 'stylistic repertoires') with practical needs of a problem (i.e., budget, client expectations) (Blau, 1984). Ethnographers must also balance stylistic and substantive questions of textual representations of social reality against practical issues (i.e., access, rapport, ethics) whilst addressing socially relevant problems (Hammersley, 1991, Hammersley and Atkinson, 2005, Lincoln and Denzin, 2003). Architects are required to develop 'spatial action language' so as to master their ability to hold a 'conversation with the situation' (Schon, 1983). It is claimed an architect's ability to organise space via 'abstract representational codes' (Hill, 2006) is partially reliant on the ability to communicate with others (i.e., clients, modellers, graphic designers, lawyers, builders). Likewise ethnographers rely on successful encounters with others (i.e., members of a particular community, bounded location, organisation) which are unpredictable but must be modelled, or crafted into a research design, by appealing to abstract representational codes of ethnographic practice and the promise that social research should assist in constructing a 'visible token of something else that is not visible' (Mills, 2000, p223).

To summarise, the above suggests architects and ethnographers are both engaged in envisaging abstract designs that shape the social totality (Bourdieu, 1990a). This process requires preparation for an encounter with an unpredictable other and a competition during which others

(i.e., clients, funding agencies) decide on the appropriateness and relevance of design proposals. If a design is commissioned, or awarded, both architect and ethnographer must engage in a negotiation with the other in a bounded setting so as to actualize their aims in relation to a multitude of conflicting 'definitions of the situation'. For ethnographers this means continuous exchanges between experiences in a bounded site, so as to gather material for analysis, and shuttling between field notes, provisional analysis and social theory. For architects it means mastering a set variables (e.g., aesthetics, materials) and site specific details (i.e., light, available space, land, costs etc). During this process both is engaged in the development of repertoires and vocabularies that deepen engagement in the problem of actualizing a proposed design.

Both architect and ethnographer must develop into a reflexive subject to account for their impact on problem framing in relation to others also engaged in framing the same problem. As the actualization process is too complex to model *a priori* both must develop tools to manage ongoing negotiations and ensure their objectives are met in relation to the needs of others. If the architect seeks to develop a 'signature' (Blau, 1984), the ethnographer seeks an authorial voice (Mills, 2000). Just as there is no single architectural signature there is no single ethnographic voice. As Atkinson et.al. noted it is doubtful there ever was a 'traditional, hegemonic ethnographic order' (2001, p3). It is more likely there are various types of ethnographies (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995) which emerge from the contingency of doing ethnography, both as a field work and as a textual representation of social reality (Brewer, 2000). These variations are based on the ethnographers struggle to address debates within the field and issues emerging as ethnographers' take a position in the social relations within a setting.

Three questions arising from debates about ethnography will be discussed in this chapter. First, the question of how ethnographers achieve, or fail, at making 'exchanges' and 'terms of trade' during their encounters (Ram, 1998, Watson, 2001); second, the challenge to legitimize ethnographic texts (Van Maanen, 1989); third how ethnographers should use reflexivity to enhance their research. These questions are selective as there are many other questions now

levelled at ethnography. Some claim it is of declining importance in a globalized world (see Brewer, 2000, Van Maanen, 2006); others that virtual technology negates the ontological assumptions of an embodied presence (Hine, 2000). Whilst others use post-colonialist theory to claim ethnographers operate with a 'hidden set of assumptions' which (unless revealed) replicate 'quasi-colonialist' ambitions (Rose, 1990). These and many other questions, for instance those posed by feminist theorists, are heightened in ethnography which claims to represent the social reality of others. Ethnography is defined in this study as a specialist social science sub-genre (Czarniawska, 2004) an equivalent perhaps to a school of architecture or 'stylistic repertoire' (Blau, 1984).

The practice of architecture and of ethnography is premised on the intersection between 'working actualities and potential realities' (Gubrium, 1988, p71). Both seek to exert a 'will to architecture' (Karatani, 2005) typically with some commitment to how such acts will affect others. The quotes at the heading of this section state that architecture involves developing an approach to life so as to give form order. Similarly ethnography requires the ethnographer to develop a craft (Watson, 2001) and 'way of life' (Humphreys et.al 2003) as a 'controlled experience' (Mills, 2000). Both professions share philosophical roots as architects of modernity, complete with post-modern revisions and post-post modern reconstructions. Both struggle to contribute to the question of the possibility of building 'architecture around the void' (Bruno, 2007) through highly contingent interventions designed to bring a semblance of order, governance and affective consummation. If architecture and design have tended to be associated with aesthetics and affect and social science with social governance (Shields, 2002), it is suggested both contribute to a social aesthetic as they involve a trans-historical process of designing abstract proposals and interventions that link the world of ideas to the world of practice.

It is now necessary to state the process through which the initial research design was actualized in the ethnographic fieldwork. The following is an account of how Rabinow's (1996)

notion of 'ethnographic encounters' with reflexive professionals was employed so as to stimulate and 'put to work' a 'mutual curiosity' about the conditions under which design reflexivity becomes entangled with contemporary capitalist production. Such reflections were gathered in field notes, interviews, observations, and photographs. In turn these formed the materials for the 'fabrication' (Bourdieu, 1990a) of textual representations. By systematically addressing questions of access, exchange, rapport and analysis, this chapter reveals how the ethnographic approach unfolded for this researcher. It will reveal to the reader how a 'point of view on a point of view' (Bourdieu, 1992) was constructed as the 'methodological instrument' (Czarniawska, 1997) was taken into concrete social settings in which individuals were witnessed creating and maintaining their architecture of cultural enterprise so as to channel their design reflexivity. What follows is an account of coming 'face to face with the voicing and voices' (Gubrium, 1988, p71) of others.

Defining Ethnography: Naturalism and Reflexivity

Given the above has suggested there is no single ethnographic voice it is necessary to reflexively account for the researcher's claim to a voice. Bourdieu's logic of practice and his attempt to overcome structuralism through the use of reflexivity (Bourdieu, 1990, 1992a, 1992b, Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) was a useful starting point to define reflexivity. He sought to reveal the unconscious pre-dispositional generative forces of habitus (2005a) so as to reveal the misrecognition of social inequalities for instance in education (Bourdieu and Passaron 1990d), French occupied Algeria (2000), public housing (2005b) and neo-liberalism (2003). He also offered a virtuoso performance of the practice of social research (Rabinow, 1996) which resulted in his crafting reflexive conceptual tools (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) designed to turn the weapons of social research upon social research and the social researcher (1990a). For Bourdieu the value of reflexivity was as follows.

'Through the sociologist, a historically situated historical agent and socially determined social subject, history or rather the society in which the existing remains of history are present, turns for a moment back on itself, and reflects on itself; and through the

sociologist all social agents are able to know a little more clearly what they are and what they are doing' (Bourdieu, 1990a, p186).

Towards the end of his life, Bourdieu claimed the social researcher should construct a position, through reflexive awareness so as to contribute to the process of clarifying social understanding via a sociological self-analysis, or socio-analysis⁸ (2004). This provides a useful means of addressing the question of how textual representations of social action and meanings can be valued. Bourdieu's call for reflexive sociology, which predates the 'reflexive turn' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003), was a problematisation of naturalism. Bourdieu argued for the importance of a social researcher retaining an embodied presence and reflecting on his/her knowledge production as a historically and socially situated actor. He claimed naturalism and reflexivity together could enable social knowledge to be turned back upon its own presuppositions. Ethnography is defined in this study as a methodology that encourages reflexive awareness of the social production of knowledge. It follows Van Maanen's claim that ethnography is regarded as the most humanistic of the social sciences and the most scientific of the humanities (2006). The initial aim of appealing to using an ethnographic approach was to conduct fieldwork in order to gather materials that could assist in making representations of the social reality (Brewer, 2000, Hammersley and Atkinson, 1993) of agents' interpretations of design reflexivity in action.

This position relies on a commitment to a Malinowski and the Chicago School tradition of 'being there' (Van Maanen, 1989). It has been contested by those who argue being there is no longer a sufficient epistemological base for interpreting social reality (Czarniawska, 2004, Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). However, if there remains a shared orientation among ethnographers, it is to immersing oneself in specific tempo-spatial relations and witnessing meaning unfolding by taking an embodied position in the presence of others, also engaged in organising social reality (Czarniawska, 2006).

⁸ This book explores Bourdieu's increased turning of sociological analysis of his own biography, but states emphatically that 'c'est nest pas un auto-biographie'. Instead Bourdieu's concept of socio-analysis, which may provide a useful future direction for reflexive sociology, is not developed further here. An English translation of the work is delayed but forthcoming in 2008 titled *Sketch for a Socio-Analysis* (Polity Press).

Ethnography is defined as a 'repertoire of research techniques' (Atkinson et.al.2001, p4) or as 'interactive and creative, selective and interpretive, illuminating patches of the world around it, giving meaning and suggesting further paths of enquiry' (Rock, 2001, p30). Ethnographers seek to understand the social world by engaging in the transactions of intended action and negotiations which reveal tracings of social relations between structuring conditions of historically situated action and voluntaristic action. As Rock added, the ethnographer is not alone in this action but acts in relation to other 'interpretive beings' co-constructing meanings for their lives and achieving practical aims as part of a collective 'active intelligence' (2001, p31). Ethnographers retain differing degrees of commitment to the significance of taking positions within bounded sites to understand how members in those social settings construct meaning. Brewer defines this as seeking to understand the process of 'sense assembly' and defines ethnography as follows:

'Ethnography is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner, but without meaning being imposed on them externally' (Brewer, 2000, p10).

A good example of how a 'biographically situated' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003) management researcher can actualise ethnography is provided by Watson (2001). By negotiating a year long secondment as a human resources manager in a large telecommunications equipment manufacturer, Watson was able to observe, participate and represent how 'managers manage to manage' (2001). Similarly Ram (1994) used ethnography as a means of exploring how owners of small textile businesses coped with the challenges of entrepreneurship. For Ram, the value of ethnography was making actual observations of the struggles at the 'frontier of control' in small businesses. He recounted how it was his ethnicity, family relations and work experiences which permitted 'insider' access to conduct ethnography (1996). These examples are selected as they retain a commitment to the interpretive methodology outlined in Chapter 2. They adopt

ethnography as a research tool for observing and engaging in the social settings in which individuals assign meanings to their actions through an interrelation with others, including the researcher. Ethnography is therefore connected to the methodological principles of qualitative research which Denzin and Lincoln defined as:

'a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including fieldnotes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomenon in terms of the meanings people bring to them' (2003, pp3-4).

If ethnographers have 'traditionally' been criticized for a lack of rigour and reliability, compared to 'positivist' social science (Van Maanen, 1989), to these 'usual enemies' (Altheide and Johnson, 1998) have been added qualitative researchers now seeking to deconstruct the legitimacy of representing the meanings others people bring to their activities. One route out of this path is to channel the 'reflexive turn' towards revealing more about the biography, actual negotiations and 'trades' (Ram, 1994) that occurred during fieldwork and the process of analysing and representing social reality. Ethnographers must recognise and demonstrate their place in the research as ethnography becomes a 'process of inquiry which is collective not individual' (Hammersely, 1992, p131). Rather than driving out the voices of others, perhaps to achieve more reliably 'grounded research' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, Miles and Huberman, 1994), this study accepts the advice of those who claim in-depth, empathic understanding of the 'messy' (Van Maanen, 1989, p9) processes through which individuals, including researchers, interact across different social contexts requires recognising how the researcher engaged in the process of world construction (Berger, 1990, Berger and Luckman, 1966). The aim is to marry a commitment to naturalism, in so far as this will be defined as exploring the contemporary (Rabinow, 2008) though an 'ethos of participation' (Rabinow, 1996) and attempt to co-authoring (Czarniawska, 1997, 2004) interpretations of social activity with those being researched through 'ethnographic

exchanges' (Rabinow, 1996). Reflexivity is defined on the following levels. First as a form of accounting to insure research was conducted in a way that was 'sensitive to the nature of human and cultural social contexts, and is commonly guided by the ethic to remain loyal or true to the phenomenon under study' (Altheide and Johnson, 1998, p290). It also refers to the possibility of 'institutional reflection' (Czarniawska, 1999) and the turning of the methodologies of social science upon social research practices (Bourdieu, 1990a). Finally, it refers to 'crisis' (allegedly) facing empirical sociology as highly reflexive research participants and a proliferation of other sites of knowledge production within knowing capitalism (Thrift, 2005) threaten to decrease the 'jurisdiction' of academic researchers (Savage and Burrows, 2007).

The reflexive study of how social meanings are constructed in natural social contexts is congruent with the conceptual framework devised in Chapter 2. An ethnographic approach is therefore justified as a means of getting closer to individuals as they interpret design reflexivity in entrepreneurial action. Ethnography is defined as a means of sharing 'first hand the environment, problem background, language, rituals and social relations of a more-or-less bounded and specific group of people' (Van Maanen, 1989, p3). It is a set of methods aimed at getting closer to 'knowledge members' (Van Maanen, 1989, p3), in this study the architects of cultural enterprises.

To summarise, this section has suggested a commitment to a naturalism that is reflexively aware. It seeks to use ethnography as an approach to conducting empirical research to study 'sense assembly' (Brewer, 2000) via a 'mutual curiosity' (Rabinow, 1996) for design and cultural enterprise. The researcher therefore becomes a part of a wider social construction of reality. The challenge, as Alvesson and Skoldberg noted, is to understand how others

'negotiate and resolve their uncertainties about their own knowledge and criteria for knowing, so too can ethnographers reflect on our purposes at hand and celebrate one of our meaningful activities, that of clarifying the nature, context, process, significance and consequences of the ways in which human beings define their situations' (2000, p309).

The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to revealing what occurred ‘in the field’. This will be achieved by using a ‘descriptive reflexivity’ (Brewer, 2000) to explain the settings in which the research occurred; the roles as to gain access to design sub-fields and the exchanges necessary to retain a legitimate social presence. The purpose is to show how the ethnographic fieldworker, as with all workers, is engaged in a ‘form of work’ that requires a continuous negotiation and justification of ‘multiple tasks, roles and relationships’ (Wellin and Fine, 2001, p328). These are partially governed by questions of time, place and professional/personal commitments. It describes the social contexts in which participants’ ‘subject positioning’ (Bronwyn and Harre, 1990) was witnessed as individuals defined the value of their architecture of cultural enterprise. It details the use of participant observation to witness both dia- and synchronic interpretations of design reflexivity.

An ethnographic approach is therefore justified on the basis that it provides a means of understanding how research participants’ interpreted their activities and therefore addressed the research question of how to address the ‘curiously thin’ (Banks, 2006) empirical material about how cultural entrepreneurs make sense of their actions. It adopts a reflexive approach so as to not over-privilege such interpretations but seeks instead to emplace voices from the field, from the researcher and the ‘universe of references’ into the broader ‘economy of economic practices’ (Bourdieu, 2005b). In attempting this an ethnographic approach is deemed valuable for addressing the question of why design is relevant to calculating value in advanced capitalist production (Callon et.al.2002, Lash and Urry, 1994, Thrift, 2004, 2005).

Constructing the Field

This section explains how I accessed various social settings in which individuals were reflective about their architecture of cultural enterprise. It begins with a short biography to show my ‘subject position’ as a researcher taking a point of view within the field and about the field, to use Bourdieu’s terms (1990a). Biographical detail is introduced to ward off the danger of a

depersonalised naturalism, or an 'autonomous sound made by impersonal accounts' (Mills, 2000 p221). There is both a 'descriptive reflexivity' (Brewer, 2000) (i.e., how researcher's biography becomes entangled with fieldwork) and meta-theoretical reflection (i.e., how the researcher and research participants become a certain type of subject). This reflexive subject called into being in this study is one with an identity capable of producing awareness of how cultural enterprise becomes relevant to design intensive capitalism. What this introduces are two questions. First, how social theory is constitutive of the fields researchers construct for fieldwork. Second how in turn the methodological repertoires employed demand the production of certain identity work in researchers and participants.

The section also contains details of the immersive fieldwork by describing the research settings and key informants encountered during fieldwork. This includes accounting for the various roles adopted during the fieldwork and explains decisions made to select certain types of individuals as research participants. This helps to explain the 'distances' (Bourdieu, 1996), or social proxemics, that were produced as the research design (architecture) was enmeshed with the lives of research participants to varying degrees.

Origins: Reflecting on Becoming a Reflexive Cultural Entrepreneur

Accounting for the researcher's voice has become an integral element in the sociological use of ethnography (Czarniawska, 2004, Watson, 2001, Van Maanen, 1989, 2006). However, over-amplifying the researcher's voice risks 'narcissistic conceit' (Humphreys et.al.2003, p16) and forgetting that the 'ethnographic imperative' is to make 'sense of social worlds of others' (Coffey, 1999, p37). Too little attention to the researcher's presence, however, risks the 'fantasy' (Humphreys et.al.2003, p16) of an objectively distanced social researcher and therefore the problems of 'symbolic violence' or analyst imposed categorization (Bourdieu, 1996, Jenkins, 2000) and colonization of the lifeworlds and voices of others (Rose, 1990, de Certeau,1984). As

Coffey noted, the researcher cannot be reduced to 'inert research resource' (Coffee, 1999), since her biography and interactions in the field affect the research design, fieldwork and interpretation.

It is necessary to address the 'identity constitutive nature of ethnography' (Humphreys et.al, 2003, p7), or how through ethnography, intense self-discovery occurs through discovering the other. This is a sentiment which recalls Mills' aim of studying the sociological imagination at the intersection between trans-historical public issues and sub-historical minutiae of private troubles (2000). The researcher is a social role which is always connected to the modern organisation (Dale and Burrows, 2008, Etzioni, 1964) of collective interpretative or evaluation of human social life. The researcher's presence within this historically contingent and improvised unfolding sense assembly (Brewer, 2000) must therefore be accounted for. Savage and Burrows, commenting on the crisis of empirical sociology, claimed part of the social scientists' role and responsibilities has been to invention of methods capable of accessing the social in novel ways (2007). As Gubrium summarised the problem of accounting for how ethnographic fieldworkers become entangled in the process of constructing the social reality they construct as they become part of the fields they explore and represent as follows.

'The field of practice is a field of signs, of things or events and what they represent. Because the meaning of things and events are a product of the interpretive work of those concerned, the field is always simultaneously a field of signallers, those engaged in the concrete business of everyday life. Accordingly, fieldwork, is the activity of systematically documenting – making visible – the organization and transformation of fields of signs and signallers' (1988, p71).

In order to describe how the researcher is a 'biographically situated' role the following is an account of how I became aware of the intersections between culture and enterprise through my own and my peers attempts at 'designing a way of living' (Mills, 2000 p196) by searching for 'interesting work' that was 'more' 'cultural' and 'exciting'. Whilst this is of course fraught with the problem of self-indulgence, the inclusion of the following is valid as 'descriptive reflexivity' (Brewer, 2000) as it begins the process of interpreting how the activities of those individuals

engaged in cultural enterprise contribute to building one section of the 'emotional memory' (Mills, 2000) of the contemporary 'economy of economic practices' (Bourdieu, 2005b).

Commuting, Experimenting and Reflecting

It is difficult to place a definitive starting point about when my curiosity was aroused about the intersection between culture and enterprise. It relates to a broader awareness of orientations to work. One of my earliest memories is the sounds of a paper factory located in the suburb just north of London where I grew up. The factory, which was located next to the Grand Union canal and had been a centre of industrial production for hundreds of years, slowly decreased production and closed. Its derelict shell morphed into a high tech electronics campus and a housing estate complete and 'nature trail'. This early memory is selective as it refers to a sunset printing industry which had attracted my grandfather to the area. It also signalled that industry would never be a 'natural' choice of work for me. My father's occupation as an ICT middle manager in a multi-national petro-chemical business seemed a more natural choice. I associated work with the professional services sector, grey Marks and Spencer's suits; commuting, central London, computing and large corporations.

As the first in my family to study A-Levels at school with a view to going to University I held a number of part-time retail jobs whilst a student. It was during this time I became involved in music making and was intrigued to discover the occupations of the other band members' parents. This home-county bohemian set included my best friend's mother – an opera singer widow of an artistic director of a classical music import and distribution company; a marijuana smoking photographer and an A&R director at a major record label in London.

After graduation I decided to find a 'real job' in music but failed. Instead I was soon wearing a grey suit, commuting in London and working as a consultant for large corporations. During the next six years, I developed a career as an industry 'expert' and a shadow life as a DJ and composer of electronic music on the other. At the height of the dot com frenzy (1999-2000) I

negotiated a year long sabbatical to write global 'scene reports' for a San Francisco Webzine.

Returning to London I continued part-time as a consultant and pursued a number of 'various other projects'.

During the next two years I dabbled in web design, building a community portal for 'folkdevils' – or new media 'independents'; wrote about music for popular culture magazines and had a one day 'regular gig' with a music promotions company. I also co-wrote and released music with a friend I had made in New Zealand, now living in London. Whilst touring North America we decided to quit 'good jobs' and 'take the leap' by setting up as sole-traders offering compositions for advertising and soundtracks. This coincided with a number of peers who were recovering from redundancies or self-enforced resignation so as to travel and search for 'something more' than 'dull' but highly paid jobs. My immediate social group expressed a 'natural' mixture of affluence and dissatisfaction. We worked hard did not think of ourselves as Generation X slackers (Coupeland, 1996). We 'held it down' so we could afford to engage in conspicuous consumption (lifestyle consumption) and divert earnings towards a multitude of hobbies which were fast becoming sources of (self) employment.

During this time I moved in milieux which included virtual network of contacts around the world with more immediate mix of 'straight' colleagues, bohemians and petty criminals in what was a fairly typical social milieu in central London. As another commentator on this 20-30 drift network noted: 'it didn't occur to us that we were different, because we were surrounded by people who similarly had the freedom to treat their lives as if they were one big fun hobby' (Watters, 2004). This fun hobby extended to several people, including myself, thinking why not have a go at converting our (reflexive) personal interests into a source of productive activity? One left a senior marketing role to become a Yoga teacher; one quit his job as a copywriter to set up a coffee shop as a means to supporting his writing a novel; another quit her job as an architect and got together with a games designer to start a computer games business; another quit her job in PR to become a fashion designer.

I managed to secure a contract with a media communications agency to provide music for a TV, radio and web campaign for Heineken. And my musical partner scored an independent film which became a runaway success. We tentatively decided to pool our resources and discussed setting up a business together providing music consultancy services. We reserved a website, created a logo and named it Emertion, an aural branding consultancy, emerged. We also pursued our careers as recording artists and signed to bigger record labels. I 'got lucky' and signed to one of the UK's most respected independent music labels. It came as a surprise when I heard my songs on national radio, received MCPS-PRS royalties from radio stations and retail sales around the world and had musicians I had looked up to writing reviews about my music.

Geographically this action took place whilst living and working around the Shoreditch area, one of London's 'creative clusters', I spent a lot of time working around others experimenting with different ways of making a living. Among the population of established 'Britpack' artists, nomadic residents who comprised an ever-changing flotsam and jetsam of global creatives I became friends with a number of successful professionals who had quit their careers for 'more creative vocations'. These included a surgeon who had set up an agency to spread media medicine for the masses and a barrister setting up a webcasting agency to take on the BBC. Mixing technology, popular culture and design knowledge was therefore a natural means of pursuing both lifestyle interests and accumulating economic capital.

This short account of my 'subject position' reveals what seemed to me a natural, if not always comfortable, unfolding of work and organisation in the pursuit of something 'more interesting'. My initial ideas of what work should be were challenged with what work could be. By my late 20s I had been a globetrotting consultant, low paid part-time service jobs, been self-employed in the music industry and was on the verge of starting an entrepreneurial venture. The aural branding consultancy never materialised and my curiosity about work got the better of my nascent entrepreneurialism.

Whilst enrolled on a post-graduate certificate I applied for a bursary to complete an MSc. During this time I encountered Richard Florida's research into the creative class and ordered a copy from Amazon since his work was not published in the UK and was not in the University Library. His claims about the 'rise of a creative class' that synthesised 'bohemian lifestyles' with a 'bourgeois' 'organizational value set' (2002) resonated with my experiences. I had, unknowingly, engaged in my first sociological imagining by thinking more systematically about the intersection of private troubles and public issues (Mills, 2000). In this case how my own experiments in life and work and those of my peers might be mapped to how creativity contributes to the UK economy via the creative industries.

The above is intended to tread the boundary between 'self-indulgence and reflexivity' (Coffey, 1999). It redresses a problem I felt blighted my Masters dissertation which relegated biographical detail to a list in the appendix. This was due to a lack of confidence as a researcher, resulting in an over compensation in the 'fantasy' of writing oneself out of the text so as to gain authority over the researched. A process Humphreys et.al argued produces 'unchecked narcissism' (2002, p111). It also captures my successes and failures at converting cultural knowledge into economic value. And it is a prelude to conveying the processes this research sought to explore with participants as they reflected on producing part of their self-identity as a cultural entrepreneur so as to channel their personal organisation of culture into design reflexivity. It is to this challenge of how I accessed others' attempts at organising a mix of symbolic novelty and economic reasonableness to which this chapter now turns.

Proximity: Getting Closing to Small Scale Cultural Enterprise in Nottingham

Although some disagree, (Hine, 2000, Urry, 2002) the 'epistemological productivity' (Coffey, 1998) claimed here relies on the researcher becoming immersed in a bounded site, or indeed multiple sites (Czarniawska, 2004). An embodied presence (Brewer, 2000) in a 'locality' is retained as a legitimate means for research despite mobility, deterritorialisation and globalisation

(Brewer, 2000). This is not to suggest I am unaware of criticism of such approaches (Latour, 2005, Lash and Featherstone, 2002, Urry, 2000). However, I accept Van Maanen's claim that whilst 'quaint claims' about the 'holism' of 'islands' may have diminished, ethnographers should 'soldier on' with the 'hard work of putting forward evidence, providing interpretations, inventing and elaborating analogies, involving authorities, working through examples, marshalling one's tropes and so on (and on)' (2006, p16). This study of a bounded locality (Nottingham) has porous boundaries so as to contribute to contemporary tempo-spatial challenges facing ethnographers seeking to craft 'portraits of diversity in an increasingly homogenized world' (Van Maanen, 1989, pxviii).

To begin I set out to find positions as an 'insider and outsider' (Fielding, 2001, Silverman, 2000, Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). Having only arrived in Nottingham three months prior to commencing Masters' research I had a natural alien-resident presence. Without the support network of 'fellow creatives' in London my relocation coincided neatly with seeking to engage with the local creative industries. This revealed how Nottingham lacked the scale of creative industries in London, a problem since the research design relied on there being in Nottingham a cosmopolitan creative industries milieu. To overcome the small size of the city and my lack of contacts I engaged in a two pronged strategy. The first was via a speculative email sent to the editor of a local music magazine (Get Down). The email explained I had experience as a music journalist and was able to help out for free to get the magazine up and running. A meeting followed with the publisher/editor. Over a few beers on a sunny weekday afternoon the editor explained how he had developed the magazine idea by becoming involved with a group responsible for two other Nottingham based music magazines. As a recent PhD graduate in engineering he started the magazine to do something more 'creative'. During the meeting we tried to out do the others' knowledge of sub-genres of electronic dance music and he agreed I could 'help out'. This led to an 18 month period of exchanges and roles such as selling advertising space and securing free entry to music festivals (using London contacts), writing

interviews and record reviews, conducting a readership survey and co-authoring a media pack to attract sponsorship. I also lived (illegally) in the same house as the magazine was produced and promoted local club nights and DJ'd with the 'Get Down crew' in Nottingham's bars and clubs. This provided an opportunity to meet Nottingham's local music producers, dance music record labels and was a continuation of my experience in London.

Throughout my involvement with the music magazine I became increasingly conscious of the need to expand my acquaintances with cultural entrepreneurs outside the music scene. This was coupled with increasing personal doubt about how relevant sub-cultural entrepreneurship (Hebdige, 1979, McRobbie, 1997) would be to the question of how the creative industries contribute to the UK's competitiveness. I embarked on a long period of what Humphreys et.al. termed self-discovery through discovery of the other (2003). This involved placing myself outside the music sub-sector so as to develop roles that enabled the study of other sub-sectors of the creative industries in Nottingham.

As a testimony to the importance of serendipity in ethnographic studies (Van Maanen, 1989) I luckily met with Creative Collaborations⁹ through an advertisement calling for participants in a new creative industries professional development service. Another unsolicited email followed explaining how I was researching the creative industries in Nottingham and that I would like to meet up to trade ideas. The founders of the project agreed to meet and discuss their aims and my research (at this stage Masters level). After the meeting, I wrote up the key points. This was not part of the 'controlled experience' (Mills, 2000) or craft of sociological research but a practice I had developed as a consultant during pitches for contracts. The significance of the note is that it shows the first evidence of a voice of 'becoming academic' (Hobbs, 1988). The italics were added later.

⁹ No attempt is made to change the name here as both founders have given their full consent to be named in this research. Equally it would be pointless changing the name of the venture given that one of the founders' peer reviewed research is referenced.

‘Met Jim and Frank for lunch to discuss CC (*Creative Collaborations*) a ‘joint venture’ between the Broadway and NTU. They ref’d Leadbeater’s ‘missing middle’ between HE and the local creative business scene. They are distributing grants to SMEs for high tech equipment. Frank’s bckg: made films and documentaries. Jim’s bckg: painter, lecturer, worked at a cultural research centre at Broadway, lived in the Lace Market and rented studio space as did Frank. Jim passed article references to stuff he has written about Nottingham’s creative ecology. Both ref’d Richard Florida, creative class and Landry’s Creative cities. Mentioned someone on the board of the Broadway who used to work with CoMedia might be useful to talk with. Left the meeting feeling Frank and Jim have lots of contacts to the local CIs (*creative industries*)...I thought it might be useful to write this up as this is a relationship I would really like to develop to get in with the Broadway.’

Reading this extract back I was reminded of several aspects of how the field was constructed. The note described how one must display a ‘congruency’ (Ram, 1998) with gatekeepers and local informants, in this case both Get Down and Creative Collaborations. The former was an example of a nascent cultural enterprise organisation and the latter comprised part of the organisation of the local creative industries through its links to HE and policy initiatives. Gaining access required a symbolic display (i.e., book references, knowledge of music labels, artists, DJs, policy initiatives) which, since I was successful, provided access to a music fanzine and a professional training service. The proto-field note shows how the ‘terms of trade’ (Ram, 1998) were set by seeking out opportunities to open my identity work up during ‘performance conversations’ (Humphreys et.al.2003, p16).

The field note was also the first record of writing ‘messages to a future self’ (Rock, 2001, p34) and an instance of how my research design was negotiated in the local context so as to legitimate the right to gain access to the social contexts in which cultural entrepreneurs could be witnessed constructing their architecture of cultural enterprise. The above discussion is also included to draw attention to the comparison between ethnography and bricolage (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). In an attempt to reduce the proximity between being an outsider to becoming an insider I had to display a commitment to contributing to the production of local creative industry. This field note and many like it are relics of a time when I wrote at length to my future self about the vital importance of needing to present oneself as actively contributing to the ‘cultural’ fabric

of Nottingham by displaying evidence of being a cultural producer. These notes and reflections are included to assist the reader in following how the architecture of the research design was implemented as I worked to construct a bridge between theoretical interests and actual people engaged in cultural enterprise. The field notes are ‘not a closed, completed final text, rather they are intermediate, subject to reading, rereading, coding, recording, interpreting, reinterpreting’ (Atkinson et.al., 2001, p2). They form part of the fabrication of this text. The involvement with Creative Collaborations and Get Down helped establish a foothold within Nottingham’s creative industries. These connections set the pattern for the first year of field work. They also created limitations which soon required a breakout of from initial field roles to develop new opportunities for ethnographic encounters. The action this led to is now described as two distinct phases, although they overlapped considerably.

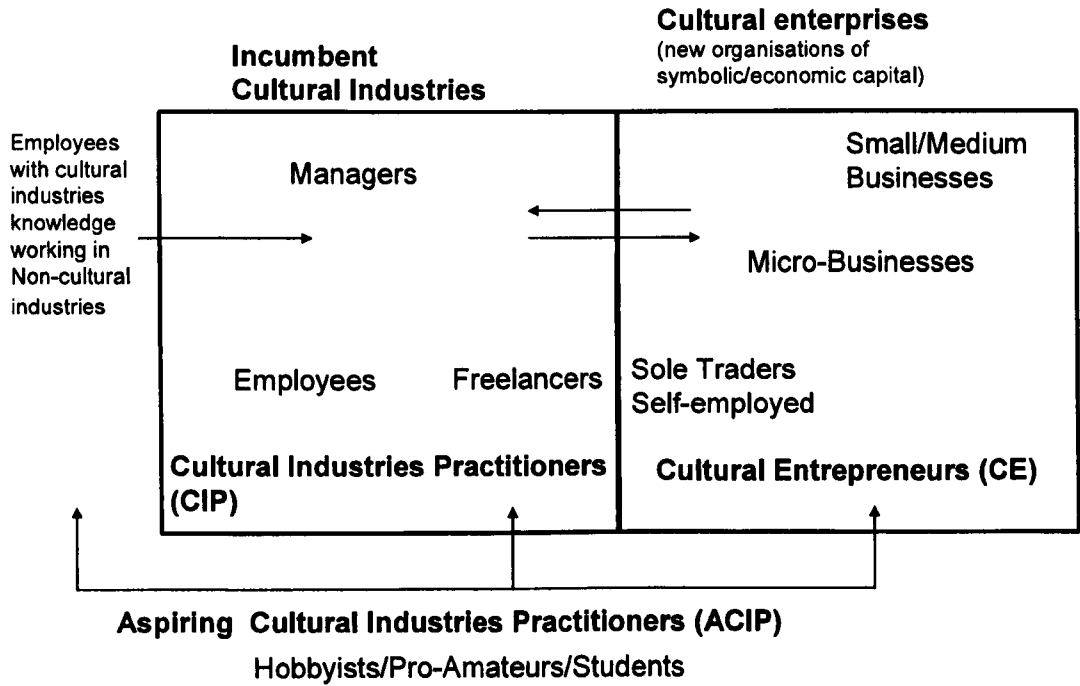
Phase One: The limits of Observer-Participation and Participant-Observation

The sub-heading above alludes to Gold’s (1958) distinction between the various types of roles ethnographers devise to access the social relations through which individuals construct meanings for certain actions the researcher wishes to understand. The role with Get Down provided participant-observation in one sub-sector of the creative industries (e.g., music). The formal part-time job as Assistant Project Manager with Creative Collaborations provided access to a wider group of people involved in the creative industries. Together these roles enabled me to map the various trajectories of people I met who were involved in Nottingham’s creative industries, which had a similar topology to the social relations I experienced in London. As Exhibit 4 shows, the cultural industries were comprised of those employed in incumbent cultural industries organisations (Creative Industries Practitioners (CIPs) both employees, freelancers (typically on long term contracts) and managers. These overlapped with freelancers who were sole traders working for multiple cultural industries (i.e., other agencies) who formed the smallest scale of the

grouping labelled as Cultural Enterprise, which also consisted of the owner-founders of micro (less than 10 employees) and small businesses. Finally, two other groups (not part of this study), were Aspiring Cultural Industries Producers (ACIPs). I met a large number of these through Creative Collaborations and recognised, from personal experience, how they supported their entrepreneurial activities through other means (e.g., full time employment in incumbent cultural industries, family supporters, inheritance). The last grouping was those employed in creative roles but in non-cultural industries organisations. Examples included a graphic designer working for a credit card company as a creative. There is overlap between these rudimentary categorisations (e.g., freelancer/sole-trader) and individuals migrate between the different categories as indicated by the direction of the arrows.

By drawing on previous work experiences as a business consultant and various cultural industries roles (e.g., music journalist, music producer, DJ, webmaster etc), I developed a Legitimate Peripheral Presence (Lave and Wenger, 1991). The role at Creative Collaborations provided access to a key local organisation - the Broadway Cinema. Creative Collaborations' office was located in one of the 'creative industries production suites' (a reference to the Broadway's cinematic legacy). Whereas Get Down finally emerged out of the spare bedroom to occupy a (derelict) loft over a record shop in Hockley, the same area as the Broadway. Both positions provided legitimate reason to hang out in Hockley and Lace Market. Two areas which have been identified as areas with an 'independent creative ecology' (Shorthose, 2004, p158) as part of a 'cultural quarter' and also containing a fashion cluster (Crewe, 1996).

**Exhibit 4:
Mapping Cultural Trajectories within Nottingham's Cultural Industries**



The first phase of the research was spent helping Get Down and administrating Creative Collaborations courses. Over a 15 month period (August 2004-December 2005) I assisted in organising 12 short courses which attracted some 130 ACIPs, CIPs and CEs. This position provided numerous opportunities to become an observer-participant (Gold, 1957) since it was a legitimate ‘learning role’ (Agar, 1996) from which to start developing a ‘working rapport’ (Coffey, 1999, p54) with individuals from the local creative industries. As the courses were organized to encourage informal socializing I spent a large number of hours at the Broadway talking with people engaged, at different scales of involvement, in the local cultural industries. This assisted in developing an impression of Nottingham’s creative industries sector integral for developing an ‘emotional connection to the field’ (Coffey, 1999, p57).

The position also enabled me to immerse myself in the local creative industries without having to reveal my ambitions as a management and business researcher. As others have noted creative ‘types’ tend to be resistant to management and business researchers who they bracket along with all the ‘suits’ (Banks et.al.2001, Bilton, 2003, 2007). Being associated with Get Down and with Creative Collaborations provided an opportunity to start translating my London-based experience into creative capital that could be traded locally in Nottingham. The problem of translating creative capital into a local setting was interesting. Some people I met in Nottingham were not bothered; others were impressed by my connections to London- based cultural enterprises; some saw potential value in my connections and others were hostile. One individual, who became a key informer, initially referred to me as ‘London’. He would later explain how this was unfair and ironic although he did harbour a deep mistrust and regional animosity against ‘Bloody London creative types’. This is significant as it highlights two challenges for gaining access to local communities of cultural industries producers. First, management business researchers must display a cultural understanding for a sub-genre and have evidence of their own capacity for producing cultural objects, ideally also entrepreneurial activity. Second, evidence of cultural production at a local level is helpful especially since my experience was from London which was acknowledged in Nottingham as the centre of the creative industries in the UK.

In order to ascertain a greater understanding of the local history and structure of the creative industries, a number of interviews were conducted with public sector agencies responsible for promoting the creative industries in Nottingham¹⁰. Also useful were two reports, one published by EMDA/CoMedia (2002) (the local Regional Development Agency) and the second by a local university (Wilson, 2002). Both provided statistical analysis of Nottingham’s creative industries. The former acknowledged the Broadway as a key site for the creative

¹⁰ These included both informal discussions and formal interviews with East Midlands Development Agency, Creative Industries New Technology Initiative Network (CINTIN) EM-Media (a screen commissioning agency part funded by the Film Council); the Arts Council; the Princes’ Trust and Creative Export.

industries and claimed 69% of creative businesses in the East Midlands were 'micros' (i.e., less than 10 employees). It also provided a ranking of the most prevalent types of creative businesses. From most prevalent to least, these were print production (this was not included because it does not conform to the DCMS definition used in this research), software development, graphic and multimedia design, fashion, advertising, marketing and public relations¹¹. The report, based on a survey recommended the need for:

'qualitative studies of the dynamics of these clusters, involving focus groups of entrepreneurs and creative practitioners. These would track the linkages with the supply chains between businesses of different sizes, the formal and informal transfer of knowledge and technology between businesses, R&D centres and universities, the links across sub-sectors both within and beyond the East Midlands' (EMDA, 2002, p92).

The role with Creative Collaborations enabled an extended informal dialogue with people engaged in the local cultural industries. This helped to understand how they were affected by issues the above report raised. These discussions confirmed that Nottingham had a larger presence in some sub-sectors (e.g., Graphic design, brand consultancy and web development); minimal presence of other sectors (e.g., architecture, designer fashion, film) and an almost total absence of large scale locally grown enterprises in certain industries (e.g., advertising, music, publishing, TV and Radio).

Another report, published by an academic team, was useful since it investigated the efficacy of applying cluster theory and argued, along similar lines to Pratt (1998, 2004), that prior to Regional Development Agency investment further research was necessary to understand the depth rather than assumed breadth of the local creative industries. The report demonstrated this point by providing an in-depth analysis of the music industry in the city concluding:

'When analysing the creative industries...it is essential to look more at the dynamics of the individual sector and understand how this operates at the micro-level, rather than straightjacket any analysis by imposing the cluster model on to sectors where it is not always entirely appropriate' (Wilson, 2002, p17).

¹¹ These findings were based on a survey of 1284 creative businesses out of an estimated total of 3217 in the county as a whole.

The field was constructed in 'phase one' through a combination of being passed existing economic policy related documents; interviews with local representatives from relevant public sector agencies and a great many hours spent observing and covertly 'interviewing' those who participated in Creative Collaboration courses. Together these experiences provided a useful means of pursuing the 'logic of discovery', or that phase when a researcher, largely unfamiliar with a setting, searches for a position that is unlikely to reveal their lack of in-depth understanding of a setting. This phase was vital for presenting myself as a cultural producer and advocate of the local creative industries. It began to take me closer to using participant observation to reveal the 'meanings people use to make sense of their daily lives' (Jorgenson, 1990, p15).

The strategy of using a mixture of participant observation and observant-participation (Gold, 1958) was justified on the following basis. Primarily because there is generally little known how cultural entrepreneurs construct meaning for their activities; that there are differences between insiders (cultural entrepreneurs) and outsiders (suits, business researchers, representatives from policy organizations, consultants and business advisory services); and that cultural enterprise is partially hidden from view. It became apparent that the role at Creative Collaborations did not permit access to the private spaces of creativity, such as studios and sometimes home offices. At the end of year one I had confirmed how defensive cultural industries producers can be when questioned directly about their activities (Banks et.al 2001, Bilton, 2007). I knew that much of the entrepreneurial activity in the city of Nottingham was small scale and that it would be necessary to rethink the research design if I was to 'gain insider knowledge about boundary maintenance' (Jorgensen, 1990, p23), or between being an observer engaged in the (public) organisation of cultural industries, as opposed to engaged with those within the boundary of cultural enterprise. New field roles, or extensions of existing ones, were hastily constructed so as to get closer to the experience whereby an ethnographer can report on 'deconstruct(ing) the boundaries between herself or himself and the subject' (Rose, 1990, p6). This would require roles

that enabled me to experience the ‘forgetfulness of self’ (Bourdieu, 1996) required to take on the view of those engaged in cultural enterprise.

Intermission: Reshuffling the File to Define ‘Real’ Entrepreneurial Activity

Mills (2000) suggested it was good ‘craftsmanship’ to periodically review the progress of one’s research, especially after an initial period of empirical research. For Mills this meant reshuffling the contents of his research files, a playful exercise which, whilst also painful, was necessary to align one’s work and non-work experiences (2000) as part of the ‘controlled experience’ of the sociological imagination. Roughly one year in, I developed serious doubts about the initial field roles with *Get Down* and *Creative Collaborations*. This led to a period of rethinking, exiting and renegotiation of roles to get closer to the moments in which individuals could be witnessed constructing meanings for their architecture of cultural enterprise.

The questioning also coincided with my deepening relationship with the design subfield. I had developed a relationship with the Design Council, a number of local design related enterprises and a senior lecturer from a local university who invited me to present at a symposium on design research in the East Midlands. This also coincided with the DTi/Cox Review (2005) which emphasised the importance of the design industry, as opposed to the more amorphous creative industries. The abundance of small scale design enterprises in Nottingham and my growing number of contacts with these businesses provided access to one sub-sector.

The focus on design sub-fields was not unproblematic and caused friction with some CIPs. This is significant as it raises the question of how ethnography is selective and partial in its accounts of social reality (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003, Van Maanen, 1989). For example ACIPs have been silenced over owner-founders (CEs) of design related enterprises. This is an example of how the ethnographer is continuously making decisions in the field which are a ‘growing part of operations’ (Czarniawska, 2004, p787). The silencing of CIPs and ACIPs was related to the frustrations experienced at *Creative Collaborations* and *Get Down*. Both had brought me into

contact with a large number of individuals who had either taken nascent steps towards entrepreneurial activities (as I had) as well as well meaning hobbyists and many aspiring artists, actors and writers. During this phase I experienced a growing frustration which I captured in a field note written during a Creative Collaborations course meeting as participants were explaining their roles and ambitions. It occurred in an afternoon after I had interviewed two senior public sector representatives for developing the Creative Industries in the East Midlands, Mike Barnes and Anne Hawkins.

'In a meeting this morning with Mike Barnes he kept referring to 'those Broadway types'. As soon as the tape recorder was off, Barnes said, 'what I meant by referring to those Broadway types was that it tends to attract a crowd which, like Nottingham in general are a bit weird and definitely too hard to figure out'. He added the only 'real' creative cluster (he defined this as a group of large employers involved in the same sub-sector and located in the same physical place) was around the packaging, printing and interiors businesses in Leicester which he added were 'a bit like the aerospace and racing car clusters in Northampton'. Anne Hawkins also referred to 'Broadway Types as 'lacking in motivation' and 'real business' experience. She said so called creative was a term used to cover up for the 'walking wounded', 'arty hangers on' and 'café revolutionaries'. I am doubting the 'value' of simply advocating creativity, a creative city and creative class based on many of the people I have met at Creative Collaborations or in Nottingham so far. Clearly Hawkins nor Barnes are not engaged personally with the 'Broadway types' and display little empathy for the multitude of biographical reasons why people want to be associated with the place. But as I am sitting here today listening to another group I find myself empathising with their issue, the public issue, of who should be classed as a 'creative entrepreneur' Today's group consisted of

ACIP 1 – Part-time lecturer/artist interested in developing a business offering art history tours of the East Midlands.

ACIP 2 – Full time public sector worker looking to set up as a freelance arts PR

ACIP 3 – Retiree wants to run writing workshops with older people

ACIP 4 – Unemployed, wanting to run community music workshops

ACIP 5 – Recent student wanting to do something related to her Masters in creative writing

CIP 6 – 'Between contracts' web programmer looking to 'get into computer games design'

ACIP-7 – FE teacher wanting to develop a VJ (*video DJ'ing*) business

I am worried the scale of activities are unlikely to develop into 'real' cultural entrepreneurship. Taking aside the circularity of the key argument in this place (*Broadway*) that policy 'types' are jealous because they are not 'real' creative's' and policy types are critical of local creatives for not being 'real' creative businesses, this environment is not conducive to getting closer to individuals who have founded cultural enterprises; are employing others and maybe generating IPR. I need to cut ties and find non-Broadway types to interact with.'

The above is not a slur on the quality of the Creative Collaborations participants. Instead it indicates a key decision that was made at this point to quit Creative Collaborations and start a more systematic exploration of firstly, individuals funded solely by their architecture of cultural enterprise within the design sector. At the same time Get Down magazine, whilst initially accumulating much critical acclaim was suffering modest sales and was fast becoming a niche fanzine and battleground for the two editor's ego. Having made the decision to quit both settings it was necessary to exit without making the participants feel victims of a 'smash and grab' (Brewer, 2000) social research. I continued to 'think and act with sensitivity and creative judgement in the field' (Jorgenson, 1990, p9) especially feeling guilt towards those whose voices would be silenced in the final textual representation.

The slow exit from the Broadway and Get Down occurred over 3-6 months. With Creative Collaborations this was eased since the employment contract came to an end giving myself and those I had spent time with an intelligible excuse for my exit. In some cases I even received sympathy from those who 'understood' my being a 'victim' of the unpredictability of creative industries work. Exiting Get Down was harder and was only eased as the magazine began to wind down and eventually cease publication. This period was 'messy' (Van Maanen, 1989) and I experienced a range of feelings from 'disappointment, disillusionment and disenchantment, dislike and even hatred for particular situations, people or even the entire research setting' (Jorgenson, 1990, p80). Again, so as to avoid the problem of 'self-indulgence', these 'emotions of fieldwork' (Coffey, 1999) have been simplified and in no way reflect the impact of disentangling myself from the personal investment that was necessary, at least initially, to gain contacts and a tolerated presence in the local creative industries community. Reshuffling completed, I engaged in a more systematic phase of data collection and deeper engagements with a handful of key informants who had founded cultural enterprises.

Phase Two: Systematic Data Collection

The aim with 'phase two' was to begin more systematic data collection of situations in which ethnographic exchanges could be used to stimulate a 'mutual curiosity' (Rabinow, 1996) about design and cultural enterprise. It required a break from the Broadway and the sub-cultural world of the dance music scene in the city. This phase involved creating a variety of 'distances' between myself and the founders of small scale design related enterprises. The term 'distance' refers to Bourdieu's (1996) claim that there will always be some degree of difference between a researcher and his or her participants. In the case study of Nottingham's field of design enterprises there were four types of distances categorized by the amount of time spent with participants and the degree of mutual investment made by each party to understand the others' aims.

The furthest grouping consists of a systematic analysis of the materials (field notes, photographs, informal conversations and observations) gathered during phase one at Get Down and Creative Collaborations (already discussed). The second grouping consisted of individuals running design enterprises who granted access to conduct semi-structured interviews and with whom there was only minimal ongoing dialogue. These individuals were met for at least two hours to conduct a semi-structured interview and in some cases a tour of their workspaces. This group comprised of twelve owner-founders of design enterprises ranging from micro businesses to the largest (in terms of turnover and employees) encountered during the fieldwork (20 employees, multi-million pound graphic design and branding consultancy). Most participants were approached either through contacts to other designers or after being approached at events at which they were presenting or displaying work. For instance, two businesses were recruited during an open studios event during Architecture Week. One agreed to participate following a walking tour of a house his enterprise had recently designed. The remainder agreed to participate by acquiescing to what Ram noted as the technique of appealing to the value of being a research participant (1998).

The third grouping comprised of four enterprises which permitted ongoing access for both formal interviews and ongoing communications. Each founder was interviewed at least twice some as many as four times. They agreed to provide access to their work places and invited me to their shows, launches, conferences and exhibitions to get a feel for how they presented their work to others. Interacting with this group required a far more entrepreneurial and opportunistic exchange (Ram, 1998). These exchanges will be examined in the following chapters as they are integral to understanding how these individuals interpreted their design reflexivity in action. Some exchanges were simply opportunistic exchanges; in one instance I purchased an iPod so that an informer could benefit from student discount (despite me later finding out he was quite affluent); others traded books, conversation and contacts; and one asked me to help write a funding proposal.

These 'terms of exchange' were negotiated separately with each participant. To manage these relationships it was helpful to recall Jorgenson's advice that it is best not to make promises, especially about the material benefits of research (1990). These informants were advised participation would be unlikely to benefit them materially and that I would be using their voices for my own advantage (e.g., academic papers, PhD). However, they were reassured their involvement may help others trying to make sense of cultural enterprise and may impact on policy. The aim was to reduce expectations as much as possible whilst developing 'mutual respect (and) sincere interest in their way of life' (Jorgensen, 1990, p87). This strategy had mixed results. I lost access to two companies that were only interested in improvements to their 'bottom line'. One felt it was unethical of me to use their experiences to help other aspiring entrepreneurs as this would only increase the competitive threat to his business.

The final category was comprised of a single design enterprise which was one year old when the initial contact was made. This visual communications agency is now comprised of three people and is continuing to develop its expertise and portfolio. This 'intrinsic case study' (Stake, 1998) was useful as a close up study of one particular instance of a phenomenon' (p88) typical of

a small scale design enterprise in the East Midlands. This claim is based on findings from the Design Council's *The Business of Design* (2005) which claimed 59% of all design consultancies in the UK employ less than 5 people, with a further 23% employ between 5-10. The report claimed 43% of design businesses in the East Midlands have been operating for less than three years.

What differentiates this enterprise from others is the close relationship I developed with the founder. The distance between researcher and research participant slowly dissolved over a period of three years. This has been made possible through continuous 'cultural' and economic exchanges. It began when he asked me if I could use my music journalism experience to write some copy (unpaid) for a DVD he was editing to promote a friend's sonic art. This led to a regular exchange whereby I shared with him music and he sent me articles, weblinks and invites to conferences about design. This was integral to building up my ability to understand the 'language about design' (Schon, 1983) and legitimate my competency of conversing about the 'real' business of design enterprise. This pattern of regular exchanges, typically once or twice per week, was further cemented by my employing his company to work collaborating on a project together; his asking me to write an essay for his partner's fashion design enterprise and him applying to the Arts Council to employ me as a mentor to help his business develop its marketing voice.

All the above levels of engagement required continuous monitoring and negotiation so as to maintain links. This process called on previous professional experience (e.g., consultant and cultural producer); local knowledge (e.g., association with Creative Collaborations); and appeals to the general value of research. As Ram suggested accessing small enterprises is a 'continuous process that is negotiated throughout the study' (1998, p97). The end goal of this process of negotiation was not only to understand the architecture of cultural enterprise but to honour the 'norm of reciprocity' (Ram, 1999) which varied from participant to participant. The continuous opportunistic activity reflects how small enterprise research requires the researcher to 'act in very

similar ways to small business owners, (since) both have to exploit opportunities, manage relationships and engage in a variety of negotiations with different actors' (1998, p106).

To summarise, phase two comprised of interviews with at least 35 CIPs via informal 'interviews' (i.e., one to one conversations lasting at least one hour) during my time at Creative Collaborations and with Get Down. During phase two some of these contacts were followed up along with their recommendations so as to systematically engage with 17 owner-founders of design enterprises. Within this 12 were interviewed only once, for a two hour period; 4 were interviewed formally (at least) twice and one enterprise was interacted with regularly on a weekly basis with extended periods of immersion and collaboration in their studio. In total 146 days are estimated to have been spent in the creative industries and design sub-field in Nottingham. This is split between the two phases of the fieldwork. The single largest concentration of days were spent at Creative Collaborations during the first phase, and during phase two the key immersion was with the four closely monitored cases and with the key 'intrinsic case' within a case study.

This quantification is as messy (Van Maanen, 1989) as the events that unfolded and, as shall be discussed at length, represented the 'messyness' of unpredictable creative enterprise (Bilton, 2007). The final section of this chapter now turns to question of analysis and representation of the material gathered during field work.

Representing The Architecture of Creative Capital

'Memory mediates spatial transformations' (de Certeau, 1984)

This section examines how significance was attached to participant's interpretations gathered during phase I and II. The first point is that ethnography is selective, partial and always a compressed version of the social reality constructed by others. The process of translating this construction process into text is an act of fabrication that seeks to enjoin the fieldworker with a culture.

As Van Maanen explained:

‘A culture is expressed (or constituted) only by the actions and words of its members and must be interpreted by, not given to, a fieldworker. To portray a culture requires the fieldworker to hear, to see...to write of what was presumably witnessed and understood during a stay in the field. Culture is not itself visible, but is made visible only through its representation’ (1989, p3)

Turning first to the semi-structured interviews, these were presented to participants as an opportunity to reflect on how they interpret their architecture of cultural enterprise. These ‘guided conversations’ sought to ‘establish a relevant dimension of attitudes’ (Fielding and Thomas, 2004, p123) about how design reflexivity is organised by entrepreneurial activities. The interviews were not treated as opportunities to access ‘the truth’, but an attempt to witness local articulations of how individuals evaluate such action. The participants were presented with a consent form and guided through a set of topics through an improvised conversational technique congruent with ethnographic interviewing (Heyl, 2001). This sought to encourage ‘interpreting and re-interpreting questions and responses clarifying what their responses meant, and even re-framing the research questions’ (ibid.p376). The aim was to elicit a co-constructed narrative of ‘perceived coherence’ (Czarniawska, 1997b); as ‘situationally negotiated’ between ‘two persons seeking knowledge and understanding in a common conversational endeavour’ (Czarniawska, 2004, p47). The interviews were conducted in settings where the participants would naturally inhabit. These included a variety of workspace settings and several city cafes.

These encounters became opportunities to mutually explore how ‘practitioners offered a personal insight into the realities of their practice’ by encouraging ‘that which our profession has an abundance of but others do not; an opportunity of trying out one’s thoughts without practical consequences’ (Czarniawska, 2004, p48). The interviews were not therefore ‘a window on social reality, but generated ‘active narrative production’ (Holstein and Gubrium, cited in Silverman, 2000, p51) and ‘active listening’ (Bourdieu, 1996) for both researcher and participant. The ambition was to stimulate and put to work a ‘mutual curiosity’ (Rabinow, 1996) about design so as to render the ‘special vocabularies’ that are ‘part of the universe of discourse’ (Gorden, 1975,

p70) within which design reflexivity is used in action. It should be recognised that researcher always brings a 'vocabulary of method' (Heyl, 2001) to interviews which creates a structuring distance between researcher and research participant.

One strategy for minimising the 'symbolic violence' of interviewing was the lengthy period of observer-participation during phase one. This provided some understanding of the local 'subtle nuances' (Rosen, 1991, p12) of Nottingham's creative industries. This revealed themes and myths, such as the city's creative legacy, as a centre of the Lace Industry (seen as a creative industry) and as the home of Sir Paul Smith the fashion label founder who launched his business in Nottingham; issues relating to Nottingham's size, the pressure for spaces to conduct creative business, relations to large local clients of creative work and the city's proximity to London. There were also topical issues such as the furore over the re-branding of the city's identity (which placed a local design communications agency at the centre of the local media which reacted to fears over the loss of Nottingham's city identity); and a multimillion pound investment into the city's cultural infrastructure¹². Many of these issues were raised during interviews, sometimes prompted but often not. The value of ethnographic immersion was vital as it provided a degree of local knowledge that was useful for probing the challenges of conducting cultural enterprise in the city. It also provided the opportunity for follow-ups, and longitudinal probes which assisted in testing provisional analysis with practitioners. This was an especially useful technique as practitioners were invited, as co-producers of knowledge to comment on diagrams and initial typologies that were later revised and rechecked.

The interviews provided a tool for sampling a variety of definitions of cultural enterprise. The interview tool was constructed according to the context and was deployed to be consistent with the 'context of social action' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). The aim was typical of UK

¹² The Broadway Cinema received a £6 million grant to develop its digital media and creative industries hub facilities. The Arts Exchange received a similar figure to rebuild its arts centre dedicated to Black and Minority Ethnicity Art and a £13m investment has been made to create the Centre For Contemporary Art Nottingham (CCAN).

qualitative research which has used semi-structured interviews to understand interpretations of social action (Savage and Burrows, 2007) or 'how humans experience moral community' (Lincoln and Denzin, 2003, p620). The emphasis in the interviews was placed on the 'ethnographic attention to articulation' (Gubrium, 1988), or their architecture of cultural enterprise. However, this is not to suggest that an over-emphasis was placed on revealing the rules of micro-scale interaction as is common in ethnomethodology (Button, 1991). As Czarniawska noted, this type of articulation research tends to reveal rules governing sociality but not social action. To counter-act the micro attention it was necessary to conduct 'practical ethnography' (Gubrium, 1988) in order to witness the construction of design reflexivity in non-interview settings. This required being around individuals to observe them conducting position taking. Such instances were vital to understanding how discursive repertoires were used to define the 'language of design' (Schon, 1983) as individuals connected their personal organisation of culture to a wider 'system of relationships' (Potter and Wetherell, 1987, p25) required to legitimate novel and economically reasonable design activity.

To move beyond the interview settings participant observation was used to address 'how members of situations assemble reasonable understandings of the things and events of concern to them and, thereby, realize them as objects of everyday life. The 'how' of folk interpretation is emphasized over the 'what' (Gubrium, 1988, p27). This required descriptions of the 'content of representations of people in different contexts or the sheer range of self-images available' by ascertaining 'how these images are used and to what end, and thus what they achieve for the speaker' (Potter and Wetherell, 1987, p139). This was achieved primarily with the single intrinsic case study and the second group of four frequently engaged with enterprises through a variety of interactions designed to encourage more insights into their architecture of cultural enterprise.

One key intervention involved an opportunistic seizing on the ethnographic contingency as a serendipitous gift emerged. This involved a contract to provide an 'ethnographic solution' for a US Futurist Consultancy that required a field trip for attendees at a London scenario planning

event. The intervention led to my setting up (temporarily) as a self-employed freelance 'design research consultant' complete with website, business cards and national insurance payments. This experiment in 'becoming the phenomenon' (Jorgensen, 1990) was a year long engagement that is accounted for elsewhere (Greenman and Smith, 2006, Greenman, 2008). It provided an opportunity to how to explore how researchers can witness the diachronic (Czarniawska, 1997) construction of meaning. In this example, I assembled a small project team, consisting of a visual communications agency and film maker to harness their design reflexivity and channel it towards another business, a 'relational service' (Gadrey, 2000), very much involved in assisting design intensive organisations (auto manufacturers, mobile phone producers, petroleum companies) in their 'colonization of the future' (Giddens, 1991). The intervention enabled an exploration of how design reflexivity is translated into permissible value within design intensive capitalism (Callon et.al. 2002, Lash and Urry, 1994, Thrift, 2005, 2006) so as to create affective connections to consumers (Arvidsson, 2005, Lury, 2003). The final section of this chapter now explores 'analytical reflexivity' (Brewer, 2000) or how significance was attached to the 'descriptive reflexivity'.

Analysis and Representation

'The subject of this book is not the void exactly, but rather what there is round about us inside it. To start with, then, there isn't very much; nothingness, the impalpable, the virtually immaterial; extension, the external, what is external to us, what we move about in the midst of, our ambient milieu, the space around us... This is how space begins, with words only, signs traced on the blank page. To describe space, to name it, to trace it' (Georges Perec).

This chapter has suggested an ethnographic approach can be used in this study as a 'repertoire of research methods' (Atkinson et.al 2001). This is not translated as anything goes as there remains a number of commitments to the 'ethos of participation' associated with the ascetic of social science methods (Rabinow, 1996). This chapter has recognised the ethical commitments and potential crisis facing empirical sociological research so as to be engaged in methodological

innovation orientated towards ‘descriptive sociology’ (Savage and Burrows, 2007) that has relevance to those interested in understanding how cultural entrepreneurs contribute to design intensive production. The methodological approach and methods selected address the importance of embodied presence in bounded social settings so as enable ethnographic encounters with the individuals who, by narrating and engaging in identification, construct interpretations for their design reflexivity in action. The key methods used were participant observation and observer-participation (Gold, 1958, Jorgensen, 1990) and ‘guided conversations’ to gather instances of the ‘patterns of consistency and variation’ (Potter and Wetherell, 1997, p169) in the discursive resources drawn upon in the construction of cultural enterprise. Together these methods enabled a ‘logic of discovery’ (Gubrium, 1988) an iterative qualitative research process (Silverman, 2000) in which different proxemic ‘distances’ (Bourdieu, 1996) were established with individuals involved in Nottingham’s Cultural Industries and within this a sub-set of owner-founders of design enterprises.

The above activities resulted in a wide range of written materials, photographs, audio recordings, maps, diagrams and artefacts which were co-produced together and form a partial slice of the social reality generated as reflexive knowledge during fieldwork. During this ongoing process of analysis materials were organised so as to ‘illustrate the situated or context-bound nature of the multivocal meanings disclosed in the research’ (Brewer, 2000, p36). The analysis was therefore not something that occurred after fieldwork. Instead it was part of the ‘performed practices’ (Humphreys et.al. 2003, p17) of doing ethnography. It was tied to the ethnographic contingency and the continuous exchanges and decisions required actualizing the abstract plan in the research design by engaging with those encountered in the field.

The act of ‘writing up’ therefore began with the research design and early ‘field notes to a future self’ (Rock, 2001). It intensified at various stages during fieldwork. At some junctures, for example delivering papers at conferences, and waned at others, (e.g., periods of withdrawal to the library). However, throughout the fieldwork some form of textual representation was conducted

so as to hone the ‘powers of expression’ required for the ‘controlled experience’ of crafting a sociological imagination (Mills, 2000). As Jorgensen noted, ‘Writing is doing, not wishing. Writing is a process’ (1990, p120). And this process required devising strategies to manage the ‘textual representation of the multiplicity of perspectives of subjects in the field’ (Brewer, 2000, p36) and the minutiae of meanings, or ‘winks inside the milieux’ (Bourdieu, 1992), imparted through cultural enterprise.

The process of analysis and representation was framed by thinking through Schon’s notion of how reflexivity is developed by designers as they master the interplay between the ‘language of design’ and the ‘language about design’. The notion of ‘analytical reflexivity’ was key for thinking about how the ‘theorist’s infrastructure’ (Brewer, 2000) ‘comes about’. Turning the thinking tools of sociology back upon itself, not as an end, but as part of the process of social sense making was a vital exercise to recognise how self-discovery occurs through discovery of the other (Humphreys et.al.2003). It also echoed Mead’s point that the I (in this case the Researcher’s I) can only emerge through the interrelationship between the ‘internalization and inner dramatization’ of doing research which necessitates an ‘external conversation of significant gestures’ through interaction with the cultural repertoires held by others. In other words, how the researcher’s self (I) is challenged through the need to ‘take on the attitudes’ of others during ethnographic encounters (Mead, 1934, p173).

This recognises how the ‘jurisdiction’ of social science knowledge (Savage and Burrows, 2007) may have been challenged by a ‘knowing capitalism’ (Thrift, 2004) and highly reflexive individuals engaged in such production. Although the epochalist suggestion must be tempered with the reminder that social theorists have always had to ‘move across lands belonging to someone else’ (de Certeau, 1984). To return to the metaphoric connection between ethnography and architecture, both must develop vocabularies for justifying their authority so they can continue to engage in shaping structuring structures (i.e., buildings and texts, to be deliberately reductionist to both practices). The crises of legitimization and representation that affect both

disciplines have created a tension in which the absolute certitude of scientific authority has been challenged. The act of representation, for both architects (see Hillier, 2005, Bourdieu, 2005) and social theorists is an act of complicity. For the social scientist even reflexive use of sociological theory and methods is a reproduction of the 'social conditions of possibility of scientific knowledge' (Bourdieu, 1990, p29). As de Certeau noted Bourdieu's critique of social science could not dispense with its epistemological presuppositions without losing its voice and authority (de Certeau, 1984).

Once naturalism and interpretive empirical sociology are deconstructed a void emerges which, if left unchecked, threatens descent into deconstructing the very promise of such research. It is a situation akin to the tension between 'actual architects' and 'paper architects' who theorise about the possibility of assigning meaning to the design of space. This research here is committed to the challenge of conducting fieldwork, so as to develop competence at wielding the 'language of ethnography' and a reflexive 'language about ethnography'. The purpose of which is to attempt an 'objectification of objectivity' (Bourdieu, 1992). Analysis of empirical material via 'interpretive repertoires' (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000) is therefore conceptualised as a 'sensitizing device to counter act the tendency to present ethnographic reports as portrayals of objectivity' (Hine, 2000, p56).

This does not diminish the role of fieldwork since immersion remains a 'moral imperative' if no longer a 'methodological safeguard' (Czarniawska, 1997, p4). It is a means of subjecting analysis to 'public criteria' and 'practical tests' (Potter and Wetherell, 1997, p175) in the social contexts in which design reflexivity emerges from ethnographic encounters and 'critical conversations' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003) which recognise the researcher's influence as 'partial and limited' (Brewer, 2000), but valid if acknowledged as a recontextualization and written representation (Czarniawska, 1999, 2004) of social reality.

The resultant 'point of view on a point of view' (Bourdieu, 1990a) remains vital to understanding how sense making occurs in bounded spatial settings. As Atkinson et.al. argued,

through ethnography ‘the local has general significance and the temporally specific has lasting value’ (2001, p7). The ethnographer’s sense assembly becomes ‘analytical realism’ (Altheide and Johnson, 1998, p292) by engaging in ethnographic contingency to become a part of processes through which meaning is constructed. It is the challenge of the ethnographic imagination (Atkinson, 1992) to ‘design a way of living’ (Mills, 2000) that is systematic and socially relevant. Just as it is a challenge for the architect to develop an approach to living that is relevant for shaping space both aesthetically and functionally.

This chapter has considered how this researcher applied ethnography to design a way of living capable of producing adjacency (Rabinow, 2008) with those constructing their architecture of cultural enterprise. It has detailed the demands of such activity which requires presenting present oneself as a ‘creative’, or creator (*homo faber*) but also to stimulate ‘active action’ (Strati, 1996) so others can demonstrate the craft and aesthetic sensibility required for entrepreneurial mixing of symbolic novelty and economic reasonableness.

At the same time as developing locally bounded competence in the culture of entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity ‘culture’ it was necessary to manage developing competence at ‘becoming academic’ (Hobbs, 1984). Hence, time spent preparing for teaching, writing papers, holding seminars, submitting abstracts and delivering papers equally required an investment into the norms of reciprocity that govern the practice of higher education. Time and energy which made it increasingly difficult to maintain a credible presence among the creators of design enterprises. The importance of reflexivity was as a control mechanism to minimise the distortion, or symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1992, 1996) that inevitably meant killing the joy and pain of cultural enterprise. It provided a means of regulating the claim of getting closer to how others interpret their cultural enterprise without getting lost in the process of creation by repeating the mantra of ‘I am researching the ‘economy of economic practices’ (Bourdieu, 2005).

It was also helpful during the analysis and representation stages to recall Bourdieu’s claim that ‘we’ (social researchers) should focus on revealing the ‘process of construction itself,

leaving the construction in other fields of practice to others' (2005). Hence, in the field of cultural enterprise I considered the role of the ethnographer to get closer to the transactions and calculations of value required to conduct novel and reasonable trades. The partial and constructed nature of ethnographic accounts does not foreclose the possibility of 'disciplined accounts of the world that are coherent, methodological and sensible' (Atkinson, 1992, p51).

The above alludes to the aim of creating an 'interesting recontextualization' (Czarniawska, 2004, p135) of social contexts and interactions through which individuals enjoy their biographies (i.e., personal organisation of culture) with the public issue of design intensive production. It connects 'articulation ethnography' with 'practical ethnography' (Gubrium, 1988) via an ethnographic approach appropriate for representing the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity since it created a bridge into the 'structures through patterns of sustained interactions, from the micro-level of the small group right to the macro-level of global economic systems (Tsoukas, 2000, p533).

The evaluation also includes an aesthetic criteria based on the ability to convey the process of engaging in the co-construction of the affective layers of world construction. Just as architecture enmeshes the world of ideas with the world of practical action so too this research seeks to enjoy the theory of world construction with entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity allowing the field to talk back as part of the ongoing production of 'making culture together' (Lincoln and Denzin, 2003, p624). The research process was conceived in terms of a commutation into temporal 'reality enclaves' from which a return was necessitated by various externally imposed constraints (e.g., time and funding) and the need to legitimize the social activity of doing ethnography by translating its value (i.e., crafting a social science narrative) and achieving consummation with the reader (i.e., coherence, persuasiveness, multivocality, epistemological debate etc).

To summarise, an ethnographic approach was applied to allow encounters to occur with individuals engaged in positioning their entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity.

Through a series of interventions and roles it was possible to temporarily become immersed in the social relations within the design sub-fields in Nottingham. This enabled the observation, witnessing and (to a limited degree) co-production of mixtures that were both symbolically novel and reasonable economic activity. This chapter has suggested, at least metaphorically, there exist a number of similarities in how architect-designers' construct an 'architecture around the void' (Bruno, 2007) through their 'will to architecture' (Karatani, 1995). Architecture for Wittgenstein was a gesture (Wijdeveld, 1992), since the architect affects the physical world by intervening in the flow of light, heat, rain, wind, bodies and machines. So too the ethnographer affects the flow of social action as fieldworkers make interventions into social construction of knowledge that organise the 'multiplicity of senses' (Strati, 1997, p1387). By interacting with others and fabricating representations of specific social actors' interpretations of bounded locations, the following chapters are an exercise in 'forming lines of words' (Perec, 1999) so as to understand how the architecture of cultural enterprise contributes to the organisation of contemporary economic and social activity.

Chapter 4 Articulation: Becoming a Cultural Entrepreneur

This chapter will explore the ‘first’ of three phases that represent research participants’ ‘sense making’ (Brewer, 2000) so as to understand the architecture of cultural enterprise. Each chapter draws on empirical material gathered from ethnographic encounters with the founders of design enterprises in the city of Nottingham. These are organized according to the provisional analytical framework illustrated in Exhibit 3 (Chapter 2) however this is not to suggest they should be read as a sequential model. Instead each phase explores the contradictions and struggles that emerge as individuals interpreted their design reflexivity through identity work and narrative (See Chapter 2). This chapter focuses on what was labelled in Chapter 2 as commutation. It explores how the research participants accounted for their personal organisation of culture as they entered and re-emerged from ‘reality enclaves’ (Berger and Luckmann, 1967), to achieve an ‘externalization’ of self. The chapter will focus on how individuals accounted for ‘becoming a cultural entrepreneur’. The main concern of this chapter is with the ways in which individuals who founded small scale design businesses devote part of their self-identities to externalizing design reflexivity as part of their whole contribution to the ‘enterprise of world-building’ (Berger, 1990).

This chapter focuses on the stratagems individuals developed so as to make sense of the ‘radical shift’ or ‘leap’ (Berger, 1990) which legitimized the symbolic novelty and economic reasonableness of their entrepreneurial activity. The purpose is to apply interpretive sociological methodology to ‘illuminate’ (Howarth et.al, 2005) the context of entrepreneurial activity. Narrative and identity theory, which have been applied by others researching entrepreneurial activity (Down, 2005, Fletcher, 2002, Fletcher and Watson 2007, Hjorth, 2003) are applied here as conceptual tools consistent with a pragmatist pluralist framework (Mouzelis, 1995, Watson, 1998) and reflexive sociology (Bourdieu, 1990, Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) so as to interpret entrepreneurial activity as emplotted by an individual. Such action is represented as the enjoining

of an individuals' private organisation of culture with the public issue of design intensive production. Empirical instances are used to explore how, as argued in Chapter 2, entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity requires a dialectic between self-identity and engagement with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur.

The term commutation was used in Chapter 2 to conceptualise the notion of (temporarily) turning away yet remaining within 'paramount reality' (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). In this chapter bounded (tempo-spatial) interpretations from research participants will be drawn upon as representations of the commutative 'leaps' required to develop a design reflexivity. The empirical material is used to represent instances of 'escapes' into 'finite provinces of meaning' (Berger and Luckmann, 1967) since these help understand how to contextualise individual's architecture of cultural enterprise.

The term commutation is not used in this present chapter. Instead it is replaced by articulation. This is for three reasons; first, articulation was drawn from the empirical material. This is not to justify the superior value of emic or folk schemas on the assumption that these can be drawn 'directly' from empirical material, as in a 'realist ethnography' (Van Maanen, 1989) and 'grounded theory' (Glaser and Strauss, 1969). Instead it is a concession to minimise the inevitable 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu, 1996) that occurs as everyday experiences are isolated from their social context and subjected to etic labelling and categorization (Bourdieu, 1990a). Second, articulation reinforces my commitment to 'analytical reflexivity' (Brewer, 2000), or revealing the theorists infrastructure as part of the 'manipulation' (Watson and Humphreys, forthcoming) of interpreting fieldwork material in ethnographic representation. Third the term resonates with 'articulation ethnography' (Gubrium, 1989) that seeks to combine both synchronic (i.e., largely interview based witnessing and diachronic (i.e., participant observation based witnessing) as a strategy for understanding how individuals interpreted their experiences).

Expanding briefly on the third point made above the etymological meaning of articulation, (i.e., as a process of enjoining two or more co-existing states, or the 'action or

process of jointing, the state of being jointed') is well suited to expanding the architectural metaphor. It also relates to Schon's notion of reflective practice through a 'language about design' (1983) and the 'distinct elements of speech' that enable a 'language sensitive sociology' (Watson, Forthcoming A) (see Chapter 2 and 3). Articulation is used to describe the act of identity work as a jointing of a personal organisation of design reflexivity to socially constructed definitions of design. It is proposed the 'discursive resources' (Potter and Wetherell, 1987) used during such identity work can be read as an instance of how individuals develop differing degrees of symbolic competency used in the 'manipulation' (Mead, 1934) of cultural repertoires so as to negotiate the value of their entrepreneurial mixtures with others.

It is also useful to recall, from Chapter 1, how the 'will to architecture' (Karatani, 1995) has a specific application in this research. This is the claim that the added value of the creative industries is a 'meta-reflective facilitation' (Scase and Davis, 2000) or the ability to organise 'selection, filtering, delivery and interpretation' of culture (Bilton, 2007). This chapter utilises the theoretical 'repertoires' (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000) developed in Chapter 1, which argued contemporary production in an 'economy of qualities' (Callon, et.al.2003) is 'unruly' (Thrift, 2005, 2006); 'complex' (Urry, 2005) and 'reflexive' (Beck, Giddens and Lash, 1992, Giddens, 1991, Lash and Urry, 1994). What this chapter explores is 'local' or 'micro' interpretations which have relevance for understanding the claims of social theorists.

The concept of reflexive identity work is useful for achieving this micro-macro interrelationship as individuals' self-identity is constructed partially through engaging with the social identity (Jenkins, 1996, Watson, 2008), or persona (du Gay, 2007) of 'cultural entrepreneur'. Participants' articulations are relevant for understanding the interplay between self and 'Formal roles' 'Social categories' and 'Cultural stereotypes' (Watson, 2008). This chapter will explore the articulation of cultural enterprise as the 'first' phase of three (Chapters 4-7) that form the syntax of the 'surface struggles' (Bourdieu, 1990), or investment necessary to engage in the 'game' of cultural enterprise. The polyvocality of the following chapter amplifies the

provisional analytical framework (Chapter 2) by introducing the voices of individual's involved in articulating their design reflexivity. No attempt is made to privilege these accounts over the other voices in this text so far (i.e., the voice of social theorists, policy makers and the researcher). Instead individual's accounts are added to intensify an understanding of how the founders of small scale enterprises in the design sub-field of the creative industries make sense of their entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity via an architecture of cultural enterprise.

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section examines material, largely from interviews, of a synchronic nature. This material is useful for gaining a purchase on a variety of articulations present in the sample group. Second, two 'cases within cases' are used to explore two articulations in detail. These enable a more in-depth exploration of the granularity of sub-field or genre specific references which are used to articulate a 'charm of novelty' and 'sensitivity to distinctions' (Simmel, 1904).

Beginnings: Routes to Becoming a Cultural Entrepreneur

Articulations of entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity are not readily accessible objects for researchers to extract from the field. Instead they must be re-constructed from interactions with research participants. Before representing the voices heard as a consequence of coming face to face with 'the other' in 'the field', it is helpful to recall Farr's research into artisan makers. Farr's historical analysis (See Chapter 1) noted how the 'social and self-definitions' of artisan were not made in isolation, but rooted in the cultural, political, intellectual and economic contingencies (Farr, 2000) of the historical moment, in Farr's case the late 'middle ages'. The accounts of founders of small scale design enterprises must be set into a wider relational context, with the qualification that material gathered during fieldwork was then subject to the act of becoming a record as it was transformed into an archive through the researcher's discursive archaeology (Foucault, 1969) and the act of organising writing (Czarniawska, 1999). The material fabricated into representations in this chapter is therefore a thin slice of thick

‘constellations of relationships’ (Somers, 1994). The following polyvocality aims to situate participants’ articulations of the organisation of design reflexivity via entrepreneurial activity. This illuminates the context in which such activity was part of the organisation of social experience (Etzioni, 1963) and the creation and maintenance of organisations involved in shaping social space and relations (Dale and Burrows, 2008).

Education, Employment and Expectations: ‘Downsizing, Logical Progression and Inevitability’

This section utilises material gathered primarily from interviews in which participants were asked some variation of the question ‘can you please tell me a bit about what it is you do? This question was a means of ascertaining instances of ‘causal employment’ (Somers, 1994) of the ‘entrepreneurial moment’ and have been analysed as interpretations of how research participants’ enjoined their self identity with a nexus of educational attainment, work experience and career expectations.

Displaying formal education achievements was significant for participants. Of the 18 participants all had a minimum of an undergraduate level degree; five held post-graduate degrees and two had completed PhDs. Perhaps the presence of an academic researcher prompted this display but it was also witnessed in other settings, such as informal interactions in bars, at galleries and in formal settings such as pitches, competitions and presentations. The significance of noting educational attainment is interpreted as a demonstration of ‘cultural capital’ (Bourdieu, 1990).

As discussed in Chapter 2, Bourdieu’s ‘logic of practice’ argued individuals continuously negotiate their proximity to others in the social space through ‘instruments of reproduction’ (1984). One of these, perhaps the key one for Bourdieu was education (Bourdieu and Passmore, 1992, Grenfell, 2004). To avert the dangers of Bourdieu’s structuralism (Jenkins, 2000), what is required is a placing of the importance of education in relation to the experiences of work and

career expectations. Participants' accounts of this nexus are significant as they assist in understanding some of the key social forces that partially shape individuals' engagement in small scale enterprise activity. For example, Bourdieu's notion of an 'oversupply' (Bourdieu, 1990) of graduates is relevant when coupled with the claim that in the cultural industries there is a higher competition for 'creative' roles (Bilton, 2007, Nixon, 2003). The aim is not to argue these 'structuring structures' (Bourdieu, 1990) alone shape how individuals make sense of their entrepreneurial activities. Instead it is to show how this nexus was significant for exploring an engagement with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur.

Discussions often began with educational attainment as this situated entrepreneurial activity alongside experiences of work and career expectations. The subjects that participants had studied ranged from degrees in fine art and graphic design, (both preceded by a 'foundation' in an arts college); architecture; various humanities, social science subjects and one science graduate. This division has been analysed as significant because it is suggestive of a distinction between those whose identity work displayed more of an affinity with the artisan, artist or 'designer maker' (typically those from an arts background) and those more closely aligned to 'design related services' (typically from humanities, social sciences, science).

These categories are ideals as there was a considerable overlap, for example in the cases of graphic designers, whose articulations straddle both designer maker and design related services. The aim is not to impose categories but to suggest a key tension in articulation involves a continuum of 'relative autonomy' to 'relative heteronomy'. At one pole lies the ideal of producing to satisfy an 'inner' desire for self-expression and at the other the 'compromise' of design as 'relational services' (Gadrey, 2000) valued for its ability to bring about a 'change in conditions' that affects a producers relation to its consumers. It is helpful to recall Simmel's continuum which placed the applied and fine arts as interconnected poles on a continuum of unique forms of art through to the styles of designed objects (1904, 1905). The term 'relative autonomy', taken from Bourdieu (1990, 1996), is used in the conceptualisation of a continuum of

relative social proximities, or fields, within which individuals seek to legitimate their output. The following now examines empirical material in which individuals were witnessed positioning their entrepreneurial moment within the nexus of education, work and expectations.

Abigail Hunter, a co-founder of Kinesis, a three person 'interactive digital art and media' enterprise, articulated her moment of enterprise by drawing heavily on the 'more' autonomous artist of the 'designer maker' persona. Her articulation situates her cultural enterprise in the nexus of arts education, low skilled part-time work and enterprise as a means of escape. As she explained:

'I studied performing and visual arts at Nottingham Trent and was unemployed for two years. So when me, Richard and Paul were all unemployed it wasn't a great surprise! I guess you could say our first funding was the dole like most creative companies. We were working part-time for the University and one day we all decided why not set up a company. Quite a few of our artist friends had their own businesses. We had nothing to loose. I know this sounds extreme, but I was in meetings with business advisors and funding agencies and I was hungry. I couldn't afford the bus home and we used to spend nights in pub sharing a half pint between three! (Abigail Hunter, Kinesis).

Abigail's articulation relies on the romantic identification to a bohemian struggle, which others have associated with cultural enterprise. Eikhof and Haunschild argued a bohemian lifestyle is the bridge which privileges artistic creative workers since they have a commitment to art for arts sake and to economic self-management (2006). Bourdieu's analysis of bohemian art and literature in 19th century Paris connected an influx of provincial lower and middle classes with an emergent cultural entrepreneurship which led to a redistribution of symbolic capital within the field of culture (1996). These uses of bohemia contrast with Florida's (2003) 'sunshine moralist' (Mills, 2000) take on the bohemian aspect of his 'creative class' category with a part bohemian and part bourgeoisie, or 'Bobo' (Brookes, 2000) character. Abigail's identity work places her at variance to Florida's creative class which he categorized as all 'creative' occupations including high-tech industries, such as software programmers and other 'symbol analysts' (Reich, 1991). Florida's definition of bohemian is perhaps better explained as a categorisation of 'cool' workers and entrepreneurs to use Liu's term for US high-tech no-collar workplaces (2004). Abigail however

was less of a creative class bobo choosing which up and coming neighbourhood to purchase a reclaimed loft in. Instead she is more closely related to the type of cultural entrepreneur Zukin described as the first wave of neo-urban colonists who themselves moved on as property developers and a 'café economy' (1995) increase the costs of rent and new urban dwellers (professionals) move in. It is significant that Kinesis' office was itself relocated from the city centre into a suburb during this research.

However, care must be taken not to suggest Abigail is articulating bohemianism as Bourdieu theorized it as a 'double rejection' of the art world and 'the market' (Bourdieu, 1996). In Abigail's interpretation there is a resonance to Lane's reading of Bourdieu. As Lane claimed Bourdieu's 'double rejection' as a renegotiation of the role of the artist/cultural producer in relation to contemporary tastes and the opportunities of the exchange model. In Abigail's extract her articulation of the moment of enterprise is at variance with the world of art and work as she somewhat haphazardly falls into setting up an enterprise. This concurs with McRobbie (1997) who reported that fashion students became embroiled in micro enterprise feeling there was no way into their preferred 'career' options which left only low paid, low status service work.

Another participant who drew on the artist/designer maker 'ideal' was Rob Strawson. In his articulation Rob placed less importance on a bohemian struggle, but did emphasize the importance of micro-entrepreneurship as an anticipation of a lack of work opportunities. He engaged in 'sub-cultural entrepreneurship' (Hebdige, 1979, McRobbie, 1998, 2003) whilst still an art student. He did this by making T-Shirts and illustrating record sleeves for a Nottingham based music label. Rob's engagement in entrepreneurial activity was articulated as an artistic compulsion of having to create new things combined with formative experiences in micro-enterprise which convinced him he could sell his art, but that 'people weren't just going to start calling me out of the blue'.

In those who aligned themselves in their identity work closer to the 'designer-maker' persona there was a need justify a long period of incubation as a sacrifice required to practice a

form of design reflexivity. This incubation period comprised of periods of part-time work, unemployment and proto-entrepreneurial activity. This period was quantified as somewhere between 3 (Rob) and 7 years (Abigail) with others stating anything as long 10-15 years. One of these 'slowburners', as they classified themselves, was Fused, an enterprise set up by Laura Townsend to supply glass for architects and interior designers. She described her 'entrepreneurial moment' as a growing realization of the need to 'get serious'.

'I studied fine art then a Masters in the History of Art and later took on a small studio space outside to start experimenting with making glass. Initially I was doing small one-off commissions and supplementing this with teaching and part-time work. I carried on making small objects for sale, mainly domestic and ecclesiastic clients which was great because it allowed me to work around bringing up my son. When I met Anthony, my partner, who became my sales director as well, we sold one of my pieces to a buyer from an interior design business. She commissioned us to make door handles and a balustrade for a bar they were refitting. That was probably the time when we thought we need to take things more seriously.' (Laura, Fused).

Laura's appeal to a 'designer maker' persona emplots her entrepreneurial moment in a long transitional period from arts education to multi-income stream employment and micro entrepreneurial 'making'. In all these cases significance is attached to the need for an extended period of exploration. During interviews with those more aligned to the designer maker persona I was frequently invited to hold, see and comment on their objects whether on websites, design show catalogues, studios or gallery exhibitions. This was difficult as I was not qualified to assess the technical mastery over material processes and a representation form. What was important was the need to at least display some understanding of the importance these individuals shared in conveying how a long incubation period was a means of justifying the hard work of creating a 'design style' that was both novel and reasonable.

This could raise a problem for other management researchers investigating the cultural industries. As Lawrence and Phillips (2002) noted there is a question over the extent to which (some) management researchers are able to understand the 'set of problems that are unique to cultural production' (p430). Their key objection is the lack of understanding about how the cultural industries produce meanings within a 'system of texts'. Although this is an interesting

question it is a somewhat limited view as it fails to acknowledge where researchers, primarily from organizational studies, have focused on the question of discourse, identity, narrative and culture as a factor of control and resistance (Alvesson et.al, 2008, Alvesson and Willmott, 2003, Czarniawska, 1997, du Gay, 2007, Kunda, 1992, Kondo, 1990, Humphreys and Brown, 2002, Svenningsson and Alvesson, (2003), Watson, 1994, 2008) and the literature focused on organisational identities within the cultural industries (Alvesson 1994, du Gay, 1995, du Gay et.al. 1997, du Gay et.al. 1996b, du Gay et.al.2000, Moeran, 2006, Neff et.al. 2005, Nixon, 2003).

My working 'solution' to the problem of displaying an understanding of 'texts' (Lawrence and Phillips, 2002, du Gay et.al.2000) of cultural production was to be explicit about not being a designer maker but to empathize in the incubation period by conveying my experiences as a music producer. It was vital to be able to articulate how, when I was making music, I had to spend years designing sound palettes, mastering plug-in effects in virtual studios and practicing instruments. The ability to convey this experience and how it translated into cultural commodities was I believe a vital element of gaining access and building rapport with those engaging in cultural enterprise as it reduced the proximity to their identity work because I could switch between the social identity of management researcher and as cultural producer.

With those engaging more with a 'design service provider' persona, a different set of issues emerged and another form of identity work was witnessed. The individuals engaged with a 'design service provider' persona also used education, work and expectations for the causal emplotment of their entrepreneurial activity. However, unlike the designer-makers their reasons for 'arriving' at entrepreneurial activity were less attributed to incubation, exploration and bohemian struggle. Instead their moment of enterprise was narrated in two ways. The first way was through an 'inevitable' consequence due to the precariousness and competition for creative jobs and second as part of the 'natural' lifecycle of design professions. The connection between precariousness and creative work was noted in Chapter 1 by those who argue the corrosive (Sennett, 1999) and risk (Beck, 1999) elements of neo-liberalism have had an even higher impact

on the creative industries (Bilton, 2007, McRobbie, 1997, 1998, 2003, Nixon, 2003). This was partially born out by those who had experienced being downsized in their 20s and early 30s. However, unlike the downsized middle-managers in Sennett's analysis (1998) the participants in this research who had been made redundant from creative roles in large corporate employers and smaller creative agencies saw this as a catalyst for small scale entrepreneurial activity.

One of these individuals who articulated his entrepreneurial moment in this way was James Dahan. He interpreted the nexus of education, work and expectations as follows.

'I started out in a sales environment, after doing a degree in archaeology. Then I was in recruitment and later marketing. I held a number of positions in marketing and was promoted to tone of voice editor. That job required me to hire a roster of writers. I discovered there were very few decent marketing writers out there understood briefs. So when I was made redundant I realized I had some valuable knowledge. I had moved into my new house and our first baby was on the way. Clearly it was the obvious time to start a business!'

Jamie's experiences are discussed in Chapter 6 as he developed rapidly during this study from freelancer to managing a writing and coaching agency employing seven writers. Other individuals who emploted their entrepreneurial activity in terms of post- redundancy included Steve Ford who founded Brand³ after leaving a well paid agency job and relocating to Nottingham. As he explained:

'I joined this agency in Nottingham after walking out of my previous job. I was offered a position by this guy who seemed really credible. He created this design business over 10 years which was well regarded, had big name clients and seemed plausible. But it turned out to be smoke and mirrors. Everything was leased. He had 35 staff, 20 company cars, nothing less than a Golf GTi then two big clients dropped him because of a recession and the whole business collapsed. I had only been there 6 months and I was living in a house rented by his business. I got a call from the other seniors, the creative director and the MD the next day, just as I had been offered a full time marketing manager job. I said to them rather than taking the job why don't we set up a design agency and persuade the employer to take us on as an agency. They became the first Brand³ client. That was 13 years and 14,200 jobs ago' (Steve Ford, Brand³).

Another two participants also described their entrepreneurial moments as reactions to being 'downsized' as they described it in their twenties. Both participants seemed especially surprised they were made redundant and all shared the opinions that freelancing, or setting up a company, was more stable than being employed as a creative. The entrepreneurial moment is therefore

partially explained as a reaction to redundancy. Another important reason among those who engaged with the design service provider persona was to explain how setting up an enterprise was inevitable part of the structure of the design sector. One such participant described setting up his own 'studio' as a 'logical progression' and recounted how, even whilst at University, he had thought that one day he would set up his own design agency.

This rationale is different from the 'incubation' period of designer-makers as the 'progression' was more as a result of tensions arising from the experience of working in cultural industries or creative roles within non-cultural industries organizations. As noted in Chapter 3, many design sub-fields, especially architecture, graphic design and web services, are micro-business centric (Design Council, 2005, NESTA, 2008). Small company sizes therefore limit the possibilities for career progression and this became a key means for legitimizing the entrepreneurial moment in a biography. Other researchers have noted how creative businesses are continuously unfolding and refolding due to these dynamics of small creative firm structures (Bilton, 2007, Davis and Scase, 2000, Grabher, 2002, 2003). However, whilst these have explained the organisational dynamics they have tended to mute the voices of those involved in the process of setting up new cultural enterprises. One such individual was Tim Jenkins the founder of Netdrive - a web development and new media agency which emerged as he described.

'I did a PhD in biotechnology then as a researcher and lecturer I started helping other lecturers use online software for teaching and assessment. This was the early 1990s, so it was pretty cutting edge and I was offered a job with the company whose software then set up a web development division for them. I would be lying if I said I thought 'oh it's the 90s it's the Internet boom lets make loads of cash' but I set up Netdrive because I thought to myself God there is all this work about so I might as well carry on doing it, but for myself.'

A similar rationale was explained by an architect who founded his practice during a 'slump time' and a lack of 'openings' in the practice he was working in. Keen to get experience at seeing his creative input from drafting to construction he decided to leave the practice and lecture part-time at university. During this period he set up a studio with another architect and began working initially on interiors for bars, shops and studios for other creative businesses. Another individual

with a similar employment was Jason Mallory, the owner of a 10 person graphic design agency called Imprint. Jason explained how the decision to leave his previous employer was taken over a two year period. He realized 'it was the right time' when applying for 'heavyweight' roles (creative director) in other agencies. His account of the 'logical progression' as he labelled it mirrors that of other practitioner accounts of setting up a graphic design studio (Shaughnessy, 2005). These suggest there is an unavoidable tension in small creative enterprises because some individuals will tire of the 'house style' and want to set up their own. As Jason explained:

'I was interested in comics and later got into record sleeves, because I loved music. I took a couple of placements that were well shady because agencies were getting students in for 6 months of cheap labour. When I graduated I hooked up with a mate who was promoting his own (club) nights and I helped him do fliers. He had the idea of batch printing other promoter's fliers and was making alright money out of it. I ended up working for him for five years. I made a strong connection with this other lad Matt and we started talking about how we would do things differently. So we quit and started to do T-Shirts and fliers on a couple of old Macs. Then Ben joined us, he had been a client from the old company. So there were two designers and one sales come accounts guy. There was Matt and Me doing design in a spare bedroom and Ben selling from the kitchen. It was literally home spun but it was amazing because it was ours. We even took pride in using crap equipment because we couldn't afford the latest (Apple) G4's. That all became part of our style and attitude.' (Jason Mallory, Imprint).

There are a number of ways in which individual's employ their 'entrepreneurial activities' in relation to other social forces. The interpretation of engaging with the 'designer-maker' persona was associated with having an arts background and little other choice than low skill work, or a mixture of part-time and unemployment during a lengthy incubation period which was argued to be essential for developing an artisan skill. Those identifying more with the 'design service provider' persona interpreted their entrepreneurial activities as a reaction against being made redundant and an awareness of the precariousness of employment in creative roles; and that setting up a practice was a logical progression due to the structural limitations imposed by small scale design businesses. The next section will address the question of how design reflexivity is interpreted by using Watson's (2008) schema of identity work¹³ as a process involving a situated

¹³ Watson (2008) also notes the importance of local-personal and local-organizational although these are used to define the identity work of managers in relation to organizational settings, as opposed to individuals engaging in the social identity of entrepreneur.

negotiation with a Formal Role, Cultural Stereotypes and Social Categories (e.g., ethnicity, familial relations and gender).

Re-describing the Social Identity of Designer

This section explores how, to varying degrees, individuals constructed part of their self-identity by engaging with the social identity of 'designer'. The following explores how identification with the role of cultural entrepreneur is a social process (Cerulo 1997, Jenkins, 1996, 2000). This is to avoid invoking a hero myth (Ogbor, 1999), or 'homogenous archetype' (Down, 2005) by using identity work to study how individuals interpreted their entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity by engaging with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur as part of their ongoing production of a human identity (Watson, 2008).

As stated in Chapter 1 the cultural entrepreneur in this study is a specific social categorization (Jenkins, 2000) connected to the (state) 'attribution' (Bourdieu, 1997) of a sub-set of individuals creating and maintaining new organisations within the 'design sector' and creative industries (DCMS, 2001, Design Council, 2005 Cox Review, 2005, NESTA, 2008). Chapter 1 argued the role of cultural entrepreneur must be placed within a wider historical trajectory (Bourdieu, 1996, Dolan, 2004, DiMaggio, 1983, Farr, 2000, Simmel, 1904, Williams, 1981) and that cultural entrepreneur is a socially meaningful role or a 'proper name' (Bourdieu, 1996). In contemporary 'design intensive production' (Callon et al. 2002, Lash and Urry, 1994, Thrift, 2004) one articulation of cultural enterprise is the organisation of design reflexivity into new organisations. Such activity must be read alongside the rise of design departments, design agencies, design roles (e.g., Chief Design Officer); professional design associations; design education departments and popular design culture and design celebrities (i.e., design museums, books, magazines, TV shows etc).

The purpose of the following section is to represent the meanings research participants gave to their identity work as they engaged with the role of cultural entrepreneur. This section

addresses the ‘problem’ of the ‘entrepreneurship construct’ (Ireland et.al.2005). What follows is itself an act of resisting the identity work of engaging in an ‘intellectual persona’ (du Gay, 2007) that seeks to deconstruct the term entrepreneur as a lacunae, or ‘empty signifier’ through its application of theory and mistrust of empirical material (Jones and Spicer, 2005, Ogbor, 1999). It also resists explaining entrepreneurial activity as proof of a dominant ideology of ‘entrepreneurialism’ (Armstrong, 2001, 2005) and of a totalizing discourse capable of governing how individuals’ subjectivities through an ‘enterprising self’ (Donzelot, 1991, Du Gay, 1996, Miller and Rose, 1989, Rose, 1990, 1998). Finally it resists explaining individuals’ accounts as evidence of the effects of neo-liberal entrepreneurship policies that have reformed work and justified the rise of the sovereign consumer (Bauman, 2000, 2005, Heelas, 1991, 2002, Keat, 1991).

Valuable as these insights are, the question posed in this section relates to the possibility of a ‘descriptive sociology’ (Savage and Burrows, 2007) based on representations of the ‘evaluative aspect’ (Bakhtin, 1986) of research participants’ interpretations of engaging with the social identity (Watson, 2008) , or persona (Du Gay, 2007), of ‘cultural entrepreneur’. This notion of identity work is compatible with the ‘situational interaction’ (Mouzelis, 1995) that was argued vital for preserving voluntaristic agency as individuals legitimised their architecture of cultural enterprise by allowing part of their human identity to become an architector organising design reflexivity.

The articulations that follow are conceptualized as the undertaking of ‘re-descriptions’ (Rorty, 1989) as individuals not only engage with the social identity of designer but seek to insert their own will over what designers do and what design might be. The aim is to highlight the ‘local’ (i.e., place, time and genre specific) variations that emerge as individuals articulate their experiences of engaging in the role of cultural entrepreneur within the sub-fields of design in Nottingham. The following section is therefore an insight into ‘micro’ scale of activity which is conceptualized as a subset of the ‘macro’ (theoretical) notion of a social identity of a ‘cultural

entrepreneur', or one engaged in the 'crudest forms of mercantilism' without a 'full revealing (of) self-interested goals' (Bourdieu, 1996, p142).

Re-describing the Formal Role of Designer: Varying Proximities to Relative Autonomy

Articulations of cultural enterprise involve organising a space of 'relative' autonomy. The introduction of the term autonomy is not a departure into 'radical chic' (Bourdieu, 2005) or a re-theorising of the politics of organising and organization (Fleming and Spicer, 2008). Such an approach has been applied to the organisation of creativity (Shorthose and Strange, 2004) where autonomy has been defined in the tradition of radical political transformation, drawing for instance on Gorz who defined autonomy as transcendence. Gorz stated 'creation is not socializable or codifiable, it is in essence a transgression and recreation of norms and codes, it is solitude and rebellion and contestation of 'work' (1999, p4). Gorz's definition is incommensurable with the importance already placed here on commutation as a temporal escape within a nomos. Autonomy is defined here as a ludic sensibility which is subversive and preservative; transgressive and reactive or more of an obliqueness, or a blurring and general murkiness, emerging from the action of organising design reflexivity as part of the 'enterprise of world construction' (Berger, 1990).

As mentioned in the previous section one of the individuals who most strongly aligned her identity work to the bohemian/artistic 'end' of designer-maker persona was Abigail from Kinesis. I approached Kinesis to write a paper for a conference¹⁴ and was invited in to a number of meetings in which Abigail and her colleagues discussed a high profile project supported by a

¹⁴ This paper was entitled: 'The Dynamics of Affected Place: How Extended Embodied Horizons and Relational Governance Interrelate in Love City' and delivered at *Performing Places*, Helsinki, November, 2006.

regeneration fund. At the same time Kinesis was also operating a second company that provided web-programming. The following dialogue encapsulates how this tension between novelty and reasonableness was articulated.

‘Abigail: I am really interested in how this project is affecting us as artists. In one way we have been given a license for creative play but there are so many restrictions. There are many other areas that are fascinating that we would love to explore. It’s really hard to persuade clients and funders about what you are doing because we want to create something new and they usually don’t get it.

Rich: don’t start with a commercial idea in mind but sometimes you might realise one, other times you don’t. You start with an idea because you want to and then you work out what its worth. It’s that thing where you give people money and then ask how long it will take to turn it into a product which imposes limits on what might only be an inkling of a product. We tried for years to push the boundaries with the web tools but clients just want something that works. We still encourage them to do something more but we tend to give them what they ask for.

Abigail: We were recently asked to create a piece of interactive digital media for a publisher. But now the client wants us to produce a film, because that is what they understand as output. That’s the way it is if you want a life you believe in it. It is a genuine passion. I believe if you can do things differently then why wouldn’t you? We are always at the verge of being broke because we want to figure out ways of letting people have access to our work for free. We have taken a long time to realise we are not good business people...

Rich: Ten years.

Abigail: It’s been interesting getting in with big corporations. I was reading that book you recommended, the Utopian Entrepreneur. I found that inspiring because she had gone through the same stuff as we are dealing with. Basically saying let’s use technology to benefit people’s lives. It’s idealistic but that’s what we are here to do.’

The above extract is significant as it shows how two individuals engaged in a negotiation over the degree to which they present themselves as autonomous artists and business people. Some variant on the above dialogue was witnessed in interviews, presentations and various informal meetings in pubs and cafes over the three years I have engaged with Kinesis. What is significant is how artistic play was coupled with an entrepreneurial and innovation discourse evident in phrases such as ‘taking on’ the world of business and how even ‘funders’ don’t ‘get what we do’ because it is (they presume) so novel. Abigail and Richard’s ‘relative autonomy’ was negotiated in the above via a partial rejection of the reasonableness of market exchange in favour of the symbolic rewards of art. This being their interpretation of their mixture of novelty-reasonableness at the time in which I made the intervention.

It was also interesting to note that part of this negotiation involved Abigail referring back to a book I had mentioned to her. She initially asked me about design research methods books and I suggested Laurel (2004). In a following conversation I mentioned another of Laurel's books in which she reflected on her experiences of setting up Purple Moon – a games company targeting teenage girls. I was unaware Abigail had found Laurel's entrepreneurial experience useful since it resonated with her own private troubles. Abigail found in Laurel a co 'utopian entrepreneur' since the latter had been developing narratives for computer games which challenged the dominant narratives of war and hyper-masculinized images of femininity (e.g., Lara Croft).

This seemingly banal exchange of books led me to think about how in practice individuals also struggle against the 'premature closure' (Ogbor, 1999) of definitions of cultural entrepreneur. In her identity work Abigail was keen to combine the alterity (Czarniawska, 2006) afforded to her by identifying with artistic discourse (Bain, 2005) with a genre specific female games developer entrepreneurial persona. This led to further shorter exchanges over Sadie Plant's writings on cyber-feminism (1997) and a report Plant had written about mobile communication for Motorola (2000). Abigail invited me to a female game developers networking evening. I mention this for two reasons; first because of the relevance for understanding identity work among owner-founders of cultural enterprises; second, to further Ram's comment that researching entrepreneurs requires an 'opportunistic' (1998) approach to exchanges in the field. In the above instance this meant utilising a full range of 'cultural' competencies to make a meaningful exchange with Abigail about issues of nomadic political opposition; pervasive mobile gaming and the frustrations involved in re-describing the role of a female games designer.

Similar incidents occurred with individuals who drew from references to music, film, books and fashion to define their personal organisation of 'culture' in relation to legitimate social identities for designers. This playfulness was not only directed at detaching their identity work from the confines of the 'dry' world of business. It was also directed at others within the sub-field of design who would understand the 'sensitivity to distinctions' (Simmel, 1904), or 'winks within

the milieux' (Bourdieu, 1990). It was typical exchanges would involve some degree of frontstage (Goffman, 1959) performance to others to convey some degree of edgy irreverence. As with the previous section the key is to point to variations in these re-descriptions.

Some participants, such as Abigail, relied on a re-description that expanded the social proximity between their 'creativity' and that of the 'mainstream', 'dull' or 'shit' design. These individuals tended to aversion to any category I proposed to them and preferred to give their entrepreneurial activities labels such as 'freechancer', 'artist in residence', 'trickster', 'jester' and 'shit-stirrer'. These are interpreted as deliberate attempts to exaggerate their distance from existing labels that categorise the designer. Others also engaged in a rejection of the social role of designer but chose milder re-descriptions. Elizabeth Flood, co-founder of Teubert and Flood – a landscape sculpture business, for example, drew from an artistic discourse to legitimate her engagement with the persona of the cultural entrepreneur. As she explained:

'Teubert and Flood is an experiment that came out of a need to find someone to share the cost of a studio with. I worked part-time for the council as a landscape designer and was doing metal work and photography. After Johann and me had this studio and accidentally pitched and won a commission! I left work because it was becoming more about management and we slowly blurred painting, metal fabrication, landscape architecture and photography into what I guess we now call 'landscape sculpture'. We have this creative philosophy and shared vision but I hate labels. I mean what was Picasso? Was he a painter, a ceramicist, a sculptor? You have to communicate what you can offer people and we explain ourselves as working on contexts using three dimensional forms within a landscape as sculptors'.

What began to emerge from representing instances of 'articulation ethnography' (Gubrium, 1988) was the importance research participants attached to creating a sense of space between their self-description of the role of designer and how others understood that categorization. Jenkins noted how a common outcome of this dialectic between self and social identity was the negotiation of inclusion/exclusion as part of the process of negotiating individual interpretations of social categorizations and social identities (1996, 2000). It is also consistent with the notion of commutations or leaps as no matter how far or long the individual escapes into a 'reality enclave'

(Berger and Luckmann, 1967) (i.e., studio space and studio time) she must eventually emerge to articulate this in relation to others.

However, not all participants adopted the artistic discourse to legitimate their engagement with the social identity of design entrepreneur. Instead it is useful to bear in mind the distinction made earlier in this chapter between designer-maker and design service provider personas. The re-descriptions of the latter were articulated in terms of 'not having a job' and of 'being more in control'. Down (2006) has made a related claim, suggesting that there are a number of 'entrepreneurial clichés' (2005) typically used to construct 'monological narratives of enterprise'. He then claimed these emerge from the conditions of individualized late modern societies, utilising Giddens (1991) as his key reference. Perhaps a different way of interpreting the presence of clichés is to understand what specific aims they are orientated towards (Watson, 2008).

As the following extracts from interview materials illustrate a typical theme was describing small scale entrepreneurial activity as a chance to exert not just self-control but specifically how one's personal organization of 'culture' was authored, packaged and sold. A number of these responses included statements such as:

'I looked at other jobs and thought screw working for someone else. I don't want someone telling me what to wear or how to talk and what I can and cannot put in presentations. I am more of a maverick and I see that as the role of a creative.' (Amanda Reynolds, Freelancer/Engage)

'Freelancing is less risky than working as an employee! If I lose a client I can find more if my work is good. And I have answered my evil ex-boss who said 'Jamie, you're not a writer.' (Jamie Dahan, Dahan)

'I needed to get out of shit, mediocre, boring work and designers having mid-life crises. I was basically paying to rent a desk and they'd throw me a scrap for the hours I put in. I wanted to get out before they replaced me with a plug-in. One day a mate called with better idea and I was out of there.' (Mark Green, Engage)

A more detailed description, from Catherine Phillips the founder of Disclosure a PR company, shows how her articulation of the decision to set up a PR firm followed a period as a graduate recruit and a growing dissatisfaction with the cyclical repetition of retail related corporate

communications. She explained how that creative role had lacked opportunity for 'self-expression'.

'I kept having this Heartbeat moment. You know the TV program on a Sunday evening? Well every week it came on and I heard the music and started to feel sick. It meant the start of the working week and the end of my life. I started to question why I felt like that and obviously it was that I didn't want to go back to work for someone else. Disclosure is a reaction against that 'go to University, get a good degree, get a good job, get a flat etc. Now I flex my working hours and it's my choice. I always wanted to be writer and nearly became a journalist so I guess this is also my way of getting back to that interest. The trouble is I am worried that I give my staff Heartbeat moments.'

Catherine's 'personal organization' of 'culture' was centred on writing, publishing and journalism. Her identity work with the role of cultural entrepreneur led her to re-think her career choice as a corporate PR executive. She explained that she had quit because she wanted more opportunity to use her ideas for her business. The tendency among those engaging with a design service provider persona was therefore to stress the importance of not feeling trapped by repetitive work and corporate identity regulation. This was different to those who aligned their identity work more with the designer marker persona and stressed the symbolic novelty of their work. There is much more that needs to be said about the minute details involved in creating this sense of relative autonomy from the formal role of cultural entrepreneur. However, this requires more an in-depth look at specific individuals and is therefore reserved for the cases at the end of this chapter. What the following section addresses is how the process of conducting identity work with the social identity or cultural entrepreneur also involved participants drawing on other social categories and cultural stereotypes.

Social Categories and Cultural Stereotypes: Being the 'Little Girl'; 'Human Litmus Paper' and 'a bit of a Dell Boy'

This section shifts the focus towards the research participants' use of other social categories and cultural stereotypes to define their identity work with the persona of cultural entrepreneur. As Watson has noted, in relation to how individuals engage with the social identity of manager

(2008) these 'other' elements of identity work are important so as to place an individual's engagement with these roles in relation to other social identities. These are relevant to the sociologist seeking to understand the intersection between biography and history (Mills, 2000) as they help to represent how, so as to achieve their life-projects, individuals must devise stratagems for coping with historically contingent fields or social organization of institutionalised power. The social categories and cultural stereotypes considered in this section are not generalisable to all engagements with the role of cultural entrepreneur. Instead they are specific to the emphases which research participants made in their interpretations of organising their personal knowledge about design to make it novel and reasonable to others.

One social category that had a variety of reactions from participants was family roles. Having initially located myself with the music scene and Broadway milieu I had continued to situate my research with a younger (20-30s age group) range. These participants reported what I had expected from my experiences as a cultural entrepreneur in London, that children and families, if they were to figure in identity work at all, would be used for reinforcing the importance of the normalisation (Neff.et.al.2005) of freedom and sacrifice. This was confirmed by a number of participants who, childless and unmarried in their mid-30s, reported how marriage and children would make their work 'harder'. The additional responsibility of family ties was a direct threat to their notions of 'relative autonomy', or pursuing 'interesting work'. As Abigail stated 'it's a good job none of us has children yet, this would make things really difficult'. Mark from Engage explained how he and his partner were waiting until they had 'got their mentalist period out of the way' this transpired to either finding success from their creations or getting full time jobs which they perceived as uninteresting.

There were a large number of conversations around the Broadway (the 'independent' cinema and media centre), described as the de-facto 'watering hole' (Shorthose, 2004), for the creative industries in Nottingham. During these informal discussions family members or roles were rarely discussed because it was not 'cool'. A similar point is made by those who associate

the cultural industries with long hours work culture (Neff et.al.2005, McRobbie, 1998, 2002, Ross, 2003) and 'cult of youth' (Nixon, 2003, 2006). In the so called 'network sociality' (Wittel, 2001) social relations are reproduced through instrumental careering and the suggestion that non-work based social relations have been 'replaced' by an individualism due to a decoupling of familial and work roles (Florida, 2003, Bauman, 2002 Watters, 2005). This is consistent with the late modern condition of detraditionalization (Giddens, 1991) and its application to the hyper-individualism that breeds what Nixon referred to as a 'narcissism of minor differences' (2006). This being a necessary stratagem to survive in the 'youth' orientated creative sector (ibid). Florida was also forced to answer a series of critics who argued his portrayal of the creative class based on their post-traditional values (Inglehart, 2000) aligned him with being anti-marriage, anti-Christian and pro-Gay rights. Accusations he later denied (2005).

To counter these representations I noticed that 'outside' the Broadway milieu there existed another group of cultural entrepreneurs which placed family roles at the centre of legitimizing their entrepreneurial activities. One participant, Charles Brooke, an architect in his 50s, demonstrated how familial relations were intertwined in his articulation. After I had interviewed Charles about his work building the infrastructure for the Midlands creative industries and cultural economy, he spontaneously turned to me and began another evaluation of his life-project and his architecture. The following extract illustrates how he described the enmeshing his work and non-work identification (or his 'domestic architecture' Williams, 1981) became inseparable in one project. This was a waterside eco-home he was building for his wife and himself. As he described the project he emphasised his identity work with the role of cultural entrepreneur also required drawing on the social roles of husband as part of his human (facing up to finitude) identity.

'I am not interested in running this business with fee projections and strategic plans. I know others who do and I guess maybe we have been a bit lackadaisical at times. We want to make a living and enjoy it. What is wealth at the end of the day? I know so many people who have made big money and are totally pissed off, I don't have much of a life outside this either. So I aim to enjoy it as I go along. My wife is an influence as well. She is a painter and we are building a new

house so she can have a studio and just paint away. She is 60 now and terrified she is running out of time. She wants to paint until she is dead. I find it hard to argue against that.'

A similar familial motivation was narrated by Jamie Dahan who, after finding out how we lived in the same 'middle class enclave' (his words), invited me round his house where his business was located. Jamie was excited to show me his new garden office. I turned up expecting an elaborate shed conversion and was greeted by his wife, heavily pregnant and carrying a toddler. She explained Jamie was with the builders out the back. On reaching the outside it turned out the garden office was a new brick construction with large glass panels for its front side. The structure was about 4mx2m and we sat outside its shell in the sunshine on a mid-week afternoon and had (Japanese) tea. Jamie explained the significance of the home office.

'I am a busy person and enjoy the 'I am a writer' bit. I take a lot of offence at the suggestion that writers are these precious arty types. There is nothing remotely flaky about what I do. This is what matters to me. Being able to earn enough money to live in this house, in this area and on a day like today be able to sit outside in my garden. When the new office is finished I intend on doing this more. I have had to move out of the spare bedroom because the new baby is on the way.

Andrew: Why not get an office in town?

Jamie: I did think about it, but being at home is more important. I am very lucky to have the opportunity to see my kids grow up. How many men get that chance? I have created this work and now this office so that I can make the most of that time.'

As I left Jamie's house he added, more instrumentally, that 'the new office will 'add 20 grand on the property, it's an investment in the business and the family's future. I am planning to get a full timer in to help out too'. Jamie's office extension was described in both instrumental and non-instrumental terms. He articulated how important writing was to him and then placed his entrepreneurial activity into a broader familial context of an expanding young family; a growing young business and an increase in his personal wealth. The extract also opens up the variety of articulations of autonomy. Freedom for Jamie had little to do with the 'conviviality' of key 'watering holes' (Shorthose, 2004), or the 'cool' jobs in 'hot' locations (Pratt, 2004). Instead autonomy meant being able to watch his business, family and wealth grow from his own entrepreneurial endeavours whilst not missing at all, as he stated, 'water cooler politics'.

Another social category, gender, arose in interviews and participant observation.

Abigail's use of gender as part of her engagement with the role of cultural entrepreneur has already been discussed. Two other instances included Christine from Disclosure whose articulation involved a distancing away from what she considered a gender stereotype. As she described:

'There is this theory that PR is fluffy and dolly-birds do it. I have to go along with it to an extent. I said to myself I want to have a good business driven by my business degree and blue-chip background. I bring a more strategic view on the subject. I have recently won an award for 'one to watch under 30' from a leading trade publication which reinforces this.'

In the above extract Catherine is demonstrating how she is being creative by reorganising a gendered social category specific to her sub-field of PR. This is referenced as the 'fluffy' 'dollybird' PR 'girl'. To distance herself from this, and therefore to engage in her re-description of the role so as to create space for her entrepreneurial activity, she uses management discourse (i.e., 'blue-chip', 'different theory', 'business degree', and 'strategic view' to position her interpretation of the role of PR to her advantage. It is worth noting how another participant, one who on occasion had worked with Catherine, remarked on her presentation of her design reflexivity in practice. The following extract illustrates the benefits of ethnographic immersion since the other participant was a part of a network of small design related enterprises which sometimes traded clients and contracts. His account illuminates what Catherine referred to as 'how she has to go along with to some extent' the gendered social category of PR as 'fluffy' and 'dollybird'. This extract was also part of Mark's identity work as he positioned himself as a male graphic designer against other notions of masculinity at play in the design world. As he explained to me, showing a picture of her:

'Catherine is interesting. There are all these blokes who say she's hot. I've seen her in meetings and once I watched this senior manager, a fat, bald 50 something 'trough feeder' from the council basically staring at her tits. He's asked a question directed at me, but was talking to Catherine's breasts. I was fucking angry after the meeting. I asked Catherine what she thought about it. She said it happened all the time and that was it. I would have gone right off at him. Maybe that's why she wins more win contracts than me!'

The significance of this extract is not to establishing the ‘truth’ of Catherine and Mark’s use of gender stereotypes. Instead it is to note that gender was used as a social category for re-describing the role of cultural entrepreneur. In the above, Catherine’s ‘autonomy’ had less to do with ‘culture’ and much to do with managing an impression, or how PRs can affect business relations. In the first (synchronic) extract where Catherine had more control over the articulation it appeared she was carving out her professional persona as aligned with the design service provider. The account from Mark of how this identity work occurred in front of clients suggests a different degree of ‘autonomy’, or more heteronomy with regards to how gender could be called upon to interpret how design reflexivity is organised via entrepreneurial activity.

Another instance where gender was drawn on was by Claire Hill, the founder of Re-Heel which creates products from recycled carpet material. I had met Claire a couple of occasions most notably having sat next to her at a ceremony where she was on a high after winning a high profile creative industries award. She had also received a substantial funding award from a prestigious patron for cultural entrepreneurship. Claire was interested in my research as it touched on a number of issues she was working through about enterprise. This helped reduce the ‘distance’ (Bourdieu, 1996) and channel our mutual curiosity towards thinking about cultural enterprise.

At the time her business had high degrees of media coverage in many household design interiors and professional trade magazines. She had secured three high profile enterprise awards and had interest from manufacturers of luxury and high street design products. Despite this her cash flow situation was not good and she had to let her one full time staff member go the day we met. What was central to her articulation was the small entrepreneur verses the large corporation. What was significant in her narrative was not the presence of a David verses Goliath myth, but the centrality she attributed in her tale to gender.

‘I was at this trade show last month and I was banging home the need for policy change so that carpets get recycled rather than buried in landfill. This came after I was in the US at a conference and kept getting all these patronising old geezers saying ‘gosh you’re so young, are you fresh out of high school?’ When I gave my presentation they were blown away and I got two companies that are going to set up franchises. It was such a different experience over here. I just had three

days of sexual innuendos and boyish humour which was really depressing. I made these badges which said 'I ♥carpet burns', which is part of my marketing because of the story about how I accidentally discovered this process of reheating carpet by dropping an iron on my student flat floor. It's a bit of a joke an accessible way into eco-design. I didn't expect to have these managers in their 40s and 50s going 'oh carpet burns, sounds a bit kinky, fancy getting some burns with me and so on'. What made me so angry was not the sexual harassment but how devalued my ideas. It was the same when I had dread(locks).

Andrew: Did you cut them off because you were going straight?

Claire: I wanted to get rid of them for years. But I guess there was this thing of like 'oh there's the dreads that's Claire'. It became part of my business and it helped me get noticed. But then as I realised I am more in the carpet business than arty farty land and questions like 'Are you a Vegan'; 'Are you an environmental protester?' People went eco-design plus dreads equals dope smoking, tree hugging hippy. Now its 'well done little girl, aren't you clever, you've made some nice little things now get back in your box because you can't get involved in the real questions about the carpet industry'. It's like its ok to be a designer but I crossed into this old boy's network. (Claire Hill, Re-Heel).

In this extract Claire was articulating her personal organisation of culture in relation to the publicly valued environmentally sustainable recycling of carpet into fashion and product design. Her interpretation of this articulation reveals her experience of having transgressed what Bourdieu would refer to as the *illusio* of the field of culture (the dominated group of the dominant group). Or what Mills described as the role of designer to obscure the effects of power (1963). Claire's success revealed the threshold of her 'autonomous' slightly edgy and arty re-description of the role of designer. Claire achieved very rapid success in that phase but as she expanded her enterprise into the manufacturing processes and regulation of the carpet industry she encountered barriers. What is interesting is how she framed this in terms by referencing social categories of age and gender. She is the 'little girl' verses what she informed me was a male dominated industry or 'old boy's network'. What is also relevant is how Claire's engagement with the role of cultural entrepreneur was articulated through an inscription onto her body (i.e., hair) and how this was part of Claire's identity work with the role of entrepreneur.

Another example of how social categories were drawn upon to interpret the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity is taken from Laura Townsend and Anthony Halstead from Fused. The following extract was taken from an interview in which I, not knowing the couple well, asked if they could define what they kept referring to as 'the marriage'. Showing

how researchers bring baggage into the field I enthusiastically interpreted their use of the term 'marriage' as a metaphor for the conjugation of art and business. Elizabeth looked at me quizzically and stated:

'Elizabeth: I meant marriage as in me and Anthony are married. I'm sorry if that's not quite what you were looking for?

Anthony: I guess Andrew is partly right though. I mean think back to your frustration last year about how all the tightening up we did took away your creative freedom. That was part of thinking about what the business is and reacting against continuous firestorming, is that the right business term?

Andrew: Firefighting?

Anthony: Yeah that's it. We had two successful years of reacting and not being in control of the business. Elizabeth: I think you have always had the role of promotion and administration and selling. So maybe that is a marriage of the business and creative.

Anthony: And part of that is knowing when to change things. Like this year in January we just said ok what happens if we chuck everything up in the air and see which bits we want to keep. We came away from that with a totally different path from. It felt like if we are confused about what our products are then no wonder our clients are confused. And it was important for you to get back to that creative role I think?

Elizabeth: I took a step back when I applied for some Arts council funding to go to a conference in Portland. I was able to take a couple of weeks out and experiment with new forms of firing and glazing processes and it just occurred to me that's what I need to get back to.

Anthony: Since then we have been much clearer that there is a divide between Fused on the one hand, which has embraced the commercial much more than we did. We now employ three people on a design range and Elizabeth Townsend, the artist, can be commissioned to make bespoke work alongside the standardized range.

Elizabeth: We have art over here and the design over there. It says to people we value the artistic need to be nurtured and playing. Otherwise you become a machine that is churning out design. I guess I reached a point where either the machine was refusing to work, or was broken.'

The above extract was selected to illustrate how the articulation of the role of cultural entrepreneur involves a negotiation which may include recourse to other social categories, in this case marriage. However, due to my misrecognition (i.e., the display of an inappropriate investment in the game of sociological labelling and categorising) I inadvertently sparked an interesting discussion about the organisational structure of Fused and the identity work of Elizabeth and Anthony at a personal and professional level. The importance of ludism is central for their interpretation of carving out a 'space' for organisational creativity (Hjorth, 2004). Again the emphasis in the designer-maker persona is of nurturing autonomy whilst drawing connections to design and business.

The final social category I wish to draw attention briefly is the use of ethnicity and religion. During a lunch-time catch up in a new deli that had opened next to an interior design store in our shared 'middle class enclave' Jamie Dahan explained how since our last meeting he had taken the step from freelancer to employer. What was significant about this move was that Jamie drew from an ethnic social category to articulate this intensification of entrepreneurial activity

'Andrew: The last time we met you said you didn't want to become an agency. So what's changed?

Jamie: That is the same question my business mentor asked me, think maybe its something to do with my family background. Most of my family are entrepreneurial, so I think it's connected to a mindset. Many people, most people, just want to have a job and don't want anything more than that. Perhaps it is fear, or maybe just most people want an easy life but my Dad was a partner in his own business, his brother is an entrepreneur and my grandfather owned a business. I think it is this Jewish entrepreneurial streak. Not that I am not remotely religious but there is definitely an entrepreneurial immigrant theme there.'

This extract was a significant moment for Jamie was articulating his overcoming a phase in which he transgressed from being, as he stated, 'just another freelancer creative' to managing others' personal organisational of 'culture'. This theme will be returned to in Chapter 6 by exploring how individuals extended their own identity work to involve 'identity regulation' (Alvesson and Wilmott, 2003) of others through the insertion of a creative style, or a specific way of defining what 'good' design is or how the 'charm of novelty' (Simmel, 1904) should be authored.

The final social category to be considered here is religious faith. Mike 'Visual Noise' Hobbs, a successful young specialist web designer, articulated his personal organization of 'culture' as follows. First, he situated his entrepreneurial activity by explaining how he had been made redundant from a web design consultancy. Then he explained the genre-world specific resources including his fusion of 'subversive' elements of sub-culture and post-modernist design theories with 'clean modernist' design. He then explained how he was also an artist and evidenced this by inviting me to gallery exhibition in which he was doing to the 'pixel what Pollock had done to paint'. Mike had a highly polished 'frontstage' (Goffman, 1959)

performance so at the end of the interview I probed him about why his website had links to a 'micro-finance' charity where people could make donations. What unfolded was a description of how he also felt that the role as a 'subversive' designer entrepreneur, although contradictory, was compatible with his religious faith, as a Christian.

'The micro-finance link is a tricky thing. I wrestled with the 'do I sing about look at me I give money to microfinance'. I don't go 'look at me I give money to Oxfam. It's hard to know how you present your work. My attitude is partly taking the money where you can get the work because all money has passed through questionable phases. It is not a black and white world. It's very blurry and I try to use my subversiveness, like the name Visual Noise, to work in the murky water and try and find some life there. I just completed a big job for an agency working for a car company. The creative I saw was switched at the last moment to an SUV. I had already quoted and I didn't want to turn them down, but errgghhh an SUV! I re-quoted up 10-15% and donated that money to Friends of the Earth. It was like penance. I was like that do I really care about the environment, or is it just a nice thought I tell myself and at the end of the day I'll take the money?'

It's the same with the game¹⁵ I designed. On one level it is a really clever piece of communication because it is an excellent showcase of my Flash¹⁶ skills but on the other hand it let me address an issue that I think matters. I was trying to weave in my art, my design and get involved and its just layers of contradiction. As someone who understands this language (visual communication) you also understand the dangers of how it affects people. Other people don't read this (visual culture) at the same level, they are not as aware. Why should they be, they have their minds on other things, like saving lives, putting out fires! But for me my job is, it is like in that Gibson book (Pattern Recognition) where he describes creative types as hyperaware. I talk about brands all the time and why I am attracted to certain ones with my friends all the time. What can you do except try and address these concerns. I try to use my knowledge of visual culture in as many ways to avoid coming up with obvious stuff and to open things out and I suppose Visual Noise is about that process'

In the above, Mike's articulation of his entrepreneurial organisation of culture rests on his articulation of symbolic novelty that is economically reasonable. Mike demonstrates how his awareness of this interrelationship (i.e., design reflexivity) through terms such as 'knowledge of visual culture'. His combination of sub-cultural ideas together with references to powerful corporations and more recent anti-corporate brands is a rich example of the hermeneutic

¹⁵ Mike had recently been commissioned to create an online game in which the player became the manager of a fictitious sweatshop. The aim of the game was to increase profits and at various points the game included snippets of information and statistics about the 'true cost' of cheap products made in sweatshops. The game had attracted a lot of national media attention for Mike.

¹⁶ Flash is the software tool from Macromedia which uses 'Vector' graphics on the world wide web. It was released in the 1990s and enabled web designers to author in a new environment that combined moving pictures, slide shows, sound and words online. It has also tended to be applied for product launches and online brochures for e-commerce and marketing.

sensibility (Lash and Urry, 1994) required to be affected by and in turn channel affect into contemporary production and consumption. His reference to William Gibson's *Pattern Recognition* (2003) is interesting as he is identifying with a character (Cayce) which Gibson described as a 'diviner' in the world of advertising. Cacey is employed by Blue Ant, an agency Gibson described as 'relatively tiny in terms of permanent staff, globally distributed, more post-geographic than multinational' which has 'billed itself as a high-speed low drag life-form in an advertising ecology of lumbering herbivores (2003, p6). Due to Cayce having a pathological reaction to brands (she is visibly sick when overexposed to branding) she is valuable to the agency as a 'very specialized piece of human litmus paper' (p13).

Mike did not display such a violent reaction but did draw on Gibson's popular cyberpunk literature to describe how he was 'hyper-aware' as a designer of how he was being asked to channel his personal organisation of culture into Flash micro-sites for corporate clients whilst he also expressed himself in his art and through combinations of both in his 'social justice' work. Mike's positioning struggle is a good example of how articulation involves taking a point of view on the ability to build affective ties for brands (Arvidsson, 2006, Callon et.al 2002, Lury, 2004) whilst balancing this activity with other social identities and cultural stereotypes. In the above case Mike's articulation drew from a cultural stereotype, or 'strong narrative' taken from the 'common memory' of popular culture (Czarniawska, 2008) and from social category associated with his religious beliefs. Both were useful for Mike to legitimate his engagement with the role of cultural entrepreneur.

Whilst there is no attempt made here to generalize from Mike's articulation, his narrative does illustrate the danger of assuming the only, or the most dominant, reaction to the precariousness and risk in the creative industries which resulted in the erosion of a moral economy (McRobbie, 1997, 2003). The appeal to the social category of Christian is interesting and reinforces Banks' (2006) observation that it is insufficient to make claims about how macro-changes, such as neo-liberalism, are removing the moral basis for economic activity divorced

from a social context. Instead Banks suggested the value of getting closer to cultural entrepreneurs is to gather empirical material that enables analysis of how individuals are 'self-consciously engaged in forms of practice that contain ideas about what is 'good' (and therefore 'bad'), exhibit moral ways of acting towards others and negotiate the balance between holding instrumental or non-instrumental values' (2006, p456).

The final series of extracts I would like to consider to illustrate the process of articulation is related to the presence of the disembedding mechanisms of the media. As noted in Chapter 1, the creative industries have been associated with intensifying the process of reflexive late modernism through the continuous stimulation of 'working upon' oneself by 'bracketing off' (Beck, Giddens and Lash, 1994, Giddens, 1991). Rather than theorizing how the 'culture industry' (Adorno, 1991) contributes to this process, or explaining the industry structure that perpetuates it (Ryan, 1990, Hesmondalgh, 2004), I wish to consider a different way in which disembedding media narratives become a discursive resource for an individuals articulation of cultural enterprise.

The first is to re-visit Claire from Re-Heel as she was describing the process of being selected and then rejecting the opportunity to appear on a 'reality TV' show with high ratings on which entrepreneurs pitched their ideas. In her reflexive consideration of whether to participate in the show Claire demonstrated how instrumental and non-instrumental intentions were at play in her identity work. It also suggested how cultural stereotypes of 'the entrepreneur' are utilized as a discursive resource by individuals engaging with the social identity of entrepreneur.

'You know the Dragons Den show, well one of my mates was on it and bagged seventy grand from one of the Dragons. What a load of bollocks. I said I didn't want to go on the show even when the producer was begging me. I didn't want to go on TV and up their ratings and potentially humiliate myself. The problem is if I went off at her the only winner is the TV show because it's entertainment. It's making enterprise into some sort of celebrity reality TV show, like a 'stars in your eyes' only with business plans and prototypes rather than singing and dancing. All this does is create a myth. I have had people go to me 'wow Claire she is like this internationally renowned designer. I sometimes get asked to do lectures, which not only cost me time but money too if there is travel, but I like doing them. The problem is the students get off on the celeb thing and so do the lecturers! I have had a lot of this since I got this label entrepreneur slapped on me. Four years of sounding like a cracked record on radio, TV, newspapers etc and

I'm not really sure if I am even an entrepreneur. Ok I have given the same speech, got prizes and awards, press coverage for my products in magazines and so on but that's it.'

Claire was keen to distance herself from both the categorization she had encountered by the media and with the 'myth' of the entrepreneur. This is interpreted as an instance of how practitioners, not only academics, journalists, policy researchers and politicians are engaged in re-describing the meaning of the social identity of 'entrepreneur'. Claire's account as a young designer-maker suggests how she was pulled into media attention and how she has now rejected this given the disembedding experience of her friend. She has sought to maintain autonomy and control by emphasising other possible meanings of entrepreneurial activity especially the importance of her independence from the media and from family support.

The second example of how individuals drew from cultural stereotypes was Steve Ford – co-founder of Brand³, the largest branding agency in Nottingham. During our first conversation he was largely disinterested until I mentioned I was interested in 'knowing more about design and entrepreneurship'. He immediately sounded interested and said 'oh yeah count me in, I have done interviews with academics about this before and I should warn you I come across a bit of a dell boy'. When I met up with Steve for an interview he began by reiterating that the TV character in a comedy called Only Fools and Horses called Dell Boy was 'a bit of a loveable rogue trader' who he identified with. Dell Boy is engaged with a petty criminal underworld, much like Hobbs notion of East-End entrepreneurship (1988), but his comic value comes from the juxtaposition of this 'wheeler dealer' roguishness and his attempts to support a family and 'escape' the small council estate flat for a 'better life'. Steve Ford's business is profiled in Chapter 7 as an example of how cultural enterprises grow and then retract. Briefly however, it was interesting to hear how Steve drew on the cultural stereotype of 'Dell Boy'.

'Do you know that Belbin test? I always come out as a resource investigator and maps to Dell Boy the person who knows someone, or knows someone who knows someone right? I'm the manager of a local football team which my son plays in. There is another Dad who runs one of the other teams, he's a bit of a rival and a mate. I told him I ran a graphic design agency and we came to an agreement that I would design his team's kits in return for a discount on Timberland

clothes, who he is a sales rep for. My clients at the moment include one that makes tree houses and one of their clients, an adventure playground run by an aristocrat. I'm also involved with a private equity firm. These are my big friends. I have put them on to this Argentine company that they will make about £25million when it floats. This last year has been a hard time for me. I nearly lost all those clients and this business because I forced people to chase the dollar. My dad, who I loved deeply, was diagnosed with a terminal brain tumour. This meant taking time off and it was absolutely horrendous. I had to re-mortgage my house because I wasn't pulling my weight here and I made some bad decisions. But family comes first.

See those lights? They are LEDs. Everyone has them now but when we brought this place no one used them. I saw that coming. Now we are putting them into luxury eco-lodge cabins. Is this what you want to hear? I hate people thinking I am a twat and am ripping them off. One of the things ingrained in me was never piss people about. Maybe I have stitched a couple of people up over the years. But on the whole I am a ridiculously honest person to do business with. I would rather loose money and be straight up.'

Steve was articulating his rather complex set of business relationships which are explained further in Chapter 7. What is significant is how he narrated them by drawing on the cultural stereotype of 'dell boy'. This character afforded Steve a means of articulating his entrepreneurial activity which linked his personal biography to his family, global finance, environmentalism, death, spotting new trends and his notion of good design (honesty and creativity). However, far from a Schumpeterian superhero (Ogbor, 1999) Steve was keen to impart his 'whole' life as if this 'rhetorical illusion' (Bourdieu, 1997) was 'what I was looking for'. The limitations of this interview were partially addressed by an interview with one of Steve's ex-employees whose own identity work included a reflection on the identity regulation of Steve. This is examined in Chapter 7. For now the relevance of Steve's identity work is how he borrowed a mixture of formal roles (e.g., designer, marketing manager) social categories (e.g., father, son) and cultural stereotype (Dell boy) to interpret his engagement with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur. Before summarizing the final section in this chapter will explore two individuals in closer detail. The purpose for these 'cases within cases' is to draw out how individuals create a position of 'relative autonomy' by seeking to legitimize their positions in relation to the positions of others' articulations.

'The Freechancer': Doodling on the Line between Commercial Illustration and Art

'I want to create things that do not exist already. That is the fine artist idea, to create something new using your style and to stick with it. I want people to pay for my way of seeing the world.'

The above quote is taken from Rob Strawson, a freelance illustrator who over the past seven years has risen to become one of Nottingham's most recognised cultural entrepreneurs. I gained access to interview Rob three times because he had created the logo for Creative Collaborations and had connections to Get Down magazine because his first commercial commissions were illustrating record sleeves for Nottingham's 'underground house' labels. Over a course of two years we met several times in the centre of Nottingham for 'a cup of tea, a bit of cake and a natter'. Rob, although not at the same local mythical status as Sir Paul Smith, was becoming a well recognised commercial illustrator, product designer and artist with national and international recognition.

Rob's articulation was selected because of its relevance to understanding the intersection between 'reasonable economic activity' and 'symbolic novelty'. At the time of our conversations Rob's work was attracting considerable media attention and he had won prestigious awards. On the 'art' side he had begun to hold solo gallery shows and was planning a monograph. On the commercial design 'side' he was producing a range of designer-toys¹⁷; was contributing illustrations to magazine art work; had completed a limited edition downloadable level of a computer game, was contributing his illustrations to limited edition runs for fashion brands and customized a room in a boutique hotel. The importance of Rob's story is to explore how his

¹⁷ Over the past five years there has been a growing market for small plastic figures which allegedly 'erase boundaries between low and high culture' (www.acfnewsourc.org). The figurines are designed by graffiti artists, graphic designers and illustrators and sold in 'limited' runs of between 500 to 2,000. They retail anywhere from £5 up to thousands of pounds. The phenomenon of 'designer-toys' spans the world and arguably has Asian roots in the otaku/Manga obsessive collector mindset but has been 'popularised' via the Internet by individuals such as Paul Budnitz who describes himself as a 'film maker, animator, painter, sculptor, clothing designer, internet entrepreneur and computer geek' He also owns two bricks and mortar stores, is a Yale graduate and founded a website dedicated to designer toys called Kidrobot.com. He also published a book called the Plastic Toy Explosion (Heller, 2007) (Toy Story, New York Times, 28.01.07.) was regarded by Fortune magazine as a leading 'Business Innovation Insider'.

'sensitivity to distinctions' (Simmel, 1902), or design reflexivity emerged as Rob articulated his cultural enterprise within the genre world of designer-toy makers and 'doodlers' whilst also coping with the ephemeral fashionability of his work.

In many respects Rob personifies the sole-trader 'independent' (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1998) and 'portfolio career' knowledge entrepreneur (Leadbeater, 1999). He appears to be 'living on thin air' and yet as a sole-trader he is, through the power of ICT and portability of ideas circulating his designs at a rapid rate through the 'economy of signs and spaces' (Lash and Urry, 1994). Rob described his entrepreneurial activity as follows:

'I wouldn't describe myself as a straight illustrator, and I am not a designer. I don't allow myself to be tortured by the art verses business thing either. Ideally, I would never have to work for a company ever. That would satisfy me by dealing with the ups and downs of my own work process. But that is a fantasy. Some people might equate what I am doing with selling-out. For me there are multiple layers to success. There is success I get from getting work from clients. Being in demand gives you a feeling of success. Then there is success in seeing your work progressing. That gives you the feeling of moving on and getting nearer to that unachievable realm of being great (laughs), or at least good, maybe just competent. It is clichéd, but it really is a juggling act. I broadly encompass both the designer illustrator and artist in what I do. But the danger is that sounds bit pretentious doesn't it?'

The above quote touches on the importance of relative autonomy. Rob was keen to display part of his work as 'art' but only through an ironic detachment which connects to Rorty's notion of re-description (1989). Rob's articulation of his design reflexivity was delivered with a self-knowingness or 'wink inside the milieux' (Bourdieu, 1990). His identity work was poised between exerting just enough seriousness to defend his investment into the game of cultural entrepreneur coupled with just enough detachment to suggest an ironic deportment in his 'will to redescribe' (Rorty, 1989) his relationship to others' definitions of 'good' design. This was exhibited in the above extract as Rob addressed the social identities of artist and designer as distinct yet compatible. On this blurring he had the following to add.

'My work is about convergence and divergence. I studied fine art because I wanted to be tested and I engaged with it all, got a first and then did what I had been planning to do which was to blur art with design. When I graduated I was working two days for a design agency in Nottingham. I left because I felt it was preventing me from really exploring what I wanted do. I always knew I wanted to create toys. It's taken a while and required getting out there working with galleries, agencies, websites. But I knew I needed to focus on developing a style, not just doing illustrations

on demand. I was really influenced by DR when I started, but I made a decision not to copy them. I wouldn't be where I am now if it wasn't for the website. Over the years I developed connections through the website and web-shop to other illustrators and fans. There is a 'doodler' community that is this really geeky online network of illustrators and that community has helped me overcome the isolation by being in a collective that puts on gallery shows and prints books.'

The above adds details to Rob's articulation. Rob positioned his engagement in cultural enterprise in relation to his education and subsequent work experiences. However, his intention was always to go self-employed something which is perhaps more exaggerated in his field of illustration which requires a highly individualized act of creativity. To legitimize his career path Rob drew on references to other graphic designers (e.g., DR - Designers Republic¹⁸) and the importance of professional associations and online 'communities of practice' (Wenger, 1999) that have enabled Rob to overcome his feeling of isolation of living in Nottingham and engaging his identity work, at least partially, online. What also emerged was the importance of incubation and time to develop a style. He continued explaining this as:

'You have to develop a 360 degrees approach. You can't sit at home and expect to perfect a screenplay and get picked up by the Cartoon Network and then develop merchandise and toys. So I develop toys. I do commercial illustrations and I get my work in galleries and sell my own products online. You have to be able to drop into the production process at any point. In the last year I have illustrated skateboards, snowboards, shows in bars and I have doodled on shop walls, a room in a hotel. I have had solo exhibitions in galleries and made characters for adverts. By far the most rewarding project was working on the computer game. Initially I designed some billboards to go in the game and ended up making a whole downloadable level. I loved being able to work with such a big budget and in 3D. I hope one day to be able to set up a digital animation studio.'

The above displays a stratagem for engaging with the social identity of entrepreneur so as to overlay one's personal organisation of culture to a '360 degrees' search for openings to insert his design reflexivity. He works across a plethora of media (print, computer games, clothing, sports equipment, toys, exhibitions, the web) in order to, as he puts it, 'drop into the production process at any point'. Clearly Rob is ambitious and is seeking ways to expand into 3D animation and

¹⁸ Designers Republic are held up by many as one of the iconic contemporary graphic design agencies. Their practice started off with record sleeves for a Sheffield based record label and has grown to become internationally regarded as an 'experiment in consumerism' as one participant put it. Their most recent client was a reputed £1m contract with Coke to design 'limited edition' art bottles. DR is also significant as it was a UK pioneer in turning graphic design into a desirable consumer products – although these are arguably brought by other graphic designers and aspiring graphic designers. Their products include several monographs, toys, posters and conferences about design.

film. In a later interview I asked Rob how he felt about the fashionability of his work. My questioning was directed at the paradox Simmel explained with regards to how fashion works as a space of similitude and difference. Simmel described this (see Chapter 1) as a cyclical process since novelty can only become fashionable if it is accepted as new, which involves a modification with an existing 'cultural repertoire'. However, as this acceptance is taking place so the fashion becomes unfashionable since fashion can only ever be at different positions on the road all must travel down (Simmel, 1904, 1908). This was Rob's reply.

'I do worry about over-exposure. The problem is once you develop a popular style people start copying or biting¹⁹. There is a danger of getting too much exposure too quickly. But you also only get a small window. I also worry about copyright. It's like you have to be ambitious but there is a long way to go to get to the level of people like Gary Baseman, Nathan, Pete Fowler and Friends with U. They all mix commercial work with weirder art projects. I think it is crucial to just carry on and set boundaries all the time. Like with clients you have to limit the use of your illustrations. Some listen, some don't! It's the same with charging. You have to continuously up your fee and that requires explaining that clients are getting your hard work that goes into creating a style, which has taken nearly 10 years to develop and is still developing. That is why I retain an artistic side. Clients must pay for my way of seeing the world. So you have to constantly justify your work to clients, agents, agencies.

I was given this advice that I should present my work as an illustrator and stress how this is different as you are hired more as an artist than as a designer. The difference is an artist can never be wrong. I think I am on that cusp, which is an interesting place to be. You need to be adept at establishing what is expected in a job and then take into account all the variables. That sort of talk can put some people off. If a client, agent or agency calls I say 'ok, great you have seen some of my work but you need to clarify what they have seen' and expect. It can be as simple as black and white, or something with vivid colours, something scratchy, and something very plain. I point them to the website and tell them to grab images they like and put them on a mood board. Then I take those images as a reference and do something very different! Don't be fooled into thinking its only commercial projects that are constrained. Galleries must make money as well and shows are about selling products. That rose tinted weariness of 'oh exhibitions are 'good', commissions oh those are 'bad' is really naïve. At the end of the day it's like music where bands get signed to fill a gap in the market, it's the same with art and cinema.'

In the above Rob exhibited concern about the future of his design reflexivity and explained how this fear is played out through a ludic sensibility. He recognises the 'investment' required in both the game of design and the game of art by articulating how he creates personas to engage in both, whilst retaining a consistent style to agencies, agents and clients. The tightness of this coupling is

¹⁹ Biting is a term derived from the vocabulary of Graffiti. It refers to the act of plagiarism by stealing another 'writers' characters, colours and/or lettering.

at variance with those who make starker separations whilst articulating their 'relative autonomy'.

One further extract reinforces this attempt to reduce the separation of novelty and reasonableness.

'I don't think it's that easy to separate art from products. It's a bit romantic isn't it? I used to love visiting gallery shops and seeing Keith Haring Tea towels and all this crap stuff with the artists work printed on it. Little Matisse figurines and stuff. It's like in talks I give I always say one of my influences was Picasso and then I show the brand of car. My work is always changing, maybe in small incremental ways. Its more like handwriting, or guitar playing, you have to keep practicing and if you keep feeding it with new inspirations and new ideas then it will hopefully continue to evolve. I am fascinated to see illustrators whose work is kind of the same now as it was 10 years ago. I wonder if they get bored? It's the same with street artists who do the same character, the same emblem, the same little guy over again, again and again.

Andrew: What keeps you going?

'I guess you just keep going until the ideas stop. One idea is to work with a musician friend to develop a live music and drawing set. It would be a nerdy band, not a singer, drummer etc but a musician, doodler and technician. I also want to publish a book. And I am also making toys. At the moment the manufacturer just says 'we are footing the bill, we will make them like this'. So I want to make something that's 10ft tall. I want more freedom so the offshoot project will be my own creative control. It might end up rubbish but I have to keep that enthusiasm to keep going back to my own work. This is something you live, it's not a job and I don't want it to become one. If I did only commercial work it would chew me up and spit me out at the end of the week.'

In the above exchange, Rob gave away the kernel of his personal organisation of culture. This was a fascination with the commoditization of art into products sold in art gallery shops as souvenirs. When faced with this I was immediately tempted to cite Adorno and interpret Rob's articulation as an individual whose cultural enterprise was not enjoining art and business but a fetish for the debasement of 'culture' into a 'substitute gratification' and 'interchangeable sameness' (Adorno, 1991). Instead Rob's account is interpreted as a narrative of a seven year period of an individual's life during which he successfully engaged with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur and created a style, or as he put it more eloquently, a 'handwriting' through which he presents his design reflexivity. This is how Rob summarised his articulation as he reflected on how he engaged with the formal role of cultural entrepreneur.

'I would definitely say you need some entrepreneurial sense. You need to be able to develop each problem in a different way, you have to see other options when a client comes to you and says make me something like this. You need skill at nudging them. There is this terrible arrogance I used to have that was like 'ok I have made this stuff and now people will come to me'. I remember when the record art first came out I was waiting for the phone to ring. It doesn't and you realise you are against everything. I mean you are competing for people's attention and people's money. You are up against film, TV, comics, music, everything. Its like how do you get into that moment when people are making the choice to visit this website, or download that

screensaver. You can't stay in a little patch as you don't get anywhere. I would say I am a freechancer and I never stop and think ok what's next. Instead it is all part of this one project. When people enjoy things you have done or see them then that is part of the package and part and parcel of the challenge of just having to get things done and making new things.'

Rob's articulation encompasses many of the key themes that have been discussed in this chapter. His identity work with the cultural entrepreneur social identity clearly occupies a substantial portion of his self-identity. This is the reason why his discussion of designer-toys, art, gallery souvenirs and so forth was selected. There is nothing to generalize about from Rob's story. As he himself notes everyone's experience of carving out design reflexivity from a personal organisation of culture. However, as Rob's quote above showed this is why agencies and clients are paying for 'his way of seeing the world'. What Rob articulated over the course of three interviews, and multiple pots of Japanese Sencha Tea – never coffee, in his favourite tea shop (which also displayed his art work for sale and played a mix of lo-fi Americana and electronica music, which was to Rob's taste) as a sole-trader he had to create a presence that legitimated 'access to exchange' symbolic novelty for economic capital.

Rob's articulation is interpreted as an example of the problems Lane's critique of Bourdieu (2006) exposes about the assumption that 'art' and 'relative autonomy' can be theorized as a rejection of the market. Instead, as Zola wrote in *J'Accuse*, what is also possible is that money has an emancipatory role (Zola cited in Lane, 2006, p128) for the cultural producer. Rob's identity work illustrated how an individual in 21st century Nottingham is engaging with the complexity of contradictions emerging from the mixing of 'culture' with other signifying systems (Williams, 1981). This is not to discredit Bourdieu's theory, more as the pragmatist pluralism put forward in Chapter 2, it suggests the limit of the usefulness of applying the theory of fields. It is helpful to think of Rob's account of his 'one project' as an attempt to enjoin the 'field of culture' and the 'field of power'. It is also useful to think of Rob's articulation as partially constrained by a variety of 'codes', guides rather than rules that frame his ability to legitimize his investment into the 'game/s' of illustration, art and design as a freechancer. However, it less clear why one

should then interpret Rob's, or indeed any of the articulations in this chapter, as a misrecognition requiring an emancipatory intervention from the critical sociological theorist (Latour, 2004) to dispel the *illusio* arising from the predisposed alignment of habitus and field. Instead, so as to reach an 'informed divergence' (Robbins, 2007) from Bourdieu's claim that his work has been misread and is not the failure others would assign to him (Jenkins, 2000) his 'structuring structures' are treated not as fixed but as fields in which, partially due to the actions of agents, are conditions for transformation and conservation. What is required to interpret Rob's engagement with the social identity and persona of cultural entrepreneur is a degree of voluntaristic agency, or situated activity (Mouzelis, 1995) so as to avert the danger of enforcing an etic theory of identity or a 'social template' onto the demoralized creative industries type (Banks, 2006).

Instead as Rob's case suggests his articulation can be interpreted as a continual interplay between the emergence of his own style that is expressed through his invention²⁰ of a term (freechancer), evidence of the 'will to re-describe' (Rorty, 1989). However this is in turn partially shaped by and therefore dependent on those who commission his work as meaningful. Rob's 'will to architecture' (Karatani, 1995) is enmeshed with the fashionability of designer-toys, the demand for novelty in advertising, publishing, computer games, hospitality, fashion clothing, record labels and any other surfaces, or 'achitextures' (Bruno, 2007) he can 'doodle' on.

Social Communication: From Graffiti to Graphic Design (back) to Graffiti to Typography to Graffiti to Graphic Design...

This second 'case within a case' explores Engage, a graphic design agency with two full time co-founders, one part-time project manager and a wide 'constellation' (Bilton, 2007) of freelancers. Engage was in its first year of trading when I first encountered it (2004) and, as explained in Chapter 2, I had fairly consistent contact with the founder Mark Green throughout the two years

²⁰ There is only one hit for the term 'freechancer' on Google.com and this is a reference to a typo in The Irish Times.

of fieldwork. This case follows Rob's to show how Mark aligned his personal organisation of culture to an articulation of design reflexivity through Engage, his fledgling business. This is a substantially reduced or 'thin slice' of a very 'thick reality' which I shared in with Mark as I engaged with him through a variety of social roles including; researcher, mentor, colleague and client.

This case makes use of material gathered from interviews and field notes gathered during a specific intervention. This intensification occurred over a period of three months and reached a peak when I spent two weeks in Engage's studio. Getting 'studio time' was something we had talked a lot about but we both addressed concerns about what I actually could do. Despite Mark's jokes that he could maybe use a tea-boy there was a serious side to the problem of not wanting to waste his or my time 'hanging out. Down has made a similar point about there only being so much a researcher can achieve by sitting in a small business office (2006). It was with Ram's observation about the need to act opportunistically (1998) that I decided to employ Engage as design consultants to produce a map for an ethnographic walking tour I had been commissioned to make (Greenman and Smith, 2006). As part of the 'norm of reciprocity' among small creative enterprises, Mark returned the gesture by securing a small fund that provided a formal role and rationale for my being in his studio. Over a three month period I co-authored marketing material for Engage with a view to helping Mark find the agency's 'authentic voice', as he put it. We tentatively called this process an 'articulation strategy'. My aim was to get closer to Mark as an individual as he was going through the process of rethinking his personal organization of 'culture'. This was a serendipitous gift from which much of the analytical categories upon which this chapter has been premised were developed. The case also switches to a more diachronic (Czarniawska, 2004) mode and my voice is subsequently more present in the process of articulation. I start with an extract from my field notes.

Monday 9am, ringing on the doorbell of Engage. No answer. Call Mark's mobile, no answer. Left a voicemail. Today I was due to start a two week period of 'work experience' as Mark liked to put it. As there is no answer I go for a coffee and read. Mark called about one hour later and said

‘Sorry, I was battered from the weekend. I was in London for a meeting with a publisher on that graff book on Thursday. Then there was a manic round of meetings with other contributors to the book. Then we went to a dubstep night which became Saturday at 4am, Sunday written off blah. So I am knackered. Can we start your ‘work experience’ from tomorrow’.

Looking back on my fieldnotes I decided to include the above, not to undermine Mark’s professionalism, nor to theorise about the blurring of work/play. Instead as my notes stated it signified a role shift. One year prior to this, whilst still involved with Get Down magazine and the music side of the creative industries, I would have never have tried to organise a meeting for 9am on a Monday, the very idea would be ludicrous. Despite Engage being a graphic design agency with (straight) clients, Mark was still very much involved in ‘sub-culture’ And at the time of the above intervention he was in the process of trying to secure a publishing deal with a major London based company along with a friend of his, a hip-hop artist, graffiti writer (who worked now as a commercial illustrator and had just brought a house after working with Prada), about the ‘real’ story of UK Graffiti culture²¹. As I sat in the café that morning I wrote in my notes.

‘Here I am the sober ethnographer trying to conduct ‘scientific’ observations and what am I confronted with? An echo of my past. Mark spent the weekend partying, hooking up with people in London and fixing up a publishing deal. I spent the weekend in a University library reading about organizational strategy I thought might be useful for Engage. I feel let down, but am not sure who by. I am upset at Mark for forgetting our arrangement or maybe with myself since he is still involved in night clubbing and so on. I know how important he feels it is to have a connection with sub-culture to keep up with fashions. I must respect this and the differences between us and between my current social identity of academic field researcher and my declining identity as a music-producer and creative type. I am endangering this relationship since we are the same age (32) and have similar backgrounds but it is me who is ‘at fault’ because I have to have a different orientation to what work is.’

The above is included to set the context of our ‘co-authoring’ an organisational strategy and ‘tone of voice’ for Engage. It highlights the different ‘identity work’ that I began to experience ‘in the field’. Part of the ‘emotions of the fieldwork’ (Coffee, 1999) was this process of ‘rehabilitation’

²¹ The history of Graffiti is typically re-told as a myth that extends from the marketing of gang territories and subsequent illegal ‘subway art’ that emerged in late 1970s New York. The legitimization of Graffiti as a minor ‘art’ is a more recent development and its connected to the commoditisation of hip-hop music and b-boy culture in the USA and internationally (Shusterman, 2000). Mark also gave me a book written by an MIT researcher (Castleman, 1978) which was an ethnography of Graffiti writers in New York. Mark explained how he liked the idea of a ‘dry management researcher’ putting a book about Graffiti on his bookshelf next to books on strategy and HRM. Much of our discussions would revolve around a trade as I learnt to respect Mark’s investment in the ‘cultural’ activity of Graffiti and how this mapped to typography; and Mark learning about sociology, philosophy, research methods and ethnography.

as I went through my own 'getting serious' period having spent 18 months as a freelance DJ, promoter, music composer and journalist. What followed during the 'work experience' was an opportunity for a sustained ethnographic encounter that stimulated a heightened mutual curiosity (Rabinow, 1996) about organising design reflexivity via entrepreneurial activity.

It is also important to set the temporal and physical details of Engage's studio as this too reveals something of Mark's habitus. The two weeks I was in Engage were carefully chosen by Mark as it followed the delivery of a major project in the preceding weeks. During that time both Mark, his business partner Karen and a number of freelancers (photographers, art workers, illustrators) had been working 12-14 hour days to keep to a deadline a client had imposed. The project was to produce a printed guide book for the British Art Show which was hosted in Nottingham that year. The reason they had little time was because the client had dropped another Nottingham graphic agency for being slow and inappropriate. They chose Engage, so Mark said because, despite being less well known and smaller, the provisional work we had done to create a tone of voice that stressed 'social communications'. Given the project was nearly completed Mark now had some free time and was keen to build on this project by positioning his practice as a social communications agency with a specialism in public sector projects.

As for the studio space itself, it was located in an ex-council owned space for fashion start-ups. The studio complex had acquired by a privately run music and film production college. Engage's room was large for only two full time people and had extra desk space for freelancers and the part-time project manager. The room was in an ex-warehouse and had large windows, therefore plenty of natural light – which Mark explained was essential for design. The design of the studio is relevant to understanding Mark's articulation as it was part of the 'enterprise of world construction' and reaching out of mind in the various material objects and explanations that accompanied them when Mark gave me a studio tour which he explained as a quick 'wander around my mind'.

On the main white wall was a continuously changing array of materials and prints of proto-designs that Mark would post up. This was his 'mood wall' upon which he projected his explorations around a project. Typically these would be connected to a project which Engage was working on. At the time I was in the studio I saw various 'identities' emerge from the mood wall ranging from a brand identity for a film maker; a new logo for a primary school and an identity for my own (short lived) freelance 'ethnographic' consultancy. For the latter the mood wall was briefly filled with images of large crosses and Disruptive Pattern Material, or camouflage.

In the corner of the room was a large five seat L-Shaped leather sofa which he told me he got for a good price from a Danish Furniture store in Nottingham. Denmark, he explained, is renowned for its design history and design excellence. Next to the sofa sat a table and a side unit cabinet which Mark acquired from an auction. He described how he had wanted museum exhibition cases, but that these were all being snapped by fashionable boutiques in London. On the table there would be various design industry magazines and books relating to design, architecture, photography or some other aspect of visual culture.

The other side of the studio was dominated by two desks and large Apple Mac's with 19 inch screens. The walls close to Mark and Karen's desk had posters of graphic design work and photographs. The studio also had Mark's bike which he explained was partly for security and partly, as he explained with some irony, to 'get that Wired-mag San-Fran I cycle and leave my MTB in a 1990s loft-warehouse look'. On the remaining wall were two large cupboards packed with books, curios (a stuffed squirrel, designer-toys, snowboarding goggles, record sleeves) and a large canvas of 'graffiti art'.

As a temporary member on 'work experience' I was to be sat in the centre of the room at a new Italian minimalist table acquired from the profits of a recent job. As Mark explained it's not something he would normally buy and he made a point of telling me which design retailer he had acquired it from in Nottingham. The studio was therefore part of an elaborate presentation of Engage and Mark's design reflexivity. What I found fascinating about the space was how, having

visited a number of design studios, half the studio could be a minimal 'design service' and half could have been the spare bedroom, or even the shed of a designer maker. This 'reaching out of mind' that was an actualisation of the struggle to articulate both symbolic novelty and economic reasonableness.

To start the process of negotiating what it was Mark wanted Engage's voice to 'sound like' I had put together a series of questions. The first was how do you see yourself as a designer?

'I have always been a bit of a cheeky Geordie bastard. I need to balance quirky with sincere. The last thing I want is to be seen as a Brighton yogurt weaving, flip-flop wearing cheese merchant. But I don't want to be too straight edged either and this isn't an art project. I didn't start Engage to end up a 'salaryman' this is about getting more interesting design. I want to convey my inspirations for thinking about how design impacts on people's everyday lives. My dream brief is proving that design can transform people's thinking. The absolute last thing I want to do is become a manager. And I reject that idea of how design is about aesthetics and bars, clubs, record sleeves. That pop culture means less and less to me. I don't want to be 40 and doing record sleeves for £600. But I need to get away from clients telling me to fill in the blanks for them. I have to get more out of client interactions. I want to educate clients about the work we want to do, rather than follow their lead and hope to win business. I want to get on with 'real' issues, do more social communications and work with young people, arts organizations, wayfinding, disability, schools and regeneration. Do you remember that Sorrel event we went to?

Andrew: Yep the one about designing schools for the future?

Mark: Yeah, well I think that the public sector is really opening up to design. It's a slow process but with architecture and schools we have started picking up really good contacts and potentially big contracts. This will help to get paid for something worthwhile and retain creative control. Blurring the visual identity work we have done for companies with the sub-culture stuff and then also working with public sector.'

Toward the end of the week Mark's enthusiasm had shifted as the graffiti book was looking as if the publisher was going to sign a contract. I asked him how this married up with what he had told me about popular culture being less important to him. This was one of the questions I had put on the questionnaire we were working through which asked how important was (sub) 'cultural' production to Mark?

'Did I show you this (grabs a guide book to Berlin), look there is the cover art we did for EMI, cool eh? Also we did that other work for Heavenly Records which was amazing. Getting to meet Don Letts (shows me a picture on the wall) was like meeting a living legend. If you understand sub-cultural trends then you are well ahead of other designers because they are ingesting the same beige Gap bland crap that clients are. I am designing a monograph for a performance artist who just completed her PhD. She snogs dogs and does these shows that are border line S&M with tongues made from rock. I went off on a right tangent on that one. We started exploring parallels between hem stitching on Dominatrix ware and Airline Stewardess Uniforms. The mood wall ended up getting a bit fetish ware and bestial for a while.

With Christine (partner) we have got our shirt in this boutique in Soho run by an uber trendy Japanese couple. We're making knitted balaclavas with pom-poms which we've commissioned from a woman in Romania, it's a folk reaction to surveillance culture.

Andrew: Ok but where is this leading you, Mark Green verses what Engage is trying to communicate?

Mark. That's an exercise I just went through with the CSD (Chartered Society of Designers). It's a headfuck question. We need to get bigger projects but I hate being responsible for others. After a while you end up with shit clients and shit work to feed Mac-monkeys. That stops you doing interesting work. If I end up back there I may as well not have my own practice. It would be a shit load easier getting a £35 grand job as a creative director. I am a visual person and the practice is an opportunity to experiment in engaging with people from different disciplines. I won't do crappy stock photography and Helvetica. I don't have formal business training so we are balancing this freedom with hopefully applying visual imagery in a positive way, maybe even helping people out. The aim is to get back to being creative. And for me right now that means doing this Graff book because I have always wanted to do.'

The last extract is a condensed dialogue that occurred over a two week period of 'work experience' and 'mentoring'. My parting comment of 'ok I get it' was a resignation that I would never get what Mark wanted and how he thought I could achieve this through Engage. At every point he came close to defining the 'reasonableness' of his design related activities Mark would make an oblique commutation. This posed a problem for our communication since I was engaging with the formal role of 'business mentor' trying to utilise a combination of organizational theory whilst also doing ethnographic observation. I also empathised with Mark from my own experiences of making music. Had I met myself, in the mentor role, two years earlier and tried to impose an 'articulation strategy' it would have felt intrusive. At that time I, as Mark was displaying, had a strong self-belief in my own organisation of culture and was less aware or interested in thinking about how to sell my cultural taste. Mark was further into this process than I ever reached but still seemed to prefer the search for novelty through explorations and experiments with what might be possible. He even rationalized these commutations by using the term 'self-initiative briefs' for projects he knew had no immediate economic utility but which he thought might be economically reasonable in the future.

Mark undoubtedly had a vast capacity for 'divergence' which I am using here in the same way that Rob used it. I realise this term may also has a similar meaning in some theories of

creativity which place an emphasis on ‘difference’ (Bergson, 1911); ‘lateral thinking’ (de Bono, 1984) the prepared mind readied for the unexpected (Bilton, 2007, Boden, 1994). The question that haunted me during our official engagement was not one of creativity but whether I was right to question whether Mark was ‘right’ to orientate his entrepreneurial activities in this way? Should he perhaps of striven for more of what Rob articulated as both ‘divergence and convergence’. I only tentatively suggested these things to Mark as I did not wish to entertain the notion of ‘action research’, or thinking I could somehow improve his situation. I had already come too close to this by suggesting Mark meet with a project manager who he initially had good results with but after a period of one year became disillusioned.

What the above representation of Mark’s interpretations aim to show is a tension that has been discussed throughout this chapter. This is how research participants cope with the dual role of designers to engage in economic and symbolic activity. This tension was articulated by Mark as he floated between defining the mixture of his personal organisation of ‘culture’ (Graffiti, fashion, music etc) and its public use (e.g. youth engagement, disability). The final document we co-authored attempted to address this tension. Mark later re-wrote some of the text but the final document (a PDF described as ‘Full English’) was available for download from the Engage Website.

The last few days of the ‘work experience’ were tense. My presence was no longer warranted and I had stretched the boundaries of what was acceptable probing of the relationship between Mark’s private life and the public outpouring of his engaging in with an entrepreneurial identity. The purpose for reviving this period was to show a number of points. The first point is how it addressed the sources of tension arising from an enmeshment of a personal organisation of ‘culture’ and socially meaningful mix of symbolic novelty and economic reasonableness. The second point is to reiterate how ethnographic exchanges can be used to stimulate and ‘put to work’ a mutual curiosity (Rabinow, 1996) among reflexive production. What the above does not show is the hours of interviews and notebooks dedicated solely to this relationship or the, at times

full time job, of maintaining Mark's interest in my research and his reflections on his enterprise. However, the point here is that key informants are invaluable for trialling out analysis whilst still in the field.

Finally it is necessary to briefly discuss a point about the ethics of field relations. Mark was fully aware of my intentions and his input into this process of becoming reflexive about the articulation of what I explained to him as the architecture of cultural enterprise. What was crucial throughout the interaction was setting boundaries around what he expected the benefits might be. As Ram noted, researchers should not overstate the potential material gains (Ram, 1994, 1998). It was more important to try as much as possible to hope Mark would find our interaction valuable for other reasons. Clearly this intervention was premised carefully on an instrumental mentoring engagement. And it was interesting to hear Mark reported the marketing literature we developed helped Engage generate sales leads and attract the type of client he wanted.

Even more interesting was to hear how Mark had incorporated the 'interview schedule' I developed during the mentoring period to co-author our 'articulation strategy' into his sales process. He now 'interviewed' potential clients during pitches using what he relabelled as the 'articulation tool'. He claimed the tool helped him frame in his own mind how he engaged with other businesses and it presented Engage in a more serious way. This use was never one I had anticipated. However, it showed how a researcher working from a position of 'institutional reflexivity' (Czarniawska, 1999) might legitimise their engagements with others. In this case, devising a tool to channel design reflexivity, only to have it adopted by the participant for their own life project. This opportunistically seizing by Mark somehow validated the ethnographic encounter and cemented our ongoing relationship.

This is mentioned since it demonstrates (again) the importance of having some relevant skill to trade (Ram, 1998) in the field. As I was not a 'visual person', nor had I studied art, architecture, design or interactive software the above engagement shows, the degree of improvisation necessary to have a legitimate role, as opposed to the largely parasitic role I

occupied as a project manager at Creative Collaborations. This was vital to the 'epistemological productivity' (Coffey, 1999) that has underpinned this research. This challenge of finding something 'reasonable' to gain 'access to exchange' was therefore as close as I could come to engaging in the articulation of cultural enterprise in the design subfield. This in turn opened up a multitude of ways of thinking about how individuals seek to exert a 'will to architecture' (Karatani, 1995) through articulating a link between novel, relatively autonomous symbolic explorations and reasonable, relatively heteronymous projects with economic value. To bring Mark's narrative to a 'close' it is worth noting how, during the writing of this case I met Mark and talked through our 'next moves'. We had both set ourselves a 'deadline' for our projects, my PhD, his figuring out the future of Engage. Listening to Mark I was struck by how much and how little had changed since I last met him. He explained these changes as follows:

'Things never worked out with Amanda (part-time project manager It's all hot air and stress and no sales or action. I could tolerate her if she was shit-hot and winning the type of contracts she says are out there, but she hasn't.

On a positive note me and Karen just got back from an away day with a life coach up in the Peaks and Engage is getting a reputation for social communications. We just finished a project for an architectural school and for a new arts centre. I used the old articulation tool on them and it worked.

Andrew: Sounds pretty encouraging then. But I fear there is a 'but' coming?

Mark: Yeah well the thing is I am piss bored of trying to sell shitty little projects to marketing people who don't care about good design. The work with architects is great but they work on 10 year cycles and we can't afford that as our fees are much lower. Plus Karen's new bloke doesn't like living in Nottingham and they are talking about moving to Sheffield. And the lease on our studio is up. So we might move the studio or 'go virtual'. I am thinking of becoming a typography consultant. Like a colour consultant in fashion or a music consultant. It's really niche but that is the way things are going. People buy from people and they want more of that bespoke Saville Row thing. I am not sure the agency model is right. I think it's more going to art directing and individuals with really refined knowledge. It's taste and filtering at the end of the day and back to my interest in Graff. Clients don't want to know about x-heights, descenders, kerning, weights. But they do want signage and branded print matter that sets them apart and that often means sourcing really obscure fonts or employing type designers for bespoke fonts.'

This interview was followed up by an email in which Mark sent me a fairly typical collection of weblinks to film trailers he thought might be useful for the composite characters I was planning for my thesis; a jpeg image of ecstasy pills seized by police in drug raids. These being examples of what Mark called 'research' into typography. He also waxed lyrically about Karel Martens'

typography school (WerkPlaats Typographie) and the course administrators which included Paul Elliman and Maxine Kopsa. Anniek Brattinga and Liesbeth Doornbosch. It also contained a link to Bruno Maag who runs a font customization company. This being just one typical list of references I had to research so as to continue our relationship and understanding of Mark's 'design reflexivity'.

Summary

This chapter has examined how individuals 'portion off' part of their self-identity by engaging with the social identity of designer entrepreneur. It has argued that by articulating their experiences of identity work it is possible to understand how 'design reflexivity' emerges by marking out a boundary around a personal organisation of 'culture' that is potentially a reasonable means of securing 'access to exchange'. It has been suggested that to understand this process researchers must get closer to the sub-field specific meanings which individuals attach to accomplish their intended actions through engaging with an entrepreneurial persona. It was suggested that as the research participants interpreted their engagement with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur drew from a variety of discursive resources to accomplish this task. The chapter identified a variety of means through which individuals articulate the novel, or relatively autonomous aspects of the 'mixtures' they establish through entrepreneurial activity. This partly enables a response to Lawrence and Phillips who argued management researchers must become more like humanities and cultural studies researchers by 'interpreting and discussing the ways in which the texts produced by cultural industries are constructed and how they gain meaning at the intersection of cultural industries and society' (2002, p440).

Running throughout this chapter has been the aim of emphasizing the interrelationship between the social context and how individuals account for their entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity. This is believed to be a valuable means of challenging the 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu, 1990) that can result from when the etic category, or 'homogenous archetype' (Down,

2006) of the entrepreneur, is imposed rather than examined from practitioners' interpretive schemas so as to 'illuminate' (Howorth et.al.2005) the context of entrepreneurial activity.

The aim in this chapter was to provide micro-instances of cultural entrepreneurial activity so as to question the efficacy of 'clear templates' (Banks, 2006) that have started to emerge to categorize individuals within the cultural industries. Examples include the 'creative class' (Florida, 2003), 'network sociality' (Wittel, 2001), 'the independents' (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1998), 'sub-cultural entrepreneurs' (McRobbie, 1997) and a shorthand use of Bourdieu's 'cultural intermediary' (Bourdieu, 1984, du Gay and Nixon, 2005, Jenkins, 2000). The danger of these templates is if they are used to reify certain personas and therefore limit the complexity of meanings individuals attach to their engagement with social identities such as cultural entrepreneur. The danger of this theory led colonization of others' organisation of culture is when it leads to an over privileging of theories used to explain work and organization, such as the claim the cultural industries are corrosive and epitomise a neo-liberalization of work (McRobbie, 2002a). As Banks suggested an alternative is to explore, through empirical sociology, whether such activity is actually reported as 'demoralize(d) and desocialize(d)' (2006).

The purpose of this chapter has been to represent interpretations of the process of identity work that ensues as individuals engage with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur so as to trace, through interviews and fieldnotes of participant observation, how the research participants articulated their experiences. This chapter drew largely from synchronic observations made by the researcher. However, the presence of the researcher in the ontogenic act of narrating (Czarniawska, 2004) has been addressed by inserting moments of diachronic 'sense assembly' (Brewer, 2000). These included probing for clarification, learning to 'keep my mouth shut' (Hobbs, 1984), embarrassing myself with a lack of 'genre knowledge', or feigning it. The final case (Engage) showed how bricolage (e.g, exchanging music, books and mentoring engagement etc) was needed to develop deep 'emotional connections in the fieldwork' (Coffey, 1999).

One advantage of the ethnographic approach devised for this study was it forced improvisation in creating legitimate roles in the sub-field of design. This enabled exposure to a variety of social settings in which I could witness individuals articulating their interpretations of entrepreneurial activity. The subsequent ethnographic encounters were central for enabling a 'reflexive sociology', as defined in Chapter 2, or as Bourdieu wrote the practice of 'taking a point of view on a point of view' (1990). The material gathered from engaging in these moments enabled an analysis and interpretation of how individuals engage in identity work in relation to the social identity of designer and entrepreneur. Rather than address the issue of identity by examining the 'content' of the forms of their entrepreneurial transformations (Du Gay et.a.1997), this chapter explored the interrelationship between individual outpourings of mind and the use of discursive resources used to define and re-describe formal roles, other social categories and cultural stereotypes. The aim was not theorise about new ways of organizing space and social relations (Dale and Burrell, 2008, Fleming and Spicer, 2007). Instead the aim was, in keeping with the pragmatist conceptual framework (Mouzelis, 1995, Shusterman, 2000, Watson, 1997) to represent how a sub-group of individuals engaged in shaping social relations through their design reflexivity interpreted their articulations, enmeshing a personal organisation of 'culture' with publicly legitimate articulations of novel and reasonable design. This emphasis on existing interpretive schemas is not seen as a limitation (i.e., constrained by existing definitions) but as a step towards addressing the research question Banks posed in relation to the cultural industries.

As he stated:

'(P)erhaps we should consider equally how non-instrumental, political and social values may be feeding back into the work process. The central research question here is: how, under conditions of reflexive modernization, are individuals (re)introducing moral sentiments into the context of their working lives?' (2006, p463).

This is the justification for the inevitable selectiveness (Van Maanen, 1989) that occurs as fieldwork material is 'manipulated' (Humphreys and Watson, forthcoming) during ethnographic representation and the organisation process of writing (Czarniawska, 1999). Exploring the mixing

of art and business through individual's accounts does not suggest a 'naïve realism' (Van Mannen, 1989). Instead it is a means of moving the researcher's gaze towards the 'syntax' of the logic of practice (Bourdieu, 1990a) and the 'vocabularies of understanding' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003) which aim to minimise 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu, 1996) arising from the proxemic gap between researcher, participant, theorist and reader. The following chapter will now continue by representing research participants' interpretations of how their architecture of cultural enterprise was affected by tempo-spatial forces circulated within and beyond the bounded location (Nottingham) and historical moment (2004-2007) in which the research occurred. The purpose is to extend the understanding of the architecture of creative capital by addressing how place and time affect the availability of discursive resources which individuals draw on to 'localise' the novelty and reasonableness of their mixtures for design intensive capitalist production.

Chapter 5 Emplacement: Temporal Positioning Struggles and the Localisation of Cultural Entrepreneurial Activity

'The present is the object of a future memory, and we live it as such, in anticipation of the story we will tell later, envisaging the present as past. The present might be lived in anticipation of some future present from which it is narrated, but this may also entail the anticipation of events between the present present and the future present from which it is narrated which will also be part of that story' (Currie, M, 2007 p5-6)

The next two chapters explore how articulations are translated as individuals engage in positioning struggles to localise their mixtures of novel and reasonable design reflexivity through entrepreneurial activity. The legitimisation process is examined as the 'second' phase of the architecture of cultural enterprise. It is split into two chapters. Chapter 5 which will explore temporal forces and Chapter 6 explores how place affects the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity. These chapters represent the research participants' interpretations of how they devise stratagems to cope with tempo-spatial forces. This phase is labelled as emplacement which is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as 'the act of placing in a certain position; the condition of being so placed'. Emplacement is selected above translation, which was the term used in the provisional analytical framework in Chapter 2, because it encapsulates how the effects of time and place require coping with the dialectic between being located and exerting a 'will to architecture' (Karatani, 1995) within bounded tempo-spatial settings.

Both chapters utilise Bourdieu's logic of practice to extend the 'articulations', presented in the previous chapter, as participants 'identity work' with the social identity of designer entrepreneur is extended through a 'localization' or 'structured improvisation' (Bourdieu, 1990) bounded by time and place. In Chapter 5, the focus will be on how participants legitimised their design reflexivity in relation to a present-ness, or nexus of temporal specific forces (e.g., fashion and style). These enable an understanding of how entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity is shaped within a 'relational setting' (Somers, 1994) through an alignment of past-

present and present-projection into an anticipated future, or a continual ‘mode of anticipation’ (Currie, 2007).

The suggestion made in this chapter is that to understand the architecture of cultural enterprise it is necessary to explore how the struggle to legitimise articulations occurs in relation to the present-ness of the sub-field of design. Chapter 5 shows how the research participants interpreted the effects of conflicting definitions of design reflexivity. And how, in turn, they adjusted to the collective transformation and preservation of the logic of practice within the field of design. Chapter 6 will then represent how tensions emerging from spatial forces were interpreted.

This chapter is organized as follows. It begins by restating the relevance of Bourdieu’s logic of practice to understanding cultural enterprise. It then represents research participants’ interpretations of temporal forces. Their stratagems are analysed according to Watson’s notion that identity work requires engaging with a ‘local-personal’ (Watson, 2008) social identity. This has relevance for understanding how temporal forces affect an individual’s ability to legitimise their presence in the ‘space of play’ (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005) of the game of cultural enterprise. This will be followed by two cases within cases selected to illustrate how two research participants developed stratagems to cope with the temporal pressures of legitimizing novel and reasonable entrepreneurial organisations of design reflexivity.

The relevance of Chapter 5 and 6 is study of how time and place affect the process of translating a personal organisation of culture into design intensive production through cultural enterprise. It will be argued that ethnographic encounters are important as a social research tool. Despite criticisms of its relevance (Van Maanen, 2006) the embodied presence of a researcher assists in developing understanding within a global and network technology saturated world. Physical immersion enables a researcher to engage in temporal and spatial specific experiences of investing in the ‘game’ of cultural enterprise through interested practical social action. Both chapters therefore advance the methodological framework in Chapter 2, to a pragmatist

epistemology, which maintains an ethical commitment to producing knowledge that has relevance for understanding of others experience social action (Wicks and Freeman, 1998). Both the ethnographic fieldwork and representation in the following chapters therefore aim to understand a 'humanity of space' (Leach, 2005) by drawing attention to the contradictions and fractures as well as the cunning and adaptability necessary for engaging in cultural enterprise.

The discussion in Chapters 5 and 6 therefore runs contrary to theorists who argue advanced capitalist societies are dominated by homogenized non-place (Augé, 1995); a hyperreal temporality, or simulacra of simulacra (Baudrillard, 1996) or 'factory without walls' (Lazzarato, 1996, Terranova, 2004, Virno, 2004) perpetuated by the global culture industry (Lash and Lury, 2007). The following chapters do not dispute the possibility these epochalist theories may have a truth. However, it posits another perspective by representing the 'sense making' (Brewer, 2000) of a subset of individuals engaged in the production of 'signs and symbols' (Lash and Urry, 1994) who, like all humans, struggle with identification and belonging that is emplaced both temporally and spatially (Leech, 2005). The following chapters question the efficacy of accepting the inevitability of an all encompassing 'global glob' (Brewer, 2000) by utilising ethnographic encounters to represent how individuals localized their presence so as to pursue their interests within the constraints of the style and fashion circulated at the time of research and within the bounded limits of the city of Nottingham.

Habitus, Artistic Age and Positioning Struggles

Bourdieu's theory of the logic of practice argued human action was interested but could not be reduced to *homo oeconomicus*, the illusionary character of rational actor theory of (Bourdieu, 1998, Hillier and Rooksby, 2005, Mouzelis, 1995). Instead Bourdieu argued for an understanding human action as a 'dialectical confrontation' (Bourdieu, 2005) between an individual's ability to develop a 'sense for the game' (i.e., the pursuit of individual goals) whilst recognising how this was enabled and constrained by the presence of 'structuring structures', or historically durable

objective conditions through which individuals become enmeshed in social groups and institutions. Bourdieu offered three interrelated 'open concepts' (Bourdieu, 1990), (i.e., habitus, field and capital) to theorise how individuals develop 'practical' knowledge of their 'sense of place' in relation to others. Two of these concepts (Habitus and Field) will be utilised in Chapters 5 and 6 to explore how relational tensions emerge through an improvisatory play as individuals struggled to legitimise their 'vision and division' (Bourdieu, 1990) by inserting their architecture of cultural enterprise into gaps within the 'meaning market' (Dovey, 2005).

Bourdieu defined habitus as a 'system of dispositions, that is of long-lasting (rather than permanent) schemas or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action' (2005, p43). The key term is 'system' which he used to refer to 'systematic elements' through which an individual, or group, adopts a style, commonality or affinity. Using Merleau-Ponty's analogy, Bourdieu compared the 'naturalness' of pre-reflexive engagement with dispositions within a habitus to the practical mastery over 'handwriting'. Becoming and belonging within a social space requires developing a signature or 'practical unity' (2005, p45) which is never entirely monolithic. Instead social action is 'very diverse, but within limits' (ibid.). The dispositions of habitus are experienced as a 'loose systematicity' (2005, p45) and Bourdieu was emphatic these did not constitute fate, destiny or an unalterable social determinacy (ibid.).

For Bourdieu habitus is a product of the history of past conflicts (individual and collective) and struggles to transform and preserve the asymmetrical distribution of resources (capital) within a field. Dispositions are 'long lasting' and although Bourdieu insisted they were not totalising, most of his (Anglo) critics agree Bourdieu's theory is biased towards the social reproduction of power asymmetries (Grenfell, 2003, Jenkins, 2000, Lane, 2005). Bourdieu was convinced his commentators failed to understand his work preferring to repeat the misreading of other commentators than read his own theory which, he alleged, showed 'structuring structures' are never monolithic or eternal (2005). He argued practical knowledge showed how the habitus

changes as it is 'constantly subjected to experiences and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p133).

The relevance of Bourdieu's theory for understanding how an individual's 'will to architecture' is emplaced through the act of placing and of the experience of being placed within (tempo-spatial specific) conditions. This view of human action requires ascertaining the 'sense of the game' so as to understand how individuals seek to legitimise their actions and gain access to power (capital). In Bourdieu's logic of practice a game is not played by following rules, but the 'loose systematicity' of a game and enacting a 'structured improvisation'. Practice is therefore 'always orientated to practical functions' (Bourdieu, 1990) and improvisation creates tensions that generate differences between how individuals negotiate their perception in relation to their investment in the codes of a game (i.e. others' positioning struggles and institutionalised views on practical action). Central to this tension is the effect of time as an individual mediates between past experiences; their competency at engaging with the objective possibilities of the present conditions (field) and ability the ability to project expectations based on anticipated probabilities of achieving interests in a quasi-present future (Bourdieu, 1990a, 1990b, 1998, 2005, Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

This short expansion does not address the criticisms of those who argue Bourdieu 'failed' to 'resolve' the dualism of voluntaristic agency and social determination (see Chapter 2). This is relevant as the reproduction of power asymmetries may, although I do not believe this is the case, preclude the possibility that entrepreneurial activity may re-organise the rights of access to resources. This difficulty requires addressing Bourdieu's, at times, seemingly circular arguments (Jenkins, 2000). As Bourdieu explained, the tension between individual habitus and field is: 'incorporated in our minds, that is in our bodies, and we act in the world according to this structure and by so doing we tend to contribute to reproduce this structure...objective conditions in which the habitus operates are similar to the objective conditions of which it is the product' (Bourdieu, 2005, p46).

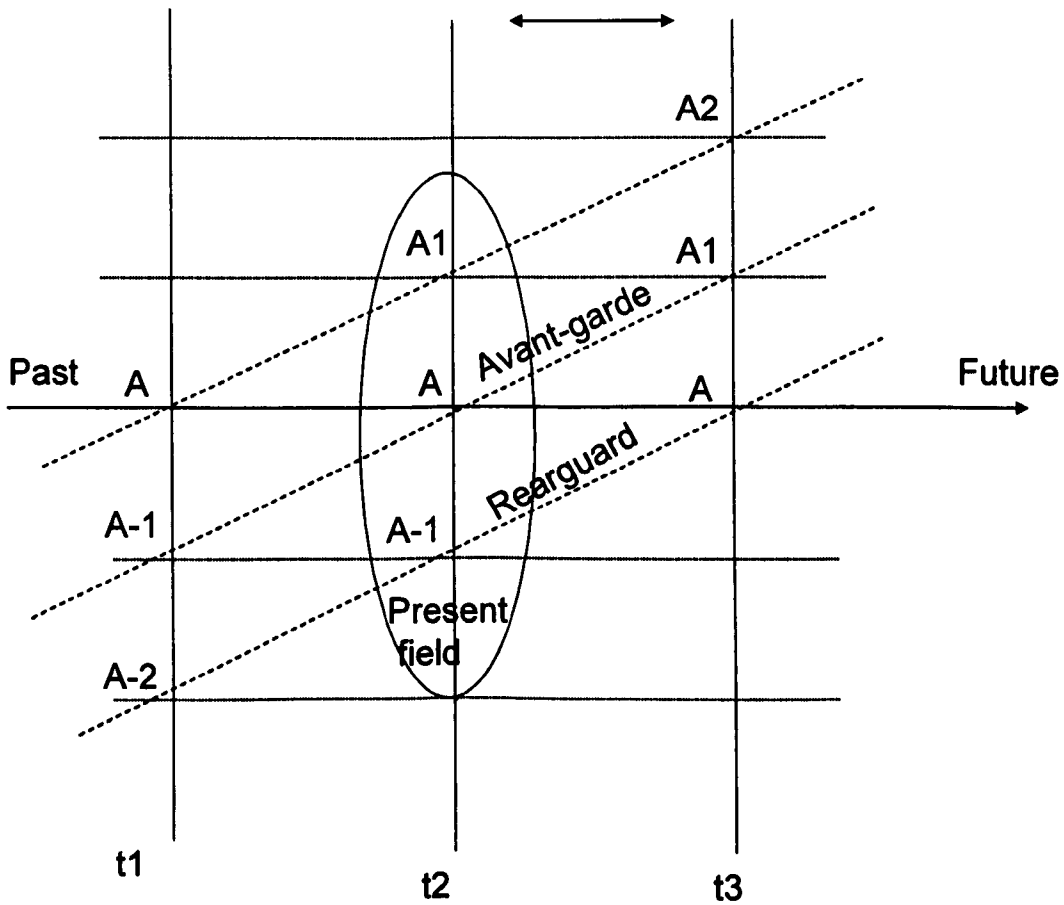
The problem with this logic is that it opens Bourdieu's theory to criticisms of structural determinacy and reduces its usefulness for understanding the processes of cultural enterprise. In *Distinction*, for instance, Bourdieu applied the habitus-field relationship to cultural lifestyles arguing, from survey data and interviews, that tastes were reproduced according to a homology between a 'structured principle of invention' and the capacity to legitimately define taste (1984). He categorized perception of taste as a 'generative grammar' that is present in the habitus because of pre-theoretical 'determinate patterns' and 'determinate limits' which affect the capacity for 'invention' and 'improvisation' (2005, p46). Although he explained such predispositions can be changed, for instance through pedagogic intervention (2005).

Chapters 5 and 6 will adopt the concept of habitus and field so as to stress the interrelationship between agency and structure as individuals engage in a dialectical confrontation between their perception (personal organisation of culture) and the social organisation of legitimate cultural forms. Both chapters utilise participants' interpretations to represent the plurality of positioning struggles that emerge out of the diversity of stratagems individuals devise to navigate the topology of the space of play. This assists in accounting for the effects of time and place as an individual's 'reaching out of mind' is subjected to the trial of legitimisation, via entrepreneurial activities, to the present-ness or conditions within the field of design.

Emplacement can therefore be defined as the 'dialectical confrontation' arising between an individual's 'actions, words, feelings, deeds, works' (Bourdieu, 2005, p47) and the 'dispositions and positions' available within the constraints of time and place. The emerging plurality of stratagems, or 'points of view' (Bourdieu, 1990) that emerge as individuals interpret their 'practical mastery' are, to differing degrees, 'at odds, discrepant, divergent, even in some sense contradictory' (2005, p47) with the logic of the field of design. To differing degrees an entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity is aligned, or homologous to a 'subversive habitus' or complicit. As he argued in *The Rules of Art* (1996) social proxemics within the field of culture and power could be understood as stratagems required to position one's work in relation

to historically contingent notions of legitimacy. The degree of subversiveness was attributed to whether work was considered 'relatively autonomous'. Exhibit 5 is a diagram Bourdieu used to illustrate the dialectical confrontation between cultural producers as they invest in a 'structural apprenticeship' (Bourdieu, 2005) which defines their authority according to the present legitimacy within the field of cultural production.

Exhibit 5:
Artistic Positioning Struggles within the Field of Culture



Source: (Bourdieu, 1996, p155).

The exhibit shows 'artistic age' as a position which is orientated towards being deliberately 'younger' (i.e., 'avant-garde'), contemporary or 'rearguard'. It is worth noting this notion of

inter-generational tension is different to Down's analysis of entrepreneurial conflict which is based on biological age (2004, 2005). Instead it is closer to Dovey, who applied Bourdieu's habitus theory to explore how inter-generational conflict is played out in the field of architecture. Dovey explained how radical challenges during the late 20th century, inspired by Derrida's deconstructionist theory, were later challenged by a Deleuze inspired shift to rhizomatic flow structures. Both have subsequently been appropriated into the canon of legitimate architectural repertoires and the avant-garde has moved on²².

The point is that the field of culture is continuously in flux. Cultural production occurs in milieux where overlapping definitions of legitimacy are continually becoming. As such there is a continuous (over) supply of 'novel imagery' (Dovey, 2005). In the field of architecture and design more generally, novel imagery no matter how 'radical', is incorporated into the canon of legitimate expression providing it contributes to the ongoing domination of the institutionalised and professionalised perspective over non-expert definitions of space. This echoes Simmel's notion that the distinction between an avant guard and the designers of cultural commodities is false as both co-exist on the same 'aesthetic plane' where present-ness is continuously unfolding through fashion and style, or articulations of similitude and difference (1902, 1903). In architecture, Dovey termed this 'limited' tension between preservation and transformation as 'silent complicity'. On this complicity the architect Herman Hertzberger noted 'architects, whether modern or conservative, are forever crafting images that distort the people they serve' (2002). Architecture and design are therefore a potential source of cultural, economic and social change as well as a force for the reproducing asymmetries.

²² During this research I was fortunate to meet one such 'young' enfant terrible of the architectural world. A practitioner and lecturer at the Architectural Association and Cambridge University, he explained how as a post-Foucaultian and post-Derridean he was determined to refuse the need for architects to design buildings. He was more interested in the intersection between the architecture of atmosphere, biological systems and digital surveillance. From which I surmised the avant guard of architecture has not yet become post-Deleuzian.

This chapter entered into one milieu to study individuals attempting to interpret how their articulations of design reflexivity required engaging with a 'local-personal' (Watson, 2008) social identity of cultural entrepreneur. This section has re-phrased the claims made in Chapter 2 that cultural enterprise requires an ability to shift time and place (i.e., commutations, Berger and Luckmann, 1967) and then to translate these novel 'leaps' within the 'limits' of acceptable 'enterprise of world building' (Berger, 1990).

One final word is required to continue the process of revealing the 'theorists' infrastructure' (Brewer, 2000). Noting this is not simply an attempt at historical relativism, nor a concessionary 'reflexivity' added to state any superior awareness of that I am also engaged in a 'structured apprenticeship' to conform with the craft of research (Mills, 2000) and to comply with the narrative conventions of social science (Czarniawska, 2004). Instead the importance of maintaining a reflexive sociology is to minimise the impact of 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu, 1990, Bourdieu, 1996) of fieldwork and representations. Reflexive sociology is understood as a safeguard against the 'totalising view-from-nowhere' of theory (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005) through a 'theoretically reflexivity' (Brewer, 2000) that must turn the tools of sociological enquiry upon itself (Bourdieu, 1990c) and consider social research as a dialectic between the 'synoptic' view of activity (standing apart) and the 'participatory' view (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005).

What follows are representations of a witnessing of a plurality of points of view held by research participants by sharing, at least to some degree, their struggles which were bounded within a specific tempo-spatial milieu. The resultant 'epistemological productivity' (Coffey, 1998) was achieved at less 'distance' (Bourdieu, 1996) to the identification and belonging that both participant and myself were engaged in. As such, for a period of time, I was able to access and reflect on how design reflexivity involved a struggle between the desire to humanise space with novel uses of design thinking and the need to commercialise this thinking.

The Present-ness of Network Technology and Digital Design: Web-styling and Disinterested Digital Artistry

In Chapter 1 it was argued the 'creative industries' emerged alongside the expanded network space which favours the circulation of symbolic and weightless commodities through deterritorialized flows of global capitalism (Amin and Thrift, 2005, Lash and Urry, 1994, Thrift, 2004, 2005, 2006). ICT is central for connectivity and also for new 'cultural' expressivity enabled through 'new media languages' (Manovich, 2001). The rise in new media and digital entertainment content becoming a justification for the economic centrality of the creative industries to knowledge capitalism (Burton-Joyce, 1999, Florida, 2002, Leadbeater, 1999) Although critics argue the creative industries are complicit in a normalization of post-Fordist knowledge intensive exploitation (Lash and Urry, 1994, Virno, 2004, Urry, 1992, 2005) they also place the 'cultural' use of network technology at the centre of production, circulation and consumption (Callon et.al.2002, Lee and LiPuma, 2002). This is because ICTs offer new protocols and interfaces which govern technological space (Brown, 2001, Liu, 2004) and the 'network logic' (Castells, 1996) of late modernity. The cultural industries are therefore central to harnessing the affective potential of ICT and re-calculating the qualities of contemporary commodities (Callon et.al, 2002). This section examines how individuals engaging with the cultural entrepreneur social identity drew from network technology as a discursive resource (Potter and Wetherell, 1987) to 'localize' their positioning struggles and align their 'mixtures' with the temporal logic of the field of design which currently favours the supply of novel uses of networked technologies.

Jason from Imprint for instance interpreted his positioning struggle by drawing on the rise of network technology and then inserting a distance between his practice and the routine, labour intensive and commoditised side of web services. He aimed to position Imprint as having a

higher symbolic quality of digital design therefore 'located' his entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity as 'younger' than the present state of digital design.

'Our background is in print but we have done a few projects with the web. These ran on and on and on, so we decided to focus more on visual solutions and graphic design for print. We have coined the term 'web styling' which basically means Imprint will art direct your web branding and can arrange someone else to build a site. We work with a digital animation agency in London, run by an old college friend of mine and we have links with a Lincoln based web design firm. Between these two, Imprint can address most clients design needs without the costs in employing web developers.'

Jason was fully aware of the commercial potential of networked technologies in terms of the costs and potential revenues. However, as his aim was to secure more 'interesting' projects, he developed a stratagem by working with other digital media agencies, neither of which were 'local' (spatially) but which could be included in Imprint's pitches because of affordable ubiquitous network technology. This permitted him to concentrate on 'art direction' and 'web styling' which, as he indicated, were less resource intensive for a small design enterprise. A similar explanation was noted by Mark from Engage.

'I have a love-hate relationship with the web. Looking back I might not even be doing this if it wasn't for the web. In the really early days, the mid-90s, I was convinced the CD-Rom market would be massive. I did a year's placement at (major academic publisher) that was leading the e-publishing model through academic, legal and medical CD-Roms. But then the Internet came and destroyed all that. Looking back I'm glad I decided to go into print because web design is commoditized and it's being outsourced to other countries and it's really boring work. I still help client's select web services and my new idea of being a specialist in suggesting typographic fonts in digital media.'

Both Mark and Jason legitimated their focus by rejecting certain aspects of digital design, as a stratagem for avoiding commoditization and securing more interesting work. In the above, Mark demonstrated the dangers of being at the forefront of design. Initially he believed CD-ROM design was the future but later re-aligned his positioning struggle to legitimise his design work more in-line with print. He therefore demonstrated the projective act of narrating, or prolepsis (Currie, 2007), by legitimizing his present re-alignment with digital media stating how it would 'obviously' involve digital typographic services. This is significant as an example of a 'structured

improvisation' as Mark engaged in a dialectical confrontation between his habitus and the changing logic within the field of design which privileged digital design.

Another individual, Richard Williams, a founding member of Kinesis, explained how he differentiated between different types of digital design. After a part-time academic research post expired, Richard 'fell back' on his web design experience. His interpretation of design reflexivity involved making a distinction between freelance web work and his 'real' work interests.

'I still do the occasional bit of web development work. But I have stayed well away from full time web design. I had a six month period this year and was amazed how quickly I could pick up freelance web design. But I'm not really interested in it. I think if all you were doing was selling commercial web-sites you would go mad. It's like when you see a really good designer and then you see their style in all these crappy brochures and eventually you realise they are using the same template. It's really jaded. That said I have a set of templates too! Sometimes you need to be fast and if the client is ok with something that I think is really boring then what's the point in making it beautiful.'

Richard's description seeks to legitimate his 'vision and division' (Bourdieu, 2005) of digital design through a distinction between his 'real' work (which was researching digital animation for computer games) and 'boring' web work. The distinction is an instance of an appeal to a field specific similitude and difference that distinguishes between symbolically rich expressions of digital design and those with a lower contemporary (symbolic) value. A different point of view was expressed by Tim Jenkins the founder of Netdrive. He did engage in more standard web design work, but in his positioning struggle sought to legitimise this by appealing to the temporal specific dominant logic within the field of design. He noted.

'Netdrive isn't and never was a small web design agency. You get a lot of these little two man bands in Nottingham. But few of them, if any, can compete with us. We tend to go for the larger clients that require more complex and full service e-business solutions or digital content development and hosting. There isn't anyone else locally who can handle the calibre of clients we have, most of which are not local. They are major museums, several large businesses and international media.'

Tim was keen to stress the distance between Netdrive and smaller web design agencies. He interpreted his design reflexivity as having a higher technical complexity combined with the symbolic display of having non-local clients, including a large cultural business, to legitimise the

strength of his enterprise. Others however stressed a more 'subversive habitus' (Bourdieu, 2005) and 'localized' their entrepreneurial activities by claiming their investment in network technologies by appealing to the disinterestedness of artistic practice. Mike 'Visual Noise' Hobbs was keen to display the symbolic capital of being associated with a 'fashionable' group of Macromedia Flash designers but also legitimated his positioning struggle through a stratagem that masked his work from 'the market; by drawing on an artistic discourse more associated with avant-garde art field. He noted.

'Mike: I always really enjoyed painting. With my recent (art) exhibition I was exploring the pixel by taking the digital back into the physical world, to sort of address this blurring of traditional narratives and digital possibilities. So I created these ink and paint canvasses, then re-collaged them in the computer and printed them back out on to canvas for the show.

Andrew: Did you ever think how could that process be used in your commercial work?

Mike: That would be too obvious. It was more a question of how can I use a scanner wrongly. I called it 'painting with light'. I created these weird shapes and textures that break up light as it travels through the digitalization process. Now you mention it maybe some of the ideas about how light breaks up at the edge of a scanned image were used for my commercial work. But I don't approach it with a 'let's see how I can use art techniques in web design'. It was more a challenge to create objects that were good enough for an exhibition.'

Another participant with a similar stratagem of mixing artistic disinterest with interested design work was Rob Strawson who treated his website as a portfolio, gallery and shop window to sell his illustrations that were printed on plastic figurines, t-shirts, books and other products. During our second meeting, following his completion of a limited edition 'level' for a computer game, he re-iterated the importance of network technology and noted how one specific site increased his symbolic capital in the designer-toy community.

'The game was amazing to see my doodles turn into an animated world. It was so refreshing to get away from exhibitions of boredom. That's what I call a lot of the other opportunities you get as an illustrator to get your work shown in small galleries, bars and shops. It was really good to be paid well but I have to realize that that work isn't easy to get. It certainly upped my status. I have just been asked to become the moderator of Robodreams, a website and forum run by the world's leading designer-toy make.'

Rob was legitimising his positioning struggle by aligning his reaching out of mind with those with more power in the field of design. His own website shop, small commission and exhibitions had taken him so far but since the game he had secured commissions from advertising agencies

and was asked to be a 'moderator' on a popular website which would later be asked to participate in several games conferences.

Paul and Abigail from Kinesis also placed a similar emphasise on the symbolically rich 'cultural' possibilities of networked technology in their positioning struggle. They legitimised their transformation of 'culture' by explaining their aim was to 'simplify technology and make it more human'. This stratagem is explored in more detail in a case at the end of this chapter.

However, it is worth noting an instance in which Abigail defined her position by interpreting her design reflexivity as that of a 'digital artist.' She added.

'We (Kinesis) have always tried to create something that people will want to engage with but we know we are dealing with a complex system. We basically want to stop terrifying people with technology. As soon as there is too much going on it puts people off, you have to be subtle. If something looks beautiful people will go 'oh that's a great use of technology'. When it looks sleek, elegant and simple it works. Social interaction is what we are interested in as digital artists. We try and bring together the two worlds into one shell.'

Abigail's interpretation was based on a distinction between digital arts and digital media, although on their website (in the 'metatags') Kinesis is defined as offering both digital media and digital arts. This apparent 'contradiction' is related to a tension in Kinesis' structure. It trades as a web development business under one name and as a digital art business under a slightly different name. This tension is explored in a case at the end of this chapter.

This section has explored a plurality of 'points of view' emerging as individuals interpreted stratagems for 'positioning struggles' devised to associate their entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity in a relation to digital networked technology design. As they defined gaps in the 'meaning market' (Dovey, 2005) in the field of (digital) design, so the tension between habitus and field became apparent. Whilst networked technologies are central to the cultural industries, what emerges is not a homogenous response to need to exploit new media languages and spaces, but a plurality of 'points of view' comprising of differing degrees of subversion (i.e. relative autonomy) and complicity in the adoption of networked ICTs. In the 'dialectical confrontation' between personal organisation of culture and the public issue of the

symbolic manipulations of the languages of networked ICT, the research participants localised their interpretations of design reflexivity. Networked ICTs provided the research participants with an opportunity to display the presentness of their entrepreneurial mix of symbolically novelty and economically reasonableness. Another activity drawn upon to legitimise design reflexivity in action was branding.

The Present-ness of Branding: Mavericks and Degrees of Edginess

The previous section examined how research participants interpreted their stratagems by drawing on activity related to networked ICT. This section will explore how branding was also used in positioning struggles to legitimate engagement with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur. It therefore relates back to the claim made in Chapter 1 that branding has been theorized as central to the role design plays in calculating the value of exchange and circulation of commodities in contemporary production (Arvidsson, 2006, Lash and Urry, 1994, Lury, 2004, Thrift, 2005, 2006). This section examines how individuals were witnessed localizing their positioning struggles by developing stratagems which, again to varying degrees, aligned their entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity to present practices of branding.

Jamie Dahan was one individual who had achieved considerable success by transforming his interest in writing and marketing into a 'tone of voice' consultancy. However, so as to avoid the danger of appearing too close to marketing he was keen to legitimise his work by stressing the symbolic aspect of his enterprise. He noted.

'I like calling myself a writer. It sounds pretty cool doesn't it. I think marketing is bit boring. It's like who would you prefer to sit next to at a dinner party? With writer everyone says, 'how interesting'. Universally people are interested in writers, less so in marketing. I was going to take on a space at the Broadway's new creative industries offices but the problem is there they have this arty thing, which is very different from what I and my colleagues do. I know a lot of other writers who are in advertising and marketing and are really creative people. Like Alan Fletcher, one of the guys from Pentagram, he is a big inspiration and an excellent creative writer. I had dinner with him and Wally (Olins). I think those two are definitely creatives.'

Jamie, perhaps concerned about the 'cultural' element of his entrepreneurial mixture, compensated by aligning his work alongside two established branding authorities in Britain (Olins and Fletcher). In doing so he was legitimizing his own position as a 'writer' and demonstrating a homology between himself and these established 'older' (biologically and culturally) figures. He then quickly backed this up by noting his involvement with a 'younger' writer collective involved with an important event in the design calendar and inserted distance between his 'cultural' leanings and the 'arty' Broadway, which had thought had negative connotations (it was neither London nor branding related). Another participant who demonstrated a similar positioning struggle was Catherine the founder of Disclosure PR. She explained.

'Catherine: I am not sure what creative really means. In PR I think it is about interpreting a brief because the work you do for a client is never the same. It means combining loads of variables and achieving media attention. The average journalist gets 7,000 press releases a day, so you have to be creative to find a route to them that is going to be affective. Creative is probably one of my brand values. You have to be really savvy to the marketing and branding involved in all communication. You have to know a company's persona and things that are beyond the brief. That is a creative skill getting that broader picture of how it all fits together. For me thinking up new and different ways of getting attention is what creativity is about. You need to speak these different languages to clients, illustrators, scientists, journalists and so on. The media is like a giant sausage machine constantly churning away. To get a share of the voice is always my aim. It's a game that both sides (the media and PR) are involved in. I don't know if that helps? I feel I have just babbled on and it doesn't feel very creative. It feels a bit business-y unlike 'interfacers' like graphic designers and writers, people with a more directly creative skill. I can think of one job that was more creative. It was (PR) for an artist. He was working on this project for a local arts festival and created a film about Broxtowe. It was an excellent idea and was able to present a different story to the deprivation and gun crime you hear about all the time in Nottingham. I managed to get the Times T2 supplement to devote a double spread to his work. I guess that was more creative and was about how art can have a say on social issues. I loved working on that and it got me a lot of kudos for in the arts both locally and nationally. I really want to do more work like that.

Catherine's positioning struggle with the role of a PR involved her defining what was 'creative' about her work in relation to others. She began with a confident assertion that creativity is an ability to direct attention and affect, but then questioned whether her PR was less 'creative' than other 'interfacers'. As if to rescue her credibility she recalled the example of an artist she worked with to note how this afforded her with both 'local' symbolic capital (i.e., kudos within Nottingham's arts scene) and temporal specific symbolic capital since as she secured coverage in

a national weekend broadsheet. Catherine's stratagem is worth expanding as she went further to describe how a positioning struggle is not static but must shift in relation to the changes in the field of PR. As she noted:

'Catherine: PR is growing and changing in different areas. New Media and blogs are really important to communicating. PR is more than getting coverage in newspapers. People are getting information from all these different sources. I have to adapt and pick out ideas about the direction of change because clients also change their ideas on what makes quality PR. People like Max Clifford give PR a bad reputation and the media is shifting its allegiance with PR. Some are starting to reveal what PR is up to and that makes our job harder. We rely on a relationship with journalists to keep certain things behind closed doors so the reader only sees what you want them to see. The Guardian for example is running this column where they reveal 'bad' PR. Did you see the fish oil and Durham University story, it made the national news?

Andrew: Yes I do seem to recall that story.

Catherine: It worked then because the PR agency got Durham University involved to promote the value of fish oils and stated how schools should supply them. It's a tried and tested formula. You get an academic to front your campaign. But the Guardian has exposed the science behind the PR claims. They contacted the same academic and got a different quote stating there was only a possible beneficial link with fish oil. A more critical media is a danger so you have to look at other ways of getting a message out.'

Catherine's mini-exposé on the 'game' of PR reveals how important it is that all cultural intermediaries (including cultural entrepreneurs) invest in reproducing the 'illusio' or 'misrecognition' of perception. She revealed her fear about the shifting tensions within the field of PR and related this to her own positioning struggles. This is interpreted as a demonstration of how legitimising articulations requires enjoining past experiences and future expectations to define the present-ness of a habitus-field relation. The tension emerging from the distance between individual habitus and field is not specific to PR. Laura and Anthony from Fused described a similar tension emerging from their glass sculpture enterprise.

'Laura: We had this big success one year at (London's largest International Design Festival) with door handles. We became quite popular and won some other awards and then we were approached by an architectural specifier who wanted us to provide a range of similar handles. We have picked up loads of work from them which has taken our work into retail spaces, bars, shops, hotels....

Anthony: That really moved us into a different arena. We were firmly in the (raises hands to make speech quotes) 'design world' rather than the 'art world'.

Laura: It was always my intention to not get confused with the craft market and artists who only make glassworks for galleries. We really wanted to stay away from that and be seen as more of a design business.

Anthony: Although we still do art commissions, of course!'

In the above a distinction was made between the design world – where a supply of novel design is required to differentiate branded spaces (i.e. hotels, shops, airports) (Arvidsson, 2006) and the craft world. Laura and Anthony were positioning their glass sculpting enterprise aligned to design although, recognising the dangers associated with reducing their work solely to design, Anthony quickly re-exerted the point that Fused produces art, thus reinventing the *illusio* of the practice of cultural enterprise.

The importance of ‘age’ was explained by Amanda Reynolds. Amanda had previously worked for a sportswear brand in Nottingham before being headhunted by the group parent company (a brand management company specializing in sports, outdoor and fashionwear) and relocating to London. She had moved back to Nottingham and began working with Brand³ which she had met since it was a client of the sportswear company in Nottingham. At the time of my meeting, Amanda had left her position as an account manager at Brand³ and decided to set up as a freelance print design project manager. In describing the challenges she faced in making a living she provided an interesting account of how positioning struggles can become both temporal (taste/field conditions) and place specific.

‘Amanda: Everyone is going to have an opinion on what you produce. Take the brand for Nottingham, love it or hate it, it became a talking point. That’s why it is so frustrating when clients don’t seem to care about your opinions. I know so many little agencies in this city which are client led. They are basically fulfilling clients’ briefs and that means the quality of everyone’s work gets diluted. Everything gets too safe and samey-samey. I know that design is really subjective, but I think you need a bit of attitude to stand out and do good design. I went for an interview recently with another Nottingham branding agency. They said my experience was perfect and my presentation and ideas were excellent. But they couldn’t hire me because I was too much of a maverick. Surely being creative is about being a bit edgy, breaking a few rules isn’t it?’

Amanda was seeking to develop an ‘edge’ or ‘subversive habitus’ (Bourdieu, 2005) by challenging the dominant logic of the sub-field of branding design. Her interpretation was a projection of a hope that being a maverick would create distance between her emerging enterprise and other local design agencies. Her description therefore displays elements of the well documented interrelationship between mass cultural consumption and the continuous supply of

alterity in the form of sub-cultural identities and lifestyle (Arvidsson, 2006, Hebdige, 1979, McRobbie, 1997, 1998, Nixon, 2003, 2005, Willis, 1990). Amanda wanted to create a 'young' 'local-personal' (Watson, 2008) element of the social identity of cultural entrepreneur for herself which was based on being positioned as a maverick. She achieved this verbally and through a typical display of what Nixon called the 'narcissism of minor differences' (2005) common in the 'cult of youth' that drives advertising and branding (Nixon, 2003).

In my field notes I noticed how, once the mini-disc was switched off, Amanda recalled stories about how she was shocked and horrified to hear how other design agencies in Nottingham had imposed dress codes of their 'creative' employees. Whilst she noted this was acceptable for senior managers it was some sort of violation of the creativity of the designers and junior staff. She also talked about the importance of not conforming to dress codes as a display of creativity. This was confirmed as we met once when she was on her way to meet a client. In my fieldnotes I noted how she was wearing a 'hoody' with jeans and trainers. Although on closer inspection this assemblage displayed an affiliation with the symbolic capital of youth style. Her jeans were from a (relatively) obscure Japanese denim firm and the hoody and trainers were from a US 'designer skatewear' company. Another of my informants, Mark from Engage who employed Amanda, would later dismiss these brands as 'mainstream' and re-asserted his own symbolic power by listing 'real' limited edition Japanese denim-ware made by companies without websites which do not sell their merchandise outside Japan.

This section has shown a plurality of points of views emerging as individuals within the design sub-fields engaged with the possibilities opened by conducting branding work for other organizations. The above can be summarized by noting how branding was another activity research participants could draw on to interpret the legitimacy of their design reflexivity. However, there was no single stratagem for achieving this emplacement. Instead there emerged a plurality of points of view over how to legitimise the novel element of design reflexivity by

mixing a 'younger' subversive habitus with 'older' or more established notions of what is symbolically novel and economically reasonable.

Rather than pursue this issue of how sub-cultural cool is translated into branding, as this is well documented elsewhere (Arvidsson, 2006, Lury, 2004, Nixon, 2003, 2005), the remainder of this chapter explores another legitimizing stratagem that was not anticipated from the literature. This emerged as significant during the research and relates to the issue of sustainable and environmental design. The following section explores how a 'sustainable design' discourse was drawn upon as a mutual curiosity about design reflexivity was stimulated. Other issues included the opportunities and anxieties associated with globalization (e.g., export opportunities verses overseas competition for creative services) and a number of practitioners who were interested in discussing the limits imposed on design thinking by economic rationality.

The Present-ness of Sustainable Design: Eco-Chic and Green-washing

This section makes no claims have discovered a connection between environmental issues and design. Numerous social theorists have already noted how environmental concern is part of the risk (Beck, 1992) or 'ontological insecurity' (Giddens, 1991) of late modern life. What is significant about considering the importance of the environment is used as a discursive resource for legitimating positioning struggles. This section illustrates how ethnographic encounters were useful due to immersion in 'participatory' views of action' (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005). It does not therefore make the claim that the rise of environmentalism as part of identification is a reaction to and alternative basis for human identity to the 'commodification of identity' (Rutherford, 2007). Whilst there may be some, theoretical validity, in such a claim, this section explores how the public issue of environment was translated into individuals' interpretations of their identity work with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur. The coupling of design thinking with sustainability therefore assists in representing how design reflexivity unfolds within

a complex ethico-political nexus and the (historically contingent and negotiated) question of what 'good' design is and should be.

During fieldwork a number of participants described how they were becoming increasingly aware of the need to address how their work related to the use of environmental resources. A number mentioned the sustainable design ideas of Papanek (1973). I also purchased another text, at a design exhibition, written by a contemporary sustainable design guru (Thackara, 2005) and passed this to two participants. This exchange of texts was significant as it formed part of my immersion and displayed my willingness to learn the moral dimensions involved in the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity. This in turn helped to cultivate an 'epistemological productivity' (Coffey, 1999) and reflect on the challenges of accessing 'local' (i.e., temporal) 'sense-making' (Brewer, 2000).

One participant who interpreted his design reflexivity through referring to sustainable design was architect Charles Brooke. Charles explained how he had realigned his practice to sustainable design as part of his own positioning struggle to overcome his feeling of being excluded from other forms of design on the basis of age. I first encountered Charles' ideas on sustainable design at a talk he gave, organised by Creative Collaborations. I would later attend a walking tour around an eco-house he had designed for a local MP and would later interview him. During the interview Charles explained.

'Charles: Often the projects that really save your bacon come from totally leftfield places. We used to do a lot of work on interiors, but as you get older it becomes harder and harder and the phone doesn't ring as often. And there is a point at which certain work becomes closed to you. We haven't done a bar interior for ages. It's not that architecture is a young person's game though. If you look internationally people don't start doing projects until their 50s. Frank Gehry, for instance, he didn't do any large international scale projects until he was 60. His earlier work was really ordinary. It's the same with Günter Behnisch, an early deconstructionist. He worked with Frei Otto on the Olympic Stadium but his contribution was really quite boring. But in his 60s he started doing really incredibly wacky work. You wonder what happened to these guys as they get to that age and spurt off.

Andrew: Do you think the same process will affect Brooke and Lukic?

Charles: Perhaps. You have to be aware of what is going on around you and not put all your eggs in one basket. We have always had an interest in theatres which has helped to get more of the cultural industries builds, but we assumed the Arts Council and the development agencies would run out of money for these sorts of projects a long time ago. That didn't happen until recently. So

we have pitched for more of the environmental projects. This isn't a sudden shift because I used to teach at the (local university) in the 1990s with Brenda and Robert Vale, who were famous for the Autonomous House and the Hockerton housing project. So I started to think about how high design and environmental design could work together. We have several houses on the go that use low energy design now.'

Charles was confronting the possibility that his biological age was becoming a factor in his ability to be invited into competitions for the type of projects his practice had built its reputation upon (i.e., designing fashionable bars and studios for other creative practitioners in the 1980s). His response was to position a variance between his age (cultural and biological) and the field of architecture. He noted architecture was not a 'young person's game' but acknowledged how certain work may be slipping out of his hands. Crucially he connected this to a shift in the entire field of design towards embracing the cultural industries regeneration and environmental design. Despite initial reservations he explained how he had altered his habitus-field relation so as to embrace the emerging possibilities of sustainable design. Charles' description of his 'local' positioning involved a delicate emplacement that enjoined his past-present (initial scepticism and history with sustainable design) to a projection or 'mode of anticipation' (Currie, 2007) evidenced in his expectation that in the future sustainable design might help mitigate against losing 'younger' work as it becomes more relevant to the dominant logic of the field of architecture. This stratagem enabled Charles to overcome appearing as if he were making a vulgar opportunistic leap into exploiting sustainable design. Another participant whose positioning struggle drew from sustainable design was Claire Hill. Her positioning made a careful distinction between her enterprise (Re-Heel) and 'younger' (i.e., newer entrants) to the sustainable design area of the sub-field of design.

'There is a young lady who recently won a major sustainable accessory product award. She is a friend of mine, but she doesn't give a shit about eco stuff. You ask her about her environmental policy and she is like, 'you what?' I asked her where her wool was dyed and she didn't know. She also didn't know what chemicals were used or what types of process were applied, or how the supplier dealt with waste. It's irritating to see that sort of 'green-washing' going on. You have to look at who is judging these things. It was the Sunday Times and Inside Out magazine so it was more about the look and feel than the real environmental issues. There is this whole environmental eco-chic thing going on at the moment. How long will that support going to last, a

couple of years, maybe three? I see (major UK design exhibition) is also jumping on the sustainability theme with a whole eco-chic area this year.'

The above extract is relevant as an example of how individuals localize their interpretation of design reflexivity by constructing different 'ages' for their transformations in relation to others. Claire distanced her 'real' sustainable design from those she claimed were more interested in 'green-washing' and 'eco-chic'. The latter are used to imply something more fashionable and ephemeral than her designs. This claim is based on a distinction of the suppliers and materials used to create the fabrication for designed objects. The basis of the distinction is temporal as Claire legitimated the superiority of her design reflexivity arguing she was doing sustainable design longer than new entrants. Claire was defending her early entry into sustainable design, which brought minor celebrity status and high profile public funding, thus transitioning into a 'rearguard' as opposed to avant guard positioning in relation to other designer entrepreneurs.

In other examples two individuals were witnessed drawing on sustainable design as a discursive resource to localize their positioning struggles with the social identity of designer entrepreneur and to single out specific projects as examples of good, interesting and affective design. Mike 'Visual Noise' Hobbs, after explaining how he had just completed his 'biggest' (i.e., most well paid) contract for a major car company, was quick to recall another project which had a 'higher' environmental element. He added.

'On the flipside to that work for (car company) I am designing a website for a property development that's funding is conditional to using sustainable building processes. It will have brown roof, so that plants can grow. It will have biomass where they burn sawdust chips to heat the place. The project is a new science park and the developer also has to find a way for science parks to not become 'deadspaces' and encourage links with the local community so that families would want to be there at the weekend.'

For the above project Mike was commissioned to supply his specialist web design skills using Flash technology to create a 3-D vision of the site plan. This appealed to Mike on the basis that the new space would contribute to the community and minimise carbon emissions. These environmental and social effects were drawn upon by Mike in his identity work because it helped

appease the contradictions he felt in his work by balancing economic success, symbolic novelty of his use of Flash with his commitment to a Christian social justice. Mike was careful to interpret his interest in sustainable design as a relevant display of design reflexivity.

Another individual whose positioning struggle involved drawing on a sustainable design discourse was Steve Ford from Brand³. This self-proclaimed ‘dell-boy’ (see Chapter 4), explained how playing the game of design meant drawing on a wide range of discourses, including sustainable design, which he mixed with a variety of other discursive resources. He noted.

‘You will have noticed a lot of these projects I have talked about are environmental biased. I will always try and work on environmentally based projects, where I can. I am not a total zealot for it, but I want to do things that are more important in that way. The investment fund I am working on is green equity fund. They are investing in renewable energy in China and that is really important to me. It just makes sense doesn’t it?’

In the above Steve aligned his brand design agency with growing popular discourse about the environment. He then went on to situate his environmental interests alongside his ethnicity (part-Irish) and his equity stake in a company which made Scottish (style) Bothy lodges. Steve then combined this mix of discursive resources (ethnicity, environmental concern, family, branding) to explain how these interests were being invested into a stratagem for selling large number of lodges to a Golf course which wanted to mix eco-friendly buildings (a regulatory requirement) with fantasy-style escapes for its new development in Scotland. After showing me a copy of the brochure-ware for the project he explained.

‘That’s the logo, it’s Celtic which is part of my Irish roots. When we sent off the press pack to the developer we designed it in the clients’ family tartan. The owner’s mum was from Stornoway. See that shot? That’s known as the Rivendale because in the briefing notes I wrote down the client wanted to get a feeling like you are escaping to walk through Rivendale valley in the early morning. So there is mist over the lake and it’s all very bucolic. Lord of the Rings was becoming popular again and it was a chance to feel like a child again. Of course it’s completely faked. That product was the only shot we had and it was taken in a car park in Kilmarnock and then retouched.’

Steve Ford’s positioning struggle above drew together his appeal to the environment; his appropriation of popular cultural imagery (Tolkein’s Elf kingdom) and an appeal to his Celtic roots and to a potential client’s Hebridean roots. In this conversation Steve was careful not to

position himself as too environmental, (a 'total zealot'). Instead he drew from environmental concern, along with a number of other discursive resources to legitimise his design enterprise. Through this mixture Steve was able to legitimately emplace his engagement with the design entrepreneur role by connecting his private interest in the environment and one of his favourite childhood texts with the public issues of property development, cultural tourism (golf) and brand design through which he hoped to legitimate the reasonableness of his entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity.

In summary, this section represented how research participants drew from sustainable design as a discursive resource in their 'positioning struggles'. This was selected as one of a number of tempo specific discourses which circulate within the field of design. By appealing to sustainable design participants they were furthering the legitimacy of their 'vision and division' (Bourdieu, 2005) of perception as symbolically novel and economically reasonable. It shows how a 'will to architecture', or 'articulations' explained in Chapter 4, are emplaced within historically contingent 'structuring structures'. The above materials showed individuals engaging with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur as they drew from discursive resources associated with popular culture trends, fears of climate change, network technologies, brand culture, the cult of youth.

This chapter will now consider two cases within cases to illustrate how the architecture of cultural enterprise is an act of emplacing and of coping with being emplaced. The first explores an example of the danger inherent in getting the alignment between articulation (commutation) and habitus-field (translation) incorrect. Although not strictly a 'design enterprise' (it was more a mismatch of music and publishing) the case is relevant as it shows what occurs if an individual's positioning strategy fails to achieve a homology between the field of culture and power, therefore being 'out of sync' with temporal structuring structures (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990a, 1990b). The second case explores the polar opposite of how a cultural enterprise can achieve what appears like

a sudden meteoric rise in reputation but is in fact the result of a longer trajectory of attempts, with many failures, to achieve a homology between symbolic novelty and economic reasonableness.

Get Down: Dancing Out of Time

As noted in Chapter 3, at the start of this research project I was completing a Master's degree and 'working' (unpaid) for a local dance music publication (Get Down) writing features, organising club nights and selling advertising. The first edition of the magazine had secured international distribution; critical acclaim from other publications, music writers, websites, DJ's, record label owners and radio shows. However, despite growing sales and attempts to develop a more 'business savvy' orientation the magazine collapsed and my fears grew about the stigma of being involved with a 'failed enterprise'. In the following period I silenced this experience basing my decision on the notion that Get Down had failed because of a lack of economic success. In hindsight, as this case explores the trajectory of Get Down, as told through interviews I conducted with the founder Luke provided a useful illustration of what others have noted as the 'adhocracy' (Bilton, 2003, 2007) involved in running a cultural enterprise in highly unstable markets (Bjorkegaard, 1996, Davis and Scase, 2000, Hesmondhalgh, 2003) where business failure is common.

In its opening phase Get Down achieved rapid symbolic acclaim due to the relatively low barriers of entry (e.g., a computer, some design software, some understanding of sub-cultural tastes and a basic distribution network). However, as the fanzine struggled to legitimise its presence in the news stands of high street retailers it became apparent that the founders would struggle to achieve economic success unless they could legitimise their 'vision and division' (Bourdieu, 2005) in alignment with others' perception of novelty and reasonableness. The ensuing positioning struggle illustrated how temporal forces, (i.e., fashionability) exerted a pressure to achieve similitude and difference (Simmel, 1902, 1904). This case will represent one instance of a localisation of design.

Get Down was started in 2002 by Simon Hill and Luke Howden. When I first met Luke he was working as an engineering consultant and a part-time university researcher. He had recently graduated from a six year part-time PhD in engineering and was intrigued when I sent an unsolicited email explaining my experience in the music industry in London and recent relocation to Nottingham. Over the following two years Luke became increasingly interested in my academic interest in cultural enterprise and provided access to his personal and business life. Having surprised Luke early on, by selling a series of adverts for his magazine, he trusted me sufficiently to let me write features for the magazine. These included interviews with house music artists. I also DJ'd with Luke in bars, helped promote Get Down club nights and partied together during a period of hedonism as both of us found ourselves trying to figure out our next career moves and what to do as two (recently) single males approaching 30.

Prior to my getting to know Luke I had some knowledge (as a consumer) about how Nottingham had a reputation for a particular music genre – deep house - a UK variation on the Chicago House and New York Garage music genre which emerged from Gay clubs in the 1980s. Nottingham hosted one of the first clubs in England to nurture this US import, but later developed the sound via an illegal soundsystem, called DIY and later through a series of clubs and musical labels which over a 15 year period commoditised the deep house sound into a 'lifestyle' soundtrack. During this period many of the DJs, promoters and label owners developed musical careers and contributed to the city's musical infrastructure.

Get Down therefore emerged as Luke became immersed in the city's deep house club scene as a student, then as a record collector and later as a DJ himself. The magazine idea emerged because several of Luke's university friends had become involved in a hip-hop fanzine which became a major high street distributed success before folding prematurely due to some unfortunate misunderstandings with the Nottingham criminal underground²³. Out of a heady mix

²³ This incident refers to a mistake in which a relatively peripheral writer for the magazine facilitated a loan at a critical moment when official sources of borrowing were no longer available. Unknown to the

of accessible digital publishing technology, his desire to escape engineering (for fear of not being able to find a job and its lack of 'sex appeal'), and through his immersion in Nottingham's club scene and sub-cultural publishing Luke explained the rationale for Get Down as followed.

'I basically spoke to a few people I knew who were running magazines in Nottingham about how to go about it. Basically Nottingham seemed like a pretty good place to have a go, much better than the North East, which is where I am from. It's a good place for house music and I guess I developed in this city because of the strong club culture which meant there was always a level of hedonism which drove me to do the mag. I guess if you are surrounded by museums and you love fine art there is more of a chance you will go off and start painting fine art. But this is Nottingham. So as far as developing my tastes goes Nottingham was where I got into DJing and buying records and it was a natural process. Working out what sort of music I was into was a nightmare. I didn't know what the records were called or who the artists were and so on. It was a long process. Record shop staff aren't helpful and I struggled for a long time to work out I was into deep house and I didn't even know the term existed. I wanted the mag to help other people by pointing them in the right direction, it was about providing access. So I wrote a business plan, got some pre-orders from distributors, taught myself the design software, developed a style guide, sold some ads and started putting together issue one.'

Reading this extract back it was immediately clear to me how Luke's motivations, although homologous to my own cultural enterprise activities at the time, were ultimately wed to the fashions that drive the music industry. The precariousness of fashion and music (two the UK's leading cultural exports) are well noted elsewhere (McRobbie, 1997, 1998, Negus, 1997, Hesmondhalgh, 2003) and what Luke was explaining in this extract was later to become a fatal flaw in his entrepreneurial activity. This flaw was connected to how his articulation was motivated by his interests as a consumer and the assumption that others shared his tastes, which was certainly possible, but did not equate to the rationale for making his interests in deep house more accessible to others.

His assumption was reasonable given the high degrees of risk involved in calculating perceptions of popular taste. However, Luke never managed to mask his interest as a consumer and therefore never developed a disinterestedness which may have helped decouple his consumer

founders the source of this money was a Yardie drug gang which, when it demanded repayment from the peripheral magazine writer, decided to lay claims to the magazine rights. The founders were subsequently forced to relinquish ownership and 'wind the magazine' down slowly so as to not arouse suspicion as their positions became untenable.

lifestyle tactics (de Certeau, 1984) from engaging in the role of cultural entrepreneur, which required promoting a lifestyle magazine based upon musical tastes. In the fickle world of music publishing Get Down achieved initial success but trouble soon emerged as Luke realised that to grow his readership the magazine must cover more popular or mainstream music. This move towards being more inclusive he felt was a 'bitter pill' necessary to get newsstand presence and attract advertising income to cover production costs.

Get Down published three more editions (it was quarterly) during my involvement and was accumulating a great deal of support from radio DJ's, website forums, record shops and some major retailers. However, given Luke's suspicion of advertorial the magazine remained a fanzine based on the exclusive alterity afforded to niche music genres. Over time Luke expressed a growing realisation that the homology between his own interests, Get Down and the music scene were changing. During one typical late mid-week drinking session Luke explained.

'Luke: I'm not sure how long the magazine will run for because everything has its natural end right? I think I will try and get into marketing or design, maybe publishing after that.. I prefer this because it's a different environment. Engineering can be interesting but it's not exciting. So I guess I was never feeling entrepreneurial about this from day one. It was more a fanzine than a straight up publication.

Andrew: What's the difference between a straight up publication and Get Down?

Luke: Well I won't sell stuff on the front cover for starters so that constrains what you can offer to advertisers. I thought that would give us an edge and make the mag seem more passionate. The same goes for long articles, I want writers to convey their passion in the text and you need to have space for that. It's worked because we have some fucking amazing articles and writers who are well known authors. So a straight mag refers to the commerciality of the project. It's a question of 'ok are you willing to take on advertorial? Would you do a six page spread on jeans. I know that this means less ad revenue and less print sales in Japan, Australia and States. It's mental to think that our little mag is affecting people over there, what a crazy idea. It's so hard to conceive that what I am doing in a bedroom off Mansfield Road is influencing people's decisions. At the end of the day, I don't sit comfortably with that.

Andrew: But surely that's the point, to sell the magazine and promote house music?

Luke: Yeah of course, but I don't really think of this as a creative business. I think there are loads of people around who are doing supposedly creative stuff, but it's all just product and they pretend it's somehow creative. When in reality it's a business and a product. Me and Simon are not trying to foster in other people a perception of what we are as a product or a business. I am not going down that road of trying to convince people that deep house is about a lifestyle. The mag isn't going to have shampoo adverts or car insurance inserts. That is too easy. There is this entire mystique surrounding so called creative industries that is fostered by the creative people running them. They are really good salesmen who could sell low quality products as creative, it's a joke.'

The above conversation was typical of lots I had with Luke and Simon about advertising, lifestyle consumption and the mag's future. I initiated a readership survey and co-authored a media sales pack with Luke. For his part Luke sought out a mentor from the local business link (which failed to work out) and developed a strategy, based on his knowledge of managing manufacturing processes. For a while things did improve and the magazine was achieving regular advertising sales, some from my contacts to record shops and labels in London. However, a rift emerged between Luke and Simon, who had relocated to Nottingham and was also squatting in the Get Down house. The rift was over musical tastes, but this was a mask for the real problem of how to sustain the magazine given changes in the field of music.

Simon was the musical taste guardian and had a history on the periphery of music scene through managing several bands and music publications. During one quite typical night in the Get Down house he explained to me and Luke whilst smoking dope, playing a computer game, listening to some obscure limited edition track produced by Norwegians (who he assured us were the 'advanced guard of the soon to be massive 'italo cosmic crossover') and eating his way through a family size Kentucky Fried Chicken tub how Get Down would develop.

'Simon: You see lads, the mag will fail because people don't have any taste. They don't get quality music, they just want to get pissed and dance like zombies to Der Der Der Der Der....The mag's a fanzine, its not a 'lifestyle business', pur-lease. And besides all my music ventures end up in my mum's loft in a little box labelled 'Simon's corner of failures'. Ha ha ha'

The combination of the tensions generated as Luke and Simon developed different stances over what the magazine could be combined with temporal forces in the publishing sector (i.e., the rise in digital publishing) and in the music sector (the decline of pre-recorded music sales and especially deep house) meant Get Down was positioned 'out of sync' with the dominant logic of the cultural field. As a last ditch attempt Luke decided to switch the business model and give the magazine away free in the hope of mimicking the popular Metro paper phenomenon. This worked for a period and the magazine moved into new offices in Hockley on the top floor of a record shop.

By this time the magazine had attracted a loyal band of six regular helpers and Luke became more adept at exploiting their 'free labour' (Lazzarato, 1996) for tasks like recovering debts, selling advertising, copy proofing and developing the website. But the fatal flaw in Luke and Simon's cultural enterprise remained. Neither was willing to face up to what they saw as becoming a 'sell out'; a complex phenomenon in the cultural industries which Hesmondhalgh discussed in relation how two owner-founders of 'indie' music labels constructed their autonomy over time (1996). This resulted in an inability to impose a 'vision and division' (Bourdieu, 1990) which made it difficult for advertisers and retailers to justify why they would 'place' adverts in the magazine, or find a place for the magazine in the news racks. As a consequence Get Down was unable to attract advertisers or high street distribution and its lack of economic reasonableness undermined its success.

This case has drawn attention to the challenges involved in translating an articulation. To legitimise a cultural product it must perpetuate existing power relations through the radical chic of a 'subversive habitus' and heteronymous complicity with dominant logic of the field of power. Get Down achieved neither of these ends. After a period of one year Luke called and we decided to 'hook up for a beer' so as to 'pick over the bones' as he put it. This interview revealed how Luke emplotted life after Get Down by positioning his entrepreneurial activity as a transition out of engineering and into marketing. His explanation is significant as it notes how his engagement with cultural enterprise was only ever fleeting and far from being bitter about his own ephemeral conquest of cool he was now focussed on different life goals which required a different investment in a different game as a full-time employee project manager for a financial services business in Nottingham.

'The last two years with the magazine, the living hand to mouth, working 16 hour days nearly drove me under. So the debts are getting paid back and it's time to move on. I have learned a lot about what to do and what not to do. From setting up the mag and knowing virtually nothing, to folding things, it was an experience. But not one I would want to have again in a hurry. I chose a ridiculous area, music and magazine publishing. Since we started the mag (2002) the entire industry has changed from print magazines, CDs and Vinyl, to web-sites, blogs and MP3's. If I was starting out again, there is no-way I would try and do a print magazine. I would probably just

build a web site which could generate revenues from click-through to download sites, we would take a portion of the sell through rates and get advertising for the number of hits. Given the strength of the content we had the website was getting huge hits by the end but it was too late. You never knew but at the end we started talking to Barcardi and Ministry of Sound who came to use to help develop a lifestyle portal around house music. We would have lost some of the editorial but we could have made a business out of it. Doing it the way we did was too niche. I will put the entrepreneurial phase in with PhD and Project manager. Maybe I will just get back into still life drawing. I don't know. I just have to find something to be passionate about, to keep myself motivated and not stagnate.

Luke's story, which shows how entrepreneurial activity fits with theoretical explanations of the importance of an ongoing assembly of self-identity via a passionate quest for self exploration (Giddens, 1991, Heelas, 2002), omits how part of his rationale was a struggle with the death of his father who passed away when Luke was young. He would often explain how he felt a great deal of pressure to study 'a subject with a future', which became engineering and mathematics. Whereas he wanting to pursue fine art. Luke had also secured a studentship to study at the Royal College of Art but turned it down to pursue engineering. The purpose of including this addendum to the Get Down story is to provide some context for Luke's engagement with the social identity of cultural entrepreneurs.

Ultimately Get Down was an unsustainable platform as it was 'out-of-sync' with the dominant logic of the cultural fields of music, publishing, retail and publishing. Luke learned how important it is in the cultural industries to perpetuate an illusion or misrecognition of perception and taste. This contrasted with other cultural entrepreneurs who had made a successful stratagem for masking their economic interests without requiring a (fully) disinterested artistic positioning struggle. The experience with Get Down was also a vital transitional phase for me as I became more familiar with what participant observation would entail and how I too would have to alter my identity work and investment in the role of researcher if I was to achieve a legitimate emplacement in the field of design enterprise in Nottingham. The case which follows explores an almost polar opposite account of emplacement to Get Down. It shows how an homology between

habitus-field is possible through cultural enterprise and notes the importance of maintaining the misrecognition of relatively autonomy given ever shifting temporal forces.

Kinesis: Shifting Horizons via Affective Computing

This case highlights how the two (remaining) owner-founders of Kinesis, a digital arts and web media company, interpreted the development of their digital arts via a digital media content business. The case reports on an intervention I made with Kinesis around a project that involved developing a mobile phone game funded by a regional development agency. The relevance is to show how the founders of Kinesis mixed an opportunistic seizing of available resources whilst continuously appealing to the logic of a longer term strategic aim of making digital technology more socially relevant to addressing public issues.

My initial contact with Kinesis occurred prior to this research whilst I was completing my Masters research. Having approached the company I was told by Abigail, one of the founders, that she would not participate in any more 'creative industries' research as she had seen no noticeable improvement in Nottingham's creative industries despite (she claimed) being bombarded with requests for interviews (primarily from contract researchers for local authorities, not academic researchers) although the distinction mattered little to Abigail. It was only after one year that she agreed to participate in my research. It was a scene of some success when, some two years later, I unveiled a diagram from this study which sparked a long reflexive conversation with Abigail and Richard about their cultural enterprise.

When I first met the founders (2004) Kinesis was a seven year old enterprise. For most of this time it had been based in one of the Broadway cinema's 'production suites' and had developed into two separate businesses. One offered offering web development services (design, programming and digital content). The other, a digital arts company, developed interactive tools for other artists. This included a web-radio streaming service, various new media and interactive video-web-movement environmental installations and an online video streaming service which

enable artists to broadcast their work online. This created a tension between the two sides of the business and since the web side of Kinesis was highly lucrative it generally helped to make up for the shortfall of revenues from the art side, which was typically supported by public funds.

The context in which Kinesis' activities make sense is in the convergence of artists utilising digital hardware (screens, servers and mobile devices), software (digital authoring languages such as MAX/MSP, Flash, html, php, MySQL) and network communications (the Internet, mobile phone networks). Kinesis had a long history of involvement in digital art through its associations with Nottingham Trent University's (NTU) Art and Design school (which received a 5 star rating in the Research Assessment Exercise for its performance and virtual art) and frequently hosted international artists such as Sterlac and Rafael Lozano-Hemmer. These artists are renowned for their explorations of the aesthetic possibilities of digital technologies and the relationship between the virtual and the actual (Massumi, 2002). Abigail and Paul both graduated from courses related to these research activities at NTU and were influenced by another digital arts group called ElectroSoma which had become one the UK's leading digital arts group. The connection to ElectroSoma was significant as it enabled Abigail to think about her own positioning struggle. She noted.

'ElectroSoma (ES) is a really interesting company because they set up about 15 years ago, so they are the generation above us and we know them well. We've been involved in various things with them over the years. They paved the way for what we want to do and it's useful to know they are still there when we are working on a project that is really advanced but getting little return. I remember them saying they lived on as little as 5 grand for 10 years while they were our age. So we have always said that we have got to look forward and that we can do this. Over the last 3-5 years ES has taken off. They have all this research funding from academic sources and from commercial partners interested in ES using their technology.'

The above extract is a continuation of Abigail's articulation which erred towards the bohemian 'side' of cultural enterprise. However, it also reveals that beneath the romance of struggling in the garret for one's art there was an expectation of a payoff. It is also significant as it illustrates a key theme in the development of cultural enterprises, the process of identifying organisations which offer similar services without simply mimicking this other entrepreneurial organisation of design

reflexivity. Abigail actually refers to ElectroSoma as the 'generation' above Kinesis. This is largely a reference to biological age, but it also signifies a similitude and difference to this other organisation's cultural age. She acknowledged ElectroSoma 'paved the way' and draws from their resilience to galvanise her own belief in Kinesis.

There is an interesting homology between ElectroSoma and Kinesis since both were formed from NTU performance art graduates; the founding members normalise a long period of struggle for little economic return but expect their efforts to be rewarded in the long term by research funds. Both organisations spotted an opportunity in the 'meaning market' (Dovey, 2005) to exploit their perception of taste as it relates to the increasing use of digital technology in art and of the use of digital artists in technology companies and research institutions. Abigail described this connection as follows:

'We were always attracted to technology. We all had part-time jobs in the Live Art archive at NTU and during one period of unemployment we took part in a one day html training course. That was when we knew the Internet was going to change how artists worked because it transcends government, culture, ethnicity and even laws. If it hadn't been for the Internet we might not have gotten as interested in technology. But once we discovered it fitted with our ideals we started developing projects that had a common thread around the Internet. Good digital art work is not about the technology, but about the concept of communication. That is what is really important to us.

Abigail was interpreting Kinesis by emplacing it at the 'avant-garde' 'end' of the field of design. At the time of my intervention, after several years of balancing commercial web design work with their art interests, Abigail and Paul had decided to focus on the 'relative autonomy' afforded by appealing to the role of experimental digital artist collective. This transition coincided with Kinesis reducing down to a duo as the other two partners (both in business and intimately) had left (both professionally and privately - one through separation and one divorce). Abigail and Paul were more determined than ever to focus exclusively on what they described as the 'research' side of Kinesis. Around the time of my intervention they had secured a project to develop a digital installation in a publisher's office; were developing a mobile multi-user game based utilising Global Positioning Satellite (GPS) technology and had just been awarded the

commission for a project to provide a mobile phone based game (TriCity) as part of a regional development agency policy to encourage greater participation between the cities of Derby, Leicester and Nottingham.

I was invited to attend the launch of the TriCity project at the Broadway and was surprised by how confident and professional Abigail and Paul's presentation of their new project was. I was also surprised to find out that a key institutional link had been brokered with a local University which had a specialist computing research unit devoted to exploring how virtual technologies augment social reality. This unit, known here as the Augmented Reality Unit (ARU), had also crucially worked with ElectroSoma in the past. After this meeting I conducted a further interview with Abigail and Paul and they explained how things had changed for them.

'Abigail: There was always this constant battle between being artists, remaining open, transparent and the need to make money and find commercial value in what we could do. We fight among ourselves and sometimes I fight in my head to keep things open, but I don't want to risk never earning another penny.

Andrew: Why not go all out to try and commercialize your idea?

Paul: We have had clients tell us, after paying us, that we massively under-quoted for the service they ended up receiving from us. I think we have been caught in that tendency in the creative industries to just plug away and just concentrate on creating things. And there are real barriers, like legal fees, which prevent you from protecting what you make. We always dreamed about using our ideas to make money, but we never thought it would happen.

Abigail: We are more commercially and we do now have budget for legal fees and to pay freelance programmers and technology developers.

Andrew: So does that explain the link to ARU?

Paul: Yes them and also Fonera (a mobile phone handset manufacturer) and to PB (a computing hardware manufacturer). I had a conversation with the top designers at Fonera and they are interested in creating systems people can use continuously to log their lives through various 'sensors' as they call them, to techies this means keyboards, cameras, bio-rhythmic sensors. It's interesting to talk with people like that because it was always one of my interests as an artist since reading Benjamin Wooley's *Virtual Worlds* and thinking about how humans and information systems interact. Wooley wrote about monks and knowledge archiving and retrieval.

Abigail: Yeah and for me it connects to my Master's which is looking at Affective Computing and to Rosalind Rickard's work²⁴ and to the BioPlains project we are working on with PB which connects up a GPS handset device to a users heart rate so as they explore the virtual world so they become more aware of their body and how it is responding to the game. The idea is to encourage

²⁴ Rickard is an MIT professor exploring how people communicate affective-cognitive states to machines and how machines can be trained to learn 'algorithms that jointly analyse multimodal channels of information' these are used in turn to create more 'natural' conversations between machines and human's experiencing frustration, stress and mood changes. The aim of this research is to create personal technologies that improve self-awareness of affective states and ultimately how machines may increase understanding about the ethics of affective (hu)man machine interfaces.

exercise and addresses obesity as well as to trial innovative technology and make it look beautiful.'

The extract sets out the context for the TriCity mobile phone game Kinesis were developing. The project enabled Kinesis to extend its ability to make a living from their ideas by adapting their digital art to a high profile local funding opportunity. In the above extract Abigail and Paul were negotiating how their interests and the interests of the funding agencies could be aligned. At this stage in the project, which was to last for a further four months, Abigail and Paul were only beginning to negotiate a connection with ARU. In a later interview the importance of this connection became more apparent as Abigail and Paul were not only able to secure economic capital and symbolic capital from the TriCity funders, they were able to deepen an inter-institutional relationship that afforded them with technological knowledge from which they had been previously excluded owing to prohibitive costs. As they deepened their relationship with ARU their language began to draw from a more technology research discourse, as the following now explores.

'We have mapped the cell locations in the three cities. Cells, as you know, are how mobile phones locate their presence. But these cells have really loose geographical locations. They can be anything from 100m, in dense urban centres, to a mile or more wide. So we took out a GPS and a mobile phone on each of the four main mobile phone networks, then we plotted the presence of the signal and you get a loose idea of the strength of the cellular network. Then we took these measurements and thought about which locations could be used to connect the three cities.

Abigail: It sounds a bit techno overload. But our aim was to ensure the idea and the technology was not taking over. We want the players to be comfortable with the technology and not making it really geeky, or use too much nerd speak. We have to build a narrative and set the rules for the game so that it can evolve over a one month period, which is back to our performance art background. TriCity is a stage and we want to bring it back to a real world conclusion, so it's an experiment in mass participation which connects to our aims right back to the audio and the video streaming, which were all about enabling others.

Paul: We are not being godlike. We are just setting the conditions for agents and potentially chaos, well maybe not chaos, but we don't know how things will play out. We are not pulling all the strings.

Andrew: So what are the main pain points you have to overcome?

Paul: Well that's where ARU have been really key, because they are a research department and are keen to work with artists or creative people who can basically slot into their research framework. One of the PhD students up there is developing a research tool for mapping cell structures and pervasive gaming, so he is working with us and we are pushing him down paths he might not have thought of.

Abigail: We test their tools and they are fascinated by how we visualise and interpret the data. They can't test their tools unless someone is pushing their use and we are always asking them different questions and conceptualizing what they do differently rather than processing raw data. I hit a technological wall with my knowledge and before that meant the end of a project. Even with freelance developers you can only go so far. With ARU they don't worry about costs because they are interested in research and that gives us the time to explore ideas without the fear of a programmer charging you for every hour. On commercial work you end up compromising because of costs, whereas with ARU we have the time to explore all these other paths which has taken our work to another level. We are really committed to ARU and want to develop an ongoing relationship with them.

Andrew: Did ARU's relationship with ElectroSoma help you?

Abigail: That provided a model for how we could work to a degree. Obviously every project is different, but we are in negotiation to develop formal commitments in the long term like ElectroSoma did. That is providing us with resources and knowledge to move away from trying to be this innovative multimedia company on an arts budget. With academic links and R&D departments we may well end up with commercial products, but that isn't the condition of the funding. So we can work in a more open way and there isn't a model for that in arts funding.

In the above section the ongoing negotiation between Paul and Abigail explored their roles as avant garde digital artists which involved a 'double rejection' (Bourdieu, 1996) of market and public funds. However, unlike Bourdieu's reading of 19th century bohemians, as Lane noted, cultural producers do not simply reject the market outright, but seek ways of re-negotiating their relationship with it to further their life goals (2006). In the above, Abigail and Paul had found a means to extend their goals which were neither exclusively artistic nor commercial. Instead they had found that by aligning their long term aims to make technology affective and accessible, with temporal commercial and public issues (e.g., obesity, health, pervasive mobile gaming and regional economic development) they could accelerate the development of their 'research'.

What was fascinating to observe was how Abigail and Paul's 'positioning stratagems' involved a complex balancing of economic and symbolic aims as to exploit a gap in how digital art and technology could be presented as design reflexivity. This mixing inevitably produced a series of contradictions and tensions which were explored later in the project as Abigail and Paul explained how their actions 'as artists' to challenge the rules also challenged the politics of governing networked space. In the following extract, Abigail and Paul discussed the project drawing attention to how technology, art and politics intersected in the construction of TriCity – this has relevance for understanding how cultural entrepreneurs at the avant garde end of the

continuum, by seeking to 'transform' the rules of the game of cultural enterprise, seek to create something 'novel' and in doing so actually reproduce the dominant logic of the field of power.

'Abigail: We are sort of drawing on top of the surface of the cells.

Paul: That's a nice analogy to describe how we are trying to use technology. Cells breathe; it's to do with frequencies and atmospheric conditions. I don't get the science, the mathematics is very complicated. It's about putting something into the world that is subject to variation and then trying to control it given changes in magnetic fields, microwave signals, how fast people are moving through a cell. Basically you can't physicalize, is that a word, a cell, you have to try and draw around it.

Abigail: What we are doing is assisting with ARU's scientific thinking. We imagine all these things which help them to understand their systems which are not as flexible as the ephemerality we are dealing with because what we do connects to everyday practices. But then we need their expertise to figure out the hierarchy of handsets and operating systems and how this constrains the graphical interfaces for the game.

Abigail: It is illegal to map the locations of the physical antenna, but not the cell positions because they are temporal.

Paul: Right. The operators don't want to share data on where users are. The networks are private investments and the cells are technically owned as part of the operator's spectrum. It is illegal to develop maps for commercial gain because you could sell the positions of subscribers to others via do triangulation and target users with services.

Paul: And this project is a means to an end. Like all our projects TriCity is connected to mass participation and making technology more accessible and socially meaningful. We try to encourage participation and gaming is a good means to get that across.'

Abigail and Paul here retreated in the relative autonomy of the artists position as a stratagem for relinquishing them of the responsibility of commercial exploitation and of the legal issues related to cellular infrastructure. Their role was to develop a digital art narrative complete with a set of rules for others for perform within. This is not to suggest they were ignorant of the issues governing network space. However, as artists they were unable or unwilling to reveal the contradictions of their relations to power. It is perhaps too harsh to suggest, as Dewey did that art, now digital art, is the 'beauty parlour of modernity' (1934), but there is a shred of truth in this sentiment. To placate their funding agencies and to ensure they could develop relationships with a key institution Abigail and Paul were forced to reproduce the dominant logic of the field of power by masking it through producing an acceptable version of subversion, which was far from

enabling a 'truly'²⁵ transformative challenge to the political governance of network space and 'technological zones'.

Paul and Abigail's experience is not to be reduced to a debunking exercise it must be read as an instance of how identity work with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur required an improvisation. In this instance the owner-founders of Kinesis were engaged in a 'positioning struggle' with temporal forces and institutions which organised the use of public space, both physical and networked. The relevant point is that this positioning occurred as a 'structural improvisation' in which both individuals were acutely aware of the need to appear disinterested, but never nonchalant, to their public funding agencies, whilst also keeping open the possibility of commercial exploitation of the interface they were developing for TriCity.

In order to bring some 'closure' to their tempo-spatial struggles it later transpired that Kinesis had consummated its alignment with the dominant logic in the design field. This was evidenced by a major award from Fonera in a global mobile game competition. Coming from a position of relative outsiders (clearly Kinesis benefited enormously from being a 'soft start-up' (Armstrong, 2005) supported by technology partners PB and the ARU as well as regional development funds) to beat 140 international submissions. Kinesis won 'best use of future technology' for its BioPlains project which the ARU, worked on with Kinesis after TriCity. The panel, echoing the point made in this chapter about how individuals' positioning struggles are directed to finding an homology between articulations and the dominant logic of the field (i.e., design) noted how Abigail and Paul had managed to position Kinesis at the centre of a nexus linking art, technology, commerce and the public issue of sedentary lifestyles. As the judges to the competition wrote:

²⁵ This 'conclusion' was reached after I had presented a paper on how cultural producers purport to address the limits of technological governance only to be reminded by a Mexican architect and social activist who pointed out that the TriCity project seemed banal and artists and social scientists should not waste precious public resources addressing such an obviously flawed and trivial project.

‘(BioPlains) lets us discover a world on top of reality at the rhythm of our heartbeat. While running through nature or urban areas (BioPlains) augments our senses to perceive our body in an ingenious way. Controlling the game means controlling ourselves and thus our health. Art and technology are very rarely found to be bound to reality this tight, making an ordinary activity, like running an exciting and highly motivating task by means of ubiquitous media.’

To celebrate this award Kinesis issued a joint ‘press release’ (its first) with the ARU and announced it had been short listed for another award, Nottingham’s inaugural Creative Business awards (it later won the award). In the accompanying email Abigail wrote a line which encapsulated her interpretation of the new refined description of Kinesis. She claimed Kinesis was ‘moving on to a new phase of development looking at commercial opportunities, as well as further research for the project’.

The purpose of this case was to illustrate the long development times (sometimes) required to achieve a homology between articulations and legitimisations which are subject to ever changing, but durable, temporal forces. The apparent key to Kinesis’ success lay in the combination of a long term aim to develop affective computing by blurring digital arts with networked technologies. Kinesis’ ‘utopian entrepreneurship’ (Laurel, 2004) required public support in the form of funding and an institutional link to research unit in a local university; two factors which assisted the owner-founders to develop Kinesis along similar lines to ElectroSoma. Unlike the earlier story of Get Down, Kinesis’ owners managed to achieve homology by investing in the dual game of symbolic capital whilst achieving the misrecognition of the field of power. Despite Abigail’s use of bohemian alterity and anti-market she was quick to defend Kinesis’ ‘good’ use of design as it addressed present public issues (i.e., obesity, computer gaming, mobile phone technology and infrastructure). The case illustrated how researchers should account for how temporal challenges require stratagems for individuals to align part of their self-identity with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur which is partly in flux according to fashions and styles circulating through the field of culture. As Abigail and Paul showed mastering these shifting symbolic repertoires is key to presenting an entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity as relevant to the economic and social organisation of space and resources for shaping it.

Summary

This chapter has explored how temporal forces circulating through the field of culture, affected research participant’s ability to align their personal organisation of culture to public definitions of

design reflexivity. It demanded the continued presence of researchers in the same milieu as practitioners to encourage ethnographic encounters and stimulate participatory views of action. It was suggested that just as individuals engaging with the social identity of designer entrepreneur enter a 'dialectical confrontation' with temporarily significant currents within the field of culture, so researchers also enter into these same locally bounded temporal relations through a 'dialectical confrontation' with the other. This enabled representations of how the research participants localised their engagement with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur, or 'local persona' (Watson, 2008). This chapter has therefore built on Chapter 4 with instances of how individuals enjoined their private troubles to (temporal) public issues (2000) or gaps in the 'meaning market' (Dovey, 2005). Participants' interpretations were represented as agency-structure interrelationship between voluntary agency (the act of emplacing) and the constraints imposed by 'structure structures' (Bourdieu, 1990s), or being emplaced within a set of tempo-specific social relations.

Local accounts help to contest theory dependent claims about cultural production. For instance that all cultural producers are engaged in narrating an 'accelerated recontextualisation' and 'recycling' of the 'increasingly recent past' (Currie, 2007). Equally the presence of a mixture of points of views suggests that cultural production is not experienced as entirely corrosive (McRobbie, 2002) or precarious. Rather than portraying cultural production as demoralized (Banks, 2006) by recontextualising it in empirical accounts, which are temporally bounded, individuals' accounts suggest the limitations of claiming work and organisation has become governed by a homogenized hyper-present simulacra of circulating medial objects through global networked technology (Lash and Lury, 2007). Such claims must be placed alongside participants' attempts to localise their cultural production through identity work and the pursuit of life goals. The aim here is not to dispute theoretical claims about cultural enterprise. Instead it has suggested the need to remain open to the possibility of developing new interpretations based on a point of view on the plurality of points of view (Bourdieu, 1990) that also emerge from participatory views of activity.

In conclusion, this chapter has argued that representations of the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity in action must account for how individuals tailor a 'language about design' (Schon, 1979) through taking a view *on* the field as well as *from* the field. Empirical instances of this activity will assist in studying how individuals develop stratagems based on a dialectical confrontation between their 'vision and division' and the present-ness of the social organisation of vision and division as 'the social space tends to function as a symbolic space' (Bourdieu, 1990a p133). The challenge for other researchers is to find a 'small plot of land' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) within these ever shifting relations that comprise this social space (i.e., fields). By attempting to enter legitimately into the same bounded location as the participants my identity work became enmeshed in dialogues about the transformation and preservation of dominant definitions of good design.

Seeking to achieve a homology by reducing the social distance to research participants should enable access to the 'indeterminacy and vagueness' that occurs as individuals develop stratagems to address their habitus-field relation through a 'semantic elasticity' (Bourdieu, 1990, p133). In this chapter the elasticity emerged in interpretations of how to gain access to 'power to produce and to impose a vision of the legitimate world' (Ibid, p134). As these attempts to 'change the categories of perception and evaluation of the social world' (ibid) are (at least partially) subject to historical conditions within a field this suggests cultural enterprise cannot arise *ex nihilo*. Instead it is constituted as individuals, including the researcher, engage in and co-construct the present-ness of the social relations which shape the legitimacy required for an 'imposing on other minds a vision' (Bourdieu, 1990, p138). As such action is temporally constrained by present discursive resources, the act of representation is one of analysing the 'syntax' (Bourdieu, 1990) used to justify entrepreneurial activity.

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, temporal effects are inseparable in everyday practice from spatial forces. Chapter 6 will now address the effects of place which individuals draw upon in their interpretations. This will be followed by a discussion in Chapter 7 which

Chapter Five: Emplacement: Temporal Positioning Struggles

examines the 'phase' of the architecture of cultural enterprise in which individuals seek to convert their articulation and emplacing to accumulate economic capital.

Chapter 6 Emplacement Spatial Positioning Struggles in the Localisation of Cultural Entrepreneurial Activity

Space melts like sand running through one's fingers. Time bears it away and leaves me only shapeless shreds: To write: to try meticulously to retain something, to cause something to survive; to wrest a few precise scraps from the void as it grows, to leave somewhere a furrow, a trace, a mark or a few signs.' Percec, G.

'From Lord Byron to Paul Smith, our county has always taken centre stage for creativity. After all, Nottingham is regional capital and one of the UK's most stylish cities. Set within a county of outstanding natural beauty that includes Sherwood Forest, lively market towns and wonderful historic buildings. It's also home to the world's best-loved outlaw, Robin Hood. We offer much more than locations and legends, we know how to have a good time – that's why our nightlife, shopping, sports, arts and culture are all so famous.' Experience Nottinghamshire

The previous chapter explored how temporal forces partially affected the research participant's ability to align their design reflexivity to the present social organisation of good design. This chapter will now explore how spatial forces also affected how research participants interpreted their entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity. The first section will review the salient points made in Chapter 1 which relate cultural production to place, before exploring the plurality of points of views which the research participants developed to localise their engagement with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur.

The importance of place has, some would claim, been 'normalized' (Neff et.al.2005) in studies of the cultural industries due to a number of publications which have promoted the importance of this sector for urban regeneration in post-industrial cities (Florida, 2002, 2005, Landry, 1999). There is also a longer standing tradition among economic geographers of studying the interrelationship between place and cultural production (Amin and Thrift, 2005). The recent surge of interest is perhaps attributable to Richard Florida's 'bestselling' work on the USA which measured the presence of the 'creative class' within 'creative cities' (Florida, 2002, 2004, 2005). Florida argued that places which offered the 3Ts (Technology, Talent and Tolerance) would

benefit from the higher economic production of the creative class (i.e., knowledge professionals including cultural entrepreneurs). Whereas those cities which failed to attract and retain a creative class would suffer a decline into economic recession and urban dystopia.

In addition to Florida a number of studies have focused on the 'associational economies' (Cooke and Morgan, 1998) or relationship between place and cultural production. Examples include studies of the advertising agencies clustered in Soho, London (Grabher, 2002, 2004, Nixon, 2003); film making in Hollywood (Scott, 1999); new media clusters in SoMa, San Francisco (Pratt, 1999); fashion businesses in Nottingham's Lace Market (Crewe, 1996); fashion entrepreneurs and various markets around London (McRobbie, 1997, 1998, 2003) and cultural enterprises in Manchester's Northern Quarter (Banks et al., 1999, 2002). There are also a number of studies which debate the efficacy of cultural industries clustering policies (Pratt and Hesmondhalgh, 2005, Mommas, 2005).

These studies have provided a useful literature for addressing the 'place making' relationship between space and the social embeddedness of economic activity. They tend to reference Granovetter (1973, 1985) and Polanyi (1969). However, as Hess noted the 'spatial turn' represents a danger of 'new regionalism' or 'over territorialization' (2004). Along with the cult and fetish for all things creative (Osbourne, 2003) place, or local bounded regional cultures of cultural production, have become a key rhetorical weapon in the arsenal of local authorities seeking to promote the economic vitality of a region by stating its cultural production legacy and contemporary cultural consumption infrastructure. The 'classic' examples tend to include architecture and design led regeneration of cities such as Newcastle, through the various Gateshead developments (i.e., the Baltic, Sage and Millennium Bridge) (Minton, 2003) and the oft-cited Ghery, Foster and Guggenheim led regeneration of Bilbao.

The danger of this fetishisation of proximity effects, as Hess argued, is the possibility that analysis suffers a 'constriction to the local and regional level' (p174). To counter this Hess recommended using a 'rhizomatic language' to address how (physical) distance and proximity,

whilst undoubtedly a factor in analysing social action, function through 'the relations connecting actors to place without confining these links to regions (2004, p181). The locus of social activity is therefore expanded so as to permit the presence of 'multiple topologies' as individuals are influenced by a 'multiplicity of relations with other actors in different places' that are 'discontinuously territorial' (ibid).

Hess draws attention to how individuals' spatial relations are continuously brought into becoming as they inhabit 'multiple locations simultaneously'. Hess suggested a rhizome language enables this discussion of 'becoming rather than the being' (Hess, p182). As an indication of how such ideas are usefully applied to study entrepreneurial activity Jones and Ram showed the multiplicity of overlapping local and non-local relations in their study of immigrant entrepreneurs who brought into being the spaces they inhabit through mobility which in turn created new multiplicities of trans-regional relations (Jones and Ram, 2007).

The impact of spatial relations is therefore partially related to debates about entrepreneurship and global flows of labour (Kloosterman and Roth, 2003) and deterritorializing effects associated with technology (Giddens, 1991). Cohendet and Amin explored the effects of ICT on the 'architecture of knowledge' as they argued ICTs enable a multiplicity of socio-spatial relations which unfold in bounded (i.e., physical place) and relational (i.e., networked communication) space (2004). Hess along with Cohendet and Amin, and other theorists associated with the 'spatial turn' (Thrift, 2006), tend to rely on Deleuze and Guattari's argument that the arboreal organisational knowledge (i.e., fortified, hierarchical, relatively static) must be augmented with rhizomatic organisations of knowledge (i.e., nomadic, non-hierarchical and mobile). They argued the two are continuously unfolding and refolding across planes and plateaux of intensity. Through their 'radical empiricism' (Massumi, 2003), Deleuze and Guattari re-introduced the philosophy of the virtual (de Landa, 2003) as material and (human) symbolic acts are deterritorialized and reterritorialized into assemblages. Their philosophy reinserted a vitalist ontology of possibility

and creation (May, 2005) which raises questions of how we might affect space and create new ways of living.

The significance of the spatial turn will be reduced to a specific interest in this chapter so as to explore how the role of the designer requires engaging with a continuous unfolding of materials and symbolic acts so as to create designed objects (actualizations) and commodities capable of affecting social relations, physical space and the interrelationship between social action and environments. The designer therefore engages in the colonization of place and in turn affects how others inhabit and experience space. The designer, encapsulated best by the master designer (Schon, 1983) the architect therefore exerts, at least in Western thought, a will to architecture which is directed at affecting others' experience of social relations to varying degrees of 'politeness' (Karatani, 1995). The result of design activity is therefore an 'architectural allusion' which in turn affects the 'faculty for expression' (Winters, 2006, p141). To put this in plain English, as architect Hertzberger suggested, if architects say cities are round people live in round cities and if they say are straight their world becomes straight (2002).

The impact of design therefore unfolds across the organisation of space, both aesthetically, socially and economically. It is therefore interesting to note recent crossovers between how social scientists explore the governance of social relations and how architectural theorists explore the way design affects, but still shapes, social relations (Shields, 2002). Some social scientists and architectural theorists have tentatively transgressed the boundaries of each others' respective disciplinary terrains so as to explore the ramifications of a return to foregrounding questions of space (Lash and Lury, 2007, Shamiyeh, 2007, Thrift, 2006). As noted in the previous chapter, I too made a tentative step into such discussions through the engagement with Kinesis and a paper delivered at a conference which explored the performative aspect of place. In organisational studies a connection can also be made to post-modern and critical scholars who also foreground questions relating to performance, urban management and space (Czarniawska, 2003, Dale and Burrows, 2008, and the journals *Ephemera*, *Culture and Organization*).

This chapter will examine how the research participants interpreted spatial tensions in the articulation and emplacement of their entrepreneurial organisations of design reflexivity in the city of Nottingham. The aim is not to suggest these are generalizable to other individuals engaging in design enterprise in other places. Instead spatial tensions are explored as specific to the 'situational curiosity' (Rabinow, 1996) about design reflexivity which participants interpreted by drawing on discursive resources which were partially emplaced within the boundaries of Nottingham. What follows are representations of how space based discourses were drawn upon to legitimate a 'local personal' (Watson, 2008) aspect of engaging with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur. As with Chapter 5, the aim here is not to refute existing social theories. Instead participatory views of the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity are represented as a dialectical confrontation between emplacing one's ideas and coping with the effects of being emplaced in bounded and relational spaces (i.e., networked space), which are of course also temporal, or contemporary (Rabinow, 2008) (see Chapter 5).

This chapter will continue to utilise Bourdieu's notion of social action as a game of 'structured improvisation' (see Chapter 5). In this section the positioning struggle to create stratagems to transform or preserve place are conceptualized as spatial in the sense that they emerge as struggles between 'inherited parameters' and 'individual inscriptions' (Leach, 2005) which occur within 'constellations of practice' and constitute a 'geography of practice' (Wenger, 1999, p313).

One of the themes addressed in this chapter is the interrelationship between place and how individuals accounted for spatial forces affecting not only cultural production but also cultural consumption. Whilst it is important not to over emphasise the latter it is important to consider how opportunities for cultural consumption were articulated by research participants. This is because a popular theme in the literature on creativity places is the popularised view that 'vibrant' cafes, clubs, bars and cultural attractions are vital to creating an atmosphere in which 'creative types' can reproduce their identities (Florida, 2002, 2004, 2005).

It is necessary to briefly define how the terms place and space will be used. This section takes view that space is 'practiced place', for as de Certeau noted, there exist 'rhetorics of space' (1984) which individuals use to engage meaningfully with place. Place, so as to become meaningful, must be spoken about and therefore constructed, through language, so as to create relationships between signifying systems. Space is treated as becoming place (a public language about space) when it is rendered visible through discourse. This raises a question of a difference between the space of Royal Science (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) (i.e., geometric space) and 'official' space (Bourdieu, 2005) and tactics deployed in everyday life to inhabit space and a meaningful identification or belonging (Leach, 2005). It will be argued in this chapter that research participants therefore drew on spatial tensions when it was beneficial to legitimising their entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity.

As with previous sections the value of an ethnographic approach is the possibilities afforded by an emplacement in (roughly) the same bounded setting as the research participants. This was especially important during the initial phases of the research as my identity work became enmeshed in a place based specific discourse about the local cultural economy in Nottingham. Running throughout the representations of ethnographic encounters in this chapter is an account of the tensions that arose as significant in interpretations or moments of evaluative element of experience (Bahktin, 1986). Being emplaced in sites in which individuals were reflexive about cultural enterprise in Nottingham therefore enabled a co-authoring (Van Maanen, 2006) of interpreting spatial tensions.

Examples ranged from knowing what was meant when certain areas of the city were brought up in discussions. For example the implication that some areas were a poor choice to locate a business, due to (perceived) high levels of gun crime and deprivation. Similarly it also meant 'knowing' what was implied by comments such as 'the city is a bit of a no go area for people like *us* at the weekend'. This referred to the 'types' of people who populated the 'mainstream' entertainment on weekend evenings and were not the 'type' of people or the places

a 'creative type' might be associated with. It meant living within the same opportunities and constraints associated with the quality of place which partially constrained the opportunity to participate in cultural consumption (i.e., concerts, cinema, and galleries) through to, housing, office locations and transportation. Maintaining a sustained presence through ethnographic fieldwork was therefore vital to understanding the overlaps between individual habitus and the spatial forces emerging from Nottingham's cultural economy. The opportunity to emplace my own identity work along with the research participants therefore enabled me to think of how place becomes space through an 'enunciatory focalisation' (De Certeau, 1984), or a selective extraction of spatial factors which influence how individuals engage with the local-persona (Watson, 2008) element of the social identity of cultural entrepreneur.

'Pills and Knickers': Place Making, Cultural identity and Belonging

Space is important for representing cultural production because local myths are circulated through a historically contingent spatial organisation of cultural production. These become secreted and furnish place specific discursive resources from which individuals draw upon in their identity work. The quote at the beginning of this chapter was taken from Nottingham's Destination Marketing Partnership and provides an example of how myths about cultural production have recently been institutionalised. This example of place making branding draws together an 'iconic' cultural entrepreneur (Sir Paul Smith) with a historical legacy for cultural production (e.g., Byron, DH Lawrence, Lace) and a contemporary 'cultural economy' (i.e., retail, nightclubbing, eating out, theatre) to represent Nottingham as a cultural capital (of the East Midlands).

Throughout the ethnographic immersion certain names, primarily Paul Smith, were invoked by (largely older participants) to defend Nottingham as a creative city. Sir Paul Smith's legacy therefore offered something of a local cultural entrepreneur 'hero myth' (Ogbor, 1999) since he opened his first retail outlet in Nottingham before developing a multi-million pound international fashion design and retail business. During this research the Paul Smith myth was

revived as his organization opened a new flag-shop retail space in an 18th century Georgian mansion house in the city centre. This stamped his signature onto the city as did his involvement in designing seat covers for one of the new cinema screens at the Broadway during its expansion (this later won an international design award).

The Broadway rebuild, which I experienced first hand as the old was replaced with a new Digital Media centre, was also central to the 'rhetorics of space' emerging as creative industries practitioners sought to legitimize their choice of place. The 'Broadway build' as it was termed was part of a £25 million investment into the city's cultural infrastructure. This included the rebuilding of one of the city's black and minority arts centre (the largest outside London) and a new contemporary arts gallery development in the city centre complete with star architectural designs from leading London practice Caruso St John. I attended a number of events in which the plans for these builds were unveiled. During these events I noted in field notes how none of the architects were local to Nottingham, all were London based. I then noted how, following presentations, a number of local designer entrepreneurs, (many participants in this research), would clamour to get noticed by the architects. Many would later pitch for contracts for interiors, branding and signage contracts for these new spaces.

As interesting as these general reflections on place were, what became more relevant for understanding cultural enterprise was how spatial forces were drawn upon to legitimise engaging with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur. In what follows I draw on de Certeau's notion that 'what the map cuts up the narrative cuts across' (1984). The narration of space into 'practiced place', or a spatial stories, assists in understanding of how research participants localised their entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity. In addition to de Certeau it is worth recalling (from Chapter 1) that Simmel noted how the accelerated rhythms and intensification of physical proximity in modern urban life created an opportunity for cultural producers to exploit the need for objects that enabled ever more subtle distinctions of similitude and difference (1902, 1904, 1908). Equally significant was Benjamin's notion that in the late 19th century the relationship

linking the rise of a market logic to cultural production meant cultural practices, especially architecture, art, literature, photography and poetry, became central to the commercialisation of space via shopping arcades and new (mass) cultural commodities (e.g., photographic prints).

Place, or rather its practiced variation as a spatial story, is therefore discussed here as a central aspect in the ‘conceptual machinery’ or ‘plausibility structure’ (Berger and Luckmann, 1967, p174) through which individuals seek to legitimate their identification. One vivid example of how place is transformed into spatial narrative so as to legitimate a positioning struggle came from Amanda Reynolds whose ‘subversive habitus’ (Bourdieu, 2005), (discussed in the previous chapter) also drew from place specific issues. The interview from which the following is taken took place in a tea shop in the Lace Market area, opposite the Broadway in the Lace market, an area which other creative industries practitioners I had heard ironically referred to as ‘Hockley Village’ – often adding nuanced London-esque twang so it was pronounced more as ‘Hokleigh Vill-arge’. Amanda noted.

‘I found that in Nottingham you have to be part of the clique round here to pick up work. From here you have all these little agencies competing for the same work. And they end up producing something very similar. I never wanted to become associated with that. We (Brand³) did the brand for Nottingham and proposed a really strong campaign designed to put up these big billboards and posters with the words ‘Pills, Knickers and Vroom’ on individual posters. Vroom refers to Castle Donnington; Pills refers to Ibuprofen and is a sly reference to E. Knickers because of the lace history. The client said it was too risky and we would never get away with it. I don’t get it because if you employ a creative agency you should want them to take a risk. Everything gets watered down and that’s where the East Midlands is right now. None of the agencies push any boundaries, not like ones in London.

Andrew: Why are London agencies different?

Amanda: Up here people are always expecting something to really happen; down there they just make it happen. London is more edgy and more competitive. People work through the night and it’s ridiculous and everything is sales driven. The designers and the clients are pushing each other to the limits, always testing.’

Amanda’s description provides a useful overview of how place is drawn to interpret the localisation of identity work with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur. She situated her positioning struggle within Nottingham so as to note first a large concentration of design agencies clustered in the inner city area of the Lace Market and second to differentiate between the larger

scale ‘businesses’ and the smaller ‘two man bands’. She then drew on place to make a distinction and a crucial comparison with London – a city which was a benchmark for many of the participants. London represented a globally recognised hub of design and creativity. In Amanda’s identity work she drew from a spatial discourse to emphasise a slower pace of life in Nottingham, but also the limitations of this which she perceived as an un-ambitious client base and a lack of competitive pressure. Her positioning struggle involved a habitus-field struggle in which Amanda called upon her past experiences of working in Nottingham and London to project her own future position based on her expectations of spatial forces that partially shaped the investment she was making into the game of cultural enterprise in Nottingham.

The extract illustrated the multiplicity of overlapping socio-spatial forces which are key themes to have emerged from this discussion with Amanda, and in discussions with others engaged in design enterprise in Nottingham. These tended to include some discussion of the presence of a large number of design agencies in the inner-city area; a low level of competitiveness and a low intensity of taste and therefore the degree to which there was interesting work available in Nottingham. This also related to the expectation that clients in Nottingham were less open to novel ideas than one could expect compared to other places, primarily London.

Jason Mallory, himself a Londoner, also drew on spatial forces to discuss how he had built up Imprint. He explained.

‘You can definitely run a successful agency outside London. DR (Sheffield based) did and working at Chameleon (another Nottingham based) we were recognised in London and all over the world. From the website we got commissions from Hong Kong and Japan. From the start we never thought of Imprint as a regional company. Some clients have found it irritating that we aren’t in London, but others find it refreshing because we are not regurgitating the same scene. Also I think to a degree it doesn’t matter where you are based. It’s about people and process. We make sure we always get to meet our clients and we travel a lot. But so much of this work is by email so we try and minimise travel. We are only two hours from London and there is usually one of us down there once per week.

Andrew: Do you think there is a ‘creative industries’ sector in the city and is that important to you?

Jason: I’ve worked with two or three (public sector) agencies that talk up this creative scene. I think they are doing that to pretend there is something up here to justify their jobs. My experience

is people get their heads down and get on with what they do. A lot of design agencies don't want to connect to local networking things because you want to shut the people you have got away in a room and get the best out of them. I think that creative industries is about an identity crisis and everyone is trying to tie this thing together that isn't really there. When we get invited to pitch people are surprised when we say we are from Nottingham. I had a client say he contacted us because we didn't look regional. He thought we were a London agency. I guess we see ourselves as a London agency that just happens to be here. There isn't a lot of work in the region that interests us. We have never come up against a regional agency in the national pitches we go for.'

Jason, as with Amanda's, drew on spatial forces as he claimed Nottingham was a constraint and an enabler to his enterprise. Being based in the city helped him to differentiate his agency. He noted above the importance of DR (Designers Republic) which developed an internationally renowned design agency from its head quarters in Sheffield. DR's whole stance was orientated towards being not just non-London but anti-London. In a speech given by its founder, Iain Anderson he described himself as a modern day Robin Hood, which to him meant stealing from the rich by making 'raids' on London before heading back to Sheffield to continue his experiment with anti-consumerism (Anderson, 2005). Jason's localization was more subtle and highlighted another key spatial tension; the need to overcome the limited supply of interesting, symbolically and also economically significant, work in the East Midlands region.

Jason's stratagem was to utilise the novelty of his non-London location and good transport links from Nottingham to engage with London and the wider world. He also refers to the website as a means of gaining clients outside the East Midlands, extending the comment made above about how ICT does, at least to some extent, deterritorialized space and offer opportunities for seeking work through 'relational' as opposed to purely 'bounded' socio-spatial links (Cohendet and Amin, 2004).

He also made an interesting comment relating to the local competition among cultural enterprise in Nottingham. On the topic of the city's creative industries 'scene' explaining he was suspicious of a coterie of 'creative types' associated with what he refers to as 'the Broadway thing'. He was not alone in his criticism of the suggestion that there existed such thing as a 'creative industries' in Nottingham. His response is almost entirely contrary to the notion of how

small creative industries business are theorised as co-existing, albeit with some competition, so as to gain mutual advantages (Bilton, 2007, Grabher, 2003). As Hess noted it is important not to deny the importance of advantageous spatial forces (2004). Others have shown how in Nottingham's fashion centre there are 'untraded interdependencies' (Crewe, 1996) which, due to spatial proximities, help to reduce costs and create a competitive advantage. However, what was interesting about Jason, and others who made similar criticisms, was how a critical view on the importance of place was connected to the degree to which an individual or their enterprise benefited from local work and therefore institutions that govern the distribution of resources.

Similar criticisms to Jason's comments about the meaning of the term creative industries were noted by others.

'This is a small city right and you just don't meet many new people. That's what led me to the Broadway, but to be honest I am still a bit put off by its arty-ness'. (Freelance Web designer)

'I fell into working here (a Broadway based design agency) because they wanted some copyrighting done for them and I graduated and needed a job so I set up a webzine, which just won EMAP fanzine of the year using their kit. I've struggled to take working up here seriously though. I was asked to write something for the re-branding of the Nottingham logo and I suggested 'Our Gun Crime is Legendary', I wasn't serious, but the reactions from people were like 'oh that is terrible'. It is so complacent up here. It's not big enough to be important and it's not small enough to be insignificant. It languishes in this 'it's just ok', middling middle of the middle.' (Copy writer, local design agency)

'All the Broadway types do is work in bars and have hobbies. That's what you're so called creative enterprises do and, with a few exceptions, that's it.' (Freelance writer)

'I am reminded of something I saw on a documentary when someone said that Austin, (Texas) had this velvet rut which people there get stuck in, it's the same here there is a comfort zone which is a good and bad thing I guess'. (Fashion Designer)

'With all due respect I don't think that 'coffee mornings' at the Broadway are not going to sort out the creative industries. I need a mentor who has experience in my area and all I have is this old guy with good mainstream publishing experiencing but it's bugger all good to me really.' (Independent Publisher)

I think Nottingham is as good as anywhere else to get good at what you want to do. It's a small city and you can pretty much do what you want, which is good and bad. And you do need an escape plan.' (Fashion Designer)

It is significant to note how the above extracts were taken from individuals who admittedly were either setting up their own enterprises, or were on the verge of leaving Nottingham. Their spatial stories are therefore linked to what they felt were limits to the possibilities of developing a cultural enterprise in the city. Their fears are related to, once again, concerns over the 'true' scale of cultural business given the spatial limitations (i.e., small city centre and population) imposed by Nottingham compared, for instance, to London. During my time at the Broadway, where these comments were captured, it was quite typical (as noted in Chapter 3), to hear spatial stories from recent graduates who, after deciding to stay in the city, were surprised to find how 'closed' the Broadway and local cultural enterprisers suddenly became to their advances for employment. The same process was observed among those recently decided to go freelance and later life career changes and retirees.

However, among the research participants in this study, all of whom had established a more permanent presence in the city, there tended to be a more measured consideration of the effects of spatial forces. Their criticisms of Nottingham emerged in spatial stories that were less general and more focussed enunciations of how place affected their entrepreneurial activities, articulations that were more developed than many of the above individuals. One such individual was Jamie Dahan who drew on Nottingham as followed.

'I really do wonder about this creative clustering and talk about East Midlands cities with games clusters, like in Derby. Well yes there is Core Design but does that mean there is a cluster? Apparently in Leicester there is a design cluster, but it's so broad, it includes printers and sign makers and people who make point of sale materials for shops.

Andrew: Has the lack of a creative cluster hindered you?

Jamie: If I was in London maybe I could get to meetings easier. Maybe it would help build relationships with clients, but I compensate by getting around several clients when I am down there. I work with agencies down there which find me work and they don't care where I am based as long as the work I do is good. Perhaps it is harder to find good writers up here. Up here I am a big fish in a small sea which works to my advantage. Also writers are cheaper to employ up here and my overheads are lower. Plus my standard of living is high. I have this mental map of who is doing what and physical proximity is less important. I am always on my phone and creating these 'touchpoints' with contacts all over the place.'

Jamie again made the comparison, unprompted, between Nottingham and London and utilised a common ‘mode of anticipation’ (Currie, 2007) to speculate about how his investment into cultural enterprise might play out differently in London. His account is sceptical about the importance of creative clusters and he reinforces this in his discussion of turning down the opportunity for office space in a new local creative industries hub at the Broadway. What keeps him emplaced in Nottingham is the cost of living and (relatively) higher quality of life he perceives than he could achieve for himself and his family in London. He then adds how two key additional factors; first, that in Nottingham whilst it is harder to find good writers once he has he can keep them easier than in the competitive world of London’s copy writing market (in which Jamie is himself employed through other agencies); second how he uses a ‘mental map’ and telepresence to overcome the lack of ‘good’ work in Nottingham. Both details reinforce the way spatial stories are drawn upon to legitimise cultural enterprise.

Not all the participants were as measured as Jamie. Mark from Engage had a large number of local clients and, following the disbandment of a music fanzine, found his peer group dwindled. When I first met Mark in 2003 he was dismissive of Nottingham claiming that the latter had ‘ceilings’ in terms of the possibility of being creative. He would often talk of moving to either other countries in a bid to point out the problems he felt associated with Nottingham. In the following exchange I spoke with Mark and his business partner Karen about what Nottingham meant to them.

Mark: I’ve told you before about how clients up here just want some shitty Helvetica and stock photography. Clients want value for money, not inspiration. I would love to be working in a collective like A-Life in New York, they are putting out all this different work and it works. In Holland, the government sponsors creatives.

Karen: All my friends are here and it’s a small city with a personal feel. But I do agree with Mark that Nottingham needs somewhere to talk with people about similar experiences. Nottingham can really do my head in. All the bars and clubs are owned by the same companies and there isn’t much diversity.

Mark: Interesting people turn up, like interns but they are never going to stay.

Karen: Yeah, there are loads of creative people in Nottingham but there isn’t much being done to nurture that creativity. People leave all the time.

Mark: To seek their fortunes in London (Laughs). Nottingham likes to think of itself as a creative city but there isn’t anything to support that claim. There is a reputation for creativity which is

great, but there isn't enough support to help people realise their ideas. I was working with a local photographer who rents a 1,500 sq.ft loft from the council. He's been there for years, so his rent is super cheap. But the council has sold the space to a property developer to turn into flats.'

The above is an example of the frustrations felt by (certain) owner-founders about the lack of relevant business start up support. This story reveals other trials associated with legitimising a cultural enterprise these include; the problems of finding premises in popular inner city areas, and competition for space due to property redevelopment; the lack of support from local authorities; the problem of talent retention and the lack of opportunities for collaborating with other creative producers. Mark's solution, at this stage, was to point out the lack of these factors, rather than, as he later would become more adept at, devising stratagems (both relational and bounded) for if not overcoming then reducing the effects of these spatial forces.

Mark's observation about how location did not necessary reflect his creative output was also noted by Rob Strawson. As noted earlier Rob drew a great deal of satisfaction and inspiration from being a member of relational (Cohendet and Amin, 2004) online community. He used his website as a shop window and attracted work through agents in London, New York and Tokyo. During one of our meetings I therefore asked him why he stayed in Nottingham. His response as followed.

'Well let me see, I've got my broadband, an airport, a train station, it's cheap to live here. Obviously there is a scene in London and it's nice to dip in and be a part of that. But most people leave Nottingham. It's a shame because this stops the city developing a stronger creative scene. I don't understand that feeling of being boxed in. I'm not especially enthusiastic or a go-getter but it's like you just need to take your stuff out there. I have never got much work locally and there isn't enough to sustain me here.

In London maybe there are more opportunities to meet people at galleries and parties and sometimes that does lead to more work. But that's not enough to make me move. I think I would like Nottingham to be a bit bigger. More shops, restaurants and things would be an improvement. There is a nice small community of artists and its got a village mentality. In some ways as long as my work is progressing who cares where I live. But I do get frustrated with the lack of collaborations.'

Rob pointed out that one spatial force that disappointed him is the lack of opportunity to work with other local (i.e., Nottingham) cultural producers. He also noted how the continuous 'brain-

drain' of talent prevented Nottingham developing a 'stronger creative scene'. This is a crucial factor as, given it is typical for creative businesses to unfold as individuals leave to set up new ventures (Bilton, 2007, Lash and Urry, 1994), the problem for individuals like Rob (and for the cultural industries in Nottingham) is that these individuals are not only leaving indigenous businesses but also the city to relocate their new ventures elsewhere. There have been a number of examples of cultural enterprises from Nottingham which have followed this path and achieved success in, for instance, London. It would have been interesting to follow these stories as a possible extension to this research.

Among these problems Rob highlighted the common theme that Nottingham had the benefit of a lower cost of living. Rob's legitimisation of choosing to stay in Nottingham also makes reference to a 'village mentality' and to the Broadway. Rob was one individual who benefited from securing work through his contacts at the Broadway, and its extended coteries of cultural businesses and artists. It also provided a place of part-time work for his partner who was herself using the opportunity as a cinema usher to conduct an observation site-specific art project with public funding. This detail is suggestive of how the close social ties and economic benefits of being associated with the Broadway created advantages for those within its gravitational pull and obviously created friction among those excluded.

It was interesting to note how older participants raised a different set of factors as they drew on spatial forces to legitimize their choice of location. These included a projection based on the claim that social links that would be hard to reproduce elsewhere although these were not connected to the Broadway. Laura and Anthony from Fused explained how spatial forces affected the development of their enterprise.

'Laura: We've been established for a long time and have strong links to local creatives in Nottingham. It starts here with 'the exchange' (a council owned creative industries and artist studio space). We have commissioned work from them and sometimes they commissioned us. We know that there is Hazel down the corridor and that if I am after this skill then they can do it or know someone. My family live locally and we are used to the people in Nottingham. There is a strong network of makers in Nottingham which can be an advantage and we don't have the same group in London.

Anthony: It's the classic big fish in a small pond. In London you would be one of a handful of practitioners doing similar work, whereas here we are more unique, which has some benefits.

Laura: Here we cycle to work, we're a few meters away from the train station and we are often in London, it's easy and things don't get out of control

Anthony: And if they do it's more manageable somehow. You can stuff the business back in its box when you need to.

Laura: On the whole we don't pick up much local work. We have a lovely studio, we've got friends in this building and we pay relatively low rent and the studio isn't this monster that needs feeding every month like it would be for a place this size in London.'

For the founders of Fused place was drawn upon in relation to social ties and the affordability of rent. Nottingham as a cheaper place to own a business was coupled with the ability to travel and work on international projects. Central to their spatial story was a council subsidised artist studio complex in the city centre. This provided a network with other creative producers ('Hazel down the corridor') as well as the obvious lower rent which was a factor in enabling Fused to extend its experiments with glass as opposed to the need to take any commission to feed a 'monster' rent. Even though there was insufficient local work to sustain their enterprise Laura and Anthony argued that as long as national and international commissions were being won place was less of an issue to the development of their practice. Instead it was other factors, such as being close to her son and the ability to cycle to work which were spatial forces relevant for Laura to create the type of enterprise she wanted. Anthony confirmed this with a projection that the business was more manageable in Nottingham.

One of the most significant spatial forces to emerge in interpretations of entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity was the notion of an 'intensity of taste'. Charles Brooke was concerned with the issue and noted.

'The problem in Nottingham is a question of autonomy and respect. I think it is partly an issue of education. People are not educated to understand why design is important. They don't understand that architecture is more than a building project here people are not interested in the same way. In London you get a much wider cultural range and people are more interested in ploughing their own furrow and being much more individualistic. It's typically not the case in the regions, except for pockets like Cambridge. The benefit of Nottingham is it is a very lovely place, architecturally. But the downside is you don't have that same cultural pressure.'

The last line of Charles' quote includes the term 'cultural pressure'. He uses this to frame what he perceived as a key problem with the institutions and private clients which were in a position to

commission his work; this was a lack of taste as expressed by a low appreciation of what 'good' design and architecture should be. This lack of 'cultural pressure' is a problem as it poses a barrier to the extent to which Charles felt he was able to articulate his own taste within the limitations imposed by local spatial forces. This is interpreted as another instance of how habitus and field (in this case those who organise the local architecture and design competitions in Nottingham) can become 'out of sync'. As will be explored in Chapter 7 Charles developed a stratagem for overcoming his positioning struggle by self-commissioning his own 'local' work, designed to the degree he thought was appropriate (i.e., consistent with national and global design excellence) in a bid to use his own home as showcase in the hope of being invited for competitions outside the region.

Others expressed the spatial effects of taste in different ways. Clare, from Re-Heel, noted how in her struggle to find a new premises for her business, which required 'clean' office space and 'dirty' space (for machines, tools and messy fabrication experiments). She felt there was a lack of understanding among the local authorities who owned the spaces developed especially for cultural activity.

'I have always said I will move wherever is best for the business. But I haven't moved and now I am getting more nervous. So maybe I wouldn't take the plunge. This city feels like a pot of glue sometimes, but I don't want to be here in another 5 years. Getting space to work is an issue too. It's great the council has realised the need for that but to be honest it's in a really unsafe area of town. They were like, 'you have 24 hour security guards and CCTV inside'. I said what happens when you step through those bloody big gates. They didn't think about that. There isn't enough natural light as it's an old factory with these tiny windows and it's a rip off.'

For Clare place has become an issue due to the spatial forces limiting her ability to move and grow her business in new premises. As with two other enterprises in this study (Disclosure and Engage), Clare had grown Re-Heel from a university incubation space. After two years she was ready to move but was unable to secure the type of space she required for this all important 'next move'. This indicates how spatial forces are a problem which affects the scale and rate of development as individual seeks to emplace their design reflexivity. This was emphasised by Tim

Jenkins who offered the following reflections on his experience of growing a 25 person web development business in Nottingham.

'I don't know how much of a difference being based in Nottingham has made because our clients are 50/50 local/national. All of our large clients are not local, mostly they are in London. We have a couple of internationals too. The positives of Nottingham are that there is talent here. We benefit from the universities and we employ graduates. Also there isn't a great deal of competition for us from other web design companies in Nottingham. London agencies are our main competition they are more aggressive and you have to up your game in a very particular way to pitch against them. We have been able to develop in a certain way up here which might not be possible in London. That said I don't think there is a distinct creative sector in Nottingham. Maybe there are a group of people who all drink in the same place, but they do different work to us and we never benefited from associating with them, although we have tried. We tend to move at a faster speed and if local people can't move at that speed we hire in experts who can.'

Tim's interpretation of the spatial forces affecting the emplacement of his entrepreneurial

activities in Nottingham was measured. He noted there was not sufficient work to sustain his business' growth in Nottingham. But added how the presence of higher education institutions were a source of competitive advantage given the continuous supply of talent - a key feature noted by Florida (2002). However, it is not just the supply of raw talent but how this is combined with the relatively low competition Tim faced from local web businesses. As he noted this lower intensity of competition enabled him to grow Netdrive differently to how things might have developed had he been based in London. He concluded noting there is something of an illusion around the strength of a 'distinct creative sector' in Nottingham. He attributed such a view to a 'group of people who all drink in the same place'. He later informed me this was a reference to the Broadway. However, unlike those who dismissed the inner city coterie of cultural producers clustered around the Broadway, Tim described the difference between the scale of his business and other local digital design businesses. His interpretation of his entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity was therefore very much tied to being emplaced in Nottingham's 'immature (creative) sector'. Steve Ford was even more direct. On the topic of the local creative industries he noted.

'The creative industries idea doesn't mean a thing to me although they are supposed to be one of the key sectors in this city aren't they? In my opinion there are all these shitty little agencies in town that have tried to class themselves as creative. They are like crappy little butchers, bakers and candlestick makers in the village. You are not going to get credible national work out them.

Geography in some ways is less important. You use the web as your window on the world and people can see where the best talent is in the country. You travel and work remotely and see people. I don't waste my time hanging out with other 'creatives', they are horrible.

Andrew: Has being in Nottingham affected your business in other ways?

Steve: We have been broken into three times. First they came in through the front door, so we installed a steel door. Then they got a furniture van and came in through the first floor. 30 Macs later we had to replace all these bloody expensive Art Deco windows. Nottingham has a bad reputation for crime and that's not entirely fair. The London thing is tricky, but we have developed some strategies to overcome the problems of not being down there.'

Steve provided a very different interpretation to emplacement. He too drew on the village as a metaphor but used this to point to the 'crappy little' businesses that were, in his opinion, trying to become design agencies. Steve's spatial story differentiated his own (larger) business from other businesses located in Nottingham. The key difference he claimed was 'credible national work'. Again this key differentiation is based on the difference between having local and regional clients compared to (as in his case) a national and international client base. It is interesting to note how he drew on drawn on spatial terms in the second paragraph to discuss the problem of crime in Nottingham. The relevance of this extract is not to highlight Nottingham's level of criminal activity, but how Steve connected this discussion to a project his enterprise was involved in: the re-branding of Nottingham. In his spatial story, place is enunciated by focussing on spatial forces that are relevant for legitimizing his attempts to transform 'culture' and therefore an expression of his investment in the place specific game of cultural enterprise.

In the last line of the extract Steve refers to a stratagem he had devised to overcome the limitations of place. This will be returned to in a case study in Chapter 7 as it reveals much about the opportunistic 'structured improvisation' necessary to grow a cultural enterprise and increase its 'weight' (Bourdieu, 2005), or capacity to secure access to the right to exchange. This section will now draw to a close with two instances where spatial stories were constructed to interpret cultural enterprise. The first is from Catherine from Disclosure PR who explained how she had developed a stratagem for managing spatial tensions emerging from running a cultural enterprise in Nottingham and how in turn this connected to a blurring between her cultural production and cultural consumption.

'Catherine: London is great. But that belief that it is where everything happens is a myth. If you are good at what you do the skills are transferable regionally. Most of my accounts are national. Nottingham isn't really a creative hub so I have to go outside the region to get bigger clients.

Andrew: So was it hard to set up a creative business in Nottingham?

Catherine: It is really hard. There are design businesses going bust every week in Nottingham. People go back to freelancing or get swallowed up back in house..

Andrew: Why stay in Nottingham?

Catherine: It's lifestyle. I know the city can't feed my business and I have given up networking here. All you find is small businesses trying to feed off each other. I have a hot desk in London and a 0870 telephone number and people don't know Disclosure PR isn't in London. I think Nottingham is a great city. I have lots of social connections. I go out all the time here. It suits my personality and how I want to live my life. I have strong bonds with graduate friends and some of my family is living here too. Nottingham can be a middling place though. The good people tend to leave don't they? Nottingham does need more of a cultural pull. You read the (Guardian) Guide every Saturday and there is hardly anything going on up here. There is this place (a theatre bar/café which Catherine chose as the venue for the interview) and the Broadway, but you end up seeing the same people in both places.

Catherine's reflections are suggestive of the problems of defining how spatial forces affect the development of cultural enterprise. In her positioning struggle she initially noted how there is a bit of a myth around London as the centre of the cultural industries. She claimed good work is trans-regional and therefore it is possible to engage with London without being based there. However, to achieve this multiplicity she has developed a dual presence (an office in Nottingham and a hot desk in London) combined with a non-place specific telephone number which gives her the ability to use a telepresence to conceal her not being from London should this suit her purposes.

She then added that Nottingham suited her lifestyle. Although quickly qualified this by noting how she had thought of moving to other locations. She tempered her enthusiasm for the city noting how Nottingham is a 'weird' and 'middling' and a bit like living in 'the Truman Show'. She then listed some of the investments into Nottingham's cultural infrastructure, which are partially designed to entice people like her to either relocate, or remain in Nottingham. She describes this as important as it adds to the 'cultural pull' of the city. This is a consumption based equivalent to what Charles Brooke's referred to as Nottingham lacking a 'cultural pressure'. The notion of a lack of taste and cultural infrastructure interrelate in how both individuals created

spatial stories to legitimise their design reflexivity by drawing on the 'cultural' resources specific to Nottingham.

The final example is taken from Richard who, after leaving Kinesis took a part-time academic research position and decided to open a shop selling designer toys in Hockley. The motive behind the shop was to provide income for a space above the shop that could be used as a digital animation studio for his short film work. His spatial story is interesting as it extends the notion that to legitimately position himself as a cultural entrepreneur it was necessary to draw on 'cultural' resources which are local. Central to his rationale for the shop and his digital animation work was the logic of emplacing his shop in an area that was allegedly a site for small scale cultural industries retail enterprises. What is important is not the historical 'truth' of his enunciation of place but the how he drew on this place making myth as a discursive resource to legitimate a specific type of retailer (i.e., indie) which he associated with a specific location in Nottingham (Hockley). He noted.

'The shop was a window into this world of digital crafts because we sold other people's locally made designs. There is a link to the Hockley independent shops and it was really exciting to feel a part of that. There is Pink and Lillies which is a fancy sort of boudoir shop located behind Void. They used to be in Beeston but they moved into the city centre. Then there are, mmm, err, well there is... Well there are shops in Nottingham like Page 45 which is like 20 years old and sells indie and alternative comics. I see that as a sign of a really healthy culture.'

Richard's struggle to define this mythical community of indie retailers of local design products reflected the limitation of this Hockley myth. Whilst there are a handful of 'independent' clothes shops which sell 'limited edition' ranges (one of which displays a recent doodle by Rob Strawson); new age shops; a specialist record shop and some bars, restaurants and a Tea Shop which are unique to Nottingham, his struggle to legitimize his spatial story was reflected in the subsequent closure of his own shop. Richard did have a model for the shop in mind, which was the successful Magma book store which has grown from a small retail unit in Farringdon, London to a four shop chain. The success of Magma is down to its ability to source limited edition designer toys, t-shirts, books and fanzines which are consumed by other designers and those who

fetishised designer made objects. Richard's idea was to combine his interests in designer toys and digital crafts with actual products that could be sold in his shop which he hoped, due to location, would become successful.

The failure of his retail experiment undoubtedly had many sources however one of the key spatial forces he had not accounted for was the massive redevelopment of the inner-city by property developers keen to exploit Hockley and the Lace Market's cultural identity. Richard's struggle to cite other independent small scale retailers is indicative of how many such indie-retailers, along with a number of design businesses which had been located in the city centre, were moving out due to the increased pressure for space driven by the 'inner city living' lifestyle phenomenon. As this tension between 'culture and capital', as Zukin explained it (1989), is at the heart of the discussion about how spatial forces present both an opportunity and a potential threat to cultural enterprises, this issue is explained in more detail in a case study below.

In summary, the above section has provided a point of view on the plurality of points of view that emerge as individuals engaging with the 'local-personal' (Watson, 2008) element of the social identity of cultural entrepreneur seek to legitimize their actions. The representation taken from interviews and from field notes of participant observation suggest a plurality of ways in which place, in this case Nottingham, and other spatial forces (e.g., relational ICT socio-spatial environments) are enunciated as meaningful in spatial stories. What this analysis offers is the opportunity to begin exploring the differences in participatory views between the 'official' notions of Nottingham's creative industries and those emerging from emplacement experiences of practitioners' positioning struggles. Nottingham was drawn upon in a number of ways and it would be interesting to apply this research methodology in another location to see how accounts of emplacement differed. The remainder of this chapter explores two cases within cases which show how spatial storytelling emerged in two interpretations design reflexivity in action.

Case: The Weft and Weave of Culture and Capital

This case explores how Elizabeth Flood of Teubert and Flood, a landscape sculpturing enterprise, localised her engagement with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur during one specific project. This was the construction of a new square ('Civitas') in the centre of the Lace Market in space being re-developed as a part of a £25 million property development. The project was unfolding during the several meetings I had with Elizabeth. She discussed how she was not only influenced by place but how her enterprise created designs that addressed 'themes' such as cultural memory, sustainable environment and site specific art. The square project enabled a discussion with Elizabeth about the performative aspect of space and how designers enmesh their personal organisation of culture with tempo-spatial specific organisations of power. The square project brought together the tensions of a reaching out of mind (articulation) with a powerful local governing force - a property development agency (Aura) which was keen to use Elizabeth to add value of an ex-industrial re-development close to where Elizabeth's studio was based. The following raises questions about how 'design reflexivity is a 'potential mechanism for inscribing the self into the environment. It may facilitate a form of identification and help engender a sense of belonging' (Dovey, 2005, p308).

Rutherford has also noted how the landscape and memory affect identification. He stated designs remind us of ghosts of previous identifications and belongings (2007). This case reflects on this theme since the enunciation of place into a spatial story also touches on how narrative involves a 'mode of anticipation' (Currie, 2007) as well as an enjoinder with a past and present so as to shape how others will inhabit space. Elizabeth's spatial story telling is therefore interpreted as one instance of how design enterprise involves inserting a 'vision and division' (Bourdieu, 1990). In this case Elizabeth was balancing disinterested artistic aims against interested action that required an understanding of the official uses of space and masking of artistic aims. She was also, by engaging in a heritage site engaging with the problem of masking

the living from the dead by reproducing an acceptable memory of the Lace Industry without inducing guilt among the living, who as Rutherford noted, are always aware of moving toward their own finitude as place evokes certain memories and therefore tempo-spatial belongings and identification (2007). Elizabeth's design reflexivity was therefore witnessed being channelled into an affected place making design to create a sense of belonging and identification.

The relationship between designers and artists to urban regeneration was examined by Zukin. She observed the regeneration of New York as both a social researcher and resident owner in a building which was turned into lofts. Zukin explained this process as a 'tipping' of 'raw space' (i.e., disused and run-down warehouse and industrial space) into desirable spaces for professional middle class speculators searching for the new 'Gold Coast' property boom. Zukin was among the 'urban pioneers' in the 1980s, which included artists, designers and academics, but also wrote on how these people could only establish a position by ousting the immigrant workers and petty bourgeois small scale entrepreneurs whose sunset industries (mainly garment making in New York) were slowly priced out of inner city. She recalled waving goodbye to the last living remnants of inner city manufacturing in New York as the new urban bohemian set (a proto creative class, Florida, 2002) achieved a coup de grâce for the post-industrial service sector.

Zukin traced this process of gentrification, which she called 'pacification by cappuccino' (1995), back to the beatnik and pop-art pioneers such as Robert Rauschenberg and James Rosenquist. These individuals took up residence next to sweatshops in semi-derelict lofts because they were broke. As artists lofts became the sites of 'happenings' in the 1960s so too they became a prototype for the intersection of cultural production and cultural consumption. These affordable loft spaces spawned a plurality of 'scenes' such as Fluxus, Pop Art and others which attracted the siblings of the white collar workers desperate for a 'quest for authenticity' (1989, p67). Zukin associated this authenticity with a 'domestication of the industrial' as steel beams, wrought iron

rails, exposed brick, wooden factory floors became fetishised as symbols of status; and also a growing blurring of the separation of work and non-work.

Zukin's work addressed similar tensions as Bourdieu's interests in various geo-demographic changes affected the conflict between culture and power (1984, 1996). The importance of Zukin is how she explored spatial tension in the appropriation of urban space coupled with a new 'aesthetic vision of the bourgeoisie' (1989). This process of urban colonization began with the artists and academics living alongside small scale sunset enterprises and later resulted in the artists moving on too. Zukin recalled how her new neighbours were accountants, lawyers, professionals and individuals like Adri Steckling a sportswear designer, whose 4,000 sq.ft. loft (complete with Jacuzzi, views over the Hudson river, high ceilings, contemporary art work and professionally equipped open plan kitchen/work space) became the subject of a New York Times article and offered a template for loft property developers worldwide. Adri, along with Calvin Klein, also marked for Zukin the rise of design above manufacturing.

The valorisation of urban colonization and inner city living has been a central feature of the post-Fordist service and knowledge led capitalism. It is central to Florida's argument about creative class clustered in creative urban milieux. It is also captured in the copy which Aura developed to promote Civitas. As its marketing copy for the development stated:

'For those who have already bought off plan, it appears that the scheme will house a hub of cultural and professional diversity with a mix of older couples looking for a base in the city, younger professionals eager to get a first foot on the housing marketing (often with the help of the their parents) and two seafarers who are looking for a base in a dynamic and cosmopolitan city to spend their shore leave!'

Whilst not necessary a creative industries profession per se (although it could be linked to cultural tourism) the attention afforded to the seafarers is interesting as it affords the developers a nod towards the exotic. It also increased the symbolic capital of their development to illustrate the interesting and diverse mix of individuals sharing this exciting sounding dynamic hub. The sales

copy continued to seek to affect the readers' sensibilities toward a desire for a European style cultural consumption combined with place specific landmarks.

'Think of Barcelona and what do you think of? Sitting outside a café bar with a coffee watching the beautiful people go by? Having a meal in a stylish piazza with friends as the sun goes down? From next year you won't have to travel outside Nottingham to experience this lifestyle because Aura's new Civitas square development of shops, restaurants and 46 luxury apartments will feature in the areas first continental-style public space. Paved public spaces are popular in mainland Europe and have been a huge success when copied in the UK in cities such as Manchester. But Civitas' centrepiece of a public square, surrounded by shops and containing unique sculptures and design features, is more than a square; it has been designed to draw people in as they walk through the city centre, creating a vibrant public area. This space will be divided into three intimate spaces, which means that as city residents sit in the square they can soak up a variety of atmospheres whilst appreciating the (industrial area) architecture, food, wine, and of course, the beautiful people'.

This image of epicurean bliss, which also promoted the value of Teubert and Flood's sculptural design, is a small corner plot in a difficult space in the centre of Nottingham. It is nestled between a Further Education College, a former Lace factory designed by 19th century Nottingham architect Thomas Chambers Hine; a row of bars and restaurants, a municipal car-park, a new budget hotel and a fairly busy road through which the Nottingham Tram and bus network passes. Although perhaps a negative observation I often used to walk through the square prior to its development. My experiences were one of often side-stepping piles of vomit, broken glass and discarded take-away wrappers. But this is not to detract from the romantic appeal to the Lace Market's industrial facades, or indeed the potential of develop a continental style cultural consumption in this corner of Nottingham.

Elizabeth's involvement with the Civitas square was initially as a supplier of sculptures for a new park which would be built on the site. However, owing to the symbolic capital her practice had accumulated with two other recent projects, one to supply sculptures for a war memorial designed by a star Japanese architect in Manchester (perhaps the ultimate design object for connecting death, memory and place) and one for a large scale sculpture for a shopping centre

in North London, she was invited to pitch to design the entire landscape design of the new space.

Elizabeth described how these projects helped secure the Nottingham project.

‘The London project was a big international competition and was our big break. We won that against massive companies and it was an experience to be involved in such a large scale retail development. We pitched knowing we would have to get an architect involved so we invited (Nottingham architect firm) to come up with a joint proposal as we did not want to build two buildings and a sculpture. We wanted to tie the two together. The property developers liked the idea of continuity between the gateway sculpture and the kiosk and we won the commission which was managed by (Internationally renowned London based design consultancy). Both relationships have developed well and we have subsequently worked together on other schemes.’

Before our first interview I had met Elizabeth on Charles Brookes’ tour of an eco-house in the Lace Market. This was significant as she was surprised a management researcher would take design seriously enough to be up at 9am on a Saturday morning for an architectural tour. By the time of our next meeting Elizabeth was well engaged with the Civitas project and we conducted two further interviews; one in her studio (also in the Lace Market) and one at a gallery exhibition which Elizabeth was exhibiting her fine art work under her own name, not as part of Teubert and Flood. The show was itself a cut down version of an even larger event she had hosted at another local gallery, supported by funds from the property developer and matched funding from a public sector organisation. Both exhibitions were connected to the Civitas project although Elizabeth was keen to note how the solo show differed from Civitas and from Teubert and Flood. This positioning stratagem provided Elizabeth an opportunity to interpret the local personal meaning of cultural entrepreneur by establishing the difference between her ‘themes’ as an artist and her ‘projects’ as a landscape sculptor.

‘Elizabeth: Most of these works are inspired by designs from nature. They have been developed from photographs. That one is of a Rookery, which has informed my thoughts about structures.

Andrew: I thought it was a map, or some abstraction of a city plan.

Elizabeth: You are not the first person to say that. It is a Rookery though and my interest is in natural patterns either in the landscape, or formed by various interventions, animal or human. Swan’s nests are another structure I am fascinated with. They are so intricate and it is the notion of memory, or how the structures are passed from generation that intrigues me. It is that sense of habitation and inhabitation that I seek to capture in my paper cuttings and photography.’

Elizabeth here provided an insight into the performative aspect of how she would apply her artistic themes to the Civitas square project. Her artistic work was essential as it provided disinterestedness away from her more directed commercial work. However, Elizabeth was astutely aware of how to couple her relatively autonomous artistic production to her landscape sculpture work which was a route for accumulating economic capital. She explained how the art exhibition connected to Civitas.

‘The Civitas project was about creating a space in a very difficult location using materials and designs that complemented the surrounding area. Part of the inspiration was obviously the lace industry. But I wanted to create something suggestive, not obvious. The whole square was designed by researching not only the patterns but the process of lace manufacturing and weaving. There are various techniques, like needle and pin, where pins are placed in specific orders to create patterns from which the lace is then weaved around. I used that idea for a piece that sits on the side of one wall where there is a piece 20ft piece that uses the pining process and wire mesh to represent the twisting process through which hexagonal meshing is created for lace manufacturing.’

The designs for Civitas were not solely for sculptures. Elizabeth explained how she occupied a dual role as a supplier of sculptures and for the overall plans of the design of the space, therefore fulfilling the role of an architectural specifier, using her knowledge of materials and design fashions (temporal forces) and urban planner from experience from her previous job for Nottingham city council (spatial forces).

‘I was translating my designs through the property developer and the building constructors in tense negotiations. A key point was materials. I had to accept that some materials were either too expensive or were not appropriate structurally. But in other areas I had to fight my corner. So I kept up the need for granite, bronze and specific stones for the edges of the garden. You see the edging was representing a handkerchief and if I had compromised the design would have lost its coherency. It was a constant struggle to persuade the constructors of the need to preserve little grooves cut into the benches. I found it interesting to watch how my ideas were taken up by the property developer with mainly economic interest in the square adding value to its row of flats. So it was a test of mettle to stand my ground and not let them compromise too much on the materials for the designs.’

The positioning struggle Elizabeth described echoes the tensions Zukin noted how cultural producers become embroiled in the struggle for space arising between culture and capital (Zukin, 1989). Elizabeth’s response to this was to reflect in two ways about how her art and design were being translated. Her reflections captured some of the key spatial forces this chapter has sought to

address. First, there is the issue of how her personal organisation of culture was subject to 'structuring structures' of being emplaced (i.e., time and place). Second, how she acknowledged these conflicts in her attempt to localise the cultural entrepreneur persona through 'structured improvisation' (Bourdieu, 1989) and therefore emplace her designs in the world.

Elizabeth described her positioning stratagem around Civitas by balancing an opportunistic experiment along with long term aims, or 'themes' which provided a fulcrum upon which to establish a connection between projects. This is important as it helps understand Bourdieu's point about how the cultural entrepreneur cannot reveal their work as solely motivated by economic interests or as being entirely disinterested rejection of material wealth or power (1996).

'The important thing to me with all my work with Teubert and Flood is to impart a 'sense of place' that must work with the natural surroundings of the space rather than impose something inappropriate. All of our work is about exploring the intersections of design, architecture and landscape to give a place a resonance and meaning. With the Civitas square this meant finding a balance between creating a new public space with the commercial angle of restaurants, shops and bars.

So I started this project with my sketches of designs from nature. Like that picture (*points to a framed picture*) of a tree, or sections of a tree and then images of bark which formed the basis for conceptualizing the space. They are always the basis for what we call 'landscape as art'. The bronze trees use the same colour as the lettering on the old lace factory opposite the space. Together with these details and the steel, bronze, box and beach trees the design gives the space uniqueness for Nottingham. So I have combined the historical with landscape designs and architecture to create a space that hopefully breaks up the way people move through the space. We never do bolt on pieces and always work with what we find on a site. So I hope by entering the space people will feel differently about what they are experiencing and maybe that will raise awareness about the environment of that space.'

The above has focussed largely on how Elizabeth's interpretations emplaced her design reflexivity and how she affected how others inhabit space. She was also reflective about how her own practice had been emplaced within conditions that were changing. During an interview in her studio Elizabeth made the following comments about how her practice was being affected by another property redevelopment in Nottingham city centre.

'It's interesting how these creative industries strategies have become popular over the last few years. There have always been lots of little creative people, nobody really knew about them. They were just getting on with their own creative things, with no real help. I don't mean that to sound

harsh, but this how 'we're the Lace market and we are the great creative Nottingham' thing is misleading. I think these things just evolve by people who have the will to get on and do it. We get a lot of our (metal) fabrication done locally. For practical business reasons it makes sense to be here. I do find that engineering of cultural quarters difficult. We used to be in a sort of cultural area back in 'the avenue'. We had this terraced house next to all these light industries. There were metal fabricators, tooling places, spray painters everything really. We were even doing fabrication ourselves in the basement and we could just pop round the corner to chat with some wood guys and engravers. It was a cluster of small light industries and it's now been marked out for the new 'Canalside' development so it is all going to be swept away. You see it was all garages and welders and it not very nice, it was messy, scruffy basically, some random carparks. Those businesses have to move out to industrial estates and they will split up. As we got bigger we were doing less fabrication ourselves, but we always kept a studio down there as a 'dirty space'. I mean you couldn't do that work here.'

As we concluded the interview, from which the above extract was taken, Elizabeth gave me a brief tour of her studio. This space was indeed not conducive to the experiments with metal and glass she described. Instead there were a series of large glass exhibition display units containing paintings and sketches for the Civitas square. On another wall was a long bench with three new brilliant white Apple Mac computers for Elizabeth and her staff. As she walked she pointed out objects she had designed. These included a flower bulb sculpture made from and iron and glass which she explained was an experiment created for an award wining garden show exhibition. She even laughed about how they had sold well and she had even commissioned a graphic design agency ('across the way') to develop a brand and packaging design to sell them.

Elizabeth then led me to a corner where, on the wall, there were a series of awards and press cuttings framed. Next to these were framed copies of her photography work, she explained these were taken from a project of architectural photos she had been commissioned to shoot for a multinational Nottingham based financial service organisation. Finally, she showed me pieces of her partner Johann Teubert's abstract fine art. As I left Elizabeth was inviting her next appointment and made a point of directing both mine and her next visitor's attention to a lighting installation hung around the large steel door to this old warehouse space. These she informed us were also an award wining design and were one of the very limited supply of 'products' Teubert

and Flood produced which, depending on stock levels, might be available for purchase on the website.

Getting to know Elizabeth as she engaged in the Civitas square required understanding of how the role of designer is a counterpoint between art and enterprise. She was adept at performing the role of designer and highly competent at interweaving of the tensions between disinterested relatively autonomous art and interested attempts to access economic capital. The Civitas project was a fortunate break for me as it provided a local example of the type of work Teubert and Flood had been developing elsewhere. I was able to visit the site on a number of occasions, photographing and watching as Elizabeth's 'will to architecture' (Karatani, 1995) took shape and affected my perception of this space.

Observing this process of translation and knowing more about Elizabeth's overall performance was vital to shift my understanding of the notion of habitus as a dialectical confrontation between objective embodied being and subjective internalizations of space (i.e., time and place). Her transformation enjoined the past and quasi-future into a present-ness which had both a symbolic novelty and economic reasonableness. The significance of this realisation was dependent, I believe, on the co-presence and experience of 'breathing in' (Mafessoli, 1996, Shields, 2002) the ambience of being emplaced in Nottingham. By learning about Elizabeth's aims I was able to enter, albeit temporarily, into a public display of her reaching out of mind. My own subjective interpretation of her design reflexivity were affected by her shaping of space and therefore by mutually reflecting on this inter-subjective relationship I came closer to appreciating how design reflexivity is articulated in action. I interpret this not just through the (equally synoptic) notion 'epistemological productivity' (Coffey, 1999), but as a more basic stimulation of how design and architecture can induce a pre-reflexive perception, or habitus. However, at a more critical 'scholarly' distance I recognize the tensions in Elizabeth's work do reproduce power asymmetries.

Elizabeth's spatial storytelling as an artist and Artisanal design maker presently benefited from urban regeneration left me wondering how Teubert and Flood's own transformation of the Civitas square would affect their presence in the cultural economy of the new Lace Market. The inner-city loft apartments were investment opportunities for affluent parents investing in their children's future (as noted in the advertising copy) and those able to enjoy the lifestyle of affluent knowledge workers whose habitus-field-capital lifestyle homology afforded them with the resources to invest in the new development. This new territorialization was fine for chief engineers of pleasure yachts on shore leave, but I wondered whether it was the death knell for 'messy' light industry and users of 'dirty space'.

To 'conclude' Elizabeth's spatial story it is worth recalling that Zukin noted cultural producers inevitably become embroiled in a struggle against the gentrification process. They seem to follow in the same direction as the displaced smaller enterprises and immigrant owned sunset industries. Elizabeth is adept at mastering the game or 'terrain of conflict' (Zukin, 1989) as a cultural producer surrounded by urban regeneration. But she too, in a quiet moment, asked where the next generation of designer markers would set up their studio spaces and begin experimenting. Perhaps the selection of this case reveals sentimentality in my own romantic notion of the cultural entrepreneur. Perhaps 'cultural' enterprise will migrate to networked spaces and (physical) spatial factors will decline in importance. But, as Zukin, and later Florida (2002) would argue (citing Zukin, 1989, and Jacobs, 1969) decline in support for a diverse range of cultural producers is signal of a homogenization and the start of a downward cycle. The expansion of the 'cultural economy' in Nottingham, as in all places, exaggerates a tension between private enterprises, entertainment/retail spaces and publicly sponsored use of space for cultural infrastructure. Civitas was an unusual blend as it mixed both and for this reason its 'semiotic elasticity' (Bourdieu, 2005) possibly permits engaging in (I think the only instance in this research of anticipatory questioning) a question about what the future role of cultural enterprise might be especially given the already haunting nature of the Civitas project (i.e., its

echoing a now dead former cultural industrial legacy of Lace production). In a postscript Zukin posed a simple question to frame this idea. She noted 'who among us will be left in the city to enjoy it and how much will we have to pay?' (1989).

Summary

This chapter has explored how place was drawn upon as a discursive resource as participants legitimized their stratagems for coping with the positioning struggles partially shaped in relation to spatial forces. The enunciation of place, or its conversion into a spatial story (de Certeau, 1984) included a number of place specific issues. These ranged from practical problems and openings such as the benefits of lower operating costs associated with cheaper rents, staff costs and competitive forces when compared to London. Some individuals, (i.e., those who sought to align their entrepreneurial activities with a younger 'local-personal' (Watson, 2008) cultural entrepreneur social identity) seized on this because it offered an opportunity to justify their 'edgy' relatively autonomous design enterprise. Whereas those orientating their transformations of 'culture' towards an older (i.e., rearguard) position tended to stress the downsides of Nottingham (as a provincial UK city) was its lower 'cultural pressure', crime and brain drain. Spatial forces which potentially limited demand for their services.

Across both 'age' groups there was a consensus insofar as Nottingham and the surrounding East Midlands region were interpreted as a limiting factor in terms of securing 'good' and 'interesting' work. In order to fully legitimise their entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity all participants felt they had to develop stratagems for overcoming locality and attracting interest from clients or sponsors at a national and international scale. The implication is that success is partially place dependent as the standard against which design is legitimized is at least national.

The above enunciations of space therefore suggested how place affected cultural enterprise. I partially concur with commentators like Florida especially over the importance of

proximity to higher education institutions which provide a continuous supply of graduates. However, I am less convinced of how a reputation for cultural production and a high quality of living translates to the 'leisure units' I experienced proliferating in Nottingham. Nottingham is a middling place. It is a mid-ranking (economic productivity wise) provincial city statistically speaking and geographically also, since it is located in the middle of the UK. It undoubtedly has some of the spatial factors that would permit a Florida-esque conclusion that Nottingham would allow a limited 'creative class' to reproduce its identity. However, this must be tempered with how participants' spatial stories reveal a more complex picture given the importance of other factors such as crime, the notion of a lower cultural intensity, and the mixed use of the metaphor of Nottingham as a village. Also it is significant that many practitioners were sceptical about the level of collaboration between firms and the idea of a creative industries sector in Nottingham.

What these points of view suggest is the importance of considering participatory views which are both *on* the field and *within* the field. They help to challenge the over-territorializing (Hess, 2004) afforded to the relationship between place, cultural production and cultural consumption. Undoubtedly there are important spatial relationships to be drawn but the suggestion in this chapter has been that these must also be interpreted through accounts linking an individual's private troubles to public issues (Mills, 2000) in addition to measuring 'creativity' in indices (Florida, 2002, 2004, 2005) and discussions of clusters agglomerations and quarters (Crewe, 1996, Banks et.al.1999), or more abstract notions such as 'vernacular DIY ecologies' (Shorthose, 2002). This chapter concludes that researchers should seek to emplace themselves in 'real' places so as to observe and participate in the construction and circulation of spatial stories.

During this research a number of alternative creative milieu opened up which could have been actualised as the focus of this research. This would have resulted in a different set of social relations and points of view on the enunciation of space. Whilst I was at the Broadway, for example, a 'natural' cluster was forming around digital filmmakers. I was also approached by a local public sector agency responsible for supporting screen based cultural enterprises in the East

Midlands. The appeal of this was a ready made cluster of cultural enterprises. This grouping could have provided access to a ready made creative industries milieu. However I decided the potential for ideological distortion was too large given the involvement of an agency whose role it was to promote an institutionalised view of cultural enterprise. A similar issue arose with the local music industries which I had good contacts with through Get Down and my initial homology to commercial music production. I felt this grouping were too limited in terms of the 'real' level of enterprise occurring and therefore relevance to the theoretical issues identified in Chapter 1.

Instead of accepting the ease of access to the above 'clusters' I opted to experiment with local design enterprises. There were several key moments of heightened realisation when I became aware of how their outpourings affected space through mixtures of novelty and reasonableness. Engaging with this group, which became the other for this study, enabled a finer understanding of how 'the field' is 'constructed in the course of a particular relationship to a particular universe of probabilities' (Bourdieu, 1990, p64). This is not to suggest the film and art milieu might not have provided an interesting sample group. However, I maintain the view that where sanctions are imposed over what 'culture' Nottingham *should* be associated with (i.e., film products) then the ability to gather a breadth of points of view might have been compromised.

Along with the discussion in Chapter 5 which explored temporal forces specific to the field of culture, this chapter has shown how spatial forces present an opportunity and a limitation on how individuals legitimated their articulations, or mixtures of symbolic novelty and economic reasonableness. Both chapters shared the aim of representing the 'dialectical confrontations' that emerge in the habitus-field relation as research participants developed stratagems to enjoin their personal organisations of culture with tempo-spatial forces affecting their entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity. This leads to a discussion of how articulations and emplacements were directed towards securing access to and accumulation of economic resources.

Chapter 7 is therefore comprised of representations of a plurality of points of view that the research participants developed to interpret the calculativeness of their entrepreneurial activity.

Chapter 7

Entanglement: Voicing the 'Spirit of Calculativeness'

'Any man can call himself great, of course, if he pleases, but in this matter the court tradition must decide.' Franz Kafka

This chapter explores how research participants interpreted the challenge of creating and maintaining organisations capable of accumulating economic capital from design reflexivity. Participants' accounts of this process are valuable since they show that calculative dispositions, or the interested pursuit of economic capital, must be studied in relation to the social context in which such actions become meaningful. This chapter refers to how a 'spirit of calculativeness' (Bourdieu, 2000) is voiced by research participants through their identity work with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur.

Although this chapter addresses 'economic' reasonableness in cultural enterprise this 'phase' is not privileged above the preceding chapters. Instead practitioners' interpretations of a spirit of calculativeness are represented as an entanglement between economic as well as social and cultural resources. It forms the third phase as design reflexivity is brought within a 'frame' of calculativeness (Callon et.al.2002), or the act of presenting an entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity to the owner-founder's other. This (generalised) other comprising of employees, clients, funding agencies, other cultural enterprises and the researcher. Entanglement is a continuous process its organisation must be studied as a continual process of directing resources towards achieving individual life goals through a social activity that has relevance to contemporary production. The act of entangling a personal organisation into others' identification therefore requires stabilising a mix of novelty and reasonableness. As with Chapters 4-6 this chapter represents a plurality of points of view on entanglement from the participants' situated reflection on the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity.

The first section revisits arguments made in Chapter 1 which suggested why small scale cultural enterprise is considered relevant at the level of national and regional economic competitiveness. This claim is then furthered with reference to small business literature which has suggested the economic significance of small business is tied to political changes since the image of the small business remains especially persistent and virulent for reinvigorating capitalist production at times of crisis. This section will be followed by a restatement of why Bourdieu's 'open concepts' are useful for analysing the 'economy of economic practices' (2005) and denaturalising the ethnocentric and historically contingent reification of economic rationality, replacing it with the notion of calculative dispositions tied to an ever changing reasonableness of interested human activity. This is followed by representations of how research participants described their stratagems for scalability (i.e., growth through exploitation of creative labour and property) and strategic positioning (i.e., specialization and consolidation). Their accounts reveal the presence of a multiplicity of social identities which suggested voicing a 'spirit of calculation' required for cultural, social *and* economic discursive resources. The conclusion is that individual accounts of entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity must be interpreted as contributions to a broader 'economy of economic practices' (Bourdieu, 2005) and studied empirically via representations weaving interpretive repertoires with practice based views.

The Persistence of Small Scale Entrepreneurial Activity

In Chapter 1 it was argued small scale entrepreneurial activity in the cultural industries has been promoted as vital to economic competitiveness. This assertion has been made by both advocates of a normative view on the 'creative economy' (Blair, 1999, BERR, 2008, Cox, 2005, DCMS, 2001, DIUS, 2008, Howkins, 2001, Florida, 2002, 2004, 2005, Leadbeater, 1999, NESTA, 2008) and critics (Bourdieu, 1984, 2003, Castells, 1996, Lash and Urry, 1994, Lash and Lury, 2007, McRobbie, 2002, Urry, 1990, Virno, 2004). Both argue cultural enterprise is vital since it

provides a model for economic activity in a post-industrial and de-bureaucratized global economy. However, as several writers commenting on the organisation of work and enterprise literature have noted there is a danger of epochalist claims (du Gay, 2003, 2004, du Gay and Pyrke, 2002, McFall, 2004, Watson, 2004, Webb, 2004) that overstate the separation of the contemporary organisation of enterprise, culture and politics from the past.

At the centre of this debate is the relative importance placed on small(er) scale organisation of information rich capitalist production (Liu, 2004). This has been coupled with a fetish for all things 'creative' (Osbourne, 2004) and entrepreneurial perhaps because of fears over the rise of global competition. Raised anxiety about the challenge of BRIC nations (Brazil, Russia, India and China) and the need to harness higher education and design are frequently cited in literature which promotes that the creative and design led economy is the saviour for the UK's declining 'traditional' economic organisation (Cox, 2005, Brown, 2004, Leadbeater, 2005, DIUS, 2008). Florida has made similar arguments in the US (2003, 2005) and internationally (2004) promoting the creative class and creative economy as an anaesthetic for European and North American productivity 'problems' when compared with rapidly industrialising areas of the world. Revived interest in small business activity, especially in design sectors, has coincided with the rise of interest in the creative industries since both are premised on the assumption that economic prosperity rests on the individual's propensity for creating wealth. However, whilst interest in the creative industries may be relatively new, addressing fears of economic competitiveness by appealing to a revival in small business activity and entrepreneurialism is a far more durable political strategy.

In the 1950s, Mills noted the persistence of the image of small business activity which he claimed was a signifier of the self made American 'man'. Mills' account of the small businessman drew on Balzac to dramatize how, despite becoming less than insignificant to corporate America, the small businessman was central to justifying the political economy of post-

war capitalist production. More recently Leadbeater, albeit from a normative rather than critical sociological imagination, made a similar claim when he stated individuals should embrace risk through 'portfolio entrepreneurship' and become capable of coping with increasingly out-dated industrial manufacturing and public sector organisations (1999). Florida made similar claims that advanced capitalist economies must embrace technology, education and difference (i.e., gender, ethnic, sexual and lifestyle) (2003, 2005) to ward off economic stagnation. Central to these appeals was the image of the entrepreneur and small scale businessperson. Armstrong, commenting on Leadbeater, went further arguing enterprise had become an ideology centred upon the reform of higher education and finance around a high tech economy that is homogenizing around the totemic ideal of Silicon Valley (Armstrong, 2001, 2005).

The small businessman, to return to Mills, has therefore been used at various points in recent history as a lead actor since 'he' has provided a 'psychological basis' for the 'absolute individual' (Mills, 2002, p9) of a progressive and adventurous capitalism. Mills is useful since his analysis shows how small business and enterprise have become encoded into public discourse during the 1950s because the social identity personified independence, self-discipline, innovation and hard work. Recalling the asceticism of Weber's ideal type Protestant capitalist (2002), Mills argued the small businessman was politically invaluable as an image of an individual galvanized by 'his' pursuit of the accumulation of economic wealth as the 'free man confronting the American continent' and capable of producing a 'million commodities' (Mills, 2002, p12).

Mills' image of the small business man as a central image of the engine of capitalist growth can be complimented with his thoughts on how the designer was also a key 'cultural workman'. Mills argued the designer occupied a central role since he (sic) supplied fresh ideas that were increasingly separated from the 'ethos of craftsmanship'. As a consequence the designer was becoming economically central but also a 'generalismo of a novelty fetish' and debaser of the 'cultural apparatus' (Mills, 1963). The role of the designer has been presented as central figure in

economic competitiveness for a time pre-dating recent interest in the image of small scale design enterprises.

Following Mills' criticism for this chapter is two fold. First, it recognizes that interest in small business activity and entrepreneurial activity is far from a recent phenomenon. Second, it suggests that the economic significance of small scale entrepreneurial activities has declined as it became an 'item in the business calculations of somebody else' (citing Mills citing Eduard Heinman 2000, p14).

Clearly after Mills, especially in the economic and social policies of conservative governments in the UK and administrations in the USA during the 1970s and 1980s, small business and entrepreneurship reappeared once more. This shift was noted by Drucker who coupled small business activity with innovation to explain the miraculous revival of the US economy in the technology, finance, health, transport and education sectors (1985). In the UK context the revival of interest in small business and entrepreneurship was voiced through an 'enterprise culture' (Keats, 1991); an unstable mixture of liberal market based individualism (Heelas, 1991, 1998); the rise of a sovereign consumer (identity) (Abercrombie, 1991, Bauman, 2005) and neo-conservative social values (Armstrong, 2005, Keats and Abercrombie, 1991, du Gay, 1996, 2003, Rose, 1990).

At a theoretical level the persistence of small business in political discourse has prevented a challenge to predominance of Marxian analysis. Researchers questioned how small businesses could survive given that Marx had predicted labour specialists would become mere 'machine minders' (Marx, 2002). Despite existing in a highly precarious position (Bechhofer and Williams, 1982, Curran and Blackwood, 1991) the persistence of small businesses required researchers to search for alternative explanations for small business survival. These included the notion of a continuous cycle of employee dissatisfaction/alienation (Goldthorpe et.al 1968); the dynamics of middle class reproduction (Bechofer and Williams, 1981, Mills, 2000, Scase and

Goffee, 1982) and ethnicity given successive waves of post-war immigration and global labour mobility (Jones and Ram, 2007, Kloosterman and Rath, 2003, Ram, 1994). Amidst these many central studies on small business activity, two stand out as especially relevant for understanding the contemporary revival of small scale enterprises in the cultural industries. First, the claim that small business survives, perhaps even thrives, on its ability to adapt faster to dominant technical systems (legal, financial, regulatory) which enables it to exploit gaps in the provision of products and services (Scase and Goffee, 1982). Second, that small businesses provide an opportunity space for those excluded from dominant capitalist production who in turn find ways of 'muddling through' surviving on informal social relations and lower production costs (Ram, 1994).

This chapter will examine these two assertions at an empirical level of practitioner view connecting them back to theories which suggest contemporary capitalist production is accelerating, becoming turbulent (Thrift, 2005, 2006); complex (Urry, 2005) and more 'cultural' (Amin and Thrift, 2005) given the growing demand for the supply of 'relational services' (Gadrey, 2000) that affect the calculation and circulation of contemporary capitalist commodities and brands (Arvidsson, 2006, Callon et.al.2004, Lury, 2004, Lash and Lury, 2007). Under these conditions it follows that individuals are able to harness the speed of these developments together with ever more complex techniques for manipulating design reflexivity (e.g., via branding, global markets and ICT) and should be well placed to convert their design reflexivity into small scale capital accumulation.

Small firm activity is therefore conceptualised as something of a 'laboratory' (Blackburn and Smallbone, 2008) or a space of organisational creativity (Hjorth, 2004) where innovation and survival are mixed. Entrants into this space consist of those excluded from 'mainstream' and larger organisations due to involuntary (i.e., through downsizing) and voluntary causes (i.e., through opposition to corporate culture). In the cultural industries small businesses have also been theorized as vital because their presence reduces the endemic uncertainty and high levels of risk

associated with rapidly changing fashions. Smaller organisations offer larger firms a channel for outsourcing especially risky process. This process is well recognised in literature on the cultural industries where small organisations risk selecting niche tastes and developing specialist techniques which often, though not inevitably, benefit larger organisations (Bjorkengard, 1996, Bourdieu, 1996, Bilton, 2007, Davis and Scase, 2000, Hesmondlagh, 1996, 2003, 2005, McRobbie, 1997, 1998).

It is suggested empirical material is needed to understand how practitioners account for creating organisations that mix symbolic novelty and economic reasonableness. In addition to Mills this chapter will draw on Scase and Goffee's seminal research into small business. Their research is vital to considering the 'mixed bag' of activities which comprise the small business stratum in which there are a plurality of strategies for the accumulation of small scale capital together with awareness of being subordinate to the 'general process of capital accumulation' (1982, p22).

Two themes have been identified as vital to understanding the spirit of calculation in cultural enterprise. First there is the question of scalability and second the need to devise strategies for balancing symbolic and economic ambitions. Empirical material is vital for showing the existence of a plurality of varying levels of independence, private property ownership, aspiration and pro or anti business orientation. To conceptualize this heterodoxy of orientations to economic practice Bourdieu's logic of practice is recalled. Stratagems for mixing the field of culture and field of power will be conceptualized as attempts to meld novel symbolic meanings with 'economic reasonableness' (Bourdieu, 2005). These mixtures, or 'structured improvisations' to use Bourdieu's terminology, can be said to emerge as individuals engage in entangling their competency at manipulating the 'arts of living'²⁶ (Bourdieu, 1984), or a personal organisation of

²⁶ This process is also referred to using Giddens' terms as a 'filtering' of reflexivity so as to actively channel the disembedding mechanisms that encourage a bracketing off through the promotion of lifestyle commodities (1991).

culture (Williams, 1981) with dominant symbolic and economic legitimisations within the sub-field of design.

Bourdieu's notion of cultural enterprise as being poised between the field of culture and the field of power (1996) is therefore used to conceptualize how individuals construct stratagems for playing a game that requires an investment in both symbolic and economic meanings (1996). The organisation's that emerge from this process are conceptualized as 'embedded fields' (Bourdieu, 2005) since they must link to both the field of culture and the field of power. Embedded fields differ according to the scale of resources that are directed. This in turn determines the relative 'weight' of an embedded field in terms of its mix of cultural and economic capital. Bourdieu conceptualized embedded fields as exerting a gravitational effect over the embedded fields of other organizations and over the fields of culture and power. The weight of an embedded field is therefore dependent upon an individual's ability to invest in the relatively durable set of 'calculative dispositions' (Bourdieu, 2000) required to gain 'access to exchange' symbolic for economic capital (2005). In the following representations of entanglement Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the economy of economic practices is deployed to interpret how research participants interpreted their positioning of individual struggles as well as the positioning strategies for the embedded fields they assisted in constructing and were responsible for maintaining.

Before proceeding to these accounts it is necessary to reiterate the importance of a reflexive sociology. Social theories, including the comments above on Bourdieu, are considered useful only insofar as they offer open concepts or 'interpretive repertoires' (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000) to understand social action. The 'double rejection' implied in a reflexive epistemological distancing from practice must therefore also be exerted on theory (Bourdieu, 1990, Jenkins, 2000). This is especially valid in this chapter as it provides a continuous reminder of the need to denaturalise the normalisation of the application of a calculative disposition to culture. Bourdieu

again is useful since he showed how pre-reflexive notions of economic exchange have too often been left unquestioned. His suggestion, based on fieldwork in Algeria, was that the 'spirit of calculation' should be revealed as an *illusio*. Hence the trans-historical calculative dispositions of capitalist exchange (impersonal, standardised, and autonomous) should be viewed as 'historicize(d) economic dispositions' (2000).

The double rejection associated with Bourdieu's reflexive sociology is adopted here as I first try to denaturalise the pre-reflexive acceptance of calculative dispositions within the habitus I was socialised within. It is in response to this 'problem' that this chapter proceeds with a short 'revealing' of the authors auto socio-analysis (Bourdieu, 2008) of how he became aware of his own spirit of calculation in relation to the entanglement of his design reflexivity.

A Proto Socio-Analysis of Entanglement

This section utilises the opportunities within ethnographic research for highly manipulated textual representations (Humphreys and Watson, forthcoming). It illustrates how I account for the process of acquiring both a heightened (reflexive) understanding of the symbolic (novel) and economic (reasonable) ways music was used as a basis for cultural entrepreneurship. The events recounted are 'real' but they are represented as a fictional interview. The aim of presenting my entrepreneurial activities is different to Down (2006) who drew on his entrepreneurial experiences (also in music) to claim an affinity with his entrepreneurial research participants. I am not utilising personal material to demonstrate a homology between my entrepreneurial activities and those of my research participants. Instead the intent is to reveal a denaturalisation of how a spirit of calculation is voiced by engaging in identity work with the role of cultural entrepreneur.

'I was always interested in music at secondary school and being in bands. At University I became a DJ and started collecting and mixing records at house and techno clubs and this turned into regular employment. After Uni I moved to London and following some unsuccessful interviews with major record labels, became involved in underground electronic music journalism and club

promotion. I was working full time but used to DJ in evenings and at weekends. During this time I started making music and met a New Zealander called Tom who ran a small electronica label. We co-wrote some tracks and even toured the US together. We released an album on a US label and I was working part time by then as a web development manager for a UK music festival. I quit my job and planned to sell music for adverts with Tom. Initially we were lucky and worked for a Japanese advertising agency in Tokyo. Tom then got a gig with some film makers.. I had a project with Heineken after a friend, a creative director in a media company, sold them a 15 second edit for TV, cinema and radio. They flew me to Amsterdam to stay on a barge and DJ in a crypt I picked up some composition work for a fashion show, some jingles for a web-radio station and remixes. I was also DJing 3 or 4 nights a week.

Things were going really well and Tom and I were talking about setting up a studio and production company. Then he had to return to New Zealand, which screwed things up. I carried on for a while on my own but it didn't work out. I learned a lot during that time. I had gone from enthusiast to DJ to producer. It took years to learn how to use the software and longer to learn how to play instruments and perform live. I learned loads just from hanging out with DJs, record shop owners, musicians, label owners. That was really important to knowing what was credible. Then there was the business side of music. I had somehow got to know my way around legal contracts and intellectual property rights not by thinking about it but from creating music and then, luckily, getting fairly good free advice from people. I was accepted into the Performing Rights Society and still get paid royalties when radio stations play my music and seeing people buy my music over the counter.'

The above is not an empirical instance of the process of entanglement. Instead it is inserted to illustrate how a 'spirit of calculation' is acquired through the logic of practice of cultural enterprise. As a nascent entrepreneur my identity work became entangled into a processual assemblage of calculative dispositions that were specific to the sub-field I worked in (music). The above was emplotted so as to deliberately draw attention to the process of heightened awareness to a channelling of reflexivity into a 'framing' (Callon et.al.2002) which required drawing on calculative discursive resources specific to the life project I and others in the music industry were engaging in at the time. My ideas were legitimised once they were entangled into others' organisations or 'embedded fields' (i.e., record labels, radio stations, music journalists, advertising agencies). This enabled me to apply my accumulation of cultural capital by creating a reaching out of mind that was reasonable to others who had established embedded fields to exploit the commercial production of music.

From my own brief experiences of entanglement I came to realise how as a creator of cultural novelty one also had to present ideas as economically reasonable and also symbolically

novel. At an individual level this meant emphasising certain expressive possibilities and denying others. The following 'real' accounts of 'real' individuals in concrete social settings are interpretations of the entanglement of design reflexivity.

Calculative Dispositions: Questions of Scalability

This section addresses the question of how research participants accounted for the scale of the 'embedded fields' of their cultural enterprises. The following representations are empirical instances in which research participants reflected on the 'weight' of their embedded fields by discussing their relation to business scalability. Typical themes this raised included managing creative labour and acquiring property (physical and intellectual). The discussion draws on studies that suggest scale is a key source of tension emerging from entrepreneurial activity as it requires a stratagem for the supervision of employees and accumulation of property (Bechofer and Elliot, 1981, Scase and Goffee, 1982, Ram, 1994). This is augmented by considering theories about the tensions specific to the small sector of the cultural industries. These centre on the notion that creativity requires managing high levels of individual autonomy, divergent thinking and risk taking (Boden, 1994, Bilton, 2007, Davis and Scase, 2000, Florida, 2003). This section addresses the 'curiously thin' (Banks, 2006) stock of representations of empirical examples of the tensions emerging in cultural enterprise.

Small Employers: Opposition, Artisanry and Aspiration

A typical stratagem for scalability among small employers in the cultural industries relates to the use of freelancers. This has been explored both generally across the cultural industries (Bilton, 2007, Davis and Scase, 2000) and in sub-fields including advertising (Grabher, 2003), new media (Pratt, 1999), publishing (Baines and Robson, 1999) and TV production (Starkey et.al 2000). In each case freelance labour is central as it reduces risk associated with the cost of employment.

Freelance labour enables small scale enterprises to scale up and down so as to adjust to market changes. In order to explore how the research participants interpreted their use of such labour it is helpful to use the typology developed by Scase and Goffee (1982). They distinguished between self-employed; small employers; owner-founders and owner-controllers/owner-directors/family businesses. The businesses in this research can be categorized as self-employed, small employers and owner-founders. There were no owner-controllers or inheritors of family businesses. This is perhaps due to, as Scase and Goffee explained (1982), a tendency for family businesses to be long standing. Many of the creative industries sub-fields were relatively new and tended not to have emerged, at least in the sample in Nottingham, from family dynasties.

Taking those which could be classed as small employers first there was a mixture of points of views on the value of employing others. Employing freelancers on a project basis was a typical stratagem for coping with unpredictable workloads. This was especially pronounced in instances where multiple pitches or competitions had been awarded simultaneously. To capture something of how individuals made sense of these instances the following are representations of how small employers described their use of freelancers. Also discussed are the views of some of the self-employed research participants who reflected on their experiences of being employed to add weight to others' embedded fields. The first example is from Mark from Engage. On a number of occasions I discussed with Mark about the possibility of expanding Engage through employing others. The following three quotes are taken from three different interviews conducted over a three year period. The first extract was an interview conducted when Mark was still relatively new to running his own small visual communication agency (roughly 18months in). The second came later after he had three years experience. The final extract followed his experiences of 'employing' a freelance project manager on a part time basis and was noted during one of the last meetings.

‘Becoming a manager for me would be a failure. I started Engage to get away from managers and shit work. Why would I want to employ a room of Mac Monkeys just so I can take on boring brochure work?’ (Interview 1)

‘Andrew: Has hiring Amanda been a help or hindrance?’

Mark: She has been good and helped us get a better grip over our fees. We also turn around tender requests quicker. We have put in for a £100K print run for an 86 page brochure for a tourist agency. It’s a repeat job too with a three year contract, easy money.

Andrew: But isn’t that ‘shit’ work?

Mark: Well you can sub-contract out the boring work to an art worker. They charge twenty-five quid per hour and we charge them the client forty or fifty quid. Without having to develop a large risk you can take on that work without worrying about salaries.’ (Interview 2)

Mark: Things never worked out with Amanda. She didn’t get any new business so we let her go

Andrew: That’s a shame. Got any thoughts on what to do next?

Mark: I’m planning to refocus on my work and stop stressing about growing the business. The more you go on and on about business growth, targets, strategic plans and so on the more you lose sight of why you are doing it. Also I want to focus on typography. I wouldn’t mind a year without clients, like Stefan Sagmeister²⁷, just to pursue self-initiated briefs. We’ve got a new Masters student from Trent. I am getting him involved in some typography stuff. Then I will increase my fees without employing anyone.’

In the extracts above Mark reflected on something of the ambiguous relationships which, as Scase and Goffee noted, were typical among small business owners for whom employing others is a major risk. Mark’s stratagem was typical in that his preference was to use freelance labour as and when additional assistance was required. His decision to employ Amanda on a part-time basis was therefore a risk and he perceived it as a way of growing the business without compromising his autonomy. For a period this relationship appeared to have had a positive impact. Mark began talking about Engage in a more calculative manner (see extract 2) and found a way of pitching for regular design work without necessarily relinquishing his personal creativity and interests. Also in the second extract there is evidence of another key tension Scase and Goffee noted; the conflict between maintaining practice and avoiding becoming an administrator, supervisor and worse of all to Mark, a manager. In the cultural industries this tension has the added dimension of a struggle for individual expressive potential, or relative autonomy and therefore the practice of

²⁷ Sagmeister has published about his experience of taking a year off from work to re-focus his creative energies.

turning down work where the client's demands are viewed as too restricting on definitions of 'good' design.

The relatively low risk strategy of employing a project and sales manager part-time was still too bureaucratic for Mark. Instead he preferred to continue using students as 'free labour' (Lazzarato, 1996) in return for work experience. It is worth noting this is a typical strategy used in the cultural industries (McRobbie, 1997). However, it should not automatically be assumed that such free labour is (biologically) young. In the above case, the student was married, already an experienced practitioner and in his early 30s. Mark justified this exploitation of free labour by stating how 'we all have to go through a period of unpaid work to get the interesting work'. This relationship relied partly on Mark's charisma and partly on the expectation of self-exploitation arising from the highly competitive labour market and desirability of working in the cultural industries (McRobbie, 1997, 1998, Nixon, 2003, 2005). This frequent supply of free labour from the 'universe of talent' (Hirsch, 1973) has led some to argue the cultural industries are corrosive (Sennett, 1998), encourage a 'brazilianification' of work (Beck, 2000) and reinforce neo-liberal work relations (McRobbie, 2002).

Similar levels of free labour were witnessed as a participant-observer whilst at Get Down magazine. Here the 'staff' were 'paid' through 'free' music, 'free' entrance to clubs and the opportunity to gain experience in independent publishing (e.g. writing, editing and design), which was rare in Nottingham. As this section moves on to explore more formal exchanges of labour it is worth bearing in mind this supply of free labour, or Aspiring Creative Industries Practitioners (ACIPS – see Chapter 3), which is premised on the desirability of working as a creative in the cultural industries. This investment is tied to 'future expectations' (Bourdieu, 1990) since the game of working in the cultural industries requires experience, not only in terms of formal education and/or basic technical skills, but also experience of working on interesting projects, or

those which promise the individual the opportunity to work with clients and projects which enable them to express their symbolic potential.

Other small employers established more formal employment relations with preferred freelancers. These relationships were based on the understanding that both employer and self-employed could retain their autonomy to work on their 'own projects', but when it suited both parties they would work together on contracts. Tensions emerged as self-employed 'creatives' would take on well paid short term work from small employers who were little more than a sole-traders or possibly a duo. The 'employed' would often take on such work so as to support their own nascent entrepreneurial activities. In return the small scale employers were faced with the challenge of being 'one of the creatives' whilst seeking to maximize the return they could gain from such employment relations without the cost associated with offering regular paid employment. This growth through freelance labour was exemplified by entrepreneur Jamie Dahan who explained his strategy as followed.

'In my first 18 months I outsourced to nine freelance writers. I have two reasons for growing that way. First is sanity. If big projects hit at the same time I have cover. The second is financial, to grow the business. I am acting as an agency. I realized I was best at winning work and it goes back to my experience as a recruitment consultant I guess. I like working out what clients want from a brief and now I employ others who can do the same. There are many, many writers who just want to write. They don't want to deal with a client ever.'

During the ethnographic fieldwork I came to interview Jamie on a number of separate occasions. This was partly because he thought I might have some 'business knowledge' that could be useful and because I recommended another writer (Maria) who I had met through Get Down magazine. In a lunch time meeting between Jamie, Maria and myself I asked him how his plan of becoming an agency had worked out some 15 months after the interview above.

'Jamie: I regularly employ 4-5 writers and about 10 I rotate. I have also developed a tone of voice training service as well. I do this with Dave, who is now basically full time.

Andrew: So how do you feel about becoming an employer?

Jaime: I did want to avoid employing people, but that was a confidence thing and also wanting to build the business slowly. Clearly an agency-model means mouths to feed, retainers and that is risky. So I re-wrote my business plan and thought how far do I want this to go? Maybe I'm a bit odd but I don't have that burning passion to write constantly. It's not in my DNA like some

people. I am both account manager and creative. This hit home when I employed an ex-BBC journalist who was charging £200 per day when my date rate was up to £500. Initially I was giving work to writers who were also charging £400-450 per day. But then I started hiring people like the Beeb lady at £150-250 and I was charging them out at £500-600. I did feel awkward but then a friend from the squash club, whose day rate is £1,000 said my mark up was too low. He helped me overcome the squeamishness I had. At the same time developing writers is something I am passionate about.'

Jamie had gone from self-employment to small employer within a period of one year. His strategy was based on the assumption that he could attract a willing group of competent writers who would be grateful of his channels into corporate accounts. He justified his calculation of the value of his administration and management as extra to the written work and calculated a margin on 'his' writers labour. Jamie had decoupled his identity work partially from becoming a freelance writer towards, as he stated, a 'mindset' of 'building a business'. The extract is relevant as it illustrates the moment of a self-employed freelance 'creative' becoming a small employer; a transition which involved a separation from practicing a cultural skill (i.e., writing) towards business administration. To construct this transition Jamie drew on a more explicit calculative disposition than other self-employed and freelance creatives had. In Jamie's account there is little attempt to perpetuate a misrecognition of the economic ends of cultural enterprise.

Jamie's account therefore revealed the emergence of a more instrumental approach to cultural enterprise. In other interviews he would distance his writing away from the 'arty-types' and 'flaky writers' he saw as 'Broadway types'. His investment in cultural enterprise was orientated towards the higher fee paying blue chips. This enabled him to broach the issue of scalability by seeking to exploit others' creativity to which he claimed he was 'outsourcing'. His identity work became more aligned with the role of talent agent or 'boundary watcher' (Hirsch, 1973) which suited Jamie since his strengths were an understanding marketing briefs, brand discourse, sales and recruitment. He also relied on being emplaced in Nottingham since this provided a cheaper place to live, since he could secure better margins from the work he would

(typically) source in London. By employing local (Nottingham) based writers he had access to lower day rates.

One of the benefits of conducting ethnographic research was that I had the opportunity to gather multiple perspectives on Jamie's entrepreneurial activities. On several occasions Jamie invited me to join him and some of his 'start up' mates for lunches. During one of these meetings I was surprised when Mark from Engage turned up for lunch. After the lunch I wandered back to Engage's office with Mark who explained he had done a 'quick and dirty' piece of design for Jamie. I asked Mark what he made of Jamie and he described how he had received an email from Jamie in which Jamie had left in a long trail of previous mails which revealed a discussion of day rates. Mark added.

'He sent me this email which had this stuff about how much he was hiring out one of his writers, AI – who I know. He had CC'd another writer into the mail as well. It wasn't the first time either. I genuinely think he was getting off on saying look at me I'm the daddy and AI' is my writer bitch. There isn't much stopping his writers from setting up their own agencies once they have the contacts and experience. So he needs to be careful and maybe think a bit more about his writers.'

The writer to which Mark was referring was himself the owner-founder of a business which he had recently sold (in hospitality and tourism) to become a full-time employee of Jamie. After receiving her own business card for Dahan she explained.

'I think it's quite funny. I do a few days freelancing and Jamie is calling me one of his team. But the business card thing is just odd. I am now maria@dahan.com which could feel a bit controlling, but it doesn't because I don't understand how, or when, I would use the cards. If I am out and I meet people who are looking for copywriting I am not likely to go 'oh hold on I am working for Dahan' am I! If I get offered work I will take it under my own name. It doesn't bother me being maria@dahan.com it's amusing more than anything.'

Maria's ambivalence to Jamie's identity regulation over her creative expression indicates the degree of promiscuity that has been associated with 'portfolio entrepreneurs' (Leadbeater, 1999). She was fully aware of the potential power effects of Jamie exerting his design reflexivity over her writing but this did not cause her great anxiety. Her reliance on Jamie and the weight of his

'embedded field' (Bourdieu, 2005) was lower than some of the other writers Jamie employed (like AI). What this episode raised during fieldwork was the question of how small employers adjusted their identity work and articulations by shifting towards a more calculative disposition. Another research participant, also one of Jamie's 'start-up mates' was Catherine who also recounted similar experiences of shifting from employee cultural worker (CIP – See Chapter 3) to freelancer and then small employer. She interpreted this shift as follows.

'I have just started taking on staff to grow my business. I am stuck in a quandary between keeping Disclosure nice and small and staying sane, or growing it really big and becoming sad. You've caught me at a crossroads. Taking on staff means you have other mouths to feed. That means extra stress. Especially since the woman who works for me has a child and I feel responsible for going out and getting business because I have to support both of them! I can't see her as a number on a spreadsheet or as a resource. I worry about her quality of life. But she can't feel the same way as I do about Disclosure because it's not her business. But I have to try and make them feel as turned on by it as she can.'

In the above Catherine was showing something of the commonly noted fraternity and paternalistic element of running a small business (Ram, 1994, Scase and Goffee, 1982). An alternative stratagem for scaling a small business was to develop a more family based approach. This meant using real family contacts and resources together with a paternalistic management style. This was observed at Fused which had grown through both family and formal employee relations by stressing a shared interest in an artisan craft or designer maker (see Chapter 4) orientation to work. The co-founders, Laura and Anthony (married), explained how this had worked.

'Laura: Over the past year of constant growth we have got an accountant on board. She came to us from a suggestion made by my bother, Anthony's brother in law, who is a stock broker in San Francisco. He has been quite influential over the years by going 'what are you doing that for if you are only earning this amount of money?' I don't think Fused ever lives up to his aspirations. We also have Anne, a business consultant. She helped with pricing, time management and cash flow management.

Anthony: And we have a very good friend who has had various businesses along the way. We asked him to become a mentor, just to have a look at what we had been doing. He said the business needed ten skills and we realized we needed a sales person, so we have Gill working part-time. It's one of those things with a creative business she doesn't work for the measly sum we pay her. She is seeing the job as a way of channelling her own creative energy. She has the

potential to join Fused full-time. We also employ another glass worker, Bob, who is also doing his own self-employed work.

Laura: We also had a plan of employing a CAD (Computer Aided Design) expert but it was too expensive. We thought about maybe training up Gill but another option would be to get other designer-makers we know to share the cost of a CAD operator.

Anthony: I think it has something to do with being a creative business. You put something out there into the world but you can't be formulaic but it's more than guesswork. Persuading other people that you have a plan is really tough.'

In the above extract, Laura and Anthony's calculative dispositions were orientated to explaining how Fused incorporated the labour of others. For a small business, with modest scaling ambitions, the description above highlighted the tensions of a cultural enterprise seeking 'organic' growth (Scase and Goffee, 1982). This relied on free labour, family advice and low paid part-time employees seeking experience at applying their 'creative energy'. The goodwill and commitment which Laura and Anthony could engender relied heavily on their charisma, (Davis and Scase (2000) note this is an essential part of the older traditional skillset of the cultural entrepreneur) and also the desirability of working with a creative organization. The type of fraternity Laura and Anthony had created suited the artisan skill base that was required to maintain the embedded field they had created.

The smaller employers in this study largely confirmed the claims of others (Scase and Goffee, 1981, Bechofer and Elliot, 1981) who suggested there is a tension in small employers between being a practitioner and being a manager/administrator. The above representations have suggested this tension resulted in a plurality of points of view which can be summarized as follows. First, there is the tension emerging as some self-employed freelancers decided to pursue more nascent entrepreneurial trajectories. In turn they come to rely on the same pool of aspiring cultural workers (ACIPs) from which they emerged. Second, there is a period of readjustment as individuals alter their identity work from practicing creative to small business owner. This separation seemed to involve taking on a more instrumental and calculative set of dispositions. Third is the possibility of developing a 'traditional' artisan model. This model, perhaps more

appropriate for designer makers, such as Fused, as it enabled the founders to operate as practitioner artisan/creative as well as manager.

At this scale of activity there emerged a variety of positions which are reactions that could be classed as oppositional. Mark from Engage, for example, considered becoming a manager as a failure and objected to Jamie Dahan's public display of a calculation of the value of others' creativity. It is suggested these points of view are typical of the types of small scale growth trajectories which individuals create to make sense of their entrepreneurial activities. The plurality of approaches to scalability reveals a variety of approaches to growth. These ranged from those who embraced growth (i.e., the accumulation of small scale economic capital); those who pursued a cautious and modest strategy and those who actively opposed growth on the assumption it would damage their long term development as their relative autonomy would be compromised by supervising others and taking on projects that would restrict the potential for creative expression. Among these nascent entrepreneurs and small scale employees there was a tendency to see labour as the way to growth, rather than property. The following section will explore the question of how the larger (i.e., turnover and staff) cultural enterprises had accumulated property to increase the weight of their embedded fields.

Property: The Accumulation of Physical and Intangible Assets

This section examines the longer term effects of strategies to grow beyond freelancer, self-employed and small employer. The attitudes of individuals who had grown larger cultural enterprises in the design sector in Nottingham (i.e., 10 employees and above) revealed something of the tensions emerging from the need for engaging with a more formal managerial and supervisory role to cope with increased responsibility for the organisations of a collective design reflexivity and property accumulation.

Property assets which increased the 'weight' of a small cultural enterprises' 'embedded field' can be sub-divided into two; first the accumulation of physical property and second the accumulation of intellectual property rights. Beginning with physical assets ownership of work space, or a studio as practitioners called them, was a key differentiator between the larger design enterprises and small employer. The conversion of fees into physical assets enabled owner-controllers of larger design enterprises to channel erratic income into more stable assets. This stratagem provided a means of partially reducing the high degrees of uncertainty involved in cultural enterprise (Bilton, 2007) through the creation of a weightier embedded field. However, as with other elements of cultural enterprise, the acquisition of property was not reducible to its material value. Studios also played a symbolic role and it suggested here that researchers are attuned to the nuanced details of how owner-founders used space property to display to exhibit and control design reflexivity.

One example of how property performed a material (economic capital) and symbolic role was evident in the architectural studio of Brooke and Lukic. As noted in Chapter 6 the co-founder, Charles Brooke, had always considered his practice as entrepreneurial. During the 1980s Charles rejected the traditional route of working up as an apprentice draftsman to focusing on the 'younger' (in cultural age not biological) projects which included designing interiors for retail spaces, bars, hotels and studios for other cultural entrepreneurs. From the economic capital he accumulated during this process Charles acquired a disused warehouse in the centre of Nottingham's Lace Market. This emplaced his office in a milieu of (successful) architects, lawyers, estate agencies, bars and fashion designers. This trajectory was also congruent with the historically contingent assemblage where-by small service businesses, including the cultural industries had begun urban regeneration by rehabilitating disused, often derelict ex-industrial inner city areas (Florida, 2003, Zukin, 1989, 1995).

What was unique to Charles' studio was how the building edifice came to signify the Brooke and Lukic signature style. The building front had large glass panels, portholes and a large steel door with barred windows. Charles explained how the aesthetic of industrial features also performed a necessary practical function (security) as well as displaying his architectural signature at the time he moved in²⁸. Inside the building the space was shaped into a showroom to promote his design reflexivity. On entry the visitor was faced with a steep set of stairs leading to a long ramp that led into an open gallery space. Here architectural monographs, awards, photographs, models, press articles and large images of 'live' competitions were strategically placed to welcome the visitor. The gallery also reinforced the style Charles was creating for his employees and clients as they walked into the studio. On entering the individual therefore becomes encased within the Brooke and Lukic 'will to architecture' (Karatani, 1995).

In my field notes I recalled how Charles had, for the second time, (since I had initially met him on an architectural walking tour), performed his design reflexivity by utilising material surroundings and objects to affect me as a witness to his performing the role of cultural entrepreneur. In his studio I noted how Charles spent much of our interview 'walking' through the studio describing its features and then pointing to artefacts (posters, monographs, photographs) that represented both his plans and actualised instances of his design reflexivity. As if to reinforce the interrelationship between ideas and matter he apologised for having a cold and explained how he had been out at a building site all morning. He even made a point of showing me his mud caked Wellington boots. Clearly the studio space and these performative practices were instruments for enforcing his design reflexivity. Clients and employees's subjectivities were therefore, at least to some degree, entangled in this space with the inter-subjective and material identity regulation Charles exerted through his 'will to architecture' (Karatani, 1995).

²⁸ Zukin (1989) made similar observations, based on her ethnographic account, of how ex-industrial relics had been converted into desirable designed objects for inner city loft dwellers and small cultural businesses.

Charles had used space to display his design reflexivity by entangling it into the building which was a symbolic and economic asset. He could benefit economically from ownership (i.e., lower rent) and from the cultural benefit of displaying his ability to create an affective environment which conveyed 'atmospheric value' (Baudrillard, 1996). It also reinforced to his staff the type of creativity that was acceptable to articulate within the Brooke and Lukic practice design reflexivity. The space therefore reflected a particular scale, aesthetic and supervisory control and reflected Charles' description of the business.

'There is an issue with this game since everyone, clients and architects want to go to London because they know that is where it all happens. We have got some good people here. They are people who want to live here and are looking for interesting work. They get paid less than they would in a more commercial practice but they are prepared to do it because they want fulfilment. We have a haphazard way of working but we decided from the start we would not have sales people or do the wine and dine thing. We don't operate in that commercial way. Someone could easily steal your idea and often you cannot afford protection. Intellectual property is very difficult in architecture because it is hard to prove someone actually stole your idea. So people lift ideas left, right and centre.'

To consolidate the weight of his embedded field in the highly competitive and uncertain cultural industries, Charles developed a strategy for converting his cultural knowledge into economic capital via the accumulation of property. He also separated his practice from commercial practices stressing Brooke and Lukic worked on more interesting projects. This was useful as an argument for justifying lower salaries for his architects. The other means of accumulating wealth through physical assets was to further work on self-initiated briefs. Charles had 'commissioned' his practice to design houses for his own family. These projects blurred the economic and cultural capital since they provided an opportunity to display a more avant garde design reflexivity than his local clients would risk. This strategy not only resulted in Charles owning some highly desirable properties in key real estate areas of Nottingham, but also in a series of awards that further legitimated his design reflexivity.

Another example of the interplay between cultural and economic capital emerged during an interview with Steve Ford from Brand³. As part of his entanglement stratagem Steve drew on a

mixture of seriousness and ironic detachment. The office in which Brand³ was located displayed certain elements of this personalization, or local-organisation (Watson, 2008) element of his engagement with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur. As with Brooke and Lukic's studio the Brand³ studio added weight to the embedded field in both economic and cultural terms.

Steve made a point of giving me a tour of the building and explaining how he had acquired the property, a several thousand squared meter 1930s art deco construction in the 1990s, before the boom in inner-city properties in Nottingham. The building was an ex-boxing gym but had been derelict when he acquired it. After spending more on the refurbishment than the initial acquisition he described in detail the amount the building cost, its estimated re-sale value and what the same amount of office space would cost to rent. His estimation was that Brand³, because of the entrepreneurial move to invest a large portion of their early profits into a property, had paid off since the business now enjoyed a rent that was one third of the commercial rental rate, plus much of the mortgage had been paid off.

The acquisition of property therefore played at least two roles in Steve's identity work. First, the building meant he could reduce the effects of unpredictability of the cultural industries (Bilton, 2007). Steve explained how, after an initial run of success which required more physical space, the building had saved Brand³ after a project had gone wrong and fee income reduced. Second, the art-deco design of the building was an opportunity for Brand³ to express a 'quirky' side to its own brand. The building stood in marked contrast to the more recent 1960s and 1970s architecture in this area of the city. Steve had drawn on the distinctive art-deco edifice to cultivate a design that was repeated throughout the building interior decoration.

Before arriving at the Brand³ office I had been tipped off by one his ex-employees, also a research participant in this research, to note down Steve's 'ironic gestures'. These were described with a resignation of 'that's our Steve always trying to be a bit wacky'. The implication was that his quirky humour was a bit forced and overstated. On entering the site the first thing the visitor

notices is a sign saying 'Brand³: Global HQ', an ironic statement since this is the only country in which the business operates (quirky gesture number 1). Inside the office I was ushered in by a secretary/book keeper (the only staff member on the ground floor), who asked me to wait in one of the meeting rooms. In my notes I recalled how the main feature of the room was a row of clocks displaying the time in New York, Sydney, Nottingham and Burton-upon-Trent (quirky gesture number 2). I also noted the meeting table was surrounded by chairs that were individually decorated in a striped pattern. A nod, so I was told, to Nottingham designer Sir Paul Smith's signature design and to the designer quirkiness that signified this was not a typical corporate meeting room. As I sat on a sofa in the meeting room I flicked through some strategically placed books such as 'Men and Sheds' and a design portfolio showing the history of Brand³. The reference to sheds was more apparent when, on reaching the top third level, I saw a garden shed on the balcony which had been painted red with a St George's Cross. The shed was also used as a visual motif in Brand³'s marketing publicity (quirky gesture 3).

On the second floor of the office Steve showed me into a room where he and the other directors worked alongside their employees. Each director sat at the head of one of three large tables with the other employees. In the centre of the room stood a table-football game and a large Apple computer which Steve explained was a juke-box. The staff members were encouraged to upload songs and chose play lists which were then piped into the room at a modest level. When we reached the third floor, which housed a very large meeting table with a flat screen TV display and a collection of awards which Brand³ had won, I asked Steve if the artwork on the walls was from someone at Brand³. This question arose because Steve had introduced me to the creative director as an artist. His response to this question reinforced the quirkiness and seriousness that was integral to Steve's identity work.

'Those paintings are a bit of a piss take. We got two pictures that are almost identical. Then we put two price tags under them. One read 75 quid and the other is seven and a half grand. We tell clients that one is the original and one is a fake, but we never tell them which is which. Sometimes we tell them they might both be fakes. It doesn't make any odds it's a gimmick, a bit

of a joke, like the Global HQ and the clocks thing and the shed, it's all part of a bit of a show we put on. Not to say it's not real, or honest. But we are in the image business and it's important to set the right expectations.'

Steve's interpretation used the Brand³ office space in a similar way to Charles in the Brooke and Lukic office. However, whereas Charles' use of space was to create an environment that demonstrated his ability to affect space Steve was hoping to raise a wry smile from clients and employees who, so he presumed, would react positively to his display of a knowing ironic quirky humour. His mildly subversive habitus was a carefully constructed system of 'winks inside the milieu' (Bourdieu, 1990a). It reinforced the organisation of design reflexivity he was creating at Brand³. The office space was therefore an asset which furthered his articulation through a carefully orchestrated combination of cultural and economic capital that was instrumental in directing affect towards a shared set of organisational values and an agency style.

In addition to converting cultural capital into economic capital (and vice versa) via the use of accumulation of physical property, several participants discussed ways of accumulating wealth through non-tangible assets. These can be sub-divided into the acquisition of intangible assets of other businesses and the successful creation, registration and exploitation of Intellectual Property Rights (IPR). Scaling through acquisition of other small cultural enterprises was a strategy pursued by two of the individuals interviewed in this research. The first was Tim Jenkins founder of NetDrive who described how he came to acquire an ex-client's business. He noted.

'We were working for Beacon (an internet subsidiary of one of the UK's largest enterprises with interests in entertainment, retail, transport and telecoms) and things were growing so quickly. Clients were saying if you don't have the capacity to expand we'll go elsewhere. Then the bottom fell out of the (internet) market and two of our clients went bust. We halted growing but at a point when we had hired four developers who were sitting there ready to get on with the project for Beacon. They went bust soon after and we decided to buy the business off them. We used the source code they were developing to set up the two main offerings of NetDrive.'

Tim had described how his business survived the uncertainty by acquiring one of his ex-clients, an online shopping service start-up. By acquiring this business Tim was able to achieve two goals: first to diversify his business into two areas (content creation/storage/delivery and online commerce). Second he increased the weight of NetDrive's embedded field by adding the ex-Beacon owned business' IPR to his own IPR. This gave his embedded field a proprietary source code which it leased out for online content creation, management and e-commerce. As this case is more complex and requires a more in-depth discussion Tim's story of scaling is returned to in a case at the end of this chapter.

The second example of scaling through acquisition was discussed by Steve Ford from Brand³. Steve explained his various attempts to scale Brand³ through acquisitions and relations with bigger businesses.

'We brought this internet business about 10 years ago. We picked the wrong bloody dot.com and then we picked the wrong person to put in charge of it. The sort of stuff I am involved with now has come through meeting the main investor who runs a \$500 million fund that's going into China and investing in sustainable technologies over there. The deal is that once they start investing the (Chinese) businesses will need Europeanising in their branding literature and Brand³ will be the preferred supplier. So he has become a big friend. I put him on to this business that is going to float and he could be looking at a £25m return if they buy in. That's why he has guaranteed me a stack of branding work.'

What is worth drawing attention to here is Steve's use of the term 'big friends' to explain his calculative dispositions. This is reminiscent of Mills' description of how the small business owner is often involved in 'fixing things' by being 'within and between bureaucracies; in a kind of uneasy but calculated rhythm' (2000, p91). Steve's account was an interpretation that can be read as very close to Mills' description of small business owners. Steve had forged relations with big businesses to increase the 'weight' of the 'embedded field' but was clearly subservient to his new 'big friends'. Steve reflected on this by acknowledging how he was 'lucky' to have found such important allies after a slow period. The point to highlight is how scaling through acquisition was presented as small scale in relation to his contacts in bigger, or weightier, embedded fields of other businesses in other sectors (e.g., finance, construction).

In addition to the acquisition of other firms' IPR a number of practitioners gave their opinions on the importance of intangible assets to their enterprises. Earlier in this chapter it was noted the image of the small business person has recently been revived since individual creativity has been seen as a key to wealth creation via IPR. The following comments provide a collection of practitioners' points of view on IPR.

'In our contracts we have various clauses, such as we don't let clients use pictures of our sculptures for their own promotion work. We haven't had anyone making key rings out of our designs yet! At the end of the day you can't stop people copying your ideas. All they have to do is change a few things. It might be possible to just make the same product over and over for the next 20 years. I know a ceramicist who makes the same type of bowl over and over. They sell well and she says she enjoys it. For us we like every project to be new and about investigating new problems and materials. There is a lot of research and investment but it is more satisfying.' (Elizabeth Flood)

'I'm fed up with giving away ideas for free. I want to publish something in paper, not digitally. I want to fill up bookshelves with something with more weight. Ideally a book would communicate my aims.. It is the idea of using obscure and difficult ideas without dumbing down and publishing is a chance for recognition.' (Mark, Engage)

'I own a European patent on a manufacturing process for recycling. I also registered the design of some things I made, like the magazine racks, coasters which have been submitted to a file. They are filed in case someone tries to develop something similar and infringe my copyright. The problem is I probably couldn't afford the legal representation, so it's a bit pointless. I have these pieces of paper which have cost tens of thousands but if push came to shove a large design firm or materials company could take me on and there is sod all little me can do from my studio. I think IP is a waste of resources I've had a lot of misleading advice. Coming up with ideas is my strength and going out and meeting people getting them enthused about the product I know I need help to research the potential markets and develop a strategy for entering that market but I hate that bollocks boring business.' (Clare, Re-Heel)

'I worry a lot about people biting my style. What can I do? Illustrations and toy designs are so easy to steal. I have contracts with manufacturers and get paid royalties which is the best I can do for now. It's like do you take the money from bigger business offering to develop your ideas, but maybe over-expose your style. Or do you try to retain control over your designs, but maybe risk loosing out on your one moment? I am worried about the consequences of both being involved and not being involved.' (Rob Strawson, Commercial Illustrator)

In the above extracts the participants discussed an ambiguous relationship to IPR. Initially I had thought this was a cavalier attitude but it was more likely a reflection of the trials of coping with the inherent uncertainty of predicting shifts in fashions and fads within the cultural industries.

Proclaiming that IPR is important is therefore merely a tautology. Practitioners recognised the

importance of protecting their creativity but were faced with limitations over the extent to which they could control the entangling of their design reflexivity with weightier embedded fields. From these comments it is suggested that cultural entrepreneurs are not ignorant or oppositional to IPR. Instead it is the absence of resources that prevents them executing their rights (i.e., copyright and patents). The owner of the record label I released music with confirmed this in an interview I conducted with him²⁹. His success was largely premised on legal prowess which came from his wife who was an ex-IP lawyer. In the absence of such expert knowledge entangling design reflexivity into an others' embedded field poses a severe challenge for the micro businesses in the cultural industries and therefore reinforces the precariousness of their position within and between larger organisations.

In summary, this section on scale has explored how participants in this study discussed stratagems for scaling their small cultural enterprises. This level of empirical material is useful since it challenges overly theorized views that suggest cultural enterprise is either enslaving or emancipatory, downplaying the complex interrelationships between the two poles (Banks, 2006). It also runs contrary to those who uphold normative views of how the cultural entrepreneur should create wealth from individual creativity and IPR.

What this section suggests is that to understand scale and property accumulation within small cultural enterprises researchers are required to first understand the sources of tension that emerge and form the syntax of the practice of cultural enterprise. These tensions can be accessed, though not unproblematically, from getting closer to participants who discussed their stratagems for entangling design reflexivity into the 'economy of economic practices' (Bourdieu, 2005). At the centre of the various tensions it is suggested that there is a need to balance an investment into accumulating economic capital with a continuous surveying of a positioning struggle within a sub-field of the cultural field. Clearly this conclusion rests on Bourdieu's separation, for

²⁹ This interview is not included here since his business is based in Soho, London.

analytical purpose, of the field of culture and field of power. However, at the risk of reification this separation is useful since it provides a way of analyzing the nexus of interrelationships that link cultural entrepreneurs to the problem of being no more able to pursue purely economic or instrument aims than they can afford pursuing the (almost) totally disinterested ambitions of fine artists, scientists, poets and so forth (Bourdieu, 1996).

Questions relating to scalability therefore require further investigation into how individuals create a mix of (relatively autonomous) novelty with (relatively heteronymous) reasonableness. This negotiation, which is partially voluntaristic and partially dependent on structuring structures (e.g., available projects, current tastes, location) is exaggerated by the inherently unpredictable and rapidly changing fashions within the cultural industries. Questions of scaling cultural enterprises must therefore be analysed as partially dependent upon the individuals' capacity to position an embedded field within the ephemeral shifts of similitude and difference (Simmel, 1904, 1908) that flow between the field of culture and the field of power. It is suggested that identification is a useful conceptual tool as it connects individual biography to historically-contingent public debates about symbolic legitimacy and the 'right to access' economic capital.

No attempt is made here to generalize from the above material. The question of scalability in small scale cultural enterprises requires in-depth empirical research of how individual's aspirations and ability to create stratagems for positioning their embedded fields are implemented due to tensions with wider social forces outside their control. What can be identified as an object for sociological research is the typicality of the nexus of tensions which are present given the need to create novel (symbolic) and reasonable (economic) mixtures. The following section will explore the kernel of this struggle in more detail before turning to two cases which examine the issues raised in this chapter.

Specialization and Consolidation: Cycles of Similitude and Difference

This section will explore the tensions involved in developing a relatively durable style which is interpreted as the presence of a successful entanglement stratagem. It considers how research participants developed stratagems to cope with high levels of competition and unpredictability as they positioned their embedded fields within the cultural industries.

One of the clearest indications I witnessed of this problem of specialisation and consolidation was during an interview with glass designers Fused. When discussing their stratagem of attending a key show in the design calendar (Total Design) Laura and Anthony revealed the importance of maintaining a presence to entangle their design reflexivity over a three year period despite minimal success in terms of sales.

'Laura: We've been doing Total Design for four years now. When we started we got picked up by magazines. That was nice but there was little real business. It was ok in the first year because we had funding and were enthusiastic and naïve about it. The next couple of years were leaner and we really wondered about whether we should spend five grand to exhibit.

Anthony: We decided that despite a disappointing first couple of years we should go back.

Laura: We had buyers coming to our stand and saying they had been watching us silently since the first year we attended the show. One of these was said they had been visiting our stand and website since the first year. They didn't commission because they wanted to know we would be around from one year to the next. They needed to be sure we could do something different each year because larger designers, architects and specifiers need confidence in a supplier's ability. So there are agencies silently watching you to get a feel for where you go from one year to the next, they need that idea of developing.

Anthony: Total Design was our way of showing that development.

Laura: A couple of years back I was unhappy and felt like a machine. I started using a different kiln firing technique and was back to playing. We did this piece that was more like art than architectural glass. It was a risk but it paid off. It attracted the right attention like RIBA (Royal Institute for British Architecture) which selected it as one of the top products of the show and that brought media attention from the quality end we were aiming at.'

In the above extract the negotiation between the two owner-founders revealed something of the complexities of having to be novel and reasonable. Clients, in this case at the premium end of the designer-maker market (i.e., leading architectural practices and interior designers) had to be convinced of Fused's staying power and ability to change. The need for both innovation and

repeatability were only revealed to Laura and Anthony by engaging in the 'logic of practice' (Bourdieu, 1990, 1990b). Only through their investment in cultural enterprise could they develop a presence for their embedded fields' design reflexivity and win favour from larger businesses that could develop their designs. What is striking about this account is how influential taste legitimisers maintained a covert surveillance. Laura and Anthony focused on a continuous process of aligning a personal organisation of culture with the social organisation of the value of design. The effect on their entanglement stratagem was the ability to position their embedded field as both durable and adaptable; or capable of expressing difference and similitude that was, more or less, acceptable within the parameters of others' definitions of design reflexivity.

Another example, which was explored in Chapter 4, involved Charles Brooke who described how he had recently entered a new articulation of his architectural practice. This grew out of frustration with the current property development market, a fear of putting too much emphasis on cultural infrastructure (which he presumed would run out of funding) and seeing an opportunity in eco-design. Charles described how he had re-orientated the articulation of his embedded design reflexivity through an entanglement stratagem that meant aligning his embedded field with changes in the construction industry he was critical of. He added.

'I think I have a bit of a tendency to draw back when things get too popular, like with all these creative industries and digital arts centres. There are so many people who are living off the back of it, just talking and consulting, producing these huge reports which have nothing whatsoever to do with actual design questions. It's like this trend in public service design, which is very in vogue. People forget that before Thatcher disbanded them, there was all this health design research which was buried. There is no centralised design knowledge and people get trapped into reinventing new schools and hospitals because it is the innovative thing to do. It is the same issue with inner-city flats. We are probably making the same mistakes as the 60s, only they are worse mistakes because we know the buildings will fall down around us before too long.'

In the above Charles pointed out his hard won experience of watching the cycles of design fashions sweep in and out, only to return years later. He recognized this in his own practice and how its embedded field related to wider changes within the sub-field of design and showed a degree of scepticism towards the subordination to the field of power (i.e, political discourse about

public sector and housing reform). His position on novelty and reasonableness revealed perhaps the less positive aspects of the fashion cycles within the cultural industries.

Another expression of the tension of novelty-reasonableness came from Jason at Imprint. He provided a middle ground assessment of the need for consolidation and specialisation. Jason had grown Imprint, over a three year period, from a three person business to a small employer with 10 employees. Imprint was held in high regard by a number of local contemporaries as an exemplar of how to grow a design studio. I came to meet Jason after hosting a seminar at Creative Collaborations in which I discussed how narrative theory might be useful for positioning a cultural enterprise's offerings. In the audience was Tam, the newly employed business development manager for Imprint. She suggested I meet up with Jason and discuss 'marketing strategy'. When I met Jason I happened to be carrying with me a copy of *How to Become a Graphic Designer without Losing Your Soul* (Shaughnessy, 2005). During our 'interview' Jason mentioned the book and this prompted the following comments on how he had struggled to get Imprint recognized as having, as he put it, a 'studio style' without that becoming 'straight jacketed'.

'Obviously you can spread yourself too thinly and then no one knows what you are trying to do. When we market ourselves we keep coming back to the question of what is the one thing we want people to know about us. In design there is a danger of ending up with all these names of different things and clients know you cannot do all of it. You basically can't be too belligerent, or too straight edged and you definitely need great briefs. You can't run a successful design agency if all you have is dull work. We have done some illustrations that came nowhere near paying for the time that went in, but these were great for the designers to do because they see good work in print. Those are the things you need on your (web) site because they show a rich visual style and attract bigger clients. We want to get hold of the best people and hold on to them. That's only possible if you are doing good work and everyone is enjoying it. We also want to make money, but not at all costs because we want to be rewarded our creative input. That is the ultimate reward in running an agency.'

In the above extract Jason was reacting to the tensions of entangling the design reflexivity of the small design enterprise he had helped to organise. Central to his entrepreneurial activity was addressing the question of how to develop a durable long term plan so as to balance both interesting work, without becoming too 'belligerent'. His entanglement stratagem was to ensure

low paid but higher creative input projects alongside better paid work, but with less scope for autonomous creative expression from larger clients. This decision was not entirely within Jason's control as he acknowledged the constraints of clients, briefs and staff. His entanglement stratagem therefore relied on the identity regulation of his employees' potential for creative expression. His solution was to create conditions in which others could contribute to the design reflexivity he had co-constructed with the embedded field of Imprint.

Jason's account therefore raised a further dimension to the problem of balancing novelty and reasonableness. This is the issue of how others could be persuaded to contribute their design reflexivity to an organisations' embedded field. Jason's solution was to stress that he could provide designers with unparalleled opportunities to develop their individual personal portfolios. This stratagem again relied on Jason's ability to know and secure what others considered good, interesting and cool projects. Since he did carry significant symbolic capital Jason could attract and retain talent which in turn contributed to the weight of his embedded field. Jason explained how this entanglement stratagem had evolved over time.

'We've tried a number of ways to develop the business. We've hired a few graduates but they are a problem as they take a long time to develop. They need one year to get up to speed, rather than a couple of months. We've also developed a relationship with Business Links which is starting to understand about developing creativity. You can't accept that all money is good money or all work is good because the work we take on affects everyone here not just the bottom line. We've found hiring new people can prevent things stagnating. We have ten people now and that is as big as we ever want to be. Beyond ten you have to be working in a lot of different disciplines, or become led by whichever client is paying the highest fees. Our solution is to look internally and think about getting the best out of the people here. That's partly because recruiting is a problem. We have never tempted people away from London. One possibility is opening a studio down there. Another strategy we've pursued is putting one of our designers in clients' offices. If the best people are leaving Nottingham to go to London then you need to manage that process.'

As the above suggests Jason's strategy for scaling Imprint was very much based on expansion through attracting and retaining excellent creative labour. What is important is how recruitment and retention of creative talent was intertwined with an attempt to shape collective design reflexivity through relatively consistent organisational aims. The strategy he had developed to

ensure this was a mixture of planned action (i.e., taking on low paid work that offered key portfolio pieces and creative freedom) together with various unplanned improvisations, such as placing one of his designers in a client's office. Through this entanglement stratagem Jason had managed to increase the weight of Imprint's embedded field by balancing issues of style, interesting and diverse work together with relatively high income projects and long term relationships with organisations with weightier embedded fields.

This successful mixture of symbolic and economic capital had resulted in an embedded field that expressed a design reflexivity that stood out as a distinctive studio style. Imprint had won awards, press coverage and had presented its work on the same platforms (e.g., conferences and design exhibitions) as well as respected UK and international design agencies. These activities were vital to ensuring employees continued to comply with the identity regulation of their expressive potential and for attracting clients drawn to the high symbolic capital associated with Imprint. Despite being based in Nottingham Imprint had overcome some of the emplacement tensions and ensured they were close to displaying the same appeal as a London agency.

Towards the end of this research I contacted Tam from Imprint as I noticed Imprint's website now boasted a London address. Tam explained there was space for eight members of staff and the plan was to expand in 2008. Imprint was still managed from Nottingham but decided to open in London to increase their ability to take pitches 'face to face'. She also emphasised the office had increased Imprint's 'social capacity' or opportunities for business development she felt were impossible in Nottingham. Opening a London office placed Imprint on the preferred supplier list for larger clients that had previously blocked Imprint for not being London based.

Listening to how Jason balanced the need for novelty and reasonableness I was reminded that creating a presence in London's fashionable circles was reminiscent of historical accounts of Josiah Wedgwood's strategy of developing 'lines, channels and connections' to London's power elite. Whilst Wedgwood's success undoubtedly involved a complex interplay between his own

agency and historical circumstances (i.e., British colonial expansion, inland navigation, trade legislation and political changes associated with non-conformism and the Enlightenment) (McKendrick et.al.1982, Dolan, 2004) and is not directly comparable to the research participants in this research, it is interesting to note how Wedgwood, a cultural entrepreneur from the provinces, decided to invest in a London retail space. His showroom in Soho had a tea room which, due to the fashion for tea, became a destination for London's elite. As these powerful individuals were drawn to sip tea surrounded by and using Wedgwood's wares a re-alignment took place between their pre-reflexive habitus-field relation. This combination of physical space and the insertion of designed objects being one example of how identification is affected by the exertion of design reflexivity, in this case Wedgwood's signature wares.

Historical anecdote aside, it was not only Jason from Imprint who employed a strategy of expanding the weight of Imprint's embedded field by occupying a foothold in London. A similar strategy was employed by Amanda from Disclosure PR. She noted.

'I have an incubation space in Nottingham and a hot desk in London, just off Pall Mall. It's handy because I can pop down to London and go to networking events in the city and I have also won other business from the people I share the space with. I know the owner and it's primarily for high growth IT firms which don't know much about PR. I also have a 0845 number which means I don't have to reveal I am from Nottingham if I don't want to. Some clients would definitely have been put off I had a Nottingham number and address, but that is part of PR it's image, image, image at the end of the day.'

In the above Amanda was describing how a non-geographic specific telephone number and a hot desk offered her tools for an entanglement stratagem which could extend the weight of her embedded field without relocating to London. Crucially, as with Jason's account of Imprint, London was central as a source of business as it attracted higher fee paying clients. In addition to Imprint and Disclosure most of the other individuals had some experience of entanglement with London. This ranged from attending industry events, exhibiting at conferences which attracted a global audience and finding connections to work 'within and between' (Mills, 2000) larger organizations (e.g., via agencies, by agreeing to work in a client's office for a short period). In the

cases at the end of this chapter this issue will be discussed as both the owners of the businesses had experienced the same phenomenon of how entanglement in London meant higher economic rewards. London is therefore interpreted as significant, not for its geographic relevance but because, in the UK, it represents the strongest concentration of cultural industries (Creative London, 2005, DCMS, 2006) in the closest proximity to the field of power (i.e., economic and political capital) in the UK.

The final example which illustrated how the tension of novelty and reasonableness required an entanglement between the field of culture and the field of power, which happened to be concentrated in London, is taken from Teubert and Flood. Elizabeth Teubert explained how a project in London had significantly altered their symbolic and economic capital. The project involved creating a large scale sculpture for the entrance to a shopping centre and is therefore reminiscent of the comment in Chapter 1 taken from Walter Benjamin's who argued the *Passages* in Paris were a conduit through which art entered the market. Elizabeth explained this process from a practitioner's point of view.

'Most of the work we have attracted is from competitions. If your background fits the criteria you might get short listed. That means you have to be able to define an approach. We are fortunate because people come to us directly now and when we are invited to competitions we tend to get short listed earlier. The project in London really helped because we made connections with an architect that has meant exposure and an affinity with other design and construction organisations who know what we do. That really helps with commissions because it helps us state our case. That project was three years ago but it meant we could show we could handle large scale pieces and projects.'

In the above Elizabeth raised a number of issues that have often been associated with small cultural businesses. Her account showed the need to be able to apply novel creative expressions that were congruent with her clients. She also referred to the need to convey this to her employees, or 'creative thinkers' and others involved in realizing her designs (i.e., architects, property developers and construction contractors). Her entanglement stratagem involved a constant negotiation between consolidation and specialization so as to address the uncertainty of

developing the weight of an embedded field. Elizabeth's account suggested that, even with symbolically rich projects, the weight of a small cultural enterprise's embedded field is far from ever being protected. Instead stratagems are required to continuously monitor the mixture of novelty and reasonableness.

In summary, this section has represented research participants' interpretations of their stratagems for entangling the value of their entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity. These were conceptualised as strategies for increasing the weight of a cultural enterprise's embedded field. Central to this was the commonly acknowledged need to manage a number of tensions endemic in small business stratum. These are summarized as challenges associated with the 'independence' and self-reliance that are common to the position of small businesses as 'within and between' (Mills, 2000) larger businesses (Bechofer and Williams, 1981, Curran and Blackburn, 1991, Ram, 1994, Scase and Davis, 1982). However, in the case of small scale cultural enterprise, it is suggested the kernel of tensions is amplified by the need to balance interesting, or novel work with a cultural significance together with economically viable and reasonable projects.

The above section has presented empirical instances in which individuals described their stratagems for translating articulations of emplaced design reflexivity by entangling them with others' definitions of design reflexivity. The representations therefore contribute empirical material to suggest how, at the level of individual practitioners, design reflexivity becomes placed within a 'frame of calculativeness' (Callon et al, 2002) through a heightened reflexive awareness of 'calculative dispositions' (Bourdieu, 2000). The extracts therefore explore how certain types of entrepreneurial organisations of design reflexivity are within contemporary capitalist calculation and circulation of value (Arvidsson, 2006, Callon et al. 2003, Giddens, 1991, Lash and Urry, 1994, Lash and Lury, 2007, Lury, 2004, Thrift, 2005, 2006). To survive, it is suggested, cultural enterprises must continuously adapt to providing relational services (Gadrey, 2000) that provide

both novel and reasonable products and services. Successful entanglements are defined as stratagems that increase the weight of an embedded field by legitimizing the value of design reflexivity to other 'expert systems' (Giddens, 1991) involved in the process of 'filtering' and calculating (Callon, 2005, Thrift, 2005) the value of products and services.

This chapter has provided insights into this process at an individual level. It has drawn attention to the issues of scalability, property and durability. The aim has been to show how a 'will to architecture' (Karatani, 1995) is only relevant if it is embedded into a 'universe of symbols' that is embedded in historically contingent social relations (Berger and Luckman, 1967). The material has been represented so as to help understand the process through which individuals engage in cultural enterprise via identity work with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur.

This chapter will now explore two cases within cases. These focus on the entanglement stratagems of the owner-founders of two of the largest cultural enterprises to participate in this research. They employed between 15-25 employees and had revenues in excess of £1 million. The cases expand on how these individuals addressed issues of scale, property, labour and capital accumulation as their design reflexivity was connected to intellectual property rights, finance and the identity regulation of others each being integral to devising a strategy to consolidate and expand the weight of the embedded fields.

NetDrive: Managerial Control of Design Reflexivity

The first encounter I had with NetDrive (a digital interface design business) was through a participant on a Creative Collaboration course. After going for a number of coffees with John, who had recently left NetDrive and was interested in my experience in Internet technologies as a technology analyst, I was invited to a networking event for IT entrepreneurs. At this event I discussed NetDrive with John who introduced me to another ex-NetDrive employee (Sophie).

Both John and Sophie explained their experiences of working at NetDrive and said the experience looked good on their CVs. However, as the night wore on, another side to their experiences emerged. This revealed a feeling that their creative input had been curtailed. Despite being invited to come up with new ideas of how NetDrive could develop its interface design business they felt that when it came to it the boss, Tim Jenkins, would only ever followed his ideas, even if these were loss leaders. As a consequence John had decided to leave NetDrive and become a self-employed web programmer. Over the next year Sophie would also become a sole-trader web-design and programmer.

With this background in mind I was intrigued to meet Tim Jenkins when I sat next to him at a conference in Nottingham at which we were presenting. The conference explored how digital technologies could be used for content management and delivery for media and entertainment companies in the East Midlands. Tim was presenting because NetDrive had recently been involved in a high profile Digital TV and Internet project. NetDrive was commissioned to design an interface for capturing data from mobile phones, websites, which could then be analysed and represented 'live' on an interface that was both presentable on the Internet and TV. This project involved several months' work due to resolving legal as well as technical issues over responsibility and ownership over the rights and liabilities for hosting and representing data. As I had some experience in these matters I was able to engage in conversation with Tim without mentioning my research interests. Following this ice-breaker I utilized my legitimate involvement in the cultural industries, via Creative Collaborations, to ask if Tim would conduct interviews with me. These form the basis of the following.

Given the background of how I first heard about NetDrive I was intrigued to focus the interview as much as possible around the issue of scaling and the management of creative talent, in this case highly skilled and relatively scarce web programmers in Nottingham. I was interested

therefore when Tim gave the following response to the question of whether staff retention had been an issue.

'Retention has never been a problem for us. We started with eight people in the first year and up until last year there were still six of us left from the original company. One left last year which was a shame, but I wouldn't say that we have a lot of problem retaining people. We may have a lot of churn in terms of developers who are on their way up. I think we tend to give people reasonably good training and the technologies we use are up-to-date. So we provide a good place for up and coming developers. What we have tried to do is get junior developers on board and then train them up. That way they seem to stay for a while longer. But overall we have a fairly consistent 20-25 full time staff.'

Tim's description of retention was useful as it enabled me to place the experiences of John and Sophie into context. Both were programmer developers and from Tim's description I inferred this process of 'churn' as he called it was fairly normal at NetDrive. This can be interpreted in two ways. It is perhaps a reflection of the process which Scase and Goffee noted in their research on small firms. They argued owner-founders distinguished between their employees based on the relevance of their skills. Using their schema, the developers' skills, although seemingly 'high skill' to a non-expert, were still 'peripheral' within NetDrive. To become a 'central tradesman'³⁰ individuals were required to speak new media languages (Manovich, 2001) and offer their creativity. Facilitating this extra creative input became apparent in Tim's response to my question of how he managed creativity. He added.

'That is a very interesting question. As we have grown that has become more and more of a problem. We need people to be as creative as possible and for them to be creative you cannot impose too many rules and regulations over them, and yet when you have got 20 people you have got to impose lots of regulations, otherwise it would be complete chaos. We have struggled to maintain the creativity but also to keep productivity up, but you have to maintain both. Maybe it is easier for us because out of the staff, say twenty, we have eight programmers and only two designers, so in terms of 'creatives' we have probably only have had four creatives and the rest just get on with the job. These people are more software engineers than creative types. So we have a mix of people who just get the work done and other people who have really good ideas.'

³⁰ Scase and Goffee's study focussed on the construction industry. The notion of skills relating to construction is as relevant in the case of NetDrive whose core business is 'building' websites, or virtual property for businesses.

Continuing to work with Scase and Goffee's framework Tim's description suggests a 'high market orientation' and a 'managerial control system' (Scase and Goffee, 1982). This suggests a tension would emerge as Tim directed the resources (so far only labour has been discussed) within his control towards maintaining a relatively weighty 'embedded field'. This positioning strategy can also be interpreted as a source of tension for cultural enterprises. As Davis and Scase explained in creativity intensive sectors, where employees are expected to trade their non-conformist ways of acting and engaging in problems so as to 'think the unthinkable' (2000), it is understandable that Tim should describe the problems of managing creative staff. Tim's account is typical of the problem that has been identified of managing creative staff alongside 'non-creative' staff. Whilst the distinction is undoubtedly a clumsy separation and misleading (Bilton, 2007) (since most employees in cultural organisations are expected to add their creative input) what is important here is how Tim provides an empirical account of controlling creativity. He chooses to distinguish between creatives (i.e., designers), account managers and software engineers. His description of the management challenge reveals the challenge of imposing controls, so as to achieve efficiency and consistency, and the importance of 'identity regulation'. This central tension suggests a need to avert chaos by managing to manage (Watson, 2001) his 'embedded field' by balancing, or negotiating, divergence, autonomy and experimentation together with coordination and convergence on what the organisational goals of NetDrive should be.

The frustrations expressed by Tim and his ex-employees are therefore understandable given that Davis and Scase also noted how bureaucratic processes and individuality make for uncomfortable guests. As they stated management easily becomes the 'antithesis of innovation' in organisational realities which rely on 'the expression of individual creativity' (2000, p7). As this distinction is premised on a Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy it is worth recalling Du Gay's comment that pure bureaucratic procedures are 'always already framed, formatted and equipped

in relation to specific purposes' (2004, p45). The danger of exaggerating the tension between 'pure' creativity and 'pure' bureaucracy is that of generalizing how creativity becomes 'institutionalized and becomes a part of controlled social process' (Davis and Scase, p24).

Although they acknowledged the specificities associated with each organisational form Davis and Scase still present a decontextualised representation of how creativity is managed in the cultural industries. They claimed across the cultural industries (which include not only a wide range of sub-genres but also commercial, state and hybrid organizations) there is a 'general orientation' towards loosely defined job roles; a lack of reporting mechanisms and an underplaying of management identities. Management they suggest is integrated into the professional specialism or creative role. Interested in how a practitioner might reply to this claim I asked Tim whether he considered his role involved 'managing'. Tim's reaction was as followed.

'Well, I'm the manager if that is what you mean. At the moment I have been implementing a new process which has taken about six months. It started when we brought in an operations manager to co-ordinate production. It's allowed me to take a role that is a lot more about developing creative ideas with the creative staff. We are all part of the production team, but with my creative team we are able to work on some of the new work coming in and the more strategic stuff. So we are establishing more of a steady team and process at the moment.'

Tim's reply indicates that his identity work with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur required a mixture of both a creative persona and a manager persona. It indicated his stratagem for developing a more formal bureaucratic structure by employing a manager. This contradicts the notion that small cultural businesses tend to lack formal job roles and bureaucratic reporting structures (Davis and Scase, 2000) but affirms the claim that managers are unpopular as their role is to enforce organizational aims through identity regulation of others' creativity (Alvesson, 1994, Alvesson and Willmott, 2003). This perhaps explains Tim's stratagem for employing someone else to fulfil this role. This enabled him to continue his identity work as a practicing creative within the owner-founder role. This stratagem seemed to have emerged from experience. Tim added.

'We have got our ideas on how to manage from lots of trial and lots of error! We've brought in a couple of business consultants to advise us, but they tend to come up with a load of ideas that don't really work. The whole thing about NetDrive is that everyone has a say, if they have an idea as long as it's not completely wacky we tend to listen to it. When we first started we used to section people off. We said 'you are the programmers over there and you are the designers go do your stuff over there. You end up with some software that isn't designed well and images of things that you can't code. So you have to get them to work together and we found that means managing everyone as a team. We also moved the account managers in to the development environment. This worked well for a couple of years but we recently decided to take them out because we now have project managers in the teams. We have found we do need to manage the whole process together and that means right from the moment a client says we have got an idea for a web project can you come and talk to us through the whole process of development and delivery.'

In the above extract Tim's description highlights two salient points, which concur with what others have written about the challenge of managing creativity. Davis and Scase, although generalizing about 'the cultural industries', stated a source of tension is the need to control production, creativity and co-ordination (2000). Earlier Hirsch made a similar analysis in his model that explained the functional separation of roles in cultural organisations so as to organise 'selecting, processing and disseminating' of fashions and fads (1973). This sequential ordering has been challenged by those who claim in practice managing creativity is messy (Bilton, 2007, Banks et.al.2001). Instead trial and error and a need to maintain a nomos against ever present chaos is arguably a more 'realistic' assessment, not just of managing within the creative industries, but more typically across other industrial sectors (Watson, 2001). As Bilton suggested one of the problems with current theories on managing creativity is that they tend to either reify the structures of creative production or fetishize the ceaseless pursuit of novelty (2007). Both interpretations overlook the social processes involved in maintaining a durable yet improvised organisational reality for creativity (Davis and Scase make a related point 2000). Bilton described this process as involving a shift in management towards sustaining the (creative) autonomy of employees along with controlling it through 'connection without consensus' (2007, p41). This claim is similar to theories of project based organization in the cultural industries (Grabher, 2002, 2003, Pratt, 1999) and the related claims, (see Chapter 1) that managing has become a question of

design (Roberts, 2005) by facilitating temporary teams and flexible ‘communities of practice’ (Cohendet and Amin, 2004, Wenger, 1999, Wenger and Sydham, 2002).

Returning to Tim’s account, a key challenge of managing creativity focuses on facilitating social processes that require intervention rather than direct control or supervision. In other words Tim’s account suggests the challenge of designing an embedded field in which individuals’ creativity is encouraged insofar as they are contributing novel idea generation, idea adaptation (i.e., project and account management) and idea translation (i.e., strategic direction and sales). Tim’s role as designer-manager is to ensure the contradictions emerging from these activities are orientated towards a commercially viable, or ‘reasonable’ (Bourdieu, 2005) proposition. The suggestion is that controlling the social organisation of creativity turns management into a question of facilitating conditions that align employees’ personal organisation of culture with the design reflexivity of an embedded field so as to increase its weight. As others have suggested this type of organising is congruent with meeting the challenge of ICT (Castells, 1996, Cohendet and Amin, 2004), disorganised capitalism (Lash and Urry, 1994, Urry, 1989), complex and turbulent production (Thrift, 2005, Urry, 2005) and knowledge intensive organisations (Alvesson, 1994, Bilton, 2007, Mcfall, 2004) .

In Tim’s interpretation it is possible to represent how he tried to control his employees’ creativity so as to make it consistent with the design reflexivity he was organising within NetDrive so as to make it reasonable and novel to other design agencies and clients. In discussing how he had managed this process so as to increase NetDrive’s ‘weight’ Tim explained.

‘We have well structured contracts and we put in several milestones to ensure a client is happy and we don’t end up with a long tail. The emphasis is on them not to let the tail grow too long. Project management is key because you need to be able to establish when a project is complete. We have always had this structure in place because we have to protect the business. The other thing is IPR, our contracts clearly state that all of the source code belongs to us and that we will license this to other businesses to use but the concept they want us to develop belongs to them. We’ve had a few arguments over the years. We once had a client who put a hot shot lawyer onto us. We explained that if they had copyright over it we would go out of business. In the end we handed over IPR over some small bespoke bits we developed for them and they were happy. They spent a lot of money and wasted a lot of our time. We’ve learned over the years you need a

variety of models for your customers but you also need to remain competitive. We can then sell a license for the technology and put bespoke services on top of that if the client wants. This means that even though the market has become more competitive our costs have stayed fairly competitive.’

The above extract illustrates how scaling is possible through the exploitation of intellectual property, in this case the use of intangible source code for web development. By developing a set of proprietary software systems Tim was demonstrating the ability to mix symbolic competency and economic reasonableness. Together this meant he could present NetDrive as novel and competitive within the sub-field of web design. His description captured a sense of how positioning an embedded field at the intersection of the fields of culture and power requires attention to both autonomous creative exploration (novelty) and bureaucratic controls to ensure that a collective ‘reaching out of mind’ can be consummated, or entangled into other embedded fields in ‘the market’ as Tim perceived it.

This extract is an instance where Bourdieu’s notion of field theory can be deployed for analytical purposes. As noted in Chapter 6 the intra-firm management of creativity is vital to shaping a relatively coherent organisational reality but the resultant ‘embedded field’ must also remain relevant to the changes occurring within and between fields. To achieve a relatively stable balancing of novelty and reasonableness a cultural enterprise must, as Tim’s description suggested, recognise the interrelationship between direction of internal resources (i.e., the social processes arising from attempts to facilitate the social process of co-coordinating the creativity individual staff bring and generative between each other) and also the trends, both cultural (i.e., symbolic, inter-textual) and economic that act as ‘structuring structures’ (Bourdieu, 1990) or partial constraints on a firms ability to sustain and, if applicable, grow an embedded field. This raises the question of strategy, or the ‘gravitational’ pull of an embedded field (Bourdieu, 2005) is possible given the dynamic interplay between specialization (novelty) and consolidation (reasonableness). The question is therefore how can the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity be sustained over a period of time given continuous shifts in the dominant definitions

of what constitutes similitude and difference within the fields of culture and power. Tim's answer to the question of strategy was as follows.

'We've basically developed two sides to what we do. One side is interactive web design. I guess it's about capturing, interrogating and visualizing data. You've probably guessed it comes from my science background. The other side of the business is running a lot of online shops for people. We develop e-commerce solutions and run our own e-business. When the company I told you about, our client (part of Beacon – see above) went bust, we brought their source code. We used it to develop our own IP but also to set up a subsidiary business called Easy-Ebiz. It's a similar model to Café Press in the US. We can create an affiliate shop for a website. We create the online shop and can even manage the printing, ordering and fulfilment. We have a couple of hundred affiliates so it's quite a big business. We also source toys and merchandise and sell those if clients are interested. So we can either just license our e-commerce software or we can manage the whole process for a royalty fee. We also have a warehouse in Nottingham and can do storage and delivery. The reason we did this is because in the first couple of years we grew really fast then lost a couple of clients and that hurt. So we decided not to put all our eggs in one basket.'

Contrary to what I had previously known, from NetDrive's website and from others descriptions of the business I had no idea there was a subsidiary business with a warehouse, packaging facilities and printing operation. What was significant about the above passage was how Tim justified his strategy for NetDrive's embedded field as a mixture of consolidation and specialization. First he explained how his aim was to specialize in a high-risk 'R&D' area of providing bespoke online data analysis and representational tools for digital interactive content. This was consistent with his articulation of how he developed NetDrive after dabbling in digital interfaces as a science PhD. Second he explained the importance of consolidating initial success in web design sector by developing proprietary source code for e-commerce. Finally he explained how, following the acquisition of a former client, he had set up a subsidiary e-business – a clicks and mortar e-commerce management, warehouse and order fulfilment business separate to NetDrive. This explains the complex balancing act which was dependent on keeping up with symbolic and cultural trends (aesthetic if you consider machine code as a language for designing new realities (Liu, 2004, Manovich, 2001) and changes within the field of power which requires a continuous adjustment of an embedded field so as to secure the 'rights to access' (Bourdieu, 2005) economic capital. Tim's mixture of these two strands symbolic and economic ensured

NetDrive's 'embedded field' had survived. Central to NetDrive's survivability was the continuous contribution of employee's creative mixtures, which leads the discussion back to the question of the degree of autonomy Tim was willing to grant his employees.

'Tim: We have to keep up to date with what (software and digital design) changes are happening. We encourage all the developers to keep their eyes open and keep aware of new developments. There are a couple of products which developers have suggested might have implications for the way we do things in the future. That's where we get to do a bit of research. We can't just carry on developing and waiting for better things to emerge. We have to see what opportunities there and decide if this is a good time to step in, or not.

Andrew: Do you encourage developers to bring in their ideas and interests from outside work at all?

Tim: When they are at work they work! (Laughs) We have got people interested in gaming so we put them in roles where they are developing interactive resources so they can bring in their gaming interests to influence how that will develop. But we don't sit around playing computer games all day when we should be working. We also invest in training to attract high end developers and hope they will stay, but they don't. So we bring them in as needs be. We are more interested in keeping the other guys, the long term prospects who will be around for a while. We treat them well and we are lucky with the University being here as we can generally pick up good people we think are worth investing in.

This extract is suggestive of how Tim appeared to be presenting an ideal democratic process within NetDrive and his willingness to let the company be co-directed by the staffs' ideas. This conflicted with the stories I had heard from John and Sophie and I challenged Tim over this point. His response revealed something of the importance he placed on imposing a division of employee status based not so much on creative skills but also on the degree of loyalty individuals showed to NetDrive. Central to NetDrive's survival was Tim's managerial domination which required employees to align their creative interests, or their own identity work with the role of creative employee, with his identity work as owner-founder of a cultural enterprise. The expressive potential for individual creativity was therefore very much bounded within the embedded field Tim had created. This has significance to the type of design reflexivity that could emerge since, as Giddens argued, creativity (i.e., the process of self-actualization) requires the facilitation of trust, or 'the capability to act or think innovatively in relation to pre-established modes of activity' (1991, p41). Tim's control over the expressive potential for design reflexivity therefore

had an impact on the degree to which individuals could or would be prepared to take a 'leap into the unknown'.

In order to bring this case to a close I would like to draw attention to how Tim's identity work had set boundaries to design reflexivity. It is suggested that the embedded field Tim created was premised largely upon Tim's self-actualization or competency at 'filtering' (Giddens, 1991), or actively manipulating the disembedding forces of late modernity. After the interview was finished, Tim suggested going for a coffee. As we walked back to NetDrive's office, through the Lace Market area Tim explained.

'We've never been a local business. NetDrive has always had national and international clients. We never look to go in and supply a little bit of kit. We've got clients in London but its taken time. In the early days when we started pitching down there we were ok, because there weren't many business but then these flashy sales driven businesses appeared. There is a London thing which we struggled with. We turned up like this³¹ and hey were in suits. So we lost a lot of business but we've learned to play that game better now. But I think I prefer it up here. You can meet clients and just get down to the techy stuff and the business, it's more pragmatic up here. I think I prefer being up here and I am still really in to the problem solving side of it, again back to science. But I struggle with the flashy tacky showy London side of things.'

What is relevant is the apparent contradiction in Tim's statement. He begins by stressing his distance of NetDrive's embedded field from its location (Nottingham). This, as was shown in the previous Chapter, enabled him to connect with the deterritorialized forces of advanced global capitalism (i.e., bigger non-local and London based clients). This helps to inflate NetDrive's weight. However, unlike an individual such as Jason from Imprint, Tim then displays a resistance to what he perceives as the superficial tendencies of London based agencies. This reveals the importance of Tim's own identity work since he has in turn set the conditions of design reflexivity around a web design and development agency that should be competitive on the basis

³¹ This is a reference to how others have noted designer casual wear is central to the performance of displaying a creative self (Nixon, 2003, 2006, Ross, 2003). The dressdown look ranges from the fleeces, quasi-hiking shoes and combat trousers associated with outdoor-wear (Reynolds, 1998) and often 'techy' IT types (Ross, 2003). To the more expensive and carefully orchestrated ensemble of skatewear, limited edition trainers and Japanese denim which signifies 'youth' and 'cutting edge' therefore symbolic capital to those able to interpret the value (both economic and cultural) of such clothing. In this case Tim's dress suggested more middle-aged (in cultural age) than avant-garde.

of its technical competency, scale and track record for creative problem solving. All these factors undoubtedly are important as they have contributed to NetDrive's survival. However, they reveal a reluctance to accept the importance of how affect is packaged and sold and in turn Tim's opposition to learning the codes of the game of entangling design, at least in London.

Tim's positioning strategy is interpreted as a reason why NetDrive was unable to retain developers with higher level skills. Tim's description of the value of design as being 'useful', 'more pragmatic', 'science' therefore not 'flashy', 'tacky' and 'showy'. With these choices Tim imposed limits on the expression of design reflexivity within NetDrive. Whereas Tim's articulation (and in turn NetDrive's embedded field) was premised upon order fulfilment, warehousing, e-commerce solutions, science, data visualization, coding and mapping these were grounded in a more technological form of knowledge than the cultural affectivity one may more commonly associate with the cultural industries (Arvidsson, 2006, Callon et.al 2003, Lury, 2004, Lash and Urry, 1994, Lash and Lury, 2007).

The relevance of this case is to note that whilst NetDrive was regarded as a 'success', in terms of entangling its design reflexivity into IPR and employment, it's 'success', was less significant in terms of symbolic novelty and that this was perhaps due to unintended consequences of Tim's articulation. This is demonstrated since one of NetDrive's clients was itself another digital content development agency. However, unlike NetDrive this company focused exclusively on digital content creation and did not rely on a strategy involving providing e-commerce digital services or warehousing. NetDrive wrote a press release because association with this other embedded field provided symbolic kudos. The client was described in terms of award winning and a cult digital design agency. On its own website the digital agency claimed it was a 'hub for directors, internet, game designers, music composers, sound designers and animators'. The significance of this association was that NetDrive could at least be positioned as related to a 'cool' London based digital agency and therefore involved in 'interesting' work.

However, as its disenfranchised aspiring programmers had revealed, this interesting work translated to providing back office warehousing and order fulfilment from a sub-urban Nottingham industrial estate. Despite making impressive in-roads into London's broadcasting and new media circles, I was left wondering what the long term effects of Tim's rejection of the 'false and flash' side of London might be.

This case has considered how an embedded field can be scaled but how in turn this creates the need for control and management. In the above case an owner-founder of a small scale cultural enterprise was presented as caught between the need to manage the chaos of creative production against the need to also position an embedded field as novel and therefore, to some degree, relatively autonomous of other firms' embedded fields. It explored how an owner-founder's entrepreneurial trajectory was represented as a combination of management control systems and a strategy of entrepreneurial acquisitions. This choice had implications which were compacted by his identity work and identity regulation over employees. The case therefore explored how the potential for individual creative expression is bounded by the permissible design reflexivity within an embedded field. Finally, the case drew links between how an individual owner-founders identity work influenced the type of mixture between novel/specialization and reasonable/consolidation. The effects of such entanglement stratagems are now considered in the following case.

Brand³: Interdependency and 'Amorphic' Strategy

This case within a case will examine the entrepreneurial trajectory of Steve Ford, a co-founder of design agency Brand³. It explores his efforts to increase the weight of his embedded field by placing his entanglement in relation, or as a 'strategic exchange' (Watson, 2001), occurring within his wider identification. The timing of two interactions with Steve were crucial as his self-

identity and identity work with the role of cultural entrepreneur had undergone a period of turbulence which requires further elaboration to see how they were interrelated.

I had first become aware of Brand³ early in this research because two key informers (Amanda Reynolds and Jamie Dahan) who worked with Brand³ (as freelancer whilst setting up his own cultural enterprise). From their accounts, as well conversations with others at Creative Industries Practitioners I ‘interviewed’ informally at the Broadway I came to ‘know’ Brand³ as being ‘straight and ‘dry’ but ‘successful’ (in economic terms). I also gained an understanding of the organisation after it had received local press coverage. The coverage, largely negative, followed Brand³’s ‘high profile’ (within Nottingham) involvement in a re-branding project, which Jamie Dahan was also working on³². The relevance of this contextual information is not to dramatise Steve’s account, but to show the circumstances which shaped my meeting with Steve. Steve explained how this one project had affected role during a confessional interview in which he spoke openly about his actions contributed to Brand³ losing its position as the largest (turnover and scale) design enterprise in Nottingham.

‘That one project changed the direction in which the business was heading. The design side of the business is now concentrating very much on ‘we don’t want to be the biggest (agency) anymore. We really did go chasing the dollar and that’s when things went wrong. The quality of our output dropped and I think that is why we tripped up. We found we were expensive and not as good creatively and we were asking people to work really hard. We got the direction wrong and that coincided with a massive burst of freelancers suddenly working for £25 per hour and we were charging around £85 and some of them were bloody good. So if we are not offering thinking over and above design why should a client pay a premium?. We went from 27 down to 12 in two years. But turnover has only dropped by around 15%. So in a way it was a necessary step because now at least we don’t have any passengers. We are now more interdependent. Everyone understands their relative positions and where they are in the chain and what they have to do so their colleague doesn’t get let down. I think before we were going too much for independence and now we are back to interdependence which is where creative agencies need to be.’

³² It is not possible to discuss this project in detail. Steve exercised his right to not answer questions about it. It can be noted that the reason this project became a problem was because it applied commercial branding strategies to a subject that caused a public reaction. Whilst Steve was willing to discuss some of the implications of this project his ex-employer has silenced Steve from discussing the issue with external partners, and this included researchers.

Prior to the interview in which the above had taken place I was mildly anxious about how Steve would address the obvious turbulence he and Brand³ had experienced recently. The above extract shows how Steve made sense of the changes in the form of the 'local organisation' element to his identity work (Watson, 2008). This extract shows how his emplotment (Czarniawska, 2004) of a 'narrative of enterprise' (Down, 2006) involved focussing on key events. These included; losing a major client, downsizing headcount; reacting to increased competition from smaller firms and continuing to define the extra value his enterprise was capable of offering larger businesses. This selective account draws on calculative dispositions, such as quantifying the headcount and percentage decrease in turnover, which in turn enabled Steve to interpret his reaction and the collective Brand³ re-evaluation of the weight of the 'embedded field'.

In addition to the economic calculativeness that is evident, Steve also accounted for a loss of creativity due to focussing too heavily on the pursuit of economic capital ('going after the dollar'). This extract illustrates how cultural enterprise requires displaying an investment into disinterested cultural competency as well as economic calculation. The combination of events Steve reported are suggestive of what Bourdieu termed as hysteresis – the result of a habitus-field alignment becoming asynchronous. Following an ambitious expansion Steve recounted how the embedded field was dominated by the pursuit of economic capital. Brand³'s positioning in relation to the dominant logic of the sub-field of design transgressed the need to conceal 'purely' economic ends. As such its embedded field continued to expand to a point at which it became close to the field of power and clients (as well as employees as shall be discussed below) lost faith in Steve's sole focus on the accumulation of economic capital.

What emerged from the guided conversation (Fielding, 1994) with Steve was an in-depth description about how he had coped with the above events. This required his drawing on an articulation that suggested he was 'turning back' to the 'dell boy' cultural stereotype (Watson, 2008, see also Chapter 4) his identity work relied on. This personal strategy is interpreted in this

case as Steve described the weight of Brand³'s embedded field and his reflexive awareness of how his activities had affected the expressive potential within Brand³. What emerges is a 'strategic exchange' (Watson, 2001, 2004) as Steve described his experiences of a new 'commutation' (Berger and Luckmann, 1967), or temporal and physical displacement, from which he could renew his articulation of entrepreneurial activity and therefore the entanglement of the embedded field he was partially responsible for managing.

The following representation treats his interpretation of entanglement as a revival return. Steve's account was selected as the last case because it illustrates how economically successful owner-founders are also continuously aligning their personal organisation of culture with the embedded fields they create so as to engage with the social organisation of cultural enterprise. The following is offered as an example of a 'structural improvisation' (Bourdieu, 2005b) as Steve searched for a new 'practical unity' (ibid) or resolution of the hysteresis he had experienced at personal and professional level. The following description is interpreted as an instance of how Bourdieu's theorised social action as involving a 'loose systematicity' connecting individuals' subjectivity to objective conditions (i.e., a habitus-field relation). It will explore how a owner-founders engaged in identity work with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur to find ways of exerting his 'will to architecture'. Steve began his account by emplotting his entrepreneurial activities in relation to a recent troubled period.

'I am in a very odd position right now. I effectively have four jobs. I work nearly full time for Alba Lodge as their acting Marketing Director in Glasgow. I work for another business called Arbor Homes which recently built the biggest treehouse in the world. And I am acting Marketing Director at MystiForest. I managed their outward facing materials, websites, brochures, characterisation and some merchandising. But my underlying role is Business Development Manager at Brand³. But because Alba Lodge, Arbor Homes and MystiForest are all clients of Brand³ I am also a client to Brand³. So I am being paid by Brand³ but only indirectly because my salary is paid by Alba Lodge, Arbor Homes and MystiForest and I get some income from the fees paid to Brand³. I have effectively outsourced myself to these other businesses as a marketing director and become a client of my own business at the same time.'

Steve's stratagem for dealing with the often mentioned uncertainties caused by the notion that in the cultural industries 'you are only as good as your last job' (Bilton, 2007, Nixon, 2003, 2005, Hesmondhalgh, 2003) was to revert back to an intensification of identity work with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur. His stratagem for saving Brand³ was, as he put it, to focus on his strengths as a 'resource indicator'. This reference to the Belbin tests provided Steve with a rationale for reviving the entrepreneurial side to Brand³. It also connected to his account of his initial entry into enterprise since he formed Brand³ after being made redundant and returning to an ex-employer and persuading them to outsource their 'creative marketing' to him and his fellow Brand³ co-founders. Following the downturn in his business, after a 12 year period of (relatively) stable growth, Steve reverted to a strategy which involved using his personal reputation as a writer of marketing and branding material as a means of negotiating access to clients which in turn connected him to a new set of what he referred to as his 'big friends' (see above in this chapter).

Here in Steve's account is an instance of how small business owners must continually seek ways of being 'within and between' larger businesses (Mills, 2000). It also suggests how an individual can achieve this by engaging in identity work to re-align their private troubles with public issues (Mills, 2000). Steve's interpretation showed the most explicit voicing of a spirit of calculation through the discussion of his 'big friends' and the \$500 million investment fund in China. He hoped this relation would bring him 'localisation' work. This referred to the process whereby after the private equity firm had made its investment in Chinese firms they would need to create marketing literature for their investments that was to the same standard as European and North American. Steve expected they would come to Brand³. A similar logic operated through his relationships with Alba Lodge, Arbor Homes and MystiForest which had become clients of his embedded field through his renewed 'strategic exchange' (Watson, 2001, 2004) that linked his personal organisation of culture to the strategic positioning of Brand³. It is worth noting how

Steve accounted for this entanglement of his self-identity with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur in a highly informal and personal approach to contractual relations and organisation of work.

'I hate people thinking I am ripping them off. Maybe I'm not the most honest person about, I've stitched a few people over the years, but on the whole I am honest. I could be ripping off all these companies because Alba Lodges built the children's playground at MystiForest and they gave me a shareholding for nothing. Because of my scrupulous honesty I am going to split the profits with the other co-founders of Brand³. All these deals are based on trust. I think the tight three way relationship between the directors is what holds Brand³ together. Also it's maybe unusual because me and Dave are more into running the business, whereas James is more the creative thinker type.'

Steve explored how he was combining personal relationships with other businesses with Brand³ as a strategy for addressing scale, since his networking had created strong ties with larger firms which provided Brand³ with a degree of stability. His personal and professional hysteresis were therefore partially appeased by translating his entrepreneurial activities back into Brand³ and in turn adjusted the organisational structure from a strong market orientation with a 'managerial control system' to a more 'entrepreneurial style' control system (Scase and Goffee, 1981). Equally, his description provided an insider's account of Davis and Scase's theory that cultural businesses require Production (i.e., craft skills); Creativity (interpretation) and Co-ordination (management, sales).

Steve and his co-founders at Brand³ had these areas covered, or at least it appeared so from his description. The following extract examines Steve's account of managing creativity. This will be followed by another point of view taken from one of his ex-employees, also a participant in this research. The aim is not to make claims about the ability of a social researcher's capability of revealing the truth of either accounts. Instead the polyvocal representation (including the researcher's voice) is taken as an example of how ethnographic fieldwork can provide, in this case quite serendipitously, materials that enable thin slices of thick (social) realities. The following interpretation of the creative milieu within the embedded field of

Brand³ was unplanned. The relevance is that it extends the discussion in the previous case of how, by appealing to a more calculative set of dispositions, tensions emerge as owner-founders impose controls, or identity regulation, over the autonomy of their employees' potential creative expression. The following is Steve's account of his experiences of shaping the design reflexivity within Brand³.

'I've read so many of the management texts you are supposed to have read. Some of the management literature is really interesting and a lot of it is shit. I liked *The Richer Way* by the founder of Richer Sounds, Julian who I have met on a couple of occasions. I liked *Art of War for Executives*, it's based on Sun Tzu this 'Japanese' general. From him we picked out how to become amorphous. Recently when we were losing clients it helped to think of totally different ways of attracting clients. Gerber's *The E-Myth* was good because it explained why entrepreneurs don't make money, very useful for me. And then there is Coffey's *Seven Habits*. I guess they are all cheesy but they have helped.

Maybe it's a bit of a wanky thing to admit but it connects to managing creative people who are really difficult. Some of them have really fragile egos and worse an inflated idea about their own abilities. We are a relatively commercial business; we've never claimed to be totally out there. We do quirky-ish work for big-ish clients. That is what we're about. That means we work with a particular type of designer. I have found the straighter you are with them the better they are at getting the brief right. I know the designers lost faith in me when I started chasing the dime. The team lost faith because I was going after clients they really didn't want to work with. But I realised that and we've picked up a lot of awards since then and are getting recognition for our design work, this has helped with recognition because it shows the designers are at the centre of this business. Getting and keeping people isn't a problem here. Will's been here 11 years, Ollie 10 and Ben 8 years. There was a recent survey in a design publication and we worked out we have one of the lowest (staff) turnover rates in the industry.

What is relevant for this discussion from the above is how Steve explained the positioning of Brand³ as a business in relation to other design agencies. He acknowledged it was not an avant-garde or 'out there' sort of agency. Instead he described it as 'quirky-ish' which I interpreted as a practitioner categorisation for the mix of novel and part reasonable, maybe with more of an emphasis on the latter. However, as the description shows, this positioning is not all Steve's making. He acknowledged the problems it has caused, his experiences of a 'loss of faith' in his staff and this is connected to the type of briefs he was bringing to his designers. The last paragraph of the above extract is significant as it suggests the type of employee involvement Steve expected. He assumed long service was a sign that there is no problem with recruitment or the designer's job satisfaction. He also displayed a strong sense of paternalism and strict control

of roles and mobility within the firm, typical of small business owners (Bechofer and Elliot, 1981, Scase and Goffee, 1982, Ram, 1994).

As Mills also noted small business owners often exhibit a mixture of loyalty to the small business ethos (i.e., independence, hard work, the little guy taking on the bigger corporation) as well as low level aggressiveness (2000). Steve's account suggested just the mixture of fraternity and calculativeness that has been attributed to an 'entrepreneurial control system' (Scase and Goffee, 1982). The following passage, taken from an interview with Amanda Reynolds, an ex-employee of Brand³ and now freelancer print design project manager, presented a different yet interrelated interpretation of the organisational reality within Brand³. Amanda claimed she had chosen to leave Brand³ after the redundancies Steve tried to persuade her to stay. Her reasons for leaving draw attention to the tensions that emerge in cultural enterprises and in this case to the effects of Steve's positioning of Brand³'s embedded field in a middle and relatively safe territory. Amanda offered reflections, not as a result of a direct question about her time at Brand³, but because they emerged as she interpreted her identity work with the role of (nascent) cultural entrepreneur.

'I think designers should design and not be going to meetings. Project managers should do that and streamline the process. Take the smaller agencies in Nottingham, the whole three mates and a Mac set up. I know designers are notoriously lazy. As long as they have enough work coming in and don't have to work too hard they are happy. I don't think they tend to be very ambitious. They are fine as long as the cash flow in. What I work as is a go-between as someone who understands the design process from brief to rollout. One client calls me a broker because I tap into the freelancer forum. I know there is a lot of talent going to waste because they are working on too strict a brief.

I saw it at all my previous employers. The directors were coming back and going 'Hey guys I've got this fantastic client and really interesting brief'. The designers would say what it is and the directors then stumble and say stuff like 'oh something about engineering and it's a great earner'. They knew the designers would think it was shit design; all they saw was the money. As a go-between I saw the designers getting bored and moaning. That's when I decided to leave, but many stayed.'

Amanda's comments were interpreted in the context of 'ex-agency employee experiences initial 'freedom' and euphoria of being a freelancer'. What is interesting is how Amanda's interpretation of the tensions within Brand³ touched on essentially the same interrelationship between novelty

and reasonableness. Her reflection captured the same tension Steve experienced from engaging with the manager and entrepreneur social identities, albeit from a position of ex-employee. Interestingly Amanda's role as a 'go-between' placed her in a role which was neither 'creative' nor manager. This afforded her description with an interesting reflection on how Steve's positioning for Brand³ as it was translated into practice by the project managers and designers. It provided a very different representation from Steve's discussion of staff retention and his self-labelled 'amorphic' management strategies. Amanda also noted, in another meeting how she knew the designers' salaries at Brand³ were lower than market average. She attributed their 'loyalty' to two factors; first their laziness and second the lack of alternatives for designers in Nottingham.

Given these tensions in both Steve's and Amanda's representations arising from the uncertainties in the design business, in terms of balancing 'interesting' and 'shit work', one question remained for me which was how Steve had managed to scale Brand³ and how it had survived for 15 years. His response displayed how his identity work with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur drew heavily on his self-proclaimed 'Dell-Boy side'. It has already be noted above how Steve had acquired the Brand³ offices in an opportunistic moment when a derelict ex-boxing gym was auctioned and how he re-invigorated his entrepreneurial activity by opportunistic connections to new 'big friends' so as to accumulate intangible assets in the form of shares in other companies. But there was more to Steve's strategy for consolidating the weight of Brand³'s embedded field. He explained.

'I think that idea of creative businesses not wanting to grow is a myth. I actually think there is a strong theory about why most agencies stay small. It's because most of them are run by bad business people who haven't got the first fucking clue. Most end up falling out because they are driven by creative ego. You have no idea the amount of people we have here for interviews who say 'the reason I have left my job is because the two directors are fighting'. You know why? Usually its creative differences or one of them shags the others' wife. That's why we keep work and outside lives separate. Without giving the creatives the time they need they will burn out and we all suffer. I've found you need your designers in the same room. We're all in the same room now and it works better. We muddle up project managers with account managers and designers.

Anything else? Don't be a grubby little shyster nicking work off mates or ex-colleagues. There is this woman, she runs an agency called EQ in Nottingham, and I've lost two staff to her in the last couple of weeks. One came back and apologised for leaving and asked for his job back. He said her aim is to finish me. She is targeting all my clients and saying I am a rip off. One of my clients confirmed this and showed me the letter she had sent out to him. Of course any client we have that poor a relationship with will leave so I am not worried. But it goes to show the sort of vile business strategies you are up against locally. I think in this business you are as good as your last job. If you offer a crap service people bugger off don't that. This place is all based on trust. Everyone knows everyone. I can be a vindictive bastard if I want to be. I try not to be so long as people don't try and get one over on me because I will come back very hard.'

Perhaps more than any of the other extracts in this research the above one encapsulates the mixture of low level aggression, fear and self-belief which characterised the research participants I met engaged in small scale entrepreneurial activity. Here Steve gave a fairly typical description of what others had hinted at but was (perhaps) less willing to articulate. This passage reveals a moment of reflection in a 15 year entrepreneurial trajectory which distils the competition and co-operation necessary to create and maintain a cultural enterprise. The extract is not an eloquent expression of the aesthetics of the inter-textualities of the affect which cultural enterprises contribute to a design intensive capitalist production system. Instead it is a reflection of a practitioner's experience of growing a cultural enterprise. It captures a calculative disposition which was typical to the accounts of small business owners. Steve accounted for a continuous vigilance and guarded accumulation of capital (Bechofer and Elliot, 1980, Mills, 2000, Ram, 1994, Scase and Goffee, 1981) so as to protect the 'weight' of his firms embedded field.

The above representation of Steve's identity work with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur revealed something of the experiences of expansion, consolidation, contraction and re-invigoration in small scale cultural enterprise. So far this has been useful for examining the tensions emerging from managing creativity in a small firm. It has drawn attention to the contradictions, ambiguities and plurality of points of view that emerge when an articulation of a 'will to architecture' (Karatani, 1995) is translated and becomes a 'reaching out of mind' (Dewey, 1934) that affects the identity regulation of others. From Steve's account it has also been possible

to understand how he secured the survival of the embedded field he had partially constructed. His entanglement stratagem involved converting fees into property (e.g., the Brand³ office) and intangible assets (e.g., shares in other businesses). Through these factors, combined with the management of others creative labour, Steve as the business development manager had helped ensure Brand³ could survive by expanding and consolidating when necessary. Over a 15 year span he had navigated Brand³ to become the largest design agency in central Nottingham and one of the largest in the East Midlands. Its turnover and client base separated it from all but one of the design agency in the region.

In order to ‘conclude’ the ‘findings’ from this case the following extract explores how, in practice, entanglement is not a final stage distinct from articulation or emplacement. To show this the following is an example of how the phases of the analytical model are seamlessly integrated into everyday life. In the extract below Steve was witnessed making sense of his entrepreneurial actions by appealing to other interests (commutations, articulations) and social identities he engaged with in addition to that of cultural entrepreneur and manager. He added.

‘We have some guiding words at Brand³ these are creative, effective and fun. Maybe also add integrity and passion. We wanted to focus on achieving something here and I am passionate about lots of things. I have come to really think about the environmental side of what we do. The investment fund in China is helping to introduce sustainable production. But what we do has a formula. We reveal a businesses values and personality. What it stands for and what makes it stand out. If we can’t answer that in our identity why would clients believe we can get our designers to create a public face for a business? What I do is help businesses understand those questions and interpret it into their end product. I think in a way design and branding is more like management consulting. There is a lot of bullshit and spin in this business right? And that can get you down if you dwell on it, which I don’t tend to. I still really enjoy writing marketing copy and setting the designers on really good briefs. With Mystiwood I managed to get my daughter involved. She started coming up with ideas for characters. One of these was turned into an area of the playground I have written non-branding stuff you know. I got an article published when we lost our first son. My wife had a miscarriage and I looked around to see if there was anything written from the father’s perspective and there was nothing. I wrote a piece that was published in a magazine. I am always looking for ways of finding an interest and meaning in what I do.’

The above extract echoed long after the interview. It is placed here strategically as the last extract of empirical material, since it captures the notion of a continuous cycling of a ‘will to

architecture' (Karatani, 1995). Steve's account is a reminder of the danger of reducing human activity to a single social identity, for instance that of manager or entrepreneur (Watson, 2008, du Day, 2007). Instead what emerges from Steve's account is valuable as it contains an instance of how identity work involves making an appeal to others' sense making. His account is only intelligible given the context of its presentation and the reasonableness (in terms of calculative disposition) of describing one's intentional activity in such a way. It also needs noting this claim is dependent on the conceptual framework developed in Chapter 2 and the ability to craft representations about social action from within the same social context, albeit from a different perspective, or interested activity.

Steve's account was represented as an attempt to illustrate how one individual repaired his engagement with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur. This involved a return to articulation and to a new round of bracketing off from the disembedding forces (Giddens, 1991) that threatened his self-identity. During this period of personal and professional turbulence (hysteresis) Steve drew from a multiplicity of social identities to, at least temporarily, carve out a meaningful self-identity. He 'returns' to his 'dell boy' cultural stereotype and to his self-belief in his 'will to architecture' (Karatani, 1995) through which he connected his competency at design reflexivity (i.e., manipulating the 'public face' of organisations through visual and textual representations). This action 'emplaces' Steve within one of the contemporary drivers identified in Chapter 1 as an opportunity for cultural enterprise (i.e., branding).

A further use of an 'interpretive repertoire' (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000) would be to use Giddens' notion of how late modern identity is saturated by the need to make lifestyle choices (Giddens, 1991). Reading the extract again it was striking to note Steve using the notion of branding as creating a face for the complexities of calculating value in advanced capitalism. His account utilised the exact same term, albeit by drawing on very different discursive resources, as social theorists that claim the complex nexus of a global, informational and network capitalism

require logos so as to simplify and structure the 'interface' of the circulation of commodities and to organise the material and symbolic calculative mechanisms required to manage production and consumption (Arvidsson, 2006, Callon et.al. 2002, Gadrey, 2000, Lee and LiPuma, 2002, Lury, 2004, Lash and Urry, 1994, Lash and Lury, 2007, Thrift, 2005, 2006, Urry, 2005).

This case has been selected to suggest that entangling 'design reflexivity' is not reducible to either symbolic or economic interests. Instead Steve's account only makes sense once his voicing of a spirit of calculation is placed within, or framed (Callon, 1999), by entangling them into a broader social context. His entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity is therefore read as part of his overall human identification within historically contingent circumstances. This 'voice from the field' contains within it the suggestion that even in a 'dry' and relatively 'safe' articulation of cultural enterprise, successful entanglement cannot be understood entirely as a narrow pursuit of economic capital. Steve's reflexive account acknowledged how this stratagem was the cause of a series of mistakes (i.e., 'chasing dollars and dimes'). To survive, at a personal and professional level, Steve had to justify the creative, symbolic and interesting elements of his identity work and embedded field he was responsible for. The extract suggested he found some salvation in appealing to his competencies as an author. This is interpreted as a plea from one individual to another to recognise a human behind the entrepreneurial activities. Steve Ford drew on the personae of writer, father, son, dell boy, environmentally friendly producer/consumer, Celt and sportsman.

His 'structural apprenticeship' (Bourdieu, 2005), or ongoing negotiation with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur encompassed all of these various personae simultaneously because they assist firstly, self-actualisation and second stabilising the reasonableness of his attempt to entangle the design reflexivity he has created within the embedded field of his co-venture. It is significant that during Steve's period of heightened ontological insecurity he drew on fears over the environment, the effects of mediated experience (branding being bullshit and

spin), a local-global dialect (business in China) and a public revealing of very private experiences (his father's death and his wife's miscarriage). Steve's attempt to make sense of these experiences was articulated through his identity work with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur. Hence his reaching out of mind was not 'limited' to the accumulation of capital but included other social identities, cultural stereotypes and a local-personal identity (Watson, 2008). Finally his desire to write outside branding and marketing copy (e.g., writing his memoirs and about his masculine identity) is an example of how individuals engaged in cultural enterprise are continuously seeking ways to be reflexive about the forces affecting their identification. For Steve this meant reflecting on the potential dangers of over emphasising economic reasonableness whilst continuing to defend and scale his embedded field. Action which required him to continuously seek an homology between opportunism his desire to make sense of his life (partially) through the role of cultural entrepreneur. What this case suggests is the danger of reducing the study of cultural enterprise to *apriori* theoretical assumptions about how individuals react to the economic conditions of late modern and reflexive social reality.

Summary

This chapter has addressed the 'phase' of entanglement. This was conceptualised in Chapter 2 as a moment in which individuals engaging in identity work with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur seek to consummate their entrepreneurial activities in terms that are meaningful to others. The chapter has drawn on Bourdieu's conceptualisation of firms as 'embedded fields' or gravitational forces, which emerge out of social relations governing the directing of resources towards certain aims within fields, or 'structuring structures'. This was deemed necessary so as to avoid the danger of over-emphasising voluntary agency, or of re-invoking the 'entrepreneurial hero myth' (Ogbor, 1999). However, unlike Ogbor and others (Armstrong, 2005, Jones and Spicer, 2005), whose aim to deconstruct, at a theoretical level, the empty signifier or ideological

distortion of the 'entrepreneur', this chapter has provided a polyvocal representation (Czarniawska, 2004), of a point of view of the plurality of points of view (Bourdieu, 1990) that emerged when research participants interpreted their entrepreneurial activities by drawing on 'calculative dispositions' (Bourdieu, 2000).

The chapter has drawn on small business literature (Bechofer and Elliot, 1981, Mills, 2000, Ram, 1994, Scase and Goffee, 1982) in order to explore the presence of tensions researchers have ascribed to the small business stratum in general. It augmented these with the specific tensions researchers have associated with cultural production (Bilton, 2007, Davis and Scase, 2000). In summary this approach has enabled an exploration of the different attitudes between small employers and owner-founders towards the issue of scale. This included considering the heterodoxy of stratagems individuals developed to achieve small scale capital accumulation, or indeed resist such a process. It then explored how the pursuit of growth through labour and property accumulation created tensions within the cultural industries. These centred on the struggle to manage creative labour and protect/exploit IPR. The discussion then turned to the issue of how, given the endemic uncertainty and high degrees of competition in the cultural industries, individuals devised strategies for positioning their 'embedded fields' so as to achieve a relatively stable mixture of novelty and reasonableness within and between more weighted embedded fields.

The two cases within cases explored the entrepreneurial trajectories of the owner-founders of the largest enterprises encountered during this research. Their descriptions of entanglement, together with extracts from ex-employees, revealed that a central tension in the growth of cultural enterprises emerges from the need to control creativity. The cases both explored two owner-founders' identity work partially constrained the boundaries within which others creativity, or expressive potential, was subject to identity regulation. This process of imposing a singular 'will to architecture' was discussed in terms of a 'bounded design reflexivity'

within an embedded field, but also contingent and processual as any entanglement strategy is upon changes within the fields of culture and power and therefore with other organisations' embedded fields.

The suggestion throughout this chapter has been that representations of cultural enterprise must seek to understand how 'narratives of enterprise' (Down, 2005) are part of an individual's human identification and cannot be reduced to a single social category, social identity or persona (du Gay, 2007, Jenkins, 1996, 2003, Watson, 2008). Instead representations of entrepreneurial activity must be interpreted as an engagement, via identity work, which occurs alongside a multitude of other social identities. And that these are only meaningful once the dialectic between social theory and accounts of empirical practice is reflexively accounted for. This dialect in turn, through the application of 'interpretive repertoires' (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000), results in representations that are constitutive of the social reality they purport to reflect (Giddens, 1991, Jenkins, 2003).

The aim of this chapter, together with Chapters 4-6 was to address the lack of empirical representations of cultural enterprise. These chapters sought to speak to the claim that existing academic treatment of cultural enterprise is 'decontextualised and desocialised' (Banks, 2006). As Banks' argued cultural enterprise has tended to be represented as either emancipatory (Leadbeater, 1999, Florida, 2003) or enslaving (McRobbie, 1997, 1998, 2003). Banks argued the 'curiously thin' quantity of empirical instances of cultural enterprise has resulted in oversight over the co-presence of instrumental and non-instrumental values (i.e., social and political values) in cultural enterprise (2006). Banks' argument is echoed by Webb (2004) who suggested a central problem in contemporary discussions of work and organisation is a tendency to overstate the freedom associated with the 'reflexive self' (Giddens, 1991) or its antithesis, the corroded self (Sennett, 1999). Such a problem can be found in Down's ethnographic study (2006) which privileges the 'self-identity' Giddens (1991) side to argue 'narratives of enterprise' are

‘monological’ because they display an increased individualism in contemporary capitalist production and consumption (2006).

What this chapter has attempted to address is the importance of bringing back the social element of identification in cultural enterprise. Giddens’ general notion of reflexivity and Lash and Urry’s more specific term design reflexivity have been useful along with Bourdieu’s logic of practice to represent how entanglement requires both self-actualisation and a competency at manipulating the symbolic and economic elements of the social identity of cultural entrepreneur. The suggestion therefore is that whilst creativity may indeed be linked with an individual’s reaching out of mind, their capacity to engage in meaningful and durable entrepreneurial activity requires the ongoing interpretation of socially constructed knowledge. Hence the concept of reflexivity as framed within design intensive capitalist production was used to represent what has been categorized in this study as the architecture of cultural enterprise. By exploring how such architecture is entangled individuals must develop a heightened awareness of how design affects the identification of others. Entanglement was examined as research participants accounted for the process of organising their mix of symbolic and economic capital and facilitating the control of their employees identity work to align it with their entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity.

In summary this chapter has suggested the conditions of late modernity create opportunities for those able to commercially manipulate the process of ‘bracketing off’ and ‘filtering’. This claim was explored through representations of empirical instances of a practice based view into how the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity emerges as a socially meaningful activity. However, any attempts to reintroduce a moral economy to cultural enterprise, or to stress the effects of structuring structures must not lead to a reification of social structures. For this reason a degree of reflexive distancing, as in Bourdieu’s double-rejection of both practice and theories of social practice, is necessary. Otherwise, as Bourdieu suggested,

especially in discussions of economic and calculative dispositions, it is too easy to be remiss of the fact that what is known as social reality is 'to a great extent representation or the product of representation' (Bourdieu, 1990, p53). This chapter therefore concludes where it began by restating the importance of denaturalising calculative dispositions (Bourdieu, 2000).

Chapter 8

Understanding Work and Organisation in the Cultural Industries: Towards an Ethos of Participation through Critical Cosmopolitanism

This chapter will address the extent to which this study can claim to have spoken to the lack of empirical studies into how individuals engage in cultural enterprise. It is organised as follows. The first section will summarise the key influences which shaped the study objectives and helped refine the 'gap' in the literature this research proposed to address. This highlights the theoretical influences and methodological perspectives which provided the plans for the design of the conceptual framework that underpinned the architecture of this research. The second section provides an evaluation based on an assessment of the limits of the knowledge produced. This will be followed by the identification of possible future lines of inquiry and conclusions about the potential contribution this research offers.

Summary of Research Objectives: Towards an Understanding of Cultural Enterprise

The initial aim of this research (see Appendix I 'ESRC application') was to conduct an 'investigation into creative business in the city of Nottingham utilizing an ethnographic approach'. This aim was derived from the assumption that 'creative businesses' were vital to the UK economy and that more research into 'work and organisation' (a category the ESRC had pre-identified as a thematic priority) was warranted. The proposal argued a rise in interest in 'creative business, defined as the creative industries in UK Government policy discourse, had not been matched with a growth in empirical studies.

The 'gap' identified for this research to 'occupy' was the 'need' to develop a methodological approach suited to 'getting closer' to the individuals engaged in the creative

industries. An ethnographic approach (largely undefined) was suggested on the basis it would permit access to 'the language, rituals and culture of creative business practitioners' (Appendix). The rationale for the study was, in hindsight, steeped with what Rabinow called the discourse of inquiry into the contemporary (2008). Its relevance was justified on the basis that social scientists should develop tools for empirical studies of interesting and important sectors within contemporary social organisation of work. This was very much the initial rationale of my claiming to be aiming for (see Appendix I) a 'better understanding' of creative business' by exploring how existing 'creative business practitioners' interpreted their 'socio-cultural values'; their 'management of personal and professional identities' and the importance they ascribed to location.

The objective therefore was to occupy various 'learning roles' within a contemporary creative business milieu in a single 'creative city' (Nottingham) so as to inquiry into how individuals accounted for the 'social structure of creativity' (Florida, 2002). The influence of Florida and economic geography was therefore prevalent in the initial proposal (Crewe, 1996, Grabher, 2002, Pratt, 1999, 2003, Scott, 1999, Shorthose, 2002). This predisposed the study towards 'spatial' dimensions and policy debates about how the creative industries contributed to regional economic policies, urban regeneration, social cohesion and economic wealth generation (Blair, 1999, DCMS, 2001, Parnell, 2004, Smith, 1999). It was not until further into the study that a sociological perspective, albeit one saturated with spatial metaphors, came to shift the project away from the initial emphasis on place and cultural enterprise.

This brief summary reveals how I drew together a number of arguments so as to construct a proposal that was both novel and reasonable. Reading these objectives back following the fieldwork and having attempted to craft written representations of 'voices of the other' (Czarniawska, 2004) I have realised the following. First, I initially had a limited grasp over what ethnographic fieldwork would require and textual representation would entail. Second, I

recognise how I was groping towards a number of substantive theoretical themes which required refinement to be relevant to understanding cultural enterprise. Third, that the initial research design was heavily influenced by normalised representations and political debates about the creative industries and which necessitated a long period of, at times painful, critical examination before their influence could be denaturalised.

I now read the proposal as a record of a key transitional phase in my identification. The document signalled an attempt to legitimise a private curiosity about the contexts of work and organisation in creative business with the public issue of how such activity contributes to the UK economy and society. The proposal is an artefact of that biographical transition and therefore reveals how the research questions were framed within specific 'conditions of possibility' (Bourdieu, 1990a). These conditions enabled the possibility of conducting an empirical sociological study into a sub-sector of the contemporary organisation of work and production so as to make a valuable contribution to knowledge by conforming to the symbolic conventions of social science.

As this chapter evaluates the claims of this study it is a reflection upon the knowledge production process attributed to the epistemology of social science. It does so without also forgetting that this study was driven by a curiosity, or desire to inquire (Rabinow, 2008) that was partially preformed and coincided with a reflexive awareness of my experiences of contemporary work and organisation with a collective and legitimised study of the contribution the cultural industries make to contemporary economic organisation. This chapter therefore summarises and evaluates 'the conclusions' by exploring how any such discussion must account for the process of fabrication through which knowledge is produced and presented as relevant. The focus of this chapter is therefore to reveal more of the architecture of knowledge which, together with a degree of voluntaristic agency ('will to architecture, Karatani, 1995), enabled and constrained the posing of a research problem and a positioning struggle within a sub-field of social science (Bourdieu,

1990a). Before turning to the evaluation it is necessary to summarise how the initial research objectives were subjected to a re-design through the construction of a conceptual framework.

Constructing a Conceptual Framework

The following section summarises how social theory and methodological perspectives were drawn upon to construct a conceptual framework for this research. The first sub-section explores the theoretical debates which the research objectives were enjoined with; the second will examine the methodological perspectives which under-pin the 'architecture' of the research design.

Work and Organisation within Reflexive Capitalist Production

In Chapter One a number of theoretical debates were considered relevant for situating this research. The discussion began with Florida's research (2002, 2004, 2005) which 'popularized' interest in creativity in the UK and beyond (Wang, 2005, Neff.et.al.2002). Florida's 'popular sociology' (Neff.et.al.2005), which relied on composite indices of 'creativity', soon proved less relevant for this study. Given the focus of this research was on cultural production, defined as creative industries (DCMS, 2001), it was decided that not only was the definition of creativity a problem but so too was an uncritical importation and US centric approach into a UK setting. What followed was a search of researchers who adopted a different approach to study the cultural industries.

Pratt for instance argued that whilst the 'consumption side' of cultural production had been well addressed by sociology and cultural studies, the 'productive side' remained neglected (2004). He made the further distinction that production side studies should focus on 'deep' studies, or those focusing on a particular sub-field within the cultural industries. This helped since, from my previous experiences of cultural work and from the Masters research, I feared the term creativity was too ambiguous (see also Williams, 1968, 1981) and that definition of the 13

sub-sectors of the creative industries was too broad. What was required was a sub-sector for a 'deep' study. This emerged partly through a literature which privileged design. The revival of interest in design being partly palpated in policy speeches and reports (Cox, 2005, Leadbeater, 2005, NESTA, 2008) and social theorists who argued contemporary capitalist production was 'becoming' design intensive (Barry, 2001, Callon et.al.2002, Lash and Urry, 1994, Lash and Urry, 2007, Lee and LiPuma, 2002, Liu, 2004, Thrift, 2005, Urry, 2005).

From exploring this literature a key sociological debate emerged. This was the question of how, due to the structural conditions of reflexive late modernity, contemporary work and organisation favoured those organisations and individuals able to cope and exploit flexibilisation, globalization, networked ICTs and creation of intangible assets. It was suggested this literature contained a key link between the creative industries and wider debates about the empowering and corrosive conditions of contemporary economic activity (Amin and Cohendet, 2004, Bilton, 2007, Davis and Scase, 2000, du Gay and Pyrke, 2002, Lash and Urry, 1994, Sennett, 1998, Thrift, 2004, Webb, 2004).

The literature review noted several of the salient aspects theorists claimed were the characteristics of reflexive capitalist production. These emphasised the effects of disembedding from traditional tempo-spatial relations and the rise of de-territorialised social relations (Beck, 2000, Beck, Giddens and Lash, 1994, Giddens, 1991). From these theorists it was taken that contemporary production relied more than ever on creating circuits for sharing ideas through temporary project teams, interfaces and systems that generated, captured and fed back upon an ever more (reflexively) knowing capitalist production system. These conditions highlighted the role of design thinking along with marketing, research and development (i.e., engineering, ICT and life sciences) since they assisted organisations in adapting to the accelerated and global exogenous forces affecting organisation (Cohendet and Amin, 2004, Roberts, 2005, Thrift, 2005, Wenger, 1999, Wenger and Sydam, 2003). Design thinking was therefore defined as a key

instrument of calculation for the 'process of configuration' (Callon 1999) within an 'economy of qualities' (Callon et.al.2003). The term 'design reflexivity' (Lash and Urry, 1994) was selected to encapsulate the claim that the conditions of reflexive capitalist production had placed a premium on the (accelerated and continuous) production of novel symbolic, atmospheric and affective qualities. Clearly this should provide a structural advantage for those individuals and organisations able to institutionalise design thinking for commercial exploitation.

It was argued that design reflexivity could be related to the rise of 'relational services' (i.e., businesses capable of organising a change of condition for other businesses (Gadrey, 2000)). The creative industries were placed at the centre of this new frame of calculativeness (Callon et.al.2002, Callon, 1999) not simply because they supplied content, but because they constructed contexts for organising the 'selection, filtering, delivery and interpretation' (2007) of information. It was argued this process could be linked with Giddens' (1991) theory that late modernity was characterized by increased individualization and a continuous struggle ('bracketing off') of self-identity from a multitude of choices presented by 'expert knowledge'. Design reflexivity was positioned as an expert knowledge as it contributes to a 'continuous working on the self'. It was claimed knowing how to affect 'filtering' (i.e., feeling there is no choice but continuous choice making) through a heightened awareness of the symbolic forms used in capitalist production coupled with understanding of the processes of organising such knowledge could explain why design had become a site for entrepreneurial activity. The above social theories of the conditions of reflexive late modernity therefore provided an argument for why design reflexivity was vital for production because design thinking continued and furthered a 'colonization of the future' (Giddens, 1991), or the planned organisation of others' reflexive identification.

The suggestion from Chapter One was that the cultural industries were relevant to capitalist production because of a rise in demand for design reflexivity. This giving rise in demand for the organisation of a 'hermeneutic sensibility', or the ability to exploit shared

symbolic repertoires, to create a 'semiotic achievement' capable of 're-subjectivising space' (Lash and Urry, 1994, p135-137). The relevance of design was explained as supplying symbolic meanings for the global flow of mobile objects (Lash and Urry, 1994, Lash and Lury, 2007, Lee and LiPuma, 2002) capable of exploiting the logic of network enterprise (Castells, 1996); the languages of new media space (Liu, 2004, Manovich, 2001, Terranova, 2003) and activity which increased the 'intimacy of experience' (Lury, 2004) linking producers and consumers (Arvidsson, 2006, Lash and Lury, 2007).

There was nothing especially novel about this coupling of cultural industries to the sociological debate about reflexivity (Lash and Urry, 1994, McRobbie, 2002, Nixon, 2003, 2005, Thrift, 2005). However it was claimed that a gap existed for empirical studies of how individuals interpreted design reflexivity in action. It was suggested Bourdieu's theory of cultural organisation could assist in developing analytical purchase over the interrelationship between culture and economy. This was premised on Bourdieu's claim that social space is striated by a conflict between the field of culture and the field of power. Within this macro-struggle were 'positioning struggles' of small scale 'cultural entrepreneurs' (Bourdieu, 1996). Bourdieu defined the role of cultural entrepreneur as requiring a dual investment in the struggle over symbolic legitimacy (i.e., accumulation of symbolic capital in the field of culture) and economic power (i.e., the accumulation of economic capital within the field of power). He claimed that this role required individuals to avoid the 'crudest forms of mercantilism' and 'fully revealing their self-interested goals' (1996, p142). This positioning struggle he believed was 'very improbable'. He attributed this to the difficulties of achieving a 'conjugation of art and business' (p149, 1996) with only a 'minimal concession' to economic necessities and controlled use of 'disinterested convictions' (ibid.).

The purpose of the above summary was to show how the research objectives were worked upon by making connections to the 'universe of references' (Bourdieu, 1990a) that

constitute the literary culture of academic research. The connections to social theory were made to justify the relevance to the research question by coupling it to substantive theoretical questions. The discussion of reflexive capitalist production therefore provided a rationale to legitimise the claim that cultural enterprise, at least empirically, was under-researched. This was the claim that studies of the 'real' individuals engaged in cultural enterprise remain 'curiously thin' (Banks, 2006). It was argued that existing studies with empirical research tended not to use individuals as the scale of their inquiries. Instead there was a tendency to examine cultural enterprise at the level of entire creative industries (Bjorkengaard, 1996, Hartley, 2004, Hesmondhalgh, 2003, Ryan, 1992); the level of specific sub-sectors including advertising (Nixon, 2003), music (Negus, 1989) and fashion (McRobbie, 1997); at the level of spatial organisation (e.g., city/region/cluster) (Crewe, 1996, Florida, 2003, 2004, 2005, Grabher, 2002); the level of cultural policy (Pratt and Hesmondhalgh, 2005, Shorthose, 2003); and the level of organisation. (Bilton, 2007, Davis and Scase, 2000, Hirsch, 1973, 2000). The tendency, so it was claimed, was to de-contextualise studies into cultural enterprise away from the strategic exchanges made by 'real' individuals engaged in cultural enterprise.

Whilst these studies have contributed to developing a 'better understanding' of the cultural industries it was suggested that what was missing were empirical studies of how individuals interpreted engaging in actions directed at creating and maintaining contexts to sustain cultural enterprise. An empirical investigation of this entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity was furthered by claiming it was possible to develop understanding of design reflexivity by engaging with participants so as to generate a 'mutual curiosity' (Rabinow, 1996) about cultural enterprise. The following section will summarize the methodological perspectives drawn upon to justify this claim.

Reducing the Distance to Design Reflexivity in Action

As the previous section suggested the key gap this research claimed to address was the need for more empirical instances of cultural enterprise. Chapter Two expanded this claim by suggesting such an inquiry could be developed by representing the meanings individuals attached their entrepreneurial activities. This section revisits the conceptual framework developed to defend the construction of such knowledge claims.

The link between the initial research objective and the debate about research methodologies within enterprise research was made by joining the appeal for greater 'polyphonic richness' (Steyart and Hjorth, 2003). This claim was influenced by literature reviewed during the Masters in Research Methods which stated management and business research in general had benefited from becoming more 'cosmopolitan' (Thomas, 2004). These claims were useful for situating this research along with those who use 'interpretive' and 'dialogic' approaches to enhance the 'illumination of context' of entrepreneurial processes with 'practical insights' (Howarth et.al.2005). A synthesis of interpretive and dialogic methodology via 'language sensitive sociology' (Watson, Forthcoming A) was identified as a valid approach for developing understanding about the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity. This assertion was evidenced by those who conducted empirical studies to represent the inter-subjective social relations through which knowledge about enterprise is socially constructed to sustain work practices and organisational realities (Down, 2006, Fletcher, 2004, Fletcher and Watson, 2007, Hjorth, 2004, Ram, 1994, Watson, Forthcoming C). It was further suggested that both identity theory (Jenkins, 1996, 2000, Rutherford, 2007) and narrative theory (Hutto, 2007, Somers, 1994) were useful since both concepts had been applied with success to understand contemporary work and organisation (Alvesson et.al.2008, Boje, 1994, Humphreys and Brown, 2003, Czarniawska, 1997, 1998, 2004, Gabriel, 2004, Watson, 2001, 2008) and specifically to the study of small

business and entrepreneurship (Cohen and Musson, 2000, Blair, 2001, Hjorth, 2004, Platman, 2004, Smeaton, 2004, Steyeart and Hjorth, 2004, Warren, 2004, Watson, Forthcoming C).

Identity was selected as especially relevant since it could provide a conceptualisation of entrepreneurial activity as an agency-structure interrelationship. The key point (see Chapter Two for a more detailed exposition) was that interpretive sociological theory and, to a lesser degree dialogic theory, could be used to produce knowledge claims based on how individuals interpreted their experiences of engaging with the social identity (Watson, 2008), or persona (du Gay, 2007) of 'cultural entrepreneur'. The latter being defined as a role through which individuals create and maintain organisational contexts that sustain practices associated with the mixing of symbolic and economic activity.

These claims were defended by appealing to conceptual pragmatism so that social theory could be used not to construct 'substantive universal propositions' and 'contextless generalizations', but as a 'flexible vocabulary' (Mouzelis, 1995). The pragmatist element meant maintaining a commitment to producing research that retained an ethical connection to individuals engaged in cultural enterprise (Wicks and Freeman, 1998). This approach does not, as Watson argued, suggest an indiscriminate borrowing., instead it recommended social theory be treated as a resource for developing a 'personal paradigm' (Watson, 1997, p6) so as to understand others' interpretations of social action. As Mouzelis explained, conceptual pragmatism offered a rationale for explaining how second order abstractions can be related with first order experience (Mouzelis, 1995).

This methodology shaped the type of knowledge claims that could be made. It placed an emphasis on the capacity for the research findings to assist others in their interpretation of cultural enterprise. It was envisaged the research should have relevance to practitioners, researchers and policy makers and therefore contribute to the ongoing and collective inquiry into understanding cultural enterprise. The research therefore had to retain some relevance for allies,

enemies and observers (Watson, 1997), or 'micro actors' (i.e., individuals new to a practice/context) and 'macro actors' (i.e., the more experienced and influential) (Mouzelis, 1995).

The pragmatist conceptualisation of social theory was applied to Bourdieu's theory of the logic of practice. This link was justified by restating Bourdieu's own invitation to use his theory as a set of 'open concepts' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) to ask interesting questions of empirical sociology. The pragmatist borrowing did not adopt the logic of practice without addressing the problems others have ascribed to Bourdieu's theory (Benson, 1996, Calhoun et.al.2002, Grenfell, 2004, Guillory, 2000, Heise and Tudor, 2007, Jenkins, 2000, Lane, 2005, Robbins, 2007, Shershaw, 2005, Shusterman, 1997) and his own counter-claims (1990a, 1997b, 2005a, 2005b). Bourdieu's logic of practice was retained as furnishing this research with a vocabulary for speaking to the interrelationship between intended human agency and 'structuring structures' which enable and constrain cultural enterprise. Bourdieu's notion of social action as a field-habitus positioning struggle became central to the conceptual framework. It was used to argue that research participants interpretations of design reflexivity in action could be understood as stratagems for aligning symbolic capital (i.e., the right to legitimately engage with the field of culture) with economic capital (i.e., the right to access reasonable economic activity) (Bourdieu, 2005). This challenge was to minimise the potential for 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu 1996) arising from the distance between academic representations and the interpretations emerging from practice.

A further use of Bourdieu's theory was to think against Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1990a) by using his theory to arrive at an 'informed divergence' (Robbins, 2007). That is to say it sought to accommodate Bourdieu's thinking by harnessing the importance, at every stage in the research process, of a reflexive awareness of the 'conditions of possibility' that make sociological knowledge production possible. However, it stopped short of accepting the debunking emphasis Bourdieu's placed on revealing the misrecognition or illusion of others practices. From Bourdieu,

the notion of research as a reflexive process was central to considering how the researcher is required to become a certain type of 'subject' (i.e., reflexive of the epistemology of social science). And how in turn the researcher's subject affects the knowledge claims (1990a). This point will be returned to in the evaluation below by discussing how social researchers create a part of their identity as a certain type of subject capable of producing knowledge about social reality and in doing so partly constitute the social reality they purport to be representing.

The rationale for empirical fieldwork was not to produce generalisable de-contextualized claims about cultural enterprise. Instead, by drawing from a 'situational interactionist' methodology (Mouzelis, 1995), it was claimed the inquiry could represent local and context-bound interpretations of cultural enterprise. This argument was made by appealing to the sociology of knowledge (Berger, 1990, Berger and Luckmann, 1967); symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1934, Charon, 1977) and pragmatist aesthetics (Dewey, 1934, Shusterman, 1998). Appealing to these 'situational interactionist' perspectives was seen as a means of re-introducing voluntaristic activity without over privileging it. It also provided a basis for claiming the possibility of accessing the social construction of cultural enterprise through individuals' interpretations of their actions in the context they made connections with a 'subjective meaning complex of action' (Mouzelis, 1995).

The practices associated with the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity were therefore conceptualised as attempts to enjoin 'ongoing outpourings' (commutations) to a shared social reality (translation) so as to affect others (consummation). This posed a question of how individuals account for their engagement with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur. This enabled a refinement of what this research was trying to understand. To summarise, this was how participants accounted for developing heightened competencies for drawing connections (through symbol manipulation) between objects, environments and a generalised other. In other words, the process of moving (reflexively) from somatic experience (impulse, perception) through

manipulation (i.e., symbolic competency) towards specialised practices for affecting others' perception (consummation). This was conceptualised as an aesthetic role since it involved affecting perception to material objects. However, rather than theorise the aesthetic element of cultural enterprise from the position of 'detached contemplation' (Dewey, 1934) pragmatist aesthetic theory was drawn on to argue cultural enterprise could be studied empirically as individuals accounted for how they affected brute somatic experience (Shusterman, 2000). The challenge this posed was the need to gather empirical instances of how individuals accounted for the aesthetics of organising design reflexivity through entrepreneurial activity so as to provide 'selective interests' based on a 'minuteness of differentiations' (Dewey, 1934 p15-25) that was relevant symbolically and the 'economy of economic practices' (Bourdieu, 2005).

It was proposed that a 'language sensitive sociology' (Watson, Forthcoming A) would be appropriate means since it required searching for instances of how individuals interpreted the meanings they attached to their entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity. It was argued such interpretations could be located in the tracings individuals deposited as they recounted their experiences and defined their actions in everyday activities. Some degree of this activity, so it was claimed, could be captured in interviews and field notes of informal encounters (e.g., discussions at art exhibitions) and witnessing of moments that encouraged reflection about cultural enterprise (e.g., walking tours, mentoring sessions, competitions). Participant observation was argued as the best means for accessing the construction of these patterns during which practice was interpreted through a (reflective) 'language about design' (Schon, 1983). In turn these situated reflections of design reflexivity were used as material for developing representations that addressed the lack of empirical studies of cultural enterprise.

The purpose of the previous two sections was to show how social theories and methodological perspectives were drawn upon to guide the research process. The final stage of

this summary examines how research participants' interpretations of the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity were represented as the basis for the claims made in this study.

The Status of the Architecture of Cultural Enterprise

Chapters 3-7 expanded the polyvocality of the text by including the voices of those engaged in shaping cultural enterprise in the design sub-fields. Chapter three acted as a bridge into 'the field' in which recounted how I developed a series of legitimate presences for engaging in ethnographic exchanges with owner-founders of cultural enterprises. Describing the specific contexts in which these field roles were performed was considered vital for establishing the validity of the empirical materials gathered during participant observation. As noted this comprised of materials from ethnographic exchanges with different intensities and proximities.

This material was organised by applying the provisional analytical framework developed in Chapter 2. The purpose of the following section is to summarise the experience of writing representations of practitioners' interpretations of entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity. As shall be discussed this process created a polyphonic resonance emanating from the interplay between social theory; methodological perspectives; the voices of research participants and my voicing of 'the researcher's' reflexivity.

The 'empirical chapters' were organized around a model labelled the 'architecture of cultural enterprise'. This was not designed to reify a general, decontextualised abstraction structure above the level of practice. Instead its purpose was to organise the understanding of participants' accounts. The model was informed by the inquiry and changed through the fabrication of writing representations. The ontological status of the model is as a heuristic device or a dromoscope, a tool designed to guide the process of inquiry. It is also therefore responsible for imposing boundaries around the direction and therefore organising aesthetics of the representations. The model draws from the metaphor of architecture as a practice which requires

devising abstract plans to enjoin idea and material. As the architect Rem Koolhaas reflected architect's plans emerge at the intersection between the virtual (possible) and the actual (the reduction of possibility). As Koolhaas stated, 'When there is nothing, everything is possible. Where there is architecture, nothing (else) is possible.' (Shamiyeh, 2007). Similarly Frascari noted how the architectural drawing required challenging a 'compelling reflexivity' through a 'multi-modal dialogue'. He conceived of architectural drawings as an 'imaginative architectural event' since the architect must (temporarily) stabilise a set of material practicalities together with the emotional and aesthetic possibilities experiments in architectural theory offer to shape space (2007). He summarised the act of architectural drawing as one of *cosmopoiesis*, or world making adding:

'The drawing attempts to render visible the invisible as such, and thus, strictly speaking, shows nothing. It teaches the gaze to proceed beyond the visible image into an infinity whereby something new of the invisible is encountered. Thus the true 'drawing-gaze' never rests or settles on the drawing itself, but instead rebounds upon the visible into a gaze of the infinite.' (ibid. p7).

The relevance of this departure is to suggest that as with architecture the social scientist also seeks to palpate invisible social relations and make them visible (Deleuze and Guattari, 1997, MacPhee, 2003). In this study the architecture of cultural enterprise is offered to direct the reader's gaze towards the social process through which individuals' personal organisation of culture, or 'will to architecture' (Karatani, 1996), is enjoined to the act of world construction (Berger, 1966, Berger and Luckmann, 1996) through the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity.

The architecture of cultural enterprise was not to be mistaken as a substitution for practice based interpretations of such activity. It was not designed in the same way as others have proposed generalised sequential orderings of the complexities of cultural enterprise. An example of which would be Hirsch's model for the processing of cultural fashions and fads (1973). Instead the metaphorical connection with architecture was central to increasing my reflexive awareness of

how the act of representation requires awareness of the conditions which impose certain necessities. Attempting to organise a space for representation therefore required acknowledging how interpretations offered by research participants cannot be said to speak without an authorial voice. As Shamiyeh noted there is a similarity in how Koolhaas struggled with the question of whether architects could create a 'zero degree architecture' which allowed occupants to simply exist (freed by the minimised influence of architecture) and Barthes who pondered how authorship could be achieved with minimal authority (ibid). The creation of an architecture of cultural enterprise involved recognising how metaphors are central for organising the writing of texts (Czarniawska, 1999). The 'phases' of the architecture of cultural enterprise were not afforded with ontological status as they were not believed to be observable nor were they afforded an epistemological privilege as unobservable generative forces 'behind' social action. Instead the use of the metaphor of architecture was used to recognise the rhetoric (Watson, 1995) and organisational aesthetics (Steyear and Hjorth, 2003) required to represent social activity. The truth of the architecture of cultural enterprise resides in the attempt to conduct a reflexive social science aware of how its own tools are constitutive of the social reality it purports to reflect (Bourdieu, 1990a).

Claiming this status for knowledge resonates with the view that the architect 'abides in the drawing' since she is not revealing a given, or truth that is elsewhere, but through the act of architectural envisioning is working towards revealing the truth of representation in the act of presenting (Fracari, 2007). Likewise the organising effect of the metaphor of architecture avoids making claims that social science should, or is capable of, creating knowledge that is epistemological superior to the level of practice. Instead the architecture of cultural enterprise seeks to reveal something of the 'evaluative element' (Bakhtin, 1986) of interpretations of engaging in cultural enterprise by revealing the conditions that made the fabrication of a polyphonic textual representation possible. Far from reducing business and management

knowledge to a relativist quagmire as Czarniawska noted, excavating the presuppositions of ‘our’ research instruments is necessary so as to revitalise the legitimacy of ‘institutionalised reflection’ which treats organisational ‘action’ as the ‘subject of the researcher’s’ reflection (1999). The metaphor of architecture is a reminder that the novelty and reasonableness of social science narratives is partially dependent upon the degrees to which author and reader consummate their differences of interpretation based on the conventions that govern legitimate representations of social action. Or, to rephrase this in Bourdieu’s lexicon, the extent to which readers in the field of social science negotiate their positioning struggles to accumulate symbolic capital within the logic of the game of constructing knowledge claims about social action. The following section provides a summary of the salient points of the architecture of cultural enterprise.

Summarising the Phases of Articulation, Emplacement and Entanglement

Chapter Four initially set out to inquire into how research participants accounted for the ‘commutation’ phase of their work as they made ‘temporal commutations’ (Berger, 1990, Berger and Luckmann, 1966) within shared social reality. The chapter examined commutations as articulations of how an individual became engaged with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur. Chapter Four focussed on representing how the research participants became actively engaged in organisational creativity (Hjorth, 2004) by constructing organisations that sustained practices for applying design reflexivity by mixing symbolically novel activity with economically reasonable activity.

The challenge in Chapter Four was to avoid offering a descriptive cataloguing of various routes participants took into cultural enterprise. The representations were therefore organised by using the concept of identity work to claim that the research participants were offering their interpretations as one portion of their overall humanisation of experience. Their articulations were therefore interpreted using three of Watson’s conceptions of identity work or engagement

with 'formal role', 'other social identities' and 'cultural stereotypes' of cultural entrepreneur (2008).

Taking identification with the formal role of cultural entrepreneur, first the representations showed a plurality of points of views constructed to justify doing cultural enterprise. Some of the participants' entrepreneurial trajectories were plotted by connecting childhood aspirations to transitions into adult work via reflecting on the importance of formal education and employment experiences prior to their cultural enterprise. Some presented opportunistic orientations whilst others recounted how their entrepreneurial activities emerged due to a perceived lack of opportunities for interesting work. For instance those with an arts education reported enterprise was the only viable option whereas those with previous experiences of creative roles, either in other cultural enterprises, incumbent creative industries or non-creative industries businesses, drew on discursive resources which suggest the presence of both an 'empowering self' and 'corroded self' (Webb, 2004).

Identification with the formal role of cultural entrepreneur was represented using a range of practitioner defined labels. These ranged from professional categories (e.g., Architect, Graphic Designer, Web Developer) to improvised categorisations (e.g., Freechancer, Typography Selector, Artist in Residence). The variety of definitions of the formal role was interpreted as evidence of how, in order to align their personal organisation of culture with an entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity, research participants had to position their activity by drawing on available discursive resources to describe their identity work. It was suggested this could be understood as the crafting of stratagems designed to position one's entrepreneurial activity within a continuum ranging from novelty to reasonable activity. Whilst recognizing the potential for symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1996) by imposing these ideal-types there was typically a leaning among participants towards identifying with relatively stable (reasonable) professional categories

within the design field, and the more (novel) experimental ends of practice. This continuum was summarized as highlighting a tension between 'relative autonomy' and 'relative heteronomy'.

In order to emphasise how identification with a formal role is only one element of human identification the remainder of the chapter examined which other social identities and cultural stereotypes were drawn upon to articulate identity work. Taking socio-demographic categories first the representations showed how age, ethnicity and gender were drawn upon in articulation. The aim was not to generalise or make predictions about how these factors may be influencing entrepreneurial activity. Instead identity work with these social identities was seen as vital for understanding how research participants used a variety of discursive resources to interpret their identification as both a self-identity and a myriad of social identities (Jenkins, 1996, 2000) that enabled them to personalize their engagement in the design sub-field of the cultural industries.

The possibilities of studying these socio-demographic categories were vast and had to be reduced. Although ethnicity and gender were both present in interpretations it was age, conceptualized using Bourdieu's 'cultural age' (1996) which was selected as especially relevant to understanding cultural enterprise. Cultural age was used to understand how individuals develop stratagems for positioning their entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity. What emerged was a range of positioning stratagems based on the degree to which participants would interpret their practice as 'young' (i.e., avant-garde, edgy, cutting edge, cool) or 'older' (i.e., perhaps more established and rear-guard).

The final section of Chapter Four explored how participants drew on 'cultural stereotypes' (Watson, 2008) in their identity work. Examples included identification with characters from popular culture, such as one participant who identified himself as a 'self-proclaimed bit of a dell-boy'. This popular TV character provided him with a shorthand to relate his entrepreneurial activities with his human experiences (e.g., recent death of his parents, being a father, having to give up his childhood dream of sport after an injury, sabotaging his education

through being a lad, wanting to become a fiction writer and so forth). Other instances where cultural stereotypes were drawn upon included not so much figures from popular culture, but individuals from within the genre world of design.

The importance of identifying with and against other designers and design studios was an important part of articulation in a typical ethnographic exchange. This was understood as how an individual seeks to position their articulation in relation to a design style. Asking about other designers or styles was vital for stimulating design reflexivity since it displayed symbolic capital. It was necessary therefore to develop genre specific knowledge about star designers involved in music (i.e., record covers) film (i.e., typography of credits), fashion, architecture, landscape design and so on. Many of the interpretations of cultural enterprise would not have emerged had I not invested time to visit design exhibitions, read design monographs, speak with design educators and policy organisations advocating for design. The suggestion is that cultural stereotypes were drawn not only from popular culture but also from the genre worlds of the sub-field of design since they provided research participants with stereotypical positions of cultural production from which they could interpret their own practice.

Chapters Five and Six then explored the 'phase' initially conceptualised as 'translation' (see Chapter 2). From designing the conceptual framework it was expected that at some point articulations would be translated into a shared symbolic universe (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). To become a cultural enterprise, as opposed to a hobby or private obsession, it was stated there could be no such thing as a secret language about the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity (to borrow from Wittgenstein). In Chapters Five and Six the phase of translation was explored using the term emplacement. This was defined as the process of accounting for the effects of tempo-spatial forces. It was claimed these forces could be gathered from the 'epistemological productivity' (Coffey, 1999) of engaging in ethnographic exchanges that were emplaced in the same bounded location (Nottingham) and time frame (2004-2007) as the

participants interpretations were constructed. Chapter Five explored how temporal forces were drawn upon and Chapter Six explored spatial forces.

The key findings from these chapters were that interpretations required accounting for a local-global dialectic. Research participants' interpretations were therefore examples of the attempt to emplace an articulation within the design sub-fields local to Nottingham as well as to cope with being emplaced with legitimised notions of design reflexivity circulating at a national, international and deterritorialised scale (e.g., through the media, internet etc). These chapters therefore applied the conceptual framework to represent cultural enterprise as a combination of voluntaristic agency (emplacing) and the effects of structuring structures (or being emplaced) of larger (than individual) scale notions of design reflexivity.

Chapter Five explored temporal effects of fashions or how the 'charm of novelty' (Simmel, 1902) is subject to a continuous ebb and flow of style changes within the design sub-fields. Participants' interpretations showed a plurality of point of views over the degree of significance they attached to keeping up with fashions. The participants' interpretations of this process were understood as evidence of how design reflexivity is coupled to the contemporary need to present entrepreneurial organisations of design as relevant both in terms of being economically reasonable but also as symbolically innovative or affective. What emerged from the analysis were a series of stratagems practitioners devised to create a homology with legitimate design reflexivity at the time of the inquiry.

Chapter Five suggested that understanding cultural enterprise required an appreciation of contemporary intra-sub-field conflicts since these, to some extent, defined the conditions of what could be considered novel. These in turn partially shaped the boundaries of participants' interpretations and my representations of design reflexivity. What this revealed was how the architecture of cultural enterprise was partially couched in a quasi-artistic discourse of disinterest but also in a pragmatic and opportunistic discourse about what was currently considered as

reasonable design reflexivity. On numerous occasions I was drawn into this positioning struggle so as to present an opinion on the fashionability of a participants' entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity.

All the participants, irrespective of how cutting edge they argued their practices were, interpreted their emplacement within the temporal constraints of the sub-fields of design. This was especially evident in those individuals who were experiencing hysteresis, or adjustment of the homology between their practice and present legitimate expressions of design. Examples of this transfer of 'interest' (i.e., investment in the design game) included instances where participants identified with areas that afforded (potentially) higher (symbolic) rewards. At the time of the research this distinction alluded to the high symbolic capital of environmental design, location based gaming and inner-city property regeneration projects and the lower capital associated with 'basic' web design, corporate and brochure production, (i.e., 'shit work').

Chapter Six addressed how spatial forces were drawn upon in participants' interpretations. The discussion reinforced some of the initial expectations of the effects of place. As suggested by Florida (2003, 2004, 2005) certain elements associated with 'creative cities' (e.g., tolerance to sexual orientation, presence of higher education institutions) were expressed as important to cultural enterprise (i.e., supply of skilled creative labour). However, other forces, initially unforeseen, were also drawn on. These included the lower cost of living in the East Midlands and the relative proximity of Nottingham to London. These factors revealed the importance of ethnographic embodiment as I too lived with these conditions during the research.

Rather than using Florida's research, Zukin's (1989, 1995) studies proved far more useful for understanding how spatial forces were drawn upon by participants. Reading her work helped to grasp the central finding from Chapter Six which related to how coping with spatial forces meant developing emplacement stratagems that were specific to the local-global dialect of starting a cultural enterprise within a small provincial city. Most participants acknowledged that

accessing the best way to survive and indeed grow was to balance local client based work whilst also accessing the circulation of ideas in London since this could potentially help exceed the local opportunities for accumulating symbolic capital in Nottingham. This is perhaps unsurprising given London has been acknowledged as containing a far higher concentration of cultural industries than other UK cities (DCMS unpublished, Creative London, 2005). However it also highlights the problem of Florida's attempts to translate his work internationally (2004). His claims about the conditions of creative cities was based on the distribution of wealth across US metropolitan regions, such as San Francisco, Seattle, Texas, New York, Chicago, which have far greater demographic weight, economic, cultural and political autonomy from the Washington. This was simply not the case in the participants' accounts which revealed a heavy reliance on the concentration of economic and cultural power in London.

Spatial considerations were drawn upon in practitioners' interpretations to represent a plurality of positions that were contingent upon the spatial distribution of resources. To varying degrees the participants reflected on how important the limited stock of symbolic capital within the city (Nottingham), the region (East Midlands), the nation (UK) was to their ambitions. The suggestion was that symbolic legitimacy is related to a multi-scalar intensity of symbolic circulation. Stories of spatial distribution of symbolic capital were, it was claimed, accessible through participants' interpretations of 'enunciated space' (de Certeau, 1984). The relevance of drawing on spatial discursive resources is the claim that the architecture of cultural enterprise is partially shaped by physical locations and access to a global-local dialectic accessed through stratagems devised to break into the circulation of symbolic capital in other places and the de-territorialized flows (e.g., online). The importance is that 'cultural intensity', as one participant labelled it, is spatial but should not be subjected to 'over territorialization' (Hess, 2004).

Chapter Seven closed the analysis of empirical material by seeking to understand how individuals 'consummate' their cultural enterprise. The chapter was re-labelled as 'entanglement'

to signify a focus on how research participants interpreted the process of connecting their entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity in the 'field of power', or the 'right to access' to accumulate economic capital by appealing to what others considered 'reasonable economic activity' (Bourdieu, 2005).

The representations of entanglement in Chapter Seven explored how research participants directed their entrepreneurial activities towards the small scale accumulation of economic capital. The variation in their orientations to such action was attributed to the degree to which participants interpreted their practices by voicing the 'spirit of calculation' (Bourdieu, 2000), or the extent to which their interpretations revealed their intentions for scaling the 'weight' of their 'embedded field' (Bourdieu, 2005). The plurality of points of view revealed how research participants positioned their embedded field (once again) according to notions of novelty and reasonableness.

What Chapter Seven explored was the central tension in design which Mills described as how the designer was engaged in the business or art and the art of business since they must balance the 'struggle for existence' with the 'struggle for status' (Mills, 1963). This was a similar claim to Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the cultural entrepreneur as a role that required concealing one's full (economic) self-interests as well as any desire to replicate the disinterestedness of the artist (1996). The representations showed how scalability could not automatically be assumed as a rational act of scaling up to a larger and more profitable business. Instead there was active resistance to scaling up, an antipathy towards it and an active pursuit of individual wealth accumulation through the accumulation of both tangible and intangible property.

Attention was placed on how, in the absence of the presence of star turns with ground breaking intellectual property, the business of scaling an embedded field required on the more mundane exercise of managing the extraction of surplus productivity of employees. Interpretations of this revealed how owner-founders managed to manage their identity work to

become managers, to paraphrase Watson (2001). Such activity caused a tension between their identification as a creative practitioner and entrepreneurial supervisor of others' creative expression. What this issue does raise is the key question of how identity regulation (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002) of others' personal organisation of culture is central to the management of the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity. This emerged as a problematic struggle for owner-managers who struggled to facilitate the alignment of their employees' search for interesting (i.e. creative) work with the (partially) pre-defined organisational design reflexivity of their embedded field.

This issue of managing others' personal organisation of culture by aligning it to the organisation of design reflexivity, so as to achieve scalability, is one that warrants further research. Owner-founders showed a great deal of interest when asked about how they managed creativity. This is potentially good news for management researchers since it creates a legitimate expectation and therefore field role for management and business researchers. However, as I discovered, this brings with it the expectation of being able to conjure up quick fix solutions and a tick box recipe for managing creativity. Other organisational researchers have made similar comments on their fieldwork (Czarniawska, 2002, 2004). The suggestion, following Ram, (1994, 1998), was that researchers should never make guarantees that their involvement will help improve the bottom line. This posed a problem for negotiating access among time-poor owner founders as did my attempts to state intentions of studying the management of creativity on a daily basis. Given what has been said about how there is a tension within small creative businesses, and also re-reading the accounts of how ex-employees often embark on cultural enterprise, there is a need to develop more subtle lines of inquiry.

The suggestion from Chapter Seven is that curiosity and defensiveness of owner-founders of larger cultural enterprises indicates the problem of managing others' creativity. Since, as others have noted, the cultural industries trade on 'hermeneutic sensibility' (Lash and Urry, 1994) it is

therefore vital for management and business researchers to gain access to contexts in which to participate and observe the effects of managing creativity. However, this is problematic given the need to also be able to display relevant symbolic capital as an indication of the ability to understand how the cultural industries produce symbolically relevant as well as economically relevant activities (Lawrence and Phillips, 2002). This is perhaps reflected in the representations which tend to towards discussions of strategy (Bilton, 2007, Davis and Scase, 2000) rather than empirical examples of how creativity is managed. There are exceptions although very few come from management researchers (Morean, 2005, 2006). Instead discussions of organising identity and managing organisational cultures have emerged in cultural studies (Nixon, 2003) and literary studies (Liu, 2004, Ross, 2003) which have different ambitions.

To complete this summary it has been suggested the representations of the architecture of cultural enterprise will assist in understanding cultural enterprise by utilising interpretations of from individuals engaged in such activity. This should have relevance for addressing the lack of empirical studies of cultural enterprise. This study has labelled the entrepreneurial organisation of design reflexivity as an architectural event which can be studied arising from the action of mixing together symbolically novel and economically meaningful activity. The initial analytical framework (Chapter 2) has been modified as a result of the study to accommodate the stratagems participants described as they managed the dynamic tensions emerging from engaging in identity work with the role of cultural entrepreneur. The architecture was offered not as a replacement, or superior version of reality, to practice based views. No single theoretical representation could contain the rich complexities, contradictions and improvisations of cultural enterprise. Instead the polyvocal textual representations were constructed to emphasise the value of stimulating mutual curiosity about how cultural enterprise is organised and contributes to the contemporary organisation of production and consumption. This will hopefully have utility for practitioners, policy makers and researchers seeking to understand more about cultural enterprise.

To close this summary, the exhibits below are offered as diagrams to represent the process of mapping and palpating the invisible architecture of cultural enterprise. They do not replace the need for rich textual representations. Instead they are attempts at something akin to an architectural drawing, only rather than plans for construction, they are trace the outlines of the 'personal paradigm' (Watson, 1997) developed in and for this study. The exhibit summarises the architecture of cultural enterprise by laying the three phases of cultural enterprise alongside two ideal types of Relative Autonomy (symbolic novelty) and Relative Heteronomy (economic reasonableness). These poles are ideals since they could not be actualised in practice. Instead they remain virtual possibilities which are posited with the aim of reaching the impossibility of a zero degree architecture/authorship. In practice what one would expect to be actualised are stratagems which draw from across these poles. And interpretations of such mixings must be studied empirically. Having summarised the research, the remainder of this chapter will evaluate the knowledge claims by exploring the limitations of the research; possible future lines for inquiry and offer concluding remarks on the potential contribution of this research.

Exhibit 6: The Architecture of Cultural Enterprise

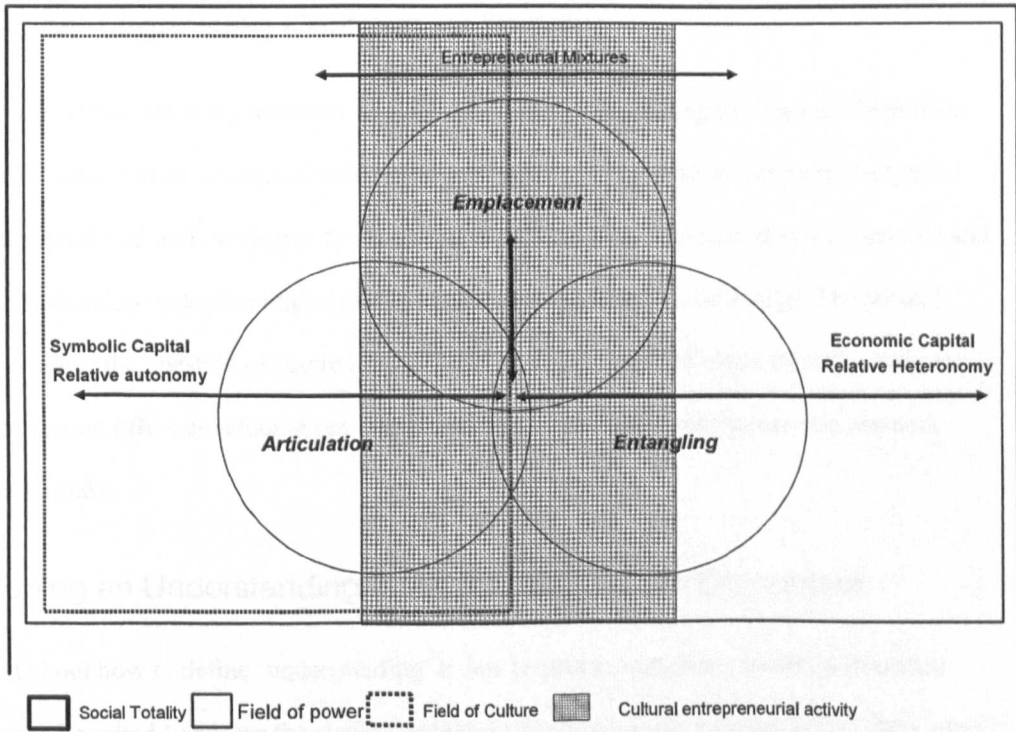


Exhibit 7:
Stratagems Available For Constructing an Architecture of Cultural Enterprise

Phase	Relative Autonomy (Symbolic Novelty)	Relative Heteronomy (Economic Reasonableness)
Articulation <i>(alignment to a formal role, cultural stereotypes and other social identities, especially 'cultural age')</i>	Idiosyncratic renaming of formal role	Stable professional roles
Emplacement Temporal <i>(homology between charm of novelty and intra-field legitimacy)</i>	Higher fashionability (e.g., environmental design, pervasive mobile technology and site specific regeneration projects)	Emphasis on established credentials (associations with consecrated elite individuals professional organisations)
Spatial <i>(dialectic between local/global scales of circulation)</i>	Valuing of global projects (accessing places/spaces with a higher cultural intensity)	Importance of local ties (strength from bounded local context)
Entanglement <i>(alignment of the 'weight' of an embedded field to calculative dispositions)</i>	Low scalability intent (weaker coupling to accumulation of economic capital, emphasis on socio-cultural transformation)	High scalability intent (emphasis on increasing weight via small scale capital accumulation through labour, physical and intangible property)

Evaluation: Organising Contexts for Reading

The purpose of the following section is to close this study by evaluating the claims which have been made. This will be structured under three sub-headings. The first will explore the type of knowledge produced and the degree to which it is congruent with the claim that it is possible and desirable to develop understanding of cultural enterprise via reflexive sociology. The second section explores the question of future lines of inquiry which might be made from this research. The third section offers concluding remarks based on the potential contribution this research proposes to make.

Developing an Understanding through Ethnographic Encounters

Thinking about how to define 'understanding' it was helpful to consider a question Bourdieu posed when he asked 'what are the social conditions of the possibility of reading?' (1990a, p95). Bourdieu raised this point in his call for reflexivity in sociological knowledge production. His question requires the writer to reflect on contexts which sustain the practices of reading. It forces reconciliation between writing and the politics of knowledge production, circulation and legitimisation. Making claims to produce understanding for readers by constructing representations of social activity is therefore always already partially dependent on the conditions which make reading such productions possible. The act of reading, much like Steyaert and Hjorth's comments about the organisation of academic speech (2004), is therefore dependent on the possibility of spaces for a scholarly interpretation of the gap between linguistic usage and situation specific interests.

Understanding in the context of social science is defined as a social practice requiring a producer who is reflexively watchful of how constructing representations requires not only authorship but the assumption of a social organisation (Etzioni, 1963), or even an architecture (Dale and Burrows, 2008) that sustains reading of social science texts. The type of understanding

this research has constructed can be said to be an attempt speak to a 'gap' by utilising 'instruments of objectification' (Bourdieu, 1990a) (e.g., schemas, diagrams, writing) designed from the 'ascetic of scientific technique' (Rabinow, 1996). Perhaps the first step towards defending the production of understanding is to 'objectify the truth of the objectifying relation to practice' through which 'one projects into practices the function of practices as it appears to someone who studies them as something to be deciphered' (Bourdieu, 1990a, p99).

Recognising these conditions for knowledge production and reading helps to close a question opened earlier in this section which claimed this research had developed as the initial research objectives were enjoined with a 'literate tradition' or 'universe of references' (Bourdieu, 1990a). This connection involved aligning my biography with the public practice of management and business research in order to legitimately claim to belong to a community which values those who can 'perform by transcription' knowledge claims about social conditions. Hence all subsequent claims are premised on the ability to draw a readers attention towards a recognition that the author's 'relation to his or her object' requires a shared 'understanding (of) how the relation to the object is part and parcel of that object' (Bourdieu, 1990a, p101).

The implication is that there can be no 'pure' representation of practice since understanding, based on the interpretations of an 'other', is presupposed as valuable knowledge. For this reason understanding has been tightly coupled with the various problems, or 'turns' (e.g., reflexive, linguistic, spatial, performative, affective), within the social sciences (Lincoln and Denzin, 2003, Rabinow, 1996, 2008, Thrift, 2006b, Van Maanen, 1989, 2006). Incorporating these turns is central to the ability to make and evaluate a researcher's ability to fully participate within said community which claims knowledge production of others' interpretations as its purpose. What this suggests is knowledge claims require a 'structural intuition' and investment in the rules of playing a 'living cultural game' (Bourdieu, 1990a, p104). If the participants have been afforded a 'will to architecture' (Karatani, 1996) comprised of voluntaristic agency within

interpretive limits, then constraints imposed on the researcher, through a 'will and representation' (Bourdieu citing Schopenhauer, p53), must also be recognised. Bourdieu summarized these conditions of possibility as followed.

'What we consider to be social reality is to a great extent representation or the product of representation, in all senses of the term. And the sociologist's language plays this game all the time, and with a particular intensity, derived from its scientific authority. In the case of the social world, speaking with authority is as good as doing' (1990a, p5).

Bourdieu was not alone in recognising how the sociologist (partially) constitutes the very social space they purport to represent (Giddens, 1979, 1991). This returns the evaluation once again to how architects and social scientists are complicit in the shaping space, the former physically (if commissioned) and latter textually (Bourdieu, 2005, Frascari, 2007, Hillier, 2005). Bourdieu, using language that is saturated with spatial metaphors, argued that, due to a century or more of reification of social reality, social researchers will 'discover more and more in the reality they study the sedimented products of their predecessors' (1990a, p54). The reason for recalling Bourdieu's reflections is that his *oeuvre* itself can be read as a 'virtuoso' performance of sociological understanding since he reveals the limits of the conditions within which modern interpretative sociological understanding has been possible and contributes to the present and future conditions of understanding (Rabinow, 1996).

Unlike Bourdieu's claims that the sociologist can, through 'participant objectivization' (Bourdieu, 1990a, 1990b) overcome the *illusio* of practice, I claimed understanding could be channelled towards interpreting the dialogic constitution of knowledge. The type of understanding this study has aimed to produce is justified further by recalling an essay entitled '*Methodology for the Human Sciences*' by Bakhtin. In this he argued understanding of human experience, which he claimed comprised a 'different scientific knowledge', required constructing representations of how individuals interpret the symbolic universes specific to the bounded tempo-spatial contexts they inhabit. This claim defends the purpose of constructing understanding

based not on debunking practice but on 'the dismemberment of understanding into individual acts' (Bakhtin, 1986, p159). For Bakhtin, this meant interpreting how individuals participate in actions that can be *recognised* as familiar/unfamiliar; that can be marked as *significant* within a specific context and which require an *active-dialogic* negotiation to decide whether an interpretation is included or excluded from a dialogic context. Bakhtin's notion of understanding as the 'evaluative aspect' of human experience connects with how this study also adhered to the study of the 'situational interactionist' (Mouzelis, 1995) tradition which ascribed individuals' interpretations with a degree of meaning assembly.

By combining Bourdieu's views on the structuring structures shaping understanding (1996b) with Bakhtin's methodological reflections on the validity of interpretation this section has considered two possible grounds for establishing the validity of the knowledge produced by this research. These criteria are offered to consider how this study engaged with the limits of the 'structural intuition' associated with the conditions of possibility within which social research is undertaken. As such the effectiveness of the research is premised on its ability to convey interpretations of the situated meanings of design reflexivity in action. It will have partially achieved some success if the reader has felt the contexts of cultural enterprise have been, if not illuminated (Howarth et.al.2005), then at least opened up for further research in some small way.

The second criteria for evaluating the limits of the study's claims are the validity of appealing to the use of ethnographic practices. Initially this appeal was made to naively justify getting closer to practising creative business people (see Appendix, I). I initially believed it would be possible to construct a 'vocabulary of understanding' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2004) to aid understanding between practitioners, researchers and those connected with policy making and implementation. I no longer accept this as an actualisable aim. Instead I have a somewhat more modest faith in the knowledge constructed through the ethnographic practice applied here.

This revised use is premised on the possibility for knowledge production through dia-ethnography which Rabinow defined as a practice suited to researching people with 'identical structural positions' (1996, xiii). For Rabinow this meant scientists involved in bio-technology and urban planners. Unlike Rabinow's scientists this study engaged with individuals who had built practices on a shared assumption that it was natural to use knowledge about the possible commercial uses of culture in the struggle for existence and struggle for status (Mills, 1963). Dia-ethnography is a means of phrasing this approach to assessing how this study used ethnography. As Rabinow suggested interpretation via ethnographic exchange enables the creation of opportunities for encouraging an 'aroused auto curiosity' in which the researcher and participant reflect on the contexts which sustain their practices. This coming closer to Van Maanen's claim that over the past half century the career of 'the other' has involved a promotion from savage to interlocutor to co-producer (2006).

Having tried to get closer to individuals engaged in the entrepreneurial organisation of cultural enterprise as a management researcher I empathise with Rabinow about the importance of moments of mutual auto-curiosity. I also agree the challenge is not simply to arouse interest but to put 'reflected curiosity to work' (1996). He suggested that researchers employing ethnographic methods to explore contemporary practices (2008) should aim to develop a dialogue that encourages a 'reflective and refractive stance toward the situation and themselves' (ibid). To summarise, the value of ethnographic exchange is as a catalyst for an Aristotelian dialectic based on the 'art of invention of topics and common places' (Rabinow, 1996, pxiv). The use of ethnographic encounters in this research is the value of engaging with participants in specific contexts to engage their interpretive capabilities and channel this towards the goal of co-reflections on the contexts and practices which make a situated curiosity possible.

The experience of engaging in ethnographic praxis was therefore one of transforming a private curiosity about cultural enterprise into a public act through redefining an aspect of my

identity work. One of the effects of this was to increase the distance, in terms of social proximity (Bourdieu, 1996), between my identity work as a researcher rather than as a creative and aspiring cultural entrepreneur. This reduced the structural homology I shared with participants. Associated with this shift was a series of ‘emotions of the field’ (Coffee, 1998) that became epistemologically productive as they resulted in a nexus of inter-subjective relations emerging from ethnographic exchanges. These provided enough structural similarities to appreciate the structured improvisations (Bourdieu, 1990a, 1990b) and ‘emotional-evaluative exclamations’ (Bakhtin, 1986) of the participants.

The findings from this process are not claiming to be *generalisable* explanations of cultural enterprise. Neither could it be used as a base to *predict* how cultural enterprise might unfold in other contexts (spatial, sub-sector fields or temporal). The claims are instead offered as specific to the mutual curiosity that was stimulated through exchanges with a small group of individuals in one bounded context as they interpreted their ‘personalisation of context’ (Bakhtin, 1986, p168). The following will explore future lines of inquiry which could be developed following this study.

Developing Lines of Action: Extending Research Aims through the Assemblage of Remote Contexts

A key inspirational idea, which acted as both a motivation and source of doubt, has been the development of a reflexive awareness towards the possibilities and constraints of constructing understanding about cultural enterprise through an instrument designed from the ascetic of scientific techniques. What emerged as a specific problem from engaging in such practice (e.g., ethnographic exchange and representation) was the tension between a need to align the remote contexts of design practice and social research (practice) through balancing distance and solidarity. As the voices of others began to find their way into the text a transformation occurred

in my own understanding of social science texts. Having confidently immersed myself alongside professional designers (undoubtedly clumsily and definitely in debt to their patience) it was only when confronted with a mass of interpretations that I became aware of what reflexivity meant when applied to the transformation of social practice through textual representation. This required thinking not only about the researcher's influence during fieldwork but the researcher's authorial voice. The need to balance 'reification and alienation' (Bakhtin, 1986, p168) which was anticipated in the fieldwork therefore became extended during the construction of the text.

In seeking to put this recognition of difference to work, a tension emerged that remains unresolved. This was the problem of how to develop understanding without over-relying on de-contextualised abstractions. This unfinished problem is an impetus for the future lines of inquiry that are outlined in this section. Lines which seek to provide a rationale for continuing to produce opportunities to co-construct understanding about cultural enterprise and design reflexivity. It is proposed that 'better' understanding can emerge only from continuing to work alongside practitioners engaged in such action so as to appreciate of how 'contextual meaning is personalistic' (Bakhtin, 1986, p169). It is suggested the conceptual framework developed in this research can fulfil this aim, but that this would require going beyond the textual style used here. It would require re-engaging with individuals as they channel design reflexivity towards constructing and maintaining contexts for their work and organisation by encouraging auto-curiosity about the interpretations of such practice.

Before suggesting some extensions to the research conducted here it is worth noting the meta-rationale for proclaiming the need and plausibility of further research. First, this claim is grounded Rabinow's argument that there is, according to the ascetic of science, a nature to inquiry. Drawing on Dewey, Rabinow argued this presupposes that inquiry begins with an 'indeterminate situation' and proceeds through 'continuous, reiterative process' (2008, p8). As inquiry unfolds, through a controlled and specific logic, there is an attempt to resolve the

conditions of inquiry. This involves risk of unresolved problems and therefore the generation of discoveries which reformulate the problem at hand. Inquiry, whether at the level of science or practice, proceeds through a 'giving of form' (whether discursive, logical, artistic, scientific, political) (p9). This form giving is a question of 'describing' a problem and shaping an inquiry' (ibid). Inquiry is therefore an experiment in form giving via a controlled and reiterative adjustment. Through observation and reflection it is possible to propose solutions which are defined as steps taken to engage with a problem. A solution being 'reasonable' if this is defined as 'a distinctive mode of taking up the practice of inquiry' (p10).

The type of inquiry suggested above, and which has guided this research, is suggestive of a particular problem framing (Landry, 1995) within management research. This is an iterative, participative and interpretive mode of giving inquiry form. This form of inquiry has placed an emphasis on addressing a lack of empirical studies of cultural enterprise (Banks, 2006) which may also be indicative of a need to address the 'crisis' of empirical sociology in general. This claim is premised on Savage and Burrows (2007) who argued the jurisdiction of sociology had been diminished as a consequence of the proliferation of individuals and institutions utilising social science methods and generative knowledge within an ever knowing capitalism. Their suggestion was that social researchers, so as to remain relevant, should innovate and produce 'descriptive sociology' that addresses the 'politics of methods' as well as providing interesting and useful insights into social life. A similar claim has been made by scholars who suggested identity research could be enhanced with rich empirical descriptions of how individuals engage in identification with different social personas in actual settings (Jenkins, 2003, du Gay, 2007, Rutherford, 2007).

It is accepted that one avenue for research into cultural enterprise and the organisation of design reflexivity (e.g., in larger incumbent organisations) is to develop studies that use descriptive sociology by mixing rich descriptions of empirical interventions with a broad

repertoire of interpretive repertoires (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000). This raises the question of how best to maintain a legitimate presence to gain access to practitioners in the sub-field of design? From the experience of conducting this study I have suggested that this requires an understanding of design and a display of how one is actively contributing to the creating an aesthesis, or sense of being with others (Shields, 2002, Mafessoli, 1996). It is suggested that if management researchers are to seek sustained engagement with design practitioners they must invest in developing a degree of solidarity with designers' struggles to construct contexts for 'filtering' (Giddens, 1991). One problem for engaging in such practice is the need to develop a legitimate role. However, at the risk of inviting claims of pretentiousness, such interest in design may compromise the need for a Stoical ataraxy (i.e. not being troubled by interested action). As Rabinow suggested ataraxy is an antidote which Bourdieu referred to as the rejection of the logic of practice. The problem of legitimacy is therefore how to maintain a presence in the field of cultural enterprise (i.e., showing interested action) whilst preserving distance required for social science (i.e., an 'ethical state of non-preference', Rabinow, 1996, p10).

It is proposed that one means of rationalising this crisis of legitimacy is to pursue Mills' claim that the very role of the designer is justification for the attention of social researchers. Mills argued the designer's 'art is a business, but his (sic) business is an art' (1962, p374) and therefore the designer's role exists at the intersection of cultural, economic, political and social action. The designers' output is therefore more than the supply of novelty and reasonableness; it is a reflection of contemporary production of symbolic knowledge. It therefore has relevance to understanding, as Mills suggested, the value placed on human sensibility.

In response to the above the following lines of future inquiry are proposed. These claim there is a certain degree of structural similarity between the role of designer and social researcher since both belong to a 'cultural apparatus', or 'milieux in which artistic, intellectual and scientific work goes on' (Mills, 1963, p376). Future research into design reflexivity can therefore be

justified on the basis that the designer/cultural entrepreneur and researcher are both ‘cultural workman’ (sic.) involved in the domination of nature, styles of feeling and vocabularies of meaning which serve decision makers by ‘revealing and obscuring the consequences of their decisions’ (Mills, 1963, p376). Both therefore engage in turning power into authority through the creation of artefacts with symbolic power.

Mills was perhaps overly reductive in his claim that designers’ outputs lead only to a ‘debasement of imagination, taste and sensibility’ (Mills, 1963, p380). However, as he suggested, designers may benefit from social researchers’ interactions, whereby the latter becomes something of a concerned friend. Such engagements could aim to cultivate reflexive awareness of how design practices link to contexts in which they occur as this may assist in harnessing the full potential of design reflexivity in both economic and socio-cultural terms. Such interaction may potentially assist in reconnecting the ‘in built responsibility’ of a designer towards the public sphere which Mills argued had been eroded by the exclusive drive for profit (1963).

This rationale reconnects to present policy debates which claim design thinking, often defined as the individuals’ capacity for wealth creation (DCMS, 2001), but increasingly in terms of policy attempts to govern open and closed systems of innovation (Cox, 2005, NESTA, 2007, DIUS, 2008) for the UK’s economic competitiveness. The relevance of sociological research would, as Mills suggested, be to engage those involved in design related activity and remind them of how their actions are ‘creating and shaping the cultural sensibilities of men and women, and indeed the very quality of their everyday lives’ (1963, p381). The purpose of developing knowledge about how design reflexivity is translated into work and organisation may assist in reducing the image of the designer to ‘generalissimo of anxious obsolescence’ (Mills, 1963 p382.). Instead management and business researchers, by creating opportunities to stimulate cultural curiosity about how individuals engaged in the entrepreneurial organisation of design

reflexivity interpret the relationship between their practices and contexts which sustain them, may assist in rehabilitating the image of the designer as craftsperson. As Mills wrote:

'you (the designer) represent the sensibilities of man as a maker of material objects, of man a creature related to nature itself and to changing it by a humanly considered plan. The designer is a creator and critic of the physical frame of public and private life. He represents man as a maker of his own milieu.' (1963, p383)

This leads to the claim that a central rationale for future inquiry into design reflexivity is to rebuild the ideal of craftwork, defined as 'the creative nature of work, and for the central place of such work in human development' (p383), and the practice as craftwork, defined as 'the classic role of the independent artisan who does his work in close interplay with the public, which is in turn participating in it' (ibid). The image of the craftsman has returned more recently in Sennett's claim that craftwork provides models for work and organisation that counter the 'corrosive' (1998) effects of modern capitalist production (2008). Shields too made a related claim when he stated the designer's ability to affect the public sphere should be taken more seriously by social researchers' investigations into socio-economic governance (2002). From this it is deduced this inquiry has given form to studying design reflexivity in action by engaging with those engaged in entrepreneurial activities. The purpose was neither to neither advocate nor debunk interpretations of such actions, but to challenge 'routine and repetition' (Czarniawska, 1999). In turn perhaps this may assist in contributing not only to encouraging economic wealth accumulation, but also the humanization of experience and the relationship between the design of material objects; our designs over nature and, as other studies have suggested, the study of the design of life itself in bio-enterprise (Rajan, 2007, Rabinow, 2008).

In pursuit of these aims I have taken steps towards continuing a dia-ethnography. This ongoing work is being conducted in two ways. First, through a continued relationship with one of the key informants of this research who has invited the researcher to contribute to the development of his studio. This has resulted in an official role as 'design researcher' being established which provides access to client meetings, co-authoring of pitch documents and his

ongoing auto-curiosity. The second initiative is to the writing of a text designed to encourage designers to think reflexively about how they achieve a 'personification of context' (Bakhtin, 1986). The text will become the 'plain English summary' report referenced in the research proposal (Forthcoming). Initially it was thought this would be a transmission of the thesis exposition in a reduced and non-technical format. The report is now being constructed as something that challenges the 'organisational aesthetics' (Steyart and Hjorth, 2003) of academic productions.

The text will be created as an experiment in 'writing differently' (Grey and Sinclair, 2006). It will draw on Watson's notion of an 'ethnographic fiction science' (2000) through the creation of composite characters. These characters will be drawn from the 'real' voices of the participants and compressed into short stories organised into three stories of three different 'ages' of cultural entrepreneurs. These characterisations will then be worked into a report designed by a Nottingham based graphic design studio. The report will then be distributed to participants. Its usefulness will be 'tested' by interviewing the readers for their reflections. The 'results' of this process will then feed into a paper examining the participative potential for social science representations to raise auto-curiosity among cultural entrepreneurs. The aim of this extension is to shift the emphasis of the ethnographic exchange from discovery to reflecting on the possibility of developing understanding from interpretations of the 'evaluative aspect' of design reflexivity. The report might also be 'tested' on design practitioners in other locations.

Another extension would be entirely new research experiments in other locations, sub-fields (i.e., not design) and also including employees' reflections on the experience of having their personal organisation of culture regulated. Expansion through these criteria would allow for a broadening of the question of how cultural enterprise is organised through the mixing of symbolically novel and economically reasonable activity. By focusing on other locations, sub-fields and employees it would be possible to extend the utility of the analytical framework

developed in this research by working with other interpretations of the practice of cultural enterprise and design reflexivity.

Finally, to connect this discussion back to social theories about design intensive contemporary capitalist production it is suggested empirical studies of the cultural industries are generally valuable so long as this sector is considered vital to debates about work and organisation. As noted, the cultural industries provide one sector within which to explore reflexive knowledge production (Giddens, 1991, Thrift, 2004); the effects of managing reflexive careers (Beck, 2000, Banks, 2006, McRobbie, 1997, 1998, 2003, Neff et.al.2005, Nixon, 2003, 2006); how spaces of circulation opened up by ICT are harnessed by network entrepreneurs (Barry, 2001, Castells, 1996, Liu, 2004) and how a 'cultural economy' (Amin and Thrift, 2004, du Gay and Pryke, 2002, Ray and Sayer, 1999) is creating a global circulation of symbolic, unfinished and intangible commodities in the 'economy of qualities' (Callon et.al.2003) (see also Arvidsson, 2006, Lee and LiPuma, 2002, Lury, 2004, Lash and Urry, 1994, Lash and Lury, 2007, Virno, 2003).

Future lines of inquiry are therefore justified on the grounds that the approach developed in this study could contribute to understanding how the cultural industries generate contexts for work and organisation that are congruent with the conditions of possibility within reflexive late modern capitalist production. Whilst keeping the development of knowledge about cultural enterprise closely related to the need to address the 'curiously thin' empirical base of such activities (Banks, 2006). The aim should be to contribute to understanding how the cultural industries are a key site of activity from which to study the institutionalisation of reflexive economic production. Cultural enterprise could then join attention afforded to other sites of reflexive economic activity including risk management in global finance capitalism (Willman et.al. 2001), networked information technology (Terranova, 2004) and bio-technology (Rajan, 2007). The final section will now offer conclusions of the present study.

Towards the Craft of Critical Cosmopolitanism

The contribution of this research has been ‘contained’ (*cordon sanitaire*) (Rabinow, 1996) within this chapter so as to summarise and evaluate the interpretivist conceptual framework developed or ‘personal paradigm’ (Watson, 1997). This study has been summarised and evaluated as a valid contribution to understanding cultural enterprise in the design sector. This claim was based on constructing an inquiry capable of gathering interpretations from individuals and representing their architecture of cultural enterprise. The latter was defined as creation and maintenance of contexts for the legitimate mixing of symbolically novel and economically reasonable activity. It was proposed that representations of empirical instances of this activity, gathered from ethnographic exchanges, would have further (theoretical) relevance to debates about how individuals cope and exploit the conditions of reflexive capitalist production. The evaluation of these claims acknowledged the limits involved in producing such knowledge. It was suggested the initial research proposal failed to comprehend the implications that ethnography is not simply a method for research inquiry. Ethnography is now rethought of as a practice within which dia-ethnographic exchanges can be useful for channelling the researcher and research participants’ mutual and situated curiosity towards interpreting meanings ascribed to entrepreneurial organisation in the cultural industries.

I therefore propose there are two claims that can be made as to the relevance of this research. First, understanding the contexts which sustain cultural enterprise, especially the application of design reflexivity, has relevance to policy debates about the contribution of design to activity to economic competitiveness. This is especially relevant given the promotion of design thinking in the face of growing anxieties about the threat posed by countries with not only rapidly growing economic wealth but infrastructures for knowledge intensive production. Second, that to understand the full potential of design reflexivity, both economically and socio-culturally, it is necessary to develop understanding about how practitioners interpret their activities. The

suggestion is that management and business researchers, by understanding the conditions in which an individual's design reflexivity is practiced, may assist in wealth creation and the humanization of experience.

This places an ethical responsibility on the researcher to construct opportunities for ethnographic exchanges. This is consistent with Van Maanen's reflection that during the last twenty years ethnography has rethought the relationship between researcher and the other. He claimed the 'career trajectory' of the other in ethnographic representation has moved 'from savage, to primitive to subject to native to informant to interlocutor to, ultimately, co-author.' (2006, p16). This call addresses a growing need for co-production of knowledge through innovative bonds between researchers and practitioners. Where Van Maanen suggested researchers 'soldier on' (2006) given increased questioning of the epistemological status of ethnographic representation, Rabinow suggests ethnographic encounters are fundamental to inquiring into the contemporary organisation of knowledge. He argued ethnography provides opportunities to enter the 'moving ration of modernity'. By this he referred to how ethnography presents an opportunity to participate in the singularity comprised of continual constructions of new; the presence of a residual past and anticipation of a near future (2008). Bourdieu's logic of practice, at least as read as a set of 'open concepts' and not the 'hermeneutics of suspicion' (Hennion, 2007) was used to create a similar inquiry in this study.

What Rabinow suggested is that the contemporary remains a legitimate object for ethnographic inquiry providing its practitioners strive towards a 'critical cosmopolitanism'. He defined this as the scholar's participation in the (co) production of knowledge premised upon recognising 'an ethos of macro-interdependencies' and 'an acute consciousness of the inescapability's and particularities of places, characters, historical trajectories and fates' (p56). This calls for research based on a 'balancing act' in which participation requires a watchfulness of attempts to 'reify local identities or construct universal ones' (p56). The notion of a critical

cosmopolitanism has relevance as it furthers the theoretical question of how to study reflexive identification and the methodological aim of addressing the lack of empirical studies of cultural enterprise.

In conclusion it is suggested this summary will, in a modest way, contribute to the call for descriptive sociological studies of the contemporary organisation of identification (du Gay, 2007, Jenkins, 2003, Rutherford, 2007, Savage and Burrows, 2007, Watson, 2008). This study developed a pragmatist pluralist approach (Mouzelis, 1995, Watson, 1997) so as to draw on substantive theoretical debates about identification in reflexive late modernity (Beck, Giddens and Lash, 1994, Beck, 2000, Giddens, 1991). However social theory was not used to over privilege its power at explaining how human identity is totalised, distorted or governed by the contemporary organisation of enterprise (Armstrong, 2005, and Spicer, 2005, Keats et.al.1990, Rose, 1990, Rose and Miller, 1989, du Gay, 1996); to an ideology of entrepreneurialism (Armstrong, 2005). Instead the aim of this study was to use theory as 'interpretive repertoires' (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000) useful for constructing representations of situation specific interpretations of how some individuals develop part of their identity by engaging with the social identity of cultural entrepreneur so as to organise design reflexivity.

However this study has also used sociological theory reflexively to question the degree to which it is possible to develop understanding based on the identity work of individuals engaged in entrepreneurial activity. It has therefore addressed the criticism that ethnographic research is flawed due to its 'quaint claims' and reliance on 'culture islands' (Van Maanen, 2006). The descriptive sociological approach was developed through an awareness of theoretical and methodological debate and an ethical commitment to creating opportunities to participate with individuals engaged in design and therefore the shaping of the affective layer (aesthesis, Shields, 2002) that contributes to the social organisation of production. It therefore sought to produce a scholarship that is 'suspicious of its own imperial tendencies' and 'highly attentive to (and

respectful of) difference, but is also wary of the tendency to essentialize difference' (Rabinow, 1996, p56).

There is another side to the above claims of a need to recognise the 'ethos of participation' so as to incorporate the challenges of conducting contemporary ethnographic research. This is the 'pathos' I have for the craft of studying others lives so as to construct textual representations. This pathos emanates from a desire to find ways of engaging with individuals engaging in cultural enterprise and design thinking in other contexts. This could include a study of individuals entangling their design reflexivity in large organisations through roles such as Chief Design Officers and User Experience Manager. The pathos is driven by a desire to 'travel across the lands belonging to others' (de Certeau, 1984). This classic rhetorical appeal to make 'journeys of witnessing' (Behar, 1999) is only made possible alongside the 'ethos of participation' which has been laid out for ethnographic study in this research. Together this ethos and pathos may assist in addressing the claim of a general 'crisis' of empirical sociology (Savage and Burrows, 2007). Whilst this may be overstated and epochalist, what is more certain is that empirical and descriptive sociological studies of design thinking will assist in understanding how business schools incorporate design thinking (Dunne and Martin, 2006) and maintain relevance by channelling an 'institutional reflexivity' (Czarniawska, 1999) into the design sector.

To conclude, I recall Ruskin's quote which introduced this research, in which he reflected on how ecclesiastic architecture was a record of the humanization of experience. Such an aim remains valid for social researchers inquiring into what contemporary articulations, emplacements and entanglements of cultural production say about our organisation of 'mental health, power and pleasure' (Ruskin, 1848). It is suggested this research will contribute to the development of a 'critical cosmopolitanism' which seeks to encourage a co-production of knowledge with reflexive modern research participants. This study has aimed to contribute an understanding of the contemporary organisation of cultural enterprise so as to assist in developing

a greater awareness of how individuals engaged in such activity interpret their architecture of cultural enterprise by mixing symbolic novelty and economic reasonableness.

As such activity is argued to be central to contemporary production future inquiry is justified on the basis that researchers must continue to access the evaluative aspect of how individuals interpret the meanings they ascribe to creating and maintaining organisations within the broader organisation of design, creativity, innovation and enterprise³³. One last appeal is therefore made to the value of a 'testimony of lived experience' which can be achieved through ethnographic approaches that draw on 'often unexpected encounters, and demands' and require 'especially attentive listening, looking, feeling and being there' (Behar, 1999 p780). Such inquiries require more immersion than this research achieved and therefore remains an objective for a future inquiry capable of crafting a polyphonic text that enjoins the remote contexts of design reflexivity in action together with social science representation. Such inquiry would require the researcher and research participant to be drawn into the 'same circle of controlled meaning' (Mills, 2000, p220) as the 'context of discovery' and 'context of presentation' are enmeshed to produce new contexts of discovery (Mills, p222). If successful this will encourage a 'sociological imagination (that) has its chance to make a difference in the quality of human life in our time' (Mills, 2000 p226).

³³ The distinction between organisations and organisations is taken from Dale and Burrows, (2008).

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Appendix

Appendix I ESRC Funding Proposal (Summer, 2004)

Theme: Work and Organisation: Knowledge Economy

Description of Research Topic

Investigating Creative Business in the City of Nottingham: An Ethnography of Creative Business Practitioners

Interest in the creative business as a key industrial sector for facilitating sustainable economic and social growth rose sharply during the 1990s. Defined as businesses involved in advertising, architecture, arts and crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, performing arts, publishing, TV and radio (Department of Culture Media and Sport, DCMS, 2001), research studies have been concerned with the creative business sector in terms of employment trends (Pratt, 1997), economic clusters (Crewe, 1994) and the processes through which cultural production is linked to wider economic transformations such as globalisation and the emergence of a networked knowledge economy (Lash and Urry, 1994, du Gay, 1996). Towards the end of the 1990s interest in cultural industries also began to shape Labour's political agenda. As a result this sector has also received a great deal of attention from policy-oriented organisations such as leading think-tanks (e.g., Demos) (Leadbetter and Oakley, 1999), regional development agencies (e.g. EMDA) and urban planners (EMDA/Comedia, 2003, Marsh, 2004). Through reports such as *Mapping the Creative Industries* (DCMS, 2001) which highlighted that creative business employed 1.3 million people (5% of the total UK workforce) and were valued at £112.5 billion, the economic significance of this sector was further outlined. Moreover, what this report also highlighted was that the creative business sector showed future growth potential with an annual revenue growth rate of 9% between 1997-2000 compared to the UK industrial average of 2.8%, DCMS, 2001). Commenting on these trends, Florida (2002) argued that the changes in economic production had led to the stimulation of substantial creative capital which would serve as a key economic resource for the next century.

Although creative businesses continue to attract attention from a variety of academic and policy interest groups, the sector is still under-researched (ESRC/AHRB 2003). There is a need for a deeper analysis of what Florida (2002) calls the 'social structure of creativity' in order to understand the processes through which creative capital is constructed and contributes to economic development. Little is known about the ways in which practitioners owning, managing or working in the creative business sector symbolically exchange or inter-relate with each other; how they utilise particular discourses, or linguistic expressions in order to construct meaning or create shared values. In short, greater research attention needs to be given to the micro processes through which the social structure of creativity 'comes about' and how this creative capital relates to locational factors. This would give important insight into the ways in which particular locations (in this study cities) can attract, retain and nurture creative capital. Such an investigation can occur through the application of ethnographic research methods that enable the researcher to study the language, rituals and symbolic exchanges that constitute the social structure and culture of creativity.

Literature Review

The literature review will be used to explore existing research for 'sensitising concepts' (Silverman, 2000). These will form the basis of an analytic framework that will connect this study to previous research and be used to analyse and interpret empirical data. This section provides a provisional structure for the literature review and highlights key theoretical themes that generated the research objectives for this study.

The first section of the literature review will contribute to an analytical framework by exploring theory about the social nature of business. Theory will be used to understand the role that social interaction plays in the development of business from formal and informal rules or networks, into coherence and real world production (Storper and Salais, 1997). Pilot work conducted into creative business (during the MSc stage) suggests there is a need to question the notion of business networks as static structures (Monstead, 1995), and search for research that explains how 'untraded interdependencies' (Crewe, 1996), (such as friendship), are used to pursue business aims (e.g., cost savings) This theory will be essential for interpreting the empirical accounts of the micro interactions of creative business practitioners. This section of the literature review will also examine the social embeddedness of firms (Granovetter, (1993) and the use of social capital (Adler and Kwon, 2001 Putnam, 1998) in order to connect creative business to Management and Business research. This section enables this study to contrast accounts of the social nature of creative business given by practitioners against existing representations of creative business, such as Lash and Urry, who claim creative business is a 'transaction rich network of individuals who also happen to be in firms' (1994).

The second aim of the literature review is to explore Florida's claim that there is a single 'creative class' (Florida, 2002). Florida argues this group have a core set of socio-cultural values based around tolerance, diversity and technology. The literature review will focus on the research Florida used to reach this conjecture, to raise questions such as how creative business practitioners experience work and construct a sense of identity. This section connects creative business to wider transformations such as: permanently transitional work (Baines and Robson, 2001); increased degrees of risk and uncertainty (Beck, 2000, Sennett, 1998) and the tension between increased self-responsibility and the search for 'pleasure at work' (Donzelot, 1991). The resulting analytic framework will compare the accounts of creative business practitioners to representation in existing research. Do practitioners agree with being represented as 'culturepreneurs' (Davies and Ford, 1999) or 'café dwelling, laptop users' (McRobbie, 2003); or members of a 'creative class' (Florida, 2002) doing 'funky business' (Nordstrom and Ridderstrale, 2000) and being 'anti-suit' (Cummings, Bilton and Wilson, 2003)?

The penultimate stage in the literature review will be to explore theory explaining the role location plays in developing creative business. This connects to theory from economic geography, (e.g. clustering), and attempts define the role that locations play in facilitating business. This study will search literature for examples of how academics explain the 'invisible but indispensable scaffolding'; the hard to define 'intangible something in the air' (Crewe, 1996, Marshall, 1920) that is believed to be essential for nurturing and retaining creative business capital (Florida, 2002). The findings will be contrasted against the accounts from creative business practitioners to question the meaning of concepts such as 'milieu', 'learning regions' and 'clusters' which are often associated with creative business without precise definitions of how they relate to the experiences of practitioners.

The final stage of the literature review will explore existing research into the chosen location for this study: the city of Nottingham. A provisional search suggests Nottingham has many of the pre-conditions essential for the development of creative business. These include a large university population; an historical legacy of creative industry; a large number of

cafes, bars, nightclubs and musical venues; and a large gay and lesbian community (Florida, 2002, Hardill, 2003, Shorthose, 2002). Nottingham has been identified as the fourth most creative city in the UK (BoHoBritain, 2003), and was recently described as having 'a vibrant and diverse cultural life and a wide range of cultural organisations and creative industries' (City of Nottingham Council, 2004). Examining this literature serves three purposes: to justify the selection of Nottingham as a creative business centre; to compare factors identified as essential for creative business; and to gain a clearer understanding of the size and nature of the creative business sector in Nottingham. This is essential for identifying and selecting the participants in this study, for example, if, as Crewe suggests, Nottingham has a legacy of fashion and textiles (1996) it may be harder to locate participants from other sub-sectors such as advertising or leisure software companies, and this will effect the generalisability of the results.

To conclude, the literature review will be used to identify sensitising concepts and develop an analytic framework. This will be used to answer the research objectives by contributing to the themes in the semi-structured interviews and in the analysis and interpretation of empirical data.

Research Objectives

This research will contribute to a better understanding of creative business by pursuing the following questions:

- What are the everyday rituals, language and symbolic interchanges that constitute the culture of creative business practitioners?
- To what extent do creative business practitioners account for the benefits and/or costs of untraded interdependencies and informal relationships?
- To what extent do such businesses constitute a 'creative class' with shared socio-cultural values?
- Are the accounts given by creative business practitioners of managing their personal and professional identities consistent with existing images and representations of creative businesses?
- How significant is location to creative business practitioners? Which aspects of a location are important to attracting, retaining and nurturing creative business?

Methodology

Owing to the relative lack of theory about creative business practitioners and how they interrelate at a micro level, in this proposal a case is made for an ethnographic approach to research. The key aim of the research design is to argue for a methodology that will increase understanding of the everyday rituals, language and symbolic interchanges that constitute the culture of creative business practitioners. The decision to utilise an ethnographic approach has resulted from a careful evaluation of existing (and largely quantitative) research into creative businesses conducted during the MSc Research Methods (Management and Business Pathway). This evaluation showed that extensive information was available on trends within the sector but did not facilitate study of micro social processes. The research design presented here is appropriate for investigating the stated research objectives and for enabling study of the social structure of creativity in a particular location (the city of Nottingham).

Access to creative businesses is difficult as the sample consists of practitioners from a relatively small industrial sector within in a single city. There are 12,375 creative businesses in the East Midlands region and 60% are micro-businesses (i.e., less than five employees) (EMDA, 2003). Barriers to accessing creative business will be overcome by using a combination of the following: my creative business experience (see Section I Q18); key gatekeeper contacts in the creative business

community (already located) and a relationship with Creative Collaborations³⁴ which presents a rare access opportunity from which to observe, participate and recruit creative business practitioners.

At this stage it is difficult to predict the exact number of semi-structured interviews, As indicated in the literature review the sampling strategy will be informed by a preliminary identification of the types of creative businesses in Nottingham. The aim is to avoid over using one sub-sector by ensuring participants are included from a wide range of the businesses identified within the DCMS and Florida's definition of creative business. As an indication of the scale of these interviews the provisional intent is to include five practitioners from each of the 11 sub-sectors, making a total of 55 semi-structured interviews. By seeking out participants from different types of creative businesses this research will test the limitations of the existing definitions about creative business. The aim is therefore to sample practitioners from as many of the sub-sectors as possible to increase the richness of the data. This will expand theoretical understanding and be applicable to researchers investigating creative business practitioners in other cities.

Data will be gathered using a mixture of methods including participant observation, semi-structured interviews and a research diary to provide 'thick descriptions' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, Robson, 1993) about the language, rituals and culture or 'implicit rules' that shape the quality of interaction and enable transfer of knowledge between creative business practitioners and institutions. By getting close to practitioners (an ongoing process already in motion and expected to continue throughout the research period - see Timetable), this research will examine how they manage levels of co-operation and competition; friendship, professionalism and uncertainty in order to pursue business aims such as cost reduction (Ottati, 1991). It is suggested that an ethnographic approach enables sensitivity and can facilitate understanding about how creative business practitioners manage and apply meaning to their work (Gill and Johnson, 2002, Watson, 1994).

Analysis of field work accounts will be both inductive and deductive. There is a key concern to anchor the accounts during field work in their local and social context. In this sense, the research is inductive, drawing out the local theorising that is occurring as business owners make sense of their day to day business activities. In addition, analysis of these accounts is shaped by theories drawn from the literature which are being used to shape this study. In this sense the research is also deductive – looking for and drawing out key issues relating to location and the social structure of creativity. Sensitising concepts will be identified from the literature to shape the research questions and to guide analysis (Silverman, 2000, Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). These concepts will be used to examine the key objectives of this research (such as whether there is a creative class with shared socio-cultural values; whether existing images or representations of creative industries work identities are valid; and the extent to which location effects the development of creative business. Analysis of data from observations, interviews and a research diary will be organised and presented via an iterative process of interpretation (e.g. reduction, re-construction, intertextualisation, referencing and writing-up). The key is comparing and contrasting inductive and deductive reasoning to generate new questions that challenge existing theory and generate ideas for future research into creative business. An example of this is to test the limitations of using the DCMS definition of creative business by comparing attitudes of participants in different sub-sectors. Equally, an ethnographic project such as this is an opportunity to evaluate the relevance of pre-conditions that have been identified in previous research as important for the development

³⁴ Creative Collaborations is an initiative linking the European Social Fund, The Nottingham Trent University and Greater Nottingham Council. The aim is to provide relevant training to creative businesses in Nottingham and provide local residents with a career progression from foundation degrees to Masters.

of creative business, (e.g. a large university population). This has benefits to two key groups, academic researchers and policy makers.

Relevance and Dissemination

It is believed a study based upon rich descriptions of creative business practitioners will provide a *useful guide to academics and policy makers* hoping to reap the social, cultural and economic benefits of creative business. An ethnographic understanding of creative business extends the quantitative research which has measured the scale of the sector (e.g., review and employment) at a national and regional level (DTI, 2001 DCMS, 2001, EMDA, 2003), and offers new insights for policy makers seeking to develop creative business. In order to maximise the utility of this research the results will be disseminated to key decision makers within the policy making community via an executive summary written in non-technical language and presented in a rich graphical format designed by a local design agency. Every attempt will be made to seek opportunities to present the findings at conferences such as Creative Clusters³⁵. Finally, local and national media will be contacted via a press release and interviews to promote the findings to a wider audience. This study contributes to academic research by addressing the research need for in-depth examples of creative business, and by providing an expanding understanding of how practitioners create a sense of meaning within a knowledge community, in the context of an advanced capitalist economy. Opportunities to present the findings to the academic community will be sort via book and journal publishers and at relevant academic conferences. Ultimately it is hoped this research will benefit existing creative business practitioners and those aspiring to develop their creative talents into a career. Thus contributing to wider efforts designed to create sustainable social and economic improvements and enhance future competitiveness.

Ethical Considerations

Owing to the specific setting of this study it will be necessary to ensure that individuals are made aware of how their opinions may be presented. To protect participants it will be necessary to change the names of individuals and companies. The research will not be covert and participants will be made aware of the intended uses of this research. Also, due to the intensive nature of the fieldwork, every effort will be made to avoid over-identifying with participants despite the close degree of interaction necessary to gain access and trust amongst creative business practitioners.

³⁵ <http://www.creative-clusters.org.uk>