



**UNIVERSITY OF
STIRLING**

***“We need arts as much as we need food. Our responsibility
is for that to be possible.”***

**Insights from Scottish cultural leaders on the changing
landscape of their work.**

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Declaration

This thesis is submitted in the fulfilment of the degree of Philosophy (Management) at the University of Stirling, United Kingdom. I declare that this thesis is based on my original work except for the quotations and citations which I have duly acknowledged. I also declare that this thesis has not been previously or concurrently submitted, either in whole or part, for any other qualification at the University of Stirling or other institution. I am responsible for any errors and omissions present in the thesis.

Signed

Aleksandra Katarzyna Webb

December 2014

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Abstract

The analysis of cultural policy in the last decade suggests that creativity and the arts in general are extensively used in political agendas as means of capitalizing on the forecasted socio-economic potential of creative/artistic activities (e.g. Flew, 2005; Garnham, 2005; Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Although some critical studies have highlighted instrumentalism, short-sidedness and practice/practitioners' averse policy-making and intervention planning (Belfiore, 2004, 2009; Caust, 2003; Oakley, 2009; Newman, 2013), so far only very few studies have exposed the experiences and voices of particular groups of creative workers in the different national (country-specific) contexts to support this criticism. There has been a significant lack of studies that aim to understand how creative workers experience and cope with the changing policy context in their work. In particular, the voice of non-artists has rarely been considered when seeking a better understanding of the sector's dynamics.

This thesis explored the Scottish cultural sector through the eyes of cultural leaders. The study was carried out during a time of significant transformation to the funding structure, processes and relationships in the sector, catalysed by the establishment of a new funding agency (the funder). It focuses on cultural leaders' understandings of an increasingly politicised cultural landscape that constitutes the context of their work. The thesis also looks at the influence of these understandings on the leaders' role responsibilities, as well as the essence and the sustainability of the cultural sector. The empirical work for the thesis followed a

qualitative research approach and focused on 21 semi-structured interviews with cultural leaders and industry experts based in Scotland. These individuals were purposefully chosen as a group of stakeholders who are able to engage in discussions about the cultural sector in the context of recent changes in the governance and financial subsidy of Scottish (publically funded) arts.

The research findings illustrated the importance of leaders' values and beliefs, which reflect the purpose of their work and shape their enactments in the sector. In particular, the intrinsic motivation, artistic ambitions, social and civic responsibilities of leaders emerged as crucial qualities of their work roles. The findings revealed a discrepancy between these artistic and civic concerns of cultural leaders and the socio-economic expectations of the funder, which contributed to a great deal of unproductive ('inorganic') tensions for which leaders had to find coping mechanisms. Bourdieu's (1977, 1992) theoretical concepts were used as a starting point in understanding the cultural sector as a cultural field, and cultural leaders as actors enacting their work-related practices in the evolving socio-political and economic system of cultural production. However, upon further analysis of the data, the notions of a 'worldview' and 'stewardship' emerged and were used to better explain the greater complexity of work in today's cultural sector. This thesis thus builds upon Bourdieu's concept of 'field' and 'artistic logic' and explains the changing cultural sector as a holistic cultural field where cultural leaders enact their stewardship-like work responsibilities from within a strong and dynamic artistic worldview.

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List of Acronyms

AD: Artistic Directors

CCI: Cultural and Creative Industries

EP: Executive Producer

FO: Foundation Organisations

FXO: Flexibly-Founded Organisations

GD: General Director

SAC: Scottish Arts Council

SS: Scottish Screen

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Positioning the study

In the last two decades, the cultural and creative industries (CCI) have attracted the attention of governments, policy-makers and academic researchers. The growing interest in these industries has been attributed to the forecasted socio-economic benefits of cultural production and creativity more generally (Florida, 2002, 2003). Literature consistently shows that governments and national bodies across the world have been attracted to the idea of creative industries as a potential force in driving economic growth and social transformation on the local (regional), national and global scales (Bilton, 2007; Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; Oakley, 2004). This view of the creative industries as a contributor to and facilitator of socio-economic development and urban regeneration has also become firmly embedded in British policy-making (Cunningham, 2002; DCMS, 1998, 2001, 2008; Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; Oakley, 2004; O'Connor, 2000; Potts and Cunningham, 2008). Government taskforces have been established to stimulate the development of creative industries through initiatives such as formation of designated creative clusters, quarters and villages across towns and cities (e.g. Landry, 2000; Leslie, 2005). Moreover, the concept of the 'creative city' has become established in wider policy debates on urban regeneration and the potential of clusters to revive, market and position cities in a globalised economy is now widely taken for granted (Bayliss, 2007; Florida, 2002, 2003; Foord, 2008; Lange et al., 2008; Turok, 2003). Thus, many regeneration or

city expansion plans, aiming to enrich the lives of individual citizens and their communities, have drawn on the creativity-driven industries in securing international reputation and competitiveness.

Despite such optimistic cultural policy discourse, research informed by the sociology of work and employment continues to provide a less promising picture of CCI. These two pictures illustrate two main strands in the CCI research: the cultural policy that focuses on general (macro) analysis of how CCI are talked about and conceptualised in wider society and economy, and the empirically-led research that focuses on particular (micro) analysis of work and workers in these industries. Organisation and management of creative work, (including recruitment, work and employment practices), has captured the attention of many scholars who were concerned with the quality of work and career challenges experienced by creative workers in these industries (Dean, 2007; Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2009, 2012; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Mathieu, 2006, 2012; Ross, 2008). Regardless of these scholarly efforts, the empirical study of work, workers and specific work contexts in the cultural production has been overshadowed by a political debate that favours macro perspective at the cost of neglecting individual workers and collective/professional groups (micro perspective).

As cultural policy agenda unfolds in parallel to the empirical research on cultural production, the analysis of cultural production reveals a substantial influence of political discourses. For example, the language used to describe cultural production has slowly transformed, often to include rhetoric characteristic

of evaluation frameworks in cultural policy. Such language continues to emphasise a strong link between creativity, knowledge and economic prosperity, as well as the need for the cultural and creative industries to be efficiently and effectively managed in order to maximise the potential of capitalising on creativity. Because the British government retains an interest in such potential of creativity-led industries (DCMS, 1998, 2001; 2008), the cultural policy discourse expresses a specific socio-economic view of the role of arts and creativity. However, in the majority of instances, it discusses the CCI contribution towards social development and economic growth separately from the work context, practices, motivations, responsibilities and livelihoods of creative workers. Such separation has gradually weakened the visibility of practitioners' everyday work experiences (Belfiore, 2004, 2009; Caust, 2003; Newman, 2013; Pratt, 2004b). Hence, although in the last few decades the success story of the CCI has been glorified by government economic policy, it has become isolated from the views, values, beliefs and efforts of creative workers as though these individuals and their work were insignificant and irrelevant to the overall success of creative industries.

A call for change in the cultural policy approach has been voiced and a refocus on the individuals working in the CCI suggested (Pratt 2004a, 2004b, 2005). Yet, the cultural policy arena appears to be reluctant to shift its focus from a rhetorical debate to one focused on matters concerning actors in the cultural production (e.g. creative workers) and the challenges these actors experience in the changing environment of their work. In the context of an increasingly political CCI discourse, which seemingly neglects the practitioners' voices, it is important to

understand how different actors in the cultural production understand the industry they work in in order to outline the conflicts and tensions the currently changing cultural policy landscape creates.

1.2 Research problem and motivation for the study

Recent changes in the mechanism of the funding allocation for cultural producers¹ in the cultural sector constitute an important shift in the Scottish arts. In July 2010, following a merger between Scottish Arts Council (SAC) and Scottish Screen (SS), a new national cultural agency was brought to life. A declared role taken on by the new agency included the provision of “leadership, promotion, advocacy and advice for the development of the cultural sector” (Creative Scotland, 2011b: 6) and was aligned with the Scottish government’s vision for Scotland’s creative and cultural industries. Creative Scotland (from hereafter ‘the funder’) has become responsible for cultural producers in the Scottish CCI. Most importantly, it became responsible for the allocation of public money to all producers under its remit. Thus, the eligible producers who wanted to secure future continuity of their public funding were asked to engage with new procedures and follow new funding processes. One of the important changes was an introduction of new assessments (with different sets of criteria), such as organisational and sector reviews. These were much different from what cultural producers were used to, because they were underpinned by a new investment-driven approach of the funder. This changed approach to funding reflected the

¹ This is a collective term referring to cultural organisations and individual artists producing their own work.

funder's ambition to make Scotland one of the world's most creative nations (for more, see Chapter 2.3.1).

The arrival of the new funder marked a new stage in the Scottish cultural industry and provided a new empirical context to observe and study. The funder's initiatives and its corporate strategy were widely documented in the press and thus sparked academic interest. The researcher recognised the Scottish cultural sector to be an important context to explore the views of creative workers on the changes in their evolving work environment. Particularly in the case of recent shifts caused by the changes imposed by the new funder, it appeared worthwhile and original to gain knowledge about how the cultural producers represented by a special group of creative workers understand and perceive the changing context of their work. Furthermore, the current 'post-industrial' conceptualisations of cultural production tend to focus on understanding the general mechanisms and dynamics of production and consumption interwoven with the political discourse of socio-economic impacts. It is less clear, however, how these approaches comprehend and integrate the views of creative workers on this changing policy landscape, which happen to influence a range of personal and organisational work enactments. Thus, the lack of consideration for the views and beliefs of actors on the cultural production in the CCI, combined with the new empirical opportunity, were the key rationales motivating this doctoral research.

Cultural leaders have been purposefully chosen as a group of stakeholders who were able to engage in a discussion about the context of recent changes in the governance and financial subsidy of the publicly funded sector of arts in

Scotland. This research defines 'cultural leaders' as actors who occupy senior positions in the cultural organisations and who are responsible for leading these organisations as well as managing their internal resources, including personnel. In the cultural industry context such personnel consists of a range of theatre makers (that is artists and other creative workers, for example, actors, dancers, performers of all kinds, light and sound technicians, costume designers, prop-makers, theatre directors, venue and stage managers, finance, marketing and sales specialists). Thus the term 'creative worker' suggests anyone who works in the CCI (including administrative and support staff). Cultural leaders are a specific sub-group of creative workers. These leaders tend to enact their work responsibilities by holding an artistic (Artistic Directors, AD) or administrative (General Director/Executive Producer, GD/EP) leadership role. In the case of small cultural organisations (or those with limited resources), one person tends to enact both leadership roles within one job description. It is common in the industry for an 'active' artist (still engaged in performing) to work simultaneously in one of the joined leadership roles (AD or GD/EP). Therefore, being a cultural leader and being a creative worker are not mutually exclusive. For clarity and consistency, this research calls 'creative worker' any worker within the sites of cultural production, which includes artistic and administrative organisational leaders. However, the term 'cultural leader' is reserved for senior managers who lead the cultural organisations.

A deciding selection criterion for the choice of leaders was their simultaneous in-depth knowledge of cultural production and its wider industry context. Such knowledge was critical to capture the intersections and overlaps

between the experience of leading a cultural organisation and the understanding of specific conceptualisations of cultural production that appeared in the communications between the community of cultural producers and the funder. Leaders of organisations representing the subsector of dance and theatre were specifically chosen, as these were the only two sub-sectors in the cultural sector which have gone through both 'organisational' and 'sector' reviews prior to the start of the fieldwork (more explanation in Chapter 2.3.1.3-2.3.1.4). These additional encounters of cultural leaders with the new funder were assumed to build their in-depth knowledge, which many of their colleagues might not have gained in that specific timeframe.

At the outset of this research and prior to outlining the research aims, it is essential to clarify another important term used throughout this thesis, namely, the 'cultural industry'. The current academic and policy context use extensively the collective notion of CCI to relate to all 'cultural' and 'creative' industries. This research understands the term 'cultural industry' as in the work of Hesmondhalgh (2007), who distinguishes 'cultural' (i.e. traditional arts and crafts) from other creative industries commonly defined as those industries "supplying goods and services that we broadly associate with cultural, artistic, or simply entertainment value" (Caves, 2000: 1), and that "have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent" (DCMS, 1998: 3/2001: 5). In the current CCI research, such a distinction tends often to be disregarded and all industrial sub-elements are interpreted broadly as being concerned with production of creative content. However, Hesmondhalgh (*ibid.*) preserves this difference by emphasising the concern of

cultural industries with the production and distribution of objects or experiences enriched with aesthetic values and cultural meanings. This definition favours the historic tradition of the Frankfurt School that anchors the roles and responsibilities of cultural institutions such as theatres, libraries, museums and concert halls in educating and shaping the public's understanding of the world (Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2007).

As this research looks at the publicly funded cultural organisations in the sub-sectors of theatre and dance (both belonging to the genre of performing arts), the use of term 'cultural industry' seemed appropriate. However, at times the term 'cultural sector' is used instead. These two terms 'cultural industry' and 'cultural sector' are in this thesis used interchangeably. The researcher uses the term cultural industry in relation to and consistently with the academic literature, however, the participants of the study preferred to use the term 'cultural sector'. As this study aims to give voice to cultural leaders, chapters presenting and discussing the research findings adopted the choice of terminology of the interviewees.

1.3 Research aims

This study assumes that the dynamics in the cultural sector are created by the ongoing interactions between the structures, such as the funding structures introduced by the new funder, and the individuals who enact their work roles and responsibilities in this industry context. Following Bourdieu's theoretical understanding, such work enactments can be conceptualised as 'practices'

(Bourdieu, 1993; Eikhof, 2010). These practices are enacted through individuals' understanding of the events and interactions within the industry context, and thus the individual choices, (or lack of them), depend on the perceptions of the rules, logics, and powers inhabiting the field of their practices (more on Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and further theoretical underpinnings of the research are explained in Chapter 2.3.2). The cultural leaders' understandings of the wider context in which they work influence their work enactments. Hence, there is a need to explore in greater depth the understandings and beliefs of leaders about the shifting cultural policy landscape and its influence on the order and dynamics within the cultural sector. This research wishes to understand how this increasingly complex work context is seen and experienced by individual leaders working in the performing arts organisations. Drawing on the study of cultural leaders' understandings of the changing environment of their work, this thesis has three main aims:

1. to capture cultural leaders' unique voice and illustrate how leaders working in the Scottish cultural sector understand and relate to their wider work environment in the unique and the shifting landscape of cultural policy;

2. to explore how recent changes to the Scottish cultural sector impact on cultural leaders' work related perceptions, enactments and responsibilities;

3. to explore how the cultural leaders respond to and cope with the impacts of these changes.

It is important to emphasise that this thesis intends to illustrate and discuss the interplay between the wider political context and the leaders' work in the Scottish cultural sector. Any objective evaluation of the funder-sector relationships remains out of the direct scope of this research. Instead, as outlined in the above aims, the research focuses on understanding leaders' personal and collective views, observations and judgments on the transformations experienced in their work context. Thus capturing the voice of cultural leaders is at the core of this doctoral study. By focusing on a qualitative understanding of the cultural leaders' understandings of the changing context of their work, this research aims to make an academic contribution by enriching existing knowledge about the Scottish cultural sector and cultural workers alike. This will be achieved through highlighting complexities and tensions experienced by cultural leaders in times when the sector's funding culture has been pressured to change.

1.4 Structure and content of the thesis

This section further outlines the structure of the thesis and the content of each chapter.

Chapter Two gives the contextual background and introduces the research problem. The chapter contextualises the research problem by reviewing the research related to CCI literature and identifies gaps in the existing scholarly account of creative work and creative workers. It further broadly maps the cultural

industries in Scotland and describes the recent events which are particularly meaningful to this doctoral project. Finally, it outlines key elements of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice which provide the conceptual foundations for studying cultural leaders in the Scottish CCI.

Chapter Three describes the research methodology. It firstly explains the philosophical underpinning of this doctoral research. Secondly, the chapter gives an overview of the research design and sampling strategy, and explains the process and method of data analysis. Lastly, methodological issues such as the research ethics, validity, reliability and rigour are discussed.

Chapter Four presents the empirical evidence obtained from the qualitative study of cultural leaders working in the cultural sector in Scotland. Firstly, it shows how cultural leaders frame their intrinsic motivation, the purpose of their work, and the importance of social and civic responsibilities for them and other creative workers in the sector. Secondly, it shows the leaders' understandings of the wider context of their work with emphasis on the changing economic and political landscape of cultural production in the Scottish cultural sector. Thirdly, the chapter highlights potential conflicts and contradictions in the leaders' working practices influenced by this changing context; it shows how individual leaders cope with this newly transformed and highly complex context.

Chapter Five discusses further the meaning of the research findings by drawing on Bourdieu's Theory of Practice to illustrate theatre and dance (the cultural sector) as a complex cultural field with its own logics, rules and norms, all

of which can cause tensions and affect individual enactments. However, the Bourdieuan framework is only a starting point in presenting the voice of cultural leaders to reveal fully the cultural leaders' experiences of working in the sector. Some useful additional extensions in the understanding of individual actors in the cultural field are proposed to better highlight the emerged values and responsibilities underpinning the leaders' work roles.

Finally, **Chapter Six** summarises the main findings and states this doctoral project's contributions to the body of academic knowledge. It outlines further recommendations for the sector. The chapter concludes with acknowledgement of the research limitations and points out future directions to overcome these limitations.

Chapter 2: Background and Policy Context

2.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to set the background of this doctoral project, which focuses on the understanding of the changing cultural sector in Scotland from the perspective of cultural leaders. This research has been carried out in the particular national context, with a specific group of creative workers and in a period of visible transformation in the wider cultural policy landscape. This background is thus necessary to understand the theoretical and empirical context of the research that set to study cultural leaders in the evolving context of their work. In order to set the scene, in the first instance this chapter reviews existing literature on the cultural and creative industries (CCI) and highlights the criticism of cultural policy discourse that arose around CCI. As this thesis takes a perspective of cultural leaders working in the publicly funded cultural organisations, the literature on creative work and careers in the cultural industry is outlined in order to bring in the perspective of creative workers, which, as this chapter will demonstrate, tends to be increasingly undermined by cultural policy. In the second instance and to further contextualise the research, the country-specific context in the unique situation of change is described, with a particular emphasis on the most recent events in the sector. In presenting such background information, the chapter maps the Scottish performing arts sector and points out changes in the structure of funding for Scottish arts as well as in the rhetoric that has been brought about by the new funder. In the third instance, the chapter reviews a conceptual background for the study of leaders in

the cultural sector. Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice (1977, 1986, 1992, 1998) has been extensively used in the CCI research. His notions of *the field* and *logics* that influence individual enactments are potentially fruitful for enriching analysis and answering the research question.

2.2 The cultural and creative industries, cultural policy and cultural leaders

2.2.1 The cultural and creative industries (CCI)

The introductory chapter (1.1) highlighted the increasing importance of CCI in contemporary society as, since the post-industrial revolution, creative production has become popularised as a significant component of advanced economies (Hartley, 2005) and therefore an important field of inquiry. A shift has been observed in how these industries have been addressed by national policies. The initial interest in CCI was built upon the economic argument and the successfully growing cultural consumption (Cave, 2001; Hartley, 2005). As cultural products started to be available to a much wider range of consumers, the understanding of cultural experience shifted from the recognition of pure aesthetic enjoyment to an understanding that includes recognition of a successful engagement with the market (see also Appendix A). The consumer- and business-driven models of thinking offered a new way of viewing the CCI, that is, as economic industries with financial powers, yet dependable on the unpredictable and always competitive rules of the market (Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Lash and Urry, 1994). Such emerging logic based upon the principle of consumerism represented a clear deviance from

the original intentions of the Frankfurt School and any other form of cultural activity 'for art's sake' (Menger, 1999). Thus, an active engagement in the production of arts, with deep aesthetic and cultural meanings, started to become slowly compromised in favour of a profit-making objective (Belfiore 2004, 2009; Newman, 2013).

This popularisation of creativity-driven production and consumption caught the attention of governments and policy-makers who recognised the economic potential of culture, as similar to any other form of industrial production (Garnham, 2005; Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Myerscough, 1988; Pratt, 2005). The value of cultural production started to be perceived in its ability to produce and process the creative content effectively and competitively (Caves, 2000; Florida, 2002, 2003; Garnham, 2005; Lash and Urry, 1994). From the late 1990s in the UK, endorsement of the market economy principle and its application to the cultural industries discourse appeared in the national policy agenda driven by the 'New Labour' Party (Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Galloway, 2007; Lash and Urry, 1994; O'Connor and Wynne, 1996; Oakley, 2004). The party's vision of 'New Britain' pushed politicians and scholars to utilise the potential of cultural industries and its cultural capacity, that is "the ability to accumulate knowledge and manipulate symbols" (O'Connor and Wynne, 1996: 7). As a source of economic activity, these industries were envisaged to play a very precise role in stimulating economic development and providing employment opportunities (Myerscough, 1988).

These political and economic influences have contributed to the further development of interest in the industries that are concerned with cultural

production. The political agenda of 'New Labour' persistently continued to reshape Great Britain's profile as an advanced, creative, entrepreneurial, fair and diverse country (Flew and Cunningham, 2010; Potts and Cunningham, 2008). At the forefront of this evolving neoliberal ideology was the alliance between cultural production and economic (and social) innovation (Cunningham, 2002; Flew and Cunningham, 2010; Foord, 2008; Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Howkins, 2001; O' Connor, 1996, 2000). The UK government continues to recognise the role of creativity and creative outputs in the social and economic advancement of the country at local, regional and international levels by emphasising cultural production as an important vehicle in the country's recovery from the economic downturn (DCMS, 1998, 2001; 2008; Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; Oakley, 2004; Potts and Cunningham, 2008). Thus, this specific national example illustrates how creativity became exploited for both commercial and political goals (Foord, 2008; Hartley, 2005; Moeran and Pendersen, 2011).

2.2.2 A critical evaluation of cultural policy

With an increasing commercialisation, commodification and capitalisation of cultural production, new prominent business rhetoric of 'growth and efficiency' started to emerge in cultural policy (Flew, 2005; Garnham, 2005; Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; O'Connor and Wynne, 1996). For a few decades now this highly economised discourse has underpinned the cultural policy agenda, aiming to capitalise on the knowledge, skills and creativity of individual workers (DCSM, 1998, 2001). Such discourse tends to favour the logic and rhetoric of the market

and consumer economy, and thus it attracted criticism from many academics (Belfiore, 2004, 2009; Caust, 2003; Galloway, 2006; Galloway and Dunlop, 2007; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010; Newman, 2013; Pratt, 2004a, 2004b). Those who examined the agenda of cultural policy more closely observed that the attention of policy-makers is increasingly diverging from the concerns relevant to work and career in the cultural production.

As the New Public Management discourse continues to favour socio-economic performance in all public domains (including arts and culture) (Belfiore, 2004; Caust, 2003; Oakley, 2009; Newman, 2013), politicians and policy-makers continue their preoccupation with classifications, indexing and measuring the socio-economic outputs of creative and cultural industries (Galloway and Dunlop, 2007). In effect, as academics have pointed out, less and less attention has been placed on the importance of work-related issues in the industry (Caust, 2003; Belfiore, 2004, 2009; Newman, 2013). Scholars suggest approaches adopted by policy work visibly ignore the experiences of practitioners as well as a whole range of scholarly studies that already described the precarious work practices of creative workers by highlighting the struggles, failures and sacrifices these workers regularly encounter (see for instance, Alvarez and Svejenova, 2002; Bain, 2005; Dean, 2007; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2009; Jackson, 1996; Mathieu, 2006; Menger, 1999; Roncgalia, 2006, 2008; Sutherland, 1976; Towse, 1993; Webb and Eikhof, 2012b).

An overall critique of cultural policy internationally has been based on three arguments. The first one addresses the current obsession of cultural policy with

identifications and classifications of creative industries' scope² (Galloway and Dunlop, 2007). The second argument critically assesses the instrumentalisation of cultural policy as being fixated on the socio-economic impacts and contributions of arts, creativity and cultural production (Belfiore, 2004, 2009; Glow and Johanson, 2009; Nielsen, 1999; Newman, 2013; Røyseng, 2000; Vestheim, 2012). This argument also suggests that the cultural discourse tends to favour a use of artistic and creative means as a tool for specific political and economic aims. The third argument specifically addresses the problematic disappearance of artists and artistic practices from the focus of cultural policy research (Belfiore 2004, 2009; Caust, 2003; Oakley, 2009).

Academics who engaged with the critical discussion over the narrow and limited understanding of the cultural production within cultural policy suggested that a general preoccupation with the socio-economic contribution of creative industries (at the national and regional levels) made scholars and policy-makers biased towards broad overviews which overlooked deeper systemic problems in the cultural production (Jeffcutt, 2004; Oakley, 2009; Pratt, 2004a, 2004b, 2005). When attempting to understand cultural production, politicians and policy-makers concentrated on the creative sectors, clusters and hubs without serious consideration for individual and organisational actors in the wider 'Cultural

² The UK Department of Culture, Media and Sport refers to thirteen specific industries under the term 'creative industries'. The classification of creative industries given by DCMS (2001) includes advertising, architecture, art and antiques markets, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, television and radio, whereas classification of 'cultural industries' by Hesmondhalgh (2007) includes media (television, radio, cinema), publishing industries (newspapers, magazines, book publishing), music, photography, advertising and perform arts. The Scottish Government and the Scottish Enterprise deliberately adopt the DCMS typology (Carr, 2009; GES, 2007, 2011).

Economy' (Harvey et al., 2012; Pratt, 2004a, 2004b, 2005). It is argued that such macro focus tends to make individual creative workers and their organisations invisible, despite the fact that they are necessary to drive and sustain the development of the industry (Harvey et al., 2012; Pratt, 2004a, 2004b, 2005). Pratt argues (2005) that it is necessary to move policy discussion on the CCI development beyond theoretical understandings such as 'geographic clusters'. He emphasises that such understandings fail "to capture the broader spatial, temporal and organisational dynamics of production across creative industries" (ibid.: 21). He argues that many visible and invisible areas of the cultural production (like education, training, work and career practices of the professionals) are overlooked by academic research and policy-making alike when following very general and thus limiting concepts (Harvey et al., 2012; Pratt, 2004a 2004b; 2005).

Pratt (2004a, 2004b, 2005) disapproved of the current obsessions of cultural policy as not engaging with the complexity of cultural reality. He questioned whether the current model of cultural policy was able to express and capture the rich complex nature of cultural production which involves multiple individual practices enacted by mobile workers across specific spatial and material contexts, and not only in the virtual creative clusters. Pratt warned against the limiting approaches to understanding production in CCI and consequently called for a wider attention to be given towards material and non-material, economic and non-economic characteristics of particular localities within their cultural production systems. Belfiore (2009) also expressed a disbelief in the relevance of cultural policies to the daily endeavours of creative workers in the cultural sector. In

addition, Belfiore (ibid.) described contemporary rhetoric and practices of cultural policy research as illusionary and insensitive, failing to present a true, non-idealised reality of cultural production.

The main critical argument proposed by Belfiore (2004, 2009) is that in the currently dominant economic paradigm, cultural production is increasingly seen as a domain of the economic market. Thus, all that is ever going to interest politicians (thinking through such an economic lens) is the cultural industry's rates of productivity that are compulsively measured to justify an appropriate level of subsidy. However, when cultural production with its expected return on investment becomes a starting point and a primarily focus of politicians, the worries and struggles of creative workers as well as their achievements and successes are less likely to attract the attention of policy-makers. There is evidence that the current cultural policy favours measured outcomes, thus leaving the understanding of what it takes to produce artistic and cultural outcomes in today's environment out with its direct scope (for instance Belfiore, 2004, 2009; Caust, 2003; Newman, 2013; Nielsen, 1999; Pratt, 2004a, 2004b, 2005; Roseng, 2000; Vestheim, 2012). These scholars have critically assessed such concentration on measurable outputs as overpowering and undermining the inputs and processes that enable the cultural production to happen.

The current agenda of cultural policy is preoccupied with the engagement of cultural production in the economic exchange, which imposes on cultural producers a responsibility for the creation of not only artistic outputs but also economically valuable contributions (ibid.). The approach driven by a commercial

paradigm has been heavily criticised for preventing arts from remaining an experimentation and imagination-driven practice focused on producing a unique artistic proposition rather than 'efficient', 'commercial' or 'sellable' products for the mass audiences (Belfiore, 2009; Caust, 2003). In Caust's opinion (ibid.) contemporary cultural policy marginalises artistic practice and refuses to acknowledge its unique status, by continuously comparing it with other industries run by a different set of principles and motivations. Such misalignment between the practitioners' needs and the requirements of the funders, who favour political and economic priorities, endangers the sector's artistic aims and values. Caust (2003: 61) voiced: "cultural and artistic practice is unique and must be recognised and valued as such" and called for a change of approach to understand the cultural industry in a way that would fully capture such value.

However, the task of refocusing cultural policy on artistic merits alone appears difficult when the existing valuation seems to be reinforced by the rhetoric used by funders and policy-makers (Belfiore, 2009; Caust, 2003). "Language is a powerful tool for re-invention of a world order where former valued ideals have disappeared and new ones are given precedence" (Caust, 2003:56). However, as Caust argues (ibid.), the adequacy of language has to be considered in relation to the reality it attempts to describe. It has to be relevant mostly to the subjects whose work reality is being discussed. Indeed, neglecting the individual cultural workers' views on the context in which they work and on the matters that concern them and influence their experiences (including the inappropriate language) emerged in this study, as well as others (for instance Belfiore, 2004, 2009;

Newman, 2013; Oakley, 2009; Vestheim, 2012), as an important limitation in the current focus of cultural policy. Belfiore (2009) suggests the evolving public and policy discourse around the social and economic impacts of the arts exhibits a worrying inadequacy. Such inadequacy has been observed also in the context of the Scottish performing arts where, for example the business rhetoric emerged strongly (see Section 2.3.1.5).

2.2.3 Creative work and creative workers

Although cultural policy neglects individuals' viewpoints, there is ample research on work and workers in CCI. It seemed worthwhile to review this literature in order to better understand the peculiar character of the creative work and unique motivations of creative workers in the cultural industry. Hence, this section aims to outline the main themes in the area of work discussed within the CCI research. It does not intend to discuss all complex problems related to work, workers and their employment, as these topics are beyond the remit of the study, but specifically to outline the main characteristics of creative work and workers that will further inform the understanding of the distinctiveness of the cultural sector from the perspective of individual agents working in it. The next three subsections present a review of the literature concerned with the essence and character of creative work, the work motivations and ambitions of creative workers in the cultural sector.

2.2.3.1 Creative work and the practice of managing creativity

As interest in the CCI research has become increasingly prominent, many academics have outlined the need to understand what creative work is. In the post-

industrial economy and informed by research on knowledge and creativity (Florida, 2002, 2003; Grabher, 2002; Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Holden, 2007; Howkins, 2001; Pratt, 2004; Pratt and Jeffcutt, 2009), the notion of creative work has been discussed as a type of endeavour that depends on both market and artistic/creative motivations and aims (Alvarez and Svejenova, 2002; Bilton, 2007, 2010; Bilton and Leary, 2002; Bourdieu, 1983, 1993; Davis and Scase, 2000; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Townley and Beech, 2010, Townley et al., 2009).

Historically, creative/artistic activities have been identified as driven mostly by intrinsic motivations to create and to produce art for art's sake (Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006; Menger, 1999). However, from the 1990s, with changing strategy and rhetoric of cultural policy, art-making driven by pure artistic motivations has been progressively transformed into a formalised context of professional work enacted within the boundaries of cultural production and forced to adapt to the requirements of economic market exchange (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2005; Banks, 2014). Such exchange is driven by commercial rationales and business motivations deriving from the principles of an economic paradigm (such as productivity, excellence, gain, effectiveness and efficiency) commonly referred in the literature as economic logic (Bourdieu, 1993; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007). The economic logic, informing management practices such as planning, organising and controlling a variety of production processes, together with artistic motivations, is recognised as inherent to cultural production (e.g. Bilton

and Leary, 2002; Davis and Scase, 2000; DeFillippi et al., 2007; Glynn, 2000; Gotsi et al., 2010; Townley, 2002).

However, economic logic has often been perceived as stifling and restraining the creative workers who require freedom, time, space and imagination for the creative processes and practices to unfold (Belfiore, 2004, 2009; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007). Because creativity has been identified as an essential resource for creative production (Caves 2000; DCSM 1998, 2001), most academic research has identified business requirements and imperatives as running counter to the logic of creativity (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007). A critical strand of argument goes so far as to suggest that prioritising the market and consumer-driven thinking, along with a demand for efficiency and a 'value for money' principle (particularly in the period of financial cuts and budget restrictions), might threaten the work of creative workers (Belfiore, 2009; Caust, 2003; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007). They may endanger or even destroy the creative motivation vital to the success of the entire industry, because economic logic tends to "crowd out" artistic logic and, thus, erodes the very resources upon which creative production depends (ibid.)

With increased national expectations from cultural producers to act with more 'business-like' attitudes (Section 2.2.1), it became increasingly problematic for creative workers across the world to perform competitively and strategically without compromising the essence of their work (Eikhof, 2010, 2013; Mathieu, 2006, 2012). In today's economic reality the very essence of creative work is arguably far more complicated than the dominating public policy discourse imagines it to be (Eikhof, 2010, 2013; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Hesmondhalgh and

Baker, 2010). However, the potential clash between artistic motivation and business imperatives and its impact on individual work, is comprehended in different ways. Some scholars opt for a less antagonistic view of management and creative work (Bilton, 2007, 2010; Bilton and Cummings, 2010, 2014; Florida, 2002, 2003; Grabher, 2002; Gotsi et al., 2010; Pratt and Jeffcutt, 2009), claiming that both creative practice and management are essential for the development of cultural and creative outputs. A good management practice should therefore aim to facilitate cultural production by supporting creative motivations.

Many existing studies of creative work (understood from the individual, organisational and project-based perspectives) focus on the problem of organising creative work practices and managing creative labour in the face of conflicting artistic and business logics (Bain, 2005; Bilton, 2007; Davis and Scase, 2000; Dean, 2007; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006, 2007; Grabher, 2002; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2009, 2012; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010; Jones, 1996; Jones and DeFillippi, 1996; Mathieu, 2012; Stoyanova and Grugulis, 2012; Townley and Beech, 2010; Towse, 1993). In the individual work context this is shown in the ability to juggle between different types of logic in response to the requirements of a particular activity (Dean, 2007; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2009; Jones, 1996; Mathieu, 2006), whereas in the organisational context it is about reconciling issues of artistry and profitability (Bilton, 2007, 2010; Davis and Scase, 2000; Gotsi et al., 2010). Thus, for many individual and organisational cultural producers a search for practical solutions aiding creativity

management in the sites of cultural production has become a principal task (Bilton, 2007, 2010; Gotsi et al., 2010; Townley and Beech, 2010).

2.2.3.2 Collaborative work

Apart from the concerns related to management, creative work is widely discussed as highly collaborative in character. Commentators tend to agree that cultural production is collaborative in nature and therefore creative work is achieved through teamwork (Grabher, 2002, 2004; Jackson, 1996; Jones and DeFillippi, 1996; Eikhof, 2013; MacNeill et al., 2012; Menger, 1999; Reid and Karambayya, 2009). This means that a team of creative workers with deep passion, dedication and a variety of diverse skill-sets is needed to complete any collaborative task in the cultural industry. A specific example of collaborative teamwork is present in a dual-leadership structure in performing arts organisations. This dual-leadership structure involves managing a cultural organisation by means of a distributed type of leadership and through a collaborative team effort (MacNeill et al., 2012; Reid and Karambayya, 2009). This duality of being both individually driven and collectively oriented is characteristic of the work of cultural leaders who are responsible for an overall direction and development of cultural organisations, that is, for leading these organisations and managing their internal resources, including personnel (MacNeill et al., 2012; Reid and Karambayya, 2009). As this thesis is concerned with the perspective of cultural leaders, it is essential to outline how cultural leaders are described in the academic literature.

The literature that reports specifically on leaders in the performing arts sector emphasises the close cooperation between artistic and administrative

directors (MacNeill et al., 2012; Reid and Karambayya, 2009). This cooperation is discussed as a form of dual leadership in which these artistic/creative and administrative/organisational roles are paired on the basis of a distinctive set of complementary qualities and competencies, which each leader brings to this joint leadership practice (ibid.). The literature suggests (ibid.) that a cultural organisation that adopts a dual structure of leadership benefits from the knowledge and experience of these two qualified specialists who are willing to share their work responsibilities. Work in this artistic-administrative tandem, with highly specialised roles, enables 'coupled' leaders to best enact their artistic vision and non-artistic responsibilities respectively (Reid and Karambayya, 2009). However, literature reports the work in the cultural industry more generally tends to have a collaborative style and be built upon trusted partnerships (personal networks) mutual respect, loyal relationships and a strong shared work ethic (Blair, 2001, 2003; Eikhof 2013; Grabher, 2002).

Similarly with joint careers of other creative workers, the dual leadership in performing arts is shaped by the career agency exercised by two or more actors over extended periods of time during which the work practices are facilitated through successful, extensive (and often) long-lasting collaboration with (a) trusted partner(s) (Blair, 2001; Eikhof, 2013; Jones, 1996; MacNeill et al., 2012; Svejenova et al., 2010; Wagner, 2006, 2009). In this way, cultural leaders are described as a group of creative workers who continuously learn from each other and share knowledge about the issues and agendas within the wider context of their work (MacNeill et al., 2012, Reid and Karambayya, 2009). This means that cultural

leaders demonstrate knowledge and understanding which is neither purely artistic, nor only managerial. As part of a team, cultural leaders have a simultaneous understanding of the creative process and its administrative/organisation side. Mutual trust, loyalty, respect for each other's skills and achievements as well as personal attributes (ibid.) are noted in the literature to be helpful features in developing a unique shared competency (see Grabher, 2002; Jackson, 1996; Jones and DeFillippi, 1996; Eikhof, 2013; MacNeill et al., 2012, Reid and Karambayya, 2009). This seems to be the case also for other creative workers who work in the collaborative and supportive environment, where members treat each other as friends or extended family (Alvarez and Svejenova, 2002; Alvarez et al., 2005).

Research carried out not specifically on cultural leaders, but rather on a broader group of creative workers in film and TV sectors, emphasised the importance of developing individual competences and knowledge about the wider industry in achieving a successful career. Jones and DeFillippi (1996) formulated the knowledge-based framework of six individual competences that includes various elements of 'knowing'³. Such a competency framework includes not only the knowledge and skills of one's performed work activities, but importantly crucial 'meta-competences' such as knowledge of opportunities and threats existing within

³ The full list of six competencies (knowing-what, knowing-where, knowing-when, knowing-why, knowing-how, knowing-whom) is an extension to the previous work of DeFillippi with his colleague Arthur (1994) who created the competency-based perspective to study project workers. Original elements of the framework were: knowing why - concerned with self-knowledge that unfolds the motivation to pursue a particular career; knowing how - concerned with the ability to perform work roles and tasks; and knowing whom – concerned with developing understanding of the importance of networks, contacts and relationships for career progression.

a particular industry. Thus, for instance in the film industry studied by Jones and DeFillippi (ibid.), knowledge of the industry involves the practice of knowing the common patterns of employment in the film industry, knowing where to gain entrance to the industry, how to find jobs and how to further develop one's career, or knowing when to engage or disengage from the employment situation which fails to bring expected outcomes. Thus, it is assumed that through their career span cultural leaders have developed their work-related skills and abilities, but most importantly, they have also gained invaluable 'meta-knowledge' about how the cultural industry operates. There is clearly a gap in the existing CCI research, which has not paid much attention to the views of cultural leaders about the wider context of their work, even though this group of creative workers (as key industry persons) offers a particularly pertinent outlook helpful to understand the changing face of industry. This is why tapping into cultural leaders' knowledge and bringing their voice into the debate on the recent political changes within the context of Scottish cultural sector can enrich current academic knowledge.

2.2.3.3 Creative workers' long-term aspirations and goals

In addition to the already reviewed themes concerning creative work in the cultural industry, the literature also discusses different aspects of the experience of work across the span of individual careers. It highlights two main and very different views of the long-term work-related aspirations of creative workers. One views creative workers as pragmatic agents able to act upon logical, instrumental, rational and utilitarian principles to achieve particular work or career outcome,

whereas the other views them as agents for whom work is expression of their authentic selves, and therefore they work to pursue their life's passion.

Although academic literature describes creative workers, (such as dancers, actors, musicians, film-makers), as devoted, passionate and intrinsically motivated, at the same time it portrays the creative workforce as able to organise their work and career rather strategically (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006, 2007; Goffee and Jones, 2000; Jones and DeFillippi, 1996; Jackson, 1996, Mathieu, 2012). From the review of academic studies, it clearly emerges that creative workers are described as being simultaneously oriented towards expanding their portfolio of skills as well as their network of professional relationships (Eikhof, 2013; Jones, 1996; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; Jones and DeFillippi, 1996; Mathieu, 2006). Both orientations are recognised as a powerful endowment for accumulation of so-called 'career capital' through an evolving sequence of their work experiences over time (Arthur et al., 1999; Bird, 1994). Arthur with colleagues (1999) explained that such capital denotes various career competences, which are earned through individuals' education, work and life experience, and that have the potential to increase or decrease in value, or to be traded off (for instance, one's good professional reputation can translate to a greater financial reward). Career capital of creative professionals thus incorporates intellectual resources, vocational abilities, personal ties, reputation and 'meta-knowledge' about the industry (Arthur et al., 1999; DeFillippi and Arthur, 1994; Bourdieu, 1986; Inkson and Arthur, 2001; Jones and DeFillippi, 1996; Mathieu, 2006; 2012). Moreover, even strong motivation and 'artistic' lifestyles are identified as important resources in the

practice of managing and advancing one's career (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007; Eikhof, 2010; Mathieu, 2006). Thus, realisation and ability to use all accumulated 'career capital' to self-promote oneself and one's work gives a picture of creative workers as strategic actors in their given work contexts.

The other view understands long-term work experience of creative workers as based on the notion of authenticity. This type of study emphasises the subjective need of creative workers for a meaningful living (Jones and Smith, 2005; Jones et al., 2005; Storr, 1972; Svejenova, 2005), and thus offers a more holistic view of a worker as a person with embodied emotions, aspirations and dreams but also with a personal desire to understand oneself and the meaning of one's work. For Svejenova, authenticity is "a shaper of meaningful careers in creative industries" (Svejenova, 2005: 947) and is defined as "the set of actions and interactions, which the creative individual undertakes to achieve a distinctive and true-to-self-identity and image over time and across audiences" (ibid.: 968). The literature demonstrates that creative individuals tend to follow a very personal career path and their main career motivation is to remain true to the creative calling and artistic vision (ibid., Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006, 2007; Jones and Smith, 2005). This self-knowledge enables creative workers to develop personal and artistic integrity, which in turn, becomes reflected in their work reputation⁴ (Jones and Smith, 2005).

⁴ In most of the cited work, the gain in individual or collective artistic reputations is understood as an almost unintended by-product of career practices.

A 'true' authentic calling in the life of creative workers, as Svejenova (2005) argues, means that they follow their artistic ambitions and desires, rather than the market influences (also in Alvarez and Svejenova, 2002; Bain, 2005; Jones and Smith, 2005; Svejenova, 2005). The authentic work experience manifests the creative workers' calling and at the same time gives them tremendous satisfaction (Alvarez and Svejenova, 2002; Jones et al., 2005; Wagner, 2006, 2009). This deep desire for an authentic work experience appears to play an important role in guiding their work and career choices. It can protect them from false motivations (e.g. fame and glory or purely commercial success) that could clash with their perceived artistic call and potentially turn an authentic experience into a fabricated one (Jones et al., 2005). Alvarez (et al., 2005) with colleagues observed that setting up one's own enterprise, where one has greater freedom to avoid fads and fashions present in the industry, is one way of preserving the authentic calling. Working 'under one's own label' is suggested to be a good solution to minimise restrictions on artistic freedom that in the more traditional organisation of production (e.g. funding-dependent) might be invaded by commercial and other expectations (Alvarez and Svejenova, 2002; Svejenova, 2005).

The creative workers' feeling of belonging to a specific artistic genre has also been noted as a source of authentic and meaningful work motivations (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006, 2007; Jackson, 1996; Jones, 1996; Jones and Smith, 2005; Roncaglia, 2006, 2008; Svejenova, 2005). Rather than a drive to enhance career prospects, a desire to make a particular artistic or creative contribution to the industry seems to underpin the creative work (Alvarez and Svejenova, 2002; Jones

et al., 2005; MacNeill et al., 2012; Svejenova, 2005). Because creative work is strongly valued and situated centrally in the creative workers' lives, Svejenova (2005) understood the call for authentic and meaningful enactments throughout the length of career as a deep expression of one's responsibility and professional integrity⁵. Scholars also argue that a strong realisation of that meaningful force is extremely important in sustaining the creative workers' motivations at any stage of their work (DeFillippi and Arthur, 1994; Jackson, 1996; Jones and DeFillippi, 1996), particularly during the challenging moments of joblessness, (which often is the case in this industry) or during the career plateau (when there is a lack of work opportunities). In such moments, responsibility towards one's authentic self and strong passion helps in overcoming burnouts and disappointments (Jackson, 1996; Jones, 1996; Jones and DeFillippi, 1996).

2.2.4 Gaps in the literature

This section aims to explain gaps observed in the reviewed literature. On the one hand, as presented in Sections 2.2.1-2.2.2, the cultural policy focuses on the outcomes of cultural production, which tend to be appreciated only within the

⁵ The research on authenticity is closely linked with a notion of professional and career identity. For instance, Ibarra (1999:764-5) refers to professional work identity as "the constellation of attributes, beliefs, values, motives, and experiences in terms of which people define themselves in a professional role". Other scholars add that there are different sets of beliefs constituting professional identity at different career stages (Hermanowicz, 1998; Lawrence, 1980). Ibarra identifies identity as enabling one to remain 'true-to-self' and serves as a guardian to the individuals' self-concept (Ibarra, 1999). Career identity, on the other hand, is a concept which refers specifically to the extent to which one's career is central to one's identity (London, 1983) giving sense and value to people's lives. There is a substantial amount of literature on the identity of creative professionals, how such identity is being constructed and how it changes throughout the cycles of creative work (Beech, 2008; Beech et al., 2012). However, this specific research theme remains beyond the scope of this review.

prescribed socio-economic metrics. This focus has been criticised by academics for disengaging from the real understanding of the work environment of creative workers and for undermining the essence and the purpose of artistic practices. On the other hand, research in the field of cultural and creative industries (CCI) describes the specificity of work and careers in the sector by focusing mostly on artists and other 'creative' workers, who have to negotiate the conflicting artistic and economic rationales in their work (2.2.3). Although critical studies of cultural policy have highlighted instrumentalism, short-sidedness and practice/practitioners' averse policy-making and intervention planning (Belfiore, 2004, 2009; Caust, 2003; Oakley, 2009; Newman, 2013), so far only scattered examples of this observed criticism have been offered, and few studies have exposed the experiences and voices of particular groups of creative workers in the different national (country-specific) contexts. There has been a substantial lack of studies that aim to understand how creative workers experience, understand and cope with the changing policy context impacting on their work and well-being of the wider sector. In particular, the voice of non-artists has been rarely considered when seeking a better understanding of the essence of and dynamics within the cultural sector. These shortfalls are an observed opportunity for contributing to the existing body of knowledge.

The review revealed the creative work and careers literature tends to analyse how the creative workers work, learn, strategise their careers, build relationships, and manage their portfolios or how they construct their work identities. There is a visible lack of research on how these workers understand and

perceive the wider context of their work, including the contentious political issues. Particularly in the turbulent context of recent changes within the cultural sector's funding (see Section 2.3), it would be beneficial to understand wider views of stakeholders working in the cultural sector, beyond the existing policy/academic articulations. Thus, ***the first Research Gap*** is identified as ***the need for understanding a currently neglected 'cultural worker perspective' by exploring the experiences of these workers in the wider context of their work influenced by the changing policy landscape.***

In addition, the CCI research has so far focused empirically mostly on artists and creative media professionals working in sectors such as film, TV, theatre, dance and music. Little research, however, has looked specifically at the leaders and senior managers in the cultural world. Only scattered studies on artistic and administrative leaders and their work exist (MacNeill et al., 2012; Reid and Karambayya, 2009), although these leaders constitute a group of workers who combine two distinctive sets of expertise (artistic and administrative), as well as cumulative experience and rich knowledge about the cultural industry. As these workers collaborate closely, they also inform each other's knowledge about the issues and agendas within the cultural production. They enact dual, and often more fluid roles, sharing organisational role responsibilities. This means that cultural leaders demonstrate knowledge and understanding which is neither purely artistic, nor only managerial. Moreover, as leaders represent cultural organisations, they have to engage with the policy context, and cope with political influences, unlike the majority of artists. They are therefore a particularly relevant empirical

group to study in the context of the changing political and economic landscape of the cultural production. Thus, ***the second Research Gap*** is expressed as ***the need for expanding the empirical focus of the current CCI research by empirically exploring cultural leaders' experiences and understandings of changing work context in the cultural sector.***

These two gaps are coherent with the research aims stated in Chapter 1.3. They provide further motivation and rationale for an exploration of the understandings which cultural leaders develop about the shifting and increasingly more challenging context of their work, and whether/or how this evolving context impact on their work roles and responsibilities. In particular, how leaders view these changes, and how they respond to the changing (increasingly political) contexts, remains unexplored. Thus, insights from this specific group of creative workers will provide a platform for an enrichment of the current knowledge on the cultural industry by revealing yet another layer of complexity within the cultural reality.

2.3 Studying cultural leaders in the Scottish CCI

The Scottish CCI are a particularly good and relevant empirical setting to study how cultural leaders understand their work context because of the recent changes in the sector⁶. Within the Scottish CCI and at the point of conceptualising

⁶ Various terms are used to refer to industries that are involved in cultural production. Literature and policy documents, as described in Section 2.2, tend to use the terms such as cultural or creative industries (the latter term has recently dominated the cultural research). This new terms replaced the terms previously in use such as 'arts', 'arts & culture', or 'arts sector'. To clarify the use of such terms, this thesis adopts the notion of CCI, and the term 'industry' when referring to the literature.

the research, dance and theatre were the most promising subsectors for such a study because they had the most intensive engagement with these changes, which will be further explained in this section. Thus this section will firstly describe the contextual background of this doctorate research and map the performing arts sector in Scotland. After introducing the empirical context, this section will also outline the underlying conceptual framework i.e. Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, that has been used by many scholars researching CCI and creative workers. The notion of the field appeared as particularly promising and helpful in the study of cultural leaders' understandings of the Scottish CCI in which they work.

2.3.1 Empirical setting for the study of leaders in the cultural sector

2.3.1.1 Scotland's creative ambitions

The introductory section to Chapter 1 and Section 2.2.1 have mentioned a global trend in national cultural policies wanting to capitalise on the socio-economic potential of creative industries. Scotland's ambition, similarly with the United Kingdom (UK) as a whole and with other European governments, is to significantly grow the creative industries sector for three main reasons: for an increase in the country's income; for generation of employment, and for raising the international profile of Scotland through the promotion of cultural tourism (Scottish Government (GES), 2007, 2011). A creativity-driven economic strategy of the Scottish Government (2007: 38) recognised "some sectors and firms offer the opportunity to strengthen Scotland's areas of international comparative advantage,

However, when describing the empirical research context, quoting the participant's responses, or when discussing the research findings, the term 'arts' or 'cultural sector' is being used.

through achieving critical mass and boosting productivity”. The creative industries in Scotland have been identified as one of seven key sectors with the potential to contribute to the government’s overall purpose of increasing sustainable economic growth and strengthening international competitiveness of Scotland⁷.

The CCI in Scotland are made up of multiple institutional, organisational and individual actors. As Figure 1 shows, the term creative industries includes cultural sectors represented by artistic genres such as performing, visual, traditional arts and other creative sectors like advertising, architecture or media. Cultural organisations in all these sectors represent different genres, have different creative characteristics but also different administrative (organisational) profiles and funding agreements. Amongst such a diversified organisational spectrum in the Scottish cultural sectors alone are: charities, social enterprises, commercial enterprises, and national companies and institutions⁸. Overall, the sector comprises of mostly small to medium-size enterprises, cultural organisations, and self-employed individuals performing freelance work. Unfortunately, there is little research available on the precise composition of the Scottish arts or Scottish cultural sectors as referred to in this thesis. In particular, there is a lack of comprehensive

⁷ A full list of the economic sectors with a high growth potential and the capacity to boost productivity includes creative industries, energy, financial and business services, food and drink, life science, tourism, and universities (Scottish Government, 2012).

⁸ National Institutions include four organisations: National Archives of Scotland, National Galleries of Scotland, National Library of Scotland and National Museums Scotland. The National Performing Companies include the Royal Scottish National Orchestra, National Theatre of Scotland, Scottish Chamber Orchestra, Scottish Ballet and Scottish Opera all of which in 2007 had entered into a direct funding relationship with the Scottish Government. In accordance with the research scope, these institutions are excluded from the focus as all cultural producers with recognised ‘national company’ status are directly funded by the government, and not by the new national agency, see Section 2.3.1.2.

descriptive statistics detailing the size, reach and productivity of the individual sub-sectors. This means that the Scottish cultural sectors are often discussed collectively with other creative industries.

Figure 1: Scottish arts and creative industries

DCMS DOMAINS	SCOTTISH ARTS AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES	
Visual Art	1) Advertising	
	2) Architecture, planning and building design	
	3) Visual art and art dealers/commercial galleries	
	4) Crafts	4a) Furniture and wood crafts
		4b) Jewellery
		4c) Pottery
4d) Glass		
4e) Textile craft goods		
4f) Other craft		
4g) Antiques markets		
	5) Fashion and Textiles (includes designer fashion)	
	6) Design and design-dependent industries	
Performance	7) Performing arts including arts facilities and support	
Audio-Visual	8) Music including sound recording, music publishing and distribution and instrument	
	9) Photography	
	10) Film and video	
	11) Computer games	
	12) Radio and TV	
Books and Press	13) Writing and Publishing	
Heritage	14) Museums and galleries, archives, libraries, historic sites	
Digital Industries	15) Software/electronic publishing	
Cultural Education	16) Cultural education	

Source: Economic Impact Case Study (2012:14).

The Scottish Government Economic Strategy (GES), (Scottish Government (GES), 2011) identified creative industries as particularly vital to the Scottish economy in times of economic downturn. Over the last decade, in Scotland alone the creative industries experienced significant growth (Scottish Government

(GES), 2007, 2011). Between 2000 and 2010, *Gross Value Added* measure (GVA) in these industries increased by 25% in real terms compared to 14% in the economy as a whole. Governmental data on the performance of Scottish creative industries show that in 2008 a turnover of £5.7 billion and GVA at £3.0 billion was achieved (Scottish Government (GES), 2011), with over 60,000 creative workers employed (Creative & Cultural Skills, 2008; Creative Scotland, 2011b)⁹. Growth in these industries continues as the recently published Economic Contribution Study, commissioned jointly by Creative Scotland and Scottish Enterprise (2012) to inform social and economic investment in Scotland, found that there are 84,000 people employed in the overall industry that delivers over £3.2 billion to the Scottish economy. Latest documented national statistics on the composition of the creative industries show that there were 9,010 registered enterprises operating in the creative industries, representing 6% of all registered businesses in Scotland. The governmental data emphasises over the last decade that the number of cultural enterprises has increased by 29% compared to a cumulative growth of 3% in other Scottish industries.

The above Scottish data are aligned with a persisting trend where creativity is now being understood as an engine for innovation across the creative economies in the UK and worldwide (Economic Collaboration, 2001). Also in Scotland, the national cultural strategy is focused on capitalising on the economic

⁹ The Scottish employment figure represents 7% of the UK's cultural and creative workforce. The presented data from the Scottish context can be compared to the over performance of the British creative sectors. In the United Kingdom, at the beginning of the new millennium, figures shown that 1.4 million people were employed in the creative industries providing economic contribution of more than 90 billion pounds sterling per year (Smith, 2001).

potential of the creative industries (Scottish Government, 2009). In response to a comprehensive analysis outlining the challenges and opportunities for these industries, some substantial steps have been undertaken by the Scottish Government to facilitate their further effective development, for instance through the formation of a new national agency set up to coordinate the sector's development (the Public Services Reform (Scotland) Act (PSR(S)A), 2010). Establishment of this new agency aimed to initiate a strategic partnership with the sector's main organisations and institutions.

2.3.1.2 Changes in the funding structure and strategy

In July 2010, from a merger between the Scottish Arts Council (SAC, the former lead funder) and the Scottish Screen, a new national cultural agency was brought to life (PSR(S)A, 2010). Creative Scotland¹⁰ (2012a), as “the new national leader for Scotland's arts, screen and creative industries” has undergone a strategic organisational change (involving both structural and cultural change) that was influenced by, and hence aligned with, the government's vision for Scotland's creative and cultural industries. This vision relies heavily on the lucrative relationship between the arts/creativity and their role in highlighting the nation's international profile, as well as contributing to the export of culture and increased tourism. The Scottish Government declared in the Economic Strategy (2011) to support the efforts of the national companies, national institutions, other cultural

¹⁰ Importantly, information presented in this chapter concerning Creative Scotland and various initiatives introduced by the agency, represents the extent of the researcher's knowledge acquired during the three-year project. The difficulties in the dialogue between Creative Scotland and the community of cultural producers resulted in the resignation of the agency's CEO in December 2012. A reorganisation was announced straight after and is currently taking place. Therefore, the information given in this chapter can only claim to be accurate at the time of writing.

organisations and individual producers who align their practices with the objectives of the Government's cultural policy. This vision was also incorporated into the corporate strategy of the newly formed Creative Scotland (the funder) and expressed in their five funding objectives¹¹. These objectives became the new ruling criteria for obtaining funds for all organisations remaining under the wings of the funder.

The role taken on by the funder included a provision of “leadership, promotion, advocacy and advice for the development of the cultural sector” (Creative Scotland, 2011b: 6). Having received £35.5m in income from the Scottish Government for its core activities, the funder commenced its business by exercising a leadership role over organisations and artists in the sectors listed to include: creative industries, crafts, dance, drama, Gaelic arts, literature, music, screen and visual arts. In practice however, the funder's investment focus remained on the arts, i.e. the cultural sector, leaving typically commercial strands of creative industries beyond its core capacity (this research follows such prioritisation and concentrates on the cultural sector, see Chapter 3.3). The cultural organisations, projects and individuals, which Creative Scotland was responsible for and which wanted to secure future continuity of their public funding, were asked to engage with five investment criteria when submitting applications for public money. This changed approach to funding reflected Creative Scotland's ambition to make Scotland one of the world's most creative nations by 2020 (ibid.).

¹¹ These criteria are listed as: Invest in Talent, Quality Artistic Production, Audience Access and Participation, The Cultural Economy and Places and their contribution to a creative Scotland (Creative Scotland, 2011b; Eikhof et al. 2012).

In order to achieve the government's growth targets, the new funder envisaged that the Scottish CCI would operate on the basis of a more effective business model. With a brief from the government to further growth, prosperity and competitiveness of Scotland's creative industries, research by the sector's skills councils suggested that a key factor in achieving these aims was to capitalise on the capability of cultural organisations to act as businesses (Creative & Cultural Skills, 2008; Skillset, 2008). It meant that these organisations were to present themselves as profitable businesses making a positive contribution to the socio-economic development of the country. This criterion was about to change the way the cultural sector in Scotland attracts and secures funding from public bodies. As this thesis argues, such a new approach initiated fundamental transformations in the everyday operations of many cultural organisations.

2.3.1.3 Organisational reviews

In 2011, the funder undertook the first initiative called '2011 Foundation Organisations Review' (2011 FO Review). The review intended to re-appraise the funder's investment commitments with a key group of arts organisations called the Foundation Organisations¹². It was also the first opportunity for the funder to present the new identity, vision and plans, and moreover, to inform the sector about the changes envisaged for the sustainable future of the cultural agenda in Scotland. Hence, the 2011 FO Review sought to facilitate a change in the funder's

¹² The concepts of Foundation and Flexibly-Funded Organisations were inherited from the previous lead funder. A difference between them lies not as much in the content of the respective productions, but in the length/amount of investment received from the funder. The first group was in receipt of long-term funding, and the second one had a shorter, more flexible funding agreement. Both are claimed to play an important role in the cultural sector in Scotland, and be at the heart of Creative Scotland's investment focus.

engagement with Scotland's key cultural producers (i.e. the Foundation Organisations), towards "a more open, engaging and collaborative relationship" (Eikhof et al., 2012:6). In 2012, a similar review was carried out with so called Flexibly-Funded Organisations (the 2012 FXO Review). Rather than replicating a previous review practice of the SAC, the FO and FXOs reviews took a distinctly new approach towards engaging with cultural producers, based on Creative Scotland's investment aims. Thus, these review processes have initiated an important shift from the old engagement between 'funder-recipients' to a new one, where the funder acts as an investment agency and the cultural organisations applying for investment money act as partners in converting such investment into identifiable and measurable outcomes.

In total, 110 'Foundation' and 'Flexibly-Funded' organisations were reviewed and secured the allocation of investment for three and one year respectively. Both types of organisations had received large annual block grants. In the 2011-2012 period, the total core expenditure on 51 Foundation Organisations was £18.1m, and £7.5m on FXOs (Creative Scotland, 2011b). In addition to regularly funded organisations, multiple investment opportunities were available to individual artists and organisations/projects. Creative Scotland's CEO had publically announced that between 2010-2012, support was given to 371 artists through 70 residency programmes, and 214 grants were made to individuals. Extra support to artists was also available through devolved funds to agencies such as the Federation of Scottish Theatres, Playwrights' Studio and 12 talent hubs. In 2011, the funder

made 1,270 'investments' in individuals and organisations across various art forms and across Scotland amounting to a total of £65m¹³ (Creative Scotland, 2012b).

2.3.1.4 Sector reviews

The organisational reviews described in the previous section were followed by reviews of sectors by art form, which aimed to further inform the funder's investment priorities. Dance and theatre were the two first sectors to engage with the next round of reviews¹⁴; thus cultural organisations in these two sectors underwent a separate assessment in addition to the FXO and FO review. The review reports concluded both theatre and dance in Scotland are confident and ambitious sectors, with their own distinctive voice. It is important to briefly introduce these two sectors on the basis of the evidence collected during the sector reviews.

In the Creative Scotland's Corporate Plan (2011b: 14) published before the sector reviews, the theatre sector in Scotland was described as "well established with a good critical mass and a track record for encouraging young practitioners in writing, directing, designing and performing". The Scottish sector had a great diversity of work amongst small, middle and large-scale theatre companies with a focus ranging from hosting international companies and programmes (for example, Glasgow Theatre Royal, The Edinburgh Festival Theatre, His Majesty's Theatre in

¹³ In addition to the governmental funds, other Creative Scotland funding comes, for example, from the Lottery Fund and are spent mainly on strategic development, touring, promotion and big events (like the London Olympics, 2012 and the Glasgow Commonwealth Games, 2014).

¹⁴ This chapter discusses the theatre and dance reviews. In 2013/2014 the music and film sectors were scheduled to be reviewed and the assessment of further sectors is anticipated in the near future.

Aberdeen and Eden Court, Inverness), through excelling in modern, innovative and experimental work (for example, Fire Exit Arts, Ankur Productions and Cryptic), to specialising in children's and young people's theatre (for example, Catherine Wheels, Wee Stories, Visible Fictions, Macrobert). Importantly, the National Theatre of Scotland, founded in 2006 as a result of Scotland's increasing post-devolution independence in making decisions regarding expenditure and future direction in the areas of national arts, culture and heritage (Galloway and Jones, 2010), was noted to provide a great platform for leading and coordinating further developments within the sector. Rather than overpowering the existing cultural producers, the national company set itself a task to support artists and creative-makers, facilitate creative exchanges and promote good working practices in the sector.

The Theatre Review¹⁵ (2012c) commissioned by Creative Scotland in 2012 recognised the sector's strengths and addressed the areas of underperformance. The review found that the theatre sector is "well-networked and mutually supportive (...), highly innovating and competitive, internationally renowned, and nationally specialised" (Creative Scotland, 2012c: 3). It described an experienced sector, with a good geographical spread of venues, internationally renowned playwrights and with a constant inflow of new talent. The theatre sector's weaknesses identified in the report focused on the underperforming aspects such

¹⁵ The report took into consideration and analysed a collective of producers greater than the group within the direct responsibility of the funder. Organisations and individuals representing both independent and commercial theatres were also included in the study.

as quality of stage work, development of audiences and a lack of touring and mid-career opportunities¹⁶.

Between 2009-2010, a steady growth in the theatre companies supported by Creative Scotland was observed, with ticket sales reaching £9,500,000 and £1,000,000 respectively. A total of 2,000 people were employed in the theatre sector supported by Creative Scotland (2012c). Staff in these theatre companies was predominantly working on a part-time basis, with only 35% of the workforce in full-time employment. Yet, although in recent years, theatre organisations supported by the funder reported a gradual increase in both performances and attendance reaching respectively 3170 performances and 490000 attendees in 2010¹⁷, the Theatre Review Report discovered a substantial decrease in the revenue spent on work on the stage¹⁸. In 2011-12, cultural organisations in the Scottish cultural and creative sectors received almost £27million out of Creative Scotland's total budget of £75.8 million (Creative Scotland, 2011b).

The other sector reviewed by the funder was dance. Dance in Scotland is small but "a vibrant" sector (Creative Scotland, 2011b: 18). There are two full-time dance performance companies in Scotland, i.e. Scottish Ballet and Scottish Dance Theatre, accompanied by a fair range of ambitious choreographers and

¹⁶ A serious technical skills gap and a lack of succession planning at the senior (artistic) director level were pointed out in the report as areas of concern. Improvements in specialised theatre strands, like children theatre, Gaelic, or Physical Performance (circus/physical and street theatre) were also suggested.

¹⁷ Source: Theatre Sector Review (2012: 7-8)

¹⁸ This is despite an overall increase in the level of Creative Scotland's finances due to a rise in the Lottery funding.

independent companies that create original and internationally recognised work (including Plan B, David Hughes Dance and Company Chordelia). In addition, a network of dance centres and development agencies (Dance Base, Citymoves, Dance House, Y-Dance, Get Scotland Dancing) encourages participation and assists in developing new dance talent. The sector has also a rich traditional dance culture (supported by the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society) as well as a thriving sector of amateur dance across the country.

The Dance Sector Review conducted by the funder in 2012 (Creative Scotland, 2012d) reported some positive changes that had happened to the sector in the last decade, such as the significant growth of dance audiences and dance participation. This is particularly poignant for a sector, which has never previously been regarded as strong, yet managed to become a vital part of the country's cultural life. The report stated, "the sector is reaching maturity with vigour, confidence and a spirit of ambition" (ibid.: 2). The report pointed out the effort of aspirational people who work in the dance sector in transforming it into a diverse, inclusive, and collaborative sector. The overall strengths of the sector were identified to include good infrastructure for social reach, the sector's strong values and a readiness for change. The identified weaknesses focused on the lack of improvement in the quality of dance productions, dance education, training and professional development¹⁹. A simultaneously decreasing investment in artists and

¹⁹The Dance Sector Review was preceded by 'Dance in Scotland Report', published by the Federation of Scottish Theatre (2011). This report also recognised necessary improvements in access to quality local dance activity (particularly in schools, since dance became a part of the Curriculum for Excellence), and investment in the creation of opportunities for professional training and development.

an increasing investment in “access and participation” caused a gap in the small dance sector, which has a limited capacity to take forward significant developments. Therefore, dance has been identified as vulnerable to potential funding cuts, which could become a real threat to its further development.

Between 2006/7 and 2010/11 a 20% increase in the number of tickets sold for dance/ballet performances was observed (Creative Scotland, 2012d). Data records show attendance at the dance performances in Scotland reaching 265,430 in 2010/11 and generating £4,384,977 in revenue. In addition, between 2008/9 and 2010/11 attendances at performances staged by dance organisations increased to almost 100,000. Table 1 reports the size of the sector from the perspective of its workforce. According to data presented in the Dance Sector Review, 2,000 creative workers worked in Scottish dance sector, which in 2011/12 secured £3.6 million of Creative Scotland’s investment budget.

Table 1: The size of the dance sector

No. employed in Dance		Employment status	Roles and Areas of employment	Creative Scotland's investment in 2011/2012
2000 (year)	1600 dance teachers (reported by Council for Dance Education and Training)	part-time, full-time, self-employed	Performers, Choreographers, Community dance artists, Programming dance, Dance development roles (local authorities & arts organisations), Teachers (including private dance schools), Lecturers, Management, production and technical roles, Critics and dance writers, Dance Marketing	a total of £3,629,116 was invested in dance; this represents 5.4% of the organisation's overall budget.
	221 staff in dance organisations reported by Creative Scotland)	170 (77%) part-time and 51 (25%) full time		
	plus an estimate of those working freelance and in other contexts including higher and further education	part-time, full-time, self-employed		

Source: Dance Sector Review 2012.

Because of these intensive engagements with a double series of reviews organised by the new funder, the cultural organisations (of FO and FXO status) from the sectors of dance and theatre, were particularly good empirical settings to study the cultural leaders' understandings of their changing work context, including the most recent changes described in Section 2.3.

2.3.1.5 New approach and new rhetoric

In the Corporate Plan 2011-2014, the funder (2011b) expressed clearly the new organisational objectives of making the Scottish CCI a vibrant, inspiring and economically viable industry of the Scottish creative economy. Such aspirational vision arrived wrapped in a new rhetoric presented in Table 2. Amongst a range of new vocabulary, 'investment', featured strongly. The new rhetoric became quickly incorporated into the communication with the sector, and was exposed during the two series of reviews explained in previous subsections.

Table 2: The funder's new rhetoric (Source: Author)

Old rhetoric	New rhetoric
Arts council/Funder	National agency; national leader
Funding	Investment; investment programmes
Art Advisors /Key experts	Portfolio managers
	Corporate strategy
	Cultural tourism
Sector of Arts & Culture	Cultural & creative industries

It is important to highlight the rhetorical change from “old” to “new” because it demonstrates that the funder adopted a different understanding of the purpose of funding in the culture sector, as well as its own role in the success of Scottish CCI. The old rhetoric previously used by the SAC was more descriptive and conservative. Terms such as ‘funding’ acknowledged a fundamental relationship in the sector of arts and culture between the cultural producers as the funders and expressed the need to understand arts or cultural sector as relying on public subsidy. There were little expectations from the previous funder of this sector to provide a great deal of economic return. Funding officers were there to help cultural producers to apply for the funding opportunities best suited for them. The new rhetoric, on the other hand, expressed a different set of assumptions. The mind-set of the new funder appeared to be driven by an economic rationale and therefore simple term, such as funding, was replaced with the word ‘investment’, and ‘portfolio manager’ replaced the old term ‘advisor’. A range of terms listed in Table 2 suggests business and strategic terminology was now preferred. In addition, terms such as ‘national leader’, ‘investment programmes’ or ‘corporate strategy’ signalled the funder’s more direct and active vision of engagement with the sector.

Following the government’s expectation of a more efficient and effective management of the cultural sector, particularly in times of economic downturn and over-stretched budgets, a requirement for new cultural policy as well as a new form of cultural management and supervision, arose in the sector (Galloway and Jones, 2010). Thus, in order to comply with the government’s expectations of profit

and employment growth, the funder used investment rhetoric to communicate with cultural producers and to mark a shift in the funding structure, objectives and procedures. Such terms, however, have elicited a strong reaction amongst the sector's workers. This rather uneasy, alienating and low-trust relationship between the funder and the creative workers has been well documented in the national press²⁰. It culminated with an open letter to the chairman of the Creative Scotland signed by 100 artists, who rejected the style of communication and "the business jargon" being used to correspond with the arts community, and the view of the sector as entrepreneurial, output-oriented and operating like business. Artists felt Creative Scotland fundamentally misunderstood their motivations and the language used by the funder undermined their work. The letter was published in October 2012, shortly after the CEO of the agency resigned. A great tension was found in the relationship with the funder and individual artists who felt hugely under-represented in the agency's agenda. The relationship between organisational cultural leaders and the funder are less known. Therefore, it is worth exploring further the extent to which this major shift in content and tone of communication has further affected the relationship between the cultural leaders and the funder, and most importantly the overall context of cultural leaders' work.

Because of all these changes the Section 2.3 outlined, the Scottish CCI - and particularly dance and theatre organisations, provide rich empirical context for this study.

²⁰ The turbulent relationship between Creative Scotland and the community of artists has been documented in the national and local press, and on-line blogs written by the industry experts. An extensive material written by arts correspondents Phil Miller is archived by Herald Scotland and can be retrieved from <http://www.heraldscotland.com/search/creativescotland>; accessed on 12.09.2011.

2.3.2 Conceptual background for the study of leaders in the cultural sector

This chapter has so far reviewed the existing literature in the area of CCI and cultural policy (2.2), and outlined the empirical setting for the study of leaders' understanding of the changing cultural sector (2.3.1). The review demonstrated the complex nature of cultural industry, which is politically influenced by the increasingly instrumental cultural policy, but which, first and foremost, constitutes a context of creative work. Academic studies generated knowledge about a duality of economic and artistic rationales characteristic of creative work, as well as the pragmatic and authentic experiences of work in the CCI. Despite these helpful insights, the reviewed literature so far failed to provide a theoretical concept useful to explain the relationship between creative workers and a wider political and socio-economic context of their work. Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice (1977,1992,1998), however, promises to offer such a focus.

Bourdieu's Theory of Practice suggests the cultural sector can be interpreted as a social field produced and reproduced by enactments of social actors working in it, that is, being part of this particular field. As this research sets to explore the meaningful understandings of the cultural sector captured from the perspective of cultural leaders in the turbulent context of changing policy landscape, Bourdieu's theoretical insights are argued to be helpful in stimulating a deeper understanding of the cultural sector as an important context of leaders' work. The sociological analysis of the field of cultural production has been widely

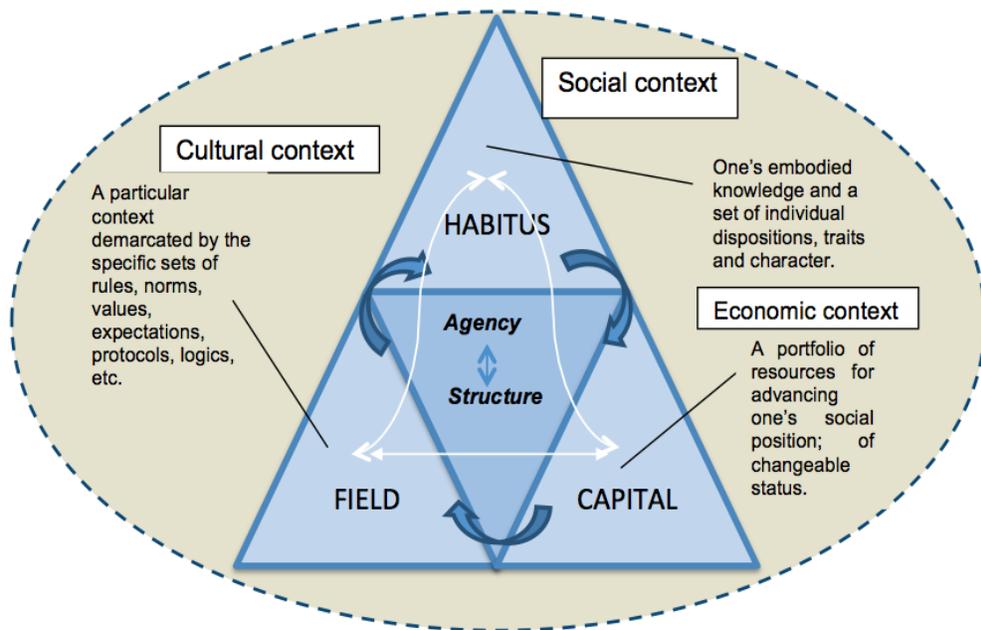
acclaimed and extensively used by social researchers, also in the area of CCI²¹ - particularly the interplay between the elements of structure present in the field and agency of individual creative workers. In this respect, Bourdieu's theory still remains a suitable choice for analysing the cultural leaders' views on cultural sector in the process of change, and how this changing landscape influences work enactments in the sector. In particular, the notions of *field*, *logics*, practice of strategic *position-taking* and a position of power in the field, seemed to be a promising theoretical choice to analyse the research data. In the next section, the essence of the Theory of Practice and the meaning grounded in the theory's main concepts are further explained.

2.3.2.1 The Theory of Practice

Three interrelated concepts in Bourdieu's Theory of Practice: *habitus*, *field* and *capital*, as shown in Figure 2, are fundamentally important for a deeper appreciation of the complexity of interactions in any specific social context.

²¹ Bourdieu's Theory of Practice has had many followers. Scholars across many research fields continue to apply this theory, for instance to study social actors' professional work, learning and career practices (Arthur et al., 1999; Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011; Eikhof, 2010; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007; Iellatchitch et al., 2003; Mayhofer et al., 2004, 2007; Wainwright et al. 2007). In the last decade this theoretical development has been explicitly used in career research, with ever growing scholarly interest in the concepts of 'career field', 'career habitus' and 'career capital' (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011; Iellatchitch et al., 2003; Mayhofer et al., 2004, 2007). Such extensive use of this well-established social theory has also been linked with an academic desire to establish 'a grand theory' that could integrate the interdisciplinary character of career studies (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011; Parker et al., 2009). The Theory of Practice in itself has been recognised by many academics as a comprehensive and extensively useful conceptual device, which could provide a unified methodological language for building bridges between discipline-specific views across the research on human actions and behaviours (Arthur et al., 1989; Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011; Iellatchitch et al., 2003; Parker et al., 2009).

Figure 2: Conceptual elements of the Theory of Practice (compiled by author)



According to Bourdieu's Theory of Practice (1977, 1986, 1992, 1998), individual actors produce social practices, that is, any enactment taking place in the *social fields* that can be observed and attributed to an individual (such as concrete decisions, behaviours, activities and interactions happening at work and in everyday life). The notion of *habitus* denotes a series of systems of individual dispositions to cognate, learn and behave, which develop throughout the process of socialisation taking place in the *social fields* (1977, 1992, 1998). *Fields* are nothing other than the social spaces where individuals exert their personal strategies and materialise a diverse range of social practices by following the fields-specific logics and capitalising on the value of accumulated and socially recognised resources. Individual actors produce these practices drawing on a

portfolio of resources, which can contain economic capital (wealth in general), individual skills and competencies (cultural capital), or resources that can be mobilised due to an association with a specific membership group or an establishment (symbolic social capital) (Bourdieu, 1986; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007).²²

Notions of habitus, field and capital are thus linked by a relationship of mutual dependency. As the resource portfolio determines one's position in a particular field of social action, for example in business, arts, politics or education, individuals can preserve, lose or extend their current resources and their social status within a particular field through the use of appropriate capitals (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986, 1992). Hence, the practices carried out in the field (with endowment of particular capitals) shape the habitus, which in turn, shapes reproduction of the field (Crossley, 2003). This means that the social order is inscribed in the habitus as a form of shared internalised body of knowledge, thus allowing certain enactments to be produced almost instinctively. These experiences, subjectively embodied and objectively embedded in the field, are united in the *habitus*. Such dualism enables social actors to act within *the social field* producing individual but socially approved products and behaviours. Social actors (as agents) follow their motivations, but have necessarily to adjust to the existing structures of the field,

²² According to Bourdieu's theory, within the social space of interactions, all these forms of capital can gain the symbolic status and further secure the improved social ranking, which in effect influences one's efforts in developing personal/professional reputation and recognition. This inclusion also takes into account the economic capital as Bourdieu recognised the potential of economic resources as a bargaining power in gaining social or cultural capitals. At the same time, he contributed to overcoming the limiting view of capital being understood only as having monetary value (Bourdieu, 1986). However, the use of word 'capital' to express a different meaning than financial reality suggests a rather instrumental and perhaps reducing interpretation of the social reality (Webb and Eikhof, 2012b).

which constitutes an ongoing struggle and a poignant inherent friction in the Bourdieuan theory. A battle between forces of agency and structure is characteristic of the social field, where individual freedom of choice is always constrained by a variety of social structures.

Furthermore, enactments of social actors are ruled and directed by norms, values, expectations and unwritten laws (or 'rules of the game') of specific social fields. The Theory of Practice summarises these norms, values, expectations and laws as field-specific logics that drive actors' behaviours and actions, for instance the economic or artistic logic particular to the field of cultural production (Bourdieu, 1977, 1992; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007). For example, in the business field driven by the economic logic, wealth is recognised as bringing the most benefit, while in the cultural field driven by non-economic logics, specific forms of cultural capital are considered the most valuable (Bourdieu, 1977, 1992). The economic logic in the field is thus characterised by an explicit market orientation and intentions oriented on gaining a surplus of capital from exchanging (selling) goods, services and skills in various markets (e.g. product, capital or labour markets) (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007). Practices produced following the economic logic often involve attempts to achieve cost efficiency (for profitability) and demonstrate effectiveness both of which are expected from engagement with the market. According to economic logic, market value is the principal legitimisation for (work) activities, whereas cultural/artistic value has an assigned priority in the artistic logic. The artistic logic is characterised by intrinsic orientation and desire to produce 'pure art' or 'art for the art's sake' (ibid.). As art in Bourdieu's

understanding expresses different aesthetic qualities and values, and evokes different subjective emotions, it requires no external legitimisation. Thus, according to artistic logic, the principal legitimisation for producing specific practices is the intrinsic satisfaction gained from being involved in arts (ibid.).

As outlined in the Theory of Practice, the social norms particular to any field are being produced and reproduced by social actors' engagement with the specific logics (often conflicting) and rules of behaviour established in the field. As social fields encompass a specific symbolic and normative network marked by a system of power structures and logics, social actors follow specific rules of behaviour particular to roles they play in the field (such as being a boss, leader, manager, employee, actor, dancer, citizen, parent etc.). Powerful actors in the field have the most influence over producing the 'accepted' norms and rules. Thus, in order to achieve success in a particular social field, a certain level of conformity to these established norms and rules is required (Bourdieu, 1977). Ability to play a game according with expectations and logic of the field tends to help actors in building their reputation and success more generally (for example a promotion or career progression in the context of one's work). However, social roles enacted by actors across different fields, and hence from within different logics, often cause conflicts (or roles enacted in the same field with conflicting logics - like economic and artistic logics in the cultural field) (Bourdieu, 1993; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007; Eikhof et al., 2012). Hence, Bourdieu explains, to negotiate these conflicts social actors need to take strategic positions. *Position-taking* denotes decisions and behaviours enacted by social actors with a clear aim to achieve desired social or

economic outcomes (like increase remuneration, secure funding for organisational projects, or improve reputation). According to Bourdieu (ibid.), this strategic process remains heavily influenced by the social context and the values of the field.

An example of position-taking by creative workers in the field of cultural production are activities that are driven by a strategic mind-set in order to position any particular individual or organisation within the wider cultural field, e.g. by establishing one's profile, improving reputation by collaborating with acknowledged artists/organisations or by increasing one's exposure in media/marketing (Bourdieu, 1983, 1993; Eikhof, 2010). Position-taking is claimed to be essential for individual and organisational actors to become recognised and appreciated within the context of their professional field (ibid.). This position-taking is one of the three major practices (amongst artistic practice and economic engagement)²³ typically observed in the cultural production (Bourdieu, 1983, 1993; Eikhof, 2010). In Bourdieuan sense it means that although artistic practice lies at the core of cultural production, enactments within the sites of cultural production expand beyond purely artistic activities. Instead, to become successful in the context of cultural production, creative actors need to follow the logics of the field and integrate economic engagement and strategic self-interested position-taking (ibid.).

²³ Following Eikhof's (2010) explanation, artistic practice includes activities that are focused on the production of art itself and that are driven by artistic or creative motivations, e.g. the production of a theatrical play or choreographic dance performance. The economic engagement signifies commercial activities that engage with markets within and outwith the cultural sector, e.g. staging, commissioning, or selling cultural outputs, securing financial capital or recruiting artists.

2.3.2.2 Bourdieu's concepts and the research aims

The sociology of Bourdieu is complex and the summary of the Theory of Practice given in previous section was not meant to be exhaustive. Rather it has been abbreviated and simplified to serve as a potentially useful analytical tool in making sense of the cultural leaders in the changing cultural sector as set out in the research aims (Chapter 1.3). Despite some critique of reductionist elements in Bourdieu's thinking (Savage and Silva, 2013), Bourdieu's concepts offer a valuable description of different social fields as contexts of social activities - also those related to work. The Theory of Practice conceptualises social actors as producers of enactments that are driven by logics characteristic of particular social fields. Amongst such logics are the economic and the artistic logics specific in the cultural field. Bourdieu's conceptualisation of social interactions thus enables us to understand the specific characteristic of the field as reflected in these logics (and the peculiar interplay between them). This current study will use Bourdieu's conceptualisation to explore, firstly, the extent to which the essence of work in the cultural sector is driven by each of the artistic and economic logics of the field, secondly, the relationship between these two logics of practice as understood by the sector's key informants, and thirdly, the relevance of these two logics to understand leaders' experience of the recent changes in the sector.

The strength of the Theory of Practice lies in appreciating a dynamic and complex relationship between social actors and the context of their enactments. This relationship is formed by interactions between the elements of structure and agency, and thus represents the level of field and the level of individual and

collective agents respectively. In the cultural sector these agents are represented by a range of cultural organisations, funding bodies, governmental representatives, creative workers and audiences, and they all are part of the socio-economic and political context where certain values, norms, laws, rules and regulations prevail. As the research aims to explore the experience and understanding of the cultural sector derived by a group of cultural leaders, the analysis of the changing context of leaders' work will be important, and the notions of the field and logics allow such exploration. An inherent and mutually dependable relationship between the view of the field (cultural sector) and social actors (e.g. organisational creative workers) provides a horizon that can inform the analysis of the empirical data on the changes in the sector. Studying the understanding of the context from the perspective of cultural leaders using the Bourdieuan concepts is therefore expected to generate knowledge about the field as well as the cultural leaders themselves. For example, the way leaders respond to changes in the cultural field will shed some light on the cultural leaders themselves, and what it means to be a leader in today's complex and transforming cultural reality. Thus this chosen perspective can help highlight the field-related structural constraints on the agency of cultural workers and further illuminate the complexities in the wider cultural sector as the work context of creative workers.

By aiming to explore these complexities the research aims incorporate the two gaps identified in the CCI literature (pp. 47-49), the currently neglected perspective of cultural workers, their experience and understanding of work and career in the changing sector, as well as their engagement with substantial

changes in the cultural sector. The Bourdieuan concepts applied to the analysis of the cultural world might offer an opportunity to grasp the cultural leaders' unique experiences in their dynamic work context. By identifying power structures within the field of cultural production, the concepts from Bourdieu's Theory of Practice can help understand creative workers within the changing context of their work in the increasingly politicised industry. These theoretical tools are also argued to help in answering the research aims listed in Chapter 1 (pp. 22-23).

2.4 Summary

This chapter firstly positioned the research in the wider cultural policy discourse and CCI literature on creative work and creative workers. Secondly, it provided a descriptive analysis of the study background. It mapped the Scottish cultural sector and described the funding context by outlining the most recent changes that affected producers in the Scottish cultural sector. Thirdly, the chapter explained and described Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice that is recognised as a promising conceptual tool to understand the research findings. The literature and context information outlined in this background chapter is crucial for understanding the aims of this doctoral research in relation to the existing body of knowledge. The next chapter will focus on the methodological choices involved in achieving the study's aims.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to describe the research methodology by outlining the most important philosophical and methodological considerations. In doing so, it firstly explains the philosophy underpinning this doctoral project. Secondly, the chapter gives an overview of the research design with emphasis on the sampling strategy adopted and method of data collection. Thirdly, it explains the process and method of data analysis. Lastly, the chapter discusses the remaining methodological issues such as the research ethics, validity, reliability and rigour.

3.2 The research philosophy

Deciding on a suitable philosophical approach for undertaking a research project is crucial to laying down the foundation for the research methodology (Bryman and Bell, 2003; Remenyi et al., 2000; Reiter et al., 2011; Saunders et al., 2007). Epistemological and ontological positions, with their very own philosophical arguments, are argued to influence not only the research design and execution but also the research outcomes, and therefore a clear methodological position has to precede the selection of research methods and strategies (Saunders et al., 2007). However, in the abundance of philosophical positions and research methodologies, deciding which philosophy, what paradigm or which strategy to adopt is always a rather complicated process (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991). In the current study, the researcher's reflexive assessment of the research problem in the

light of various philosophical schools led to a decision regarding which paradigm would dictate the methodological underpinnings. On the one hand, in relation to theoretical framework suggested in 2.3.2 and the chosen perspective of cultural leaders who represent one amongst many voices in the 'reality' of cultural sector, critical realism emerged as the most appropriate approach to capture simultaneously the objective and subjective nature of such reality. It allows understanding the cultural leaders' interpretations of the sector against a 'reality' that might be perceptible in different ways, and the ontology of critical realism allows to accommodate these many different voices. On the other hand, qualitative methodology emerged as the most appropriate approach to capture and understand how that reality is perceived and interpreted by a specific group of creative workers. These two choices are discussed respectively in the next two sub-sections.

3.2.1 Onto-epistemology of Critical Realism

'Critical Realism' is a research philosophy that sits between two paradigms: realism and interpretivism (Bhaskar, 1998; Saunders et al., 2007) and makes claims of epistemological and ontological nature (Fleetwood, 2004, 2005). The current research appreciates and draws on these onto-epistemological considerations. Critical realism has been developed by Bhaskar (1989) and has been adopted by social scientists across many academic fields, with examples in organisational and management studies provided by Ackroyd and Fleetwood (2000), Fleetwood and Ackroyd (2004), Mingers (2006), and Reed (2000). This

philosophical thought is developed on the critical assessment of the scientific paradigm of knowledge which has its roots in the philosophy of positivism initiated by Comte (et al., 1974) at the end of 18th century (Tatarkiewicz, 2002).

For a very long time, the scientific paradigm of positivism persisted in scholarly thoughts as the only canon of rules for knowledge production (Outhwaite, 1987). Its proof-seeking and law-establishing focus found an acceptance in the research agenda of the natural sciences (ibid.). The core assumptions underpinning the scientific framework are: firstly, human reality to be understood as constituted by discrete entities with distinct observable (with senses) and measurable properties, and secondly, the basic relationship of an individual with the reality to be of the subject-object relation enabling the researcher to develop 'objective' knowledge about the world (Sandberg and Tsoukas, 2011). This means an independent observer perceives objects of reality "from outside" (Toulmin, 1982: 238 in Sandberg and Tsoukas, 2011), i.e. being separated from the objects/phenomenon he is observing. In the scientific framework, therefore, the epistemological focus guides human activities concerned with seeking the 'true knowledge' (ibid.).

In this sense, positivism favours the evidence of rigorously validated knowledge, which is testable, and therefore claimed to be scientifically significant (Chia and Holt, 2008). Such thinking prevails in many theoretical developments in the management field. It expresses a scholarly desire for objective knowledge developed accordingly with a scientific (rational) framework (Sandberg and Tsoukas, 2011). However, Sandberg and Tsoukas (2011) argue such scientific

results have limitations. A lengthy critique of scientific rationality has been delivered through the lenses of various schools of thought (such as phenomenology, hermeneutics, pragmatism, and critical theory) for its detached account of reality (Chia and Holt, 2008; Sandberg and Tsoukas, 2011). Such perspectives have criticised the scientific attitude for generating knowledge that is disconnected from its social and embodied context (see for instance Bourdieu, 1998²⁴ for critique of scholastic attitude), and thus for excluding the value of subjective judgments and personal experience.

Such strong reaction towards the scientific paradigm of knowledge has been expressed through many different turns such as ‘subjective turn’, ‘interpretative turn’, ‘linguistic turn’, ‘narrative turn’, or ‘qualitative turn’ (Chamberlayne et al., 2000; Czarniawska, 2010; Outhwaite, 1987). All of these ‘turns’ manifested a drift from the principles of positivism to the principles of qualitative methodology, aiming to look at the reality, not just in measuring and calculating attitude, but rather as meaning and understanding-seeking engagement. The current research study appreciates the philosophies of subjectivity, which bring an important insight into less quantifiable and measureable complexities of social phenomena. Therefore, this research rejects the purest positivists’ argument on the nature of social reality and knowledge. In

²⁴ For Bourdieu, scientific rationality fails to capture the logic that underpins complex practices of social actors because, as he observed, “practice has a logic which is not that of the logician” (Bourdieu, 1998:86). In other words, understanding the complexity of human experience in the social (and not only physical) context cannot be limited to for example, statistically derived knowledge.

fact, the research adopts a more intricate view of the world expressed by the philosophy of critical realism.

Critical realism places a strong emphasis on the ontological principle, i.e. the study of being (or existence), which for critical realists means that the nature of the world should guide the acquisition and production of knowledge (Bhaskar, 1998; Fleetwood, 2005). Critical realism has been positioned as the philosophy of 'in-between', drawing on the ontology of observable events, yet at the same time applying social constructionist ontology (ibid.). Critical realists warn that their philosophy should not be confused with other forms of realism (e.g. naive, empirical or scientific realism) that assume that observable reality exists externally and independently from the human mind (Crotty, 1998 in Saunders 2007). Critical realists also warn that their philosophy should not be confused with positivism and related discourses such as empiricism, scientism or scientific objectivity because critical realism rejects preoccupations with prediction and quantification of the social reality, and reduction of ontology to epistemological statements only. Critical realism claims instead that "the domain of the real is distinct from and greater than the domain of empirical" (Bhaskar, 1998: xii). It assumes the social reality is ontologically diverse (i.e. what is real is not limited to physical phenomena observable with senses), and stratified (with presence of multiple systems, structures, events, actors etc.) (ibid.)²⁵. Such ontological foundation allows inquiries about the physical observable objects, as much as about the social

²⁵ See also Bourdieu framework (2.3.2.1), which seems to reflect existence of such structures as the 'mechanisms' that define and shape the social reality.

systems and events. When applied to study of social phenomena, it allows for them to be meaningfully understood, although not always measured.

Critical realism claims that social phenomena have a real existence about which knowledge can be developed, compared and shared; therefore it reconciles ontological realism with epistemological relativism and judgemental rationality²⁶. Because “the subject matter of social science includes not just social objects but beliefs about those social objects (or put another way that social objects include beliefs about themselves) (ibid.: xvii)”, critical realism allows researchers to make statements not only on the “facts”, but on any rationalisation about the action, values and ethical judgements in the social realm. Following the Popperian, Kuhnian and Weberian efforts to acknowledge the social, cultural, historical and geo-political processes involved in the production of scholarly knowledge, critical realism acknowledges the changeable and relative nature of knowledge that mirrors the transformative nature of the social reality (see Appendix B for a review of the nature of academic knowledge). Social phenomena, because of their dynamic and tentative nature, are never complete, but always emerging from continuous reiterative acts of interpretation constructed by social actors (Bhaskar, 1998; Outhwaite, 1987). Such epistemological consequence means that outcomes of any research activity change with the social context, and thus make knowledge subjected to revisions, re-evaluations and re-constructions. This vision reminds

²⁶ This strand in Bhaskar’s thinking expresses a preference for the choice of theory based on the rational criterion of which theory has the better tools to explain a particular problem under investigation. This means that there are theories better suited to explain a specific event, process or mechanism observed. Moreover, because critical realism claims there is only one reality, usually with multiple interpretations, this is a base against which to compare and evaluate competing knowledge claims.

that there are alternative interpretations of the same reality, and because knowledge is an entity always captured and presented from a particular (thus subjective) point of view, therefore it is vulnerable and open to criticism (i.e. another interpretation) (Denhardt, 2008; Weber, 1968).

In addition, it is important to emphasise how the critical realism's ontological vision of the independent reality sustains a theory-independent world (Bhaskar, 1998). As stated in the quote below, science offers a multiplicity of tools (laws and theories) for investigating the reality but although the reality can be explained through theories, it cannot be reduced to it (ibid.: xii):

Science is a social product, but the mechanisms it identifies operate prior to and independently of their discovery (existential intransitivity). Transitive and intransitive dimensions must be distinguished. Failure to do so results in reification of the fallible social products of science. Of course being contains, but it is irreducible to, knowledge, experience or any other human attribute or product.

Baskhar (ibid.) understood society, mind, knowledge and constructed social products as potential and emergent, yet always with real ontological status. This means the social realm should neither be limited to purely conceptual and discursive statements nor an intelligible and self-contained world of thoughts, emotions, and judgements. Critical realism strongly rejects these limiting tendencies in understanding the world as if there is no reality independent of the language or discourse²⁷ (Fleetwood, 2005). This warning is particularly poignant in the context of this research, where dominant cultural policy discourse could suggest, for example, that the “successful” and “productive” ‘Cultural/creative

²⁷ Consequently, this would impose the assertion that there is no reality against which scholars can compare, evaluate and judge competing knowledge claims.

Economy' is the reality perceived and experienced by all creative workers. Because the reality is richer than the discourses and concepts, critical realism advocates the non-reductionist approach without limiting discussion about the nature of social life to either of them.

Lastly, because this thesis engages with the cultural leaders' understandings of the changing cultural industry as a context of their work enactments, it is important to mention critical realism's conception of agency. "Human agency both reproduces and transforms society' (Bhaskar, 1998: xvi). Society pre-exists as a transcendental and causal condition for individuals' intentional agency, but always evolving and re-shaping itself. Bhaskar (ibid.) emphasises an important asymmetry in such a vision, because the social world appears always as pre-structured. This forces individual actors to act in the realm of constraints that are inherited, but they can reproduce and transform the reality too, although they are unable to create it anew. Thus, social structure becomes a pre-existing condition and the continuously reproduced outcome of the human agency, which in social theory means actors utilise the very same structures that constrain them. Individual enactments of social actors are challenged and influenced by elements of social structure acting in the background as "unacknowledged conditions, unintended consequences, tacit skills and unconscious motivations" (ibid.: xvi). Traces of such thought were seen in Bourdieu's social Theory of Practice, discussed in Chapter 2.3.2.1.

3.2.2 Qualitative methodology

According with the critical realist's philosophical position, and with its recommended preference towards the use of qualitative methods, this research was designed by drawing on qualitative methodology. For iterative, intuitively driven enquiries, qualitative research methodologies are considered to be particularly suitable because of their flexibility (Bryman and Bell, 2003; Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Janesick, 2001; Richards, 2009; Ritchie et al., 2003; Silverman, 2011; Srivastave and Hopewood, 2009). Qualitative methodologies allow the research process to be driven by the research question and mediated by the nature of problem under investigation (Blaikie, 2000; Easterby-Smith et al., 1991; Saunders et al., 2007). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005) such a research process resembles a path of discovery rather than a process with fixed and predetermined research outcomes.

Qualitative methodology also places centrally a category of 'understanding' (see Appendix B). By assuming non-linear and continuously changing conceptions of the world, a subjectively reflected experience is granted importance in qualitative research frameworks (Bryman, 1988; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). In line with post-positivist perspective, a qualitative approach aims to understand and not just measure or assess reality. It assumes multiple interpretations are possible within the same reality and it sets itself to recognise different meanings or values that studied subjects might have (Baskhar, 1998). Most importantly, qualitative research allows explanation to be made at the level of meaning rather than pure causation (ibid.). By applying flexible procedures, it enables a much deeper insight

into the studied matter than those offered by quantifying approaches (Ritchie et al., 2003). Therefore, qualitative research does not aim to collect data from a statistically representative sample (as quantitative research does) and is not preoccupied with representativeness of the sample or generalisation of the findings, because the purpose of qualitative research is to understand without making grand estimations on the wider population (Richards, 2009; Ritchie et al., 2003).

Qualitative methodology is argued by scholars not to be an instrumentally applied method but rather a state of mind, a perspective or a lens through which a researcher perceives and interprets the reality (Bryman, 1988; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Janesick, 2000; Ritchie et al., 2003). Janesick (2000) calls this attitude a 'stretched vision', because it requires bending and extending one's current understanding of the world in order to recognise and appreciate the alternative views and experiences research participants might have. It often challenges the researcher's assumptions, thus encouraging a search for richer vision that reflects the complex nature of social reality. Different techniques might be used in qualitative research, yet the openness and desire to reveal the truths about studied subject matters is emphasised by scholars (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). The qualitative methodology is based upon the ultimate value assigned to a human experience and understanding, and therefore capturing it is the ultimate goal of a qualitative researcher (Bryman, 1988). Because of the continuous interpretation of these experiences, the qualitative research process requires sensitivity, empathy, reflexivity and ethical considerations. A qualitative researcher initiates an

interpretative dialogue with the studied subject matter, and in doing so is obliged to take full responsibility for their own decision-making throughout the process of creative and responsible engagements during data generation and analysis (Ezzy, 2010; Silverman, 2011).

The other characteristic of qualitative methodology is a preference towards conducting research in natural (not manipulated) context and non-disruptive manners (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Ritchie et al., 2003). Denzin and Lincoln (2005:3) in their comprehensive textbook of qualitative research describe the research conducted in such manners as “a situated activity that locates the observer in the world”. A qualitative researcher studies things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of meanings people assign to phenomena through the process of an ongoing interpretation (ibid.; Silverman, 2011; Bryman, 1988; Ritchie and Spencer, 1994; Ritchie et al., 2003). Thus, qualitative research “consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:3). These practices include a collection of representations about the studied subject (through use of methods such as observation, interview, conversation, video and photographs) and the practice of analysing such representations that traditionally involves the study of rich, detailed and lengthy informative accounts (Ritchie et al., 2003). These accounts are then used to provide in-depth analysis of the social phenomena understood by social actors and contextualised by the researcher. The process of analysis consists of multiple stages during which gathered empirical material is organised, classified, categorised, synthesised and conceptualised to create new knowledge (ibid.).

In addition, the attractiveness of qualitative research is in its holistic approach. While studies carried out qualitatively are concerned with certain problems, they tend to look at the larger context in which these problems are embedded (Janesick, 2000). Often, this type of research overcomes dichotomies by aiming to understand participants' views in the overall context of social setting and their personal lives. However, dealing with a complex reality is not without any difficulties (Richards, 2009; Ritchie et al., 2003). Despite all the positives that qualitative research offers, scholars identified multiple challenges when adopting such research frameworks. These challenges are mainly caused by the quantity, density and complexity of gathered data, along with the type of intense engagement the qualitative method requires from the researcher. Moreover, qualitative research is not free from bias, judgements and ideologies, but is interwoven in people's system of values and beliefs, making the qualitative process so distinctive from quantitative studies (Haunschild and Eikhof, 2009; Richards, 2009). Yet, transparency and scholarly rigour are at the centre of the approach agenda (Morse et al., 2002; Ritchie et al., 2003).

Lastly, this paradigm facilitates and encourages focus on either influential and powerful or underrepresented groups, audiences, cases or individuals, as found in the reception type of analysis in communication studies (McQuail, 2010), or stakeholder analysis in the field of business, management and organisation (Deetz, 1995; Freeman, 1999). This kind of focus aims to understand the complex phenomena beyond an "official" or dominant view. Instead, in attempting to hear a multiplicity of voices, it follows individuals or particularly distinguished groups

searching for their own interpretations. A principle of the 'inside-out' or a 'bottom-up' perspective has been adopted in the design of this study, where a particular group of creative workers has been chosen to understand the changing context of their work. This literally means presenting understanding about how the cultural sector is perceived from 'within', that is by agents working in it. Importantly, the qualitative methodology allows integration of the research onto-epistemological position within the chosen research approach.

3.2.3 Research approach

Motivated by 'the need of the research' (Blaikie, 2000; Easterby-Smith et al., 1991; Silverman, 2011), that is, because of the research exploratory nature, the inductive approach has been chosen for the study of cultural leaders' understandings of the wider context in which they work. Induction is an approach based on reasoning that starts with specific observations, in which it identifies patterns and only then broader generalizations and theories are developed (Saunders et al., 2007). It suits exploratory studies as it allows for a more flexible research process not constrained by any particular theory (ibid.). This approach fits well with the research motivation to explore the cultural leaders' understandings of the sector and the choice of qualitative methodology discussed in the previous section.

While the research data have been collected without a particular theory in mind, the actual process of data analysis has been driven by the relational engagement between the empirical data and some theoretical (or other

intellectual) influences (Haunschild and Eikhof, 2009; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Haunschild and Eikhof (2009) argued that the understanding of the social phenomena is an ongoing process always influenced by some kind of theoretical assumptions which should be open to a criticism while assimilating novel ideas. Also Janesick (2000: 384) suggested “open minds, but not empty minds” policy for researchers when analysing data, and such an open approach has been adopted in this research. In addition, an inductive and non-linear character of the research process has helped to integrate a reflective and conceptually-engaged data analysis and synthesis. Thanks to such flexibility of the research approach, Pierre Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice (Chapter 2.3.2), supplemented with notions of ‘worldview’ and ‘stewardship’ which emerged from the empirical data, could have been used together for eliciting the conceptual relevance of the research findings.

In addition, the approach adopted in the research differed, for example from grounded theory or phenomenology. The researcher chose not to be constrained by any particular approach fearing “methodolatry” (Janesick, 2000: 390). Janesick argued such attitude expresses preoccupation with methods and procedures at the expense of the story being told. Such “slavish attachment and devotion to methods” (ibid.) can rarely be questioned if one wants to follow the established approach. This research was designed to follow a less codified and more intuitive process. Such search for freedom and self-directed ongoing reflection over the imposed sets of rules has been acknowledged and expressed by other academic scholars (Haunschild and Eikhof, 2009).

3.3 The research design and sampling

This section discusses the research design. Firstly, it outlines the multiple decisions made in relation to the sample selection criteria, and secondly, it describes a method of data collection.

Scholars unanimously emphasise that no research can observe and record everything, but only a fraction of reality (Blaikie 2000; Bryman and Bell 2003; Richards, 2009; Ritchie et al., 2003). Thus, suitable and appropriate selection of data sources is crucial for the research process (Bryman and Bell, 2003). This means the research design needs to include careful considerations for the sampling strategy. Given how a choice of sample can affect the type of data obtained (thus also the final research findings), this thesis adopted a purposive sampling strategy. Most qualitative studies are designed using a purposive sample technique (Richards, 2009; Ritchie et al., 2003), sometimes called judgement sampling (Burgess, 1984; Honigmann, 1982 in Ritchie et al., 2003). Ritchie et al., (2003:79) explains such purposiveness as an act where “members of a sample are chosen with a ‘purpose’ to represent a location or type in relation to a key criterion”. To guarantee the participant representation and enhancing in-depth exploration of the research problem, a clearly defined inclusion criterion should guide the sampling (ibid.)²⁸. This research adopts a purposive sampling approach called a homogenous sample (Holloway and Wheeler, 1996; Patton, 2002). The homogenous sample approach engages with a particular phenomenon by

²⁸ For instance, if an impact of age or a location on the subject matter is of interest, then a sufficient participant representation of each age group is required in order to find overarching patterns.

selecting participants who share certain distinctive characteristics or demographic description. They might belong to the same class, subculture, share a professional role or work in the same organisation etc. The participants were chosen according to their work role (senior management) in the cultural sector and therefore the sample allowed focused exploration of a research problem studied in the context of the Scottish cultural sector.

Following the research aim to explore the cultural leaders' meaningful understandings of the cultural sector at the time of a changing landscape of Scottish cultural policy, the sampling has been carried out in a two-step process²⁹. In order to illustrate this Table 3 has been developed. It demonstrates that the first step was focused on identifying organisations that were suitable to take part in the research. This was followed by further identification of individuals considered suitable to participate in the research. Three criteria taken into consideration when identifying organisations were: position in relation to the funding body, an art form and location. On the other hand, when identifying individual participants the knowledge criterion was considered. Each aspect of such sampling is described below.

²⁹ The process of choosing the criteria has been guided by the researcher's prior knowledge gained throughout the initial stage of the doctoral research. Such knowledge has been gained in desktop research that aimed to map a composition of the cultural industry in Scotland and through associated work on the research project 'Foundation Organisations Review 2011', (Eikhof et al., 2012). The knowledge gained prior to the empirical study has greatly contributed to the clear choice of criteria for the population of leaders selected and included in the study.

Table 3: Sampling strategy (Source: Author)

SAMPLING STRATEGY		
LEVEL OF DECISION	CRITERIA	CRITERIA
1st step IDENTIFYING ORGANISATIONS	<i>Position in relation to the funding body</i>	
	<i>Art form</i>	
	<i>Location</i>	
2nd step IDENTIFYING INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANTS		<i>A work role within the organisation of an individual participating</i>

In Chapter 2.3.1, the context of the research has been presented and two sub-sectors of the cultural sector in Scotland have been mapped out and described. As it is not possible to represent diversity of the entire cultural industry, out of the whole population of cultural leaders in Scotland, the empirical research included only cultural leaders who enact executive roles within theatre and dance organisations that are publically funded and located in Scotland’s Central Belt. The first sampling criterion was funding status; thus only those cultural organisations that had an established relationship with the funder were chosen. The funder has an overarching and cross-sectoral power to allocate funding for arts, crafts and culture according to a range of criteria (see Chapter 2.3.1.2). In this research, an act of receiving any form of funding from this specific funder is identified as evidence of being in a relationship (affiliated) with the funder. This relationship status also suggests cultural organisations which receive regular funding are being

exposed to the plans that the funder has for the sector, and importantly, they are being included in the communication exchange. Two types of funding programmes, FOs and FXOs, facilitated further the selection of particular cultural organisations (as described in 2.3.1.3-2.3.1.4)³⁰. The researcher used these two distinctive programmes as guiding the list of participating organisations and thus for easier arrangement of data collection³¹.

Funding status was combined with two other criteria: an art form and location. This means that all organisations selected in the study represented either a genre of theatre or dance and were located within the central belt. The sample included only performing arts organisations in these two sub-sectors to reduce the cultural organisations' population. A decision to include theatre and dance was made because these were the only cultural sub-sectors that at the time of the study had completed two types of reviews (organisational funding and the sector specific reviews, see Chapter 2.3.1.3-2.3.1.4). Participation in these two reviews meant that at the time of this study dance and theatre organisations had had the most exposure to the Creative Scotland's new strategy. With regards to the location criterion, only the organisations located within the central belt were

³⁰ It is worth stressing that a broad brush funding distinction applied in the study design does not take into consideration the complexity of funding arrangements at various level of governance. It is not the researcher's intention to look into the funding arrangements at these different levels and compare them. The distinction made in the sampling strategy is simplified and some of the participating organisations might also be funded by local government or other commercial sources. The researcher also refrains from any judgement over the funding distribution. The choice of the 'position' criterion is a pragmatic one and aims to serve a clear and methodological role in deciding what type of organisations have the most extensive and updated knowledge of the transformations within the sector, inclusive of the knowledge of and familiarity with funding criteria and objectives introduced by the new funder in 2010.

³¹ This organisational distinction was valid at the time of the sampling as the two distinctive programmes were scrapped by the funder at the beginning of 2013.

selected for the study. The Scottish cultural sector has a wide geographical spread. Some of the vibrant cultural hubs are very remotely situated in parts of the Highlands, Scottish islands and Scottish borders. On the other hand, these geographical areas tend to include a rather scattered spread of cultural organisations and independent artists. Commonly, the cultural sector is organised around the cities and this is also the case in the Scottish context. In Scotland the major cultural initiatives take place in Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Inverness, Perth and Stirling; however, cities in the central belt³² represent the largest sections of the theatre and dance population. In this study participants were selected from four study sites: Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Stirling, all easily accessible by multiple sources of transport. They were also chosen for convenience so as to minimise time and cost of conducting the research.

Having identified 29 suitable organisations, the next step for the researcher was to select the best person within each organisation to provide in-depth understandings of the changing sector. Individual sample participants were chosen on the basis of their assumed and expected knowledge of the issues and problems studied in this research. It was also assumed they would have a keen interest in the dynamics and relationships in the Scottish cultural sector. Given demographic diversity was not the main criterion of the sample selection, the knowledge factor was used to make purposive choices on the level of individual participants. The

³² The central belt represents the area of the highest population density, the most industrialised and networked economic region of Scotland with the greatest transport infrastructure. It has been recognised by economic studies as the most productive region of Scotland, with the highest GDP, employment (Scottish Government, 2009, 2011) and the highest representation of cultural organisations (Creative Scotland on-line resources).

researcher concentrated on cultural leaders, who were responsible for driving, organising and managing their own work and careers, while at the same time they exhibited expertise and wider knowledge about the sector as necessary for good leadership. Only participants who had substantial knowledge of their own organisations in relation to the wider arts and cultural context, that is only those who have been exposed to the new practices and rhetoric of the funder, could be expected to have a greater understanding of the cultural sector in the changing political landscape. The organisational leaders representing theatre and dance were believed to be the most suited and the best informed about the phenomena this study explores.

The status of a cultural leader was perceived to be empirically important because it bridges the gap between an individual and organisational perspective on the pressing issues in the cultural sector and wider policy. While able to share individual experiences accumulated throughout their career trajectories, leaders (with a range of 10-30 years of work experience in the sector) were assumed to have thorough knowledge of the dynamics underpinning the industry. As leaders were assumed to be concerned and affected by a new vision for the arts and culture in Scotland (as envisaged by the funder), the researcher gave participating leaders an opportunity to express their understandings, knowledge, perceptions and feelings about the recent changes in the organisation and management of Scottish cultural sector. Thus, the perspective of leaders became a lens for gaining a new insight into the complexities of the changing sector.

It is worth emphasising that a leader's role is diverse and often integrates both an artistic and business (strategic or developmental) capacity. Depending on the organisational size and resources, those roles are typically either occupied by different people, or one person takes care of both artistic and strategic dimensions (possibly by drawing on the valuable experience of board members). The final sample of 21 leaders included one half of the participants who performed a combined role; the other half was equally split between an artistic or administrative role only. It was crucial to identify "the right people" to be included in the sampling frame. The leaders of the selected dance and theatre companies were identified with information publicly available on-line. To further aid the process of identifying participants, an extra effort was undertaken by discussing particular names and roles with industry experts. In addition, two leaders representing organisations directly funded by the Scottish Government (in line with a direct agreement between national cultural companies and the government) and six industry experts were included in the study to allow for a different perspective and additional data sources important for triangulation (Ritchie et al., 2003, also see 3.5.3). The industry experts (all ex-cultural leaders) and leaders of big, national cultural organisations were also in the position of possessing invaluable knowledge of the sector. Their experience offered helpful and enriching insights.

The research sample included leaders and experts with rather similar career trajectories. As presented in the Table 4 and 5, research participants have occupied similar work roles, and often worked in the same organisations across the small Scottish cultural sector. These interviewees knew each other rather well

and valued working together. They exhibited a great deal of experience (some have almost 30 years of work experience in the sector) and a commonly shared interest and passion for arts, regardless of their work in artistic or managerial capacity. These devoted, greatly experienced and respected leaders represented cultural organisations of different sizes and different genres within the performing arts (e.g. youth theatre, dance theatre, classical dance); and many of these organisations were internationally acclaimed. Careers of these leaders have been built gradually, starting at the bottom and progressing through the organisational ranks. For the majority of artistic directors their previous performing experience led them to artistic leadership. A great majority of administrative directors (or those combining two leadership roles) had not gained formal qualification in arts administration/management but they rather learnt 'on the job' with help and encouragement from their mentors. They have been often 'thrown into' learning new skills (e.g. in reporting, application writing, budget and financing or leadership) by the requirements of the job.

Table 4: Background of the research participants (cultural leaders) (Source: Author)

	WORK EXPERIENCE	CURRENT ROLE	EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND
ROBERT LEADER	Career started in 1990s. Worked in a variety of general management roles, mostly in the theatre sector in Scotland.	General Director	English & French
KELLY LEADER	Career started in 1985. Worked in a variety of general management roles in dance and theatre venues/organisations in Scotland.	Chief Executive	Arts Administration
JOHN LEADER	Career started in 1990s from acting and performance. Gradually moved to administrative and leadership roles.	General Director	Trained actor & classical singer
KATIE LEADER	Career started in 1990. Worked in administrative capacity across many art genres in Scotland, and in the arts development role in one of the sector's professional body. Works currently in one of "directly funded" organisations.	Executive Producer & CEO	Qualified dancer, Performance Studies
BRIAN LEADER	Career started in 1983. Worked as a dance artist in England and Scotland.	Artistic Director	Trained dancer
LENA LEADER	Career started in 1990s. Worked in a variety of artistic roles in the community theatre (also in healthcare setting) in Scotland and Europe.	Artistic Director	Trained actor
GARRY LEADER	Career started in 1990s. Worked in youth theatre directing plays and advocating inclusivity of theatre.	Artistic Director	Trained actor
MONICA LEADER	Career started in 1980s. Worked extensively as a performer and in the dance education sector.	Assistant Director	Trained dancer
ANA LEADER	Career started in late 1990s. Worked in the administrative capacity in the theatre sector in England and Scotland gradually progressing to a senior management role. Works currently in one of "directly funded" organisations.	Director of Artistic Development	Sociology
AMBER LEADER	Career started in late 1990s. Worked as a performer, choreographer and movement director across dance and theatre.	Artistic Director & choreographer	Trained dancer, English
SILVIA LEADER	Career started in early 1990s. Have extensive experience in performance and directing. Set up own theatre company.	Artistic Director	Trained actress
FIONA LEADER	Career started in 1980s in the social work gradually developing a unique expertise across creative work and care.	Founder & Artistic Director	Social work
JIMMY LEADER	Career started in 2000. Worked entirely in the youth theatre sector in both creative and administrative capacities.	Artistic Director & Chief Executive	Trained actor
ANDREW LEADER	Career started in early 1990s from the community work. Directed theatre productions and run venues in England, Ireland and Scotland.	Artistic Director & Chief Executive	Qualified teacher
CRAIG LEADER	Career started in 2000. Worked in a variety of creative and administrative roles across Scotland in the theatre-based performing arts organisation and community-based arts festivals.	Artistic Director & Chief Executive	Creative Drama

Table 5: Background of the research participants (industry experts) (Source: Author)

	WORK EXPERIENCE	CURRENT ROLE	EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND
WILLIAM INDUSTRY EXPERT	Career started in 1980s. Worked in admin capacity (general and joint chief director roles) in major performing arts organisation in England and Scotland (ex-leader) and as a freelance consultant.	Freelance researcher & consultant	Drama & English
NATASHA INDUSTRY EXPERT	Career started in 1990s. Has run a theatre-based organisation (ex-leader). Worked for national institutions in the educational capacity (design of training/skills development programmes).	Senior regional manager	Trained painter
CORNELIA INDUSTRY EXPERT	Career started in 1990s. Worked in the house management roles (ex-leader) and as a freelance consultant for the national and local governments. Carried out an extensive industry-related research. Set up and led a couple of research centres.	Freelance researcher & consultant	Drama & English; Arts Administration
BOBBY INDUSTRY EXPERT	Career started in 1992. Worked in the stage production/management roles in theatre in Scotland and as an advisor for the national government (ex-leader).	Freelance producer & consultant	English & Economics, MBA, Production Management
MATTHEW INDUSTRY EXPERT	Career started in mid 1980s. Worked as a theatre director and producer (ex-leader).	Higher Arts Education	English & Economy
KATRIONA INDUSTRY EXPERT	Career started in early 2000s. Worked in the cultural policy context for over 10 years.	Lecturer & freelance researcher	Languages & International Relations

An implementation of all discussed sampling criteria substantially decreased a potential sample size to a manageable one, which is particularly important in qualitative studies (ibid.). It is advised by scholars that sample frame, that is a list of participants meeting the sample design criteria, should be large enough, (on average three to four size of required study sample), to allow a scope for selection (Richards, 2009; Ritchie et al., 2003). It was a valid point in the case of this study, as not every participant invited to take part in the research wanted to or could participate. Limited time and a high public profile were the main challenges to overcome. Also, because this study involved discussing issues that were politically

charged, many of the identified participants occupying senior management roles have been discouraged from taking part due to a fear of potential reactions from the sector. Overall, this study is based on the in-depth interviews with twenty one participants, of which six were industry experts, and this sample size is consistent with qualitative research methodology.

The main method used to collect qualitative data was an interview. It is a very common, flexible method capable of producing data of a great depth and appropriate for studying meanings developed around particular phenomena, individual perception of any social process or a historical account of how a phenomenon has developed (King, 1994). A function of the interview is “to gather description of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena” (Kvale, 1996: 174); however, its purpose is to “see the research topic from the perspective of the interviewee, and to understand how and why he or she comes to have this particular perspective” (King, 1994:14) rather than just obtain quantifiable responses. Interviews tend to focus on particular issues, problems, discourses or “specific situations and action sequences in the world of interviewee” (Kvale, 1996: 176).

Because of the knowledge criterion described in the previous section, the leaders of cultural organisations were approached as the most informed and insightful creative workers with substantial experience of working in the cultural sector. This type of interview carried out with the 'top' of any stratification system, i.e. the most influential (executive) organisational actors, is called an 'elite interview' (Moyser, 2006). There is a substantial body of research on this type of

interviewing, and many scholars emphasise distinctiveness of 'elite' participants defined through their power, dominance and confidence (Smith, 2006). However, interest in participants' knowledge rather than their power status was driving the interview process. In addition, at no point during the interviews did the researcher feel uneasy about the participants' behaviour and did not feel overwhelmed, sabotaged or patronised. This experience corresponds with Smith's (2006) criticism of the classic understanding of 'elite', as always dominating, privileged and powerful. Instead, Smith claims qualitative interviewing faces methodological issues regardless of whether 'elite' or 'underrepresented' groups are a researcher's focus.

Each interview was conducted face-to-face (with exception of one conducted over the telephone) and lasted between 60 to 90 minutes. All interviews were conducted following a semi-structured interview guide (Appendix D), which allowed flexibility, clarification, re-phrasing or omission of questions that might have been irrelevant to a particular participant's work experience (King, 1994; Miles and Huberman, 1994). As interviewing is a performative act (Jones, 2006), as well as emotional and embodied (Ezzy, 2010), each interview was personalised in order to keep participants' interest. This was crucial to the overall purpose of trying to obtain rich qualitative accounts (Richardson, 2009; Ritchie et al., 2003). Interviewees were asked to engage in the conversation on the recent restructuring in the funding system, the current focus of cultural policy, their understanding of general changes in the sector and the influence of these changes on their work roles and responsibilities. Scholars argue that it is helpful when interviews have a

clear purpose and structure to allow particularly inexperienced interviewees to have greater control over the process and reassure them that appropriate quality data is being collected (Daymon and Holloway, 2002; King, 1994). Critical Incident Technique was used for further probing, where by participants were asked for concrete examples, i.e. a particular moment, significant situations and enactment when something has happened or failed to happen. This proved to be a useful technique, especially when referring to past events allowing participants 'returning' to the particularity of the situation as if it happened only few days ago (Chell and Pittaway, 1998; Flanagan, 1954).

3.4 Data management and analysis

This section explains the issues related to organisation of the research data and outlines the framework approach implemented during analysis.

3.4.1 Processing and organising data

Technological advancement facilitated the collection, processing, storing and analysis of research data. Instead of rough and incomplete notes, detailed records of interviews were obtained and all conducted interviews were transcribed by the researcher - partially in the text documents, and partially in the QSR NVivo 9 software. The advantage of doing transcription in NVivo was a particular feature of the software that enabled matching of the transcribed portion of material with the original audio file and code (or index) accordingly in the software. Such linking expressed the researcher's strong belief the audio file is the only original data,

whereas transcription is already a form of interpretation that includes decisions about how detailed the transcription is, whether to use verbatim transcript or not, whether all participants' hesitations should be noted and observations added, whether to transcribe names of people, places and organisations, or leave it blank, or rather immediately anonymise. All transcribed interviews were stored and managed within the software, which allowed security of empirical material on yet another platform.

QSR NVivo 9 software was a useful tool for enhancing the analytical process through allowing for easy ways of bringing structure into the unorganised data (Marshall, 2002; Richards and Richards, 1994; Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). The aim of analysis is identification of interesting themes in the collected empirical material while aiming to reduce the size and amount of complex and rich qualitative data (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Ritchie et al., 2003). Data reduction during which analysis is performed helps to sharpen the research focus and NVivo facilitated it well. However, the most appreciated feature of NVivo was its technical ability to assist the framework analysis approach, thus helping in speeding up the overall process of analysis (see the next section)³³. The software allowed for a systematic relationship with the data by writing notes that are directly synchronised with the interview or other documents, pictures or external data. This function in NVivo is called 'memos' writing and has been extensively used by the researcher. However, the use of computer-assisted methods for analysis still evokes split

³³ QSR Nvivo 9 software facilitated the development of thematic frameworks and two-dimensional matrices with rows and columns (produced from thematic codes and cases codes). In particular the matrices were built from summaries (synthesised and categorised data) always synchronised with the original data allowing easy and quick access at any stage of the analysis process.

reactions in the academic world and not all qualitative researchers use it. The researcher appreciated the management and organisational capacity of the software, as much as far more visually guided process of ordering data than the one carried in the word processor could ever be. However, not all the features of the software were used nor explored, because the majority of them seemed rather inappropriate for the type or the size of the study. In addition, at times the software appeared rather clumsy and slow, with glitches that often forced the researcher to export data created in NVivo frameworks to Excel documents for further analysis. Overall, the pragmatic rule of suitability and utility was guiding the researcher's decisions when using the computer-assisting analysis.

3.4.2 Analysis

Rich narrative accounts produced by the interviews were analysed through the framework approach. This approach assists a gradual reduction of qualitative material by summarising its content while keeping the link to the original data³⁴ (Furber, 2010; Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). It is a theme and case based approach because the entire process of analysis, as well as the final analytical output, is recorded and displayed in so called frames - a matrix of rows and columns, where rows represent individual cases (in this research individual participants) and columns show the thematic codes. Each cell in the grid represented the intersection of a case and a theme (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). This display

³⁴ The approach has been developed by Jane Ritchie and Liz Spencer - researchers at the National Centre for Social Research - exploring important aspects of society in order to influence social policy in the UK. Since then it has been extensively used in the social policy and health studies, for example in evaluating intervention programmes or understanding various manifestations of social change (Furber, 2010; Ritchie et al. 2003).

allowed analysis of the body of data row by row that is case by case, paying attention to individual accounts. At the same time, this approach enabled the researcher to see and compare responses across the entire sample and identify the overarching themes with commonalities or differences between the individual cases. Hence, framework analysis facilitated identification of clearly emerging patterns and comparable trends in the studied collective of cultural leaders.

There are five distinctive phases during the analysis process³⁵: familiarization; identification of themes (a thematic framework); indexing; charting; mapping and interpretation (Furber, 2010; Ritchie et al., 2003). In the first stage, the researcher starts familiarisation with data by listening to recordings, transcribing and re-reading the transcripts. This is also where initial ideas for themes emerge. In the second phase, these recurring ideas were collated into groups of themes, for instance 'the sector to work in', 'funder and its new principles', 'funding arrangements', 'perceived responsibility of leaders' etc. These themes were purposefully kept fairly broad at this stage and ready to be reformulated and looked at more closely if needed. In the indexing phase, the draft thematic framework was applied back to the transcripts of raw data to explore the 'fit' and apply this where suitable. This is the process that other researchers would refer to as coding followed by the coding map. It enables application of the codes

³⁵ In addition to framework analysis, this research data analyses were inspired by Moustakas' (2001) heuristic procedure. The following stages (corresponding with Furber's description) were present: immersion (the inductive analysis process starts); incubation (thinking process starts capturing first intuitive insights, meanings and ideas); illumination (time for expanding awareness and knowledge, noticing resemblance or actively searching for theories that could describe a discovered mechanism or phenomenon); explication (explicit description and explanation of the theory to be used for further analysis of experience of individuals in the study), and lastly, creative synthesis (bringing together the whole story). Importantly, at no point was the researcher attempting to test hypotheses or propositions.

already identified, while allowing new, interesting and initially overlooked ideas to emerge and be reformulated within the existing themes. The NVivo 9 software was used to assist the indexing process. In the fourth stage, all of the data is being summarised and assessed for best fit within thematic charts which allowed easier visualisation of the whole dataset. The NVivo software again became useful in facilitating and speeding up the process. The most important feature was the ability of the software to link summaries with the original data in one click of the button. In the final stage, data was synthesised through mapping and interpretation. All themes and sub-themes were reviewed and revised. The visual representations helped in further synthesis and clarification. During this stage, for example, empirical data were scrutinised for whether they confirm conceptual elements from the Theory of Practice described in chapter 2.3.2

Furber (2010) mentioned important benefits of using this approach to analysis, such as: a relatively quick process of reducing data without losing quality or linkages to original data; facilitation of systematic and comprehensive investigation; clear rules helping qualitative projects to be more manageable and efficient 'keeping data together', and compatibility with a qualitative analysis software. In the researcher's eyes however, the biggest attraction of the framework analysis is its methodical facilitation of dialectics between detail and general view of empirical data. While allowing for in-depth thematic coding, the reduction of data volume through a particular visual display in frames enabled to capture 'the bigger picture' revealing a surprising synchronicity of patterns emerging from the interviews. In addition, the framework approach has been helpful in demonstrating

rigour, method and transparency of the research carried out (Furber, 2010; Ritchie et al., 2003). It enhanced the researcher's more methodical and systematic approach, which aided coping with processing large quantities of data.

3.5 Further methodological considerations

This section discusses ethics, reflexivity and validity of the academic knowledge produced.

3.5.1 Ethics

Ethical concerns accompanied the researcher throughout the project's life-cycle. Three particularly distinctive stages can be distinguished: the study design, data collection and data management. This research has been carried out in accordance with the ethical standards and guidelines of the Code of Practice accepted and executed by the University of Stirling. This meant that the project had to meet the requirements of the University's Ethics Committee, to whom the research proposal was submitted in November 2011. The Ethics Committee duly accepted that the research posed no danger to the participants, or their direct environment.

The other two stages of the research process also followed the code of research ethics and guidance on professionalism (Stirling Management School, 2011; University of Stirling, 2011). During the data collection process the researcher explained the confidentiality procedures to every interviewee who took part in the research. Participants were guaranteed their anonymity and it was

explained how the gathered data would be used. They were asked for permission to record the interview, however they were also advised that the recording could be paused or suspended at any point during the interview. Following the formal requirements, the interviewees were asked to sign consent forms (see Appendix C for all ethical forms).

The main ethical concerns after the data collection had been completed were the actual storage, management and future presentation of the confidential data. To assure participants' anonymity, interview accounts were transcribed by the researcher only. Transcribed research material and consent forms were stored safely in a locked cabinet, and all digital sources were anonymised before being imported into the data management software QSR NVivo 9. Pseudonyms were kept in a separate logbook and stored outside the programme. Because the cultural sector of performing arts in Scotland is very small there was a danger that participants could have been easily recognisable. This is also a reason why in the chapter presenting the research findings (Chapter 4), no specific demographic information is given.

3.5.2 Reflexivity

In line with the principles of qualitative methodology, critical reflection accompanied the entire research journey, from decisions over which approach was best to study the subject matter to how to analyse the findings and which theory to use for further conceptual anchoring. A purposeful delay in decision over the most appropriate research approach was made, driven to avoid problems that too early

decisions could have had on the overall direction of the research (Reiter et al., 2011). A conscious effort was undertaken to refrain from following any particular school such as pure phenomenology or hermeneutics. Instead, a more pragmatic decision was taken when allowing the initial themes to emerge from the data in more free and neutral engagement. In addition, the researcher's reflexivity was constantly fuelled by the non-linearity and the iterative nature of the data analysis (Srivastave and Hopewood, 2009). An ongoing reflection appeared during this process which gave consideration to best: ways to untangle the complex research data; theory to use for the conceptual explanation; and justification of potential insufficiencies of the chosen concepts in relation to the empirical findings.

3.5.3 Validity, reliability and rigour

Qualitative research is now an established research approach in management and organisation studies claiming rigour, and quality, with growing self-reflection among researchers (Haunschild and Eikhof, 2009). Some qualitative scholars, however, argue for urgency in updating a traditional debate of mainstream science on the objectivity, rigour, reliability and validity of qualitative studies (Morse et al., 2002). Others (Janesick, 1994, 2001), however, argue that such dispute on validity, generalizability and reliability within qualitative research undermines the main objective of the approach and should be strongly considered as inappropriate in the qualitative studies context. In Janesick's opinion (1994) validity in qualitative research is to do with evaluation of rigour in the description and explanations undertaken. As a principle of the qualitative inquiry included

efforts in capturing, understanding, describing and explaining experiences and social phenomena (and not to measure it!) significant effort has been placed on the creativity, flexibility and openness of the process. An excessive preoccupation with validation is suggested to overbalance or even contradict the principles of the qualitative approach. Some authors go as far as promoting the idiographic nature of qualitative research, which means that the same findings could not be obtained by different researchers (Haunschild and Eikhof, 2009). An outcome similar to studies based on hypothesis testing and a rather predictable, linear research process is unobtainable in this type of research. However, it is not to suggest that the qualitative research is not rigorous nor that it cannot be repeated and carried out in a different context to check wider applications of theory (Yin, 2009).

Many scholars undertaking qualitative analysis draw on the principle of triangulation (Denzin, 1970) defined as a use of more than one source of data or method of data collection to avoid misinterpretations and bias. Thus, different 'objective sources' (Merrill and West, 2009) are believed to be complementary rather than contradictory, if carried out properly. By including 'industry experts' (or ex-leaders) alongside the cultural leaders, the research sample allowed for yet another voice from the sector to be presented and compared. However, the qualitative study is predominantly about studying a particular problem, recognising and learning about its structure, nature and dynamics. At no point this study claims that the research findings can be generalised and applied to a wider population. Instead, the study put forwards only a theoretical proposition that emerged from the findings and which can be further scrutinised (Yin, 2009).

3.6 Summary

This chapter described the research philosophical considerations and methodological choices. It explained the rationale for choosing the philosophy of critical realism as underpinning the ontological and epistemological stand of this doctoral project. The chapter also outlined the research qualitative design, with emphasis on the small purposeful sample and interview used as a data collection method. The framework approach and NVivo 9 software for data analysis were discussed, followed by the consideration for the remaining methodological and ethical issues. The study now proceeds with an analysis and discussion of the data thus obtained.

Chapter 4: Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings derived from the exploratory study of the Scottish cultural sector carried out in a particular time and place, and seen through the eyes of individual cultural leaders and ex-leaders (now industry experts). It presents the leaders' perceptions of the changing context of their work, which were influenced by values, experiences and knowledge developed by leaders through the span of their working lives. This chapter firstly shows how cultural leaders understand the purpose of their work and the role their social and civic responsibilities play in the cultural sector. Secondly, it shows the leaders' understandings of the wider context of their work with emphasis on the changing economic and political landscape of cultural production in the Scottish cultural sector. Thirdly, the chapter highlights potential conflicts and contradictions in the cultural leaders' work influenced by this changing context; it shows how individual leaders cope with this newly transformed and highly complex context.

4.2 Being a cultural leader

This section introduces cultural leaders interviewed for this study by describing their current work roles, perceived motivations and responsibilities. Despite a diversity of roles and idiosyncrasies in career backgrounds, the cultural leaders displayed many commonalities in their work experiences and perceptions of their responsibilities. Therefore the chapter focuses on presenting these

emerged commonalities in the experiences of the changing sector across the collective of leaders interviewed³⁶. A few personal stories, however, are brought forward to illustrate the importance of leaders' values and beliefs that shape and drive their work and career enactments. In particular, the intrinsic motivation, artistic ambitions, social and civic responsibilities of leaders are presented in order to prepare a ground for further understanding of the leaders' views and perceptions on the changing political and economic contexts of their work. By doing so, further findings on the understandings of the wider context of work can be anchored in the shared perspective of this particular group of creative workers.

4.2.1 Presentation of self

Among the cultural leaders interviewed, some distinctive aspects of work experiences were observed. These are experiences of different individuals who arrived at their current positions in the sector via four different, yet somehow typical career pathways presented in Table 6. The first two pathways describe experiences of former artists who have set up their own company (Pathway 1), or have been hired to run an already existing one (Pathway 2). The final two pathways describe experiences of leaders with degree in arts administration, social science or humanities (Pathway 3), or professionals originally qualified in other

³⁶ In most matters discussed in the research, the respondents shared rather similar views and opinions. Many synchronised patterns were observed in the data collected. This is attributed to a very small sector, where leaders and artists regularly talk to each other, exchange viewpoints and information and form close relationships. As the supportive material also suggested, recent funding and sectors' reviews encouraged further inter-organisational communication in order to establish and agree on the common view and adopted strategies. Although it is not implied that leaders of the performing arts sector in Scotland agree on all issues in leading and managing arts organisations, this study demonstrated multiple parallels and a distinctive collective voice emerged across the sample. Such a strong voice meant there were far more similarities and synchronicities than differences between the study participants.

fields (Pathways 4). To give a flavour of how the cultural leaders present and understand themselves, four stories will be introduced. One leader representing each of the four pathways is introduced to give a more personal insight into the background of participants whose views on the changing context of their work will be presented throughout this chapter. Thus, the next paragraphs briefly describe Brian, Jimmy, Robert and Fiona (pseudonyms) with emphasis on their self-presentation in the current cultural leadership role. The personal stories of each leader will help contextualise their value-systems, and give some perspective on how and why they perceive the changes in a rather distinctive way. The experience of these particular individuals, although unique to them, displayed some similarities with regards to a clear canon of values and aspirations, which cultural leaders shared as a 'professional' group. Each of the presented stories focused on slightly different aspects of their work role interpretation. They have been chosen precisely to illustrate a variety of emerged commonalities in leaders' interpretation of their roles, regardless of the difference in pathways or experience of work in different genres/organisations. This means that in an intersubjective way, for example, Brian shares aspects of experience discussed by Jimmy, Robert or Fiona (see Table 6), and other leaders interviewed share aspects of experiences described by stories from these four leaders.

Table 6: Cultural leaders' career background (Source: Author)

CULTURAL LEADER'S BACKGROUND				
Pathway 1	Pathway 2	Pathway 3	Pathway 4	
Ex-performing artists (dancers, actors) and directors who set up their own companies.	Trained artists (performers and community development workers) turned cultural leaders (administrative or artistic).	Arts administration training or other social science/humanities education working in the range of cultural organisations.	Professionals with previous career in social work or education moved into the cultural sector.	
Brian, Garry, John, Amber, Silvia	Jimmy, Craig, Lena, Monica, Katie, Natasha	Robert, Kelly, Bobby, Ana, William, Cornelia, Matthew, Katriona	Fiona, Andrew	
Snapshot summary: Meaning of the pathway in relation to aspects of a leader's work experience.	Brian: Following one's artistic aspirations in devoted creation of interesting, relevant and emotive artistic work. Loving trust and friendliness in the sector ('the family'), sharing a sense of joint identity. Feeling strongly about set standards for artistic work. Valuing honesty truth and artistic integrity which often means 'going against the mainstream'. Prepared to take risks and make sacrifices.	Jimmy: Being devoted to one's work, slowly building up one's career by developing managerial responsibilities. Wanting to learn on the job (both creative and non-creative tasks). Being prepared to do the mundane administrative work. Feeling passionate about one's role as enabler and driver of the creative work in the sector's organisations. Being passionate about arts advocacy, and social change. Valuing a team-driven and participatory style of management and decision-making.	Robert: Having clear vision and being dedicated. Being open to learning of variety of skills required to work in and lead the sector's cultural organisations. Valuing learning "on the job", especially management and leadership skills. Loving working with creative people and wanting to be a part of the sector, regardless in what role. Believing in the value of one's work as a 'creative manager', who supports creative people in making of arts, and help transforming their creative ideas into an artistic proposition.	Fiona: Having clear vision and following one's great passion. Experiencing a clear defining moment revealing the inner call and reassuring one's career choice. Being driven by a mission of devoting one's life to a service to people and developing specific niche for one's work. Being prepared for difficult experiences and challenges throughout one's work journey. Being prepared for hard work and expect development takes time.

Brian, Artistic Director

Brian is an artistic leader who arrived at his current role from a prominent performing career. Over two decades, he worked with a wide range of established and worldwide acclaimed companies. A decade ago, he moved to Scotland and set up his company where he continues to perform; however, his main

responsibility lies within the realm of artistic leadership. He presented himself as a demanding yet supportive artistic director, who wants to create gripping performances with intriguing and captivating narratives. He creates, recruits and directs, driven by a formula of 'being different'. He said:

It's about finding and creating something different, a different energy, different dynamics. I have this ability to see something different and spot different people who work differently, who like working differently!

This formula of difference meant a lot to Brian. It underlined his recipe for creation of interesting, relevant and emotive artistic work as he viewed the aim of artistic practice as being:

about making something special from different people you work with and this special work transcends choreography, theatre, music, you just see [it] and you want to watch!

He admitted to achieving this 'different energy' by an experimental way of working that is welcomed by the members of his company. When Brian works with his performers, he experiments by giving them a creative task of learning a new movement "vocabulary". This involves removing their existing language of expression and finding a different type of language, with new qualities. Brian's vision interpreted by his performers is the new quality that he strives to achieve. He said he is inspired by the presence of his performers, their personalities, vulnerabilities and their confidence. His team, as he phrased it, is:

"scarred" by life - they had some kind of hiccup in life, they are not perfect but they are humble!

He thinks these personal stories of his creative team make the creation process and staging honest, edgy and memorable. He fully believes in his work

and strives to set standards for experimental work in the Scottish cultural sector. However, it is not without challenges or risks that he is able to deliver an ambitious artistic vision. Brian pointed out that the ambitious non-commercial work is rarely funded and therefore throughout the years he had had to take some personal financial risks. For example, forced by a lack of funding, he re-mortgaged his house to finance the artistic project of his company that he truly believed in. However, finances were only one of the obstacles experienced by Brian. Critical and demotivating reviews emerged as another difficult aspect of his work.

It's about trying how far one can go, push things. It's just about trying new, experimenting but the price is often high. Very bad criticism happens and then I need to stand behind the team, defend them. Defend the integrity of our work.

Brian presented himself as a leader who cares and who has a responsibility for the members of his company.

We all look after each other. I push them to "jump off that barrier", I teach them there is no wrong or right but we are all very good friends. We cry together, laugh together, and as it happens, we work together. They respect me, what I am about, what my work is about, and I do for them everything beyond the mere responsibility of an artistic director or somebody who runs a company.

For Brian the company represents a family, and this means anybody who works there shares a sense of joint identity. They formed a unit that shares one language, vision and a particular aesthetic expression. As in the family unit, there is a parental figure and Brian enacts this role. Honesty and support underpins the relationship within the team. He admitted to being 'a shoulder for people [to cry on], or a mum'. On the other hand, as a leader he felt he often needed to embrace a more directive identity when he said 'but you have to stand firmly, be careful

what and how you say, and you have to be able to explain the vision and the work’. For Brian the responsibility for his ‘family’ means that he has chosen to concentrate on the creative and people-side of the company’s life, but he said he likes to *‘keep an eye on [administrative] things*’. Brian trusted his administrative director and thus decided to refrain from interfering too much with the business-side of the company. He actively engaged in recruitment, leaving more detailed administrative planning and management work to his colleague.

Jimmy, Artistic Director & Chief Executive

Jimmy also arrived at his leader’s role from the artistic route. He had no earlier arts management training or experience. He trained as a performer but very early in his career discovered a niche within the genre of theatre that he became hugely passionate about and to which he devoted his career. He has spent all his life working in and outside Scotland but always in the same subsector. When asked about his role within the company, Jimmy presented himself as a ‘boss’. He smiled and explained who he was in the following quote:

I'm the boss (smile), which is steadily built. I mean when I started I was on my own, I wasn't a boss, but we have developed as an organisation and now we have four full-time employees and expanding temporary team depending on what we are doing. My role has gone from being quite “hands on” to ... I'm very managerial now, whereas I have a team that does most of the things that I used to do but much better than me (laughs), and I manage them.

Jimmy represents the cultural leaders who have learnt managerial and administrative duties “on the job”. Like many of his colleagues in the sector, he started his career in the sector on the creative side and gradually moved to

planning and organisation of the creative process. Also like many of his colleagues, he still occasionally gets involved in creative work, but non-creative tasks constitute the great majority of his work role duties as a director.

I'm very fortunate because, you know, I did practise in [name of an artistic genre] for a while and I still practise as well as I do other things. That's what I do here [in the organisation]. I get the opportunity to still be creative - not per se but being involved in the creative process with other organisations, in coproduction etc., and I am a manager - I do a lot of meetings, advocacy work, representing... I'd say the organisation, but our organisation represents the [name of genre] sector.

So being a leader of a cultural organisation means to Jimmy to enable and drive the creative process and organisation of the creative work within his organisation. At the same time he declared responsibility for the development, advocacy and support of the entire subsector his organisation represents. According to Jimmy, leadership role involves interesting meetings and adventurous travels but he also emphasised his engagement with boring tasks and mundane processes. Work as a leader in the publically funded arts sector, unlike the big commercial organisations, includes also less glamorous activities like excessive form filling (e.g. funding applications, or health and safety forms). This is how Jimmy described his common work activities.

So for example, I'm off to Belfast in two weeks' time to talk, at [the name of event], and week after that I will be in Dublin to talk. So I do a lot of talking on behalf of Scotland's [name of genre] sector - nationally and internationally. I have a privilege to do a lot of work in Scandinavia, but I do a lot of boring stuff like PAYE (laughs), budgets, forms etc.

Despite the inevitability of the boring and mundane side of his work, Jimmy's self-presentation displayed a tremendous dedication to a team-driven and

participatory style of management and decision-making. He appeared to be not a very “bossy boss”.

We are very small but very resourceful organisation, there are not many decisions made by me without the whole team being involved.

The need to work well and effectively seemed to be underpinned by Jimmy’s great passion for arts and a desire for the organisation to develop and the sector to sustain itself. The idea of being able to influence the sector’s development and challenge the existing resistance towards the artistic genre he represented, appeared hugely satisfying for Jimmy.

What drives me is my passion, I guess, cause I'm still not a brilliant manager and I have a good team that helps me with that, but what drives me is my absolute belief in [the artistic genre] and the importance of it, and that seems to work for me. It was never my intention to do this [managerial side]. I always wanted to keep on practising but I am in a very privileged position, you know where I can do both. I do this [management] more than I do anything else but I am [in the role] where I can effect change.

Researcher: That must be hugely satisfying?

Yes, it's satisfying but it's hugely frustrating because even after 7 years and everything that we have done in the profile we have got, it's still not changing fast enough. There is still a terrible resistance in Scotland to [a particular audience demographic]. So we have made a lot of ground, but we still have a lot of work to do to try to change, to make the sector realise and make the funders realise.

In the above quotation, this cultural leader’s satisfaction was contrasted with his realisation of the challenges embedded in the cultural sector. Advocacy for a professionalisation of the work within the subsector was only one of the work challenges Jimmy experienced. Yet, his drive and passion seemed to sustain a

continuous renewal of his motivation greatly needed to deal with tensions and the challenges of his work.

Robert, General Director

Robert introduced himself in these words:

I'm a director of [name of organisation] and it is a chief executive role so it's running the overall organisation.

He did not seem to be preoccupied with the professional title of the role he enacts in the organisation.

I'm a general manager still, but we [the sector] don't use that title any more. Nowadays it tends to be more diluted label and it tends to be things like a 'director' or 'executive director' or whatever.

Robert clarified the leadership role in the cultural sector involves responsibility for general management, which means it incorporates a variety of different activities. For example, he is a director of a membership arts organisation with members ranging from very small performing organisations or individual artists right through some of the big national performing or commercial companies that produce in Scotland. As a leader, Robert assures a delivery of four essential activities. One is networking, so simply connecting members to each other through the events the organisation run. Another one is information provision relevant to the members. The third area is advocacy that involves representation of cultural organisations to the government, funders and external stakeholders. The final one is training and development programmes for creative workers in the sector. He arrived at his current senior management role after graduating from university, but with neither a performing arts nor business degree. He had no formal training in

arts management but had worked in the sector all his working life, mostly in general management roles. This seems to be a common career path among other interviewed leaders, who learnt management and leadership “on the job”.

I've never specialised in marketing or technical areas. I always had general roles, starting of as a front of house manager and then a programmer and then a general manager.

He was attracted to work in the sector because he always loved art but most of all, he was inspired by creative people. The cultural sector offered him a great opportunity to work with many creative people by helping them to channel their creative idea and transform them into an artistic proposition that can be appreciated by audiences.

I enjoy working with those kinds of people, and supporting them to realise what they want to achieve. So I'd like to think about myself as a creative manager if you like, so I have to have understanding of creative process, although not being involved in it directly.

Robert seemed to be of an opinion that:

everyone is creative in different ways, even if you are not a professional artist, i.e. when your job is not necessarily to make theatre, film or whatever.

This is why he understood his role as creative, despite the fact the administrative and managerial roles are hardly ever perceived as requiring creativity. Despite such a persisting view in the sector, Robert thought about his non-artistic role as important, creative, valuable and crucial as it aimed:

to help creative people to understand what they want, and your job is to get together money, people, things - all in the right place and at the right time for them.

This support for creative workers by assisting them with the organisation of creative work (with all its challenges) is what Robert admitted to being highly passionate about.

Fiona, Founder & Artistic Director

Fiona represents the last pathway. She has arrived at her current role through a non-artistic career path, starting her professional journey in social work. Although a majority of cultural leaders have either artistic or arts administration related background, Fiona's story illustrates the possibility of becoming a cultural leader through an alternative career path. She described her role and position in these words:

I would say I am the founder and the artistic director of the organisation. I may have fallen into the role of artistic director by default but I was the person who started [this] organisation.

Fiona described her journey to the current position as 'long' and 'with many phases'. However, her narrative highlighted a clear defining moment when she understood she wanted to devote her career to people with disabilities by developing expertise in application of creative movement for their needs. She recollected an important shift in her professional life, which started when she finally found an opportunity for further training that awakened her 'inner call'. About two decades ago, she attended a workshop, which she only knew about because somebody had accidentally put a leaflet on her desk. She attended it and she loved what she saw and experienced during this workshop. This is what she said about that defining moment:

That was it! That was a beginning of journey for me and I never looked back!

She started from a 'half-job': this means that the discovery of her true creative passion has not led her instantly to the foundation of the organisation, but she kept her old job and responsibilities, while she was slowly gaining reputation for her new work in the area of 'equality arts' (i.e. arts engaging performers/audience with disabilities). Fiona was also very honest about the opportunistic character of her arrival into the world of arts that she always appreciated and felt she wanted to be a part of.

It was a fluke for me! It was like that thing when you have an opportunity to take a step and you are stepping in the right direction and it really suits you.

A stroke of good luck enabled her to discover a desired career path and directed her efforts to set up her own organisation that she founded with a clear goal and strong motivation. She emphasised with confidence, '*I just knew there was a need for it!*'. Because of her previous experience, she discovered a niche for delivering a unique creative experience to variety of audience previously excluded from participation. This is what Fiona continues to do.

4.2.2 Intrinsic work motivations

The four stories presented show that cultural leaders interviewed in this study shared many similar experiences of working in the cultural sector (Table 6). Across the sample, intrinsic motivation emerged as one of the most prominent shared distinctive features of their work experiences. The study showed that leaders and ex-leaders working in the cultural sector indeed perceived it as

different from any other economic sectors. Such understanding seemed to be anchored in the participants' belief in the distinctiveness of individual motivations driving the production of cultural outputs. Unlike other industries driven by a commercial imperative and based on individual producers' extrinsic motivations to earn money, the cultural sector appeared to be dependent on intrinsically motivated individuals longing to produce art for their own self-expression as well as for the enjoyment of cultural audiences³⁷. Thus, not only what individuals produced but why they took part in the cultural production appeared to be important. The belief about the distinctiveness of cultural sector and its underpinning artistic logic is captured in the following words of one of the interviewees.

Art sector is a different sector than shipbuilding. For a long time, there has been a view that it's not that different (...). There are loads of things you can learn from other sectors that make things but at the end of the day, the primary motivation here [in the art sector] is making the [artistic] work and not earning the money. That is what makes arts so different. (Cornelia, industry expert)

Like in the above quote from Cornelia, the intrinsic motivation of people working in the cultural sector emerged as a strong driver of the sector's distinctiveness. Both types of participants – those working in artistic roles as well as those working in administrative/managerial roles – all commonly shared a passion for arts and the art world. This strong emotional engagement with the sector appeared to be influencing participants' choices and decisions. Both the

³⁷ This analysis follows a distinction between internal and external types of motivating stimuli in people's work. This distinction emphasises that Intrinsically motivated individuals achieve satisfaction through their attachment to their work, whereas extrinsically motivated persons tend to be satisfied by factors external to their work, such as pay levels, perks or increased leisure time (Thompson and McHugh, 1995)

leaders and ex-leaders interviewed shared similar stories about their work experience in the sector. They exhibited passion and excitement about the idea of working in the cultural sector from an early age. Allured by arts, cultural leaders followed their inner calls and initially engaged with the artistic imperative either as artists endowed with unique talent and creative vision, or through a variety of administrative roles that required a range of organisational skills. For example, Ana explained her motivation for a career in the sector of performing arts in these words:

I started working there [name of a company] as a volunteer having not got the arts degree, actually having an arts degree but not a drama degree. I studied sociology but I was always interested in theatre and engaging in it not at an amateur level, but you know when my friends at uni would do drama I would help with posters and selling tickets and do all these things. So when I left uni, I realised that I really missed being around these creative people and I would love to try to have a career in theatre. But I'm from [name of a city] and there are only two theatres there, one of which closed down before I returned, so I knew if I want to gain experience I had to go to [name of other city]. Initially I did volunteering, offering to do whatever - from making coffees, posting letters, cleaning toilets – anything really! (Ana, Artistic Director)

At the beginning of her career in the sector, Ana had to earn her living through other part-time jobs, but she was very keen to work for free in a theatre company just so she could observe the environment, familiarise herself with the production process, learn more about how it all works and build up relationships. After a few years, she got her lucky break and was offered the permanent position she dreamt of within the same company. She quickly progressed through the ranks to a role of general manager. Ana's story is not unusual. It shows a common trend amongst other administrative leaders, who often took a random path with no clear plan for career development but they all were always highly motivated, passionate,

faithful to their interest, and consciously following a desire to work in the cultural sector. Kelly told an equally interesting and insightful personal story showing an intrinsic motivation for working in the cultural field.

Kelly (Chief Executive): I trained as a drama teacher in [name of a city] and then I thought I wouldn't like to teach immediately because I felt I was too young to go to schools. There were other things I wanted to do, and sort of again, it's always through friends and through the partners where you end up, and my partner at that time was a theatre director who then moved to [a district] to run a theatre company there, out of the art center. I got involved in that art centre and there was a woman who was running it. She was a director. It was a long time ago, 30 years ago, and I suddenly thought, because I knew I wasn't to be a performer or a technician, or a designer, but I wanted to work in the arts somewhere! And this woman became an inspiration, I just suddenly thought, you need people in arts who are interested in budgets and applications and people and teams, and how you manage really ...

Researcher: know how to manage this creative work?

Kelly: Yeah, absolutely! And that really was a revelation in my mid-20s.

It emerged clearly that Ana, Kelly, leaders introduced in Section 4.2.1, and all other interviewees, shared the same strong motivation for wanting to work in the sector that engages with the artistic logic. Such strong motivation appeared crucial even though the sector's leaders expressed unanimously that they knew or had quickly realised work in the art sector was challenging, highly competitive with limited opportunities for career progression, greatly underpaid and requiring many personal sacrifices. However, the interviews revealed that the cultural leaders were never motivated by, nor were they expecting, financial and reputational gain. Instead, their motivation appeared to be ignited mainly by a passion for making arts or a desire to be part of that unique world of cultural production. This strong intrinsic motivation could explain why cultural leaders tend to emphasise a difference between following an artistic rather than a commercial motivation in their

work enactments. Such priority has been expressed in the following statement from Lena.

You don't do this job for money... and it's a different kind of job... You don't leave work or your office at 5 [pm] and then you go home. It is sort of with you all the time. When you go to [name of venues], you see 'Oh, they have a little cafe there, and they have posters there', and you start thinking how maybe we could use that for our show'. It's an ongoing thing! (Lena, Artistic Director)

The leaders' passion and dedication for work in the cultural sector was shared unanimously. Such passion and dedication appeared to have its origin in strong individual motivation – not only artistic, but also a perceived cultural mission shaped by a desire to make an impact on people's lives through one's involvement in the world of artistic endeavours. Such motivation seemed to be preserved in the form of belief about the role of arts in human development, which cultural leaders showed they possessed. This belief emerged as a strong foundation of the sector's artistic logic and a criterion differentiating cultural production from any other commercial production.

4.2.3. Artistic ambitions and economic imperative

Participants' reflections on what it means to be a cultural leader also revealed two imperatives inherent to the cultural sector. The interviews with leaders showed a strong presence of artistic logic in their work, which manifested their intrinsic motivation, strong artistic ambitions and views. Leaders understood the essence of the cultural sector lies in the artistic imperative that prioritises artistic expression and aesthetic value, and therefore they acted upon an imperative that supports such artistic priority. As visible in Katie's response,

cultural leaders thought a need for artistic engagement and aesthetic experience distinguish humans and thus seeking to fulfil such quality is natural.

[Arts] is what distinguishes us! It shows what is special about our life that takes us beyond simply being able to feed ourselves, cloth ourselves, shelter.... It's about taking life beyond basics of human existence. You can exist if you get sufficient amount of nutrients and sleep - that's the basic-beyond that is what makes us distinctive in terms of our worldview. (Katie, Executive Producer & CEO)

Participating leaders shared a view that artistic logic is what underlies cultural production and what differentiates it from any other commercially-driven production. The previous sub-section (4.2.2) pointed out the link between the cultural sector's distinctiveness and the leaders' intrinsic work motivation. By prioritising the artistic ambitions in the running of their organisations as well as in their individual work activities, leaders admitted to be aiming to produce unique artistic propositions and thus enabling audiences to experience unique artistic value.

However, the increasing influence of the market (and its commercial concerns) has challenged the traditionally perceived purity of artistic motivations. Interviews with cultural leaders revealed an underlying tension between the realms of arts and commerce. On the one hand, leaders recognised the inevitability of economic logic in today's cultural production (see also 4.3.2), on the other hand, they seemed to view artistic goals and motivations as superior to economic rationale and commercial concerns in cultural production. In particular, enabling artistic expression and creative experimentation was pointed out by leaders as their primary concern, rather than money-making. Monica, one of the artistic

leaders, summarised the sector's motivation for engaging in the cultural production in this quote: *'In the end we do what we do because we are interested in the creativity!'*, whereas Lena strongly expressed the absurdity - in her opinion - of imposing the economic rationale on artistic endeavours and practices, which are not driven by a financial gain.

It's ridiculous! Art is not business, it can become business but you can't run an art organisation like you run an insurance company. It's impossible! Art stands above the money even if we need money to do it.

This does not mean, however, that cultural leaders expressed no awareness of a possible coexistence between artistic and economic imperatives. The last quote captured a strong reaction from Lena, an artistic leader who objected to the increasingly popular trend of making public cultural organisations adopt more commercial thinking in order to be less reliant on public funding. Lena recognised that finances are an integral part of the cultural production and her company's artistic future, but she refused to accept that the economic logic should supersede the artistic ambitions, which she deeply believed were a driving force of all activities in the cultural sector. For Lena and many of her colleagues, the artistic logic is preoccupied with artistry, creation, expression, experimentation, disruption, reflection and an artistic risk, rather than a mass-selling of tickets for popular performances driven by financial motivations, what is commonly captured in the practice of 'putting the most bums on seats' as the sector colloquially calls it.

It should not be about who gets most bums on seats, because people who push the boundaries and challenge the status quo are also needed. They are not ones who produce the most popular work and provide the biggest audiences, but diversity is needed. Arts won't grow if we don't allow people to make mistakes, to be there out and different, for people to try new things,

otherwise the winner is who brings more people to the theatre, and that is not arts anymore. We are slowly closing down, diversity seen in the brochures is less and less, but rather safe bookings and more commercial arts. (Amber, Artistic Director)

By 'safe bookings' Amber meant a cultural proposition that is often artistically compromised, yet produced in order to fill venues and generate much needed revenue. Leaders experienced this area of contention between the economic imperatives and artistic responsibilities in their work roles. Artistic leaders and their administrative colleagues expressed clearly that making artistically ambitious art is their ultimate goal, and therefore, they appeared to be highly critical of the increasingly overwhelming commercial pressures and the compromises they and their organisations are often forced to make.

Securing funding for more experimental, "pushing the barriers" work is important and it is absolutely the kind of work we should be doing and presenting for all the right reasons despite this work is often risky and has unpredictable financial pay-offs. The new original work often fails to generate a substantive financial return in comparison to more commercial propositions but our responsibility is to make brave and ambitious artistic work. (Katie)

The tension between the artistic and economic imperatives perceived by leaders emerged even more when participants were asked about what they perceived their responsibilities in the cultural sector to be. Lena suggested such responsibility is two-fold.

Everyone needs art. We need arts as much as we need food. Our responsibility is for that to be possible, for artists to be able to make arts, but also to the community to be able to do art on the amateur level.

Leaders' faithful engagement with the artistic imperative meant the need to follow an artistic logic, like Lena did. In so doing, she strove to sustain the future of

the sector through production and promotion of artistic work she believed has a unique value. On the one hand, this involved a continuous consideration and support for artists; on the other hand, this also meant responding to the needs of audiences.

4.2.4 Being ‘a good leader’: stewardship roles in the cultural sector

Cultural leaders across the study sample perceived their main work responsibility to be concerned with the present and the future ‘well-being’ of the cultural sector. This suggests that responsibility of leaders seemed to have a clear aim in ensuring development of provisions and support opportunities for creative workers and their artistic work, which can be then appreciated by different audiences across society. Individual leaders’ responsibility appeared to be awakened by concerns in relation to the ‘well-being’ of their staff (artists and non-artists), other collaborators and the overall ‘health’ of the sector. These concerns seemed to be mobilised by a deep care for the sector they all committed to and admitted to love. For example, Kelly expressed such commitment to the cultural sector, which she called her ‘personal ecology’, as difficult to abandon:

I thought I might go to [work in] the third sector, and I still have thoughts about it, because there are skills that you can take to other sector but ultimately, if you've worked in the arts, you will miss the creative people. I think that is my ecology, that is my personal ecology and that is what feeds me.

Kelly perceived that ‘personal ecology’ of creative people as her “work family”, as Brian did too (pp. 117-118), towards which she felt she had a duty to fulfil. The care for people and personal relationships developed thus stopped her

from seeking work out with the cultural sector, as she admitted that it was not easy to disengage from working in the sector that is a part of her work identity. Similarly, other leaders' perception of their role responsibility emerged as central to their workplace engagement entwined within a network of relationship with staff, partner organisations, sponsors, audiences, projects, and places (like theatre houses, rehearsal studios, creative hubs or festival venues). The quote below expresses well this complex role responsibility:

One of the things you do almost every minute while you are doing the job is managing the relationships. You either manage internal debate, discussion, conflict, you manage how your organisation relates to its core stakeholders, audiences etc. That's what the role is about. (Craig, Artistic Director & Chief Executive)

Craig also added:

Unlike a lot of other ecologies this one is fundamentally about humans interacting with humans, rather than different organisms (...). If you are working in the arts ecology and you care about it, then you have responsibility for it because the actions you'll take will have an impact and repercussions.

Craig's and other leaders' commitment to the community of artists across Scotland manifested itself through their deep support for talent development. They understood the need for creation of 'seedbeds' (Kelly) or 'rockbeds' (Garry, Artistic Director), meaning creation of opportunities for new artistic productions. Leaders clearly perceived their work as a service to the creative workers in the cultural sector, which continuously required them to be facilitators, guardians and stewards for the community of cultural producers. Being a good leader thus also meant to be sensitive to the needs of artists and non-artistic staff, and be actively engaged in the introduction of critical improvements in the areas of working conditions and

career development in the sector. For example, Amber voiced these types of concern very strongly:

Those are the things I'm concerned about. You need to pay people properly! A lot of young people now are doing things for free or for the experience, making projects themselves with no money and that's great way to start but it's not sustainable. You can't live like that because otherwise, particularly older people, will drift away!

All cultural leaders agreed to share responsibility for the support and sustainable development of artists at all stages of their careers. They particularly agreed that finding and nurturing creative talent is essential to the short and long-term success of the sector, as according to the industry expert, Bobby, *'without that continuous supply of fresh blood and ideas the cultural ecology would stop growing'*. Hence, leaders felt they are obliged to challenge and influence the existing employment patterns in the cultural sector. For instance, some leaders saw their role as influencing and promoting good practices, such as setting safety and quality standards, training frameworks and benchmark for contractual agreements (e.g. minimum payment, sick pay and maternity leave) to prevent a loss of creative talent.

In addition, leaders of bigger organisations felt their responsibility for *'helping out'* - as Katie phrased – other smaller or less established cultural producers in the performing arts sector through resources, capacity and expertise sharing as well as supportive collaborations. For Katie, these endeavours were perceived as contributing further to a provision of opportunities in the sector, and were based on *'generosity of spirit'* and *'a leadership of quiet statements'*. As the quote below demonstrates, Katie found a real value in leadership that is driven by

an authentic motivation and exercised to make a difference in the lives of other cultural workers:

in a very thoughtful and considerate way, because in a quiet way you can demonstrate that you are taking lead; it's about being generous and welcoming and facilitating whenever possible.

She and many of her colleagues appeared to be driven in their work enactments by the mission of creating 'something bigger than any individual organisation could do themselves', that is, situations and moments for collective creative work. As leaders suggested, however, these could happen only in a sector that is well led and looked after. The analysis of cultural leaders' role responsibilities thus shows a relevant connection between three important levels: the cultural sector as a whole - cultural organisations with cultural leaders - and individual creative workers. Cultural leaders emerged as centrally important because as senior organisational actors they are in a position to shape the context of work experience for other creative workers. As the Scottish cultural sector is small and well connected, leaders' decisions happen to influence a range of practices across the sector. The practices of 'championing', mentoring and advocacy thus appeared to be an overarching responsibility of all leaders.

Our role is to champion [name of genres] in Scotland primary through two festivals. First one focuses on manipulating the scene and encouraging Scottish practitioners to develop interesting work internationally, other festival supports Scottish practitioners to find work and present it in the rural part of Scotland, where the [cultural] provision is not great. It's about displaying work in the non-traditional venues, like village halls, schools, leisure centres etc. So the role of [name of his organisation] is to provide these opportunities but also to help Scottish artists develop their technique and creative skills through workshops and other opportunities that we can provide. (John, General Director)

The perceived work-role responsibilities of cultural leaders align with their intrinsic motivation already discussed in Section 4.2.2 and illustrate a “greater-than-the-self” type of concern. As in the passage from John, his care for future generations of creative workers is manifested through being a mentor to artists. This practice involves a sharing of professional knowledge and expertise, or highlighting opportunities for work and a need for advancing one’s own skill-sets. Other leaders pointed out that emotional support, and metaphorically expressed, being “someone’s shoulder to cry on” is as important as knowledge sharing (see quote from Brian, p.117). Advocacy emerged as another demanding, yet highly important dimension of leaders’ work. As Robert revealed, advocacy involves making and voicing argument for financial subsidy of the sector, particularly in the context of high dependency of arts on public funds. For this reason, the leaders’ knowledge of debate on the different models of administering and financing arts, and internationally made arguments for the public subsidy of arts, emerged as an important highlight of leaders’ role responsibility, although a difficult one too:

We are involved in advocacy on the behalf of the sector, and we have to think carefully about the political environment that we are working in when we arguing for our money for the sector. Cause if you don't do that, you are going to fail, because they [funders] are not going to pay you, and that's unfortunately where we struggle to win an argument in terms of support for our work. (Robert)

Being a good leader also means to get on well with the staff working in leaders’ organisations. For example, the conversation with Silvia (Artistic Director) and Katie showed their very modest view of themselves. Katie talked about ‘quiet leadership’ style (p.135), with no intention to show off or impress but rather to facilitate. Similarly, Silvia emphasised the importance of the whole team

engagement in the successful performance of her organisation. For her, being a good leader meant to be a team player who is able to realise the efforts of all workers and acknowledges their individual input. She appeared to appreciate a distributed form of leadership and emphasised the particular importance of her administrative partner who deals with the non-artistic activities in the organisation. Silvia's humble response captures an appreciation for her partner:

Everyone thinks that I'm the loud one, everyone thinks [the organisation] is me! I might be the vision, but the backbone of what would the company fall apart without, is her [the company's manager].

This quote illustrates that being a leader in the sector requires an ability to form close partnerships. This example of such close cooperation between artistic and administrative directors, who chose to share work responsibilities, is common in the sector. It aims to mobilise accumulated skills of both partners by allowing them to devote their time to particular areas in order to bring the best of their complimentary skills to benefit the team and the entire organisations. Thanks to such close partnership, it seems the partnership at other levels (e.g. sector-leaders or leaders-other creative workers) can also be strengthened.

4.2.5 Civic responsibilities

In addition to their perceived responsibilities towards the cultural sector's creative workers, participants presented themselves also as fulfilling wider civic responsibilities. They held a strong belief that the very essence of the sector's work is not just the ability to produce art but also to fulfil people's aesthetic, moral, civic and existential needs. Consequently, the leaders felt a duty towards cultural

audiences to help fulfil those needs. It seemed that leaders understood audiences firstly, as people with common existential problems, hopes, dreams, desires, aspirations, creative/artistic needs, and only secondly as consumers who pay for performance tickets. This finding is consistent with the leaders' prioritisation of the artistic logic (4.2.3).

The participants shared the view that cultural production was an important material and symbolic reality they saw as *'a part of an everyday experience of people'* (John). In their opinion, this reality is *'deeply rooted in human experience because it says something universal about life'* (Lena) and because *'through the arts you can understand what it means to be human'* (Craig). For all the above reasons, and as John simply summarised *'because culture matters!'*, leaders appeared to feel greatly responsible for enabling the cultural audiences (or a wider public) to engage with and be inspired by participation in arts. This means that in the eyes of cultural leaders, cultural organisations have a responsibility to inform and challenge the new generations of citizens through the means of creativity, reflection, imagination and artistry. Leaders thus understood the role of arts as an opportunity to enrich the lives of cultural audiences and shape the nation's thinking, aspirations and values. An artistic experience is seen to serve as a platform for awakening spirit and helping people to cope with everyday reality, particularly in economically difficult times.

In difficult times people need to go to the theatre, need to go to the concerts, need to get involved in arts to survive! (...) Arts always existed alongside human beings, there always have been rituals, story-telling, there has always been arts carved in stones - if nothing else the arts is there!
(Lena)

Jimmy, who represented a cultural youth organisation, saw arts as crucial and vital for shaping societal values, dynamics, attitudes and the country's *'level of culturisation'*. A collective attitude towards arts, each other and the place which people inhabit was important for Jimmy as in his view it shows *'how well-cultured the nation is, how well people treat culture'*. The importance of culture and arts in people's lives and for the country's cultural profile seemed to preoccupy cultural leaders more than other goals, for example income generation. It clearly emerged from the interviewees' responses that the artistic ambitions of leaders seemed to be mixed with a whole spectrum of social and civic values and responsibilities. The commonly expressed ambition of participants was a committed service to *'making [their work] strong and compelling for people to engage'* (Katie). As one artistic director pointed out:

We put stuff out here [on stage] influencing people's thinking, asking them to engage, comment - it's a big responsibility! (Garry)

Participants appeared to be driven by this opportunity to engage the public with the world of creativity, to stimulate their self-development, to make them challenge all preconceived beliefs, tastes and views of the world and to make them understand what it takes to be a creative and expressive human being. Such responsibility appeared to involve a heuristic process of abandoning all logics and instead making risky experiments driven by intuition. Craig, one of the leaders of a theatre-based company said:

We want to disrupt how we communicate and relate to one another as the society because we kind of want you [the audience] to leave feeling a bit different about stuff.

Craig understood such “disruption idea” as a deliberate intention to present to audiences ‘*a different way*’, i.e. something unexpected, original and thought provoking. He also expressed his belief that the same “disruption idea” should drive the administrative side of the cultural leaders’ daily work, which means rejection of tried and tested formulas that are safe but might prevent a discovery of potentially better ways of communicating, learning and working. Craig admitted there is a conflict in his work between traditional (he used the term ‘corporate’) understanding of how one leads and manages a cultural organisation and a primary function of the arts which in his opinion is the “social interruptions”. This conflict comes with the cultural leaders’ job and they have to find the way to cope with that tension.

Moreover, the cultural leaders’ sense of social responsibility emerged as linked with their active involvement in promoting social justice and actively engaging in the process of driving social change through the medium of arts.

There is a need for understanding different audiences, and hence changing other people's perceptions and beliefs. Theatre is the place to make these changes. If we can't achieve that in the theatre it will be difficult to achieve it anywhere else. It doesn't matter in what art forms but we need to make sure that everyone is represented. (Garry)

Particularly in very contentious matters or taboo topics, some leaders felt obliged to voice these problems through their organisations’ artistic work. Garry’s narrative elicited a great responsibility for overcoming the barriers of social injustice and displaying great sensitivity towards the dreams of less privileged citizens.

In the field where people's stories were not heard for a long time, there is a need to tell these stories in a different way, sometimes from the different cultural perspective. My primary responsibility is to tell these stories with sensitivity and confidence. (Garry)

This perceived social and deeply human need for arts and creativity, as shown in Garry's case, appeared as underpinning the leaders' views on and enactments of civic responsibility and was shared unanimously by all participants in the study. The role of the arts was emphasised to support the development of citizenship and assist in the process of critical reflection, so crucial in any enactments promoting social change. This is why leaders' responses suggest they viewed arts and the cultural production at the core of strong societies because in their opinion arts and cultural production more generally had an important function to play in a development of individual and societal values.

4.3 Changes and challenges in the cultural sector

This section presents findings on the changing context of work in the Scottish cultural sector as perceived by cultural leaders. The interviewees mentioned two main groups of changes that they perceived to be the sector's responses to a broader development in society. Leaders saw the first group of changes as "evolution" of the sector within society driven by the transformations in the market, whereas the second group of changes was seen as imposed by the changing cultural policy. The first group includes changes such as decreasing audiences and greater competition between cultural producers for limited funding, and participants referred to those as "organic". The changes in the second group include increased socio-economic expectations of the funder and the overly

bureaucratic way in which these are expected to be demonstrated by the cultural producers; these changes were perceived as “inorganic”. The leaders’ views on these changes will be presented in the following sub-sections. The impacts of these changes on leaders’ work and the lives of their organisations are of a particular importance for deeper understanding of the changing Scottish cultural sector and the leaders’ position in it.

4.3.1 Wide understanding of the cultural sector

In attempt to understand how cultural leaders make sense of their wider work context they were asked to describe who belongs to the cultural sector. Cultural leaders’ responses showed they see it as a professionalised and organised system of work and career. Leaders saw the following institutions and professional bodies as part of the cultural sector: the government, the funder³⁸, other funders and private sponsors, the sector skills council, educational establishments, policy-makers, other non-governmental bodies responsible for overseeing the cultural sector and cultural producers (organisational and independent agents). The quote below shows Lena’s very inclusive understanding of the cultural sector’s composition:

It’s everyone in the sector!

Prompted to develop her thought, she emphasised a diversity of institutional structures in the cultural sector in these words:

³⁸ Following the background context of the study (Chapter 2), this chapter continues to focus on the dynamics between the cultural sector and a one specific funder. Although this particular funder is not the only existing funding body, it is the biggest and the most important one for the Scottish context.

It's everything that has to do with the culture, like... the funders who distribute money and organisations - big and small, and anyone who is creative... doesn't matter whether you do it on your own, or through commercial or public organisations.

Commonly, cultural leaders recalled a heterogeneous collective of cultural producers as being crucial to the cultural sector. The emphasis was placed on the interconnected and collaborative nature of the sector and the collectively shared responsibility of all cultural producers for making the performance (creative) work. Such interconnectivity can be understood in terms of a strong relationship and a mutual awareness of each other in the production space they all share, without necessarily always engaging in the co-productions. For leaders, the relationship with the wider environment relates to having the same purpose and occupying the same metaphorical space that reflects their shared values and common artistic aims.

I think it means, in part, we are all aware of each other, we can relate to each other - even if this means no direct engagement in the project. In the Scottish context, by large, we are part of a greater arts culture, and we want to see that we all have place in there, that we can fit in and that our place is valued. (John)

This form of understanding appears as part of the creative workers' greater need for belonging, or precisely speaking, being a part of the community that recognises, values and supports each other. This is why some respondents made explicit comparison between the cultural sector and a single living organism, of which all parts are related to each other, of which some processes are shared, and which has to respond to the external and internal pressures. Such vision of connectivity aspires to minimise the barriers and isolation between the cultural organisations by bringing people together and helping them to realise how the

overall performance of the sector is affected by happenings and endeavours at the sector, organisational and individual levels. Craig's thinking, however, displayed even more international or global character of the sector's interconnectivity:

We are so interdependent on one another. A large part of what we do here is staging the [artistic] work (...) we are hugely reliant on the greater endeavour happening in other places in Scotland, in other places in the UK and in other places in the world.

Leaders with optimism related to an idea of sharing the same space with a diversity of other cultural producers, which is potentially linked with their intrinsic motivation to work in the sector that produces arts. As already suggested, this type of motivation incorporates a satisfaction with being surrounded by creative people and their creative ideas. As Natasha argued, for all participants, working in the sector *"is about working with like-minded individuals, who have similar interest to you"*. Leaders emphasised this collective spirit of joy is always about greatly relying on each other even when occasionally disagreeing on the aesthetics of each other's work.

However, cultural leaders also included the funder, audiences, and other industries in their understanding of the sector's environment. This interestingly showed the cultural sector's composition as expanding beyond inclusivity reserved for artists, other creative workers and the industry experts. By acknowledging the importance of audiences, leaders did not object to the close interconnections between the cultural production and consumption. They did not object to links with other industries such as sport, heritage, tourism, health and education, as long as the arts remain in the centre of interest.

You always start with arts and artistic work, and not with money, jobs, contributions etc. If you start from this view [art-focused] you see how everything else spins out from that. Of course what happens is that you start creating jobs for artists, enterprises, economic growth, tourism, and all other things but you must start with the arts! (Cornelia)

Consistently with their views on the priority of the artistic imperative over the economic one, leaders understood the cultural sector rather inclusively. They showed openness to a wide understanding of the cultural sector, i.e. its composition not being limited to the artists and cultural organisations but instead being also a part of the society and wider economy. Although leaders expressed a belief in artistic merit as an underlying factor of connectivity with associated industries, a potential tension has been discovered and its root is believed to be the distinctiveness of the cultural production from any other sector of the economy (4.2.3). Leaders admitted that blurring the boundaries between the two worlds (artistic and economic) might be dangerous; however, that tension is unavoidable because increasingly leaders have to justify their organisations' work in relation to the wider economy. This is what funders expect them to do. Thus on the one hand, preserving the uniqueness of the sector and on the other hand, utilising the connections with a non-artistic world, appeared as unresolved conflict in leaders' work.

4.3.2 Organic changes in the cultural sector

According to cultural leaders, the reality of the cultural sector has changed in recent years. Leaders perceived the sector to be now much more diverse in terms of the range, scale and scope of the artistic work produced. Participants

pointed out that more small-scale theatre and dance companies producing interesting artistic outputs had appeared in the cultural sector. This appearance of multiple players has shifted balance in the sector towards a more 'democratic' system, as explicitly suggested by Robert. This democratisation of the cultural field ended an era, when only big producing companies (often of a national status) were dictating the dynamics in the sector. In the eyes of today's leaders, a current strong representation of small cultural producers, who appeared to be doing equally interesting and challenging productions, helped in preserving the sector's artistic aims and motivations. Interestingly, as the interviewees emphasised, some of these small and thriving companies have not even had their own theatre building or a practice space, yet they managed to deliver acclaimed artistic outputs. With this wider range of active cultural producers, the opportunities for artistically novel work collaborations have increased. However, as leaders admitted, at the same time these increased opportunities did not make artistic production any easier, because securing funding became harder than ever, particularly when the national budget for culture has been slashed.

The money and funding is the greatest challenge of today. It always has been but now it's more than ever! (Kelly)

Amber added:

Today venues are less funded, audiences are tougher to get, everything has got more expensive and you have less and less income. It is harder to get funding and generally it's tougher in terms of finances.

Katie further explained the challenge of limited funding opportunities in these words:

Less money is being generated from trusts and foundations and there is an increased competition for these resources. Business sponsors equally are much more conscious about partnerships and investments, wanting more for their input. What used to be assured financial foundation is not anymore. Now [this] is insecure, so there is a sense of vulnerability there [in the sector] that hasn't been seen previously. So we have to be even more competitive to secure tickets sale and to attract and retain audiences.

Such serious financial challenge has been pointed out by leaders to be a consequence of the most recent economic downturn during which the cultural sector's non-commercial work in particular has been exposed to the scarcity of diminishing financial resources. The economic recession has limited not only the financial resources available to cultural organisations in terms of subsidies but has also decreased the size of cultural audiences. Thus, leaders admitted feeling they had to compete not just with each other but also with other leisure activities that might attract audiences, which in their view appeared as a difficult task.

Times have changed, in the past audiences were full. People who would go and see five things [shows] a month now go to see one thing [show]. It's not that they stopped to go but they cut down. Also, those [spectators] who would go and venture to see something new - something out of their comfort zone – [they] cannot afford taking the risk. Going to a show is perceived to be a risk now, maybe because you can find a lot of info[rmation] about the film or a music group but going to see stuff in the theatre is associated with a greater risk. (Amber)

Despite a civic responsibility towards audiences and their aesthetic needs (4.2.5), leaders declared that their work enactments are equally concerned with audiences as consumers. On the one hand, cultural leaders and their organisations make artistic work for the cultural and personal enrichment of their audiences; on the other hand, they rely on their interest and income. Leaders admitted the importance of support from audience; in particular, their interest and financial support are crucial for the continuity of the artistic exploration as well as

an overall sustainability of the sector. This support, however, as leaders highlighted, continues to be threatened by the economic circumstances of post-recession. Monica, who is an artistic leader in a dance sub-sector, gave a rather different account of the sector in the 70s and 80s captured from a former performer's perspective. Monica explained these were times much better for the sector in terms of audience interest. *'There was a massive dance boom in 70s'* she said. Her company toured for fourteen weeks and did eight shows per week of two different programmes completely filling in the venues. She added:

This is not much possible today for the contemporary dance company to fill in a [theatre] house! (...) So sector has changed in sense that there isn't the audience in the same way, but there is more dance, and dancers. (...) The sector of dance is confidently evolving and trying to adapt in order to survive, and I think it is going to evolve again. The [public] money is disappearing and the first things that will suffer are the arts so it [the sector] will have to evolve.

In many ways, cultural leaders saw the process of adaptation to the current financial and audience-related challenges as 'organic' (Robert). This means that these perceived challenges related to the changing economic reality have not arrived suddenly, but they emerged as "a natural cycle of development" (William). Leaders have observed the market influences on cultural production for a long time and have become slowly aware of a commercial rationale entering the artistic realm, with - as they claimed - very different sets of motivations, purposes and outcomes (4.2.3). Leaders in the study explained that dismissing an inevitable influence of market considerations on the development of the sector would be naive because cultural production today, whether they liked it or not, is organically

part of a wider market system. Thus, they found themselves learning to adapt by accepting a continuous evolution of the sector that is illustrated in Craig's passage:

Generally as the world we are going through a period of huge change at a very fast pace and therefore the cultural sector has to be a part of that change. Actually, it probably doesn't have a choice. The change is happening - the way we communicate, the way money is made, which countries are actually having economic development and which are having economic decline. All of that has changed hugely in the last decade.

Craig appeared to appreciate the complex dynamics between artistic aspirations and business requirements, both being an integral part of the evolving cultural sector. He acknowledged the increasing prominence of the economic imperative in the changing national and global socio-economic contexts, yet according to him, these changing contexts require a more open-minded understanding of cultural production as a part of an increasingly interconnected economic system in which artistic activities have to find their place. As signalled in the previous section, some of his colleagues, found this inter-sectorial connectedness challenging. Not all of them felt ready to embrace such a change in attitude, particularly the older leaders. However, they were not overly idealistic either. They admitted that the cultural sector today is unavoidably part of an organised system of production, which cannot exist without its market system. This realisation appeared to make cultural leaders increasingly aware of the business side of cultural production. Moreover, Craig associated ability to generate money, for example from tickets sales, as an opportunity for a lesser dependency on the unpredictability of public funding.

If you generate money yourself, if you are more efficient then you are more resilient and if you are more resilient you can be in charge of your own destiny as an organisation.

Other participants also seemed to appreciate the importance of having a strong, reliable audience as a source of steady income that frees them from relying on the funders and sponsors. Kelly appeared very appreciative of such financial freedom:

We are also very lucky that those community people pay us, so 2/3 of our income we earn through [named activities]. It gives us a huge freedom as we are not dependent heavily on [the funder]. I mean 1/3 of our income is a lot of money, it's £300.000 that we get but if this vanishes tomorrow, and we thought about it because sometimes things get hard... I think they will always give us a bit of support but it's not going to be twice that ever! If we can't rely on them [the funder] for our expansion then we have to find a way so we can still have a space and be here for our [named artists].

A few other leaders also reported that money-conscious and audience-led production became very important in their daily practices. They seemed to understand the pressing and increasingly prominent economic imperative present in the reality of cultural production. Silvia, one of the artistic directors, commented:

We all need to move with times, adjust to new objectives and new expectations. It's an observation not a criticism.

This quote expressed an acceptance for adaptation to the organically changing conditions in which leaders themselves and other creative workers make, produce and lead artistic endeavours. Silvia pointed out that creative workers have had to recognise the increasing importance of market-principles and accept it. Acceptance for the economic engagement has increased dramatically as artists and artistic directors like her have become aware of the strong relationship between artistic successes and economic needs. In addition, the role

responsibilities that in the artistic world have traditionally been divided between artistic and general directors have increasingly become combined and are now often exercised by one person only, particularly in the smaller cultural organisations with limited budget. However, even if the dual leadership still exists, artistic leaders have just had to understand and accept that economic matters can influence artistic decisions.

Art [sector] today is in a very different place than it was 50 years ago. 50 years ago you had your big institutions with directors who just directed and general managers or administrators who run the company. Director would come, direct and go, that's it! I think you can't work anymore in the creative industries without understanding the business side. Personally, I think it's very important to work as a team. It's not just the cast and directors because administrators are probably doing more work. It really takes the teamwork to deliver the vision so you have to understand the budgeting and restraints on many levels. I think that's important today. (Silvia)

The interviewees recognised that the growing awareness of the business side of cultural production marked a change in the domain of publically-funded art. Many experienced cultural leaders (with 20 or more years of working in the field), remembered times when their budget was stable and secured, so that they could afford to be preoccupied mostly with artistic aims and goals. However, the shrinking public resources and a greater competition within the sector seemed to influence how leaders think about the business side of cultural production. Quotes already discussed clearly show an increased awareness of the changing context, yet there is also a lack of strong evidence that a real shift in leaders' attitudes towards the increasing importance of the economic imperative took place. Rather, an area of tension has been noticed that resembles an unavoidable compromise. Leaders' quotes suggest that although changing context of cultural production

forced cultural leaders to consider being more responsive to the needs of the market, this has not been perceived as an easy choice. Many leaders appeared not to fully accept the increasing prevalence of economic imperative in fear of it possibly jeopardising the very essence of cultural production (4.2.3). Consequently, they thought the increasingly prominent economic imperative could also endanger the social values and civic responsibilities of leaders (4.2.5). While the cultural leaders declared their willingness to adapt, as shown in this section, at the same time they felt uneasy about making commercial success come before artistic ambitions. Within such precarious context, leaders appeared as not completely idealistic but neither completely calculative as they did not wish substitution of artistic motivations by the economic imperative.

4.3.3 Inorganic changes in the sector

Interviews with leaders brought about interesting findings also on the type of changes in the sector that could be interpreted as “inorganic”, because participants used explicitly words such as “artificial” (William), “invented” (Matthew), “not natural” (Lena) or “constructed” (Katie) in descriptions of this type of change. The inorganic aspect of the changes relates to a deliberate shift in cultural policy. Since the policy-makers discovered that the cultural industry could generate economic profits, they started to expect cultural producers to deliver more than simply artistic outcomes. Artistic success thus started to be assessed by politicians and funders in accordance with the economic framework. Monica expressed such transformation in these words:

We are currently in an environment where business success or a commercial success is considered a good thing and anything that is not commercial is considered as a failure.

This increasing prevalence of commercial thinking has of course impacted on the cultural organisations and forced them to pay greater attention to the audiences and the production of artistic work that would attract more ‘bums on seats’ (Amber, quote pp. 130-131). Leaders believed that cultural politicians and funders took an active role in promoting non-artistic imperatives because these were easier to satisfy a need for qualitatively measurable and justifiable contributions of the sector, despite the fact that such approach undermines arts.

Now people want things nice and neat because it is easier to tick boxes and categorise. Perhaps for administrators it makes their lives much easier but arts shouldn't be neat, they should be messy, it should be process-orientated and artists-led. I think it is a bad idea to try to make it fit into the categories. (Amber)

Amber thought that instead of focusing on subjective aesthetic experience of audiences, funders started to assess the artistic success by socio-economic impacts, or by number-crunching performed on the artistic work (e.g. income or audience figures) with an aim to standardise the performance evaluation of cultural organisations in both economic and social terms. According to cultural leaders, the logic of ‘social impact’ has been another powerful new imperative that arrived in the cultural sector. Thus the leaders of cultural organisations, who wanted to secure funding for their organisations’ artistic projects or the running costs, had to engage with this new logic because they knew the work of their organisations would be financially supported only if they had met the political agenda of ‘economic growth and efficiency’, ‘cultural tourism’ or ‘social equality, inclusion and

diversity'. In the eyes of artistic leaders like Monica, this represents a substantial inorganic change in the cultural sector.

The role of dance companies has shifted hugely. It used to be a sort of elite thing in the past. These days there are huge expectations from us to engage in the community work, for instance by delivering workshops to different age groups. Dancers understand that it is not just an elite art form anymore, and that they have to make people interested in dance, and make them feel part of it. Sometimes there is a danger in that, because the time and energy invested in these tasks are massive. Yet, this is the simplest contract allowing companies to be funded. It doesn't mean that they [companies and dancers] are not interested in this kind of work but it should not be only about the community work.

Not only Monica, but other leaders too admitted the Scottish government and the funding bodies appeared in their eyes to adopt a utilitarian model to assess arts and culture, using creativity for political and economic gain. Leaders voiced their reservations towards this changing approach in the public arts policy because to them cultural utilitarianism represented a potentially threatening shift in what was expected from today's cultural producers – not in terms of their artistic but mostly of their 'other' obligations. To the cultural leaders, this new way of operating seemed to undermine the central position of the artistic aims and rationale, favouring instead the assessment of artistic practices on non-artistic grounds. The utilitarian approach to valuing culture was noted as inappropriate and leaders expressed their dissatisfaction with principles such as 'return on investment' and 'value for money' deriving from an over-simplistic, measurement-focused economic thinking. Robert explained the utilitarian trend in the funder's audit practice and its preoccupation with measuring the immediate effects of arts and artistic performance in these words:

It is this way of thinking, for example, if you can't afford to stay open, then why the public should support you? (...) Value for money is the utilitarian need for measuring, seeing immediate and direct effects etc. that [in arts] can't be measured. This is why the funding disputes are so contentious and making arguments for arts becomes a high up on the agenda of many artists and leaders.

Cultural leaders were unanimous in thinking that artistic activities have a different purpose from being evaluated in accordance with a short-term principle of socio-economic impacts (quantitatively measured!). Thus, what irritated interviewees was not the social or economic concerns, (as they admitted cultural production takes place in the socio-economic environment, 4.3.2; and social motivations are close to the leaders' heart, 4.2.5), but the new limiting funding approach. Leaders interpreted the increasing obsession with this utilitarian thinking as being driven by external agents (such as funders and politicians) whose new bureaucratic requirements challenged the essence of the sector and the nature of the leaders' work. They felt such limited socio-economic goals should have never influenced funding policy. The quote below exemplifies the feelings commonly shared amongst the participants about tensions in their work caused by the inorganic agendas and the funder's requirements imposed to meet an increasing set of non-artistic criteria - some perhaps legitimate, but obsessive measuring and placing them centrally definitely less so.

The sector is facing a continuous problem with an obsession of the government and bureaucrats [policy and funding officers] with measuring things while arts are exactly about what cannot be measured. There is little predictability in arts, even with regards to prestigious organisations - in one season they might be great, the next one, not so good. It's about the false security of funder, their accountability. Their goal is to avoid failures, but art is about experimenting, making choices, failing, trying by error. Also, one production is not supposed to be suited for all [audiences], whereas

requirements for producers and makers are to meet all the criteria, like 'equality', 'access', 'place', etc.". (William, industry expert and ex-leader)

Leaders disapproved these different sets of expectations as they felt they had to justify their organisations' spending plans by emphasising the benefit of their activities for the audiences, communities and the overall economy before these were even known. In William's opinion, the sector collectively has to constantly fight a battle against the current political agenda driven by economic gains.

I suppose part of the problem is that arts are constantly fighting this battle. It is fighting battle that shouldn't be fighting. It fights the bureaucrats who want to measure things, it fights the politicians who want to get re-elected in the few years' time, and it's fighting spending rounds that are based on one year, two years, three years where actually arts need five, ten, fifteen years. Art is disruptive and unpredictable. It is not about strategies, cultural plans and targets - this loses the point of what arts are for. (William)

For that very reason of focusing on meeting these new expectations to secure money for their practices, leaders experienced insecurities, worries and frustrations related to them feeling they were potentially overlooking the essence of artistic work. William's position as an industry expert and ex-leader allowed him to speak freely about this very contentious aspect of the work in the cultural sector. He explicitly blamed the 'bureaucratic requirements' for distracting the cultural producers from their daily artistic ambitions.

The sector is an interesting place to work although it has changed over time. It is a more difficult place to work because of the increasing legal and administrative requirements such as health and safety and employment laws, and the ever-increasing bureaucracy that often blocks the artistic plans and undertakings. The blame for it should take pure bureaucrats [funding officers] who has little idea and understanding about the arts and creativity. Their bureaucratic requirements block the spontaneity and creativity. (William)

An increasing bureaucracy invading the world of cultural production was seen to be one of the major signs of inorganic change. The cultural leaders working in the cultural charities, which are funded mainly by public subsidies, were used to the idea of writing funding applications. However, leaders admitted the funding process had become overly complex and increasingly lengthy thus consuming too many invaluable resources. Such a lengthy form-filling process caused frustration and disappointments particularly when greater competition amongst applicants could mean that efforts undertaken to address increasing requirements, and thus securing the money, could be unsuccessful. This has caused conflicts and resentment in the sector, particularly for artistic leaders who expressed clearly that their main concern is artistic work they believe in, rather than indulging in bureaucratic tasks.

When we are creating things [cultural products and stage production], we don't think about bureaucracy. Bureaucracy needs to be there on some level but in the process of making it is not present. It would kill everything! You are not thinking about the context, connections, being a part of this or that. (Lena)

Lena's words suggest a clear difference between what matters to practitioners (i.e. their immediate preoccupation with artistic practice), and what matters to the funder (i.e. a well-written and contextualised justifications for the funding requested). This ongoing tension between concerns of cultural producers and expectations of the funder caused frustration amongst the leaders interviewed. They shared similar views on public funding that should always in the first place support artists, creative ventures and artistic experimentation, and generally speaking the artistic development, and only secondly support other-than-artistic

motivations. As Monica emphasised, she does her job because she is interested in creativity (Monica, quote p.130), whereas the rigid and unnecessary expectations ruled by the false belief in the political primacy of the socio-economic value disturb the natural dynamic of a creative process. She, and many of her colleagues from the sector, believed the role and responsibility of cultural organisations in the promotion and facilitation of wider social inclusion and economic development should only be secondary. Therefore, the assessment of cultural producers' performance should rather be based upon creativity, artistry and originality. In fact, funders whose funding objectives pressurised the producers to engage in social and economic imperatives often overlooked these artistic and creative priorities. They were interested in evidence that, as Monica said, could confidently secure public funding. However, according to Ana, evidence required by politicians and funders can never capture people's experience of arts.

If this is the way our politicians want to evaluate arts they should evaluate it in this way, but this is not the way we should do it, because it is not why we are here. It's not about numbers, but about experience, and we want as many people as possible to experience arts. Reducing this to numbers and statistics is not helpful and it diverts us from what we should be doing. (Ana)

Then Ana continued, visibly disappointed:

All question about what is the return from investment in arts, well the answer is art and culture. Anyone that tries to equate the money that goes into [artistic] project and how much money is going to come out is senseless interrogation really. We don't want to spend money needlessly and we want to be making sure that we are rigorous in the choices we support.

Katriona, an industry expert familiar with the political agendas, seemed to agree with other leaders' assessment of the current cultural policy context in

Scotland. She pointed out a tension between the formal expectations of the politicians and funders, and the real preoccupation of cultural producers. The latter thought the typically non-artistic imperatives could potentially endanger the purity of artistic motivations on which they believed the uniqueness and distinctiveness of cultural production was based upon. She expressed these differing expectations in these words:

In Scotland there is a perception [that] people who manage cultural policy need to be constantly reassured in order to keep interest of the sector at heart. So there is that belief in the sector that they have to continually work to steer the ship in the right directions. In other countries there seems to be more trust in policy directions and the overall direction for arts over the long-term horizon. Hence people [practitioners] [in Scotland] might experience a lot of frustration that they need to keep working on lobbying and keep the issues highlighted, whereas their job should be really making not defending the arts.

Interviewees' overall assessment of the increasing expectations from the political bodies and the funder was rather negative. They were disappointed with not only the inorganic changes, but also the real implications of these for their own work. Leaders implied that this new form of assessment for funding eligibility was consuming precious time and energy (often obstructing the creative experimentation for pure 'art's sake'), and thus a violation of the cultural sector's artistic aims and ambitions. This left many leaders with a great sense of disappointment and nostalgia as they strongly believed they should always lead their organisations in a way that produce creative, bold, uncompromised, honest, and ambitious work. However, in the opinion of leaders who were already challenged by economic constraints (4.3.2), such a way requires artistic freedom without further political pressures.

I think at its best the arts should be above fashion, above what I would call the short-term fads. It isn't a lot of the time but being contemporary or adapting to contemporary circumstances isn't necessarily the best thing to do. In the end, look at the great arts that survived over the years, you don't like it because it is contemporary, you like it because it says something universal about life or appeals to the emotions in some ways. That is why I'm always suspicious if somebody says to me this is the most important thing ever [according to the new agenda], or this is where art should be going, it's all about such and such ... no it's not! (...) My argument is that the arts should be different. The arts should stand outside of all of that, and be unfashionable. That is what I think the public subsidy is there for - to enable the arts not to be dependent on these fluctuations. (Robert)

Robert's quote expresses the dilemma of leaders facing the change in the sector driven increasingly by the idea of commercialisation, investment, and audit. In his opinion, the cultural sector should not be forced into broad-brush evaluation according with the measures applied to other sectors/economic activities, as these criteria are not able to accommodate a very different nature of the cultural production. Thus, Cornelia - one of the ex-leaders who shared her view about the cultural sector being different from shipbuilding or any other economic sector (quote p.125) - also added: *'and this is not a social service either, that is what makes it different!'* This is why the Scottish government's growing obsession with measuring the socio-economic impact of arts was understood by participants as instrumental and inappropriate to the domain of artistic endeavours that leaders saw as a platform for authentic and often transformational experiences. Thus, the inorganic changes caused by political imperatives contributed to further tensions between the artistic and 'other' motivations of cultural leaders.

4.3.4. The new funder's logic of investment

The two previous sections illustrated the influence of non-artistic imperatives in the work of cultural leaders. Despite leaders' declared awareness of and engagement with both artistic and commercial sides of cultural production, an increasing prevalence of inorganic socio-economic imperatives (i.e. as understood by policy-makers and funders), made the actual context of cultural leaders' work even more precarious. This unfolding reality, characterised by differences in values and rationales held by creative workers and the funder, ignited new tensions in the cultural sector. It contributed to new dilemmas in leaders' work for which leaders blamed the new funder and its limited appreciation of the cultural sector. These dilemmas were further heightened by the new funding regime based upon the 'investment logic' (Chapter 2.3.1), which leaders appeared to understand as even greater expectations of them to deliver 'returns on investment'.

The interviews with cultural leaders in Scotland elicited strong reactions towards the funding approach and procedures imposed by the new funder. In particular, the new funder's strategic role in the sector emerged as highly contentious to cultural leaders. By aligning the funding objectives with the socio-economic discourse of cultural policy, the new funder claimed to provide a transparent funding process and straightforward decision-making that were made to benefit individual cultural producers and the sector as a whole. Yet, according to cultural leaders, this rather long, excessively bureaucratic and funder-led process was inadequate for the cultural sector. A vivid criticism indicated that leaders were dissatisfied with the funder's view on the purpose of funding in the publically

subsidised cultural sector. Respondents seemed to share a belief that the needs of the artistic practice rather than the funder's need for security and accountability for strategically allocated resources should lead funding concerns in the sector. The cultural leaders understood funding process as a relationship in which:

the funder reacts or responds to what the artists want to do and not the other way round. Whereas [the funder] tried to say, 'Oh we want an event over there. Who would like to do it?', but actually, it should be artists saying 'We want to do this would you like to fund us, if you think it is good enough?' It just does not work this way because you have to identify artists that are good artists and fund them to do work. And if they do good work, they can then go over there and up there [e.g. to Highlands or Borders]. Great! But if they can't then you can't do it. It shouldn't be about forcing anybody to do anything. (William)

The assessment of the funder's approach to funding evoked a strong and almost united response from cultural leaders who questioned its appropriateness and blamed such approach for endangering the priority of artistic imperative, which leaders felt they needed to preserve. According to many leaders interviewed, the new funder's more hands-on approach was based on a strategic understanding of funding driven by the social and economic value of outcomes expected to contribute to agendas of economic performance, social equality or social inclusion. The leaders suggested this to be the funder's way to keep a tighter control over spending in the sector. Leaders thought to achieve this aim the funder positioned itself as a cultural broker. Importantly, leaders pointed out this "broker-led" funding structure was threatening, as it signalled the funder's potential intention to end the cultural producers' reliance on public funding.

I have an impression that they [senior staff at the funding agency] wanted to position themselves as cultural broker, producer rather than a facilitator and a supporter. They didn't make a distinction, even in their own heads that

some organisations will always have to receive public funding, or a kind of artists that will always have to receive public funding in order to be able to create their work. (Cornelia)

As pointed out by Cornelia, the position of the broker indicated that the funder approached the funding agreements instrumentally, that is, in organised manners but neglecting the relationships with the producers, who are heavily dependent on funding to survive. Such an approach - based on the funder's vision and rationale, rather than on the vision of the cultural producers, is new to the sector. It initiated a very different process of securing funding and thus sparked a strong collective reaction. It emerged from the interviewees that under the previous funding arrangements cultural producers were used to a funding process based on a relationship of mutual trust and not one driven solely by formal expectations. According to Matthew, in the past funding distribution was less complex, with few questions asked.

[The previous funder] can be visualised as a nice big farm, where you just turned up for the feed, and then you went to do whatever, and you turned up for the feed again... Now it's more complicated than that. (Matthew, ex-leader)

According to interviewees, the new funder's influential position in the sector that hugely relies on public money enabled it to take the role of cultural broker, selector and assessor. Leaders admitted, by importing a range of social and economic imperatives aligned with the government's strategy and national policies, the funder established new rules that all cultural producers had had to learn and follow. However, most importantly, leaders felt that while following the corporate

strategy, the funder forgot to acknowledge the cultural producers' place, opinion and readiness for the changes introduced.

[The funder] thought about itself as one of the producers, rather than a facilitator, or ambassador for arts providing advocacy service (...) but really artists wanted them [the funder] to write down a cheque whereas he [name of CEO] thought and behaved like an Artistic Director, having views on everything etc. and this was a problem! (Andrew, Artistic Director)

In Andrew's understanding, the funder failed to recognise its main role in providing support for the sector's organisations and their leaders; instead, it took up a directing role. This situation affected the relationship within the cultural sector and began a period of visible tensions, misunderstanding and deflated feelings. This is why it appeared leaders and ex-leaders interviewed wished for a less dictating and ordering behaviour from the funder, and a far greater engagement with the community based on a relationship of trust.

[The funder] should try to stay away from being the selectors. It should be delegating some tasks! Engaging with the sector is welcomed, that always work really well. (...) Possibly the people in the field know better how the money could be allocated. By all means [doing it] in a dialog, by all means! Our government at the moment has quite strong views on what it wants Scotland to be looking like. The arts are an obvious platform for our nationalist government to say this is Scotland and this is what we do. But we [cultural producers] don't want to be painted with the same paintbrush, you know, there has to be, there's got to be allowance for not all of it to be sort of the shortbread and the tartan. (Kelly)

As the above quote suggests, cultural leaders objected to the funder's rather prescriptive approach. However, despite the tensions caused by the changes within the sector's funding structure, a great majority of leaders did not blame individual officers within the funding agency for this difficult situation. Having declared they have the best interest of the sector at heart, the leaders felt

disappointed with the institutional approach that was lacking in consultation and a proper dialog about matters that were crucial for sustainability of leaders' organisations. For example, Kelly felt that the funder might have had good intentions but failed to introduce and communicate them effectively.

They [the funder] brought in a team of people to lead it, who were not the wrong people, they were not bad people, they were not unqualified people but I think they felt they had to quickly form themselves into 'the team' and quickly drive through all these things that are written down. It reminded me a bit about the fast train, when you change the drivers too quickly and train leaves the station. And there were all these people at the platform with no idea where it [the train] is going or whether they should get on. Some people just didn't managed to get on [the train] and off it went. That's what it felt like. (Kelly)

Kelly's words expressed well the cause of disappointment with the funder's new approach that unbalanced relationships within the sector and evoked strong emotions of those working in it. The analogy of the fast train indicates a speed of change introduced by the funder, for which the community of cultural leaders, artists and other creative workers were not ready. Analysis of interview data suggests that leaders were neither asked "on board" nor prepared to be suddenly 'ordered' or 'questioned' about everything they did or planned to do. Previous quotes demonstrated an opinion shared by leaders that funding of public art should never be based on the idea of strategic commissioning, where a specific output is commissioned (or ordered), and all efforts strictly controlled. Cultural leaders argued that an excessive strategic commissioning violated the artistic logic. Dave, for instance, argued, the community of practitioners within the sector should drive the process of production, or at least have a chance to influence it. The funder's strategic approach not only appeared to strip away the authority and freedom from

leaders and creative workers but it also fundamentally challenged the idea of artistic experimentation and impromptu work with a desire to provoke often unknown consequences of creative endeavour.

Funding has to be about creating opportunities, about allocating resources to allow people to play, to express their creativity, to explore... It's about bringing people together and pulling ideas, even just for that one brilliant idea that can be later materialised in the art production. (William)

Leaders expressed that in an ideal scenario the funding should facilitate opportunities for cultural producers to explore and create without thinking about the intended objectives and 'return-on-investment' that the funder was so keen to see. For cultural leaders, funding of arts as opposed to funding for food schemes, regeneration projects or health campaigns needed to be based on mutual trust and artistic freedom. However, the interviewees admitted to being frequently challenged to demonstrate the ability of their organisations to engage with socio-economic imperatives. Thus when asked about their work, leaders answered that it was highly satisfying but also hugely frustrating due to the lengthy funding processes, little security of a successful outcome, and even less possibility to influence the shape of funding structures. This danger of "frustrating leaders", who instead of driving the creative process in the cultural production wasted their mental resourcefulness in administrative efforts and disputes, appeared as highly contentious.

Yeah! It [the recent funding review process] has been very, very frustrating... very lengthy process and we finally came to the end of it and we await the result. But just coming to the end of it- it just feels fabulous because we all now go: 'Wow! We can actually do our work!' So that has been a huge chunk of my time and I hope the return is worth it [the effort] and if it is not it will be devastating! (Jimmy)

However, some leaders like Silvia and John refrained from any critical judgement of the situation. On the contrary, they found some positive elements in the more stringent funding application process and both believed the change was needed. Silvia said the new process was ‘a *good quality assessment*’ that encouraged her ‘*to think and reflect about one’s practice in the wider socio-economic and political context*’. Silvia further added:

What I liked about it [the funding process] is that you are forced to answer some difficult questions. They don't let you waffle. They say you must say what you want to do in 100 words.

John also adopted a positive view on the challenging but welcomed funding process.

To be able to say to someone - you should support me because a, b or c...- is good. It's healthy not to assume that money should be there instantly without any justification and question. Why anybody should give us public money? It is not about fight but about strategic argumentations of what one does (...). Some artists think they make compromise, so they don't want to engage with any funding but when you expect somebody to invest in you and support you, your project etc. then you really should meet them half way.

These two leaders agreed that it was healthy not to assume that money for cultural organisations would be distributed instantly without any justification and control, particularly in times of economic recession and shrinking public budget. However, the funder’s emphasis on predicated and measurable outcomes for artistic practice seemed to confuse and infuriate cultural leaders the most. Data showed leaders felt deeply concerned about the current status quo that prioritises economic and political imperatives in the cultural sector. An interesting pattern emerged during the interviews. Leaders understood the dilemma and tensions that

the funder faced in the current and very complex political environment with the prevailing pressures from the national government. They also did agree with the need to question the financial motivations of cultural leaders. Kelly, for example, welcomed the idea.

A difficulty for [the funder], and it is a real difficulty, [it] only gets so much money. They said to people like us [name of the funding scheme] that we take something like 80% of the money before they even start anything else. Now that is really hard, so again, they should be asking us difficult questions. If we are taking such a huge percentage of money they should be setting us criteria to make sure that we are giving opportunities, and we are not just feeding it into the same cycle...they should be down here grilling us about what is coming out.

This quote shows how complex the changes in the new funding structure were in the eyes of the leaders. It emerged from the data that cultural leaders understood that arts bring a wide range of benefits to individuals, communities and societies. However, they argued that an active promotion of the sector's engagement with a variety of socio-economic imperatives could be overwhelmingly dangerous when delivery on these predicated impacts became a preliminary condition for any cultural production's eligibility and legitimacy to be funded. Leaders thought that it is possible to have a conversation about the role of arts in the society and economy, and such contributions can be assessed, but with a focus on artistic practice and in a longer-term perspective than is usually allowed by the funder. Thus, what upset leaders was not the lack of understanding of issues around accountability for public funding, but rather the order of imperatives and exclusion of the artistic community from the design of the funding process and engagement.

4.3.5. The new alienating rhetoric

The funder's changed approach manifested itself in the new rhetoric of investment. Leaders explained the funder's attempt to promote the government's highly politicised cultural agenda came wrapped up in new 'fancy words' (Brian) not used before in the sector. Leaders questioned the need for and appropriateness of the funder's use of these words. The participants seemed to be confused about their precise meaning, as they believed these new words describe the very same cultural reality. Thus they interpreted the funder's new rhetoric as an attempt to:

Invent or adopt new terminology to signal something different where the essence of it is the same core organisations, the same basic infrastructure and the same needs in terms of funding ... or investment..., however you describe it. (Matthew)

Only few interviewees doubted the importance of rhetorical terms in the overall cultural production. For example, Silvia explained that the new language was irrelevant to her daily practice. She expressed her doubts in a series of questions:

Does it matter? Is it really going to change our practice? Is it really going to affect how we think? Language is an old thing. I think people get very hooked on what things mean.

As in Silvia's case, the other leaders' preoccupation with the organisational and artistic responsibilities emerged as visibly more important than rhetoric imposed by the funder. However, the rest of the interviewees disagreed with Silvia. For them, the funder's overall use of language seemed to matter a lot. Leaders viewed the language of the funder as yet another source of pressures resulting

from a demand for labelling the aspects of the cultural sector. However, they felt such labels seemed futile and potentially counterproductive, because all the 'fancy words' are open to interpretation (e.g. the terms themselves and hidden expectations from the use of certain terms). Data from interviews suggest a general mistrust towards the new rhetoric amongst leaders. Leaders openly questioned the funder's intention in imposing the language that they thought did not belong to the sector. They seemed irritated by uncritical use of all new 'buzzwords', 'business jargon', or 'business talk' and disliked the word 'investment' because of its financial connotations. They found the language alienating because it seemed to run counter to artistic logic, and thus cause even more tension.

Investment? What investment?! All I want to know is whether I can get my money! All of us need to know the same - whether we can get money to do our next work and have freedom to do so. We don't need fancy words! (Brian)

Leaders also appeared to feel angry for simply not being asked what they thought about the language and its indicative meaning before it was introduced. They also appeared to feel helpless about the overwhelmingly frustrating rhetoric they could not get rid of.

We should be spending more time arguing that to funders and politicians for them to use our terminology. If they believe in us, they should be advocating what it is that we do, rather than having us to prove to them through the latest business buzzwords. Funding in the arts is a financial investment in the ecology but it is not investment in the piece of theatre, it's funding! Why as a nation we can't stand up and say the arts should be funded! Why can't we?! It is all spanned around and there is always justification, like because of the health and other benefits etc. It is all true, we know that now. So why can't we just say, arts need to be funded. (Ana)

Ana's response suggests that the business rhetoric used by the funder undermined the artistic intentions of the community of cultural producers and

challenged their artistic freedom. This is because, according to Brian, such rhetoric revealed a difference between the logic of the funder and the logic of the practitioner. The logic of the funder signalled a need for ever-increasing control supported by bureaucratic audit measurement (4.3.4). It represented a language aligned with the wider cultural policy discourse and showed an overpowering outbalance and domination of economic imperative. The logic of the practitioner, on the other hand, appeared to prioritise artistic ambitions and goals over an economic mind-set and thus seemed to remain resistant to the rhetoric of investment.

In addition to the previous quote, Brian also made the following comment:

There are too many fancy words! It means the same each year but it [the funder's objective] is [wrapped] under the different subtext!

This quote suggests that cultural leaders are exposed to a constantly changing rhetoric, which is currently focused on the notion of 'investment'. However, the leaders' views seemed to be sympathetic towards the logic of practice, which always favours real needs rather than '*words on the page*' (Garry), or '*an intellectual construct*' (Katie) that arrive and disappear in a cyclical manner. From the perspective of practitioners, '*words can overcomplicate things*' (Garry). In the context of the uneasy relationship with the funder, they shared concerns over the possibility that it might further alienate the artistic community. Participants expressed a diverse range of emotions associated with the language in use. Lena's feelings seemed strongly affected, as like Ana, she thought the language was '*insulting, impersonal and undermining*'.

The language was horrible and undermining the theatre and arts! It's not the way that works for arts! It felt they [the funder] talked above us instead of to us. It was very much 'teaching-people' style ... like... 'You will do this because we give you money!' It was bad!

When asked how the style of engagement of the previous funding body compares, Lena admitted she preferred their language and approach:

It wasn't perfect, it can never be perfect, but it [the language] felt more human. It felt that you are valued as an artists. It was definitely better communication. It's impossible to communicate with [the new funder] on the level of human conversation. In the end of the day it should be all about arts!

On a personal level, many leaders felt strongly about the substitution of 'arts subsidy' for a commercial rhetoric. This shift strongly contrasted with their choice to work in the sector driven by intrinsic motivations and their desire to be a part of the reality that produces a unique value, as well as dreams, joys, inspirations and satisfactions (4.2). As Amber, expressed arts always fail to deliver return on investment in a monetary sense, but they always deliver a unique value. Thus, an attempt to label it under a commercial rhetoric was perceived to be inconsiderate and 'a step too far'.

Making of arts is never commercial. If - it will be only for a very tiny number of people. The rationale and dominant encouragement for various initiatives to make arts commercial and business-like run might be beneficial, in terms of more robust management and organisation to run better, but the balance-sheet [in cultural organisation] will never balance without a subsidy. It won't and it can't because the value of work and what people do is so much more than just the product that comes out at the end. That's why artists make work - it's because they feel compelled...it's a call, and it's not about being famous, making money etc. It's about healing people's souls and make them feel better.

These examples show how the rhetoric introduced by the funder marked a new era in the cultural sector causing chaos and sharpening already uneasy

relationships between the funder and the cultural producers. In particular, a disappointment with the choice of language on the personal level showed how much cultural leaders, like Monica or Amber, felt offended and disappointed with both the language and the attitude displayed by the funder. They felt the language was only a tool to mark the power of the funder as a rule-setter and decision-maker and not as a facilitator and guardian of the sector's needs and aspirations. Thus, for some leaders directly, and for other indirectly, the new rhetoric seemed to influence the context of their work, despite the claims that the language has no impact on the level of their practice. The use of alienating, disengaging language appeared to have real consequences on the spirit and morale in the cultural sector.

4.4 Responding to challenges and tensions

The two previous sections presented the cultural leaders' motivations and responsibilities and illustrated their understanding of the changing context in which they work. These understandings provided a view of the cultural sector as a complex and contested space shaped and influenced by a variety of players, events, logics and, in particular, imperatives introduced by the new funder. The participants' view on the recent transformation in the changing policy context revealed many challenges, conflicts and tensions, which affected the cultural sector as a whole, but also their own work practices. In the face of the struggles and difficulties experienced, cultural leaders responded by developing strategies to cope with the changing context of their work. In the following sub-sections, three terms are used to describe typical coping strategies employed by cultural leaders:

firstly, adaptation, to describe a response to the increasing organic and market-driven requirements from cultural organisations by engaging in collaborative competition; secondly, ‘funding games’, to describe a particular response to the bureaucratic and demanding funding process; thirdly, resistance, to describe a response to the new hostile and pressurising arrangements by disengaging from the funding process. Lastly, a tension between the leaders’ coping strategies and the sector’s future is highlighted.

4.4.1 Cultural leaders as negotiators in the changing cultural landscape

As described by the cultural leaders and discussed in the previous section, the introduction and implementation of new funding structures (with the logic of socio-economic impact and the rhetoric of investment) caused a great number of clashes and tensions that directly reflected the overall atmosphere in the cultural sector. In the context of the described changes and challenges within the cultural sector, a loss of morale and frustration arose amongst the leaders. Amber captured this feeling:

Everything went a bit pear-shaped; the community doesn't know specifically what they should be thinking about it all. Amongst the artistic community there is a feel[ing] of fatigue, being tired and exhausted of constantly being asked to express what we do, what we mean... (Amber)

The insecurity deriving from the new form of engagement with the funder affected the confidence of many people working in the sector. The leaders explained they feared the possibility of hidden motives behind the widespread adoption of the new rhetoric and processes. More importantly, however, they were

worried about the future of cultural production in circumstances when artistic expression and intrinsic motivations could be endangered. Kelly further commented on the mood in the Scottish cultural sector and the spirit of the people working in the sector:

Something went wrong last year with the health of the sector. It felt like the individual parts of the body are still working but there was a sense of depression. And that did affect people because you felt you weren't in the growing collectively developing industry, for want of a better world. You did the best you could but you were aware that out there was a lack of enthusiasm or cohesion.

The above quote illustrates the leaders' deflated emotions and the perceived negative energy in the sector. As Kelly expressed (quote p.165), cultural leaders felt unprepared for the changes introduced by the funder. Yet, being highly dependent on public funding, they had to make sure they secured the funding opportunities. Thus, in this complex cultural landscape, leaders had to reconsider how to cope with these new expectations. In the next sections, examples of three possible responses are discussed.

4.4.1.1 Collaborative competition

Section 4.3.2 described the new landscape of cultural production with a growing number of cultural producers and decreasing support from public and private funders. These organic changes in the cultural sector, driven by the influence of the market, emphasised to cultural leaders that they all compete for the same financial support and the same audiences. The competition was understood as inevitable, as

There is always going to be many more artists and companies wanting to make and produce work than there are platforms and funding opportunities for them. (Ana)

Similarly, Garry stated:

We are all after the same pots of money. We are all after the same spaces to perform and create in. We are all after the same audiences so undoubtedly there is competitive element in the sector.

As public subsidy has become more volatile, some leaders understood they had to adapt to the pressures of the market by adopting a new set of competitive behaviours and strategies. Leaders admitted to paying more attention to the business side of cultural production, for example, by more careful planning of the budgets, market research and promotion, developing their own niche in the marketplace, tailoring their production to particular audiences for a better commercial outcome, or, as John said, simply being more aware of ‘money issues’.

There are older artists who believe that just because they are artists the money should be there for them. In the 80s [it] was much easier to find money for art-making, in today’s context it is harder but the sector is getting more aware of money issues.

For example, the artistic director Lena mentioned the importance of marketing and communication with audiences as critical to the success and longevity of the cultural sector. She said: ‘*for the audience we make art and we need to find them if they can’t find us*’. Whereas for Katie, an executive director of much bigger organisation, scanning the competitors was important for planning of the company’s work.

We keep a clear eye on the environmental factors, so we know how to plan and decide programming. This is linked to what could compete with our

shows, in particularly in winter, as it is always a financially fruitful time with good sales of Christmas shows and pantomimes. Sometimes it can be spoiled by big productions coming to [the cities where they perform], and over the month period of the month [of December] has a huge impact on the sales of tickets. It all affects [earnings], and it is important particularly in the critical times of the year- and if you don't secure your financial returns on the bankable shows, then your resources are limited when you want to do the more experimental work later in the year.

For Monica, an engagement with the market logic meant establishing one's own unique place in the competitive sector.

You need to go and find your own space and niche, your own way of operating, refreshing the company's view, repertoire etc. to be able to evolve, re-new itself.

These examples suggest adaptation to the market takes place in the sector. This means that although artistic and economic logics are perceived by leaders as inherently different, leaders have to find solutions for their possible negotiations within the demanding context of today's cultural production. Thus, the money-focused thinking might not be an instinctive behaviour, but it is an aspect of cultural production that leaders have come to understand as inevitable and necessary.

An intentional collaboration with other cultural producers, however, appeared to be the most prominent example of leaders' adaptation, possibly because it emerged as the least aggressive approach and thus the most consistent with the leaders' work motivations. The findings showed that cultural leaders recognised collaborative engagement as an enactment that simultaneously supports survival and development of their organisations. Collaboration was viewed as allowing leaders to engage with the market imperatives in the way that contributed to the growth of the sector.

Collaboration is a very interesting thing. Everyone talks about it and all the [funding] agencies are always asking how one collaborates. We do co-productions with a number of other companies where we might, commission, produce and premier a new work, and then we will license it to another company on the other side of the world, because they have market there, and in this way we are both benefiting. (Katie)

In this instance, Katie's response demonstrated her knowledge of the strategic value of collaborations. Leaders of bigger and smaller organisations similarly admitted to making conscious efforts to collaborate routinely on different projects with a range of partners. Katie explained further motivations for this practice as:

The way you collaborate will depend on the particular circumstances. There is occasional artistic collaboration amongst the national companies, but more often, and rightly so, if we want to collaborate with another company we want it to be something rather complementary [to what they already do], or working with a partner who will ultimately have different geographical market.

Katie's view aligned with views of other participants who explained that beyond co-productions driven purely by the artistic vision, there were strategic examples of inter-organisational collaborations focused on either a market expansion or a reputational gain (e.g. boosting one's artistic profile when working with a more established/experienced partner). Such strategic behaviour focused on gaining access to a different geographical market or improving one's own position in an existing market by collaborating with already established partners became very important. Another reason for collaboration that often emerged was to build a competitive advantage through an efficient utilisation of limited resources. For the cultural leaders, who admitted financing to be a continuous challenge in their work practices, the creation of collaborative artistic and

organisational symbioses represented a practical solution to everyday struggles in the cultural sector.

We [the company] collaborate routinely with a whole range of partners on different projects. We work together with some of the other national companies on everything from marketing initiatives, purchasing, and insurances (so we get better deal), through to sharing intelligence on finance systems or databases. So there is a lot we do behind the scenes. (Katie)

Leaders referred to competitive collaborations in terms of the sector-accepted practice. They admitted the sector has always relied on exchanges of creative ideas due to essentially collaborative nature of the performing arts. As leaders explained, the collaborative character of the industry has always included co-work across different artistic genres. For instance, in order to make a dance or theatrical production, various elements have to come together. There has to be a story, a choreographed and learnt movement, (or in case of theatre a written and learnt script), the music, the props, sets, costumes, light and such. All these individual components play an important complementary part in the delivery of any staged production. However, the collaborative competition described in this section refers to collaborations between different cultural organisations as their deliberate strategy of coping with the imperatives of the market. The collaborations with other cultural producers allowed leaders to address the ongoing problem of limited resources. Resources (e.g. people, buildings, finances, databases) and capabilities-sharing (e.g. in marketing, purchasing, legal domains and audience development) were cited as primary motivation behind such strategic collaborations. For examples, shared cultural hubs or joint administration offered leaders a solution to engage with the market logic not solely in a head-to-head

competition but rather in a collaborative style, which leaders believed to be of increasing importance, particularly in times where public funding became ever more volatile. As one participant expressed:

My personal belief is that we have survived through sometimes being competitive and sometimes being cooperative. Whatever it is, let's say the genes that makes you competitive or collaborative, those who used both survived, those who used either one or the other alone [entirely cooperative or entirely competitive], did not, for whatever reasons. So it is this weird mix of cooperativeness and selfishness that we are left with. Unfortunately, nobody has been able to sit down and manage to present a set of rules to tell us when we should be selfish and when we should cooperate. (Robert)

Robert suggested the dynamic context of cultural production was akin to a form of collaborative competition. For him and many of his colleagues, competitiveness is a natural response to an abundance of artists and companies wanting to make and produce work in a context in which opportunities are limited. However, the study participants understood competition as facilitating an engagement in the collaborations with other cultural producers to create as many opportunities as possible for the arts to flourish. It strongly emerged from the interviews that not outperforming each other in head-to-head competition, but simply remaining in the business of cultural production seemed to be the true motivation of leaders.

There is always competitiveness within the industry, but there is also a willingness to work together and that's present in co-productions. (Bobby)

The tension has been felt, however, as the need for collaboration in the sector has been recently actively encouraged by the funder. Craig commented that the funder's motivations became fixed upon making the benefits of cooperation very explicit to all cultural producers.

There is a growing understanding [amongst the cultural leaders] of a need to find ever-increasing ways to collaborate and to link with one another. That perhaps wasn't there before, although I think the arts has always been about finding the connection and working together - especially in performing arts which are collaborative in nature. In the past 'collaborations' and 'cooperations' were more implicit. It has [recently] been made more explicit in terms of language, ways of working and making it more explicit so the value of it has become perhaps more widely understood.

Leaders believed that the funder expected them to “deliver more” with the subsidy received, i.e. to deliver greater socio-economic and financial outcomes rather than outcomes based on artistic merit alone. Bobby commented on the funder’s motivation:

That's what they [the funder] would like because you can then share resources, so it's about saving in the sense of doing more with what you have – saving on sharing administrative cost but putting more money on actual production.

When Craig said the value of competitive collaboration has been recognised in the sector, he meant that cultural leaders are open to the idea of collaborations because to them joining resources is a clever thing to do. This was seen as an opportunity to adapt to the funder's requirements, which continuously forces cultural producers, as Kelly said,

to be more creative without having more, so that we do work with less money or no money at all.

Gaining such competitive edge, including through means of collaborations, was seen as a positive thing as leaders believed it would make arts more resilient and less reliant on one single source of money, in particular the funder’s money (Craig, quote p.150). Being connected and working with other cultural partners was

perceived by leaders also as part of their commitment to arts in Scotland and responsibility for the sector.

We have a commitment to Scotland, I think, and to [performers] across Scotland but there is awful a lot other people that we couldn't work without who are based around the place and we make much more effort now to be involved with them that we ever did before, let's say 10 years ago. Then, it was every man for himself! (Kelly)

However, leaders noticed potential challenges of extensive collaborations. The expectation to perform artistically and financially has been felt by the participants as pressurising the producers to frequent collaborations, that were found challenging to run, administer and manage.

Collaboration is not a straightforward thing despite the attractiveness and benefits it brings. It is twice as hard to do as your own work! There are twice as many people involved, two separates styles, and operations to compromise, choosing actors, directors, place... splitting the costs! This is a huge administrative work to make, fix it together! (Bobby)

As collaborations require a set of artistic and administrative compromises in choosing a play/choreography, style, actors/dancers, directors, place etc., as well as in financing and managing the production, a majority of leaders pointed out some challenges for a successful collaboration. One of them was the difficulty of finding a committed partner who engaged all levels of the company (artistic, promotional and administrative) in the project. Leaders said that, indeed, collaboration was fuelled by a substantive emotional, intellectual and financial investment, and thus it needed to be embraced through a mutual and equal partnership. Participants agreed that when collaborating with partners who had different agendas, the work process was difficult and slow. Indeed, in the majority of occasions, leaders agreed they chose to work with '*tried and tested*' partners

with whom they felt comfortable, mutually supported, respected and ‘*on the same page effort-wise*’ (Katie). Most importantly, as few leaders stated, their biggest fears regarding too many collaborations are associated with losing their own individuality and artistic identity. Lena said:

There is also a danger if you do too many collaborations you will lose your own profile and that is a danger.

Garry added:

There is a need for connection in the sector in vision and practice as long as that doesn't interfere with a diversity of practice. There is a real drive at [the funder] for us all to connect and interact. I'm worried that we all would begin to lose our individuality, our individual visions, and diverse scopes of practice, if that becomes too entrenched in the way we are being driven forward.

Thus, adaptation in the form of collaborative competition appeared possible but not an easy strategy to respond to the sector's changes. It involved making difficult decisions, also in part about finding the right balance between working within leaders' own organisational capacities and in partnership with other producers. Garry's statement suggests that a certain degree of authentic engagement with partners is needed for a successful adaptation to changes, which appreciates an honest dilemma of preserving the sector's diversity without overstressing the artistic identity and individuality of cultural organisations.

4.4.1.2 Funding games

Findings presented in Sections 4.3.3-4.3.5 showed a powerful position of the funder in the cultural sector associated with its capacity to make decisions on funding distribution. Due to the ultimate reliance on the funder's money, cultural leaders felt pressurised to meet the funder's expectations. They ended up

engaging in a practice that can be interpreted as a 'funding game'. A rule of that game was to satisfy the funder's investment criteria in order to secure public subsidy for their organisations. Given the often unclear or controversial language and objectives imposed by the funder, the majority of leaders felt that playing the game represented a difficult negotiation with inorganic changes, and actually, the only choice they had.

[The funder] assumed all is clear to everyone but it wasn't and explanation was needed but it never came. The idea of a game-play was found then to be the best strategy to deal with unpredictability and tension. (Bobby)

Even though individual leaders might have disagreed with the objectives, approach, or rhetoric implemented by the funder (as explained in previous sections), they engaged in a practice of game-play and admitted to adopting behaviour that seemingly would please the funder.

A lot of people play games. They get money, make the funder happy with submission [of funding application] and afterwards they do with the money what they wanted to do initially, not necessarily what is stated in the submission. (Brian)

Two tactics adopted by leaders emerged from the data. As the above quotes illustrated, the first tactic in the game-play involved writing the funding application in a rather instrumental manner. This meant tuning into the expectations of the funder, and writing about what the funder would like to see them do rather than what their real priorities were. This tactic was about creating an illusion by ensuring leaders would tie into the funder's 'favourite' strands of funding or fashionable new objectives, and after having the funds granted switching back to what they originally wanted to do. The second strategy involved

real attempts to develop new expertise aligned with the funder's vision. It appeared that in today's context of cultural production remit that meets the funder's expectations was highly important. John explained this importance in these words: *'If you have a good case you more likely will be supported'*. In order to have a good case one needs to be strategic, which for him meant: *'to do something that the funder values in its investment programme'*.

In both tactics, leaders' ability to understand and adopt the funder's language emerged as crucial for the successful outcome of the funding process. Thus, unlike the assessment of the funder's rhetoric presented in the Section 4.3.5, the language in the context of the game-play appeared as very important to some leaders. They shared their observations about the language-driven nature of such game confessing they themselves overused the language, which they thought *'must please the funder'* rather than express the artistic aspirations of their organisations as they appeared to them.

We are very good in changing our language very quickly to suit the funder and [to] adopt terminology because the funder uses it and expects it. But the truth is, to be able to prove one's case, certain words needs to be used.
(Ana)

When writing applications for public subsidy, some leaders admitted to using the most popular words. Some admitted to use even the most controversial word of 'investment', or the language referring to social agenda of 'equality', 'access', 'multicultural work', or finally the loudly promoted funding strands such as 'touring' (i.e. taking the work out with the own theatre house often to very remote locations), or 'cultural export/tourism'. However, the attitude of leaders seemed

ambiguous and context dependent. They disapproved of the logic of investment (4.3.4) but were adopting the funder's language superficially in the application process. It seemed this contradiction potentially challenged their integrity; however, it seemed to be justified by a strong motivation to preserve the original artistic logic and goals. This means that leaders' assessment of the changes in the sector reflected their philosophical position (certain value-judgement), while their involvement in the game-play reflected the embeddedness of their decisions in the particular situational context. As leaders felt the safest move was to address explicitly all of the funder's requirements, they admitted to tweaking their applications accordingly. Commonly, they declared they paid careful attention to the language they used, as they believed it was essential to plan and execute the funding game.

If people speak the same language and understand what is required of them they can go away and redesign what they do in order to fit with the right 'box'. (John)

Within the funding game phenomenon commented on by leaders, the notion of 'ticking the boxes' emerged frequently. It was used as a reference to all the funding criteria that appeared in the funding applications, which leaders interpreted as items in specific boxes, or categories under the specific headings, and which they felt they had to engage with. In order to secure funding, leaders tried to address each of the 'boxes' in their written submissions. To achieve that they often rephrased how their projects are communicated, rarely it meant a change in the nature or content of the project. John referred to this practice as 'redesigning', and other leaders admitted it consequently led to 'box-ticking' exercise that involved:

writing [in the submissions] things they know that will get them money, rather than speaking the truth. People should be making work they feel they should be making and not work they feel will get them money and variation on that. It's dangerous! (Amber)

Participants admitted such behaviour seemed to become apparent in the sector as a well-known rule. This rule was followed by cultural leaders who were simultaneously under pressure to sustain funding for their organisations and encouraged by their colleagues who were taking part in the very same practice. Leaders admitted their applications contained a variety of 'white lies' just to make a good impression on the funder. This pragmatic approach to how leaders engaged with the application process evidenced a clever game and showed ambiguity in leaders' position. This is how John justified this potentially unintended practice undertaken for mutual benefits of the funder and cultural organisations:

It's easier when you understand somebody's language whether this is 'geography' or 'equality' or whatever, then you know where you are standing. It's more likely you are going to get money. It's good for you, and good for them!

With input from Bobby, it became clearer why cultural leaders appeared to be so desperate about doing everything in their power to secure the public subsidy, even to the point of playing tricky games and investing loads of resources just to pull off a successful funding application.

[Cultural organisations] don't have capital reserves, they often don't have building - they are given it by the local councils to run. So they have no capital. All that they have is the income money, only few have reserves. What it means is that it makes organisation risk-averse. (...) The only security is the funding or going to a funder to bail you out, if you make a mistake. Everyone makes mistakes but commercial big organisations have reserves to cover [them], arts don't! In arts - it is not about developing organisations, is about creating and making arts, and all money goes to that. Almost all organisations are always sitting on the edge of bankruptcy.

Before the next year's grant comes, there is always a cash flow problem. They have no internal capital support there to allow more strategic, long-term decisions. They are completely dependent on short-term policies and approaches. So it's absolutely critical to artistic organisations' leaders to be able to read and understand the messages and language of the funder because it is vital for the survival of any organisation so they can adapt quickly their language and practice to suit that.

As Bobby explained, the heavily uncertain context and insignificant amount of capital placed leaders and their organisations in a very different bargaining position from that of an average big organisation, particularly in non-art sectors. Thus, the well-written applications became a critical piece of communication potentially determining the cultural organisations' future in term of much needed financial resources. A good application was understood as a passport for accessing the only secure and available funding option.

In addition, artistic director Andrew shared a relevant view about the novelty of funding-game being ignited by the institutional changes discussed in previous sections.

Because of the new terms we have to do things differently, we have to use their [the funder's] terminology and the brutal reality is that we do what we did before. We act, we produce, but now we just highlight certain things to please them.

Participants explained they found themselves preoccupied with researching the language of socio-economic impacts and thinking how they could draft their application so that it aligns with these prominent agendas. Although leaders perceived it as a mandatory task, they also felt all these games and assessments - underpinned by a particular language - were distracting from the artistic goals and practices, and therefore stealing time from artistic practice and forcing an artificial

form of engagement. Although the language of funding-games did not alter the artistic practice directly, it started to diverge from communicating the artistic ambitions in favour of non-artistic activities.

It's almost felt like the quality of the artistic production wasn't a key anymore. It's more important what the contribution to the economy is, or social benefits of doing a theatre. And you see in the [the funder's] reports, there are no great pictures of art [anymore], it would be rather a face-painting, or kids at workshops, or people on the wheelchairs... Than you get caught up in these things having to justify in social and economic terms what you do artistically, where it actually should be all about arts. The budget for arts is such a tiny percentage that it really should not need any further justification. (Andrew)

Strong evidence emerged from the study showing that on the one hand leaders attempted to make sense of what is expected from them by the funder, and on the other hand, they tried to remain 'true-to-self'. A deep understanding seemed crucial for the successful negotiation of these two important dimensions. Yet, the quote below from Monica illustrates a difficulty leaders admitted to have with the interpretation of the funder's investment criteria.

As human beings and organisations we are constantly trying to understand what we are being asked for by the funding bodies, and try to comply with that, while staying true to ourselves (...). Language is constantly evolving, particularly in the times we are living. It seems everything has to have catchy titles to make it simpler for people to understand, which I don't think it does. Whatever you say to me, or I say to you, we all move around our own way of understanding. I might be talking to you now and my understanding and your understanding might be very different, because you are a creative being and you will create what I have said into your own understanding, which is just what we do.

The tensions between simultaneously felt obligations towards an organisation's survival and the perceived authenticity of their own enactments were clearly present amongst leaders. Lena felt a sense of injustice when she

expressed her experience of playing games as directly suppressing her artistic motivations and her time for artistic practice.

There was this overwhelmingly present agreement [amongst the cultural producers] that the funder made us - cultural producers to start playing games and do box ticking exercise, instead of concentrating on the practice the leaders and artists had to involve themselves in the other issues.

Leaders were keen to avoid compromising the time they spent on their primary duties, yet they felt they were often left with little choice. Leaders also revealed being overwhelmed by the widely established acceptance for the funding game. Those who admitted tweaking their applications to make them likeable by the funder, justified it as a survival need in the face of a rather hypocritical funding process. As these cultural producers relied on public funding, almost all took what they perceived as the necessary steps to ensure a successful result from the funding decisions (including an instrumental use of language preferred by the funder and an adjustment of organisational objectives to fit with the funder's criteria). However, the whole situation caused mixed feelings amongst the participants.

The hardest thing to do is to be sincere and honest with oneself and not follow the money. It's easy to follow the money, to jump onto that type of thinking... jump on to the strands like 'touring', but you must follow what you are set up to do. This is the main responsibility regardless change in the funding objectives and investment criteria. (John)

Leaders thought that their primary responsibility was to lead their organisation and ensure they create artistic work that is true to their motivations and goals. However, the reality of funding distribution in Scotland was perceived as complex. Leaders became absorbed with filling in lengthy forms and

demonstrating their knowledge of a wider cultural policy and funding context. They admitted to being continuously trapped in a situation where:

you have to play a game of how you are meeting their [the funders] requirements. (Katie)

Application of this strategic negotiation practice meant for leaders the adoption of calculative behaviour, which they felt was on the edge of dishonesty. They also felt they are forced to play this game and that made them feel uncomfortable. On the one hand, participants expressed not having a choice but playing the game, on the other hand, they were also critical about the potentially dangerous and damaging outcomes of the funding games to producers and the sector overall. Similarly to the case of strategic negotiation through extensive collaborations (4.4.1.1), participants noticed big challenges in practising the funding-game. They believed the often-changing policy and funder's criteria could cause havoc long-term.

[For many years] you might develop expertise in something and then the funder wants something new. Policy shifts, [it] can change within two-three years. These things go around in cycles and you can't change everything because the policy changes. You have to hide it better, carry on doing it but hide it until it becomes fashionable again. Then you can take it out of the cupboard again and say: 'look this is what we are already doing'. But if you change every time the policy changes you'd devastate the sector because artists would never have any consistency. You can't operate like that because people would leave. You can redesign what you do to fit the policy criteria without fundamentally changing it. If we keep changing everything every two years, there will be no expertise! (Bobby)

Like Bobby, many participants have pointed out the negative aspects of going along with the current trends as losing a sense of own identity and expertise. They feared that in long-term perspective drifting from one to other criterion could

backfire and destroy the artistic expertise, and consequently, the sector's sustainability. In the face of funding criteria regularly changing, Bobby's reflections presented a poignant lesson. He gave the example of his previous company, which for a decade was quietly developing an expertise in touring, despite a lack of recognition. When the policy changed, and touring was suddenly a welcome thing to do, everyone (including the funders) was praising them, as he recollected with irritation, *'as if we just discovered it! It was a huge project to get to that point.'* Katie also warned about the danger of writing something in the application that might later require substantial resources to deliver it.

There is a danger of being expected to engage in certain language that you don't even appreciate or understand. (...) For art this is not beneficial. It used to happen in arts education and it took long time to change; every project had to do educational work, but not ever artist or organisation is skilled to carry on projects like that!

Leaders seemed to be aware that a misunderstanding on the level of language and expectations between the funder and cultural leaders (i.e. funding applicants) could end up leading to an unnecessary and expensive practice, as well as diverging from the real needs and expertise of a particular organisation. As Katie explained, if a funding criterion, with which one wants to comply, lies out with one's organisational expertise, a need to employ a specialist to do the work arises. It might not be a problem for a big organisation, but for a relatively small cultural producer that was a challenge. For the sector's overall success, leaders explained that situations like that are best avoided.

4.4.1.3 Resistance to change

The analysis of the leaders' view on the practice of the funding games revealed an example which suggests another way of coping with the changed context of leaders' work, namely, by resisting the game-playing and thus transcending this common enactment. Amber was the only leader interviewed who showed resistance towards the funding procedures and criteria introduced by the new funder. Amber decided to protect her personal and professional integrity by opting out of the funding scheme administered by the funder. Such resistance was a sign of clear disagreement with the funder's rules and rhetoric, but equally with the community of cultural producers for their overly strategic and pragmatic approach to the writing of their applications during the funding process. She said:

People make different choices. I have always tried to be true to myself. I made mistakes but I always protected my integrity, otherwise I could have not lived with myself. I always went on doing what feels right. For instance, I made a conscious decision and rejected the status of [name of the funding scheme] and decided to be a [name of the funding scheme]. It feels better although it is less secure. But from the perspective of maker, creating [arts] with a sense of honesty and integrity is important.

Amber chose not to adopt the rules of the funding game played by the majority of the sector. In the quote above she emphasised the importance of artistic integrity and the belief in doing things the way that 'feels right' for her. Her strong motivation and own view on how the sector should be governed prevented her from compromising on that very important aspect of her working life. She admitted she could work in an artistic capacity (including artistic leadership) only with a sense of freedom, rather than with restraints imposed by the expectations of

a funder. Amber commented on her self-exclusion from the funding scheme she had previously taken part in in this way:

This is better for creativity and the way I work and operate. I didn't like the feeling I had to do the work when for instance life puts you in a very difficult emotional situation. I'm not a machine; I am a human being that can't be expected to always quickly put forward a proposal [for funding].

She further explained that she liked to be in control of her company's artistic processes mostly because she could then decide on the appropriateness of her work. This also meant being in control of making uncompromised, artistically challenging work, without the typically commercial pressures known to cultural producers.

I feel much happier to dictate my own pace and conditions. I opted out of the treadmill in this round. I thought it was a right thing to do, because for me it is not about having to make work but making work when I think is right and appropriate. My objective was to maintain a sense of integrity and creating life for myself where money is not the priority. Luck plays part [in it] too. I was in the situation to make choices I made. I know this choice is not available to everyone...

The last quote showed how strongly this cultural leader valued her artistic freedom and creativity, in contrary to the funder's impositions and expectations. For Amber making arts is an organic process, where inspirations grow and mature over time until they are ready to be taken forward, and finally, staged. She admitted she would never put up a half-ready production but she has also admitted the choice of remaining true-to-self can be compromised by one's life situation and material or financial circumstances. She appeared very sympathetic also to the choices her colleagues in the sector made. She understood the pressures but somehow imagined a different scenario for herself. Amber also admitted to feeling

confident about herself, which she thought influenced her decision to resist the game-play.

This [the choice] takes courage or is a sign of cowardice! But when you get older, you feel more comfortable with what you do, and you stand behind your work. Ten years ago, I didn't quite understand what was my niche, now I feel comfortable to work in a way it works for me. [So] I have my own little world. I make decisions with whom I collaborate. I work with close people, with whom I feel comfortable. In a way it's about creating and recreating my little world, where I feel my work is being valued.

Amber's voice emerged very strongly as indicative of a person who strives to preserve beliefs and values which underpinned her understanding of work in the sector. For her, artistic motivation and her inner call to work as a creator and as a leader appeared as uncompromised. Possibly other leaders felt the same way but found themselves less brave or in fear of repercussions, or as Amber explained, as leaders of organisations bigger than hers, they had no choice but to adopt the rules of the game-play. They might have felt responsible for their workers and feared their personal decisions would affect the future of the entire organisation and their stakeholders. Amber's case showed she didn't accept conditions of the game because she could not reject her own freedom. She said:

you have to care for more than just you, you have to care on a more global scale about a wellbeing of the arts

but she also added:

I think people [in the sector] do [care]!

This is where another tension was noticed. It seemed, despite the fact that the majority of cultural leaders engaged in the funding game, they all felt very strongly about the future of the sector. They might have used a tactic that was the

best fit for the complex situation in which they found themselves, however, they were very explicit about their own perceived role responsibility. Thus, it is possible that the game-play was for participants a special form of value-driven negotiation of the tensions and conflicts they experienced in the cultural sector. This, on the surface pragmatic strategy, might have been for the leaders a manifestation of the important mission to preserve their organisations' survival. Many examples of cultural leaders' personal altruistic commitments and work-role responsibilities emerged from the data (as presented in Section 4.2.4-4.2.5), and this would suggest leaders felt they made choices not merely for the sake of their organisation's interests but also for the protection of the arts sector. The leaders' belief in the role of arts and the value of the sector in society led them to choose the tactic they thought would be more successful, while Amber's story showed it was also possible to resist the rhetoric and expectations imposed by the funder by operating outside of the mainstream funding-game practice. Implementation of the strategy to resist, however, seemed to suit organisations of a smaller size. It required from organisational leaders a personal integrity and a strong call to artistic freedom.

4.4.2 The sector's future

A new finding emerged, as despite pressures related to adapting to the changed circumstances and the funding process, leaders also believed in the sector's natural ability to 'survive' the hardships and transitions. A contradiction emerged as despite pressures related to adapting to these changed

circumstances, leaders also believed in the sector's ability to 'survive' the hardships and transitions. Despite their own personal views on a complex interplay between artistic and economic imperatives, financial and audience-related challenges and demanding requirements from the funder, leaders and experts painted a metaphorical view of the sector demonstrating self-renewing qualities.

Every year a new company will pop out, some die as well, and that's sad but maybe we have a natural life span. Small theatre companies and dance companies, galleries... they all have their moments and then they go. Music groups, people that are popular ... they are and then they die, but there is always a new lot. You can't stop them, and that's good! (Kelly)

Leaders shared a view that such renewing process is an inherent part of the cultural production system, which can possibly help to understand the sector's ability to accept and accommodate the organic changes (4.3.2, 4.4.1.1). Leaders observed the artistic ideas of cultural producers evolve naturally, and so do the aesthetic tastes of audience who are to appreciate and critique the artistic endeavours. According to the cultural leaders who took part in the study, in the long-term perspective market demand and audience preferences verify which cultural producer remains strong and which loses their popularity. This ruthless survival rule applied equally to the new and to the established cultural companies, and this is why Robert suggested a diversity of cultural producers and artistic forms provide a form of critical mass from which 'the strongest' players 'filter out'.

In the very Darwinian way you need loads of different kind of stuff being made and then the strongest stuff [from the collective of cultural producers], which the most people are interested in - or the most exciting ones - will filter out and carry on and that's the constant thing. It's not like there is a timeline and there is the past when all these wonderful stuff was made, and there is now when we have the best of it all.

This quote suggests a natural cycle of development within the sector, where cultural leaders work. The presence of progressive phases of growth and decline in the life of cultural organisations was pictured in the cycle that goes through four distinct stages during which the organisations grow and die.

I would suggest that things are born, things have adolescence, they become fully mature, they grow old and then they die. (William)

In Robert's eyes, the four stages of the self-renewing process happen in the cultural sector because:

there is always more people coming along and making new work, some of which has sustainability in terms of it being interesting work, and maybe some of it is of the moment, and some maybe not of interest beyond yesterday.

Natasha, another industry expert and ex-leader, also expressed such self-renewal to be characteristic of artistic tendencies, which are manifested by a desire to find one's niche that is a place to create, learn and grow artistically.

People naturally fill in gaps. If you took away [name of a theatre company] in [name of the city], if they weren't there with their creative new writing then somebody would have filled in that gap immediately.

Interestingly, another ex-leader pointed out, not only the market influences but also the funders can interfere with that natural cycle of development. Participants mentioned two scenarios, firstly, lack of funder's involvement and lack of financial support can result in the premature 'dying' of a cultural company with a vast potential; secondly, an excessive subsidy can prolong the unavoidable decline of an unproductive organisation. In William's view, sometimes an unavoidable decline should occur earlier in order to enable other producers to receive funding and the chance for creation of cultural work of a greater value, but which is held by

still an existing organisation. The potential consequences of the first scenario have been discussed extensively in the previous sections. The second scenario is explained in the quote below.

Sometimes, I think, there are companies that should die, it's painful but they should die. They should die because there was something else coming along which is being born and it is trying to get into adolescence and maturity themselves but they can't because they are so weigh down in the queue for funding that they will never get there. So I think this [recent economic] recession and cuts in the government could be an opportunity for an ecological bushfire. The whole point of bushfire is that it burns off the dead wood but once the fire has gone the new shoots appear, and the new shoots can grow because the ground is fertile. (William)

The quote suggests that rejecting funding for some of the applying producers could open up opportunities for new artists and companies, whose current access to funding is obstructed by a process where money is being pumped towards established but not necessarily productive companies. When asked to clarify the 'bushfire' analogy, William explained:

In the arts, it seems to me, nothing dies. The arts companies are kept alive by funding. This is obviously a problem, because on one hand that I'm fully supportive of arts funding, we can't do without it, but on the other hand we don't allow things to go through the [full] life cycle.

This is an interesting observation on the cultural sector's dynamics and its ability to renew itself from the industry expert. Although most respondents commented on the existence of a natural renewing process within the sector, none of them shared William's opinion. They might have been afraid to admit it loudly, but their responses suggested, as organisational leaders they had a duty to secure the funding and a great majority did so. Nobody admitted they ever received the funding and had not deserved it; nobody gave a critical or depreciative assessment

of their organisation's work either. However, William's view is quite poignant as it illustrates that not only market influences or the funder, and thus all that comes with it (such as political agendas, socio-economic imperatives, bureaucracy and an insensitive language etc.), can interfere with the sector's natural qualities. Ambiguity in cultural leaders' views and enactments might be another possible factor. According to the data presented in this chapter, leaders feared the interferences originated by the funder were potentially damaging the essence of the sector, although they did not sense that their idea of survival 'at all cost' (i.e. the strategy of adopting the game-play) could also sabotage the future of cultural production long-term by promoting a new damaging practice. However, in the leaders' view the loss of the sector's future was even more concerning because the ability to produce art and the very essence of artistic production with its social and civic values was at stake. Thus, leaders' true identity is likely to be redefined by them in difficult or changing times because such changing context imposes new challenges and hence opens up possibilities for different ways of both coping with the change, but perhaps also failing to protect one's values and preserve the identity of the sector.

4.5 Summary

This chapter presented findings about the cultural leaders and their understandings of the changing context of their work. The findings revealed the complexity of conflicts and tensions that arouse in the cultural landscape under the new funder. These tensions appeared to have significant direct impact on the

cultural leaders' work roles and responsibilities. Three examples of responses were identified that illustrated how leaders experience and cope with pressures in today's cultural sector. The next chapter will further critically discuss these findings in relation to Bourdieuan concepts and literature reviewed in Chapter 2.

Chapter 5: Discussion

[Arts] is what distinguishes us! It shows what is special about our life that takes us beyond simply being able to feed ourselves, cloth ourselves, shelter.... It's about taking life beyond basics of human existence. You can exist if you get sufficient amount of nutrients and sleep - that's the basic - beyond that is what makes us distinctive in terms of our worldview. (Katie, Executive Producer & CEO)

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter presented the study findings on cultural leaders' understandings of the evolving nature of the Scottish performing arts sector. Qualitative evidence obtained from the interviews with cultural leaders, offers opportunities for further interpretation and contextualisation of this evolving context of leaders' work in a dialog with relevant theoretical concepts and wider literature outlined in Chapter 2. Thus, this chapter further discusses the cultural leaders' experiences and understandings of organic and inorganic changes in the sector and the tensions that emerged from these experiences exposed in Chapter 4. Drawing on Bourdieu's notions of field and logics outlined in Chapter 2.3.2, further discussion on the significance of the ambiguities expressed by cultural leaders for the sector's agents and the sector itself, will be carried out. However, while Bourdieu's concepts are relevant in discussing the further meaning of the findings, Bourdieu provides only a starting point for a critical examination of the Scottish cultural reality as seen and experienced by cultural leaders.

This chapter thus aims to go beyond the Bourdieu's Theory of Practice by proposing an integration of the notions of "worldview" and "stewardship" into the

conceptual understanding of the cultural sector and cultural leaders. The first part of this discussion therefore focuses on outlining a concept of worldview within the cultural field that accommodates personal opinions and experiences of cultural leaders, and helps to understand the distinctiveness of the cultural sector beyond the conflict between artistic and economic logic. This notion enriches the somewhat mechanistic description of social life and logics of practice offered by Bourdieu, to include a dynamic experience of living within essential tensions of conflicting values, expectations, intentions and concerns. The second part of the chapter examines the position of cultural leaders within the cultural field, taking into consideration a unique 'stewardship'-like responsibility, which emerged as a defining quality in their work role. This part will also focus on the leaders' real and elusive powers particularly in the changing political and economic contexts of the cultural field. The third part of the chapter focuses on the impact of organic and inorganic changes on the development of the sector. It is suggested that while the emerged tensions related to the organic changes can be explained within the dynamic nature of the worldview, the inorganic changes in the cultural field have a power to crush the authentic motivations and role responsibilities of cultural leaders as well as to alter the nature of the cultural sector. Both types of changes manifest the transformation within the cultural sector and will be critically examined by highlighting their influence on the cultural leaders' work, the future of the artistic work and the essence of the cultural sector.

5.2 Interpreting the Scottish cultural sector

The recent transformations in the Scottish cultural sector experienced by cultural leaders caused a great deal of tensions (4.3-4.4) and revealed poignant ambiguities in how the same reality might be perceived, understood and interpreted by a particular group of creative workers in the changing context of their work (3.2.1-3.2.2). As outlined in Chapter 2.3.2, Bourdieu's Theory of Practice is a good starting place to explain the root of these perceived tensions and ambiguities in relation to a distinctive character of the cultural sector. Table 7 below contains a summary of findings that capture the unique and distinctive nature of the cultural sector, and which can be understood as an example of a particular social field (Bourdieu 1977, 1986, 1992). In Bourdieu's interpretation, the distinctiveness of the cultural field is associated with the presence of an artistic and an economic logic as well as the intrinsic motivations of social actors enacting a variety of roles in the field. The dominance of artistic logic in the cultural field clearly emerged, and it means that this field is shaped predominantly by artistic motivations, values and aims, while other 'logics' are secondary. 'Other' logics, such as the economic one, are important for pragmatic reasons. For example, finances are important to produce and stage performance work, however, they do not constitute the essence of the cultural sector. A specific hierarchy between artistic and economic logic (i.e. a purposeful imbalance in favour of artistic logic), however, seems to define the cultural field as a particular work environment, because it gives the sector its identity. It also attracts intrinsically motivated, devoted and passionate workers, who understand their work in wider social,

political, economic and institutional contexts, but experience it first and foremost as a service to arts and people. Section 5.2.1 discusses how the cultural sector can be understood as an example of the Bourdieuan field.

Nevertheless, the research findings revealed also very personal, experiential and value-driven motivations amongst cultural leaders, which cannot be explained solely through Bourdieu's analysis of social interaction. Indeed, the cultural leaders were far from perceiving the cultural sector as a social space for exercising merely strategic action (e.g. position-taking), nor were they limiting their understanding of the value of social interactions at work to the impersonal and objective notion of capital (Webb and Eikhof, 2012b), or indeed instrumental and somehow rational understanding of field dynamics (Savage and Silva, 2013). Rather, they voiced a deeply personal engagement and commitment to the sector and their work founded on the essence ('the heart and soul') of what they see and experience as a unique field of expression and creation. As Table 7 summarises, cultural leaders' relationship with their work context showed them to be driven by moral obligation and a sense of duty to creative workers, the sector and the public/citizens. Beyond Bourdieu's somewhat mechanistic and reductionist description of social interactions in the field (ibid.), the cultural leaders expressed an attachment to a unique worldview and a deep sense of stewardship that preserves the artistic aspirations and aims, and which thus demand further analysis. Section 5.2.2 puts down conceptual foundations to better reflect the research findings by enriching a Bourdieuan understanding of the field.

Table 7: Summary of the findings on distinctiveness of the cultural sector (Source: Author)

<p><i><u>The sector's artistic essence</u></i></p>	<p>The artistic and economic logics underpin the dynamics in the sector. However, the very essence of artistic production is to produce art with strong aesthetic values (artistic logic), an ability of arts to make money is far less important (economic logic). For the cultural leaders these logics have a clear hierarchy (i.e. arts come before commercial success), and the sector's uniqueness depends upon maintaining a purposeful imbalance between these two logics.</p>
<p><i><u>Art's social value</u></i></p>	<p>The artistic logic emerged as multi-layered and not driven solely by artistic ambitions, but also by other values (social and civic) and moral obligations. It encompasses a stronger moral drive for artistic practices to have a greater role in society.</p>
<p><i><u>Intrinsic motivation of the sector's workers</u></i></p>	<p>The significance of intrinsic motivation in the production process and the overall running of the sector. Intrinsic motivation gives the cultural sector its own identity and encompasses all the sector's professions (administrative and artistic). Cultural leaders appeared intrinsically motivated - they showed honest artistic ambitions and strongly perceived social and civic responsibilities (stewards responsible for the development of artists, cultural audiences and the future of the sector).</p>
<p><i><u>Stewardship role & responsibility</u></i></p>	<p>The stewardship role is necessary for preserving the artistic logic and thus also the essence of the sector. Cultural leaders acting as stewards are responsible for challenging, enabling, protecting and supporting the 'ecosystem', which prosperity relies on the development of artistic, social and civic opportunities.</p>

5.2.1 Cultural field

In Bourdieu's conceptualisation, the cultural field denotes a virtual network of relationships governed by particular sets of rules (such as the funding rules), laws (e.g. the laws of the labour market), systems and structures (e.g. of production, employment and career systems as in Eikhof, 2010; Webb and Eikhof, 2012a) and driven by the field-specific artistic logic (Chapter 2.3.2.1). Both dance

and theatre, the two sub-sectors of performing arts that represent the work backgrounds of leaders participating in the study, emerged as a part of the cultural field in a Bourdieuan sense. In this cultural field, a variety of individual and institutional actors such as cultural/arts organisations, funding agencies, industry regulatory and policy-making bodies, creative workers and audiences (4.3.1) express their dispositions to follow their artistic motivations and aims (4.2.2). In so doing they influence and are being influenced by wider political, socio-economic and institutional contexts (4.3-4.4). The cultural field signifies a professional or vocational space where these individual and institutional actors, and cultural leaders amongst them, act within boundaries depicted by structures of institutional power, field-specific rules and expectations that were so visible in the funding games. Cultural leaders emerged as the social actors who are an important part of this dynamic context and who need to satisfy the expectations of the funder (4.3.4, 4.4.1.2), creative workers (4.2.4), audiences and the wider public (4.2.5). Most importantly, however, enactments of cultural leaders shown to be driven by rationales characteristic of the cultural field and Bourdieu's notions of field's logics help understanding what these are (4.2.2).

According to Bourdieu, any social field is characteristically shaped by its particular logics, which social actors learn and internalise (Bourdieu, 1977, 1992). In the cultural field, the artistic logic is the one that expresses the specific character of the cultural sector and outlines its artistic goals; nevertheless the economic logic is also an inevitable element of the cultural field. The findings showed that artistic and economic logics indeed underpin the dynamics and relationships in the

Scottish cultural sector (4.2.3). The notion of logic is thus useful in understanding the very different sets of expectations that cultural leaders and other creative workers have to fulfil, or negotiate, in their wider work context. These different expectations include a delivery towards the economic, social and other aims set out by political agendas that have little in common with the essence of the artistic logic. However, as summarised in Table 7, the very essence of work in the sector appeared to be first and foremost, a production of art with strong aesthetic values (artistic logic), whereas the ability of arts to make money emerged as far less important (economic logic). For the cultural leaders these logics have a clear hierarchy (i.e. arts come before commercial success), and the sector's uniqueness depends upon maintaining a purposeful imbalance between these two logics.

Bourdieu and other scholars have identified and described artistic and economic logics as typical for CCI (e.g. Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2007). As these two logics reflect very different sets of rationale embedded in the cultural sector; they are often portrayed as existing in destructive opposition (Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006; Menger, 1999), or in productive competition with each other (Banks, 2014; Bilton, 2007, 2010; Bilton and Cummings, 2010, 2014; Davis and Scase, 2000; Florida, 2002, 2003; Pratt and Jeffcutt, 2009). By implementing a Bourdieuan conceptual lens to the research findings, we are able to identify influences of artistic and economic logics in the context of leaders' work. We are also able to distinguish the artistic logic as being a particularly strong driver for all artistic ambitions of the sector's intrinsically motivated workers, including the administrative and managerial staff (4.2). The

study findings echoed especially strongly how the logics influence important actors, like the funder or the cultural leaders, in accepting, preserving, reproducing and transforming the pattern of rules, expectations and behaviours, and the nature of work enactments characteristic to the cultural field.

Thus the Scottish cultural sector emerged as a specific work context with a unique structure that can be explained via the notion of field and particular logics, which influence the way cultural leaders understand and relate to their work environment. Following Bourdieu's framework and the literature, we can understand that the very precarious interplay of artistic and economic logics, is equally an opportunity and a threat in preserving the unique character of the cultural field. However, while the notion of field's logics helps to understand the broad character of underlying motivations of cultural leaders working in the cultural field, it is still debatable, whether these motivations captured through the lens of artistic and economic logics complement or compete with each other, and under what circumstances they can be either complementary or competitive. When looking at the data, the Bourdieuan logics appeared as a blueprint helpful to understand different rationales present in the cultural field as whole, yet equally, the notion of logic seemed to be overly limiting to explain the tensions and paradoxes in the context of work experienced by individual cultural leaders. In particular, the distinction between the leaders' overall acceptance of the so-called organic changes, and their heavy criticism of and disappointment with the inorganic changes introduced by the funder, escapes the dichotomised and compartmentalised portrayal of the field's dual logics. Bourdieu views the artistic

and economic logic as distinguishably opposed. However, the research findings showed that the nature of the work experience of cultural leaders includes interconnected domains of strong artistic aspirations, civic/social values and financial responsibilities (as shown in Table 7), and therefore depicts a more complex and holistic reality.

The findings thus raise further questions as to the role the artistic and economic logics respectively play in motivating the cultural leaders. The research findings showed cultural leaders' views on the wider context of their work are indeed very prominently shaped by values deriving predominantly from the artistic logic and less so from the economic one. The cultural leaders appeared as intrinsically and highly-motivated workers who, the literature suggests, realise the embeddedness of cultural production in the wider economic context, (Banks 2014; Pratt and Jeffcutts 2009), but who always follow their vocational calling to fulfil the artistic motivations (Svejenova, 2005). Thus, the prioritisation of the artistic logic over the economic one by cultural leaders is consistent with existing academic studies in the CCI research (2.4.3.1) that report on the artistic logic as being the essence of cultural production, the underlying force of a strong intrinsic motivation and a recognised unique work and career resource of creative workers (DCMS 1998, 2001; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007; Eikhof, 2010, 2013, Mathieu 2012; Svejenova, 2005).

However, the research findings offer new insights into the understanding of motivations of a so far underexplored group of creative workers who showed to closely experience tensions between the artistic and economic logics. Indeed,

unlike artists, cultural leaders' work-roles require them not only to create or plan artistic activities for their organisations (artistic roles), but also to actively engage in the administrative and managerial responsibilities (general/administrative roles). As they are responsible for leadership and the organisation of the cultural production within their organisations, their awareness of the business-side of artistic endeavours (economic logic) came out clearly (4.2.3, 4.3.2, 4.4.1.1). Cultural leaders often split these artistic and administrative duties between artistic and administrative experts (MacNeill et al., 2012; Reid and Karambayya, 2009). However, the research findings suggest that regardless of their expertise and assigned work-role, all cultural leaders seemed to share a mind-set that favoured the artistic logic. This suggests all creative workers, and not only artists (or artistic directors), understand, value and stand-by the importance and priority of the artistic rationale in their work and the wider cultural sector. In this sense, the study findings empirically support the existing body of knowledge about artistic motivations and aspirations to be critical to the successful production in the cultural field.

Moreover, the cultural leaders' passionate description of the cultural field as unique was related to the artistic logic, and yet also depicted a deeper and fuller quality of their work motivations than what Bourdieu's concepts allow to capture. Although Bourdieu understood the cultural sector as a space shaped by the social actors who are influenced by different imperatives (like artistic and economic logics), the Theory of Practice does not fully explain the subtle tensions and apparent paradoxes that emerged from the interviews. The cultural leaders'

account of reality showed that pressures of economic imperative on artistic aspirations of the sector's workers are indeed a typical source of tension in the sector and can be understood as a tendency of the economic logic to overcrowd artistic aims and ambitions (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007). However, this peculiar interplay of artistic and economic logics does not explain comprehensively enough the tensions experienced by leaders and apparent paradoxes that emerged in the Scottish cultural sector with the arrival of the new funder and policies (4.3-4.4). The notion of logic appears restrictively instrumental, whilst the narratives of cultural leader interviewed were deeply personal, value-laden and demonstrating existential dimensions. It is therefore necessary to go beyond the linear and static notion of logic. It is proposed that the more dynamic notion of worldview needs to be introduced in order to make sense of the rich experiences of cultural leaders in the context of the evolving cultural field.

5.2.2 Worldview

As Bourdieu suggests, multiple individual and collective (institutional) actors inhabit the cultural sector. They engage with the artistic and economic logics of the cultural field, however, the focus of their enactments as well as their understanding of the values and concerns in their work context might vary. The research findings revealed cultural leaders and the funder (amongst other actors in the cultural field) indeed share rather different viewpoints on, amongst others, the funding eligibility, the return on 'investment' in arts, or the nature of their relationship in the sector. This finding suggests that in the cultural field we can identify two main Bourdieuan

logics, but also more than one worldview relating to these logics. This postulation of a worldview extends the notion of logic and has a potential to address the shortfalls of Bourdieu's insightful but overly general framework. A distinction between the notions of logics and of worldview will help to explain how differently the individual actors and institutions within one social field interpret the priority or importance of distinctive field's logics within their own system of values, responsibilities and expectations.

The notion of a worldview emerged from the research findings. Katie, one of the interviewee, used the word 'worldview' to describe arts as an example of experiential activity that connects with a distinctive realm of higher needs and values, or as she said '*a life beyond basics of human existence*' that makes human beings able to overcome mechanistic and instrumental acts such as '*being able to feed ourselves, cloth ourselves, shelter....*', for a rather unique ability to live to experience, reflect and make meanings (quote p.129/202). In the light of the research findings and Katie's poignant reflection, the notion of a worldview was developed to address the limitations of Bourdieu's theory highlighted in the previous section. The notion of a worldview will now be described to guide further discussion on the meaning of the research findings.

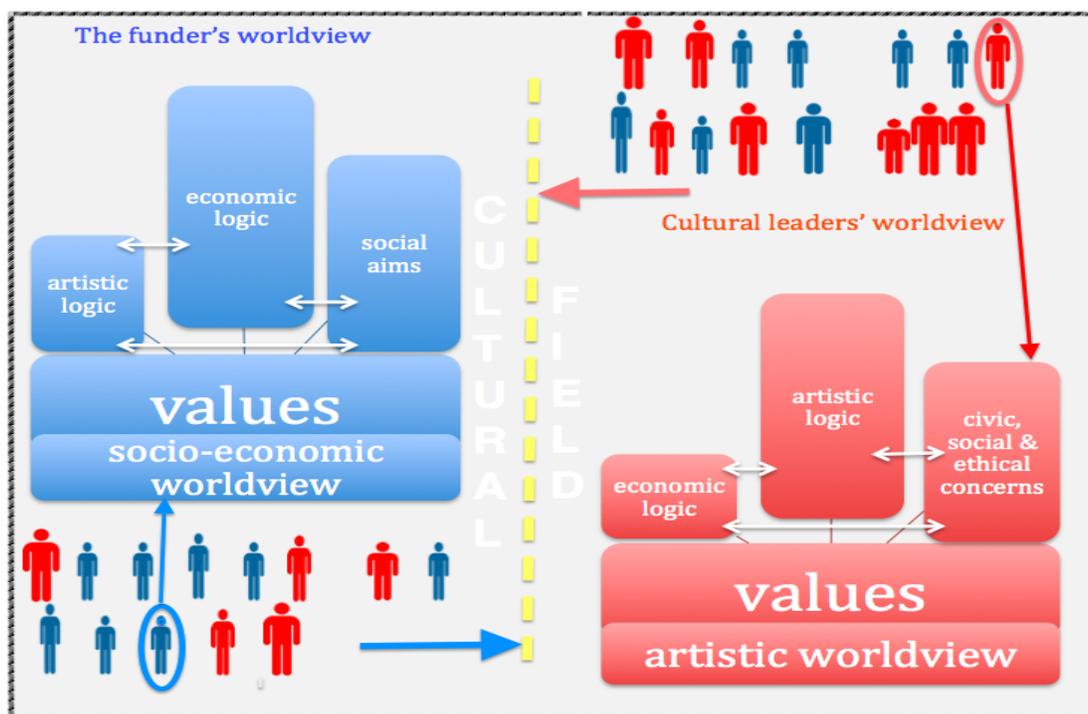
Based on the empirical findings, this thesis proposes to understand a worldview as an underlying foundation of individual and collective enactments in the cultural field that combines Bourdieuan logics of practice (e.g. artistic and economic logic - each with different dominant values, but with a clear hierarchy amongst them) and an overall moral purpose (see Figure 3). This worldview

defines, sets the tone and reaffirms the essence of one's world and what is valued in it (e.g. intrinsic and extrinsic valuation). The worldview builds upon Bourdieu's notion of cultural field and integrates its logics. Both notions are thus bounded in a relationship of mutual coexistence, which means that the worldview comes with a set of logics specific to a particular Bourdieuan field. Any worldview derives from a dominant logic that not just expresses the norms and rules that are characteristic of the particular work reality in the field, and which then motivates the practices of individual agents (Bourdieu, 1977, 1992; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007), but that already contains personal assumptions about the world and values related to one's being (Bhaskar, 1998; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Ritchie et al., 2003). For example, the artistic logic is the dominant logic of cultural field and defines the artistic worldview, though the latter encompasses more nuances than the logic as such. As insights from cultural leaders showed, the clear hierarchy of values in a worldview helps in navigating enactments in the increasingly complex contexts of work in the cultural sector.

Unlike Bourdieuan functional (e.g. achieving a function of securing a particular social order) and rather static understanding of the field's logics, a worldview expresses one's philosophy of life that is strongly ethical because it always comes with values, beliefs and personally perceived responsibilities that an individual strongly holds. Thus, as represented in Figure 3, values are the foundation of any worldview and give the worldview its specific character. The configuration of logics that are included in the make-up of any worldview corresponds with these values. However, the role of values in a worldview is not

that of an additional decorative element but a true foundation, because the human ability to value anything, for example culture or artistic endeavours, is inherently tied to one's personal worldview (Boylan, 2009). The research data clearly showed differences in how the cultural leaders and the funder act despite being driven by the same duality of artistic/economic logics found in the field (in Bourdieuan sense). The findings also showed differences in how they value arts, or how differently they perceive and experience changes to funding processes (and the rhetoric used), communication and relationships in the sector (4.3). All these differences can be better understood and explained through the notion of worldview, which means that cultural leaders and funders might share the same field's logics (i.e. artistic and economic aims) but they articulate these logics differently in their work roles and responsibilities. This finding suggests both cultural leaders and the funder might embrace very different worldviews (with different underpinning values), which then constitute their concerns and shape responsibilities ingrained in their work identity.

Figure 3: The worldviews in the cultural field (Source: Author)



Different worldviews can be found to co-exist within the cultural field, and therefore the Bourdieuan conception of logics can be incorporated into the notions of worldview, but any worldview differs from logics in character and quality. The cultural leaders' narratives suggest they embrace an artistic worldview, which shapes and encompasses an authentic expression of their hopes, aspirations, deep beliefs and values, and thus gives them their unique voice and moral vision. In the picture of cultural reality captured by Bourdieu, the artistic logic expresses strictly one dimension of leaders' motivations and work responsibilities (i.e. artistic one) and the economic logic complements it, but only as an antagonistic force that creates tensions leaders and other field actors must negotiate with. This is still a rather compartmentalised view of the cultural sector, and the findings showed the cultural field is more dynamic that this Bourdieuan lens effectively accounts for.

The artistic worldview is a notion broader than the artistic logic, because it simultaneously includes socio-economic and ethical concerns that are part of the same reality in which social actors live and work. It seems the leaders' worldview and not the logics alone affect how they perceive and interpret the reality, or how they make decisions and respond to events within any social field.

As the worldview belongs to an individual rather than a field, it already describes a social reality from a personal perspective. The research findings help to conclude that the worldview is influenced partially by the field's objectively defined logics, partially by unconscious dispositions and habitually accumulated knowledge about the social norms (i.e. Bourdieuan doxa) and partially by what one intentionally chooses to consider through critical thinking, moral analysis and intentional ethical reflection. From the stories shared by the cultural leaders, it became apparent that the way they understand and assess the changes within the cultural sector is an expression of their unique outlook. This outlook involves accumulated knowledge about the sector (the important structures that shape it), which is combined with deep personal experiences gained throughout the individual cultural leaders' career pathways (e.g. through training, or work-based learning) (Jones and DeFillippi, 1996; Mathieu, 2006; 2012). Because they occupy the same professional context of the cultural field, cultural leaders' experiences might be commonly shared, and this why Bourdieu's notion of the field and the structural perspective on human interactions is still a very good starting point for a theoretical understanding of the cultural sector in the context of its most recent transformations. However, beyond the Bourdieuan general mechanism that

explains a common pattern of interactions within the field, there are nuances in the field's actors' behaviours, which cannot be explained solely through the lens of field and logics.

A worldview is complementary as it adds a broader layer of unique, personal and idiosyncratic perspective that is underplayed in Bourdieu's understanding of the field. This means, worldviews of individual social actors are never exactly the same, however they may demonstrate similar logics, values, qualities and concerns, which might be shared by a particular community. A personal worldview thus cannot be substituted, as neither people's experiences can be, yet it seems a wider community or a professional group, like the cultural leaders, can intersubjectively share any given worldview. For example, it can be suggested that each of the cultural leaders participating in the study holds a unique and idiosyncratic worldview, yet because they inhabit the same social fields (2.3.2.1), as well as experience and learn within the same work and career systems (Bourdieu 1977, 1992), the cultural leaders share some of the same core values and beliefs, which they hold in their respective worldviews (in particular the values contained in the collectively shaped artistic logic).

This distinction between the field's logics and the worldview allows the accommodation of a personal perspective, which reflects an emotional, moral and existential dimension within Bourdieu's conceptualisation of social reality. It offers a space to acknowledge a priority of work concerns as central to one's life experience and identity (Svejenova, 2005) in an increasingly complex and politicised work reality. It helps to understand that the root of the tensions that

emerged in the interaction between the funder and the community of cultural leaders lies essentially in the misunderstanding of the importance of this broader existential layer of value and meaning individuals hold in their worldviews, and that is attached to any activities and decisions enacted in domains of personal life and work.

In summary, the symbolic representation of worldviews shown in Figure 3 captures the Scottish cultural sector as the cultural field that contains different worldviews. Social actors occupying this field are influenced by both the artistic and economic logics (Bourdieu 1977, 1992), albeit in different ways, and they fulfill their work and life responsibilities from within a particular worldview that includes a mix of logics and other concerns, always underpinned by values. Cultural leaders, artists, other creative workers, funders, and policy-makers, all engage with artistic and economic logics in their practices; however, their personal worldview communicates a different configuration of artistic priorities, ethical concerns, and economic goals which then dictates the form and quality of engagement with any political agendas implemented within the cultural field. These social actors will also interpret the value of the sector and artistic practice in a very different way. Importantly, the essence and nature of a particular worldview is driven by a dominant set of values, beliefs, aspirations, concerns and responsibilities that clearly emerged in the responses of cultural leaders. For example, the values attached to the artistic logic dominate in the artistic worldview; the values of the economic logic dominate in the economic worldview and so forth (see Figure 3). The study findings have demonstrated that cultural leaders overwhelmingly hold an

artistic worldview, which is different from the socio-economic worldview of the funder, who occupies the very same field (see Table 8). The next section describes these two main worldviews in greater details. This description will further assist in understanding and explaining the productive and unproductive tensions experienced by cultural leaders in the changing context of their work.

Table 8: Worldviews of cultural leaders and the funder (Source: Author)

Cultural leaders	The funder
<p>Underlying worldview: Artistic worldview primarily influenced by artistic logic</p> <p>Interpretation of artistic value in artistic worldview: Exploration, Experimentation, Future, Freedom, Play, Fun, Creativity, Dreams, Hopes, Learning, Risk, Social and Civic Responsibilities, Financial and Leadership Responsibilities</p> <p>Responsibility towards: The livelihoods of creative workers, deeply human and civic needs of audiences, the sustainability of the sector</p>	<p>Underlying worldview: Socio-economic worldview primarily influenced by economic logic</p> <p>Interpretation of artistic value in economic worldview: Objectives, Investment, Expected return, Measurable Outcomes, Money, Efficiency, Effectiveness, Cultural Policy, Productivity</p> <p>Responsibility for: Increasing sector's productivity, supporting opportunities for employment and work in the sector</p>

5.2.2.1 Artistic worldview of cultural leaders

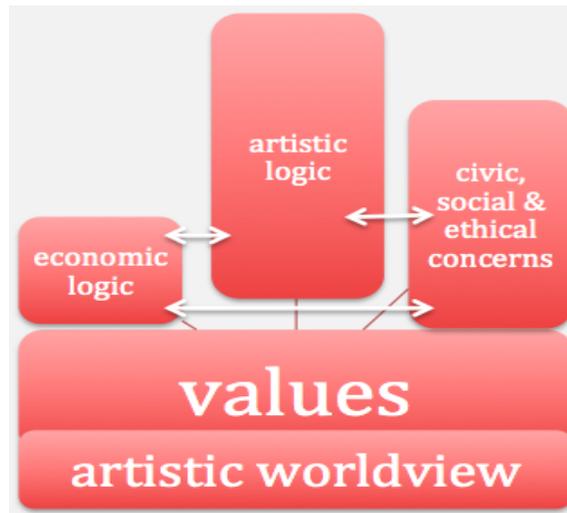
This section further describes the artistic worldview as informed by the research data. From the findings it emerged that the artistic worldview shared by the cultural leaders is underpinned by strong foundation of values, which derive from the most prominent artistic logic, and other logics and concerns. In the case

of the artistic worldview, its essence is marked by the central presence of artistic values, which shape the sector's artistic goals, influence deep motivations of individual creative workers and size their love for arts and for the sector (4.2.2-4.2.5). This understanding that artistic values are a core foundation of the worldview is consistent with the literature on creative work (2.2.3.1) and Bourdieu's view (2.3.2.1), which see these values and priorities associated with the artistic logic as a characteristic of the cultural sector understood as a unique and distinctive field of work and career (5.2.1). Cultural leaders indeed talked about the cultural sector as being very different from other industries because of its intangible resources (including creativity and intrinsic motivation of creative workers), and distinctive ability to produce unique artistic outputs (4.2.1-4.2.2). These findings help to understand that artistic value is placed at the heart of their work, which makes them focus on exploration and experimentation to achieve outcomes that fulfil people's need for freedom and expression (as summarised in Table 8).

Based on the research data, the cultural leaders' self-presentation revealed they indeed hold a holistic artistic worldview, which means artistic values are of the greatest importance to them (4.2.3), followed by social, civic and ethical concerns and further by economic logic. The artistic worldview reflects a holistic and dynamic nature of cultural leaders' experiences because it includes all of values, logics and concerns mentioned above on a basis of them being an integral part of leaders' work experience. It thus contributes to a more insightful understanding of the sector and the work interactions in the increasingly complex and politicised

cultural reality. The analysis of the findings demonstrates that the essence of the cultural sector is richer than the production of artistic outcomes on the basis of artistic values alone. Beyond an intricate rivalry interplay between artistic and economic logics (Bourdieu, 1977, 1992), social and civic or economic aspects are too involved in the making of arts and creation of values that are inseparable from the artistic aspirations of cultural leaders (Figure 4). Accordingly, traces of commercial activities underpinned by a market-driven thinking (4.3.2; 4.4.1.1) are present in the artistic worldview of leaders. The leaders' engagement with this economic logic seems to support studies that consider economic activities and ability to make profit as necessary part of today's cultural production (Banks, 2014; Bilton, 2007, 2010; Bilton and Cummings, 2010, 2014; Eikhof, 2013). This means that within the artistic worldview, there is no need to completely reject the engagement with the commercial rationale on the basis it is somehow immoral or unclean. Literature reports on the historical resistance in the sector towards economic imperative and the process of making money (Menger, 1999) mainly out of fear that a considerable favour towards the economic logic could violate the cultural field's essence and destroy the intrinsic motivations of creative workers (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007). As evidenced by the findings, the notion of worldview helps to understand that cultural leaders do not necessarily always experience an unresolvable conflict between different logics as literature reports (2.2.3.1), because the principles of both are present in their work enactments, and some like economic ones, cannot be simply eliminated.

Figure 4: Artistic worldview (Source: Author)



On the contrary, leaders understood the evolving cultural sector as organized upon a form of multi-domain engagement towards which leaders respond by enacting artistic responsibility whilst at the same time demonstrating economic and social awareness (4.2). It seems that without including these other ‘non-artistic’ concerns, the artistic worldview would fail to reflect the authentic reality and experiences of leaders. Thus within the leaders’ artistic worldview, cultural production and artistic work involves creation of artistic value and aesthetic experience (4.2.3), some commercial activities and management practices (4.2.4), whilst also involving creation of opportunities for individual citizens to fulfill deep human needs for creativity, expression, learning, healing through experiencing art (4.2.5). The condition is that everything must start from an artistic concern (Cornelia, quote p.145), and then the social, economic and other spill-over effects are perceived as signs of development which do not disrupt the artistic worldview of the sector (i.e. 'organic').

A substantial majority of leaders interviewed appeared to understand the importance of the 'money-side' of cultural production and social impact agendas in today's world; however, they were reluctant to change the priority of concerns within their worldviews. In the eyes of leaders, there is a difference between the notion of money to finance art and a notion of money to make profits. Thus, despite multiple political and economic pressures in today's cultural production, the artistic worldview of cultural leaders centres on the artistic logic. This means that cultural leaders' work practices are firstly concerned with artistic values and aspirations, and only secondly with commercial outcomes. Some scholars, however, consider the need to balance the requirements of artistic and economic logics as ontologically contradictory and thus causing a peculiar tension potentially threatening artistic aspirations and goals (Bourdieu, 1993; Eikhof et al., 2012; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2007). As outlined in the findings, the cultural leaders talked a lot about the dangers of an increasing economisation and commercialisation of the cultural sector's production. They agreed that such a trend threatens the current artistic practice, as much as the future of the cultural sector, by gradually shifting the emphasis away from the artistic motivations and goals (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007) towards a monetised view of the artistic outcomes. At the same time, leaders understood the inevitable need for money in producing arts and maintaining workplaces for creative workers as well as being socially engaged, and accommodated these concerns as belonging to their worldview.

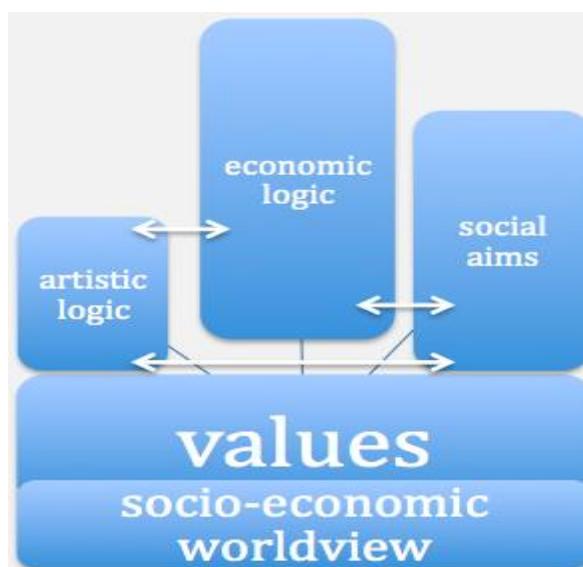
The study findings clearly revealed a great degree of ambiguity in leaders' assessment of, and attitudes towards, the purity of artistic and the 'immorality' of the economic imperative. Data showed it becomes increasingly difficult for leaders to fulfil their artistic obligations if all their valuable time is increasingly devoted to economic concerns. However, on the basis of leaders' experiences, this inherent tension can be accommodated within the artistic worldview as long as a priority of leaders remains a fulfilment of their artistic role responsibilities and associated concerns (civic and ethical). The study findings showed leaders perceived the relationship between the artistic and economic logics as much subtler than direct competition. Furthermore, it seemed the artistic logic did not have to compete for the leaders' attention as it always came first in the artistic worldview, and the economic logic came only second. Aligned with the cultural leaders' beliefs and commitment to arts, the engagement with the economic logic emerged as subordinated to artistic ambitions. Thus a distinctiveness of the cultural sector through the eyes of cultural leaders seemed to be fuelled by an idiosyncratic interplay of different coexisting values, norms and beliefs within their artistic worldview - all supporting the realisation of artistic aspirations, goals and motivations.

5.2.2.2 Socio-economic worldview of the funder

From the understandings of cultural leaders it emerged that other actors in the cultural field, for example the funder and policy-makers, seem to hold a different worldview. The insights from the study participants revealed a difference between their own and the funder's understanding of the work context and the

essence of the sector. The leaders' understanding of the engagement and communication with the funder suggests that the funder's enactments in the field appeared to be underpinned by a socio-economic worldview. Contrary to the artistic worldview, the economic logic and social aims are the leading imperatives in the socio-economic worldview, meaning that economic values are at the foundation of this worldview (as shown in Figure 5). The artistic logic with its distinctive values is only secondary. This different priority of concerns is consistent with current socio-economic impacts agenda of cultural policy (2.2.1); more importantly, it also impacts on how the funder understands and values the artistic outputs and responsibilities towards the sector (its workers and creative process).

Figure 5: Socio-economic worldview (Source: Author)



A clear hierarchy amongst these logics and values in the socio-economic worldview manifest an overall purpose which defines and sets the tone for what the funder values in the cultural reality. As summarised in Table 8 the funder

appears to adopt an extrinsic thinking to the valuation of the sector, by which the artistic potential is seen in light of the sector's productivity. As informed by the cultural leaders' accounts, the funder strives to support opportunities for employment and work in the sector, that are measured and communicated in the language of economic and social return indicators (4.3.4), rather than to authentically (i.e. with conviction) serve the sector's true needs (4.4.1.2). The core responsibilities of the funder thus emerge as built upon calculated drivers rather than the intrinsic motivation so characteristic of the sector's creative workers. Leaders' interpretation showed that the funder's new approach to valuating the work of organisations led by cultural leaders is understood in terms of contribution to the 'creative economy'. This finding is aligned with literature that critically examines the value of today's cultural production, which is increasingly politicised and recognised firstly for generating extrinsic social or economic benefits (Cave, 2001; Cunnigham, 2002; Flew and Cunningham, 2010; Foord, 2008; Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhaghl, 2007; Howkins, 2001; O'Connor, 1996, 2000). The latter suggests that the funder gives central place not to the arts itself but to its social and economic effects (Belfiore, 2004, 2009; Newman, 2013; Oakley, 2009).

The centrality of other-than-artistic values and concerns in the funder's worldview appeared to clash with the view held by cultural leaders, and essentially became a source of misunderstandings and disengagement observed in the Scottish cultural sector. Findings suggest there is a qualitative difference between the funder's new way of interpreting the economic concerns within the socio-economic worldview, and cultural leaders or creative artists interpreting economic

concerns within the artistic worldview (and the same observation applies to the interpretation of artistic concerns in the socio-economic and the artistic worldviews respectively). It seems that even when social actors embrace the same logics (i.e. a combination of artistic and economic logics and other influences), the values they hold in their worldview will further influence what it truly means to them and what expectations are legitimate within a particular worldview. Thus it seems not logics as such but the worldviews that come with their dominant logics tend to cause tensions in the field. It might very well be that the biggest tensions in the Scottish sector resulted from misunderstandings of different values, assumptions and expectations underpinning the worldviews of different actors who simultaneously work, develop meanings and form judgements in the shared cultural field (more in Section 5.3.2.1).

5.3 Cultural leaders' role and engagement with the field

This section discusses the role and engagement of cultural leaders in the cultural field. As pointed out in section 5.2.1, cultural leaders represent a specific example of creative workers with extended responsibilities in the sector. Their specific position in the field is hence worth examining further because it contributes new knowledge about the essence of the sector and about the leaders themselves as powerful or powerless agents. In particular, the way cultural leaders understand the cultural field and interpret behaviours and dynamics within the field revealed paradoxes in the context of leaders' work, with which they engage from within the specific worldview and responsibilities they hold.

5.3.1 Stewardship role

If you are working in the arts ecology and you care about it, then you have responsibility for it because the actions you'll take will have an impact and repercussions. (Craig, Artistic Director & Chief Executive, p.133)

The study findings showed cultural leaders do their work 'with heart and soul' and are driven by a total commitment to arts and the sector (4.2.1). This finding is aligned with research on other creative workers, mainly artists, whose intrinsic motivation to create art is a constitutive element of creative work (DCMS 1998, 2001; Mathieu, 2012, Svejenova, 2005). The work commitment of cultural leaders, however, emerged as much broader than a motivation to produce artistic outcomes or secure one's career development (Jackson, 1996; Jones and DeFillippi, 1996). Instead, it appeared to have a further focus on responsibility towards the sector that provides work and employment to creative workers (4.2.4), but also offers a platform for the awakening and enhancement of deep human experiences (4.2.5). When leaders talked about their work aspirations and responsibilities, the artistic motivations seemed almost inseparable from the greater concern for individuals who work in the sector and those who enjoy arts (5.2.). Thus, this finding exposed a need for a lens wider than the artistic logic in Bourdieu's sense to understand the social, moral and civic values which cultural leaders hold as closely intertwined within their artistic worldview.

The notion of the artistic worldview discussed in 5.2.2.1 allows us to consider the broader and richer understanding of cultural leaders' motivations and goals so strongly present in the study findings (and summarised in Table 9). This broader and richer understanding includes wider than-the-self-concern (4.2.5) and

has manifested itself clearly in the narratives of cultural leaders' self-presentation (4.2). It revealed their intrinsic motivation for work in the sector is rooted in artistic logic but social awareness emerged as important and an integral part of their artistic worldview. The specific motivations for work observed in the responses of leaders showed they enact work responsibilities wider than 'for art's sake' that are considered hugely important in the preservation of the cultural sector's essence. This finding extends the understanding of the distinctiveness of cultural field in a Bourdieuan sense, that is, as merely attributed to creativity, artistic aspirations and intrinsic motivation shaped by the artistic logic's values. Instead, cultural leaders seemed to care for the unique priority of artistic values and other civic/moral concerns to fulfil the human need for arts as lived experience. Thus their practices are driven by a wider spectrum of motivators than either artistic or economic logics. This allows to explain why the leaders' stewardship roles are consistent within the holistic and dynamic nature of their artistic worldview.

Table 9: Cultural leaders' stewardship roles (Source: Author)

<p><i>Stewardship roles in the sector:</i></p>	<p>Leaders' roles and responsibilities seemed to be motivated by the intrinsic motivation, whereby artistic ambitions runs simultaneously with their personal responsibility for fulfilling deep human existential needs of audiences/citizens. Social and civic dimensions are thus inseparable from the artistic aspirations of cultural leaders.</p>
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Based on the findings, it can be concluded that the sector's uniqueness is constituted by a specific 'cultural stewardship' role of leaders (from here after

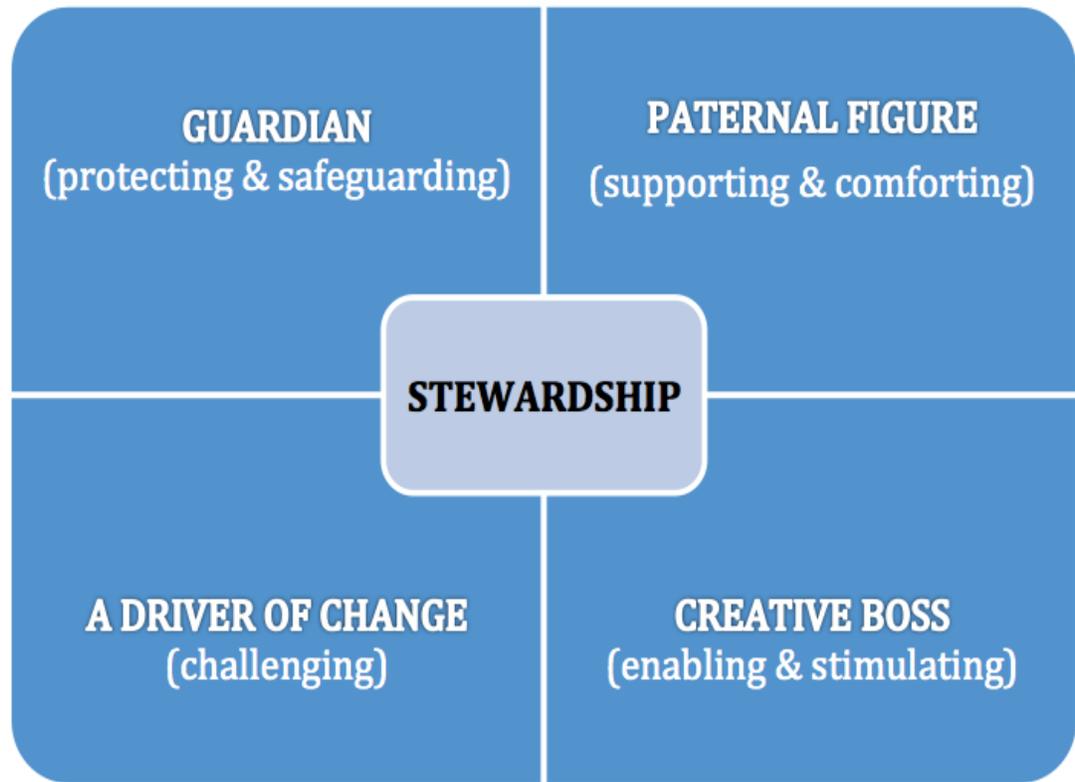
'stewardship' for short), which so far has been neither recognised nor discussed in the CCI literature. Cultural leaders across the study sample perceived their individual work responsibility to be two-fold, i.e. concerned with the production and consumption sides of cultural production. This means that responsible practices of leaders seemed to have a double-aim; firstly, to ensure provisions and support opportunities for creative workers and their artistic work (4.2.4); secondly, to deliver an interesting cultural proposition for different audiences across society to participate in and to enjoy (4.2.5). This two-foldness is compatible within the lens of artistic worldview as it demonstrates the cultural leaders' strong commitment to arts and to other creative workers, and authentic preoccupations with dreams, desires and hopes of audiences as citizens (in comparison with, for example, a preoccupation for income generation). The cultural leaders' artistic responsibility is interwoven with the moral call to be a steward for deeply human needs and civic values. When interviewed, the cultural leaders admitted to a strong sense of responsibility towards the livelihoods of creative workers, the cultivation of value-driven experiences for audiences and the sustainability of the sector.

Artistic leaders and their administrative colleagues expressed clearly that making artistically ambitious work that resonates with people and nurtures their deep human needs is their paramount responsibility (4.2.5). Making arts and nurturing human needs seemed thus to represent one holistic activity during which art is being produced simultaneously with a social and civic dimension being fulfilled and appropriated without any extra effort, that is without any other norm or measurement (e.g. logic of social impact), instrumental agenda or false rhetoric

(Belfiore, 2004, 2009; Caust, 2003; Oakley, 2009; Newman, 2013). Because the artistic worldview is inherently social and existential (5.2.2.1), cultural leaders feel no obligation to choose between artistic, civic and moral values, nor to further justify the social importance of arts, as voiced in the functional or instrumental worldview of the funder. Because a dynamic artistic worldview integrates all these concerns, leaders can act without anxiety about social concerns overcrowding the artistic obligations in the same way as the economic concerns might overcrowd artistic ones (4.3.3), providing there are no external interferences (like inorganic changes introduced by the funder). The artistic worldview thus appears as a guarantor of leader's multiple role responsibilities (artistic, economic, social etc.) encapsulated in the strong stewardship. Thus, this holistic character of the artistic worldview fuelled by the stewardship role helps in addressing a so far limited and compartmentalised understanding of 'artistic', 'social' and 'economic' experiences, values and responsibilities in both cultural policy and the CCI literature (Pratt, 2004a, 2004b, 2005).

As shown in Figure 6, four different aspects of stewardship in the cultural sector emerged: guardian, paternal figure, creative boss and a driver of change. All four aspects represent different qualities of a cultural steward commonly shared in the sector and offer a fuller picture of the multi-layered responsibility of cultural leaders towards the sector's creative workers and its sustainable future. Each aspect of stewardship as it emerged from the study data is briefly summarised.

Figure 6: Qualities of the Cultural Stewardship (Source: Author)



The 'guardian' aspect of the stewardship notion denotes a responsibility of leaders that manifests itself through a desire to protect their cultural organisations, creative workers, arts and the sector more generally. This act of protection, however, often involves making difficult choices and thus brings about possibilities for potential criticism from colleagues and other stakeholders. Leaders who embrace the qualities of a guardian are observing and reflective, and make decisions that are both short and long-term focused. The steward-guardian prefers avoiding confrontations (e.g. those related to the funding dispute), as well as unnecessary change (e.g. the inorganic change that was metaphorically captured by one of the leaders as a train that was running too fast to enable engagement,

Kelly p.165). The notion of stewardship also incorporates qualities of a 'parental figure' towards creative workers specifically. As Brian said (p.170), this quality is displayed by somebody who loves and cares unconditionally, who offers a 'shoulder to cry on', who supports and consoles from the depths of their hearts, rather than in consequence of instrumentally enacted role-responsibility. This means that stewards in the cultural sector care for the sector because they feel they have a duty of care and a responsibility towards arts, artists and other creative people. This calling is unconditional like parental love and it is inscribed in cultural leaders' work identities. 'Creative boss' denotes qualities of the steward that focus on enabling creative workers to grow their talent and develop their careers. In order to do so, a substantial amount of the steward's time is invested in creating a work context filled with opportunities. A creative boss understands the creative process and importance of the material and symbolic context for creative workers to flourish (Robert, p.122). The steward is thus interested in preparing the ground ('seedbeds' or 'rockbeds' p.133) by supporting original work, talented workers and their career development. Lastly, a 'driver of change' suggests an aspect of stewardship that is socially focused and politically engaged. This means a clear desire for promoting social justice and actively engaging in the process of driving social change through the medium of arts. Stewards want to challenge all preconceived beliefs, tastes and views of the world, and interrupt the status quo to overcome any form of social injustice and to make the sector a channel for moral awakening and societal transformation.

A 'greater-than-the-self' type of concern, which disfavours individual gain, therefore underpins stewardship in the cultural sector. Unlike the Bourdieuan mechanism of advancing one's social position through capital accumulation (2.3.2.1), cultural leaders' work responsibilities resemble Svejenova's (2005) view of work and career enactments followed with heart, rather than with preoccupations such as accumulation of career capitals (Webb and Eikhof, 2012b). This is not to reject Bourdieu's view, and the view of other scholars (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006, 2007; Eikhof, 2013; Jones and DeFillippi, 1996) that work and career enactments of leaders lead to an accumulation of different forms of socially recognised and professionally valued sets of skills and competencies, for example symbolic (reputational) or indeed concrete (financial) capital, as it was clear that reputation influences cultural leaders' decisions, for example with whom to collaborate (4.4.1.1). Neither is it true to conclude that during their working lives cultural leaders are never driven by pragmatic rules and some instrumental thinking. However, the research findings show that it is inadequate to understand leaders' work and career enactments solely in the Bourdieuan sense, as it does not do justice to the richness of their experiences. A mechanical and pragmatic reproduction of order in the cultural field is only one way of understanding cultural leaders in their work context. By drawing on the research findings, individual leaders' work enactments can be understood as continuous series of experience that produce meaning, which each individual field actor contains and preserves in their artistic worldview. In return, this worldview seems to support leaders' unique form of concerned engagement with their work environment (e.g. Sandberg and

Tsoukas, 2011), which strongly manifested itself in their perceived stewardship roles.

It emerged from the findings that the sector's future itself (and not just the success of a particular production, current organisations, or their own professional reputation), is clearly of great importance to the leaders because their stewardship role transcends the boundaries of any one organisation. Because the artistic worldview transpires through cultural leaders' dedicated working lives, they seemed to understand their role responsibility as only partially tied to the organisations they currently work in. Rather, they shared a calling to serve the greater community of arts producers and explorers across the sector. Stewardship responsibility appeared to be strongly imprinted in cultural leaders' work identities, which seem to be further strengthened by the leaders' ongoing reflection on their past experiences and by their imagining the cultural sector in the future (e.g. opportunities for artistic development and for experiencing creativity and enriched being by non-professionals), with all possible opportunities and threats to its sustainability. Therefore stewardship responsibility focuses on 'beyond now'. It advocates existential understanding and non-instrumental valuation of arts, as well as communicates the need for freedom of expression and experimentation-driven formula for art making (4.2.4).

In summary, cultural leaders' experiences provided a strong case to redefine the source of intrinsic motivation to work in the sector, (and hence the essence of the sector itself), as much richer than pure artistry and aesthetic values. The study showed that the intrinsic motivation of cultural leaders is fuelled

by the dynamic artistic worldview that integrates artistic, ethical, social, economic and other motivations and thus gives a rich picture of the complex cultural reality that requires a stewardship-like behaviour within the sector. This strong moral (stewardship) calling intertwined with the responsibility for challenging, enabling, protecting and supporting the arts ecosystem might be considered as an inherent platform for safeguarding the artistic worldview in order to marry the values and concerns of other logics. These do not crowd-out or endanger the artistic logic but complement and support it by necessarily preserving the essence of the cultural sector. The wider responsibility for the sector, audiences and future opportunities for both making, financing and experiencing arts have emerged very strongly, possibly because of the very difficult economic context and changing policy landscape. In difficult times, the importance of the stewardship role might have been realised by leaders as crucial for coping with the changes in their work context whilst maintaining their integrity.

5.3.2 Powerful or powerless leaders

Although cultural leaders displayed a strong sense of responsibility for the sector (which was captured in the notion of stewardship), they are one of many actors in the cultural field. Therefore their enactments are influenced by the overall dynamics in the wider context of their work. The politics and the arrival of the new funder with expectations deriving from the socio-economic worldview caused a loss of status and undermined the position of cultural leaders in the cultural sector. From the leaders' perspective, the authentic fulfilment of their missions and roles

had been made more difficult. The occurrence of funding-games (4.4.1.2), described in the research findings, is a good example that offers an opportunity to examine the elusive and real powers of cultural leaders. The following subsection focus on, firstly, the leaders' passive coping with the transformations in the sector, whereas subsection 5.3.2.2 discusses the paradoxical real power of leaders to shape the dynamics and ideas in the cultural field.

5.3.2.1 Paradox of funding games: pragmatic or authentic mechanisms of coping?

The study findings provided evidence that allow to interpret the so-called 'funding game' and 'box-ticking' approach to filling funds application as the leaders' way of responding to the inorganic changes in their work context (4.4.1.2). The funding game in itself is a multi-layered phenomenon that enlightens our understanding of motivations to and consequences of adopting a particular coping mechanism to a very particular situational context defined by a changed relationship between the funder and the community of cultural leaders. This particular practice of funding games influenced different behaviours and manifested various levels of leaders' engagement. As the funding games caused a clash between artistic ambitions, freedoms and responsibilities of cultural leaders, choices made by them appeared as ambiguous. These choices can be interpreted as equally pragmatic and authentic enactments, and therefore should be further discussed from within leaders' particular situational context.

The phenomenon of funding games manifested the cultural leaders' reaction towards a clear shift in the funder's engagement with the sector from

collegial to heavily bureaucratic and impersonal. In the context of the cultural producers' overdependence on public subsidy on the one hand, and the conflicting expectations and values underpinning this new form of engagement with the funder on the other hand, the funding games involved difficult and highly value-laden decision-making. A visible tension emerged from the interviews, which revealed the moral cost of the cultural leaders' decisions made under the pressures of the funder's socio-economic worldview. Although leaders assessed the new funding arrangements, the new form of engagement and the new rhetoric introduced by the funder in similar words, they responded to the particular practice of funding-game rather differently. Two attitudes emerged with a clear majority stirring in the direction of engaging with the practice, and one individual choosing the other path by disengaging with the practice. Despite such big disproportion, Amber's choice (the one leader who opted out) showed that different responses to the game play are possible (4.4.1.3). This disproportion suggests a possible interpretation of funding-games in terms of leaders either sustaining authentic behaviour or lacking personal integrity.

Leaders exercised two strategies to cope with those perceived inorganic changes in the cultural field: a strategy to adopt the changes, and a strategy to resist them. The former consists of embracing the new language, either superficially in funding application, or more substantively through a change of orientation of the artistic projects undertaken (4.4.1.2). This strategy can be interpreted as a careful position-taking in the Bourdieuan sense, as it requires knowledge about the rules of the game, that is, the meaning of the rhetoric and an

appreciation of the broader socio-economic environment of cultural production to justify and attract funding. In other words, it requires knowledge about the dominant values within the socio-economic worldview to understand and fulfil the funder's expectations. The second strategy implies resisting the changing rhetoric and strategy imposed by the funder by operating outside of the mainstream practice, and thus transcending the established dynamics (4.4.1.3). The leader's motivation to either adopt or reject participation in the practice, however, seemed to be rooted in the commonly shared love for the sector and a strong desire to protect it despite the difficult political landscape (5.2.2.1). For cultural leaders who have the artistic logic at heart, who are driven by deep values underpinning their artistic worldview, and who take seriously their stewardship role, neither of the two scenarios of engagement constituted a straightforward choice. Equally neither of the two scenarios could really be labelled in terms of extreme dichotomies such as authentic-inauthentic, instrumental-concerned, integrity-dishonesty.

Based on the research findings, two interpretations are possible. As leaders admitted to seeing little opportunity for resolving the dilemma around the distribution of funding in any but a pragmatic fashion, they resigned themselves to the overwhelmingly powerful position of the funder. They either followed the funder's expectation and shifted their expertise, or fabricated the funding applications by wording their intentions in the way that would fit within the funder's criteria (4.4.1.2). They recognised and learned the rules of the game that in Bourdieuan theory is epitomised as the operating norm in the cultural field. It seems that by "going with the flow" leaders produced and reinforced a type of

behaviour that was quickly picked up by the majority of the community. Importantly, they did it because not following the rules of the field, i.e. not embracing the established order, could result in a risk of not being funded, and consequently endangering the livelihood of the cultural organisations, creative workers and the sector itself. In this way we understand that the engagement with the game practice yielded a visible source of tension as it shook the entire worldview of leaders. It imposed values and logics of the socio-economic worldview as a default norm of operating within the cultural field. Thus taking part in the funding process, which was necessary for survival, triggered moral dilemmas because of the direct clash of their own (artistic) and the funder's (socio-economic) worldviews. For the sake of securing funding, leaders had to accept (or pretend they were accepting) the artificiality of the rhetoric-driven funding game regardless of their disrespect for these inorganic changes and the fear of potential long-term consequences of overstressing one's worldview and compromising the sector's heart and soul. This, less pragmatic but more survival-seeking behaviour of cultural leaders is thus another plausible interpretation of research findings.

Based upon the research data it seems that Bourdieu's view of individual agents enacting work practices in the face of inevitable field-wide rules and norms, lacks consideration for the personal moral dilemmas of actors. Indeed, these rules within the field are produced in the particular contexts of power relations and with time they are either strengthened (if supported by the greater collective) or abolished (if the rule is considered to be controversial or even immoral). However, the research findings highlighted an aspect of personal integrity, and the

importance of individual leaders' decisions beyond the boundaries of their own careers and prospects. In the Bourdieuan Theory of Practice, the reproduction of norms, rules and practices established in the cultural sector express a convenient and practical solution helping agents to achieve desired goals within that established professional community (2.3.2.1), and not "the right" (moral) enactment. Arguably, although Bourdieu's notions are helpful in explaining the very general mechanism of strategic behaviours of position-taking in the context of leaders' work and career enactments, his theory fails to facilitate further understanding of the difference between instrumental and authentic behaviour, and especially the area where these two dimensions become blurred or obscured by conflicting expectations and values. The notion of position-taking used to explain the practice of game-play enacted by cultural leaders without considerations included in the discussion of a worldview, could potentially distort the true meaning of the findings because Bourdieu did not consider deeper moral issues entwined within the individual enactments in work and career contexts. Yet, these appeared as another dimension that could help in understanding the tensions that emerged in the leaders' experiences of the changing cultural sector.

The leaders' words showed some intriguing ambiguity in their moral disposition and responses to changes introduced by the funder. In particular the practice of game-play suggests further complexity and potential plurality worth considering. In the face of the difficulties experienced due to part-taking in the games, cultural leaders' choice was far less calculated and strategic than the Bourdieuan position-taking evokes. It might have appeared pragmatic and

instrumental, yet it expressed the leaders' motivation to preserve the sector, which would be destroyed without a strong presence of cultural organisations. As Robert explained in his answer, the sector seems to survive "because of the weird mix of competitiveness and cooperation" (p.180). The same principle could be applied to the funding-game. There are situations in which resigning from a situation of compromise or sacrifice might potentially yield less good than staying in and playing the game. Thus, despite the huge emotional sacrifice it demands, "keeping one's head above the stormy water" especially in times of substantial changes in the sector might be a strategic but definitely not a self-centred move. The complex context of the funding-game thus allows for a rather different interpretation of games as a powerful subversive act that proves leaders' total authentic commitment to the sector and arts, and confirms the integrity of their behaviours within the artistic worldview. This demonstrates that cultural leaders' professional goals, responsibilities and personal ambition are grounded in the artistic worldview and are strengthened by fulfilment of a stewardship role, which they choose to enact in the cultural sector.

Interestingly, as one leader chose to respond by disengaging from the games, it can be concluded that different forms of negotiating one's own place in the sector can also exist. Amber's position (4.4.1.3) suggests that resistance is also possible. Her justification suggests that the personal and artistic integrity was for her paramount and non-negotiable. For Amber, a compromise would suggest disgrace and violation of the priority of concerns in her worldview. This is where the personal dimension of a worldview allows us to explain such difference in the

choices and behaviours made by Amber and her colleagues. It captures how far one's artistic worldview can stretch to accommodate (or reject) the game-play without dishonouring the hierarchy of one's values. However, it would be wrong to conclude that the participation of the remaining leaders in the game-play is a sign of diminishing authenticity and care or lack of morality amongst the leaders. On the contrary, it seems that the process of adapting to the hostile environment by embracing this collectively shared practice might still be interpreted as laden with values reflecting the artistic worldview. In - what it seems from the leaders' perceptions - the absurdity of the political landscape that brought about undesired changes and imposed the false meaning of what the aims of the cultural sector and its organisations are, the leaders' points of view trigger further discussion about their experiences of work in the changing context. Leaders' decision to choose artificial and morally doubtful ways to secure the funding seems neither ethically condemnable nor morally praiseworthy. One can put oneself in a position where responsibility for making artistic products for audiences and for creative workers employed in their organisations, would influence the choice in the name of a "greater good".

Amber's story does not lead us to think that her choice is apparently better (ethically proper), or indeed suitable for everyone. Amber herself emphasised the consequence of her choice affected only a few people. In this sense, as Jones (et al. 2005) emphasised, working under one's own brand, like Amber did (i.e. as an artist-director who has a strong view of one's practice and very devoted co-workers), can help avoid moral dilemmas. Jones used the idea of prefabrication

that suggests contamination, lack of assertiveness towards the pressures that often are very difficult to reject (like criteria of funding that might compromise the original idea), and which in the end weakens individual agency. In particular, while the dynamic nature of the worldview enables it to stretch, adopting a coping mechanism that offers short-term solution (i.e. subsidy to finance daily art activities), accommodating too much risk can jeopardise the long-term longevity and sustainability of the sector, and might crush the essence of the worldview. Adhering to game-play is dangerous because it might mean accepting the imposed inorganic changes introduced by the funder, which interfere with the natural renewing process of the sector (4.4.2). As already discussed, these changes can alter the nature of the sector forever, corrupt the artistic worldview and disengage the sector and its leaders from stewardship role.

The very essence of this tension lies in the possibly counterproductive resolution that the funding games can yield. On the one hand, it seems to be a viable solution short-term, at least for overcoming overly complicated assessment processes and rhetorically driven funding application. It seems to work in terms of securing money that in turn allows for leaders' stewardship role to be fulfilled. In the long-term, however, the practice might jeopardise the very essence of the sector by promoting undesired behaviour and producing the new order of the field that future leaders will automatically follow and embed in their worldviews. By reproducing undesired practices leaders showed the limited power and position they seem to have in the field. This is unhelpful in resolving complex systemic problems in cultural sector, which leaders voiced and the literature outlined (2.2.2).

In some ways, the leaders' application of a short-term perspective to funding needs alludes to the short-term focus of cultural policy. Interestingly, all leaders recognised the shortcomings of the narrow-minded practices of policy-makers, but not all of them showed concern about the shortfalls of their own practice of funding game. This can indeed be damaging for the future generations of leaders who might adopt the funding-games and an attitude of pleasing the funder as a default culture, rather than as behaviour justified only by the extra-ordinary circumstances. The lessons from the Scottish sector suggest that the cultural sector is a field of work far from ideal. One might argue, however, with no surviving organisation the prognosis for the future is bleak, thus perhaps leaders partaking in the funding games brings a lesser evil.

5.3.2.2 Powerful leaders: illusive or real powers?

In the context of the funding games, the aspect of the leaders' powerfulness emerged from the study findings as an opportunity to act authentically with one's worldview. The powerfulness of cultural leaders and their ability to shape and transform the cultural field in alignment with their artistic worldview might seem paradoxical. Surprisingly, however, the study findings included evidence of leaders as powerful figures able to negotiate the future development of the cultural field. In a Bourdieuan sense, institutional leaders in the cultural field, regardless of whether they work in artistic organisations, the funding agencies, arts school or others, would be considered as influential in the field's order-making (i.e. exerting a high degree of power) (2.3.2.1). These powerful agents are expected to use their social position (e.g. high professional and social status) to pursue specific

agendas. An ability to decide about the sector's financial (and hence also artistic future) definitely showed the high-power status of the funder (more also in 5.4.2.1). For example, by imposing new expectations the funder disrupted the existing funding process during which cultural leaders appeared as having very elusive powers. However unexpectedly, the leaders themselves still remain powerful both within their organisations and the sector as a whole. Within their own organisation, leaders have ultimate decision-making powers; and data suggest they exercise these powers in a collegial and stewardship-led style of leadership (4.2.4). In the engagement with the funder, they seemed to be almost powerless and unable to persuade, convince, or revolt. Nonetheless, if one assumes the effect of power is a greater freedom to respond in uncompromised manners, then in a perverted way Amber seemed to be the most powerful from all leaders interviewed.

There was some inconsistency between leaders' open criticism of the cultural policy direction (and the funder's new expectations) (4.3) and their apparently servile response that was exhibited in the game-play (4.4.1.2). The leaders' situation might seem lacking in choice yet their behaviour unconsciously ensured the preservation of the field's unwanted rules. It is worth pondering whether an alternative outcome could have arisen if leaders felt sufficiently empowered to stir the order in the field. Collective pro-activeness and possibly more confrontational response could have potentially created a space for a different type of experience. The leaders' ambiguity about what the best solution for the present and the future of the sector was, transpired as a lived tension fuelled by a quest for meaningfulness in their work, artistic practices and artistic

experiences in the sector. Thus it would be wrong to devalue the power of their strong motivations and moral reflective disposition, especially when they seemed to intuitively understand the paradox of the situation in which they found themselves. This in itself suggests the desire to survive in such an ambiguous, complex and politically-charged cultural context might not have been only a pragmatic but paradoxically a rather powerful existential and moral choice.

In this situation of tension experienced by leaders, an unconventional (in the light of Bourdieu's view) meaning of power has emerged. In this purview, signs of power encompass more than just reputation, money and prestige. Thus, the actual powers and position of leaders should not be misunderstood as limited only to the status of domination, ability to establish rules or lead in a loud and brash manner (e.g. aggressive leadership). The power to fulfil one's duties, professional goals and personal ambitions consistently with the artistic worldview and stewardship role can also be interpreted as a sign of leaders' powerful behaviour within the cultural field. In the social space understood holistically, that is as rich, multiple and plural – (i.e. with different values, beliefs, emotions and motivations co-existing with each other) - power can be understood as the freedom to work in the style and with values that are integral to one's path of heart (Svejenova, 2005). To leaders participating in this study, creativity and creative ideas come from the place of freedom, i.e. freedom to experiment and also freedom to fail, as such total freedom enables one to experience and discover fully. The artistic freedom and deep underlying social and civic motivations can signify powerful cultural leadership, although quiet and unassuming.

This discovery of individual personal powers should read as a reviving source of hope for the sector. It means that the cultural leaders and other creative workers can challenge the policy more significantly than they think or admit. They cannot dismiss the presence of limiting policy structures and powerful funders, but leaders can choose more subtle ways of signalling the willingness to change and to take more control over the sector's future. However, even if leaders do not realise their full powers, these do exist and they relate to a certain degree of individuality, authenticity and integrity necessary to protect the essence of the cultural sector. The leaders' role partially undermined by new trends in the cultural policy might have tempered their agency, but had not removed all power and drive they have. Leaders are still able to influence the sustainable renewal of the sector by nurturing their artistic worldview and protecting their integrity. They should also be able to develop coping mechanisms that consistently reflect the authentic needs of particular situational contexts of the field. In the face of seemingly changing culture, which might damage the essence of cultural sector, the truthfulness to values of one's authentic worldview can be interpreted as a sign of power.

The case of the Scottish cultural sector has shown an unconventional meaning of power in the Bourdieuan sense, and thus only limited applicability of this particular interpretation of power to the research findings. Despite the changing political landscape and pressing expectations, the leaders' highly awakened and uncompromised mission of service to the sector, its people and its audiences, symbolises important capabilities. Leaders' experience of working in

the cultural field shows power not just as social status, but also in a broader sense, as potential to seize opportunities for their organisations and to shape morale in the sector. This includes a collectively shared responsibility to be “a good leader” by advocating the role of artistic values, which cultural leaders and creative workers (i.e. practitioners and not policy-makers!) hold centrally in their artistic worldview, as essential for suitable development of the cultural field accordingly with its character and aims. Leaders thus have a powerful choice to work authentically according to the values of their worldviews and to enact the stewardship roles so crucial to their work identities. Lastly, they can learn lessons from the recent experiences, rethink their frustration and redefine their roles to perhaps disengage from practices that poison the sector’s values and identity. A belief that these choices are important is a powerful quality for preserving responsibilities of leaders in making the sector become a better workplace and a platform for deeper and more challenging artistic experience.

5.4. Tensions and conflicts in the evolving cultural field

Having explained the importance of the artistic worldview held by cultural leaders as a distinctive feature of the cultural field, this section discusses the leaders’ attitudes towards the two types of changes found in the research data. A strong qualitative difference was found between leaders’ assessment of changes related to market-led transformations and their assessment of transformations related to the new policy landscape. Such difference has been reflected in how leaders experienced and expressed ambiguities and tensions heightened by each

type of change. The notion of worldview will be crucial in making sense of leaders' different attitudes towards the first group of so called 'organic' changes (4.3.2) and the second group of 'inorganic' changes (4.3.3) presented in the previous chapter as an inevitable sign of changing times (organic) or as unexpected, imposed, undesired and potentially harmful (inorganic).

A summary of findings on the two types of changes recalled in Table 10 contrasts the leaders' clear view on the natural character of organic changes with their assessment of the inorganic changes as constructed and artificial. More importantly, however, in addition to the organic-inorganic dichotomous typology these two types of changes can be described and discussed as yielding either productive or destructive tensions in the field.

Table 10: Organic and inorganic changes in the field (Source: Author)

	ORGANIC CHANGES IN THE CULTURAL SECTOR	INORGANIC CHANGES IN THE CULTURAL SECTOR
<i>Natural vs constructed competition</i>	Democratisation of the sector through arrival of new, smaller companies (greater diversity of cultural producers) increased competition for funding and audiences.	Arrival of the funder who has adopted a utilitarian approach to assessing the value of arts and cultural production and political agendas (socio-economic imperative) to the allocation of funding. The funder's approach implicitly challenged the intrinsic motivations at the heart of the sector.
<i>Natural environmental constraints vs forced bureaucratic demands</i>	Rising commercial concerns (inevitable market influence) and financial stress due to a diminished funding (recession) and increased competition (democratisation).	The overly bureaucratic and disengaging funding process (broad brush approach of the funder) caused tensions, frustration and a loss of morale amongst leaders and other creative workers (needs of the sector relying on public funding vs new expectations set by the funder). Added stress to the process of artistic expression and cultural production, already dominated by tensions between artistic and economic obligations.
<i>Care for audience vs artificial rhetoric</i>	The importance of interest and financial support from audience who have a double role to play in the sector's success (i.e. financial support and a continuous support for the artistic exploration).	The funder's rhetoric, which accords with the overall logic of investment, pervades communication with the sector (conflict over the content of applications and language used).

It emerged from the findings that worldviews, with different ideas and values intertwined (5.2.2), can accommodate degrees of productive tensions. Due to its dynamic nature, the worldview stretches across different social domains of life and work, but such dynamic quality is perceived positively as creative and generative. For example, the spill over domains in the artistic worldview cause creative tension, because they open up opportunities for new value to be created (e.g. though collaborations and learning), new activities to be embraced (e.g. cost saving) and a new space to be discovered for bettering and advancing individual

and collective experience of work (e.g. supporting talent) and arts (e.g. creating unique artistic propositions) (4.4.1.1). The second type of tension associated with inorganic changes is more substantial, as evidence from the study showed, it is an effect of clashes between different worldviews that have different foundational value, and therefore any attempt of reaching a compromise is likely to fail and thus cause existential pain. For example, the new funding rules and procedures imposed by the funder, underpinned by a particular instrumental philosophy, clashed with the cultural leaders' artistic worldview and at times prevented them from engaging with their work responsibilities in the way they thought as the best for the long-term sustainability of the sector. Thus, this section further discusses the consequences of both organic and inorganic changes on the cultural leaders' worldviews, their enactments within the evolving cultural field, and consequently the sector as a whole.

5.4.1 Stretching the artistic worldview to accommodate different values

The research findings revealed that organic changes, which appeared within the context of leaders' work, can be understood as inherent to the complex nature of the cultural field. Bourdieu's theory presented in Section 2.3.2 helps in acknowledging the changeable and evolving nature of the cultural field, in which social agents transform the field according to their social aspirations and within the limits of their social position. However, based on the study findings, the Bourdieuan theoretical position is less helpful in comprehending the nature of the

organic change, which symbolises a gradual transformation of the economic system, rather than purposeful short-term interventions introduced by a powerful actor in the field. It is therefore expected that the impact of these on the essence of the cultural field will yield different kinds of tensions.

In the Bourdieuan sense, the essence of work and production in the cultural field is defined by a precarious interplay of artistic and economic logics. The imbalance between the artistic logic in favour of the economic logic (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007) causes visible tensions in the creative workers' daily work as well as long-term career enactments (ibid.). Thus it could be deduced that socio-economic pressures on the artistic logic have a potency to transform or alter the field's existing order through disrupting the balance of logics in the field. However, the changing face of the cultural sector captured and commented on by leaders, revealed the influences from the economic paradigm on the cultural production are not necessarily assessed by them as Bourdieuan 'struggles' (2.3.2.1), that is as tensions that the CCI literature has recognised as potentially detrimental for damaging the essence of the sector (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006, 2007). Because cultural production has been a part of the market system or 'creative economy' for a considerably long time (Banks, 2014), cultural leaders (as any other group of creative workers) have accepted the economic engagement as part of their work practices within the sector (5.2). Leaders have developed ways to integrate economic requirements evident in practices such as collaborative competitiveness, audience development and other marketing activities (4.4.1.1).

As the cultural sector has gradually evolved into the field where economic rationale and market-oriented thinking became a prominent and permanent feature influencing practices in the sector (Banks, 2014; Holden, 2007; Howkins, 2001), cultural leaders as a particular group of creative workers who are responsible for leading their organisations in the cultural sector, clearly understood a need to engage with rather than ignore the economic concerns. This is why this thesis proposes that the artistic worldview lens better explains the findings from the Scottish cultural industry. The cultural leaders argued arts come before commercial success, and the latter simply needs to be cared for in order to enable artistic production. The leaders' engagement with the economic requirements caused tension in the same way as such engagement can impact on work responsibilities in any other professional context (e.g. healthcare). Across the creative industries similar tensions were identified when actors have to negotiate time they spend on particular activities, including the creative (or artistic) and mundane (administration, meetings or securing finances) ones (Gotsi et al. 2010). Importantly, the strategies employed by cultural leaders to cope with the changing context of the field (such as competitive collaboration, 4.4.1.1) seemed to fit in with the holistic and dynamic nature of the artistic worldview (5.2.2).

Within the context of the artistic worldview, leaders have scope to tolerate the economisation and commercialisation of the sector, in so far as they accommodate these demands without jeopardizing the primacy of artistic creation, and thus the artistic values. They might never want to prioritise commercial activities, but these are a part of the reality they belong to and the system of

production the cultural sector is part of (Banks, 2014; Bourdieu, 1983, 1993; Eikhof, 2010). As recognised by scholars (ibid.), in this reality the domains of market and culture (arts) overlap, or even further, they are practically inseparable, which in itself can bring up both opportunities and dangers (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2005). It seems, as only artistic motivations and personal responsibilities of leaders remain the centre of leaders' attention, that they might experience the inevitably changing field as potentially opportunistic for the development of the sector. This opportunistic view also suggests that in a wider sense (and within the realm of contemporary cultural production), the sector contributes to the creation of other values such as economic, social, moral (e.g. economic profit, or social inclusion/justice), and can lead to a very real change-making process and fulfilment of deep human needs. As the artistic worldview locates arts and cultural production in the socio-economic environment, it necessarily comes with other-than-artistic imperatives (5.2.1). For cultural leaders in particular it seems to be important to accommodate these different values and imperatives in the wholeness of their artistic worldview, which helps them enact their organizational work roles fully and with conviction.

The apparent paradox about cultural leaders' criticism of the increasing prevalence of financial requirements for profit-making in the sector, on the one hand, but not excluding engagement with the economic logic from their responsibilities, on the other hand, can be explained and understood but only through appreciation of the holistic and dynamic nature of the artistic worldview. Such a worldview drives leaders' enactments in the complex multi-domain

(interrelated) and market-sensitive social reality with plural values, norms and rationales actors have to consider and weight up. Thus this notion of worldview overcomes the dichotomies Bourdieu used to explain the cultural field and helps move beyond the idea that interplay between artistic and economic logics (Bourdieu, 1983, 1993) always cause struggles. In contrast to such negative overtone, the research findings suggest the increasingly complex contexts of work in the cultural sector require a wider perspective to reaffirm the essential values in the sector, but also to navigate the development of coping mechanism necessary to survive in the field. In this sense, the study findings interpreted through the lens of the artistic worldview support existing scholarship on the problem of managing creativity (2.4.3.1) and correspond with literature that proposes to understand the domain of creativity (often attributed to arts and other creative businesses) and the domain of control (often attributed to management) as less contradictory (Bilton, 2007, 2010; Davis and Scase, 2000; Gotsi et al., 2010; Townley and Beech, 2010, Townley et al., 2009). As both these domains with their particular logics and values constitute the holistic work experience of cultural leaders, they can be integrated within the artistic worldview.

5.4.2 Crushing the artistic worldview by imposing incompatible expectations

The study findings showed the changes within the Scottish cultural sector have been intensified not only by market transformations but also by a turbulent policy landscape. The politically-led initiatives contributed to the emergence of

inorganic changes (4.3.3) signalling a new “engineered” vision of the Scottish cultural sector with potentially damaging short-term and long-term consequences (5.3.2). The arrival of the new funder thus initiated a difficult change process in the sector that many cultural leaders experienced as a (possibly unintentional) reshaping of their mind-sets, attitudes and behaviours. According to the leaders, the changed nature of the funder’s expectations - unlike the market-driven changes in the cultural field, which leaders can somehow accommodate, as discussed earlier - transformed the dynamics of engagements in the context of leaders’ work and challenged the integrity of their artistic worldview beyond what leaders consider acceptable (5.3.2.2). As the institutional power of the funder, seems to have supported the promotion of a socio-economic worldview (with a very different understanding of artistic value), the leaders perceived this as the ultimate potential danger, which could crush their worldview and artistic ambitions.

5.4.2.1 The funder’s institutional power

In the context of a prominent cultural shift observed in the cultural sector, the Bourdieuan conception of a cultural field that is continuously shaped by interactions between elements of structures and agency (2.3.2.1) is useful to understand the specific situation of the Scottish cultural sector. Bourdieu’s theoretical insight is helpful in acknowledging the evolving nature of the cultural field, in which social agents exercise their power and transform the field. Thus, insights from Bourdieu can add clarity to the understanding of inorganic changes as imposed by an institutional actor with a strong established power status in the field (4.3.3). In a Bourdieuan sense, the process of the ongoing restructuring (i.e.

reproduction) of the field is guarded by the actors' position of social power (Crossley, 2003). The empirical data showed that recent transformations in the cultural sector's political landscape changed the nature of the relationships and radically shifted power dynamics within the sector. The findings indeed confirm such power dynamics between the cultural producers and the funder shaped individual and collective enactments in the field by limiting the agency of cultural leaders. During these interactions in the changing policy landscape, a new order was developed along with the new meanings and values. Therefore, the funder's power is another aspect worth further discussion.

A conventional understanding of power might be portrayed as a classic dichotomy: either people have power or they lack power. The Bourdieuan notion of powerful agents in the field draws on such strong polarity, which means that in any context, e.g. field of one's work and career, it is assumed power belongs to those with visibility, institutional importance and social status. In a Bourdieuan sense power is indeed associated with an ability to establish and dictate the rules and behaviours within a particular field, which help preserve an order that fulfils a particular aim of a particular group of social actors (2.3.2.1). The funder, whose responsibility is to fulfil the national cultural strategy, appeared to have accumulated the most power to influence the change in the cultural sector. It set new rules and started to expect from cultural leaders that they would deliver outcomes compatible with these new funding criteria. Such enormous power of the funder has its source in the structure and order of the cultural field and is enabled by the high dependency of Scottish cultural producers on public subsidy. Thus,

when existing funding arrangements were replaced by the new sets of expectations formulated and expressed in the new performance-driven rhetoric, leaders experienced anxiety and trepidation. Moreover, the idea of the funder acting as a cultural broker (5.3.4) has indeed demonstrated the changing dynamics in the field with growing power acquired by the funder and diminishing power in hands of cultural leaders, and other creative workers more generally.

In this purview, the funder's aspiration to act as a cultural broker manifested itself as a power to control the outcomes of cultural and artistic activities that would certainly fit with their own leadership function defined by the national cultural policy. By exercising far more strategic functions within the sector (beyond the mere role of facilitator and funding distributor), the funder disempowered cultural leaders and endangered the cultural stewardship, which, as established earlier, is an important resource for sustaining and driving forward the cultural production and the development of the entire sector (5.3.1). Thus, when applying Bourdieu's interpretation of power to the overall sector (rather than context of leaders' organisations), cultural leaders appeared as rather powerless, i.e. those who follow the rules rather than establish them.

An attempt to gain a strong presence (the funder) or maintain an existing position (the leaders) within the field resembles a classic mechanism in Bourdieu's inherently pragmatic and instrumental conception of social interactions. In such instrumental view of interactions, actors strive to negotiate the conditions within the field with an aim to achieve clearly defined goals and preserve their reputation (2.3.2.1). The leaders' enactments of funding games appeared far less strategic or

proactive. Instead, cultural leaders' behaviour displayed different qualities, which in the light of the Theory of Practice could be interpreted as a powerless behaviour, and thus granting a powerful position to the funder. The terms 'powerless leaders' could therefore indicate frustrated leaders or dispirited leaders who felt they were forced to engage with lengthy and dishonest activities such as fabricated application writing or box-ticking exercises in order to please the funder (5.3.2.1). It could also mean that the cultural field as a work and production system operates on unequally distributed powers, as those who have power are likely to impose the operating rules in the field.

The study findings, however, showed that the notion of power can be far more ambiguous. Indeed, in the cultural sector inhabited by different (rival) worldviews, different types of power might also co-exist. In a Bourdieuan sense the funder represents an institutional power with an ability to shape the field, whereas leaders are perhaps less powerful in so far as they do not display the characteristics of an institution, but instead are social actors individually motivated. Yet, as discussed earlier (5.3.2.2), leaders possess significant power to influence their environment within their worldview, even when not fully realised. This apparent contradiction of powerful or powerless leaders can be explained as illustrating a contrast between a structural type of power (i.e. Bourdieu's institutional power) and a more experiential and value-based interpretation of power (power of influence within a worldview, apparent notably through stewardship responsibilities).

An interpretation of power from within the Bourdieuan field thus yields a different understanding than an interpretation of power from within the artistic worldview. On the one hand, it seems that the funder's institutional power is related to its greater visibility in the field and brings about an ability to shape its norms and rules, for example, in setting out the expectations and operational rules for the funding process, which cultural producers have to follow. However, based on the research findings, the institutional power of the funder only elusively strips cultural leaders totally from their power. Although they might not have the same visibility and position of power within the field, the findings suggest that leaders have a clear ability to shape the system of artistic values, aspirations and long-term relationship based on trust and respect despite the challenging context. Their power comes from within their worldview, is experiential and value-based, and gives them the ability to shape and preserve the essence of the sector, even if they cannot shape the structure of the sector (e.g. the funding system and its accountability) as much as they might want for lack of institutional power.

Nevertheless, in light of the structural changes in the sector, the strong structural power in the hands of the funder can be understood as potential context for promoting the funder's socio-economic worldview (and its values) with the real risk of crushing the artistic worldview held by cultural leaders. As the livelihood of cultural organisations is greatly dependent on the subsidies received, the leaders experienced first-hand the funder's powerful status and its indifference towards the artistic worldview they held and treasured so strongly. Leaders expressed being forced to act upon the funder's expectations despite a lack of acceptance of these

rules as not compatible with their artistic worldview (hence also their engagement in the funding games, 4.4.1.2). Potentially one of the greatest consequences of the leaders losing power (conventionally understood) is a diminishing space and opportunity for cultural leaders to enact authentically and with freedom their stewardship roles. While the funder seems to be in control and remains indifferent towards the values and perceived responsibilities of cultural producers, the leaders' powerlessness (in the institutional sense) is concerning particularly in the described spatio-temporal context of the Scottish cultural reality. Thus, the acknowledgement of the funder's institutional power is important to better understand the relatively diminishing powers of cultural leaders. It is hoped such understanding could support reflection and further inform cultural leaders' future enactments as based upon strength and confidence in their nurtured artistic worldview, rather than fear and frustration. The leaders might indeed be able to actualise their power more fully within and beyond the bounds of the artistic worldview, so as to shape the sector in a direction they judge more desirable and more reflective of the essence of the arts.

5.4.2.2. Conflicting understandings of the sector's value

With the arrival of the new funder, obliged to fulfil the governmental social and economic agendas, a change in expectations towards more transparent and measurable outcomes of artistic activities was noticed by cultural leaders (4.3.4). The funder's new approach to valuing arts transpired through the series of new processes and procedures. It became clear to leaders that expectations of the funder are underpinned by quite different objectives and values from their own.

This situation indeed suggests the funder's worldview is different from the worldview shared by all cultural leaders interviewed (5.2.2.2). This aspect needs further consideration, because it involves conflicting assumptions and dissimilar understanding of expectations between these two worldviews. Moreover, this difference between the two worldviews contributed to the unproductive and damaging type of tensions that emerged from the inorganic changes introduced by the funder.

The funder used its institutional power to manifest and promote values characteristic of the socio-economic worldview, which views artistic outcomes rather differently, and uses a different language to express its expectations towards the community of Scottish cultural producers. The findings suggest that the cultural leaders' interpretation of the value of the sector and arts more generally, seemed to diverge from the interpretation promoted by the funder (4.3.3-4.3.5). A source of such tension indeed can be understood as a difference in the underlying values that is expressed in the artistic and socio-economic worldviews. The latter expresses a reverse order of priorities and values in comparison to the artistic one as it considers the economic productivity and social developments before the artistic aspirations and aims of the sector. In principle, such order unavoidably violates the purpose of the sector's work as it reverses the balance of logics and values that is held by creative workers who practice or support arts-making. It cannibalises the core values and crushes the artistic worldview. Leaders voiced that the new expectations introduced in the Scottish cultural field by the funder brought about fear of such violation happening in the future and threatening

the motivation of creative workers and the essence of the sector. It is alarming indeed when the worldview of funders, which reflects the voice of current policy-makers, becomes a dominant worldview of the field.

Politics involved in today's cultural production actively promote an instrumental approach to measuring the value of the sector (Caust, 2003; Newman, 2013). The literature reports regularly that artistic work and artistic practice, which contribute to the betterment of individuals and societies, has come to be defined and measured within narrow economic parameters, and with limited and instrumental understandings of the social dimension (Belfiore 2004, 2009; Pratt 2004a,b). The political agenda of the new funder shows this very utilitarian value judgement was also applied during the funding process in the Scottish cultural sector (4.3.4). Such valuation that starts with the sector's socio-economic performance, however, is problematic as it goes against the essence of the cultural field and the ways of working in the sector. It also goes against the cultural leaders' artistic worldview, which on the contrary favours processes driven by experimentation, exploration and play (5.2.2.1). In the view of cultural leaders, the artistic work in itself is a primary outcome, which at the same time has a potential to deliver many other unintended outcomes (beyond the social and economic). Thus the interpretation of the cultural value adopted by the funder clashes with the interpretation of cultural leaders as it pressurises the sector to deliver "benefits" pre-considered and pre-established by the politicians, as prominently pointed out by Belfiore (2004, 2009), which in return imposes the very reverse order of the

artistic, economic and other imperatives leaders and other creative workers hold in their worldview.

Leaders clearly expressed their disappointment with the utilitarian approach to measuring impacts of the artistic outcomes transpiring through the inorganic changes imposed by the funder (4.3.3). This finding from the Scottish cultural sector is thus aligned with the increasing academic criticism of cultural policy (2.2.2). It affirms the similarity between the sector's workers' interpretation of the changing context of their work with the highly critical views of academic commentators. Leaders essentially disagreed with the undermining valuation of creative workers, their livelihoods and artistic practices by those with political power as a form of unacceptable imbalance in the cultural field (5.4.2.1). Because the artistic worldview is rooted in the artistic concern, cultural leaders and other creative workers position centrally the actual needs of artistic practice and cultural organisations, whereas the funder's worldview is rooted in the policy work, which literature describes as notoriously removed from daily priorities and concerns of cultural producers (Caust, 2003; Belfiore, 2004, 2009; Newman, 2013). As the funder's expectations limit the importance of arts to its outcomes, it is inevitable that it clashes with the artistic worldview. This incompatibility between the socio-economic and artistic worldviews, and consequently different intentions of actors within the same cultural field, matters for the sector's future. It is considered a damaging and unproductive tension because it effectively changes the essence of the sector and transforms the work experiences of the creative workers. Unlike the tensions between different logics that can be accommodated in a worldview, the

conflict between worldviews is more intensely experienced. It can never be accommodated without damage to a foundation of values and a hierarchy of individual or collective concerns. Based on the research findings, it is more adequate to talk about competition and conflict of alternative worldviews rather than artistic and economic logics, as proposed by Bourdieu.

5.4.3.3 Alienating language

The socio-economic worldview of the funder transpired also through a particular language used to express its values and expectations. In the increasingly contested cultural policy landscape, the artificial language of the funder (4.3.5) seemed to add further complexity to already tested relationships with the sector's leaders. The role of such language in the leaders' meaning-making process revealed the importance of further discursive layers in the field, not fully appreciated by Bourdieu. In the eyes of the leaders, the framework of national cultural policy is played out using the vocabulary of impacts and investments, which for them signifies a rather artificial level not suitable for describing the effects of artistic work. For some leaders the use of the notion of investment was offensive but most of all it showed very little understanding of the purpose and priorities of cultural organisations (4.3.5). Consistently with the socio-economic motivations, the language of the funder and wider cultural policy reflected a false understanding that failed to accommodate the whole complexity of the cultural reality, including other points of views and value systems held by different agents in the cultural field.

As the cultural policy promotes growth by downplaying the discussion about the nurturing nature of artistic aspirations, the sustainability of the sector and the livelihoods of those working in it (MMM, 2013), the language of economic logic (e.g. 'investment', 'socio-economic impacts') highlighted the field's systemic problem, that is, a language that felt alien to leaders who were concerned firstly with the creation and cultivation of artistic value. Following their stewardship responsibilities, leaders were keen to communicate their activities and aspirations creatively and through authentic notions suited and appropriate to the artistic process. The new alienating business jargon, however, interfered with the spirit of the community of cultural leaders. It did not change the beliefs and values, but it affected the heart and soul of the sector. It affected how leaders felt (uncomfortable, irritated, frustrated etc.) and how they would need to engage in the funding applications in order to secure funding for their organisations.

Importantly, the language used by the funder comes already with expectations that are linked with its rather instrumental socio-economic worldview. This means that while both cultural leaders and the funder speak about the same reality (Bhaskar, 1998), they speak about it from a different vantage point. For example, introducing the word 'investment' assumes a particular type of return, whereas the word 'funding' places emphasis on the need for financial support of (public) arts, and has a more supportive and nurturing orientation that seems to be fitting within the artistic worldview and cultural stewardship. The priorities of the funder's expectations are evident when it expects cultural organisations to deliver returns on investment; these expectations are also consistent with the socio-

economic worldview of the funder. Following a distinction of different values at the centre of any worldview, an observation emerged that language divided the cultural field because it evoked different meanings. In essence, the language adopted in political agendas seemed to be interpreted by leaders as a threat to the freedom inherent to the artistic worldview. As the funder's language exposed the worldview's underpinning values, it simultaneously signalled a danger of jeopardising the artistic uniqueness of the cultural sector by crushing the artistic worldview. In light of the artistic worldview, it is possible to understand why the language evoked such strong emotions amongst the sector's workers.

In the evolving Scottish cultural field, the language used by the funder signalled an influential institutional power and a highly politicised thinking about the assessment of arts. In Bourdieuan terms, the cultural field is not a fixed and stable space but one continuously renewed through enactments taking place in it. New players, new practices, or even a new language brought into this space can cause visible tensions. Findings showed the important role of the language in shaping the dynamics in the field, often seen in dissatisfaction, misunderstandings and a lost morale amongst the workers in the sector (4.3.5). The Scottish context showed that a rhetoric of investment can violate the underlying values and beliefs of creative workers because those values and beliefs represent the artistic logic, thus any language that comes in direct conflict with the priority of the artistic imperative can be destructive, especially when strengthened by a position of power (5.4.2.1). The criticism expressed by leaders corresponds with Belfiore's (2009) idea of 'bullshitting', i.e. a highly critical assessment of the cultural policy language as

failing to communicate real matters important for artistic practice and thus undermining and risking the vitality and sustainability of the cultural sector.

Although Bourdieu did not elaborate on the discursive elements of the field, it seems that 'bullshitting' is part of today's cultural field. When used as a tool by a powerful agent, it might endanger the artistic logic and the artistic worldview in the cultural field. From the perspective of leaders, the rhetoric of investment does not substantiate the main concern of leaders, but instead signals somehow a false order of commitment. However, in the actual practice of applying for funding, leader's rationalisation of the use of language has changed (4.4.1.2). This suggests the values, expectations and responsibilities held in one's worldview drive individual behaviour within a situation-specific context of the cultural field. The findings showed there are circumstances in which the artistic worldview of leaders needs to stretch to its limits (before imploding) so the funder's expectations are met and money for arts is secured. As the cultural leaders need to reconcile different expectations in their work, for example, a part-taking in the funding games (or language used in the funding application) showed to be an easy compromise only on the surface (5.3.2.1). In reality, it revealed the complexity of the problem by highlighting that all the enforcement and failing spirit in the cultural field might have already contributed to sector's essence imploding beyond repair.

The ability of the funder to use means (also discursive) to signal a new status quo showed a worrying imbalance of power in the cultural field. As power dynamics shaped by a high dependency on funding in the sector diminished the leaders' choices, negotiation of tensions that arise in the field appeared as

challenging. It seems only the realisation that the future of the cultural sector will look differently, if shaped by either values of the artistic worldview or those of the socio-economic worldview, can overcome current problems. As agents who hold institutional power support the latter, the cultural leaders face a difficult task to protect the essence of the sector and sustain its future beyond the financial security. Despite the somehow imbalance role in shaping the sector's financial success, it is believed, leaders can shape the values and ambitions of the sector (5.3.2.2). The process is possible but it requires strong committed leadership with power collectively exercised and with aim to continue nurturing the sector's workers by creating more opportunities (e.g. through alliances with those who share the artistic worldview) and possibly considering steps to become less dependent upon the funder's agendas.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed the meaning of the study findings in the context of literature, theory and other conceptual notions. Bourdieu's theoretical concepts were used as a starting point in trying to understand the cultural sector as the cultural field, and cultural leaders as actors enacting their work-related practices in the evolving socio-political and economic context. Bourdieu's framework was helpful in recognising emerging tensions caused by imposed changes and power dynamics in the field as a source of struggles experienced by the cultural leaders, which they need to cope with or negotiate accordingly. However, the chapter also pointed out that Bourdieu's conception of social interactions fails to acknowledge a

further qualitative difference between specific tensions caused by either organic or inorganic changes in the field. It is because work in today's cultural sector seems to be of even greater complexity. Beyond the artistic and economic motivations, the uniqueness of the cultural sector emerged as highly value-laden, and the cultural leaders themselves seem to be driven by the artistic worldview that shapes artistic work in the cultural organisations, and which stretches to include responsibilities to satisfy deep human needs of expression, creativity and fulfilment. Thus, the inorganic changes in the sector initiated by the funder revealed deep differences in values and worldviews held by different field's actors. These were identified as potentially threatening for the essence of the cultural sector, the work ethos of cultural leaders and other creative workers.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Revisiting the research questions

This study explored the Scottish cultural sector through the eyes of cultural leaders. It was carried out during a period of considerable transformation within the funding arrangements in the sector, catalysed by the arrival of a new funding agency (the funder). The study focused on cultural leaders' understandings of a changing cultural landscape that constitutes the context of their work. The thesis also considered the influence of these understandings on how cultural leaders perceive their role responsibilities as well as the essence and sustainability of the cultural sector.

As set out in the introduction to this thesis, the study had three main aims. The first aim intended to *“capture cultural leaders’ unique voice and illustrate how leaders working in the Scottish cultural industry understand and relate to their wider work environment in the unique and the shifting landscape of cultural policy”* (p.22). The second aim of the thesis set out to *“explore how recent changes to the Scottish cultural sector impact on cultural leaders’ work related perceptions, enactments and responsibilities”* (p.22). Lastly, the third aim of the thesis set out to *“explore how the cultural leaders respond to and cope with the impacts of these changes”* (p.23). The exploration of cultural leaders' understandings of the changing nature of the sector in which they work, and their engagement with it, has

yielded valuable research findings which offered new knowledge and thus helped to fulfil these three research aims.

First Research Aim

This research captured the collective voice of cultural leaders and generated new knowledge about the cultural leaders working in the Scottish cultural sector. It contributed novel research insights in the field of cultural and creative industries (CCI), which so far focuses on the specificity of work and careers in the sector and describes such specificity as requiring ongoing negotiations of conflicting artistic and economic rationales (e.g. Alvarez and Svejenova, 2002; Bilton, 2007, 2010; Bourdieu, 1983, 1993; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007). In particular, few studies have exposed the experiences and voices of particular groups of creative workers in the highly politicised and increasingly instrumentalised context of cultural production (e.g. Flew, 2005; Garnham, 2005; Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2007) and in the different national (country-specific) contexts (Caust, 2003). There has been a significant lack of studies that aim to understand how creative workers experience, understand and cope with the changing policy context impacting on their work and on the well-being of the wider sector. In particular, the voice of non-artists has been rarely considered when seeking a better understanding of the essence of and dynamics within the cultural sector.

By expanding existing empirical foci and concentrating on the group of cultural leaders, the research provided evidence that fulfilled the first Research

Aim (1.3) and both Research Gaps (2.2.4), that is, the first Research Gap that called for bringing on “*a currently neglected ‘cultural worker perspective’ by exploring the experiences of these workers in the wider context of their work influenced by the changing policy landscape.* (p.48); and the second Research Gap that called for “*expanding the empirical focus of the current CCI research by empirically exploring cultural leaders' experiences and understandings of changing work context in the cultural sector* (p.49).

The empirical work for the thesis followed a qualitative research approach and focused on 21 semi-structured interviews with cultural leaders and industry experts based in Scotland. These individuals were purposefully chosen as a group of stakeholders who had knowledge and were able to engage in discussions about the Scottish cultural sector in the shifting landscape of cultural policy and the context of specific changes in the governance and financial subsidy of Scottish (publically funded) arts. In this way, the unique voice of cultural leaders was captured: a voice which revealed complexities and tensions in the sector, and in particular a misalignment between the cultural leaders' views on the essence of the sector and mission of their work, and the funder's expectations of cultural organisations. Despite the individual differences, the voices of leaders showed commonalities and this particular group of creative workers emerged as a collective entity who shares strong values and beliefs about the purpose of their work in the cultural sector. The intrinsic motivation, artistic ambitions, social and civic responsibilities of leaders in particular emerged as crucial qualities of their work roles, especially important at a time of substantial transformation in the field.

The research findings contributed to the understanding of the sector as a holistic cultural field, in which actions of individual actors are underpinned by specific worldviews. In the view of cultural leaders the work in the sector, and thus also its essence, is based upon an artistic worldview, in which artistic values and artistic logic are central. This worldview enables cultural leaders to fulfil what has emerged as a stewardship role, i.e. deep obligations and commitment towards the artists, audiences and the cultural sector as a whole. However, the leaders' understandings of the wider context of their work highlighted that within the cultural field there are different worldviews that engage differently with the well-established artistic and economic logic proposed by Bourdieu. The funder's worldview based on socio-economic values was perceived as endangering the artistic worldview held by cultural leaders, by promoting interventions that damage the essence of the cultural sector. In the eyes of leaders participating in this study, the artistic freedom and deep underlying social and civic motivations express such authentic essence, while the funder's rather instrumental understanding of the sector's work tend to diminish it.

Second Research Aim

The research fulfilled its second aim by providing knowledge about cultural leaders' perceptions of the recent changes in the Scottish cultural sector. The research findings showed a qualitative difference between the changes introduced by the funder (defined as 'inorganic'), and changes that naturally happen within the socio-economic system of cultural production (defined as 'organic'). The inorganic changes understood from within leaders' work roles and responsibilities appeared

as generating unproductive tensions and potentially damaging long-term consequences for the whole sector. Further analysis of these changes revealed the funder's values and expectations attached to the socio-economic worldview are different from the values and expectations deriving from the artistic worldview of the cultural leaders. This discrepancy in the values and beliefs emerged as the root of all tensions because leaders experienced it as the funder's intention to alter the sector's essence and identity.

On the contrary, leaders understood the organic changes as part of the evolving nature of the cultural sector that requires a variety of artistic, social and economic engagements. The findings demonstrated that the essence of the cultural sector is richer than the production of artistic outcomes on the basis of artistic values alone. Other dimensions, such as economic or social/civic, are involved in the making of arts and they are inseparable from the artistic aspirations of cultural leaders. The dynamic nature of the artistic worldview used to analyse data helped to explain different concerns and values that are present in the work reality experienced by leaders. It transpired that the cultural leaders have accepted the economic engagement as part of their work responsibilities and developed ways to integrate economic requirements, because they understand cultural production as a part of the market system (Banks, 2014). Leaders considered market-led changes, which forced them to engage with 'non-artistic' concerns, to be an organic, i.e. seemingly natural, effect of working in an evolving socio-economic environment. These changes appeared to be accommodated within the

leaders' artistic worldview, providing the artistic ambitions and values remain their priority.

Third Research Aim

The research fulfilled its third aim by illustrating how the cultural leaders responded to and coped with the impacts of the recent changes in the sector, in particular with the inorganic changes introduced by the funder. Different ideas on how to negotiate their own position and protect artistic values and responsibilities in the changed context emerged from the interviews. A majority of cultural leaders consider playing a funding game as a good short-term solution to preserve the livelihoods of the people working in their organisations and the continuity of the artistic work in the cultural sector. However the engagement with the game practice yielded a visible source of tensions as it shook the entire worldview of leaders. It imposed the values and logics of the socio-economic worldview as a default norm of operation within the cultural field. Leaders essentially disagreed with the utilitarian and depreciative valuation of arts and creative workers by the funder, whose political power exercised in the cultural field contributed to a greatly unbalanced relationship. All leaders but one engaged in the funding games (by adopting artificial argumentation and language typical of a socio-economic worldview). They considered the game to be the only option that could please the funder for certain, and thus secure finances for their organisations.

Leaders' unwilling participation in the funding games showed their decreasing power status in the changing cultural field, and highlighted a potential

danger of games in violating the essence of the sector. It also revealed that the motivations of leaders are not merely pragmatic and self-centred. Instead the findings showed that leaders' decision-making is highly value-laden and context specific, i.e. made according with their stewardship roles (from within their artistic worldviews) and with a consideration of unusual circumstances. However, funding-games as a mechanism of coping might be less effective long-term as in itself game playing indicated the possibility of endangering the artistic values cultural leaders considered as "the heart and soul" of the cultural field. An exposure to the funder's values, logics and expectations that can violate the hierarchy of leaders' concerns and ambitions, appeared as the biggest threat to the cultural leaders' work ethos and the sector's well-being in the future. The integrity, motivation and strong stewardship-like responsibility of leaders emerged as the most powerful source of ability to ease the tensions currently experienced and revert to the priority of artistic concerns in the sector.

Overall theoretical contribution

The analysis of the changing Scottish cultural sector from the perspective of cultural leaders generated a new theoretical understanding of the sector as a cultural field where different agents act according to the hierarchy of values and logics specific to the particular worldviews they hold. Pierre Bourdieu's notions were used as a starting point in trying to understand the cultural sector as a cultural field, and cultural leaders as actors enacting their work-related practices in the evolving socio-political and economic system of cultural production. Bourdieu's theoretical concepts helped in recognising the emerging tensions caused by

imposed changes and the overall power dynamics in the field as a source of struggles experienced by the cultural leaders, which they need to cope with or negotiate accordingly. However, upon analysis of the data, a further qualitative difference between specific types of tensions caused by 'organic' and 'inorganic' changes in the field needed further considerations. This thesis thus proposed that introducing the notion of a worldview can extend the existing understanding of the cultural field offered by Bourdieu, particularly to better explain the greater political and socio-economic complexity of work in today's cultural sector. This thesis' theoretical contribution lies in the outline of an artistic worldview, built upon the research findings and extending Bourdieu's concept of 'artistic logic'. The notion of a worldview highlights the importance of broader existential layers of value, meaning and concern which social actors treasure, and which is attached to any activities and decisions enacted in domains of personal life and work. The specific modality of the artistic worldview suggests that the underpinning system of artistic values and civil concerns is characteristic of the cultural sector as a whole and appeared as the root of all the problems and tensions emerging from the interaction between the funder and the community of cultural leaders. These tensions included the experience of inorganic changes that communicated a different configuration of artistic priorities, ethical concerns, and economic goals and dictated a different form of engagement with political agendas operating within the cultural field.

6.2 Implications for the sector

This study proposed that the community of cultural producers (here represented by the cultural leaders) holds an artistic worldview, underpinned by strong artistic and moral values, and this worldview seemed to differ substantially from the one held by the funder and the policy-makers. Cultural policy in Scotland and the United Kingdom as whole, emphasise the socio-economic importance of cultural and creative industries (1.1, 2.2.1). However, the research findings showed it tends to overlook the challenges experienced by cultural producers in the wider context of their work. The findings from the Scottish cultural sector are aligned with the increasing academic criticism of cultural policy, which highlighted instrumentalism, short-sidedness and practice-averse policy-making and intervention planning in the sector (Belfiore, 2004, 2009; Caust, 2003; Oakley, 2009; Newman, 2013). This study captured the voice of cultural leaders, which brought important insights into the transformations within the cultural sector as experienced by practitioners. It is argued that if the policy makers and funders want to achieve a prosperous and sustainable cultural sector, they should consider the voice of the creative workers who, through their work enactments and motivations, substantiate the essence of the cultural sector. Thus, having illuminated important areas of tensions resulting from the changing expectations and dynamics in the Scottish cultural sector under the new funder, some potential applications of the research findings to better inform decision-making and engagement with the sector has been found. Table 11 outlines the areas that are suggested for immediate consideration by the funder and the policy-makers to

improve work experiences of creative workers and to protect the well-being of the cultural sector.

Table 11: Lessons for the cultural sector (Source: Author)

LESSONS FOR THE FUNDERS AND POLICY-MAKERS	
<p>RETHINKING EXPECTATIONS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consider the incompatibility of worldviews and different hierarchy of logics and values held by political decision-makers (funders and policy-makers), and cultural leaders (and other creative workers) respectively • Consider setting up expectations, which are realistic to achieve by the sector’s cultural producers, and which do not violate the priority of artistic concern in the sector. 	<p>Further Questions Does the cultural policy have to follow the socio-economic worldview? Is there an opportunity for a practitioner voice to influence and contribute to the policies and interventions relevant to the sector and desired/agree by the workers?</p>
<p>RETHINKING LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consider suitability of language used to communicate with cultural leaders and creative workers practitioners • Consider the values, intentions and expectations that transpire through the use of particular phrases, such as “investment” etc. • Consider language as an integral part of lived experiences and not simply rhetorical. 	<p>Further Questions Does the language used to communicate with the sector express worries and address concerns of creative workers?</p>
<p>RETHINKING ENGAGEMENT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consider a possibility of practice/practitioner orientation in the policy-making • Consider a possibility for a greater engagement of practitioners in policy formulation and decision-making in matters such as strategic directions, funding objectives and eligibility, training and professional development etc. • Consider cultural leaders and creative workers knowledgeable and able to contribute to bettering of the cultural sector. 	<p>Further Questions Who has the best knowledge of what is needed to improve the cultural sector? Is there a possibility for including the creative workers in the cultural policy and interventions planning for the sector?</p>

In the first instance this study suggests the funder and policy-makers should rethink their own goals and expectations by comparing them with the expectations held by creative workers. It seems that acknowledging the difference between the values and priorities of cultural leaders/creative workers and the funder/policy-

makers will be a good starting point to understand the root of the problems that emerged in the Scottish cultural sector. Setting up realistic expectations for the community of cultural producers during the funding process, which do not violate the priority of artistic concern in the sector, is considered crucial in restoring the damaged relationship. The funder should reflect upon their role in the sector, which first and foremost should aim to support rather than inhibit the sector's development.

The second area for consideration is rethinking the language used to communicate with the cultural leaders and creative workers. The research findings showed both cultural leaders and the funder speak about the cultural reality from a different vantage point and often by using a different language. In the Scottish context this caused misunderstanding, resistance and alienation of the creative community, which suggest the language of the funder displayed some characteristics of "bullshitting" (pp. 269-270). This is why the funders and policy-makers should acknowledge that language is never transparent, i.e. it's not free of values and assumptions and therefore when communicating with practitioners, their values and viewpoints should be respected, otherwise the good working relationship will be at stake.

The third area for consideration suggests funders and policy-makers could rethink the engagement with the cultural sector. Steps towards reconciling and rebuilding the relationship with the sector based on trust and respect rather than institutional power should be made. Any policy interventions have real consequences for the sector and its future and therefore greater engagement of

practitioners in cultural decision-making (in matters such as funding objectives and eligibility) through a series of consultation processes and co-design activities should always be considered. Further effort to improve a damaged relationship within the sector could also include a serious focus on allowing for and enabling an honest dialogue between the policy-makers, funders and practitioners. Most importantly, consideration should be given to the importance of reflection and constructive feedback focused on understanding of each other's worldviews, using mutually accepted language and strategies, and eliminating problematic policies/interventions.

6.3 Limitations and further research

This study attempted to understand the cultural sector from the perspective of cultural leaders. At the time of the study design, attention had been placed on the criterion of 'knowledgeability'. It was assumed that the cultural leaders' experience of the changes in the funding process and knowledge of the political agenda pursued by the funder would help in revealing the complexity of work in the cultural sector. Such criterion also helped in teasing out a reliable study sample that facilitated smooth data collection. While valuable data was collected, only leaders from performing arts were included in the study (as outlined in Chapter 3.3.1). By the time this thesis is submitted, the Creative Scotland's music and film sectors reviews would also have been completed (Chapter 2.3.1.4: 58). These are, therefore, the next potential empirical contexts to explore. In addition, the research data represented the voice of a very particular professional group. In attempting to

understand even further the shared experiences and perceptions of working in the cultural sector, a future study involving participants occupying a range of other administrative and artistic roles is also suggested. Extending design criteria to include the sector's other professional groups (other than cultural leaders) could generate enough diverse data to carry out a comparative study across artistic genres and work roles in the cultural sector.

Another limitation of this research that could be addressed in future studies is a greater focus on particular practices of cultural leaders/creative workers. This study set to explore the leaders' understandings of the sector in the time of a shifting policy context, but because of the study's exploratory character, only a broad picture of leaders' work roles and responsibilities emerged. The next step for more focused studies could be an investigation of how particular practices, for example collaboration (co-work), decision-making, communication, or mentoring (stewardship), are learnt, experienced and shared in the evolving cultural sector. In order to capture and understand these particular practices in greater depth, future research could use additional ethnographic methods, including repeated observations and shadowing of people in their everyday work environment, to gain insight into the participants' experience of and reflection upon these practices in a specific workplace contexts.

This type of future research is strongly encouraged by a growing scholarly interest in the role of materiality in professional practice, work and learning (Orlikowski, 2007, 2010; Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011; Orlikowski and Scott, 2008; Fenwick, 2010, Fenwick et al., 2012, Fenwick and Edwards, 2013). Further

theoretical bridges could be established between how the artistic worldview manifests itself, in particular the investigation of how the individual professional responsibility emerges in the specific materialities, spatialities and temporalities of cultural production, or what role the material context plays in the development of stewardship roles, seem worthy of further research. Finally, as this thesis used the notion of worldview to account for the cultural leaders' deep motivations and sense of artistic and social/civic responsibility, it would be valuable to find out different "modalities" of such artistic worldview held by, for example, different groups of artists and perhaps also in a different assemblage of relationships, meanings, discourses, or responsibilities.

7. Appendices

Appendix A: Changing discourse on cultural production

A historical perspective on cultural production

An initial understanding of cultural production has been rooted in the achievements of the Frankfurt School, represented by great intellectualists such as Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno and Walter Benjamin (Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2007). In the tradition of the Frankfurt School³⁹, culture was a form of socially crafted aesthetic experience, facilitating and enhancing the process of learning about the self and the social world (Hartley, 2005). Such understood knowledge had a moral dimension associated with notions of ‘authenticity’ and ‘citizenship’ (Benjamin, 1999/1935; Hartley, 2005; Hesmoghdaghl, 2007). For the Frankfurt’s moralists, the cultural experience formed through the relationship with the cultural goods (at that time perceived mostly as those following traditionally distinguished canon of ‘fine arts’) provided an opportunity for an authentic experience of exploring oneself in a wider social context. Such aesthetic experience was understood to directly influence a formation of sound moral viewpoints (Hartley *ibid.*). Through participation in the creative encounters with performing arts, crafts, and other artistic fairs, a potential for re-awaking and re-shaping of social and civic values was recognised. Thus, the pre-industrialised era

³⁹ Hartley (2005) points out that the roots of the Frankfurt School’s tradition can be found in the intellectual efforts of thinkers such as Shaftesbury and Reynolds who advocated an importance of marriage between the aesthetic and civic values of art. At present, such a cohesive marriage is visible in the argumentation for the public subsidy for arts.

of cultural production was concerned mainly with cultural and social experiences that contemporary scholars refer to as social capital (Putnam, 2000⁴⁰). Such pre-industrial understanding of culture making was favouring the purest art ideology known as 'Art for Art's sake', where not just monetary but a transformational value of artistic product was a main motivational factor in producing and exchanging cultural products (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006; Hesmoghdaghl, 2007; Menger, 1999).

However, at the beginning of 20th century the Frankfurt School's thinkers were exposed to a massive industrial transformation which brought about new opportunities in the world's economies, also within production of artistic and cultural goods (Hartley, 2005; Hesmoghdaghl, 2007). Newly accessible technological solutions allowed cultural goods to be manufactured and distributed much more quickly than in the past. This technological revolution contributed to an emergence of a mass culture, where cultural goods started to be produced on a huge scale and mostly for commercial purposes. This shift influenced the making of cultural goods and dramatically transformed the processes involved. However, the members of the Frankfurt School engaged critically with the changes in new modes of production that have led to transformation of arts and crafts into an industrialised sector of the economy (Flew, 2005; Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhalgh,

⁴⁰ For more contemporary analysis of the role of performing arts in the process of re-gaining and re-learning the civic and socially driven way of thinking and behaving, see Putnam (2000). Putnam (ibid.) engages critically with the 'aura' of contemporary societies and recognises a growing "disease" of disengagement from social and civic matters that in consequence causes a diminishing presence of social and civic values in people's lives. He argues an experience of arts and culture can serve as a benchmark for a positive social change in re-connecting individuals with their communities.

2007; O'Connor, 2000). The Frankfurt School's members blamed the rationalisation and commodification of mass production in arts for diminishing the opportunity for an individual and authentic cultural experience (Hartley, 2005).

The technological revolution initiated a new form of engagement in arts and enabled emergence of new forms of production based on the consumption model (Hartley, 2005; Hesmodhalgh, 2007). This meant that cultural production started to be dependent on the consumer's demand (Cave, 2000; Menger, 1999). According to cultural scholars, the industrial revolution ended the era of exclusivity and initiated the period of cultural egalitarianism (Hartley, 2005). Importantly, as cultural production has become driven by the economic forces as much as the artistic motivations (ibid.), such shift enabled policy-makers and cultural researchers to look at cultural production as a sector offering great opportunities for socio-economic development. This trend of utilising creativity for economic profit and social advancement has been promoted under changing cultural policy discourses and rhetoric, with the latest, (i.e. the ecology discourse), discussed in Chapter 2.4. A previous shift from cultural to creative industries approach is outlined below.

'Cultural' and 'creative industries approach'

Since the post-industrial revolution, a shift has been observed in the conceptualisation of cultural and creative industries that corresponds with change objectives of underlying cultural policy agenda. A shift from handcrafting of individual cultural products to their technological multiplication (often in large quantities) led creative production to become a significant component of the

advanced economies (Hartley, 2005). Progressively with post-industrial transformations, popularisation of creativity-driven production and consumption caught attention of governments and policy-makers who recognised the economic potential of culture, as much as any other form of traditional (industrialised) production (Garnham, 2005; Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Myerscough, 1988; Pratt, 2005;). The 1990s saw the economic argument of cultural production had been formed and confidently communicated in various policy outputs (Galloway, 2007; Lash and Urry, 1994; O'Connor and Wynne, 1996; Oakley, 2004).

The initial success of this economic argument was built upon the idea of growing cultural consumption (Cave, 2001; Hartley, 2005). As cultural products started to be available to a much wider range of consumers, the understanding of cultural experience shifted from recognition of pure aesthetic enjoyment to an understanding that includes recognition of a successful purchase and exchange. The consumer- and business-driven models of thinking offered a new way of viewing the cultural industries, that is, as economic sectors with financial powers, yet dependable on the unpredictable and always competitive rules of the market (Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Lash and Urry, 1994). Such emerging logic based upon the principle of consumerism represented a clear departure from the original intentions of the Frankfurt School and any other form of cultural activity 'for art's sake' (Menger, 1999). Visible in the 'cultural industries approach', an active engagement in the making of arts and production of outcomes with social and cultural

meanings, slowly started to become compromised in favour of profit-making objective (Belfiore 2004, 2009; Newman, 2013).

With an increasing commercialisation, commodification and capitalisation of cultural production a new discourse with prominent rhetoric of ‘businesses’, ‘growth and efficiency’ started to emerge in cultural policy (Flew, 2005; Garnham, 2005; Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; O’Connor and Wynne, 1996). The value of cultural production started to be perceived as its ability to produce and process the creative content effectively and competitively (Caves, 2000; Florida, 2002, 2003; Garnham, 2005; Lash and Urry, 1994). From late 1990s in the UK, endorsement of the market economy principle and its application to the cultural industries discourse appeared in the national policy agenda driven by the New Labour Party (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). The party’s vision of the ‘New Britain’ pushed politicians and scholars to utilise the potential of cultural industries and its cultural capacity, that is “the ability to accumulate knowledge and manipulate symbols” (O’Connor and Wynne, 1996: 7). As a source of economic activity, these industries were envisaged to play a very precise role in stimulating economic development and providing employment opportunities (Myerscough, 1988).

These political and economic influences have contributed to further development of the discourse around industries that are concerned with cultural production. The political agenda of ‘New Labour’ persistently continues to reshape Great Britain’s profile as advance, creative, entrepreneurial, fair and diverse country (Flew and Cunningham, 2010; Potts and Cunningham, 2008). At the forefront of this evolving neoliberal ideology is the alliance between cultural

production and economic (and social) innovation (Cunningham, 2002; Flew and Cunningham, 2010; Foord, 2008; Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhagh, 2007; Howkins, 2001; O' Connor, 1996, 2000). This trend initiated in the 'cultural industries approach' has been continued in the 'creative industries approach', with even stronger rhetoric and more direct emphasis on the role of creativity and creative outputs in the social and economic advancement of the country at local, regional and international levels (DCMS, 1998, 2001; 2008; Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; Oakley, 2004; Potts and Cunningham, 2008). The UK's specific national example illustrates how creativity became exploited for both commercial and political goals (Foord, 2008; Hartley, 2005; Moeran and Pendersen, 2011).

As the UK government continues to recognise cultural production as an important vehicle in the country's sustainable development and recovery from the economic downturn, increasing extension in the criteria of 'belonging' to industries engaged in such production has been observed in the 'creative industries approach'. The content of creative industries has been constantly a point of debate (Flew and Cunningham, 2010; Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhagh, 2007; Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; Galloway and Dunlop, 2007; O'Connor, 2001; Potts and Cunningham, 2008). Since the late 1990s the creative industries have been commonly defined as those industries 'supplying goods and services that we broadly associate with cultural, artistic, or simply entertainment value' (Caves, 2000: 1) and that 'have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent' (DCMS, 1998: 3/2001: 5). They are based on individual creativity, skills and talent and have the potential to create wealth and jobs through developing intellectual property.

Since these industries have been recognised and placed on the political agendas nationally and globally, more unified definitions and approaches have started to emerge in the strategic cultural policy documents (DCSM, 2001, 2008; UN, 2008; UNESCO, 2004). The UK Department of Culture Media and Sport refers to thirteen specific industries under the term 'creative industries'. The classification of creative industries given by DCMS (2001) includes advertising, architecture, art and antiques markets, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, television and radio⁴¹. The Scottish Government and the Scottish Enterprise deliberately adopt the same typology (Carr, 2009; GES, 2007, 2011).

In addition, Florida's concept of a 'creative class' (2002, 2003) proposed an occupation rather than industry-based classification, contributing to a wider and more inclusive understanding of creativity-driven sectors of economy. Other scholars also recognised the symbolic role of producing social meaning, previously reserved to 'fine arts' (Hesmondhalgh, 2007), should not be limited to the sectors based on the artistic endeavours because production of meaning takes place also in typically 'non-cultural' industries like food, banking, business or technology (Caves, 2000; Florida, 2002, 2003; Foord, 2008). Such debate around the content of creative industries continues to divide scholars (Flew, 2005; Flew and Cunningham, 2010; Galloway and Dunlop, 2007), whereas more consistency has

⁴¹ Whereas classification of cultural industries by Hesmondhalgh (2007) includes media (television, radio, cinema), publishing industries (newspapers, magazines, book publishing), music, photography, advertising and performing arts.

been found around the political, social and economic aims of cultural production in cultural policy.

Appendix B: On the nature of academic knowledge and research

Through the centuries, a conception of what academic knowledge is and how it is produced has been transformed and constituted in different paradigms. The scientific paradigm based on the thought of positivism has been acknowledged as the most dominant in the production of knowledge until the subjective turn brought about by postmodernism (Outhwaite, 1987). A paradigm is the view of the world shaped by presuppositions about the world's nature (Kuhn, 1970). It is wider than a school of thought as it can overarch many traditions. In his seminal work outlining the phases of building knowledge, Kuhn (ibid.) emphasised a difficulty of shifting a once agreed paradigm⁴². This can be extremely dangerous, as - following Markova's argument (1982) - when taken for granted paradigms are able to make researchers unreflective prisoners of a particular way of thinking. This happens when scholars fail to question the underlying presuppositions of established epistemological trends, and therefore neglect the fact 'there may be alternative ways of perceiving, believing and cognising' the reality being researched (ibid.: 2). Thus, it is even more important to appreciate the change that has led to an extended understanding of knowledge generated by the use of qualitative methods.

⁴² Kuhn (1970) suggested the change in a dominant paradigm is possible only in the established phase of science building, if a young generation of scientists with different approach and an opened mind is prepared to challenge the established status quo.

A historical shift from Cartesian to Hegelian framework influenced the development of the new paradigm for social sciences (Markova, 1982). Such a move manifested a change in the argument on the nature of mind. The Hegelian epistemological vision has rejected an overpowering Cartesian statement 'cogito ergo sum' by shifting the conception of mind and rationality from individualistic to social, from static to dynamic, and from passive to active. In contrary to the Cartesian view of knowledge based on cognitive (logical) laws, Hegelian philosophy understood that knowledge can be acquired through the historical circles of interpretation (ibid.). Therefore, no longer was the criterion of knowledge granted to some external sets of rules. Hegelian thinking recognised the value of processes such as knowing, understanding, creating and interpreting, more so than for the final knowledge outputs. It also showed appreciation for social and contextual sensitivity of the research process so crucial in an attempt to understand the reality and meaningfully express these understandings.

The German philosophical tradition was the most influential in historical developments towards the paradigm of interpretivism. Such a paradigm placed emphasis on human ability to interpret the lived experience, marking it a basis for gaining knowledge about any subject in the social world. The interpretive paradigm shaped knowledge in a critically new way thus expanding upon the limiting view of empiricism and positivism (Archer and Baskhar, 1998; Markova, 1982). The most acknowledged propagators of interpretivism represented by authors such as Kant, Dilthey, Weber, Heidegger and Bachtin set to understand and explain more than 'physical empirical reality' (Outhwaite, 1987). By placing the notion of

'understanding' at the centre, the complex social reality could be explained in manners that are more appropriate. The purpose of social science became about capturing also the subjectively perceived experiences and actions. Therefore interpretation of meanings has been pointed out as main preoccupation for any social researcher (Bryman and Bell, 2003; Denzin, 1970; Richards, 2009; Ritchie et al., 2003; Weber, 2011).

A diverse spectrum of interpretative traditions such as social interactionism, social constructionism, ethnography, hermeneutics, phenomenology, hermeneutical phenomenology and the like (Outhwaite, 1987) emerged over time to confront the historical pan-presence of scientific paradigm. Acknowledging the importance of narratives, stories, discourses, biographies and life histories as different sources and techniques of gaining and analysing research data helped the social sciences to flourish (Merrill and West, 2009; Richards, 2009). The new research methodologies, inspired by developments in humanities, arts and literary studies, started to root themselves even in the academic fields that had never before allowed such influences. For instance, in management studies (for generations limited to methodology of scientific management) the influence of critical theories brought to life a very different and often more ambitious analysis (Alvesson and Sandberg, 2011; Alvesson and Willmott, 1992).

Appendix C: Ethical forms

ANNEX A: ETHICS REVIEW FORM – STAFF & RESEARCH POSTGRADUATES

Name: Aleksandra Webb

Division/Institute/Centre: Institute for Socio-Management, Stirling School of Management

Project Title/Research Being Undertaken: PhD project entitled CULTURAL ECOLOGY: A new conceptualisation of the cultural and creative industries. The case of Scotland.

Names of Other Staff involved (if appropriate): This project is carried under the supervision of Dr Doris Ruth Eikhof.

I confirm that this project **DOES NOT** include any of the following:

Research involving vulnerable groups (e.g. children, young people, those with a learning disability or cognitive impairment, or individuals in a dependent or unequal relationship)	
Research involving sensitive topics (e.g. participants' sexual behaviour, their illegal or political behaviour, their experience of violence, their abuse or exploitation, their mental health, their gender or ethnic status); instruments required for initial access to members (e.g. ethnic or cultural groups, native peoples or indigenous communities)	
Research involving deception which is conducted without participants' full and informed consent	
Research involving access to records of personal or confidential information concerning identifiable individuals	
Research which would induce psychological stress, anxiety or humiliation or cause more than minimal pain	
Research involving intrusive interventions which participants would not encounter in the course of their everyday lives	
Research where there is a possibility that the safety of the researcher may be in question (e.g. in international research; locally employed research assistants)?	
I confirm that I have completed procedures required by any secondary data provider (please attach any relevant documentation)	

If your research **includes** any of the above aspects, you will need to describe more fully how you plan to deal with the ethics issues raised by your research. **Your proposal will be subject to a full ethics review.** In such cases, the following information is required to be submitted (along with this form) to the Ethics Committee for approval:

- A copy of your research proposal
- A summary statement, highlighting the ethical aspects and how they will be addressed

Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the University's Code of Practice on Ethical Standards and any relevant academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study. **This includes providing appropriate information sheets and consent forms, and ensuring confidentiality in the storage and use of data.** Any significant change in the question, design or conduct over the course of the research should be notified to the School's Research Ethics Committee Secretary and may require a new application for ethics approval.

Signed & Dated (original form)

A CONSENT FORM

This study aims to research the cultural production in the Scottish sector of arts and culture. The research is carried accordingly with the Code of Practice on Ethical Standards accepted and executed by the University of Stirling. I might use the information gathered in this interview, including direct quotes, in my PhD project and for writing academic papers. All interview content and information about participants will remain confidential. In any publication of research findings, strict anonymity of research participants will be maintained. If direct quotes are used, it will be done in a manner that is not attributable to the interviewee. Nevertheless interviewees are free not to answer any question they feel uncomfortable with and/or to ask for the voice recorder to be switched off.

I confirm that I have read and understood the information above and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and I agree to participate in the research process.	
I agree to the interview being audio recorded.	
I agree to the use of quotes and data gathered for the research in academic reports, publications and presentations, with strict preservation of anonymity.	
I consent to the interviewer contacting me for the purposes of the research.	

I, the interviewee, understand the above explanation and agree to partake in the research project on these terms.

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant (in print)	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Name of researcher (in print)	Date	Signature

Interviewees are welcome to contact the researcher at any point with questions or concerns (see contact details below).

Aleksandra Webb, Institute for Socio-Management, Stirling Management School, University of Stirling, FK9 4LA; Email: a.k.webb@stir.ac.uk; Phone: 07515 886316.

Appendix D: Interview schedule

[This study was originally set to explore the notion of cultural ecology, hence the emphasis on the term in the interview schedule. However, the data collected and ‘academic feedback’ suggested a slightly different direction, and therefore the thesis is shaped around the experiences of cultural leaders in the wider context of their work.]

A semi-structured interview schedule with cultural leaders and industry experts (shortened)

Agenda

Introduction:

1. Very briefly: Introduce myself and explain the research area.
2. Explain ethics:

The survey is conducted in accordance with the University of Stirling’s research ethics guidelines.

All information gathered will be regarded as confidential and all views and opinions will be anonymous and voluntary.

Anonymity of respondents will be protected in all publications, academic or non-academic, arising from this research project.

3. Explain the procedure: Go through a consent form. Ask to sign it. Ask for permission to tape.

The interview

Introductory questions:

1. **Could we start this interview from you telling me a little bit about yourself?**

Probe:

Who you are & what do you do? What is your role in the organisation you represent? What does your organisation do? (a core business, aims; dependency on the funding etc.)

2. **How did you arrive to where you are now? Can you take me through your career journey?**

Probe:

What is your education? Where did you study/train?

Change: Was there a turning point in your career (change)? If so, which one, and why was it important? If changed from a creative professional to an industry expert- what caused the change? Was it intentional and planned move or accidental? How useful is your past experience in your current role?

What has been the most significant achievement in your professional career so far?

3. Do you think the cultural sector and the arts are an attractive sector to work in?

Probe:

Why/why not? What attracted you personally? How would you describe the sector to somebody interested in a career there? What are the key aspects and challenges?

4. In your opinion, has the culture and art sector changed over time?

Probe:

How much different is the culture and art sector now to compare to the time when you started your career?

If yes: What is different exactly? Why do you think so?

How do you assess these changes?

Questions about the notion of 'Cultural Ecology'

I have recently observed the common use of the term 'Cultural ecology' appearing in the policy documents and also in the academic studies. I am aware that the Scottish Government has used it. Also Creative Scotland has used this concept in its Corporate Plan, and FOs/FXOs review. I'm sure you have heard such expression yourself many times....

5. What do you understand 'Cultural Ecology' to mean?

Probe:

What it is supposed to mean?/How would you define it?

What do you think is the essence of it? What is the composition of cultural ecology, i.e. who does belong to it?

Is ecology meant to denote ecology of those who are receiving financial support from the government/ CS? How important is funding relationship in such ecological approach? Does money matter here?

To your knowledge, is anybody excluded from being in the ecology?

Have you personally (and your organisation) ever been briefed by CS or any other political body on how to interpret it?

Does an "official interpretation" of the term exist?

6. I have only heard about such term being used, but could you tell me - from your experience- who was responsible for introducing such expression?

Probe:

Who did? When was it? Why? (In what context/circumstances)

7. Is this ecological reality, let's call it this way, already present?

Probe:

Have you had any direct experience of such concept in practice?

If yes: what does it mean to your practice? Is it important? Why?/ what does it mean to the practice of cultural organisations in Scotland?

If no: do you think it could add something to your practice? Why/ Why not?

Does it bring a substantial change to the sector?

8. What do you think is a core message coming out of the Cultural Ecology?

Probe:

What is the message for the leaders, for the whole organisations, for the artists, for the sector? For yourself?

What are the important factors of meeting the criteria of cultural producer in the cultural ecology? Are these criteria different in the CE scenario? If yes: in what way? or are they comparable with ones used to see in the past?

9. What do you think (other) cultural organisations/leaders make of it?

Probe:

How these criteria of being a cultural producer in the cultural ecology impact on the practice of cultural leaders? In what ways?

Are they supportive of such vision? Do they voice to you any concerns/confusions? Do you recall any particular moment/event when you have heard appraisal or a disapproval of Cultural Ecology by the cultural organisations in the sector?

10. The importance of geography is being emphasised by the Creative Scotland in their corporate strategy. Is it important for the Cultural Ecology?

Probe:

Why? What are the other important principles you could think of?

11. What cultural sector requires these days to be successful and sustainable?

Probe:

How would you assess, are skills and talent important or not? Why? (A constant flow of new talent to keep the wheel turning?)

Is talent a measure of sustainability of the sector in the Cultural Ecology? Is it more about talents, careers, or both?

Is it particular careers you have in mind or all type of careers in the cultural sector (like cultural leadership)?

What is the current state and what are your prognoses for the future?

Could CE mean the healthier career systems in the sector? In what ways?

14. Does the sector's experts/leaders like yourself talk about the concept of Cultural Ecology?

Probe:

Do you try to analyse it? Do you try to make sense of it together? (In order to have a common take on it?) Did you talk about it before and during the Review(s) or at any other occasion?

15. Would you say CE denotes a certain change in the cultural sector?

Probe:

What does such 'ecological' change mean to the sector precisely? Has the sector been prepared for such shift? How do you personally feel about the changes in the political environment of arts and culture, and funding policy? (ATTITUDES)

What does it mean to the sector to follow the CE vision? (What are the envisaged direct or long-term benefits?)

What do you think it would mean if the sector does not embark on it? (Are there any repercussions for doings so?)

16. In your opinion, is CE a useful approach to be promoted?

Probe:

Is it helpful? How/in what way? Why?

Is it relevant to our organisation/ daily practices?

Does the new conceptualisation represent the change that is needed in the sector? (NEEDED OR IMPOSED)

17. Would you find a better way of expressing the future vision for arts and culture? Could something else- a different concept or scenario- replace it better?

Probe:

What concept and expression this could be? How would you phrase it?

What metaphor would you use? (For example, a family or a kaleidoscope, a symbiotic relationship)

What about graphic representation? Could you give an example? Ex., a web, entwined roots, a garden, a pyramid or a tunnel)

18. What it would mean 'unecological' behaviour/ practice in the sector of culture?

Probe:

Can you point any example from your practice? From the sector as a whole? (From abroad?)

End:

I would like to finish here. Would you like to ask any questions?/ Would you like to add anything? Do you think that are other questions that should be raised to understand the transformations that took place in the sector?

Thank you very much for your time and all this valuable material for my research. [Leave my card and end with thanks.]

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