CHANGING WORKPLACES IN THE CREATIVE PROCESS IN CREATIVE INDUSTRIES – THE CASE OF ADVERTISING AND MUSIC

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Summary: Based on qualitative interviews with senior executives from advertising and the music industry, this paper argues that the organization of creative work is shaped by specific and varying workplace geographies. Work in creative industries can be understood as trans-local processes, making specific use of the physical environment of different workplaces and relating workplaces embedded in different logics to one another. The results of the study show that in the creative process, work is carried out in multi-local work arrangements. Starting with the differentiation of team and individual workplaces – derived from the literature dealing with physical environments of creativity supporting workplaces – the paper argues that a relational understanding of multi-local work arrangements should focus on the relation of 'exposure' and 'protection' provided by each workplace. Exposure and protection are densely interwoven in creative work processes, and mainly refer to the protection of working processes and thoughts from disturbances and a planned exposure to inspirational surroundings that can be realised at specific locations. The paper develops protection and exposure as mutual dependent concepts, influencing the multi-locality of workplaces.

Zusammenfassung: Auf der Grundlage qualitativer Interviews mit Geschäftsführern und leitenden Angestellten aus Werbeagenturen und Musikunternehmen wird in diesem Beitrag argumentiert, dass kreative Arbeitsprozesse durch spezifische physische Arbeitsorte sowie durch den Wechsel zwischen unterschiedlichen Arbeitsorten beeinflusst sind. Arbeit in der Kreativwirtschaft wird als trans-lokaler Prozess konzeptualisiert, der in mehrere Logiken eingebunden ist und Vorteile unterschiedlicher physischer Arbeitsumgebungen nutzt. In diesem Beitrag werden Arbeitsorte mit den Konzepten „Schutz" und „Ausgesetzheit" verbunden. Einerseits ermöglicht Schutz konzentrierte Arbeitsprozesse und die Entwicklung eines kreativen Flusses durch die Bereitstellung einer störungsfreien Arbeitsumgebung oder eines Rückzugsraumes. Andererseits können Orte Arbeitende auch sozialen Konstellationen oder eher ungewöhnlichen und inspirierenden Atmosphären aussetzen, die neue Eindrücke vermitteln und Interaktionen ermöglichen, welche die Entwicklung neuer Ideen unterstützen. Schutz und Ausgesetztheit werden als relationale Facetten von Arbeitsorten konzeptualisiert, die zugleich gegenseitig voneinander abhängig sind.

Keywords: Creative industries, advertising, music industry, temporary proximity, workplace, creative process

1 Introduction

Over the last 15 years, more and more attention has been directed towards the creative industries as a new motor of economic growth, worldwide, and as one manifestation of an increasingly knowledge-based economy (Hesmondhalgh 2008; Chapain and Stryjakiewicz 2017a). It has been argued that the work processes of creative industries depend heavily on personal relationships to enable learning processes and the generation of new knowledge, leading to a huge body of literature dealing with social relations (e.g., Cohendet and Simon 2008; Grabher and Ibert 2017; Schmidt and Brinks 2017; Rutten 2017). This focus is explained as knowledge creation being highly dependent on trust (Costa et al. 2018; Growe 2018a), and being shaped by norms, values, conventions and routines (Amin and Cohendet 2004; Müller

and Ibert 2015). In this context, social relations are crucial to understanding how firms and individual economic actors manage and reduce uncertainty in the process of knowledge generation and creative work (Boschma 2005; Crespo and Vicente 2015; Rutten 2017).

With regard to the spatial organisation of creative industries, a mainly macroanalytical research strand – focusing on cities, regions and even nation states (Pratt 2008; Strambach 2012; Growe 2016; Chapain and Stryjakiewicz 2017b) – deals with regional and urban competitiveness (Raspe and van Oort 2006; van Winden et al. 2007) and spatial clusters of creative work (Harvey et al. 2012; He and Gebhardt 2013). Noticeably absent from much of the work on creative industries is a micro perspective, focusing specifically on the relation of social interaction and the physical environment of places in the process of creative work.

Specific physical (micro)locations enable knowledge generation through social interaction, such as face-to-face meetings among other means (e.g., observation), and thus play a central role in the work processes of creative industries (CLARE 2013; HOFF and ÖBERG 2015; RUTTEN 2017). Management literature and psychological studies also argue that the physical environments of workplaces can support creative work processes (MARTENS 2011; DUL and CEYLAN 2014; HOFF and ÖBERG 2015). In workplaces, the space-time dynamics of knowledge creation coincide with the physical characteristics of place. Therefore, microgeographies of knowledge creation imply that it is not so much on the urban or regional scales where knowledge creation happens, but on the smaller scale of microlocations, such as offices, conference venues, studios, hotels and cafés, which can be used as workplaces in creative industries (RUTTEN and BOEKEMA 2012; GRANDADAM et al. 2013; FLÖGEL and ZADEMACH 2017). How exactly the social processes of knowledge creation are connected to such places is still debatable. In this context, FLÖGEL and ZADEMACH (2017, 303) argued for "studying […] actual sites of knowledge creation, which implies analysing the micro-geographical scale".

The key argument in this paper is that workplaces in creative industries vary throughout the work process. Multi-local work arrangements are chosen to exploit benefits from the specific advantages of different locations – such as experiencing a specific setting, gaining access to a specific atmosphere or influencing social interaction – in different phases of the work process. In this context, workplaces are understood to be embedded in different logics, while also being related to one another in creative work processes. This study aims at answering the question: What sort of locations become workplaces for creative industries at which stage in the creative process, and why? The key contribution of the paper is developing 'protection' and 'exposure' as mutual dependent concepts influencing the multi-locality (NADLER 2014; FELSTEAD 2012; FELSTEAD et al. 2005; BLAKSTAD 2015) of workplaces.

The paper is structured as follows: firstly, in the *Microgeographies of creative industries* section, the selected actors, the different stages of the creative work process and the workplaces used to support creative work are introduced. The *Data and methodology* section follows. Then, in *Relational workplaces in creative industries*, findings regarding choice of workplace in the creative work processes of advertising and music are presented. The empirical results are reflected

upon in the *Discussion*; in this section, a differentiation between exposed and protected workplaces is developed, based on the presented results.

2 Microgeographies of creative industries

2.1 Advertising and music: Sectors of the creative industries

In the literature, various approaches have been employed to define creative industries. "The standard definition of the creative industries […] included 13 industry sectors: **advertising**, architecture, art and antiques, computer games/leisure software, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, **music**, performing arts" (CUNNINGHAM and POTTS 2015, 388 [authors' emphases]). This is also supported by the definitions of other authors (e.g., COLLINS 2010, 5–6); however, some definitions differentiate between the broad variety of sectors counted as creative industries, for example, distinguishing between core art fields (visual arts, performing arts, heritage), cultural industries (film and video, television and radio, video games and **music**) and creative industries (design, architecture, **advertising**) (CHAPAIN and STRYJAKIEWICZ 2017a).

Two main rationales explain this differentiation (HESMONDHALGH 2008; THROSBY 2008; O'CONNOR 2010; PRATT 2012). First, activities can be differentiated with regard to their position along the cultural and creative value chain. Some activities mainly produce cultural and creative content, while others reproduce and disseminate this content. Second, activities can be distinguished based on the type of outputs these activities produce; some activities provide experience and services, while others produce original content.

A distinct assignment of sectors to a specific definition is not easy, however; one example – music – is classified as a cultural industry in the literature (CHAPAIN and STRYJAKIEWICZ 2017a), and another – advertising – is classified as a creative industry, demonstrating the similarities and differences in the spatiotemporal embeddedness of different creative industries.

2.2 Work processes in the creative industries

Work processes in the creative industries aim to create and reflect images, symbols and atmospheres that are characterised less by their practical

application than by their aesthetic meaning or expressive function (LASH and URRY 2002). Individual factors, such as talent and biographical experiences, with associated memories, personal tastes and emotional states, affect creativity (HALLAM and INGOLD 2007; GIBSON 2012). At the same time, the necessary competencies include different elements of the economic value chain, such as acquisition, production, marketing or accounting (BERNDT 2012). The spatiotemporal organisation for the production of creative content as intangible goods is manifested in project-based networks and temporarily changing constellations of actors and workplaces (WATSON et al. 2009). These criteria apply to both examples, music and advertising.

With regard to their position along the cultural and creative value chain, both sectors produce new cultural and creative content; however, in the music sector, reproduction and dissemination of content are also of outstanding importance.

While advertising produces creative content as a customised service for specific users, the process of producing such content is highly dependent on intensive interaction between the provider and the consumer of the creative content (MOULD and JOEL 2010). The creation of new user-specific creative content is dependent on an understanding of the clients' needs and problems, and requires opportunities for deep interpersonal contact with the client (FAULCONBRIDGE 2006; GROWE 2018a, b). It is not necessary for the entire interaction process to be in the form of face-to-face meetings of equal intensity, however. Usually, the level of interaction is greater at the beginning than in the subsequent stages of the production process. Thus, the working process is shaped by communication, organised either via information and communication technologies or as face-to-face interaction in temporary co-location (TORRE 2011; AGUILÉRA and LETHIAIS 2016).

In the music sector, products are created not for a specific client, but for dynamic and rather impersonal markets that often respond to short-lived fashions and discourses. Acquiring tacit and subcultural knowledge via face-to-face interaction helps to achieve an understanding of such unstable markets (LANGE and BÜRKNER 2013). This involves seeking out cultural trends, and checking the suitability of new products for markets in which rules are negotiated in club-like communities (MCROBBIE 2002). Situated at the intersection of economy and culture, the music industry mediates between musicians and the consumer market. Workers in the music industry perform operations in the produc-

tion and promotion of music, construct legitimacy, and add value through the qualification of sound. The working process reflects the oscillation between producing cultural and creative content while, at the same time, aiming to reproduce and disseminate this content in markets. Therefore, besides dealing with different divisions in music companies, such as advertising and finance, CEOs, producers and artist and repertoire (A&R) staff in the music industry also interact directly with musicians.

In both sectors, creative ideas are developed. Several studies have tried to unpack the creative process (e.g., VERNON 1978; LUBART 2001; HARVEY 2014; AMABILE and PRATT 2016); however, there is still no consensus on how the creative processes is structured (LUBART 2001; AMABILE and PRATT 2016). Still, some phases are discussed as crucial – under different terms – in several models of the creative process, mainly referencing the famous four-stage model of the creative process of WALLAS (1978) (for a summary, see also MARTENS 2011):

(1) Preparation phase, including investigation of the problem in all directions, and being characterised by gathering data and information;

(2) Incubation phase, including unconsciously thinking about the problem, primarily at the individual level;

(3) Illumination phase, in which a 'happy idea' occurs. This phase covers the breakthrough moment in a creative process, in which a 'flash' occurs, with the winning concept cutting across consciousness; and

(4) Verification phase, where the validity of the new idea is tested, and the idea itself is shaped into a form that meets the goals identified in the preparation phase.

Of course, the phases can overlap with each other, and can be repeated at each point in the process (WALLAS 1978; LUBART 2001; AMABILE and PRATT 2016).

2.3 Workplaces in creative industries

There is a body of study on workplaces, mainly in social and cultural geography, that deals with how organisation and perception of work are shaped by particular geographies (e.g., ETTLINGER 2003; STRENGERS 2015; HASTINGS and MACKINNON 2017). For ETTLINGER (2003), workplaces are not just specific sites in companies, but relational contexts in which people work. These contexts, however, can

also be located in different physical environments, influencing the work processes carried out there. The study of the use of specific physical environments to support creative work is underexplored in analysing geographies of knowledge creation (Haner 2005; Allen and Henn 2007; Martens 2011; Hoff and Öberg 2015; Lee 2016).

Lee (2016) stated that there is, in general, only a limited amount of literature linking the physical environment of workplaces to creative work; the available studies emphasise similar aspects. Coming mainly from an architectural and design or management background, these studies focus on how workspaces and offices in firms (understood mainly as the building of the firm) should be laid out (Haner 2005; Lewis and Moultrie 2005; Allen and Henn 2007; Martens 2011; Dul and Ceylan 2014; Hoff and Öberg 2015). In this regard, the studies deal with a variety of physical aspects, such as plants and light (Dul and Ceylan 2014), furniture (Hoff and Öberg 2015), office floor layout (Allen and Henn 2007) or the availability of fun and playful elements (Lewis and Moultrie 2005), linking these to creative work processes. These studies argue that varying and flexible workplaces (Haner 2005; Allen and Henn 2007) are important in providing a feeling of security (Martens 2011) and in encouraging curiosity (Lewis and Moultrie 2005). Recommendations dealing with providing varying and flexible workplaces mainly cover the availability of different workplaces that either enable interaction (Haner 2005; Lee 2016) or provide private spaces to promote 'flow' (Csikszentmihalyi 2010) in the creative work. Breaking these requirements down to the physical environment of workplaces, many studies deal with the different opportunities of individual and team workplaces that can be characterised through different nuances of flexibility (for an overview, see Uebernickel et al. 2015). Individual and team workplaces are also associated with different phases of the creative work process. Haner (2005) linked the preparation (first) and evaluation (fourth) phases with interaction zones, while the incubation (second) and illumination (third) phases were linked with retreat zones. Haner (2005) drew his conclusions from observations in a research institute and a Scandinavian financial institution. Starting from these theoretical conceptions, we analysed the use of different physical workplaces, in particular with regard to individual and team workplaces, in work processes of advertisers and in the music industry.

3 Data and methodology

The data presented here results from a project dealing with the spatiality of work processes in the knowledge economy, covering work processes of knowledge-intensive services and the creative industry. One aim of the project was to understand how different locations are used in the processes of knowledge creation. Here, results for two sectors of the creative industry (advertising and music) are compared. These two sectors were chosen to include actors defined as part of the creative industry. The two groups also represent the distinction made by some authors (e.g., Chapain and Stryjakiewicz 2017a) between cultural (e.g., music) and creative (e.g., advertising) industries.

Semi-structured qualitative expert interviews were conducted with 13 stakeholders in the creative (advertising) and 15 in the cultural (music) industries in Germany. All interviewees occupied a lead position, being able to shape workplaces and influence work processes. The interviewees were either founders of the respective firms or senior executives at management level, or both. This position allowed the interviews to explain the spatial organisation and meaning of workplaces in the work processes. The majority of the interviewees were male, reflecting the overall gender composition of the workforce in creative industries (Conor et al. 2015). The firms varied in size; however, most firms were small, comprising the founder(s) and a few support staff. Basic information about the interviewees is provided in Tab. 1.

The stakeholders in advertising were identified by a propagation system, using the contact information of key players in professional associations in Germany, such as the Gesamtverband Kommunikationsagenturen (GWA), which represents 110 of the best communication agencies in Germany, and provides a seal of quality for the represented agencies. In the advertising firms, interviews were performed with people responsible for interaction between the creatives and the client – mainly senior executives and founders of advertising firms who oversee the creative process, and organise tasks for the project work.

Interviews in the music industry were conducted with CEOs and A&R staff responsible for talent scouting, overseeing the artistic development of recording artists and deciding how financial resources are used. These interviewees were selected using a random sample based on the membership list of the Association of Independent

Tab. 1: Interviewee characteristics

Sector and number of interviewee	Role	Gender	Firm size	Spatial organisation
Advertising #1	senior executive & founder	male	~ 8	single-location agency
Advertising #2	senior executive & founder	male	~ 35	single-location agency
Advertising #3	senior executive & founder	female	~ 8	single-location agency
Advertising #4	senior executive & founder	female	~ 3	single-location agency
Advertising #5	senior executive & founder	male	~ 800	multiple-location agency
Advertising #6	senior executive & founder	male	~ 3	single-location agency
Advertising #7	senior executive & founder	female	~ 3	single-location agency
Advertising #8	senior executive & founder	male	~ 2	single-location agency
Advertising #9	senior executive	male	~ 6	single-location agency
Advertising #10	senior executive	female		professional association, covering Germany
Advertising #11	senior executive	male		professional association, covering Germany
Advertising #12	senior executive	male		professional association, covering Hamburg region
Advertising #13	senior executive	male		professional association, covering Frankfurt region
Music #14	senior executive & founder	male	~ 3	label, located in Berlin, covering national pop market
Music #15	senior executive & founder	male	~ 10	label, located in Berlin, covering international pop market
Music #16	senior executive & founder	male	~ 3	label, located in south-west Germany, covering international jazz market
Music #17	senior executive & founder	male	~5	label, located in Berlin, covering international world music market
Music #18	senior executive & founder	male	1	label, located in south-west Germany, covering international dance music market
Music #19	senior executive & founder	male	~ 3	label, located in south-west Germany, covering international dance music market
Music #20	senior executive & founder	male	~ 5	label, located in south-west Germany, covering international market for classical music
Music #21	senior executive & founder	male	1	label, located in south-west Germany, covering international jazz market
Music #22	senior executive & founder	female	~ 3	label, located in the Stuttgart region, covering international pop market
Music #23	senior executive & founder	male	1	label, located in south-west Germany, covering national schlager market
Music #24	senior executive & founder	male	~ 3	label, located in south-west Germany, covering international pop market
Music #25	senior executive & founder	male	~ 2	label, located in south-west Germany, covering international pop market
Music #26	senior executive & founder	male	~ 3	label, located in the Rhine-Neckar region, covering national hip-hop market
Music #27	senior executive	male	~ 5	label, located in the Munich region, covering national dance music market
Music #28	senior executive & founder	male	~ 3	label, located in the Rhine-Main region, covering national hip-hop market

Record Companies (Verband Unabhängiger Musikunternehmen), a representative body of about 1200 small and medium-sized music companies in Germany.

All of the interviews took place in the company or association of the interviewees, either in the interviewee's office, in a sound studio or in a meeting room. Five of the interviews with stakeholders

in the music industry were conducted via telephone. In light of the confidential nature of the interviews, the names of the interviewees and their companies remain anonymous in the following discussion.

The interviews were conducted in German, the mother tongue of the interviewees and interviewers, and were translated into English for this paper. Each of the conducted interviews took between one and two hours. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. The transcripts were analysed through a process of coding and categorisation of meanings. The interviews were semi-structured with open questions. The interviews followed an open interview guideline with narrative elements, enabling the interviewer to cover the intended topics, and leaving freedom for the interviewee to decide on the order of the proceedings. General questions were asked on how work processes and interaction within work processes are organised spatially. Specific questions were asked about face-to-face and other forms of interaction – for example, observation – and when and why these forms of interaction are used in the work processes, what physical places are chosen for the different forms of interaction, and what benefits are gained from these physical places. Therefore, the topics covered were: the workplace during work projects; moving between locations; reasons for choosing different locations; and actor constellations during the project phases and in different workplaces.

The interviews started with a relatively open question (Could you please tell me something about the work organisation in your projects), and then moved on to more specific questions. For the analysis, relevant aspects were extracted from the interviews and grouped into predefined and constantly adjusted coding categories, mirroring the topics covered (e.g., actors involved, journeys, physical places of the face-to-face interaction, work phases, etc.).

4　Relational workplaces in creative industries

4.1 Workplaces in creative processes in advertising

Producing tailored, user-specific creative solutions in project teams, the use of workplaces in advertising follows overlapping logics. As the production process aims for a user-specific product, the communication process between the provider and the client of the creative goods is of utmost importance, as are, in this regard, team workplaces; however, the careful choosing of specific locations for interaction serves multiple purposes with regard to the four phases of the creative process.

The following quotation highlights the added value of a specific physical place, important in the first phase of the creative process. This phase is characterised by gaining data and information. Of course, data and information can be obtained in interactions via telecommunication or face-to-face; however, through observations of the physical work environment, additional information about the client can be obtained. The client's workplace is considered to be a 'second skin' from which information can be gathered about the client's character and work ethic.

> *If we have a new client, we want to go there the first time because we need to see how things are there; we have to pick up the scent in some way; we need to get a feel for what kind of people work there, and in what types of rooms, what they produce, what the atmosphere is like, and so on. (Advertising #5)*

After gaining initial information, the development of new ideas begins. In this phase, interaction between advertiser and client are less important. The process of thinking ideas through (second/incubation phase) until – not projectable – the 'happy idea' occurs (third/illumination phase) is carried out in the advertiser's firm, not in team spaces with the client. A variety of individual and team workplaces for the creative team of the advertising firm is used in these phases, however. The offices of the interviewed advertisers had been carefully designed so as to provide different environments for generating new ideas and thinking ideas through. In one case, the entrance area had been designed as a large 'kiosk' where clients and staff could pick up free sweets while entering or passing through the office, thus providing a physical and mental interruption in the daily office work. Another example is the famous 'average living room', established in the headquarters of Jung von Matt in Hamburg (Nᴇᴜᴋɪʀᴄʜᴇɴ 2011). Here, a living room was designed inside the advertising office, strictly furnished according to data from the Federal Statistical Office and consumer research, and representing the average living room of an average German family. Thus, a location was provided in which ideas around the consumers of the client's product could be thought through; this location thus became a 'resource' in itself, intended for the creation

of new ideas (e.g., in the second phase of the creative process). In such spaces, the advertiser is exposed to new stimuli, whilst not necessarily interacting with the project team (individual workplace).

Following the development of the new 'happy idea', the applicability of the idea has to be discussed with the client (fourth/verification phase). Here, the project team focuses on already-created ideas. Face-to-face interaction between the advertisers and the clients is important for checking the applicability of the new idea. The team workplaces used serve two aims – enabling meaningful and concentrated inter-action within the project team, and providing privacy and protection against disturbances in the workflow.

> *Personal meetings are important because we're gener-ally overloaded with information. Meetings are like a kind of chill-out. At meetings, mobile phones are switched off, and then it's three hours before some people begin to come to their senses a bit. So that in itself already reveals almost psychopathic tendencies. (Advertising #2)*

To support the provision of a protected work-place within the overloaded and hectic work process, for select, important meetings, the entire team work-place is relocated to a remote location.

> *So then, we regularly go for two days to [hotel name], as they are very well located, because you can have very pleasant meetings in the summer; in the evenings, you can sit in the beer garden for a while. Of course, you also have to get people out of their routines like that sometimes. (Advertising #3)*

Selecting a place outside the everyday work rou-tines is intended to promote the creation of new ide-as that diverge from already-known paths.

4.2 Workplaces in creative processes of A&R staff in the music industry

Producing creative content not for a specific client, but for dynamic and impersonal markets, the identification of talent that is able to react and develop with regard to these markets is crucial for the music industry. A&R staff are expected to un-derstand the current tastes of the market, and to be able to find artists that will be commercially success-ful. To achieve these goals, specific locations serve as workplaces, supporting multiple purposes in the four phases of the creative process.

With regard to the creative performance of A&R staff, the first phase can be understood to be identi-fying artists that fit the current tastes of a specific music market, or the label's portfolio, who can be worked with professionally.

Various places that enable an individual preoc-cupation with an artist's work are mentioned from the music industry here. The ability to think through possible situations and markets where the music might fit is important here.

> *When I'm interested in a new talent, I put his music on the iPod and then listen to it in different situations and watch myself responding to it. Whether I am sit-ting in the office, driving my car, doing my workout or whatever. (Music industry #14)*

After interest in an artist is confirmed, in the sec-ond and third phases of the creative process, place-ment on the market and further development of the artist are thought through by the A&R staff. In these phases, personal contact between the musician and the A&R staff is very important, and various meet-ings take place, most importantly in the studio.

> *So I can hear how clearly someone sings in my stu-dio. Especially how fast he is able to respond when I say 'Try this out', or 'Try to sing that'. If he is able to apply that quickly or not […] That's when you realise whether someone's got it or not. (Music industry #23)*

This statement illustrates the role of the record-ing studio as a testing ground for formal qualifica-tions and artistic capabilities. If musicians are able to demonstrate their talent in a controlled environ-ment, they can be expected to work authentically and professionally in other places, such as live venues or press interviews. Working in the studio also under-scores the importance of workplaces as spaces of ref-erence, where subjective judgments and high levels of uncertainty regarding economic success are evalu-ated. Tracks are measured against other musical ma-terial, and classified according to standardised pro-cedures of production and the rules of the market.

To test the validity of A&R staff decisions (phase four of the creative process), this music manager makes use of several other sites for work, such as a venue where signed artists perform live concerts. Such places are used to review the quality and im-pact of the musicians, as well as to test the company's overall marketing. Furthermore, managers may seek face-to-face conversations with their artist or his

management on these particular occasions in order to negotiate further plans. The special atmosphere surrounding a live performance may provide opportunities to further socialise with the artist, provide motivation and trigger new ideas. These places are frequently chosen to deliberately reflect the authentic aura of specific creative contexts, such as the backstage area of rock concerts (Music industry #15).

On Fridays, the typical working day is a concert day. Our workday starts at 8 am and ends sometime around 10 or 11 pm. [...] It usually starts at the computer, and then there are many outside appointments. Late in the afternoon, there is another time block at the computer to work through what you have done so far, the contacts, or conversations. Well, then in the evening you attend concerts or come to meet the artists, who might be professionally active elsewhere during the day. The evening is some sort of business focal point. (Music industry #22)

This quotation shows how different rationalities, such as consumption and production, or work and leisure, overlap. Workplaces change relationally during a single day. Places for tasks, such as office organisation, formal communication and administration, alternate with locations better suited for chatting and experiencing a specific micro buzz (Growe 2018b).

5 Discussion

The previous section illustrated that phases of creative work are situated in different physical environments. With regard to the differentiation of individual and team workplaces, the use of different workplaces in the creative work of advertising (as an example of a creative industry) and music (as an example of a cultural industry) can be compared (Tab. 2).

While the categorisation of individual and team workplaces points to a threefold logic in advertising (interaction with the client, interaction within the creative team, individual work), the categorisation of individual and team workplaces in music is different. In music, the categorisation of individual and team workplaces also covers interaction with the artists, the artists' teams and individual work. Team workplaces in the music industry also include observing the interaction of the artists with the market in a live situation. The results of Haner (2005), associating team workplaces as interaction-enabling in the preparation and verification phases, while the incubation and illumination phases are connected to retreat-enabling individual workplaces, can therefore be confirmed for advertisers, rather than for A&R staff in the music industry.

The interviews show the importance of workplaces that either support concentration processes and the development of 'flow' through providing a

Tab. 2: Individual and team workplaces in the four-stage creative process

	Individual and team workplaces	
	Advertising	**Music**
Preparation phase	Mainly team workplaces are chosen to enable face-to-face interaction with, and observation of, the client to obtain data and information.	A variety of individual workplaces are chosen to assess the possible fit of the artist to the market through self-observing staff reaction to the music.
Incubation phase	Individual and team workplaces are chosen to promote the thinking through of ideas (individual), and to interact and brainstorm within the creative team (interaction).	Mainly team workplaces are chosen, to get to know the artist through face-to-face interaction and to listen to them, to determine possible markets and future developments.
Illumination phase	No specific location is chosen, as illumination 'happens' unplanned.	Illumination 'happens' unplanned; however, it is expected to happen in interaction with the artist.
Verification phase	Mainly team workplaces are chosen to enable face-to-face interaction to discuss applicability with the client.	Workplaces enabling interaction (mainly stages) are chosen to verify whether the chosen musician and their music fits a market. Such places are not team workplaces, in the sense of joint work; instead, one actor is performing and one actor is observing.

disturbance-free workplace, such as through retreat, and of workplaces that inspire through exposing a person to an unusual or activating workplace that generates new impressions, catalysing the development of new ideas, such as through interaction. Instead, retreat and interaction cannot be linked to either individual or team workplaces and, most importantly, these categories – although mentioned as being complementary by HANER (2005) – can also arise simultaneously when interaction is planned in retreat places (GROWE 2018b). Therefore, a differentiation of workplaces according to protection and exposure is suggested and the central contribution of this paper. This differentiation, however, does not lead to a duality of places. Protection and exposure are relational and mutually dependent. Each workplace relates to protection and exposure in different ways at the same time (Tab. 3).

Exposure and protection are densely interwoven in creative work processes, and mainly refer to the protection from disturbances and a planned exposure to inspirational surroundings that can be realised at specific locations. Perspectives on what is protected and exposed within the four phases shift. In this context, multi-local work arrangements are understood to be embedded in shifting logics, while

also being related to one another in creative work processes. Protection against specific disturbances allows exposure to specific aspects. For example, in one phase of the creative process, protection against communication with the client can be sought to generate new ideas while in other phases exposure to wishes and ideas of the client can be aimed to understand the needs of the clients.

Protection is mainly sought to realise a specific and undisturbed exposure to an atmosphere, ideas, objects or stakeholders. Basic aim of creating protection is to enabling an awareness (GRABHER et al. 2018) for ideas, objects and stakeholders that is increasingly difficult to generate in work processes dominated by intense interaction. The aim of exposure changes in the course of different phases of the creative process, however. Exposure can relate to gain or sort information, ideas or emotions through being exposed to a certain atmosphere.

With regard to the physical environment of workplaces, MARTENS (2011, 75) stated, "people can have different conceptions of the same physical workspace". Therefore, attempts to develop guidelines for how to design workplaces to force different phases of the creative process can be better understood as attempts to support work processes,

Tab. 3: Protection and exposure in the four-stage creative process

	Protection and exposure	
	Advertising	**Music**
Preparation phase	Workplaces are mainly chosen to gain information and new stimuli about the client (exposure). Other interaction processes should not disturb the focus on the client and the client's problem, however (protection).	A variety of locations is used to self-observe staff reaction to the music. Protection and exposure are densely interwoven here – exposure to music in different settings and simultaneous protection of this exposure.
Incubation phase	Workplaces are mainly chosen to brainstorm and think ideas through, aiming to create exposure to the new idea, and protect from disturbances distracting from the new idea.	Workplaces are chosen that protect the interaction with, and observation of, the artist. Therefore, exposure to the artist and their work is also crucial.
Illumination phase	No specific location is chosen, as illumination 'happens' unplanned.	Illumination 'happens' unplanned; however, it is expected to happen in interaction with the artist (exposure to the artist and protection against disturbances).
Verification phase	Interaction processes should not disturb the focus on the client and the client's problem (protection). Choosing an unusual location from the client's perspective can support the client's willingness to be open to new ideas, however (exposure).	To verify whether the chosen musician and their music fits a market, exposure is shifted from the artist to interaction between artist and market.

and not be seen as a guarantee for creative results. Nevertheless, to experience a physical environment that differs from the everyday work environment – which would be a different physical environment for each actor in the creative industries – does support the creation of new perspectives, solutions and ideas, while experiencing an environment of calmness and security helps in focusing and thinking ideas through. Therefore, while remembering that different physical environments of course cannot alone predict or explain creative processes, physical environments should be acknowledged as potential supporting factors in creative work, through influencing exposure and protection within the creative process.

To sum up, actors in creative industries benefit from the specific advantages of different locations, acting as workplaces, during different phases of the creative process. The main aims are to experience a specific setting, gain access to a specific atmosphere or influence social interaction. Using different environments for protection and exposure in creative work processes also blurs boundaries between work and non-work environments (Growe a. Münter 2010; Felstead 2012). Thus, creative work processes are embedded in multi-local work arrangements enabling both, protection and exposure of the creative process. In suggesting that workplaces can be understood to be exposure and protection places, we aim to contribute to the literature dealing with the interrelation of social spaces and physical places in processes of knowledge generation. Possible research strands that could benefit from the conceptualisation of protection and exposure are research on the benefits of peripheries for creative processes that raised importance in recent time (Glückler 2014; Hautala 2015; Grabher 2018) and research on the multi-locality of work arrangements (Felstead et al. 2005; Felstead 2012; Nadler 2014; Blakstad 2015). Research on the benefits of peripheries for creative processes deals with temporal withdrawal to work in remote places, allowing focusing on the creation process in knowledge-based work or in creative processes, and the development of controversial ideas protected from disturbances. Research on the multi-locality of creative workers deals with the development that every place has the potential to become a place of work. In this context, Di Marino et al. (2018) point to the necessity of a deepened dialogue amongst policy-makers, city planners and organizations to address multi-locality at different levels of planning. Knowledge about the need to protect and to expose would be helpful to provide specific spaces supporting creative processes.

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