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Creative Identity in Colombia: The Advertising Creatives' Perspective.

David Roca Correa^{a*}, Bradley Wilson^b, Andres Barrios^c and Omar Muñoz Sánchez^d.

^a Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Facultat de Ciències de la Comunicació, Campus UAB, Bellaterra 08193 (Spain).

Tel. +34-93-581 4459, david.roca@uab.cat

^b Universidad de Los Andes, Facultad de Administración, Building Julio Mario Santo Domingo. Block SD, Calle 21#01-20, Barrio Las Aguas. Bogota, Colombia.

Tel. +57-1-3394949 ext. 3960, b.wilson@uniandes.edu.co

RMIT University, School of Media and Communication, Melbourne, Australia.

University of Bayreuth, Department of Services Management, Bayreuth, Germany.

^c Universidad de Los Andes, Facultad de Administración, Building Julio Mario Santo Domingo. Block SD, Calle 21#01-20, Barrio Las Aguas. Bogota, Colombia.

Tel. +57-1-3394949 ext. 3975, andr-bar@uniandes.edu.co

^d Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, Escuela de Publicidad, Circular 1 N° 70-01. Medellín, Colombia.

Tel: +57-4-4488388 ext. 12446, omar.munozpb.edu.co

* Corresponding author

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Abstract

This exploratory paper analyzes the way in which context influences advertising creativity practices. To establish the role of context this paper utilized both Social Identity theory and Systems Model of Creativity. Twenty four in-depth interviews with top Creative Directors of the main advertising agencies in Colombia (Latin America) were performed to discover if there is a country Creative Identity. Data suggests there is an identity of sorts but this is still under construction. However, some facets of a Colombian creative identity and the way in which Directors' perceive differences in creativity identity also emerged. A key contribution of the paper is to establish the influence of the broader Colombian social context on shaping the overarching creative identity including the unique business characteristics in the Colombian communications industry. These findings extend the Systems Model of Creativity to include social hardships (e.g., within the socio economic environment), and also incorporate industry level characteristics (e.g., a vast number of conservative and risk adverse clients). These factors contribute to a developing identity. These results when reflected on against the Systems Model of Creativity highlight several practical implications not only in relation to Colombia, but also the broader global advertising industry.

Keywords: Advertising, Awards, Creativity, Identity, Interviews, Creative Identity

Introduction

Latin America has been predicted to be the fastest growing region of the world in terms of advertising spends (WARC 2014). It is forecasted that this region will have the highest advertisement spending growth (13.6%) worldwide in 2016 (Carat 2015). There is a dearth of research within the marketing and creative industries in Latin America (Fastoso and Whitelock 2011). This is complementary of what Taylor (2012, 229) stresses “that research on advertising in emerging markets should not simply be limited to the BRICs,” and highlights the need to include other newly emerging economies in Latin America. Other researchers support the need to investigate creativity in Spanish speaking countries (Del Río and Medina 2014).

An important emerging economy in Latin America is Colombia. The Colombian advertising spend grew between 2012 and 2014 more than 10%, reaching a total spend of \$6.000 billion US dollars in 2015 (Lopez 2015). In addition, the country has been recognized for its’ advertising creativity. The country creativity ranking demonstrates some improvement from 36th position in 2013 to 23rd position in 2015. Colombia ranks above other Latin American countries such as Chile (32) and Mexico (29) and under others such as Brazil (4) and Argentina (8) (The Gunn Report 2015). Moreover, since the 00’s Colombian agencies have successfully participated in major international advertising festivals.

One of the most integral factors in effective advertising is creativity (Smith and Yang 2004). Rodhes (1968) defines creativity as, “a phenomenon in which a person [through a mental process] communicates a new concept (product)” (305). The key component of creativity being novelty has also been complemented by a value dimension, which emphasizes the utility of the creative outcome key in persuasive communication (Wallace and Gruber 1989). Research in advertising has analyzed the different factors shaping the creative process, being the individual

the target of interest in these studies (e.g. Hirschman 1989; Hackley 2003; Hill and Johnson 2004; Chong 2006; Hackley and Kover 2007; Leung and Hui 2014).

Although some studies allude to the possible roles played by the field and the broader domain on the creative process, this topic is seldom the primary focus of scholarly investigations. Although not originally developed for communication, Csikszentmihalyi's Social Systems Model of Creativity (1998, 1999) provides a macro lens and framework for which to structure the findings. This framework has been used to illuminate the roles of the field and cultural domains in the generation of advertising ideas' (Vanden Bergh and Stuhlfaut 2006). In this paper we utilize a national view of this Model to analyze the different contextual factors affecting individuals' shared perceptions about the nation's collective creativity identity.

Following these new perspectives, this paper aims to 1) analyze the perception of the collective Colombian creative identity within Communication Industry, 2) identify the perceived relevant factors that may shape such an identity and help it flourish, and 3) describe the resulting professional practices emanating from these factors. This study contributes to the development of advertising research literature in two ways; first, it extends Social System Model of Creativity to persuasive advertising. This requires the reader to conceptualize the discipline and practice in a macro manner and hence the positioning of this paper as an exploratory piece of work. Second, this work reports the perceptions and beliefs top creatives' hold about current advertising professional practices that shape the system through the examination of the creative identity; in this case with top Colombian creatives. Creative identity becomes a key bridge to the System. To the best of our knowledge there have been no other directly comparable investigations, neither in Latin America nor worldwide.

Literature review

Creativity social system model

According to Rodhes (1961), creativity is not an isolated mental process that occurs within a person, instead the creative process originates and responds to the social needs of a particular context. Following Rodhes, viewers are the ultimate judges of creativity outcomes. Moreover Csikszentmihalyi (1988) outlined that creativity cannot be understood “by isolating individuals and their work from the social and historical milieu in which their actions were carried out” (325).

Much of the published literature on the social context and its’ effect on the advertising creativity process has been analyzed under a research theme termed the “place perspective”. This research theme analyzes the interactions between the individual, the field of the social organization surrounding advertising, and the domain of culture in which advertising exists (Vanden Bergh and Stuhlfaut 2006). It has been established that different organizational (meso-level) elements such as economic factors or market conditions may inspire their [creatives] best work and facilitate the creative process functions in an advertising agency” (Sasser and Koslow (2012, p 203).

Csikszentmihalyi, (1998, 1999) developed a Social Systems Model of Creativity illustrating how creative ideas originate and how they come about. Csikszentmihalyi’s model was further adapted by Vanden Bergh and Stuhlfaut (2006) with reference to advertising (see Figure 1). In this model “...creators may author a creative concept, but they do so only after receiving input from the field (client and agency management)... and after selecting relevant information from the domain (culture). At this stage, ideas are not viewed as creative until they are judged by the field of creative directors, account managers, clients, and ultimately by their target audience as being creative. To complete the system, advertising that is affirmed as creative

typically becomes part of the domain, from which future ideas are drawn” (381). This is a very important theme within the creativity literature, as it recognizes the role of the social context and creativity consensus that is necessary in the interactions between the advertisers, viewers, and clients. These actors are all embedded and interwoven into the advertising system and social context.

[Figure 1 near here]

Despite of the theoretical advances on the “place perspective” for creativity research, there is scant literature about the way in which macro level factors influence individuals’ creativity, such as a country, national, social, economic, and cultural elements. This exploratory study aims to extend the Social Systems Model of Advertising Creativity by using social identity theory as a vehicle to analyze the way in which macro level factors shape the individuals’ creative identity and its’ link to prevailing advertising practices.

Social identity theory

The social psychology literature posits that the individuals’ self emerges in the interaction between the way a person sees herself and how she experiences how others see her in a particular social context (James 1890). This process reveals that identity construction is influenced by the social and cultural contexts in which people are embedded at two levels; individual and collective (Stryker and Burke 2000).

For instance, at the individual level, within a particular social context (e.g. advertising industry) there are different social roles (e.g. a creative), each one carrying a social representation on the expectations about how that role should be played (e.g. to develop original ideas) (Burke and Stets 2009). During the individuals’ interaction within the social context (e.g. at work, or congress), each one recognizes herself/himself and others as being occupants of these

roles and subsequently chooses to enact them accordingly (Reed 2002). Thus, through everyday actions, individuals identify and internalize these roles, developing different identity projects around them. With time, individuals' patterned enacting of their identities helps to facilitate and maintain the evolution of the social representation of these social roles (Stryker and Burke 2000).

Notwithstanding identity construction is an individual process, there is a collective identification level as well. This collective level of identity construction has been highlighted and reinforced within the social identity theory literature, in relation to how individuals' identities project/s are influenced by their membership in particular social groups (Tajfal 1981; Tajfal and Turner 2004). When individuals categorize themselves as members of a particular group, they are motivated to link and behave like others in the group, whilst divesting or disassociating from others in the out-group (Stets and Burke 2000). The benefits of collective identification include: enhanced endorsement with the group (Liu and Chan 2010), sustained strong collaboration across group members (Espinosa et al. 2003), and increasing the overall sense of security by bonding individuals with other community members (Nielsen 1999).

In conclusion, Social Identity Theory is complementary to the Systems Model of Creativity. People's identification, individual and collective, with a particular creative style – creative identity- highlights the relative impact of context on creative ideas generation.

The creative identity

The individuals' self-construction influences their behavior across the different social domains in which they reside. Thus, identity formation has been studied across different individuals' domains, including creativity. Amabile (1982) argues that individuals' creativity manifests as a social process determined by social, historical, and cultural factors. This

recognition of the social context's influence on individuals' creativity complements the social system model of creativity, by providing the notion of "the creative identity".

Glaveanu and Tanggaard (2014, p 12), define creative identity as "representational projects emerging in the interaction between self (the creator), multiple others (different audiences), and notions of creativity informed by societal discourses". Like the Systems Model of Creativity, the creative identity incorporates macro level influences. This identity is constantly evolving according to the societal discourses individuals are immersed in (Glaveanu and Tanggaard 2014, p 13). On this matter, McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley (2011) evidence that in the advertising industry individuals develop their identities through various work positions and roles. Creatives crave the awareness and admiration of significant others, especially those that are key members or luminaries of the industry. Collective endorsement is highly valued and sought after. This is important, as work positions between and across firms change markedly in agency environments, and peer recognition is necessary to be included in an active creative community.

Cultivating and managing a collective creative identification is a useful instrument for individuals, agencies, and clients. For individuals, understanding their creative identity promotes synergies amongst peers. For agencies, their creative identity provides an informal orderliness across departments on role parameters and how to perform. Finally, clients can also use the creative identity as a surrogate indicator of work style, and shapes some normative expectations around the creative /agency client relationship (Gosti *et al.* 2010). However, different elements have been identified as substantial barriers for achieving common creative identification, including: a) the creatives' different educational and socioeconomic background (McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley 2009), b) the psychological tension between the creatives' artistic and

commercial obligations (Taylor and Littleton 2008; Gosti et al. 2010), and c) the communication agency incentives utilized to reward and promote creative excellence (Hackley and Kover 2007) i.e., obtaining awards.

In this article we have argued that creative identity is formed at different levels including with the individual, and agency levels. We will now take a broader focus, by analyzing the notion of a national creative identity, and describing its importance for the advertising industry. National identity is another form of collective social identification, in which an individual feels commonalities, and a sense of belonging with the socio historical elements of a particular nation (Kiorskar –Steinbach 2004). This identification brings individuals a cultural framework for world understanding according to the nation’s traditions (Keillor and Hult 1999).

Authors have argued that national identity has lost its relevance in current times, as it is believed that most individuals nowadays feel themselves as cosmopolitan citizens within a globalized world (Stalnaker 2002; Grimson 2010). However, post-modern studies on the topic argue that although geographical boundaries are blurred, national identity as an imagined communion is still a core component on individuals’ collective identification (Aldridge 2002, Bulmen and Buchanan 2010). These studies have been vocal in stating there is a need for further research of the national identity across different domains.

For the creative domain, individuals of a particular country are exposed to similar social, historical, and cultural factors that shape their creativity understanding and assessment (Amabile, 1982). If individuals are exposed to similar social contexts, their creative style might develop and be shaped in the same direction creating what we term a national creative identity. Thus, the individuals’ national creative identity involves their shared perceptions about the nation’s collective particularities within the overall Creative System. We believe portraying the national

creative identity of a country is important, as globalization initiatives in the advertising industry have led agencies to open branches worldwide and to develop their campaigns based on the creative strengths of each country.

Colombian advertising market

Colombia is the third-most populous country in Latin America, after Brazil and Mexico, with 48 million inhabitants (World Bank 2015). Colombia is classified as an upper middle-income economy, with a GDP of U\$377.7 billion growing at a rate above 4% for the last 10 years. The official unemployment rate is under 10% but the proportion of people living in poverty (earning less than \$4 dollars per day) is 28.5% and the Gini income inequality index is still high 0.54 in 2014.

The improvement in the Colombian economy has impacted individual consumption rates increasing 35% between 2006 and 2012. The Colombian consumers' buying motivations are primarily reflected in need (35%), followed, by taste (26%), quality (18%) and tradition (11%). Colombian's are focused on need products (food and housing), and functional and traditional items (Propais 2013).

Within the communication and advertising sectors, the official number of companies in 2014 was 25,515, with sales categorized as: 15% large, 37% medium and 48% small (Ardila 2015). Together these companies accumulated income for the industry of \$2.1 Billion US dollars with an average profitability of 5.4% (Ardila 2015). Colombia has concentrated communication media asset composition primarily owned by four corporations; Grupo Prisa (Spain), Grupo Planeta (Spain), Grupo Valorem (Colombia) and Organización Ardila Lule (Colombia). The relative ad spending by media class in the country for 2014 was: 45% TV, 21 % Newspapers, 20% Radio, 14% Digital format (Ardila 2015).

In relation to advertising results, Colombia has been successful winning creative awards at festivals. Since the 90s Colombian agencies have successfully participated in major international advertising festivals (see Table 1 for award type breakdown).

[Table 1 near here]

Between 2000 and 2015 the country obtained 58 Cannes Lions', 50% of these are centered on social-related or major issues causes, and 3 categories (outdoor, direct, promo & activation) represent almost 60% of the awards received (see Tables 2 for details). These results demonstrate the industry has been very successful in winning awards (especially awards in certain categories and a social issues message. This point is important for the well-known social problems developing countries, and particularly Colombia, are recognized to have.

[Table 2 near here]

Methodology

This exploratory study followed an interpretive approach. Given that identities are socially constructed and unfold through interactions, we decided to focus on creatives' view of the Colombian creative identity and the factors they believe have shaped it.

Sample selection

Given that practitioners could not be contacted directly, due to the lack of a Colombian advertising creatives' association, the following approach was taken: First, we compiled a list of agencies from the only Colombian agency ranking scheme *El ranking de agencias 2015*, published by the professional Colombian magazine; *Publicidad y Mercadeo*. This ranking presents the 50 largest agencies based on billings. Secondly, another list of the most Creative Colombian agencies that appears in the Gunn Report (2015) was consolidated (4 agencies). And

finally, the most awarded Colombian agencies in the local creative festival called *El Dorado* were also included (13 agencies).

All the pool of agencies in the list were contacted by phone, asking for the creative directors for participation. Top Colombian creatives were interviewed because they are supposed to have tenure and more global experience coupled with staff management experience. Taking the pool of agencies, each participant was contacted randomly for an initial screening by phone. To obtain access to creative directors we also followed a referral process: after we concluded the interview with a creative, we asked if he/she knew top creative directors of the others companies in the list (see Grow, Roca and Broyles 2012 for a similar sampling procedure with advertising creatives). This helped us gain access to the main professionals holding the highest skills, experience and reputational standing in Colombia. It is important to understand that following this sampling approach was necessary because referrals allow further within industry peer validation of each respondents professional standing and reputation. Also, having a name referral when you are requesting National or Vice President level creative staff for an interview is important in gaining sufficient rates of interview acceptance. This is an imperative given that Colombian business is governed by strong relationship referral networks.

Twenty four (24) interviews were performed. Interviewee titles ranged from 18 creative Vice Presidents (all male), 5 creative directors, and 1 representative of digital media servicing. Twenty interviewees worked for global multinational agencies. All had previous multinational experience. Table 3 provides a detailed outline of the demographic characteristics of the informants.

Data collection

Face- to-face in-depth interviews were conducted with the creatives in Spanish in their agencies' offices. The interviews followed a semi-structured guide. The question guideline covered four main thematic areas with sub-issues probed further. The question guideline broadly assessed “What would be the identity of advertising creativity in Latin America?; What would be the identity of advertising creativity in Colombia?; How has advertising creativity evolved in Colombia to be recognized worldwide?; and Could you describe your own creative identity?” This guideline was consistently followed across all informants. To discuss these issues typically took from 60 to 90 minutes. All informants consented and were cognizant that they were being recorded and that their comments would be further transcribed. The interviews were analyzed following robust principles of qualitative interpretation of Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Verbatim records were constantly compared until saturation, after this point interviews were stopped.

[Table 3 near here]

Findings

In this section, we present our findings differentiating creatives' collective and individual identities, as well as analyzing the cause and effect of such identification on creatives' practices.

Colombian creatives' identification

At the collective level, informants' narratives do not reveal a consciously clear identification with a particular Colombian creativity style. Respondents could not explain a common Colombian creative identity. According to some informants, it is still under

development: “We do not have an identity so far, we are still discovering and trying”. However, some common Colombian identity traits were mentioned when informants refer to themselves as being “adaptable and resourceful”, as well as supportive of “pro-social ideas”, and “increasing community wellbeing”. According to informants, the country’s difficult socioeconomic realities have influenced their creative practice: “[we] have adapted to our reality and moved beyond that...we live in an enduring crisis and therefore, we are used to being creative doing a lot with less”. The country’s social problems have called on advertising to present solutions to address them.

We have a particular reality, and within this reality we have found our best work. Due to the struggles we have consistently faced as a society, we have become survivors (...) We are resourceful by nature, we are always trying to find our way out of problems ... we are very competitive because we want to show that we are capable of creating fresh and powerful ideas...”.

“We like using our cultural idiosyncrasy to project our society”.

The previous quotes illustrate the influence of the social context in shaping the Colombian advertising landscape.

The literature review highlights that an individual’s identity formation involves continual referral or association (“What I am”) and disassociation (“What I am not”) to characteristics of her/his social context and reference groups. Respondents associate the Colombian creative identity with some common circumstances shared with other Latin American countries, such as: “small budgets”, “the ongoing crisis”, and “the freshness of messages”.

“We want to achieve goals as any other country, however we do not have big budgets, so creatives work by heart. Despite our differences and multiple social problems, we are growing. That is something that links us, crisis. Crisis challenges us to innovate and develop new strategies to accomplish our objectives. We are always changing our business approach. Crisis has made us wise”.

“Latin creatives do have a different approach to tell stories. We are irreverent, but with humor. Our region faces a particular reality that allows us to create with a freshness that surprises Europe and the US”.

It is clear that traits of collective identification influences creatives identification at the individual level (who am I as a creative?). Creative directors sometimes divest themselves of heavy day to day creative throughput in their practice to present themselves as authentic and distinctive. In addition, Colombian creative managers frame themselves using different evolving identifications: “I do not have an identity, I am in search of it; what I have is a style focused on being different and new”; “I’ve tried not to accommodate myself into a particular identity... I am a chameleon.”

In addition to the collective identification, common features emerge to describe their creative identity such as: producers of real-life, socially responsible, and direct ideas. A reoccurring theme is that a key marker for self-identification is whether the professional has obtained an award or not.

The first common feature within the Colombian industry is a real life approach. Informants frequently recall that their creative ideas are embedded in the country’s social context. Elements such as the Colombian culture – “*Colombianidad*” – and its struggles are usually mentioned by creatives: “I usually explore and try to communicate Colombians’ feelings, what I call the essence of our good people”; “I start from our reality, which is very particular... I am very conscious of ... such a difficult reality that teaches us to survive”.

The socially responsible feature relates to a creatives’ aim to solve some of the social problems deeply rooted within Colombian society; “I have a global communication style linked with the local problems”. Informants constantly mention their commitment to the country, and their willingness to change from brand creatives to social creatives. Advertising campaigns for

the army, to solve ecological problems, or to help a particular community, were described as their ideal work.

The main **reference groups** for Colombian creatives are those from Brazil and Argentina. In these cases, identities are realized by dissociation (who I am not). Informants mention that Colombia lacks Argentina's cultural pride and a strong "story telling background" heritage. Argentinian creatives have "a quotidian approach towards the consumer", and an "intelligent humor". With regard to Brazil, informants mention "happiness", "colorful", and "superior attention to aesthetics" or "art direction". Those are aspects that Colombia does not always have.

"Argentinians are not ashamed about showing their culture".

"Story telling is everywhere, not only in advertising. Once you arrive in Argentina you see storytelling everywhere, even the taxi driver is a good storyteller. Storytelling is a cultural thing that permeates all Argentinians' lifestyle".

"Brazil advertisements shows its culture, including: its colorful approach, dancing, and eroticism. Their ads... have a lot graphic perfection, everything is done well".

The Colombian creatives' practices

According to informants, four structural factors of the advertising industry shape creatives' practices: clients' risk aversion, consumers coming from very low status backgrounds, the existence of a media monopoly, and the agency work environment. The following quote highlights this: "Our daily practice is influenced by a cocktail of a conservative client that does not assume risks, an undereducated consumer with little buying power, and a monopoly in certain media channels".

Informants complain about the reluctance of some of their clients to take risks. For them, companies usually have a small and limited budget for marketing, and therefore are less willing to take risks. Descriptions as "They are not risk takers", "there is too much bureaucracy for

approving a non-traditional project”, and “there is no room for innovation” were common when talking about clients. This situation makes it difficult for agencies to sell a non-traditional advertising approach. According to informants, some clients request awards but do not give the space and budget to develop an award-winning campaign.

In relation to consumers, informants argue that given most consumers’ socio-economic situation, they are used to, and have a preference for, advertising with direct messages via mass media: “... you need to develop a universal communication that reaches all the population, rich and poor ... this limits your creativity, because there are kinds of creativity that are banned; you can only work with the basics: direct messages, based on attributes”.

In addition, informants point out that the lack of multiple mass media choices reduces opportunities for creativity. According to informants, the few national media outlets increase the expenses of advertising on traditional channels, which in turn increases companies’ risk perception for advertising innovation: “... look, we only have two TV national channels, and they are too expensive for companies to explore new things. So, if we want to innovate it has to be BTL”.

In response to the lack of opportunities, creatives have to “*proactively*” use their time to target festival awards. Sometimes, the brief the client sees and approves may lead to work that is misrepresented in some way with the aim of entering and winning creative awards – which in the field is known as “*Truchos*”¹. Some of this work may not be a misrepresentation and may take the form of a pro bono work. This is evidenced by statements such as:

¹ *Trucho* is an advertisement that comes from a personal creative impulse of the creative and not a specific brief request. This communication is created for the sole (or principal) purpose to participate and win an advertising award (Avila 2015).

“We develop around one thousand four hundred advertising campaigns a year, so once in a while we like to develop a campaign to give-back something to society. I like this exercise because it gives me freedom to explore new concepts and ideas. Our last project affected me emotionally, because I did not know how many people were affected. Therefore, I sold the idea to my boss, the team worked on it, and it ended being an award winning campaign”.

Finally, in relation to the agency work environment, a common narrative across informants relates to the existence of a gap between day-to-day and award winning advertising work. The daily practice is characterized by a homogenous production of advertising using a generic formula of repeating an attribute-benefit message. This involves using jingles or celebrity endorsements in persuasive communications. This creativity is usually communicated using radio and TV commercials, aiming to reach a regular large mainstream Colombian audience.

“The ads are the same ... you see all the Colombian stereotypes, the typical women, the famous guy and the dog. You can hear the brand name almost 48 times in each ad ... This creativity is aimed just for making sales, without building a relationship with consumers”.

The award winning practice is characterized by the production of advertising using a strong and socially relevant message, which is linked to the customer in an innovative way. This type of message is usually communicated using non-traditional channels, aiming to reach a particular small market segment, but it can be delivered using a viral strategy through the Internet.

“I like this approach, because it requires new approaches to work, manage new spaces, and be proactive. However, there is the risk that thinking about Cannes you forget about the client’s needs”.

In summary, our findings identify the Colombian creatives have to wear “two different hats” and operate in a creative environment where they can live with and merge the plain and award winning communications. They are definitely resourceful and work with less. Their true

desire is to reduce or close the large chasm between their everyday work and the award winning work. Closing the gap on this dual system or two types of work practices was deemed as very important. This is exemplified by the following quote:

“In Colombia, there is a difference between the creativity you see in a massive day-to-day ad, and the creativity on particular special projects. There is a wide gap between them. On the special projects the innovation is notorious; while on the day to day work the style is pretty conservative ... we have not evolved in common advertising. If you turn on the TV, you will see that our creativity has not evolved; we are doing the same as 15 years ago. We have evolved in the festival-related advertising, where you can see more disruptive and fresh proposals”.

Discussion

This exploratory research extends Rodhes' (1961) “place perspective” on creativity research, and respond to calls about the macro level environmental influences (e.g. the national social, economic, and cultural elements) that shape advertising creativity (Vanden Bergh and Stuhlfaut 2006). Although the study does not reveal one clear and unique Colombian Creative Identity, it shows the macro level factors that shape creatives identification and further practices. It was not that an identity did not exist, per se, we found that the identity that was perceived to exist by respondents was more global and holistic in orientation than what prior expectations indicated. We cannot confidently state that it was a Colombian or Latin Creative Identity that exists at this stage and can only conclude that it is clearly developing. This is further elaborated on in the next sub section.

Both Social Identity Theory and the Social System Model of Creativity were positively implemented as frameworks to analyze how: informants collectively and individually identify their creative work, the social and market contextual factors that shape such identification, and the consequences on their creative practice. The following section also contrasts and reflects

upon the findings with Vanden Berg and Stuhlfaut's (2006) System Model of Creativity in Advertising.

We see this investigation offering value to researchers as they progress other Creative Identity studies concentrating on a more comprehensive agenda of future cross-cultural study designs facilitating between country and regions comparisons. Results are presented on three emerging conclusions: a) the lack of a common Colombian creative identity; b) the existence of a dual system of creative practice between the everyday and awards work, and c) the constant pressure to win awards, something we have termed the creative's awards trap.

The lack of a clear Colombian identity

Informants share the same opinion around the lack of a clear Colombian creative identity in their advertising industry, although they mention different particular traits such as being very adaptable and resourceful. Colombian creatives define their identities mostly in an exclusionary fashion by a process of disassociation. i.e., we do not do things like in that country. By using the other country as the reference point, they articulate key aspects their own identity. For example, conversation always turns to two countries, Argentina and Brazil, which serve as key identity reference points for Colombian creatives in Latin America. All participants stated that Argentina was more prevalent in their use of creative storytelling and Brazil in art direction.

Informants argue their creative identity is based around mainly social marketing topics by linking a brand or institution to the resolution of important and often substantial Colombian social problems, such as poverty or violence. These are large problems by Western countries standards and might explain why they win a lot of awards catering to these major issues. The higher standards of advertising quality in this work have resulted in the winning of several

Cannes awards in key social categories. There is a clear recognition of substantive creative quality. Much of this work can be without fee or payment from the client and the brief is relatively open and free, allowing full creative freedom of expression.

The existence of a dual system of creative practice

In relation to Colombian creative practice, informants mentioned that their work appeared to be in a dual system of sorts, in which they generally believe they are forced to produce low creativity outputs. It seems that this dual system emerges as a coping strategy to “preserve a genuine tradition of professionalism”, despite the factors limiting their practice (Hackley and Kover 2007). We believe this is a result of clients’ low risk profile, uneven power dynamics in many client-agency relationships, and creatives overall lack of credit to the audiences whom are viewed as being unsophisticated interested only in basic benefits and attributes advertising.

Current Colombian creative practices can be framed by the Vanden Berg and Stuhlfaut’s (2006) system model of creativity in advertising. However, there is some evidence of a misalignment between the domain and the field. This may be observed in Figure 2. While Colombian creatives take certain aspects or cues from their culture to develop advertising, their creativity outcome is shaped extensively by the field social system, which divides their creative activity into the two forms: the daily work and the award winning practice.

The consequence of creatives’ division in their activity is that the best creative outputs ‘do not give feedback’ to the domain with the aim of contributing to continual innovation. Thus, the domain does not retain these *selected variants for daily advertising*, and only transmits *structure, information and action* based on *short-term sales*. Moreover, in many cases the audience in the broader society is not aware of the award winning ads or the best creative work.

As an example, creatives only widely mentioned one successful standard advertising campaign that went back and fed continually into the Colombian culture during the 90s: “Davivenda - estás en el lugar equivocado” (*Davivenda – “you are in the wrong place” campaign*).

“... it is the last case people have talked about in a taxi. The driver talks about this, a housewife talks about this, a grocer talks about this, this is the last case ... something done by an agency for a brand that was broadcasted. It was amazing”.

[Figure 2 near here]

In addition, informants identified the clients, the consumers, the media monopoly and the agency work environment in the creative domain, as factors shaping their creative practice. The client, as part of the field and as the buyer, selects the ideas, but the belief held by most informants was that clients are not taking enough risks (West and Ford 2001). This is not uncommon in advertising and it ultimately leads to some of the best work being rejected. There is limited consensus as previous researchers have demonstrated that consumers and creatives disagree on what output is the most creative (West, Kover and Caruana 2008). This difference of opinion in the field creates tensions between the agency and clients as the latter don't share the same shared creative vision (Hackley and Kover 2007; Stuhlfaut 2011). Our findings extend these results by highlighting the creative's strategy of developing two creative practices: daily (for consumers and clients) and award winning (for colleagues).

Together, these results suggest that the implicit creative model in which consumers are actors who understand advertising in terms of an aesthetic and visceral response (Hackley 2003) would not apply for work in general Colombian creative practice. As creatives often do not ultimately end up deciding what is important for the average consumer in daily advertising, they are pushed to produce safe advertising with a selling message formula. Creatives produce

communication with *variation and changes* thanks to their resourcefulness and *proactivity*, but mainly for awards contests. Consequently, the field breaks the systems model in two, and the creatives *provides input only* to them.

The creative awards trap (the pressure to win awards)

The dual Social System Model of Creativity in Colombian Advertising provokes a separation of consumers from the orbit of the award winning advertising practices. Customers simply do not see or experience the ads in some cases. In this vein, agencies' account managers and their clients may be alienated as well. In addition, there is a continual pressure on the creatives to win more and varied awards. We call this the creative awards trap.

Findings suggest that creatives define their identity as the search for being original, which mirrors previous definitions of the creativity concept (El-Murad and West 2004; Koslow et al. 2003). The path to finding this originality is through "la colombianidad". This is the pursuit of elements from Colombian culture that produces the real-life, socially responsible and direct ideas. In reference to Hackley and Kover (2007), respondents did express a need for adequate physical space to do creative work. In the case of Colombians, they need a wide psychological space to preserve or engage their own sense of identity. Although creatives recognize particular traits about their individual identification, the key determinant for their current identity construction appears to be the development of award winning work, rather than daily practice. Hence, most creatives locate "their sense of identity in an idealized realm of legitimate creativity" (Hackley and Kover 2007, 13), that is, meaning is attained by pursuing and issuance of awards.

Awards are considered really important to help to build a personal reputation (Helgesen 1994) because they are “indicators of exemplary creative work”- and they may also attract clients (Kilgour et al. 2013). Thanks to this, creatives may scale positions in the hierarchy of the agency. The final step of Colombian creative progression would be to export their talent to a foreign market, adding one extra stage to the stages proposed by McLeod (2011) that finished with the creative management in a network or owning agency structure. As a surprising result, we found that creatives sometimes fall into the creative trap and pressure of developing *Truchos* as a way to be promoted and lift reputation nationally and internationally.

Colombian creatives must be savvy with their time management and use portions of their time to develop award winning ads. The *truchos* practice appears to be detrimental for the field, because it separates the day-to-day advertising outputs between the award winning and daily practice. The tensions provoked by these advertising practices were highlighted in the 2015 Creatives’ local awards “El Dorado,” in which a recognized Argentinian Creative Director and chair of the local awards juries highlighted in his closing speech the need for bridging and narrowing the gap between these two types of practice as the only way to produce solid and real improvements in creativity (Bayala 2015). The chair denounced the *truchos* practice and impelled actions to stop it.

From an organizational culture perspective, multinational agencies seem to be responsible for some of these dynamics, as the larger agency networks offer significant incentives for top creative managers that win awards. The global networks seek awards in each region as it is believed it affects many areas of the business. Winning awards supposedly has a strong positive impact on stock price and billings. However, previous academic studies have been unable to find a relationship between winning awards and overall agency's financial

performance (Polonsky and Waller 1995) or financial benefits in the form of higher firm values (Tippings and Kunkel 2006).

It is important to conclude that the findings of this paper are not totally consistent with the social systems model of the creative process in advertising proposed by Vanden Berg and Stuhlfaut (2006). Their model appears to be more relevant and useful in developed countries but not for emerging markets, at least in our case. That is why Figure 2 presents an extension.

Managerial implications

Implications for the Colombian advertising industry

This research highlights the utility of using the Systems Model of Creativity by including the influence of social level factors on the advertising creative practices. Our findings repeatedly found some distinguishing traits of the creative Colombian identity embedded in social advertising and a focus on the use of innovative and alternative media often to reach disparate audiences and in response to very small budgets. It also should be noted the creative national identity is also built through two routes: the collective level and a personal level. The former is composed by association with positive (e.g. freshness) and negative traits (e.g. ongoing crisis) that are collectively shared with other LATAM countries, and through disassociation and exclusion of a number of traits the leading LATAM creative countries exhibit (e.g. Argentinian storytelling and Brazilian art direction was constantly referred to as being general strengths compared to Colombia's practice).

Creatives generally considered the advertising industry as small, developing and without growth opportunities. One informant highlighted that "Colombian juries are immature". There are three major managerial implications related to the study findings: Firstly, the industry should not allow work that propagates the practice of *truchos*, a practice that does not benefit all

stakeholders. Secondly, management and the governing associations should embrace their evolving and existing identity. We believe it is important to educate clients about the advantages of embracing more creative risk taking and encouraging identity laden creative work. Thirdly, a vibrant and supportive Creative Professional Association Body is also a necessity to keep successfully building and nourishing a self regulating and self regulating industry body. This cluster of organized creatives could give guidance for better ethical policy, necessary client education and improved research practices. We believe that further studies and forums are needed to educate the conservative and risk adverse clients about the potential payoffs of supporting high quality creative outputs, while also recognizing more coherently that the modern consumer is part of a sophisticated audience. This is the responsibility of all stakeholders, and especially educational institutions.

Implications for the international advertising industry

Although our research study is qualitative and broader generalizations must be made with caution; what can be learnt from the views of top Colombian Creative Directors? In first instance, the pressure of the advertising system and the social context won't stop creatives of trying to be as creative as possible. It is clear that Colombia has three main constraints: creatives will continue to look to create work in alternative media forums due to a clear monopoly existing and more conservative creative practices being prevalent with the majority of clients in the traditional medias. Creatives will work with *proactivities* (mainly social based messages) due to most clients exhibiting some risk adverse behaviors with the majority of everyday communication campaigns. This outcome and pressure may lead creatives to launch work that is overly ambitious, exciting and creative with the sole aim to win awards. In the worst case

scenario a creative team or agency may choose not to create messages that resonate and may not even reach the correct target audience. The satisfaction of campaign objectives may not be central when they enter advertising to be judged in creative festivals. This approach will only help to satisfy a creative individual's personal intrinsic motivation to win awards and ultimately promote their personal career. Similar tactics to be creative may be used in other markets. In some cases, they will even create *truchos* to win awards. As one creative highlighted: "My advertising life has become two worlds: 'the real and boring world' and 'the world of fans, creatives and Cannes'. Everybody does a lot of *truchos* ... This has glamour but has lost realism". We suspect some awards are won by misrepresentation or other similar deceptive means and may represent a global problem around awards governance. One Colombian creative stated they were not entirely to blame as individuals, or even as the collective within (and across) agencies: "I think ... this is the fault of all these festivals. They are showing *truchos* that do not exist." In conclusion, advertising agencies should maintain the interest and training of creativity by facilitating creatives to do creative work even if daily and mundane work rosters do not allow them to achieve it. Colombian creatives are extremely hard and diligent workers. With the creatives engaging in this extra work on top of their normal workload this might be considered an unfair work practice and it would add significant time to complete the role.

The first implication provides a natural progression to the second one. Operationally, creativity "occurs when practitioners are able to create an advertisement that has a major impact on how customers think, feel, or perceive an offering" (West et al. 2008, 42). But if *truchos* are winning Cannes, all award contests are encouraged to consider establishing stricter rules and have audits in place to avoid this kind of *creative* misrepresentation, because in the long term it will harm industry credibility. From this Colombian investigation the use of *truchos* to win

trophies was a surprisingly negative finding. The question now could be asked whether this is part of an extended practice not only affecting the Colombian advertising industry. More research is needed on this topic to ascertain whether this is a global phenomenon.

Limitations and future research opportunities

Qualitative research by nature may be considered exploratory research and this is a first depth investigation into one country. We consider this to be a strength and also a weakness in our study. We sampled only the top creatives many of whom had international experience from Colombia. It is necessary to expand the research to other countries so further investigations should be encouraged to generalize results found here. Operationally it was very intensive to gain the number of in-depth interviews from Colombia. Naturally, there is much utility to have knowledge and findings from other countries, especially those LATAM countries with relatively weak regulatory systems much like Colombia for contrasting results about creative practices at the country level. This would be a formidable research agenda. It is clear that informants, clients and the advertising industry in general places a great deal of importance on festivals (such as Cannes, Effie, or El Dorado) as a signal for international creative excellence and this is one substantive reason alone why this research agenda needs to be pursued.

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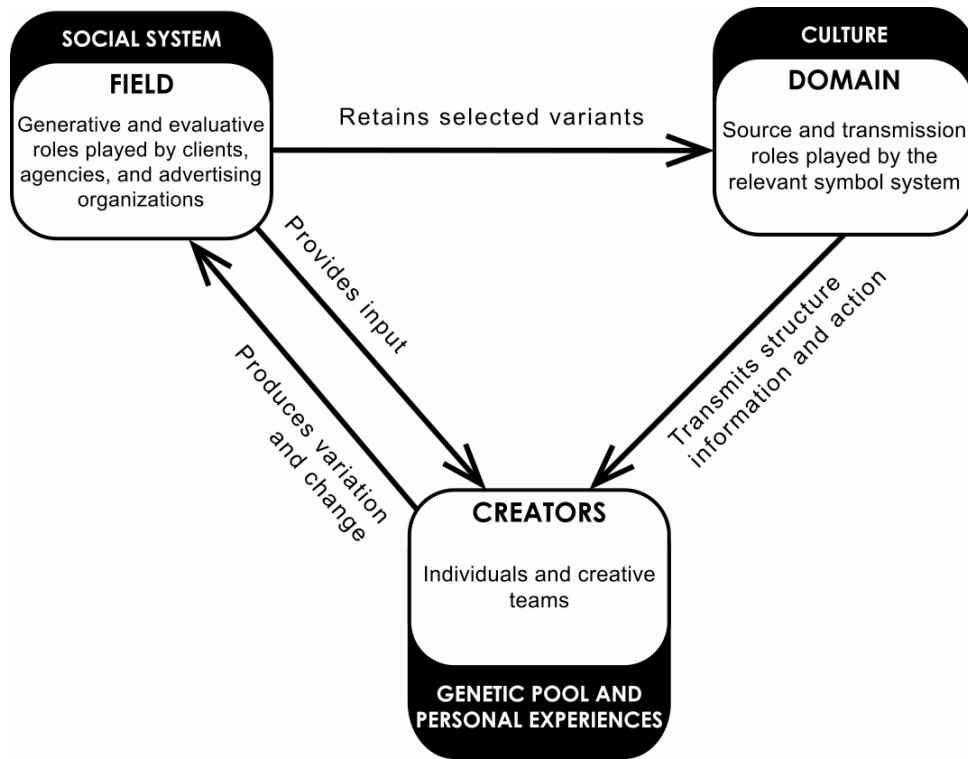
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Figure 1. A Systems Model of Creativity in Advertising.



Source: Vanden Bergh and Stuhlfaut 2006 (p. 382).

Table 1. Colombian Creative Awards 1990-2015

| | 1990-1999 | 2000-2009 | 2010-2015 |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Cannes Lions (France) | 2 | 12 | 58 |
| Clio Awards (USA) | 0 | 6 | 25 |
| FIAP (Argentina) | 48 | 79 | 42 |
| New York Festivals (USA) | 3 | 2 | 15 |
| London International Awards (UK) | 0 | 6 | 29 |
| Ojo de Iberoamérica (Argentina) | 0 | 55 | 134 |
| Effie Awards (USA) | 0 | 14 | 253 |
| Total | 53 | 174 | 556 |

Table 2. Cannes Lions Awarded to Colombian Agencies by Category 2010-2015

| Media | Awards | % |
|----------------------|-----------|-------------|
| Outdoor | 15 | 25.9 |
| Direct | 8 | 13.8 |
| Promo and activation | 7 | 12.1 |
| PR | 5 | 8.6 |
| Radio | 5 | 8.6 |
| Press | 4 | 6.9 |
| Media | 3 | 5.2 |
| Branded content | 2 | 3.4 |
| Innovation | 0 | 0 |
| Film | 1 | 1.7 |
| Mobile | 2 | 3.4 |
| Design | 2 | 3.4 |
| Cyber | 0 | 0 |
| Titanium | 1 | 1.7 |
| Other | 3 | 5.2 |
| Total | 58 | 100% |

Table 3. Informant Characteristics

| | | Total | N° | % |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-------|----|------|
| Position | Creative Vice presidents | | 18 | 78.3 |
| | Creative Director | | 5 | 21.7 |
| City | Bogotá | | 18 | 78.3 |
| | Medellín | | 5 | 21.7 |
| Type of agency | Network | | 12 | 52.2 |
| | Local | | 9 | 39.1 |
| | Mix (Network/Local) | | 2 | 8.7 |
| Gender | Female | | 3 | 13.1 |
| | Male | | 20 | 86.9 |
| Age | 20 – 30 | | 2 | 8.7 |
| | 31 – 40 | | 10 | 43.5 |
| | 41 – 50 | | 9 | 39.1 |
| | 50 and over | | 2 | 8.7 |
| Years of Experience | Under 10 | | 16 | 69.7 |
| | 11 – 15 | | 4 | 17.3 |
| | 15 and over | | 3 | 13.0 |
| Size of Creative department | Under 50 people | | 13 | 56.5 |
| | 51 – 100 people | | 6 | 26.1 |
| | 101 and over people | | 4 | 17.4 |

Figure 2. Adaptation of the Systems Model of Creativity for Colombian Advertising

