

NEGOTIATING THE FIELD

Towards a Relational Understanding of Power in the Arts: A Case
Study of Oldham

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

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Declaration of Academic Integrity

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Abstract

Against a backdrop of growing interest in localised cultural policy, this inquiry locates Oldham, an ‘overshadowed’ town (Pike et al., 2016), on the edge of Manchester (UK) as a case study to explore how a range of non-economic capitals are gained, utilised, and understood in the arts field. Locating this study in a town on the outskirts of a metropolitan area, this inquiry engages with both ‘formal’ professional (Gilmore, 2013) cultural offerings as well as voluntary-amateur organisations to explore field understandings amongst arts and cultural organisations.

Drawing from the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1990, 1991, 1992; Bourdieu and Johnson 1993) and from organisational theory (Thornton et al., 2012), the inquiry adopts a relational approach to explore the ways in which organisations within the field understand their operating environment and how they access and maximise non-economic capitals to exert organisational agency. Using a mixture of data collection methods including ‘go-alongs’ (Kuesenbach 2003), utilising Dickinson and Aiello’s (2016) scholarship on movement and materiality, participant-produced network maps, and the analysis of documents, this research contributes new methodological approaches to researching the arts and cultural field.

Whilst there is strong evidence of the policy rhetoric of inclusion and participation as well as evidence of continued efforts to democratise the arts and cultural sector, the field is highly institutionalised, hierarchical, and increasingly professionalised. Although cultural policy endeavours to use local arts infrastructure to build local capacity, this thesis points to a situation in which those organisations in towns at the edge of a metropolitan city remain unable to gain the status enjoyed by their metropolitan counterparts. Organisations in satellite towns are heavily reliant on harnessing the support of elite individuals and dominant, established organisations which lie beyond their immediate local context to secure legitimacy for themselves and their activities.

This thesis furthers scholarly understanding of inter-organisational and institutional relationships within the arts and cultural field. Future avenues for research include developing understandings of voluntary-amateur organisational structures to combat institutional blindness. It also suggests arts and cultural policy discourse should shift emphasis from positioning policy instruments as imposed, towards a more nuanced understanding of policy instruments, which recognises that field conditions,

including policy instruments, become institutionalised and thus may be readily exploited to benefit some organisations within the field.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Background

This thesis emerged against the backdrop of a lecturing career that has increasingly required me to engage with material from cultural studies, cultural management, organisational theory, and sociology. It results from a convergence of professional encounters, chance meetings and personal interest. Over the last ten years as a lecturer in Austria, Switzerland, and Germany, I have annually accompanied cohorts of higher education students either to London or Northwest England in order to share the apparent contrast between the prevailing ‘Hochkultur’ of Munich, Salzburg or Vienna with some of the UK’s seemingly vibrant, participatory, accessible, cultural landscape. Over successive visits and exchanges, I became interested in the narratives of some of the organisations we visited as well as the ways organisations spoke about themselves and their activities. I began to perceive subtle shifts in the emphasis on, for example, ‘audiences’, ‘inclusion’ or ‘participation’. Similarly, amongst the organisations we spent time with particular value was placed upon us as visitors from foreign higher education establishments. Our numbers were carefully counted, and our educational establishment noted. Our visits evidently lent themselves to the fulfilment of some implicit organisational aims. Furthermore, within their presentations to us, these organisations put similar emphasis on particular strategic aims which appeared to be shared across the range of cultural organisations with which we spent time. In response to this, I became interested in exploring how these shared ideas are created and reproduced across the sector and the extent to which they suggest that organisations are bound to fixed sets of understandings. I became curious about the degree to which organisational narratives and operations are imposed by external structural constraints or whether they are created by the organisations themselves as ways of communicating and legitimising their activities. I wondered to what extent the shared nature of understandings acts as an enabling factor which assists them to succeed within the constraints of external pressures.

Drawing from academic literature, one possible explanation for the apparent commonality of ideas conveyed within these conversations is that those arts organisations – particularly those in receipt of regular public funding are under increased pressure, from both policy makers and the public, to be more accessible, accountable, and inclusive (Bell and Oakley, 2015). This situation has been well

documented throughout recent decades (Vestheim 1994; Holden 2004; Belfiore 2004) with Holden claiming,

Instead of talking about what they do – displaying pictures or putting on dance performances – organisations will need to demonstrate how they have contributed to wider policy agendas such as social inclusion, crime prevention and learning.

(Holden 2004, p.13)

Whilst a more detailed discussion of the literature and events contributing to the current state of arts policy in England follows in the literature review, Belfiore's (2004) observation that arts and cultural organisations in receipt of public funding are being required to prove, in concrete terms, their 'economic and social impacts' (p. 189) is salient to this thesis. In seeking and maintaining funding, it would seem that arts organisations must often justify their programmes according to which non-arts related goals they will fulfil with the monies they receive. As Gilmore (2014) writes, 'cultural policy has reached [a] position of increasingly unguarded instrumentalism' (p.8). Defined as governmental 'tools' deployed in the pursuit of policy goals, policy instruments are selected and implemented by policy makers to bring about particular policy ends (Capano and Howlett, 2020). Subsequently, regularly funded organisations within the sector are required to collect relevant data to prove these instrumental claims in order to safeguard future funding.

Whilst this situation has been explored extensively over recent decades throughout academia (Vestheim 2007; Belfiore 2004, 2012; Gibson 2008; Gray 2007, 2008; Hadley and Gray 2017) its focus has been largely on the ways in which those organisations in receipt of public monies are impacted. The implication within some scholarly literature (Hadley and Gray 2017) is that for the arts and culture instrumental policy making, coupled with scarce financial resources, has led to a lack of autonomy for organisations within the sector. This is understood as problematic for the arts as a result of the historical, ideological belief that art should remain autonomous (cf. Crowther 1981). However, little attention has been paid to exploring how structural conditions, including policy demands, are understood more widely across the sector including within community-based, voluntary-amateur organisations. As Capano and Howlett (2020) observe, policy instruments have a temporal element and may become highly institutionalised over time. As such, instrumental policies may contribute more broadly to the shape of the sector and the actions of organisations within it. The extent to which government policies shape organisational operation may have reifying implications for the sector and reach beyond those organisations in receipt of public

funds. This research engages with a range of organisations both including and beyond those in receipt of regular funding, in order to explore how ascribed value and other external forces contribute to the activities of arts and cultural organisations.

The austerity policies introduced since 2010 aimed at reducing the UK's fiscal deficit have resulted in deep government spending cuts across the public sector. Gilmore (2014) identifies the combined impacts of reduced local authority budgets coupled with an increasing degree of local authority involvement in the control of arts and cultural organisations as one of the greatest challenges for the arts and cultural sector. She explains that these budget cuts have placed 'impossible pressure' upon discretionary budgets for arts and culture (Gilmore 2014 p.11). These cuts have continued, resulting in dramatic reductions in local authority spending. Cuts in cultural spending at local authority level are estimated at 40% (Institute of Fiscal Studies 2019). This picture points clearly to regularly funded arts and cultural organisations facing increased financial pressure. Nevertheless, so too are voluntary-amateur, and community-based organisations (cf. Jones et al. 2016). Organisations operating without regular funding find themselves facing increasing competition for scarce financial resources as an outcome of reductions in the availability of resources for the sector as a whole. Austerity measures have a knock-on effect which impacts giving more broadly, leaving voluntary-amateur organisations also facing pressure in an economic climate of austerity (Jones et al. 2016).

Whilst Gray (2008), Vestheim (2007), and Belfiore (2004, 2012) understand instrumental policy as fundamentally a constraint, Håkon Larsen's (2014) study suggests that organisations use the rhetoric of instrumental ascriptions as important tools to legitimise their work. Larsen's (2014) investigation of organisational legitimation shifts the emphasis within academic discourse away from decrying instrumentalism *per se* and, drawing upon his research conducted within the Norwegian cultural sector, Larsen (*ibid.*) describes how organisations are required to justify their organisational work, describing it as:

about persuading users, funders, and citizens of the necessity of supporting the arts in general and the specific organisations in particular

(Larsen 2014, p. 259).

What Larsen argues is that instrumental claims for the societal and economic value of the arts (Belfiore and Bennett 2010; Gilmore 2014) have become a tool not just for policy makers to justify the spending of public money on the sector, but also for organisations themselves to legitimise their work within their own institutional

contexts. Larsen's (2014) argument suggests organisations use the imposition of instrumental values advantageously, to assist them to meet their organisational aims. Larson's (ibid) claims resonate with the work of Coburn (2016), in which she explores the constraining and enabling factors of policy within an institutional context. Her work acknowledges that structural forces within institutions 'shape strategic action' but are not limited to constraints, they also provide 'a feedstock of ideas, approaches and practices' (p.468). Crucially, she also notes that the effects of structural constraints within a given institution are not evenly distributed throughout it but are dependent upon the location of actors within that social structure. The work of both Larsen (2014) and Coburn (2016) foreground the importance of hierarchies and power relations within institutional contexts (Coburn 2016, p.470). Larsen (2014) references such institutional hierarchies and argues that patterns of cultural consumption have been changing as a result of 'traditional hierarchies' being called into question. Larson (ibid) shifts the instrumentality discussion away from criticising instrumental policy demands themselves and considers the way in which organisations use espoused instrumental value rhetorically to generate support for their work. Larsen (ibid) claims that the ongoing ascription of instrumental functions by policy makers has led to questions of legitimacy arising for (in particular) traditional, funded, cultural forms (Larsen 2014 p.456). Consequently, publics and funders expect organisations to justify their work. Furthermore, this shift away from instrumental-policy-as-imposition discourse, congruent with the work of Coburn (2016), suggests organisations are involved in a struggle for recognition - both amongst themselves within an institutional hierarchical structure as well as with the wider public. Quoting Mould, (2018), Durrer et al. (2019) echo this situation stating, 'a culture of competition in cultural policy flourishes' (p.327). Larsen's (2014) observations indicate a situation in which organisations within the cultural sector, particularly those in receipt of public funds, are being forced to use legitimising practices as tools to justify their continued existence and to maintain their status within the institutional hierarchy. Larson (2014) assumes the use of instrumental policy rhetoric is a vehicle for securing the support of donors and publics, thereby assisting them to maintain their status.

The assertion that policy rhetoric operates as a legitimising tool through which organisations are able to establish themselves within an institutional hierarchy is one that this project aims to explore. Informal discussions with arts managers prior to the start of this project certainly suggested that struggles within a hierarchy were real. Those organisations considered more 'prestigious' by some were at times dismissed by

others in the local cultural ecology for being ‘too commercial’ or accused of elitism - and contrasted them with organisations thought to be producing work of higher quality on a tighter budget. Notably, the organisations mentioned within these conversations were not limited to those in receipt of regular funding – and yet they were included in the conversation. These compelling, informal conversations suggested an underlying set of ideologies prevailing within the sector which are taken-up and adapted by organisations not only in response to financial pressure or direct responses to policy demands, but also as mechanisms for constructing their own organisational legitimacy and challenging existing power relations within the sector.

My research project seeks to understand the nature of the hierarchical structure and the mechanisms through which organisational legitimation takes place at local level within the sector. It explores the ways in which arts and cultural organisations strategically adopt policy positions, accept institutional logics, and use non-financial tools in order to contribute to their organisational success. It is interested in understanding the ways in which organisations within their institutional contexts ascribe meaning and value to structural pressures, potentially shaping the relationships between them. This research is in an attempt to establish a more nuanced understanding of how arts organisations function within their wider institutional environment and hopes to develop a better understanding of the nature of relationships between cultural organisations and the external pressures they encounter.

The contention that prevailing social conditions may be adopted to advance the aims of individual actors, and the corresponding struggle for power within a social hierarchy is central to the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1990, 1991, 1993). For Bourdieu, the amassing of non-economic capitals including honour and prestige (Bourdieu 1990 p. 118) are particularly important for maintaining the established order (of power relations) in a given field (Bourdieu 1993, p. 41). Bourdieu (1990, p.66) defines a particular social space as a ‘field’ in which, ‘everything that takes place in it seems *‘sensible’*: full of sense and objectively directed in a judicious direction’. Put simply, the term field describes a social space which is not isolated geographically, in which elements derive distinctive properties from their relationship to other elements (Swartz 1997). Bourdieu’s work suggests that ‘the exercise of power through the use of symbolic capital’ is particularly important in ‘special circumstances’ including ‘economic crisis’ (Bourdieu 1980, p. 118). If Bourdieu’s assertion is true, the current economic climate would precipitate the need for organisations across the arts and cultural sector to make judicious use of symbolic capitals to assist them.

Pierre Bourdieu's oeuvre views representations of legitimacy as crucial to the exercise and perpetuation of power relations within a given social space (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, p.3). His understanding of how symbolic systems form a mechanism by which domination is both precipitated and consented to, in combination with the contention that structural constraints are distributed unevenly within institutional hierarchies, is central to this investigation. The nature of non-economic resources and the ways in which they contribute to organisational success within a given arts field are the main themes attended to in this project.

Following from the work of sociologists such as Bourdieu, organisational theorists including Di Maggio and Powell (1983) sought to understand the processes of legitimation and social reproduction within the context of organisations (Di Maggio and Powell, 1983 p. 27). Their work has been taken up more recently in the work of organisational scholars including Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) and Sieweke (2014) who call for Bourdieu's theories to be used more widely in the investigation of organisational action. Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) cite the need for greater understanding of 'organisational position takings' (p.14) and identifies a paucity of organisational research which moves beyond false dualisms, such as might be exemplified by the instrumental versus intrinsic value debate within the arts and cultural sector. Emirbayer and Johnson (ibid.) suggest that using relational approaches, such as Bourdieu's, to inform organisational study enables the exploration of organisational 'freedom under constraints' (Emirbayer 2008 p.16), a situation which describes organisations as both enabled as well as constrained by structural forces. The purpose of this thesis is to explore organisations relationally and gather further insight into how not only legitimising rhetoric (Larson 2014; Greenwood and Suddaby 2005) but also, the strategic use of symbolic, historical, and other non-monetary resources assist organisations to achieve organisational aims and negotiate relative hierarchical positions within their organisational contexts. Using the theoretical insights founded in the work of Bourdieu (1980, 1984, 1991, 1993) as a guiding framework, this project seeks to provide deeper understanding of the extent to which organisations may sit within networks of hierarchical relationships, with some organisations occupying positions of privilege.

Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) recognise that organisational fields are not merely impacted by policy concerns but are often embedded in other national or international fields with 'greater scope' (p.21). Emirbayer and Johnson (ibid.) argue that organisations sit in fields within fields – or exist in overlapping fields. Organisations

that occupy positions within the broader field spaces are able to supply ‘much needed’ symbolic capital to those organisations within the more localised field (ibid). Emirbayer and Johnson’s (2008) claim that organisations from a broader field, of greater scope, supply important forms of symbolic capital to localised fields is one this thesis explores.

1.2 Cultural Cities and Placemaking - Situating the Study

In selecting a satellite town-based study, this research project shifts attention away from creative metropolitan cities towards secondary, satellite towns. More specifically, in answering the call from Emirbayer and Johnson (2008), it examines how relationships between organisations within a localised context are shaped in relation to each other, as well as ways in which the influence of the organisations in the wider field beyond the town, are understood. In doing so, it explores how town-based organisations relate to those organisations operating within the context of the well-established arts infrastructure in a neighbouring ‘creative city’ (Landry 2000). Tay (2005) describes creative cities as ‘anchors’. This nomenclature figuratively implies a dense, powerful force with the capacity to control those tied to it. Tay’s (ibid) tacit reference acknowledges a dynamic at play in which external forces influence their local surroundings – and this project seeks to explore the nature of those forces and how they are understood within the local arts and cultural ecology of a secondary town.

Amidst the academic discourse surrounding arts funding, cultural policy, and the instrumental use of the arts (e.g., Hadley and Gray 2017; Belfiore 2012; O’Brien 2014), there has been increasing attention placed upon the role of the arts and culture in placemaking, regeneration and place-based funding (Markusen 2014; O’Brien, 2014; Miles and Ebrey 2017; Jancovich 2017; Durrer, Gilmore and Stevenson 2019). O’Brien (2014) states unequivocally ‘The instrumental use of culture in urban development is now a common feature of central and local government policies across the world’ (O’Brien 2014, p. 96).

The recognition of arts and culture’s role in urban regeneration and as an economic driver won increased attention at the turn of the twenty first century with works including Landry’s (2000) ‘Creative Cities’ and Florida’s (2002) ‘The Rise of the Creative Class’. These two highly influential works served to put a new instrumental emphasis on the arts and culture. Landry’s (2000) work urges the creation of cities which inspire innovation and creativity. For Landry (ibid.), this goes beyond the built environment and reaches into the civic realm, in which he urges devolved power in

return for flexible creative leadership. Florida (2002) posits that areas with high populations of creative workers tend to be more economically successful and goes on to argue that if towns and cities can attract ‘creative class’ individuals, regeneration and growth will follow. Whilst the two publications are different in nature and should not be conflated, they do share the common aim of harnessing the instrumental value of culture and creativity, in particular, with a view to fuelling economic regeneration within city contexts (cf. Pratt 2008). Subsequently, schemes such as the European Capital of Culture attempt to harness the arts and culture as catalysts for urban regeneration and economic development. However, little attention has been paid to those towns which lie on the outskirts of these cities, and how the proximity of a creative city impacts more localised cultural organisations. Whilst urban planning discourse has acknowledged the impact of large cities on neighbouring towns, finding that regeneration projects can result in a ‘weak sense of place for the secondary towns’ (Turok 2008), there has been little insight into the extent to which arts organisations in secondary towns are able to sustain their work and create their own narratives. Furthermore, the expounded benefits of culture-led regeneration and their ‘trickle down’ effects have been called into question (cf. Colomb 2011; Cohen 2007) with scholars including Wilson (2017) noting that creative cities run the risk of perpetuating social inequality or draining surrounding towns of talent (Leslie and Catungal 2012). Further, Leslie and Catungal (2012) claim that creative cities (which emphasise the need for cultural amenities) have ‘uneven geographies’. They argue that whilst placemaking rhetoric places great importance on the role of social cohesion, inclusion, and equality, in reality placemaking merely emphasises the priorities of elite classes and neighbourhoods (Leslie and Catungal, 2012 p. 114).

Evoking Gilmore’s (2013) ‘Crap Towns’ and growing calls for increased scholarly attention to the local (Gilmore, Jancovich, Stevenson and Durrer 2019), this project investigates how cultural organisations lying on the outskirts of a large, cultural city (Manchester, UK) relate to each other, to policy, and to organisations within the city. It seeks to address some of the questions posed by Markusen (2016) concerning the challenges of creative place-making, including the location of arts organisations.

The town of Oldham, in England’s northwest, has been selected as a case study as a result of its particular geographic and demographic position. A detailed description of Oldham follows later in this chapter. By situating the case in a town-based borough, rather than a city centre, this project provides insights into the relationships and mechanisms through which a town-based cultural scene might be sustained against the

backdrop of a major city centre's close proximity. The borough of Oldham features contrasting demographics across its electoral wards. Urban areas of the borough house a culturally diverse population, and some of the country's poorest households, whilst rural parts of the borough are home to a predominantly white population, and some of the UK's wealthiest households (Oldham Borough Council 2019).

The borough of Oldham enjoys a well-developed and supported 'formal' cultural sector (cf. Gilmore 2013) but also large numbers of amateur organisations. For the purposes of this research references to 'amateur' organisations draw upon the definition from DCMS (2008) and includes those organisations who are organised and run by those 'also participating in the activities [...] but not primarily for payment' (DCMS 2008, p. 12). By including those organisations within the amateur sector as well as organisations in regular receipt of public funds the research examines the role of legitimation and power beyond those impacted directly by policies and funding criteria in operation within the regularly funded sector.

In selecting Oldham as the focus for this case study, it explores how organisations across the borough of Oldham relate to each other within its own contrasting local demographic, as well as seeking to understand its relationship to Manchester city centre organisations. The borough of Oldham is one of ten making up the Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA) and the City of Manchester lies less than ten miles away from the town. In focussing on a non-city centre borough, this research engages with relations between organisations in a 'hyperlocal' (Torriggiani 2020) context as well as seeking to understand how those relationships are shaped by organisations within the city region. By locating this research in the Borough of Oldham it not only aims to shed light on the organisational dynamics of a secondary town, but also to understand the relationships between organisations across the borough's divergent rural and urban populations. These insights may further support the work of scholars such as Bell and Jayne (2010) and more recently Miles and Ebrey (2017) calling for closer engagement with the relationships between people, place and creativity (see Bell and Jayne 2010; Miles and Ebrey, 2017).

The purpose of this inquiry is to gain insights into the ways in which organisations understand and bring meaning to their environment and how prevailing ideologies across their relationships shape their operations and the institutional field. It is concerned with the ways in which arts organisations use non-economic capitals, both material and symbolic, in order to gain and maintain power. It looks at the ways in which organisations use such capitals to negotiate the complexities of their

institutional contexts in order to fulfil their organisational goals. By exploring the mechanisms through which organisations in Oldham are able to negotiate meaning within their environment - which in turn assists them in the accumulation of sufficient power to maintain relative autonomy - this analysis questions the validity of claims that artistic autonomy is being threatened by policy makers from outside the cultural sector (Hadley and Gray 2017). At the same time, this investigation attempts to provide insights into local cultural policy and organisational theory. These themes will be attended to further in the literature review.

This inquiry explores the following questions:

1. What evidence is there of symbolic resources within the arts and cultural sector and how they are understood?
2. Which forms of non-economic capital are valorised in the arts field and how are organisations able to make strategic use of them for the fulfilment their organisational aims?
3. How do arts organisations within the Oldham arts and cultural field respond, in practice, to external field conditions in order to obtain or maintain power within their institutional contexts?
4. Is there a system of hierarchies in evidence between organisations in the satellite town of Oldham and how do these relate to power structures within the broader field?

1.3 Introducing the Research Approach

The project draws primarily upon the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1990, 1991; Bourdieu and Johnson 1993), Scott (2014), and Thornton et al.'s (2012) works. It adopts a relational sociology paradigm in order to frame the methodology. Pierre Bourdieu's work is concerned with the relationships between culture, social structure and action (Swartz, 1997) and in his 'Distinction' Bourdieu (1984) concludes that 'agents are, in their ordinary practice subjects of acts of construction of the social world' (1984, p.470) and goes on to state that the 'practical knowledge of the social world [...] implements classificatory schemes, [...] historical schemes of perception and appreciation which are the product of the objective division into classes' (ibid.). By adopting a case study approach, this project aims to reveal and investigate some of those schemes of perception and appreciation in order to understand how they may contribute to the exercise of power within the Oldham arts sector.

Whilst further attention is paid to the scope and relevance of Bourdieu's work in the literature review, for Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), societies are revealed not by understanding individuals but in understanding the relationships between them, stressing that whilst society is made up of individuals, it is the relations between them that create the conditions for individual action. By using a relational approach this study will understand how existing relations between organisations shape their activity within their contexts. Relational investigations are concerned with *context* rather than the individual properties or attributes of things (Mohr, 2013). Relational sociology is interested in understanding how the symbolic, cultural and historical context, shape the behaviours of actors. This investigation aims to emphasize the complex relationships between organisations and their environment rather than adopting a positivist approach which affords primacy to any one 'thing' (Kasapoglu 2019). As a consequence, it hopes to reveal how cultural resources are mediated by organisations and examine the extent to which they are used as markers of power. Bourdieu's sociological concept of 'field' forms the sampling basis for the investigation and is referred to throughout this thesis.

The concept of a field is one which rejects the study of individual elements but is interested in the relationships between them within a dynamic system. The rationale for adopting a field approach is that it takes into account the influence of history, culture, and hierarchical struggles for resources. The term field refers to a fluid space in which circumstances are subject to change and in which everything may have meaning (Hilgers and Mangez 2015). Fields emphasise the dynamics between individual agents rather than the agents themselves. By adopting the concept of 'field', it is hoped to understand how the complex relationships linking organisations to structural patterns and the broader dynamics of their context shape their behaviours (Swartz, 1997). A field, in this context, is not bound by a geographical boundary.

One of the difficulties associated with the wholesale use of Bourdieu's theoretical frameworks for the study of organisations is that organisations are made up of individual actors, each bringing their individual traits to an organisation. In response to this, Thornton et al. (2012) propose the adoption of an 'institutional logics perspective' to understand how organisations are interrelated and how they are influenced by people and their environment (Thornton et al. 2012, p. 2). More recently, Hallet and Goughety (2018) explain that within organisations, individuals engage in and exhibit practices that are organisationally appropriate. As such these practices then form part of organisational stability. Thornton et. al (2012) cite research

suggesting organisations within an institutional field compete to ‘own and frame’ ideas, to perpetuate their own interests (Thornton et. al (2012 p.8) and in keeping with the work of Bourdieu (1990, 1984, 1991; Bourdieu and Johnson 1993), suggest that in accumulating non-economic capitals, organisations are able to develop their own individual uniqueness via ‘interests, power dependencies, and a capacity for action’ whilst at the same time exhibiting elements of a collective institutional identity (Thornton et al. 2012, p.134).

The use of a case study approach, which is well suited to field analysis, allows for a relational study of arts and cultural organisations. Both the theoretical and the methodological justifications for the use of a case study, and the data collection methods within it are discussed in more detail within the literature review and methodology sections of this paper. However, a case study approach allows for ‘in depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular [...] institution’ (Simons 2009, p.21 in Denzin and Lincoln 2018, p.343). Furthermore, case studies offer both a focus and intensity of study which, whilst not universally replicable, reveal particular effects and mechanisms which cumulatively, could lend themselves to more comprehensive theory (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008).

More specifically, my inquiry uses interviews and participant produced network diagrams in order to examine how network, material, and symbolic resources are used to shape the field. Bourdieu articulates the need to avoid reductionism and to recognise the ‘consciousness and interpretations of agents’ as key elements of the social world (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 p. 9). This necessarily poses epistemological challenges as the researcher and the research participants bring their individual, subjective understandings to the research. However, this research is not concerned with understanding cause and effect but seeks to emphasise the complexity of the dynamics at play within the field. With this in mind, the research project is interpretivist in nature. It understands meaning as being generated through actors’ negotiation between lived experiences as well as historical, social, and cultural norms (Cresswell and Poth 2018). Ontologically it rests upon the assumption that multiple realities exist and further accepts that any evidence presented here is value-laden - being both subjectively given and subjectively interpreted. By adopting a mixed-methods case-study approach (Yin, 2014) it seeks to provide insights into common understandings within the field.

1.4 Locating the Study: Oldham

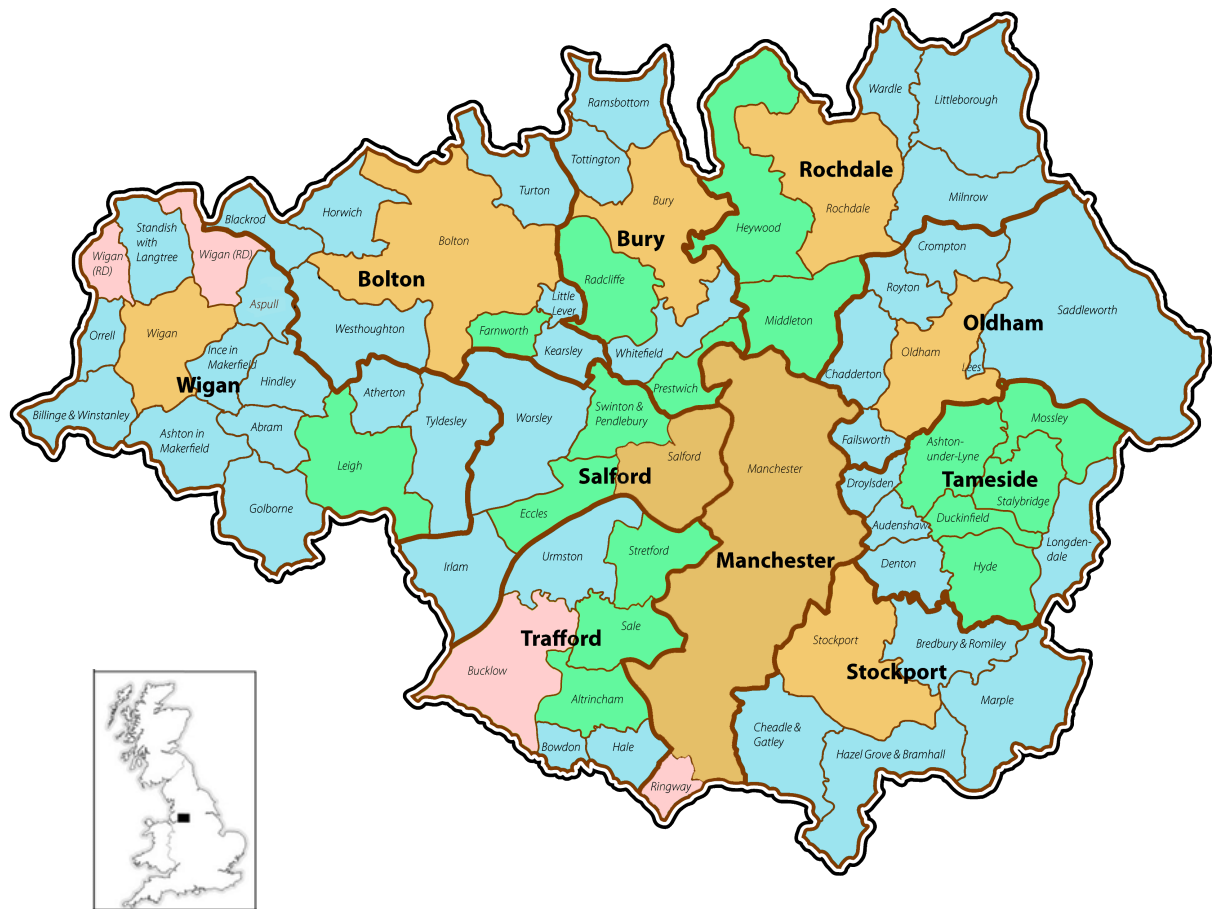


Figure 1.1 Location of Oldham Within GMCA
(commons.wikimedia.org)

During the late Nineteenth Century and into the early Twentieth Century, Oldham had a thriving economy. The textile mills provided employment and wealth and drew many from the surrounding rural areas into the town. (Oldham LSP, 2004) During the period of prosperity at the end of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth centuries, Oldham, like many of its industrial town counterparts, (for example: Eccles, Bolton, Blackburn, Middlesbrough) established music halls, theatres and other venues in order to provide entertainment for the growing urban populations. The Grand American Circus and Hippodrome was established and from 1887 housed in the Oldham ‘Colosseum’ (National Archives 2020). The Colosseum would become a music hall and briefly a cinema prior to becoming what is now the Oldham Coliseum Theatre.

In response to increasing numbers of poorly educated workers populating booming industrial towns, the Lyceum Movement, which had developed in the United States, was also becoming established in Britain, and in 1839 a call was made for:

Oldham [to] emulate the example of every town of importance in the Kingdom, by establishing a Lyceum, or Mechanics' Institution, having for its object the moral and intellectual improvement of the inhabitants
(National Archives, retrieved 2020)

The Lyceum building was opened in 1856 and would later become the Oldham School of Science and Art, and later still, became the home of the Oldham Music Service and the Lyceum Players.

At the peak of its cotton manufacturing in 1913, Oldham boasted the 'largest number of cotton spindles in the world' (Oldham Council, 2017). Oldham's wealth during the industrial era mirrors the fortunes of many of England's industrial towns. The period of prosperity came to an end as the cotton industry began to decline in the second half of the Twentieth Century. As wages declined, workers began to leave the mills. As a result, mill owners were faced with labour shortages and throughout the 1940s, the mills initially employed refugees from Poland and the Ukraine (amongst others), prior to employing men from Pakistan and Bangladesh throughout the 1950s. These men were encouraged to migrate in order to fill the demand for cheap labour in the mills. Later, during the 1960s women also began to migrate in order to join the men. However, as the 2004 report commissioned by Oldham Council states, 'These groups arrived to work in a declining industry in a town with little tradition of welcoming outsiders' (Oldham LSP, 2004, p. 9). The cotton industry in the UK was already in irreversible decline and by the 1980s it had all but collapsed, leaving Oldham experiencing widespread deprivation across different ethnic groups. As Rhodes et al. (2019) point out, the impact of deprivation was experienced most acutely by black and ethnic minority groups. As a result of what the Oldham LSP Report of 2004 describes as a 'breakdown in communication and trust' (p.28) between Oldham's diverse communities, in May 2001 riots broke out.

The Oldham riots of 2001 resulted from 'communities leading separate and parallel lives' (Cantle, 2006 p.15). In the immediate period following the disturbances, Oldham Local Strategic Partnership produced the 'Forward Together' (Oldham Borough Council 2004) document, which proposed, 'Everyone should be able to participate fully in the social, economic and cultural life of the Borough' (p.2). The Forward Together document emphasized the role of arts and voluntary organisations as key partners for promoting a cohesive community. Oldham Council subsequently commissioned the Cantle Report (2006) which further identified an absence of engagement between ethnic groups and called upon the town to prioritise community

cohesion. In particular, Cattle (ibid.) emphasised the need for engaging women and young people in projects within the town in order to foster greater cultural understanding. The Cattle report cited the work of schools, voluntary groups, and arts organisations as important partners for driving positive change in the town and it is against this backdrop that organisations in Oldham continue to operate. The race riots of 2001 became one of the defining features of Oldham's cultural policy from which the *Oldham Beyond* (2003) strategy and Cattle Report recommendations were put forward (2006).

Since the riots of 2001, Oldham Council has sought to prioritise not only economic growth, but community cohesion. The Oldham Local Strategic Partnership, in conjunction with the Northwest Development Agency (2004) commissioned a report which presented a series of commitments to Oldham as a creative borough as well as proposing a commitment to community cohesion through the cultural life of the community 'using animation and cultural activities to break down the barriers between young people' (Oldham LSP, 2004). This report coincided with the then New Labour government's commitment to 'capturing the value of culture' (Jowell, 2004 p.18), and Estelle Morris's assertion that 'Culture can make a contribution to [...] strong communities' (Morris, 2003 in Selwood et al. 2005 p.113).

In keeping with the assertions of Landry's (2000) 'Creative Cities' and Florida's (2002) 'The Rise of the Creative Class', in 2003 the development of a cultural quarter was framed as 'using culture as part of the transformation of Oldham's image and a driver for its economic future' (Oldham Borough Council, 2004). The development of Oldham's cultural offering has seen the construction of Gallery Oldham, which opened in 2002 and further extended to include the library and life-long learning centre. The site of this development now forms part of the Council's proposed 'Cultural Quarter' which will include a heritage centre. The Heritage Centre has recently been awarded a large grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund. As part of development of the Cultural Quarter, plans are in place for the relocation of the Oldham Coliseum Theatre. However, at the time of writing, funding for the new theatre has not been approved (Museum Insider, 2020).

Within the context of cultural policy taking on a 'properly economic' (O'Brien, 2014) turn, the creation of cultural quarters as economic drivers which 'combine cultural consumption with cultural production and urban place making' (Montgomery, 2003 p.293) was introduced. Culture became viewed as both a contributor to the economy, as well a conduit for building strong communities and

urban regeneration. Against this backdrop, Oldham Council has concentrated its cultural investment in the town centre with the ongoing development of the town's cultural quarter. The most recent council investment is the current thirteen-million-pound (Museum Insider, 2020) project to create the Oldham Museum and Archive (OMA).

Culture as a driver for economic growth and community cohesion has gained increasing popularity since the beginning of the century (Oakley, 2016). The effect of New Public Management strategies, which will be discussed in the literature review, included two important developments, one was an increased emphasis on the role of culture in urban regeneration, the other an increased emphasis in public participation (cf. Alexander 2007, 2017; Beck 1989).

Oldham's neighbouring city of Manchester embraced the role of culture in regeneration wholeheartedly (Roodhouse 2010) and the city's stated aim was 'to lure' 11.2 million people who live within fifty miles of the city' (Manchester Regeneration Strategy, 2004 in Roodhouse 2010 p. 84). The city continues to place culture at the heart of its regeneration strategy and in a recent report, the city of Manchester is estimated to have a vibrant cultural sector with a turnover of 52 million pounds (Manchester 'State of the City' report 2018 p. 37). The City Centre is home to twenty-four regularly funded Arts Council England organisations that in turn form just a part of a broader cultural scene which includes fifteen organisations which share an additional 1.1 million GBP of local council grant funding (Manchester City Council, 2018). Manchester's 'Cultural Ambition' strategy for the Greater Manchester region seeks to make the city the 'UK's most culturally democratic city' (GMCA 2018). With city centre organisations enjoying the geographical advantage of being at the centre of the city region as well as large capital investment, this thesis looks at the context of those organisations that lie in a borough on the periphery.

As a town located within the Greater Manchester area and the town's proximity to the city of Manchester Oldham is variously impacted by the social, political and economic events in the city. Whilst discourse has seen policy shift away from the blanket approach of national cultural policy current arts and cultural discourse has identified a paucity of research situated in local contexts (O'Brien and Miles, 2010; Gilmore et al. 2019). The effects of cultural cities upon the cultural offering of surrounding smaller towns has received little scholarly attention. By selecting the town of Oldham as the site of this case study this research aims to add empirical data to this area of discussion.

Gilmore (2013 p. 87) refers to a 'regionalisation agenda' which was 'explicitly tied to places'. Emphasis is increasingly being placed upon inclusion and participation within the context of the local within policy rhetoric and academic discourse (Jancovich 2017). The city of Manchester has wholeheartedly embraced the participation agenda (cf. Wolfe and Savage, 2015). The participation agenda has not been limited to cultural policy. Consistent with the period of calls for greater participation within cultural policy, there were simultaneous calls for greater participation within political decision-making more broadly. This situation also gave rise to increased calls for decentralisation. Decentralisation was framed as shifting power away from Westminster and handing greater responsibility to local decision makers. The justification for decentralisation, as Greener et al. (p.2009 p.440) explain, is: 'being more locally managed will cast off inflexible bureaucracies [...] because public organisations will become more like their private-sector equivalents.' They go on to write that in doing so national government intend for value to be created locally. The aim of decentralisation has been, 'promoted [...] as the key to tackling both economic imbalance and democratic deficits' (New Economics Foundation, 2017). This has included a regionalisation agenda aimed at reducing national wealth inequalities, in particular, addressing the UK's north-south divide. Against this backdrop, AGMA was formed in 1986 which brought together the ten authorities making up the Manchester area and enabled them to collaborate. In 2014 the ten authorities, including the borough of Oldham reached an agreement with the national government to become a devolved region known as the Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA). Further, a localisation agenda has sought to place greater power in the hands of local authorities. However, with these powers, local authorities have also been handed the responsibility for 'placing culture at the heart of their strategies' and using culture to achieve a variety of outcomes including tackling disadvantage, creating economic growth, increasing community cohesion, and improving health and well-being (GLA, 2017 p.6).

According to the official UK government data supplied via Public Health England's 'Spend and Outcomes' tool (SPOT, 2020), the average national, local authority spend on culture is approximately 69.50 GBP per capita. In Oldham this spend is around twenty percent lower at just under 55.00 GBP capita whilst Manchester spends 71.74 GBP which is around three percent more than the national average. Nevertheless, Oldham's cultural spending far exceeds that of its other eight GMCA counterparts whose combined average cultural spending stands at only 31.71

GBP (or around 56 percent of Oldham's spend per capita). Despite Oldham's (relative to the other GMCA boroughs) higher spending, the 'Active Lives' (2015-2017) survey data reveals Oldham residents do not participate in cultural activity at levels which reflect the local authority's spending compared with the other GMCA boroughs. Of the ten GMCA boroughs, Oldham residents were the least engaged in craft activities, are ranked eighth for attending cultural events and festivals, fifth for library attendance and eighth for gallery or museum attendance over a twelve-month period (Active Lives Survey 2015-2017). Nationally, the survey describes Oldham's arts engagement as 'significantly lower' than the national average.

Drawing upon the evidence presented here, Oldham is a town which is simultaneously attempting to harness culture as a mode of supporting its own economic development and community cohesion, whilst concurrently being nested within a city region which foregrounds the city of Manchester as a creative city.

Oldham provides a rich setting in which to explore relationships between arts organisations. Whilst recent years have witnessed greater emphasis on 'place-based' and 'localised' cultural policy throughout academic discourse (Wilbur, 2016, Redaelli, 2017, Durrer et al, 2019), with approaches to the arts aimed at increasing participation at a local level (Durrer et al 2019), much of their research has been aimed at broader regional context or metropolitan cities.

The potential competition for resources between a satellite town and a dominant city such as Manchester is a situation that scholars including Roodhouse (2010) have recognised:

mill towns such as Oldham. [...] the influence of the city on the periphery is significant. Consequently, cultural policy (...) directly impacts on the towns in the outer circle

(Roodhouse 2010, p.164).

This situation is echoed in the work of Pike et al. 2016 who caution that, as a town on the outskirts of Manchester, Oldham may be considered as overshadowed. Gilmore (2013) also alludes to the threat posed to towns located near other cultural hubs. She emphasises the requirement for arts and cultural offerings to 'sufficiently differentiate their locales' (p.89) in order to compete with other 'place destinations' (ibid.).

There has been a great deal of attention paid within recent academic and policy rhetoric placing increased interest in the role of the arts and cultural sector in contributing to 'place-making', in particular the role of cultural and inter-cultural city planning for advantage (Lees and Melhuish, 2015, Landry, 2000). However, as Leslie and Catungal (2012) point out, this has frequently 'translated into investments in the

physical landscape of cities' (p.115). These investments, they claim, are an attempt to attract highly mobile talent, in keeping with Florida's (2002) 'Creative Class'. However, claims that the Creative Class are highly mobile may well be overstated. As Leslie and Catungal (2012) state, creative cities may well exacerbate the social inequalities that their proponents claim to counter. This inquiry engages with two important themes drawn from Leslie and Catungal's (2012) work.

The first is the claim that creative places themselves have become hierarchical. With many cities endeavouring to adopt the creative class model, competition between towns and cities for members of the creative class has increased, but the creative talent workforce is finite. The implication of this is that the presence of a creative city has a variety of potentially negative impacts on other creative places – particularly those which are geographically close. This situation is perhaps illustrated by Oldham Council (2017) which estimates that one third of the working population of Oldham commute into Manchester for work, a situation similarly demonstrated by passenger flows using the Metrolink service which opened in 2013 for Oldham residents. As part of the devolved city region of Manchester, Oldham has seen transport links to the city centre improved over the last few years with the construction of the Metro-Link between Oldham and Manchester with a journey time between the two locations of around twenty minutes. Oldham council estimate that the greatest flows of passengers use the Metrolink to travel from Oldham into Manchester city centre (approximately 7,856 per day) and beyond, whilst the flow of passengers into Oldham is much smaller (approximately 1,147 per day). Within Oldham itself (travel between stops within the borough) constitutes 3,568 passengers per day. The borough council acknowledge that Manchester is drawing resources away from the town.

A second theme emerging from Leslie and Catungal's work is the creative class model frequently ignores other mechanisms which affect the mobility of individuals. The requirement for recognised professional qualifications and the need to demonstrate accepted levels of experience excludes some individuals from taking part. This view is echoed in the work of Jancovich (2017) who highlights the tendency for creative cities to draw upon 'the narrow cultural policy view of culture as professional art form practice' (p. 130). This situation has been echoed in Durrer et al. (2019) who observe relationships between the local and the national are shaped by a reliance upon shared infrastructure and recognised modes of operation. This requires small organisations, at local level, to shape themselves into organisations able to present themselves as legitimate. This situation is congruent with Di Maggio and Powell's

(1991) concept of institutional isomorphism, to which I attend in the literature review. The situation forces organisations to adopt professional practices in order to demonstrate their legitimacy. A detailed discussion of institutional practices follows in the literature review, however, within institutional contexts, the ability to bestow legitimation through the consecration of professional practice is key to the reproduction of institutional stability, including the ability of organisations to maintain dominant field positions. It follows that the professionalisation of creativity sets up the exclusion of non-professionals from the institutional field. The professionalisation of the sector has a direct impact upon how arts organisations are valued, with professional organisations and professionally led cultural activities attracting the most policy and academic attention (Miles and Ebrey 2017). However, as Miles and Ebrey (2017) observe, there is a 'rich fabric of cultural participation outside of the urban centre' (p. 67) which this inquiry hopes to attend to. The situation of Oldham places it outside the urban centre in relation to the city of Manchester, but at the same time Oldham's own geography and demography reflect similar dynamics nested within the broader Greater Manchester one. Locating this study in Oldham will enable the explorations of the nuances of networks, demography, geography and policy and how they impact upon power relations within the sector.

Whilst the GMCA forms the largest city economy in the UK outside London (Manchester Urban Institute, 2019) much of the Greater Manchester region also ranks in the top 20 percent of the United Kingdom's most deprived areas index (ONS 2015). Citing 'deindustrialisation, austerity and the housing crisis' Rhodes et al. (2019 p.4) present Oldham as a site of entrenched poverty, deprivation and inequality. In 2017 Oldham was ranked as the most deprived town in England by the Office of National Statistics with four administrative areas within the borough of Oldham ranked within the top 1% of the most deprived areas of the United Kingdom (ONS, 2017). The average income for Oldham residents is 23,920 GBP per annum, which is less than the Greater Manchester average (25, 629 GBP), which in turn is less than the national average (28, 696 GBP). The Joseph Rowntree Foundation's (2016) most recent report on the nature of inequality in Greater Manchester suggests Oldham's deprivation may be attributed to the low skills level of its young people. Prior recognition of the need to improve employment opportunities and support young people's education in Oldham contributed to the high-profile development of a youth zone, which opened in 2012, offering opportunities, including arts related activities to 8-19-year-olds in Oldham.

Average incomes across the borough of Oldham vary starkly per ward, with a more than twenty thousand pounds per annum difference between the average income within the most affluent ward of Saddleworth North (39, 896 GBP per annum) and the poorest ward of Coldhurst in which the average income is (17,335 GBP per annum) (ONS, 2017). Whilst Rhodes et al (ibid) observe, ‘experiences of deprivation [are] not restricted to any one racial or ethnic group’. (p.11), they also show that the wards within the borough demonstrating the highest levels of deprivation, are those with the highest non-white populations (p. 12).

Over one fifth of Oldham’s population (22.5%) are from Black, Asian and ethnically diverse minority groups compared with a national average of 14.3%. Additionally, since 2011, Oldham has seen a 173.5% rise in the growth of the ‘white-other’ population demographic largely from Polish and Romanian communities (Oldham Borough Council, 2017). Oldham therefore boasts a diverse demographic. These ethnic minority groups tend to live in the most deprived areas of the borough.

The extremes of inequality across the borough have a disproportionately large impact on Oldham’s ethnic minority groups (Rhodes et. al. 2019). These inequalities are also evidenced in cultural participation and despite efforts to promote greater community cultural participation, Rochdale et. al. (2019) conclude there are ‘significant barriers to the development of more inclusive visions of community and place (p.31).

Cunningham and Savage (2015) echo the case that spatial location bears a close relationship to inequality within the UK. Whilst their work concludes that London and the Southwest is the UK’s ‘elite vortex’ they also conclude that there are distinct geographical footprints associated with spatial and social identity (p.344). By situating this inquiry in Oldham, it seeks to understand how organisations are impacted by the spatial situation of the town in order to provide insights into potential geographic and spatial hierarchies across the local arts ecology.

Beyond the Town Centre, particularly in the rural, Saddleworth wards of Oldham are a rich range of cultural organisations run and comprised of amateur artists and voluntary committees. These organisations include amateur orchestras, amateur theatre groups, music festival and shows. Saddleworth North is Oldham’s wealthiest ward with a demographic of over 97% white British residents commanding average incomes of over twice that of those predominantly Bangladeshi origin (approximately 60%) living in Coldhurst (Oldham’s poorest ward). Saddleworth lies to the east of Oldham on the edge of the Pennines. Historically, it was part of Yorkshire until the

Local Government act of 1972 saw the abolition of the county of West Riding and with that, Saddleworth became part of Greater Manchester. The area is formed collectively of a number of small villages and is governed by Oldham Borough Council. Saddleworth's profile is very different from the other wards in the borough. Those working in the borough – and those who speak of the area refer to Saddleworth's difference from the rest of the borough. The people of Oldham and the people of Saddleworth see the two areas as distinctly separate. One Saddleworth based participant joked,

Erm Saddleworth used to be in Yorkshire – well – we still say we're in Yorkshire [...] there's 0 on the end of the house prices – that's teasing there's a lot of banter that goes on. Saddleworth has a phenomenal number of organisations – arts organisations and activities and things going on because the people that live there do it

This difference is reflected in the way in which Saddleworth-based organisations are spoken about and speak about themselves. Perhaps notably, Saddleworth has a wealth of organisations run by active committees. These organisations rely upon either business models (ticket sales) for the work they do, or on donations and sponsorship, or a mixture of both. These activities run free of local policy demands and funding obligations, nevertheless they are embedded within their social and spatial contexts. Most of the Saddleworth organisations are maintained without regular funding from the Council – Although one Oldham based organisation pointedly remarked,

I mean the council does fund Saddleworth Museum. [...]to you know, to a small degree, but not in a way they'll ever massively acknowledge, because - they're Saddleworth.

By considering both professional, and amateur organisations within the scope of this study, this inquiry offers an opportunity to observe how the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion are impacted by attitudes towards professionalisation and how this may impact relationships within the institutional field.

Visitors to Oldham, prior to the construction of the Metro-Link tram line, were greeted with the locally named 'Seton Bridge'. A sign on the bridge, located at Oldham Mumps, proclaimed, 'Seton Welcomes You to Oldham, Home of the Tubular Bandage'. Seton Healthcare's factory was founded in Oldham in 1952 when Ivan Stoller invented the tubular bandage. His son, Sir Norman Stoller was later to become managing director of Seton, and the company would become one of Oldham's largest employers (Coutts, 2015). Sir Norman Stoller was appointed High Sheriff of Manchester in 1999 and his philanthropic work has supported numerous projects in

Oldham and Manchester (Manchester Lieutenancy 2019) Sir Norman Stoller's charitable, and business links to Oldham are notable for the purposes of this thesis, as will become apparent.

The interrelated combination of its relationship and proximity to the relative wealth and stature of Manchester, its position as the most deprived town in England (ONS, 2017) and the instrumental agendas of urban regeneration, participation and social cohesion present a rich and compelling case study in order to gain insights into the ways in which organisations respond to external pressures within the sector.

1.5 Scope

This thesis provides a time-bound snapshot of the situation of organisations in Oldham within the period between 2017 – 2020. The choice of a case study deliberately offers the opportunity to provide an in-depth account of a situation within a given timeframe, which, in this instance is bound by the study period. The nature of case studies is such that they provide a particular insight into a specific research setting within a given time frame. As a result of a case's specificity, its findings are not generalisable. Nevertheless, the methods selected within the case study are replicable, and may be useful for the design and implementation of similar future studies, in order to further test the generalisability of this one. The project offers an attempt at providing a detailed picture of how organisations within the arts sector understand their environment.

One of the purposes of this inquiry is to reach beyond organisations in the subsidised arts and to understand what relationships, if any, span between cultural organisational forms. The methods chosen for data collection are designed to reveal the logics at play within an institutional field as recognised by field participants themselves. As a result, no organisations are actively excluded from the inquiry. Nevertheless, the point of entry was with organisations as recognised by arts policy. Mulcahy (2006 p.325) describes a 'latitudinarian' policy approach to the arts and culture. In describing this, he provides a useful working definition of how the arts and cultural sector may be understood. He uses 'latitudinarian' to encompass 'a broad range of aesthetic expressions' and further to include 'artistic heritages that are at a competitive disadvantage in a cultural world that is increasingly homogenised given the necessities of profit' (Mulcahy 2006 p.326). Whilst Mulcahy's definition is used to describe a framework for policy, it is a useful starting point for framing the entry point for this project. This definition broadly ringfences a particular set of cultural

organisations. Thus, the initial sample did not actively seek organisations engaging with popular and commercial cultural activities. The latter of these fall increasingly within ‘creative industries’ definitions whose activities are defined by the market, rather than non-commercial cultural production (Mulcahy, 2017; Bell and Oakley, 2015 p.33). Whilst this study acknowledges the academic attention that has been paid to include commercial arts, popular music, and the broader creative industries (cf. Bell and Oakley, 2015; Hesmondhalgh, 2005, 2017; Cloonan, 2016) the initial point of entry for the study is the non-commercial arts and cultural sector; to include amateur organisations. By including organisations in the non-subsidised sector of a wider non-commercial arts and cultural field, I hope to explore the extent to which organisations beyond those in receipt of public funds are impacted by structural field conditions.

The work of amateur organisations resides largely in the periphery of arts discourse. As a result, arts discourse may be failing to acknowledge the legitimating effects of policy mechanisms upon those in the amateur sector. For the purposes of this thesis, I use the term ‘voluntary-amateur’ organisation to describe those organisations run by unpaid, non-professionals. Voluntary-amateur organisations’ managerial, day-to-day operational, and artistic activities are conducted by unpaid participants. This distinction is a departure from the use of ‘voluntary’ in its broader legal sense which would also encompass a majority of the UK’s formal cultural offering as whilst their governing bodies are comprised of unpaid trustee boards their day to day operations, and their artistic activities are led by paid professionals. Whilst attention has largely focussed upon the direct impact policy has upon organisations in receipt of public funds, it has failed to investigate how the generic mechanisms which result from policies such as those resulting from new public management impact those organisations operating outside the subsidised sector. Nicholson et al (2018) observe,

Cultural policy has largely neglected the rich cultural seam of amateur culture

(Nicholson et al., 2018 p.26)

The UK arts and cultural sector is not simply comprised of the subsidised arts but also includes a vibrant amateur sector. In the UK, Voluntary Arts (2017) claimed there are approximately 63,000 volunteer-led, amateur arts groups across the UK and Northern Ireland and more than 10 million individuals involved, however, much of this work seems to go largely unacknowledged in academic literature.

Hesmondhalgh et al. (2015) make direct reference to government policy as a mode for providing opportunities and mechanisms for legitimising work for grassroots

and voluntary-amateur organisations. However, there is little literature which acknowledges the existence of amateur organisations alongside publicly funded organisations within a given social space. Whilst it may be argued that amateur organisations are less likely to face the same weight of reporting and justifying their work as they are not required to account for funds to statutory bodies, this enquiry seeks to assess the extent to which policy impacts activities within the sector more broadly. In doing so it answers calls from authors such as Markusen (2014), who calls for greater formal accounting of voluntary [-amateur] organisations.

The scope of this project does not seek the views of consumers of the cultural offerings in Oldham, nor does it speak to individual artists working (usually as freelancers) within the context of Oldham's cultural offering. In seeking the perspective of organisational leaders, this project proffers only the viewpoints of those involved in the organisation of cultural programmes. The scope of the project was shaped by the project itself, using the insights and commentaries of participants to understand the field boundaries.

1.5.1 Covid-19

Following the completion of the field research period of this thesis, the COVID-19 disease pandemic occurred. Whilst this research has not been directly affected, the impact of the disease has had implications for the organisations that participated within it. The CEO of one of the organisations included in the scope of this study lost his life to the disease. COVID-19 has caused significant changes to the situation for the arts and cultural field described in this thesis, with many organisations unable to rehearse, perform, receive audiences or welcome participants. The impact of the disease and the strategies associated with its mitigation ('lock-down') are already in evidence in the arts and cultural sector. The effect of COVID-19 on venues and organisational operations has the potential to change the shape of the institution. The pandemic will undoubtedly result in some changes in institutional practices and the position of individual organisations in the field. However, while this may affect the priorities and discourses current in the field, it is the commonality of discourse, rather than the specifics of the topics that provides insights into the mechanisms of the arts and cultural institution. As Bourdieu (1990 p.118) points out, the use of symbolic capital is particularly important in 'special circumstances' so for the arts, the ability to use non-economic resources as tools for survival may be particularly pertinent. As this research points out, however, the institution and the positions organisations occupy

within it may well dictate organisational ability to survive the impacts of the pandemic. As this research will demonstrate, the institution provides organisations with opportunities to secure capitals that may prove critical to their existence beyond the pandemic.

1.6 Thesis Structure

To address the research questions, following this *introductory chapter*, which has established the background and relevance of the study, as well as providing a detailed the introduction to the location of the study, Chapter Two of this thesis will examine the existing literature which informs this work. *The Literature Review* draws upon current and historical perspectives from sociology, cultural management, cultural policy, and institutional and organisational theory, in order to establish a framework for this research. Initially, the chapter synthesises some of the key elements constituting the sociological debate surrounding the nature of action and the way in which it has been understood to affect operations within the social world. The chapter presents an overview of selected historical, philosophical, and sociological perspectives concerning the role and function of structure and agency and how it impacts individual action. These historic perspectives provide key epistemological insights which inform elements of the research design.

The literature review then proceeds to outline the nature of power, Bourdieu's understanding of fields and the struggles that take place within them, and their relevance for this inquiry. Key themes in Bourdieu's theories include power, elites, and the construction of legitimacy through the use of non-economic capitals, including networks, the literature review therefore presents a discussion of these themes. It pays particular attention to forms of legitimation, the concepts of voice, influence, and the existence of societal elites and their influence upon the way in which society is constructed.

Having explored scholarly understandings of the nature of individual action within the social world, the literature review turns to explore the ways in which these themes have been understood, through an organisational lens. It identifies the ways in which themes from sociological discourse including the nature of action and power dynamics have been adopted to explore organisational relationships. The literature review synthesises perspectives from institutional and organisational theorists who have adopted sociological insights and used them as a foundation for exploring the ways in which organisations function within their institutional fields. The chapter continues to

explore themes including legitimacy, power, and autonomy and discusses some of the ways in which they are understood within organisational theory.

Finally, the literature review presents a discussion of the institutional context for arts organisations in England. Having identified the core themes which frame this research, the final section of the literature review explores the current situation of the arts and cultural institution within the UK and critically explores some of the ways in which instrumentality and cultural value have been understood within the UK context. It engages with important considerations about, how cultural value of the arts has been constructed, artistic autonomy, cultural elites, cultural networks and the way in which the arts field is shaped and mediated in the UK.

Chapter Three will present the *research methodology and rationale for the research design*. The chapter begins with a discussion of the ontological and epistemological positions adopted by this study. It discusses the benefits of selecting a case study approach to the field research before outlining the overall research design. The chapter presents a detailed theoretical framework justifying the choice of data collection methods. By drawing from sociology, institutional logics, and field theory perspectives, the chapter delivers a comprehensive rationale for the research design, data collection methods and the *analytical framework*. In outlining the sampling technique to identify the case study units it justifies the organisations participating in the research. The chapter provides an overview of each of the participating organisations within the study. Finally, the chapter provides a discussion of the ethical considerations for the study. The critical discussion of my positionality as a researcher is also presented. The chapter concludes with an outline of the limitations of the study.

Chapter four presents the *results of the Oldham Case Study*. This chapter reveals the multiple modes through which power is revealed within the field. As the carriers of power are established through interconnected relations which defy their separate categorisation and in an attempt to avoid reductive or determinist conclusions, the chapter is structured using headings which prioritise the readability of the results. The sections are each based loosely around sources of legitimation, each of which contribute to the accumulation of organisational capacity. These themes include networks, governance, manifestations of hierarchies, prestige, consecration, the material, professionalisation, policy, and finally, place. However, as I will establish, frequently power's operation is reliant upon combinations of its elements and the ways in which they are interpreted. Therefore, the sections refer backwards and forwards throughout. The themes emerging from the results are simultaneously discussed

allowing for an exploration of both the ways in which power is distributed, understood and harnessed in the field and the ways in which organisations respond to- and negotiate it.

Finally, in the concluding *Chapter Five*, I review the findings of the inquiry and discuss its implications both for the cultural sector and beyond. The chapter also presents potential avenues of for further study emerging from this research.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1 Introducing the Literature Review

Having established the purpose of this inquiry, I now wish to build the theoretical framework on which this thesis rests. The empirical entry point for this enquiry is at organisational level. Organisations are embedded within the social realm and their operations are impacted by it (Everett, 2002). This thesis is primarily concerned with exploring the ways in which organisations in the arts and cultural sector are able to maximise their capacity to influence their own success; to enact agency. In the opening section of this literature review, I present and discuss a variety of theories concerning individual action. The literature review presents a number of historical sociological perspectives on the nature structure and agency. These perspectives collectively provide crucial theoretical insights which provide not only context, but also important epistemological insights which help inform the overall research design.

Following the discussion of structure and agency, I turn to explore the central concept of power. Power is understood as fundamental to the construction of individual agency (Swartz, 2011). The construction of power and how it is understood are primary concerns of this study. The literature review goes on to discuss the role of power in shaping the social realm and the ways in which its operation is understood. In particular, it explores Pierre Bourdieu's (1980) contention that individual autonomy is dependent upon the ability to dominate others through the accumulation of social resources, or 'capitals'. As I endeavour to demonstrate throughout the tour of the literature, domination may be achieved through a variety of means which are explored within this chapter. Within organisational contexts a key component of maintaining organisational dominance is the ability to construct legitimacy. Therefore, the literature review presents a discussion of organisational and institutional literature concerned with organisational legitimation.

A further key premise on which this study rests is that the social world is made up of fields. The concept of fields, institutions, and the way in relationships within them have been understood is also discussed. The role of networks within fields is discussed as an important means of understanding how sources of power and influence flow between actors within the field. Drawing from network theory, the role of networks in revealing field dynamics is explored.

The final section of the literature review provides an overview of some of the historical and theoretical perspectives on the arts and cultural field. The final sections discuss the how current arts and cultural policy has been shaped.

Each of the themes explored within the literature review provide theoretical background for the empirical research into relative organisational agency in the cultural sector. These perspectives form the theoretical basis for developing approaches to a relational analysis of cultural organisations.

2.2 Structure, Agency, and the Social

This inquiry is interested in understanding organisational action within the context of the arts. Central to understanding phenomena within the social world are three fundamental concepts: structure, agency and power. These three are agreed as the foundations on which society rests and key to understanding the social world (see Roberts, 2009). The following discussion outlines the sociological origins of structure, agency and power within academia and discusses their relevance in relation to this study.

Questions of autonomy, or the idea of being self-governing, relate to individuals (or individual actors) and their relative agency. The more agency an actor has, the more able they are to self-govern. The arts are not and cannot be separate from the social world. As such, according to Bennett (2013), the arts cannot claim to be autonomous. As Vestheim (2009) simply puts it: ‘The question of autonomy is always a question of someone’s autonomy in relation to that of someone else. It is a question of influence, dependence and its opposite’ (Vestheim, 2009, p.35). Vestheim’s assertion is particularly valuable for this thesis as it considers the relative power and relative autonomy of one organisation with reference to the relative power and autonomy of another. Vestheim (2009) recognises that organisational actors, within the arts and cultural sector, operate in relation to one another and their environment.

The contested structure versus agency dualism has been a preoccupation of social theorists for over a century in their attempts to deconstruct the social world (Layder, 1994). The essence of the debate may be understood as being the contradictory views about freedom (agency) and constraint (structures) and the extent to which individuals or actors are able to influence the social world and thereby having the capacity to act as individuals. Essentially, the opposing arguments, which I will synthesise in what follows, place emphasis either on whether individual actors and their

individual actions are responsible for the formation of societal structures as opposed to theories that claim it is institutionalised structures which determine societal behaviour.

This debate is relevant to this inquiry as it poses important questions about the role and function of institutional arrangements, and the capacity of organisations, as actors, to change them. Recent discussions of instrumentalised cultural policy tend to emphasise policy aims as a constraining force on those operating within the sector (Vestheim, 2007; Belfiore 2007, 2012; Gray 2007; Hadley and Gray 2017). In what follows, I present a synthesis of selected, historical theories concerning the nature of individual action. It is from these early perspectives that current understandings of both individual and organisational actions are understood, providing an epistemological framework for this study.

Dawe's (1970) historical tour of sociological thought presents the idea of, 'Two Sociologies' in which he posits that theories of social action are divided into 'social action' and 'social system' (p.214). Proponents of individual agency such as Anscombe (1957), or Davidson (1963) (cf. Ratner 2000), understand individuals as having the capacity to make meaningful decisions which shape the world they inhabit. Agency centred approaches such as these rest upon the premise that individual actors are entirely in control of their ideas and their behaviours and the belief that actors are at liberty, and have the capacity, to change the environment in which they are operating. Theories of individual social action are complicated by the separation of constructs including free-will, autonomy, and intentionality (cf. Feldman 2017). Each of which have been explored separately as ways of understanding individual agency. Nevertheless, drawing from the works of scholars including Anscombe (1957) and Davidson (1963) agency may be summarised as an individual's capacity to perform intentional action, which in turn brings about change for an individual. However, claims that individuals are offered 'unlimited' choices when undertaking an intentional act, may deny the validity of external pressures. The work of philosophers including Jean-Paul Sartre (1956), and cultural psychologists such as Bruner (1998) or Valsiner (1995), emphasise that the individual is free and able to choose from an unlimited array of possible actions. However, as Pleasants (2018) asserts, individuals are usually presented with a choice as a result of an event, therefore the situation has been brought about by a cause, without which, individuals would not have to face the choice between actions. From this perspective, human action is understood as induced by a determining cause, and therefore actions are not entirely free (ibid.). Pleasants (2018) argues that when responding to a determining cause, the choices between possible

alternative actions are culturally bound. Quoting Habermas, Pleasants, (ibid.) writes individual choices are, ‘embodied in cultural traditions, anchored in institutions’ (Habermas, 2007, in Pleasants 2018, p.18). From this perspective, individual action maybe understood as driven not only by agents themselves, but by the social context within which they find themselves. This situation resonates with both Bennett (2013) and Vestheim’s (2009) assertions that the arts and cultural sector is inextricably embedded within their social context – and therefore cannot be fully autonomous. Claims that the actions of individual actors are shaped and determined by external causes lie at the heart of criticisms of instrumental policy impacting the shape of the arts sector within the UK (Gray 2007; Hadley and Gray 2017). Nevertheless, such views may be over-deterministic and deny the role of individuals in shaping their own environment. Therefore, historical philosophical positions on the role of external forces in shaping action may be useful for providing empirical entry points for exploring the nature and mechanisms for individual action.

For structuralists, such as Saussure (1959), Barthes (2009), and Althusser (1971), individuals simply perform roles, passively steered, largely unconsciously, by the ideologies of systems such as governments or schools. Structuralism asserts that individuals accept the circumstances they find themselves in. Structures may be viewed as stigmatising or relationships of domination on the basis that moral rules and norms to which society is to adhere are based on dominant ideologies. However, if this holds true, society’s willingness to accept a dominant ideology prevents the conditions for societal change. Similarly, since societal structures are products of society itself, there is a gap somewhere between society’s ability to create existing social conditions whilst simultaneously being subjected to them as perceived systems of domination.

Elliott (2014), positions the origins of structuralism within the industrial revolution which with the development of industrial capitalism, brought about changes in patterns of social and economic behaviour. The industrial revolution brought with it ‘the abandonment of fixed social status’ as well as a shift away from tradition - a situation which resulted in a dynamic ‘acceleration of personal and cultural life’ (Elliott 2014 p. 21). This shift was one which offered new opportunities and spaces for individual action, self-modification, and increased material wealth for some, whilst simultaneously creating inequality and degradation for others (ibid.). Elliot (2014) situates the foundations for the concept of societal ‘structure’, (an invisible set of conditions impacting individual lives), in the work of Marx. (1911, in Elliot 2014, p22).

For Karl Marx (1911, in Elliot 2014), the ensuing capitalist economy created a fragmented society in which individuals became bound by class. More specifically, they became bound by class inequality (Elliott 2014). Marx (ibid.) argues that the pursuance of profit shapes society and change only takes place when capitalism induces individuals to create a profitable product that creates wealth for a small number of individuals. In Marx's view, the rest of society is 'brutalised' (Elliott 2014 p.22) by economic life. Marx's (1968) understanding of a society bound by a backdrop of external pressures provides the foundation for theories of autonomy, as scholars attempted to provide alternatives to Marx's theories of social action being determined by capitalist structures. In addition, his tenet that artistic value lies beyond the economic, is an important point of consideration for this research, and will be discussed further, later in the literature review. Whilst Marx's ideas portrayed a society that was being damaged by capitalism, he believed the arts as hostile to its effects. Marx viewed true art as outside the capitalist economy (Hirst 2020). However, as Fuchs (2018 p.457 in Hirst, 2020) states, 'ever more spaces that were autonomous from capital have come under its influence and control'. Given the earlier assertion that art and society are inextricably linked (Bennett 2013; Vestheim 2009) it may be assumed that the arts and cultural sector is unavoidably tied to the modern capitalist society (Bickerton et al. n.d.) in which it operates. It is reasonable to suggest, therefore, that arts and cultural organisations in modern UK society, fall within Fuchs's (2018) spaces under capitalist influence, a situation which will be illustrated further later in this chapter.

Following Marx, the work of Emile Durkheim (Durkheim, 1982 [1885]) and later in the work of Parsons (1951), society is structured not simply by the economy, but additionally by a complex, collective understanding of morals and beliefs. As such, actors are prevented from acting entirely in their own interests as they are bound by duties and (moral) rules that have been reproduced in society. The collective conformity to structures may be understood as crucial to social predictability and order as well as helping individuals make sense of the world. That is, rules and norms provide social cohesion (Parsons, 1937). However, this view relies upon individuals accepting, and complying to societal rules and avoiding 'upsetting' the order of things. One of the key premises of Durkheim's work is the view that individuals are not independent of society. Durkheim understands the individual as bound to society and community and views the links between the individual and society as being embedded. Durkheim's understanding of the social world relies on a rather optimistic, collective, social consciousness that equates to a common understanding of social facts. Some critics

have asserted that as such, Durkheim is guilty of ascribing an objectivity to the social world that doesn't exist and as a result his work simply provides an excuse for the continuation of 'bourgeois' values that prevail within dominant ideology (see Thompson 1982). That said, both the work of Parsons (1951) and Durkheim remains significant and highly influential in the development of social theory. The supposition that conformity to rules and norms shapes action within institutional contexts forms an important basis for institutional and organisational theorists (Battilana and D'Aunno in Lawrence et al., 2009). Citing Parsons (1951), Scott, (2014), describes how actors within institutions orientate their actions according to 'a common set of normative standards and value patterns' and further asserts 'Institutionalised action is *motivated by moral rather than by instrumental concerns*' (Scott, 2014 p. 16 author's own emphasis). In this sense the actions of actors within the arts sector are not singularly dictated by external economic or policy demands but are dependent upon series of ongoing relationships with those around them who develop tacit sets of values and standards (Scott, 2014). As will be highlighted in proceeding sections, conformity to institutional rules and standards provides actors not only a set of constraints, but also provides opportunities for obtaining the legitimacy which is crucial to organisational success (Battilana and D'Aunno in Lawrence et al., 2009). As this research seeks to understand how organisations, like individuals, respond to external structural forces within an institutional environment Durkheim, and Parson's (1951) understandings of collective conformity provide a platform for understanding that organisations do not operate independently from their societal context, which in turn influences their organisational decision making.

Heeding the works of Marx, Althusser (1971) argues that society is bound not only by a system of capitalism, but a wider set of ideologies inherent in the apparatus of the state. These structures, including the media, government, schools, family, and so on, present ideologies which society is encouraged to accept. This process is one Althusser describes as 'interpellation' in which individuals accept dominant ideologies as being objective truths. However, such an emphasis on structures and the forces of domination would render change impossible. Thus, it does not explain the ways in which change can and does occur in society. Both Marx (1968) and Althusser (1971), argue that individuals are inescapably shaped via ideology (i.e., the provision of a range of normalised beliefs thought to reflect 'common-sense') and are not equally free to act. What is pertinent to this inquiry is the suggestion that in their view, ideologies do not reflect facts but accepted, misrecognised, semi-truths through which individuals make

sense of the world. However, whilst these ideologies are only semi-true, they are simultaneously real as they constitute the lived experiences of those individual subjects (Barker 2008). The centrality of ideology to Althusser's work and the view that ideologies prevail and serve to cement groups of people with similar interests, lends itself to the work of this inquiry. One example of ideologies within the context of the arts and culture is the nature of art itself; the value of art as 'intrinsic' has long prevailed within the cultural sector and will be explored further shortly. The ways in which shared ideologies and the construction of (semi-) truths provide modes of meaning construction and the provision of conduits for social unity amongst particular groups or professions are attended to within this thesis. Nevertheless, Althusser's accentuation of structures positions individual action as mythical. Subsequently, it renders societal change impossible and therefore the theory remains problematic. Althusser's ideas point to a society in which individuals are merely passive, gullible, and willing to accept a dominant ideology unquestioningly, a situation that would result in social stagnation. It also runs counter to the assertion of institutional scholars such as Battilana and D'Aunno (2009), who recognise that conscious conformity to accepted patterns of behaviour has the potential to produce the conditions for the acquisition of legitimacy which then serves to endow the capacity for individual action.

The work of Ferdinand de Saussure (1959) was strongly influenced by the theories of Durkheim (1885). Like Durkheim, Saussure (1959), opposed the view of the individual as being free of society at large. Saussure's work deviated from Durkheim's as it is entirely linguistic and posits that it is language that shapes individual thought. In summary, he claimed that language, as a system, is an arbitrary one and it is only given meaning as a result of the meaning wider society brings to it. Thus, for Saussure, meaning within society is shaped by its language and social relations cannot exist independently of it. In Saussure's view, language has the capacity to shape identities, and bring meanings to individuals. Saussure's focus on the nature of language as a key insight into the social world remains important in linguistic studies, however, it abstracts language from the environment in which it is being produced rendering it, 'a self-contained system completely severed from its real uses and denuded from its practical and political functions' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992 p. 141). In this sense, language fails to take into consideration wider political and social conditions within which language is being used. Nevertheless, Saussure's theories gave rise to further academic consideration of the ways in which language functions in society and provided the foundation for Bourdieu's (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992 p.142) claim

that linguistic relations, 'bring into play a complex and ramifying web of historical power relations'. Consequently, linguistic relations are not dismissed within the context of this research but recognised as part of a wider set of social practices which jointly contribute to the shape of a social space. Language is understood, in the context of this thesis, as key to revealing wider social practices which collectively contribute to the shape of the social space including the formation and maintenance of prevailing hierarchies and power relations.

Further to the work of Saussure (1959), Barthes (2009) subsequently proposed the notion of language as an ideological system which fashions versions of reality. In one respect, language has the arbitrary quality proposed by Saussure, but it is also creative and has the capacity to be used in the creation of what Barthes (2009) calls 'myths'. According to Barthes (2009), language and symbols have the capacity to put together versions of social practices which enable cultural phenomena to be accepted as natural. Barthes (2009) claims that words have many meanings, and that language may be interpreted in ideological ways. In Barthes's (ibid.) interpretation of the social world, primacy is given to a world in which language and symbols create myths that present cultural (social) constructs as natural phenomena over the individual who passively accepts the stories they are told. Through language, Barthes (2009) claims that cultural and historical constructs of the world are accepted as natural through language. Therefore, language has the capacity to reveal the acceptance of historically constructed modes of practice and the implied meanings or understandings of the social world. Subsequently, the role of 'myths' have become important to understanding the construction of institutional practices and collective rationality. Within organisational and institutional fields, Powell and DiMaggio, (1991) argue that the presence of myths and prevailing ideologies assist in the creation of institutions. As Meyer, (1994, in Scott, 2014) points out, some actors (especially those in professions), within an institution are encouraged to promote particular ideas, and 'see themselves as engaged in the great project of rationalisation [...] brought under the rubric of ideologies that claim universal applicability' (p.128). As the arts and cultural sector has become increasingly professionalised (Svensson, 2015), universal modes of talking about institutional practice may be in evidence. The purpose of this inquiry is to understand if and how the understanding and acceptance of ideological perspectives within the sector serve to assist organisations in achieving their stated aims.

Critics of Barthes, most specifically Bakhtin (1994, in Barker 2008) argue that whilst language undeniably bears meaning, it cannot be decoded in consistent ways

across the social realm. In this sense, language is shaped by the power relations, actions, and outcomes of the past which constitute the cultural context of the present. Bakhtin (*ibid.*), echoes Bourdieu's (in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) assertion that structuralism is "overzealous" in its approach to language, in so much that language should not be abstracted from the context in which it has been produced (p. 3). Bakhtin's (1994 in Barker 2004) argument further highlights the need to consider that language production is a result of politically and historically bound contexts. Nevertheless, that the work of Barthes – and subsequently Bakhtin (2009) and Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) recognise language as an important epistemological entry point for understanding power relations and action is of salience for this study.

Drawing together two overarching ideas from these historical viewpoints, Ahearne (2001) highlights the central role that language plays in producing, reproducing and revealing social relations, she writes that it is 'inextricably embedded in networks of sociocultural relations' (p.110). What Ahearne seeks to address is that language is not merely a structuring force, but it reveals opportunities that agents (whether individual or collective) have to shape their environment. Ahearne's (*ibid.*) assertion provides not only a mediating position between the roles of societal structure and individual opportunities for action with reference to language production, but also positions language as a crucial methodological tool for gaining insights into power relations at play within the social world.

Based largely in the work of Saussure (1959), Barthes (2009), and latterly the work of Ahearne (2001), language is understood as the primary mode of transmitting knowledge, and thereby it has been placed at the forefront of organisational and institutional studies. For organisational theorists (Meyer and Rowan, 1991), one of the dominant research foci in the past for exploring power within organisations has been discourse. The work of Suddaby and Greenwood (2006) stress the importance of language in the formation of legitimation, which is a crucial component in securing organisational success. Echoing this position, Meyer and Rowan (in Powell and DiMaggio, 1991) draw directly from the sociology and philosophy of Saussure (1959), and Barthes (2009) claiming language itself becomes institutionalised. They evidence taken-for-granted vocabulary that it is assumed everyone knows, as well as shared vocabularies of motive which are understood as values and modes of operation accepted within the institution. This idea has been extended to the recognition of institution-specific language and terminology which is reproduced and institutionalised

through the language of professional practices including emails, job interviews, and speeches. This view has been adopted in works including Sahlin-Andersson, (1996) and Phillips and Hardy (2002) who argue that language and the creation of stories by, “exemplary” actors (Zilber, in Greenwood et al. 2008 p. 162) are fundamental to the construction of institutional norms. By adopting the language of those understood to be exemplary, actors are provided with opportunities to construct their own legitimacy (in Zilber, 2008). These perspectives from both sociology and organisational theory offer key points of entry for investigating the construction of organisational legitimacy through language. One of the key tenets of these theories for this inquiry, is that the ownership, command, and ascribed meaning of institutionalised language has the potential to either include or exclude actors from modes of legitimation which prevail within the arts and cultural sector. Those who do not have access to institutionally accepted language may be unable to harness sufficient legitimacy within the institution. This has important implications for those organisations within this study. In particular, it raises potential questions about which organisations within the sector are sufficiently able to command discourse in order to be considered legitimate within their operating environment. By paying attention to language and attending to the production and reproduction of common language, this research hopes to reveal some of the historical understandings of taken-for-granted modes of practice, as well as positions of power prevailing within the arts and cultural sector.

Following the historical positions within social science, works of Anthony Giddens (1984) Pierre Bourdieu (1980; 1991; Bourdieu and Johnson 1993) and Margaret Archer (1995, 2000) have endeavoured to resolve the tension between structure and agency by understanding them as simultaneous practices. By affording primacy to either structure or agency as epistemological entry points, historical sociological accounts of individual agency had been unable to balance accounts of individual action (see Baber 1991). In order to remedy this, Giddens (1979; 1981; 1984) proposed his ‘theory of structuration’ in which he acknowledges the validity of claims for both structure and individual action. In structuration theory, Giddens claims that every individual action impacts upon the social system (those accepted norms) and social structure. Structures consist of both rules and resources. As such, they are both simultaneously restrictive *and* enabling. Giddens distinguishes between structures and systems. Whilst *structures* may be understood as the traditions, moral codes, societal norms, *systems of interaction* may be understood as conduits through which structures are transmitted and interpreted – the systems of interaction themselves are

shaped by structures but offer the possibility of affecting change. Every individual action has the capacity to reproduce the social structure but may also create conditions for a change within it. (Baber 1991, Jones and Karsten, 2008). Crucially, actors in Giddens theory are in possession of ‘practical knowledge’ which they are able to knowledgeably utilise. Actors have a degree of awareness of their circumstances and of power relations. The constraints they face are variable according to the situation in which they find themselves. Giddens’s actors have a semi-conscious understanding of the social world and ‘could have acted differently’ in every individual action, actors may either intentionally or unintentionally change the structural conditions.

For Giddens (1994), structure and agency are mutually constitutive - he views structure and agency as inseparable claiming that structure exists only in the reasoning of an individual and is only important in discrete instances. Giddens’ contention that structure and agency are inseparable, they are two sides of the same coin, provides a valuable theoretic perspective, however, it offers no framework for analysing them. Whilst Giddens (1994) provides an account of how individuals may understand power structures whilst simultaneously challenging them, his ideas do not lend a set of practical, methodological approaches which may be deployed in social research. Giddens provides a theory which simultaneously acknowledges individual action and structure. However, the application of Giddens’ theories as methodological tools poses difficulties for researchers. Giddens’ theories have been subject to criticism, not only based on their lack of methodological approach. In particular, John Thompson’s (1989, in Elliot 2014) critique of Giddens is levelled at its lack of clarity and an imbalance between the extent to which an actor can simultaneously be subjected to structures and affect changes to them.

Margaret Archer (1995, 2000), whose work has been widely used in organisational theory was amongst Giddens’s critics. She claims Giddens’s work is flawed as she posits that structure and agency have a critical temporal element. Archer’s theory of ‘morphogenesis’ (1995) asserts both structure and agency occur, but they are separate and distinct. She believes actors deliberate upon their activities, in contrast to Giddens’s notion of simultaneous action. Archer’s theories allow for both structure and agency in which conscious deliberation occurs (Elder-Vass, 2007). One of the advantages of Archer’s theories is the view that the social world is constructed over time through distinct influences upon the social world. Thus, Archer (2000) places no emphasis on either structure, or agency but states that “Our placement in society rebounds upon us, affecting the persons we become, but also and more forcefully

influencing the social identities we can achieve” (Archer, 2000 p.10 in Elder-Vass, 2007). Archer’s works posit that whilst structure and agency are distinct, they work together through mediated interactions. Her view is that whilst structures exist, actors are able to act consciously. Archer’s theories present a useful lens for the study of organisations, as what she proposes is that actors have access to strategic choice whilst these choices are restricted through structures.

Bourdieu (1999, 1991, 1984) does not believe possible responses to stimuli as being ‘absolute possibilities’. He claims they are recognised through ‘habitus’ which offers procedures to follow or paths to take. Similar to Archer’s (1995) idea of conscious deliberation. Bourdieu writes ‘agents adjust their aspirations to an exact evaluation of their chances of success’ (Bourdieu, 1980 p. 54). Crucially, Bourdieu claims that habitus is formed through the experience, class, and social conditions of the actor, it is a product of history and schemes of perception. Drawing directly from the work of Durkheim, Bourdieu (1980) acknowledges the importance of the influence of the past in shaping the present, resulting in action having autonomy which is relative to ‘external determinations of the immediate present’ (Bourdieu, 1980 p. 56). Bourdieu’s ideas are useful for understanding the ways in which history and experience meet language and ideology in shaping the social world, which constitute some of the key concerns of this inquiry. In the sections that follow, more detailed attention will be afforded to the works of Bourdieu. However, one of the key precepts of Bourdieu’s thought is that actors are in a constant struggle for resources, through which they may amass valuable capitals which assist them to gain power within the social domain.

Whilst Archer and Bourdieu’s works share many differences – in particular, an actor’s ability to act consciously, rather than unconsciously, scholars such as Elder-Vass (2007) suggest they may be successfully ‘hybridised’ (p.325). The benefits of adopting a hybridised version of the two allows for this organisational research to adopt Bourdieu’s relational method, as well as his emphasis upon power, but simultaneously recognising structure and agency as distinct features in the social world. Rutzou (2018) has drawn the similarities between Archer and Bourdieu’s works demonstrating useful parallels in their work and puts forward the following distinction, that Archer is an ontologist, whilst Bourdieu is the methodologist. Rutzou (2018) shows that the two theorists, at the level of a ‘system’ share qualities and draws parallels between Bourdieu’s fields and Archer’s Morphogenetic structures. Rutzou’s (ibid.) work echoes the work of institutional logics theorists (Thornton et al.) who assert that organisations are simultaneously engaged in both ‘material and symbolic’ elements – the former

refers to structures and practices and symbolic refers to ideation and meaning (Thornton et al. 2012 p. 10). The institutional logics perspective (ibid.) has welcomed the hybridisation of these sociological works, positing that for the study of organisations, whilst Archer offers compelling theory, it is Bourdieu's works that provide researchers with methodological tools including field theory, which will be discussed later. In addition, Bourdieu's theories emphasise the role of power within the social realm, as a result, his theories have attended to the ways in which power may be revealed. Consequently, I adopt Bourdieu's theories as the primary lens for this research in order to reveal how hierarchies may be understood within the cultural sector.

For the purposes of this inquiry the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1990, 1991, 1992) provides both theoretical and methodological insights through which the research questions may be usefully investigated. Bourdieu (1984, 1990, 1991) argues that social processes are not distinct from individual behaviour but that the two are conjoined. For Bourdieu they overlap in his theory of 'habitus'. Here Bourdieu's views differ from Archer's, as she sees these practices as distinct. Nevertheless, Archer (1995) does propose that actors have internal conversations which are culturally bound, it is here that Rutzou (2018) and Elder-Vass (2007) draw parallels between the two systems. Bourdieu describes the concept of habitus as a place where actors are able to both produce and reproduce society. 'Habitus is constituted in practice', claims Bourdieu (1980, p. 52) 'and is always orientated towards practical functions'. Bourdieu understands habitus as a space of 'dispositions' which assist with calculations of 'probable outcomes'. Habitus provides actors with 'objective potentialities' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992 p.129). The habitus, according to Bourdieu (1992), is "what you have to posit to account for the fact that, without being rational, social agents are reasonable [...] People have internalised, through a protracted and multisided process of conditioning the objective chances they face" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 p. 130).

Whilst Bourdieu (1982, 1992), Archer (1995, 2000) and Giddens (1994) understand structure and agency as simultaneously at play, with structure offering a backdrop for individual action, Bourdieu's work diverges from Giddens's (1994) as well as Archer's (1995, 2000) in two ways which are significant for this thesis. The first is that Bourdieu stresses throughout his work the importance of methodologies and methods providing sets of methodological and operational tools for investigating social

relationships. Secondly, Bourdieu's work differs in the emphasis he places on the role of power in determining individual action and in maintaining societal order.

2.3 Sources of Capital

Bourdieu (1990 [1980]) maintains that society operates against a backdrop of struggles for the acquisition of capitals through which individuals may gain (or maintain) dominance (Hilgers, 2015). Bourdieu describes capital as a "social force" which enables actors to enter into struggles for the 'monopoly of power' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 p. 230).

Capital is not confined to the acquisition of financial resources but is made up of other resources which may include values, tastes, and lifestyles. Swartz (1997) describes Bourdieu's understanding of capital as constituting power resources, "that under certain conditions and at certain rates can be converted one into another" (p.75).

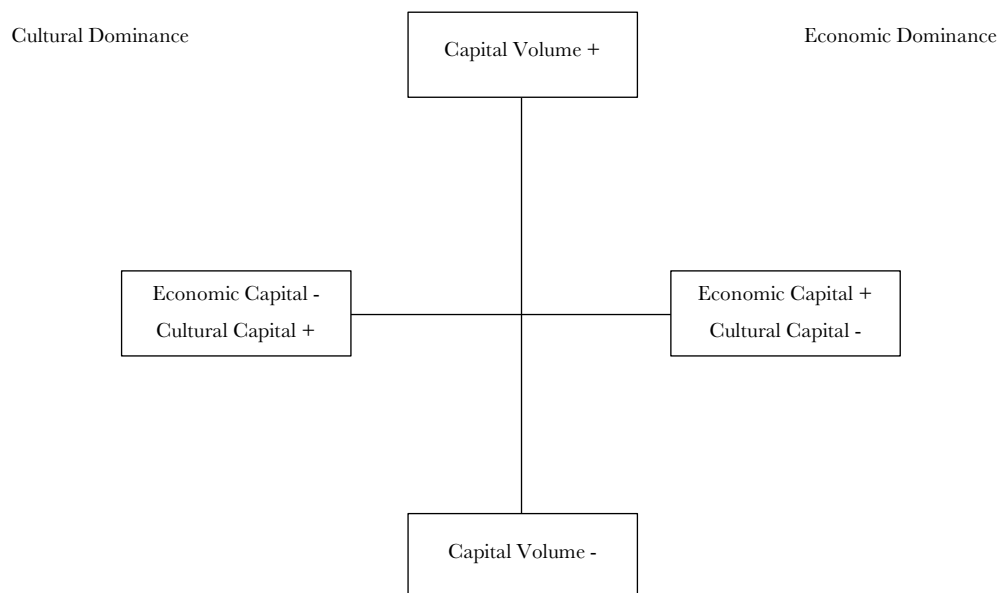


Figure 2.1 Bourdieu's Concept of Social Space (adapted from Bourdieu, 1984)

In Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) capital is defined as having three subtypes – 'economic capital, cultural capital and social capital' (p. 119). Individual actors accrue the capitals available to them in order to convert them into the means by which they may enhance their position within their social space (see fig. 2.1).

Economic capital is understood as money and property. Cultural capital is the possession of cultural goods and services (including educational credentials). In Bourdieu's (1984) 'Distinction' he asserts that knowledge of high culture operates in society as a form of capital which in turn is used by individuals to acquire power in

society. Bourdieu's (1994) 'Distinction' is important for this inquiry as it investigates the way in which those endowed with cultural capital are able to shape societal values. Cultural capital is amassed in part through educational knowledge and knowledge of the high arts (Bourdieu 1984). As a result, a study of relationships between arts organisations necessarily engages with cultural capital in a variety of ways. At its most obvious, cultural organisations bestow a degree of cultural capital upon those who take-up its offering, however, according to Ostrower (2002) an organisation may acquire and simultaneously bestow, cultural capital upon individuals who take up positions within it, for example through their governing body. As such this thesis considers the cultural capital organisations acquire via means which may include, the educational qualifications of staff, or those involved with the organisation, it may also more broadly pertain to the other cultural organisations with which they forge relationships. Such relationships in this context are a blurred mixture between cultural, and social capital. Social capital includes resources accumulated through acquaintances and durable networks of 'more or less institutionalised relationships [...] of recognition' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992 p.119). Key here is the institutionalised nature of these networks, they are not arbitrary friendships, but mutually recognised relations. Social capital, states Bourdieu, may, 'yield considerable profits and privileges' (ibid). The privileges offered through relationships are one of the subjects of this study, therefore, a more detailed discussion of networks follows in relation to concepts of Bourdieu's fields.

In addition to economic, cultural, and social capitals, Bourdieu (in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) argues that a further capital exists - 'symbolic capital' which is defined as 'the form that one or another of these species takes when it is grasped through the categories of perception that recognise its specific logic.' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992 p.119). What Bourdieu describes is a set of resources within a given institutional context which have meaning and value to those within that field. Grenfell (2008) clarifies:

Forms of symbolic capital are given and valorised by the structure of fields in terms of a. relations within them - internal complexity and b. relations between them in the social space - their relative status. Individuals will possess cultural symbolic capital in proportion to the status of their specialised field in the social space and their position within their specialised field.

(Grenfell, 2008, p. 113)

It is these symbolic capitals that this project is particularly interested in. By paying attention to *symbolic* capitals this research hopes to gain clearer insights into the ways in which social positions are forged and challenged via the institutionalised values

ascribed to various symbolic capitals. Reflecting the influence of scholars such as Saussure and Barthes, Bourdieu (1991) later included the role of language amongst sources of capital (Bourdieu 1991 p. 61).

Bourdieu's theories retain the ideas of action and structure in which structures act as guidance for individual agents. Structures allow for agency in that they provide a set of 'practical logics' which on the one hand limit an actor's choices whilst on the other provide individuals with the scope to act creatively, develop strategic responses; and cope with new circumstances. This study is particularly interested in understanding the opportunities structures present organisations within the arts and cultural sector.

Whilst the work of Bourdieu has received a great deal of criticism, (King 2000; Yang, 2013; Mahar et al. 1990; Van de Werfhorst 2010) namely directed at his inability to truly escape from the structure versus agency dichotomy, and his understanding of 'habitus', Bourdieu's oeuvre offers useful methodological insights into how scientists may explore the social world. With structure and agency occurring simultaneously shaping the social world through the negotiation of shared understandings which occur in society. For this thesis, it is the reconciliation of habitus and organisations which is of relevance to this thesis. The contention that actors' responses to external stimuli are brought about by 'unconscious action' and happen simultaneously through habitus cannot be applied to organisations. The work of Elder-Vass (2007) has proved invaluable in addressing theoretical gaps when using Bourdieu for organisational scholars. In reconciling the theories of Archer (1995, 2000) and Bourdieu, Elder-Vass (2007) posits that habitus may be modified to have equivalence with Archer's conscious deliberation. This enables organisations to be studied, as it recognises that organisational leaders understand the cultural conditions that surround them and act according to their knowledge of it in the interests of the organisation (Thornton et al. 2012).

Social understandings of how organisations operate in relation to each other and their operational context is the primary concern of this analysis. However, significant challenge for the study of organisations is the reconciliation of the individual with the organisational. The logics underpinning the sociological structure versus agency debate, and the corresponding relationships to power and authority have been taken up by institutional theorists) to explore relations both within, and between organisations (cf. Meyer and Rowan 1991, Thornton et al. 2012. However, there are difficulties associated with attempting to use dominant theoretical perspectives from

sociological discourse wholesale in order to study the workings of organisations. The inherent problem for organisational theorists, is the role of individuals in shaping an organisation. Organisational theorists have had to find ways to reconcile the extent to which organisations are products of individual actors (micro level) with patterns of organisational behaviour which are, as Powell and DiMaggio (1991) state, ‘supraindividual units of analysis which cannot be reduced to aggregations or direct consequences of individuals’ attributes or motives’ (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991 p. 8). Evidence from studies including Friedland and Alford (1991), Zucker (1977) and Powell and DiMaggio (1991) suggest that individual behaviours may become ‘nested’ within organisations (Thornton et al. 2012, p. 76) and institutional logics contribute to shaping individual preferences. Thus, whilst individuals may be free to pursue self-interest, they also identify with organisations and professional fields (ibid). Consequently, organisational action may be viewed as being guided by a set of embedded institutional logics. Clark (1998) states unequivocally,

There is nothing inherently wrong with attributing human agency to collectivities: the field of microeconomics has been quite successful in treating firms (collections of individuals with diverse needs, goals, and desires) "as if" they were unitary actors.

Clark (1998 p.248)

Organisational scholars including Emirbayer and Johnsson (2008); Emirbayer and Mische (1998); Dobbin (2008); Thornton et. al (2012) have begun to develop ways in which organisations may be researched within their institutional contexts. Drawing upon sociological understandings of structure and agency, in particular building on the work of Bourdieu (Powell and Di Maggio, 1991) and more recently incorporating the work of Margaret Archer (1995), scholars have begun developing ways in which organisations can be studied relationally. This inquiry aims to contribute to this endeavour.

In response to calls from institutional theorists over the past decade for ‘the explicit incorporation of agency’ and ‘the study of how actors pursue their interests in the face of institutions’ (Lawrence, Suddaby and Leca 2009 p. 4), my thesis explores what Lawrence et al (ibid.) call ‘purposive action’. Based upon the work of sociologists including Bourdieu and Archer ‘purposive action’ (ibid.) describes a situation which acknowledges intentional strategic action within institutional contexts. Through strategic action, organisations are able to affect their environment either by bringing about change within it or impacting the distribution of resources – in other words, organisations are able to enact agency.

For organisational theorists such as Lawrence et al. (2009), views purported in the cultural sector such as Hewison's (1995), in which he claims support for the arts has been eroded by instrumental policy, can also be understood as devaluing the work and dexterity of cultural organisations. Hewison's (1995) claim denies the agency of arts organisations, reducing them to little more than uncritical servants of social policy somehow unworthy, and indeed incapable, of producing aesthetic works of excellence. Similarly, organisational theorists including Abdelmoor et al. (2017) as with Powell and DiMaggio (1991) stress the need to challenge scholars who view institutions as 'monolithic' and acknowledge the role of organisational agency in shaping them. Put simply, organisations who demonstrate the ability to affect change within their environment may be considered to be enacting agency. Furthermore, claims that the arts are necessarily weakened by policy and legislation deny the validity of claims amongst organisational scholars including Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca (2009) that more emphasis should be placed upon the ability of organisations to 'pursue their interests' and 'react to pressures within their environment'. Quoting DiMaggio (1988), Lawrence et al. (2009) claim that much of the research emphasising structural constraints over organisational agency is 'frequently laden with metaphysical pathos' (p.4). The implication of this is that evidence of organisational agency is sometimes lost to a self-indulgent gloominess portrayed by some researchers, which belies the ability of actors to adapt to their environment. This position is one supported in the work of Scott (2014) who writes of the 'importance of identifying particular actors as causal agents, emphasising the extent to which intentionality and self-interest are at work' (Scott, 2014 p. 115). The processes through which organisational interests, legitimacy, and power dependencies are constructed are explored within this project as it seeks to deepen understandings into how arts organisations utilise symbolic capitals to maximise their organisational capacity. Whilst there is a wealth of academic literature concerning artistic autonomy and the effect of instrumentalism, (Vestheim, 1994, Gray, 2006, Belfiore and Bennett, 2008, Hadley and Gray, 2017), in which instrumentalist policy making structures may be seen as constraints to organisational activities, there is a paucity of literature and empirical activity seeking to understand the extent to which organisations are able to use structural conditions advantageously.

In Thornton et al.'s (2012) volume, 'The Institutional Logics Perspective' institutions are understood as both material and symbolic (Thornton et al. p. 10) and posits a need to investigate the value of symbols and cultural resources in order to better inform both organisational practices and public policy making. This project

seeks to investigate the extent to which organisations negotiate their social environment and deploy non-financial advantages (capitals) to gain power and legitimacy within their institutional field. Berger et al. (1998) point out that legitimacy plays a crucial role in the structures of power and influence, which in turn affects who may exercise power. Furthermore, they claim legitimacy affects the ways in which actors may negotiate policy and the ways in which access to rewards are directed. (Berger et al. 1998 p. 380). The work of Baumann (2006) constructs a theory of how art works may be legitimised but calls for further exploration of ‘similarities and contradictions of legitimisation processes in art and organisations’ (Baumann, 2007 p. 61). This work seeks to build on this body of knowledge and understand the nature of legitimisation (and delegitimation) and its contribution to power within the context of arts organisations.

2.4 Power

For Bourdieu (1984) it is the struggle for power which is central to explaining how society operates. Bourdieu’s theories explore how power functions via the imposition of values in society, as well as the ways in which individuals are then able to exercise choice, whilst simultaneously acknowledging structural constraints:

The relation to what is possible, is a relation to power; and the sense of the probable future is constituted in the prolonged relationship with a world structured according to the categories of the possible (for us) and the impossible (for us), of what is appropriated in advance by and for others and what one can reasonably expect for oneself.

(Bourdieu, 1980, p. 64).

Bourdieu’s oeuvre contends that the contribution of power is central to the discussion of structure and agency in the construction of the social world. As previously noted, Bourdieu (1990) argues that power takes on three dimensions, in the form of valued resources (or capitals) within a wider context he labels ‘the field’. Fields form a central tenet on which the design for this research is based and are therefore discussed in more detail in the proceeding sections on institutional fields. As previously stated, Bourdieu posits that power may take on a symbolic nature which he labels ‘symbolic’ power. It is through symbolic power that the social order is legitimated (Swartz, 2011). In order to explore the possible presence of hierarchies prevailing within the arts and cultural sector, the way in which power is constructed, legitimised and accepted, are important considerations. In what follows I provide a selected overview and discussion of the nature of power.

The concept of power questions the capacity of individuals to act autonomously. It is highly contested and lies somewhere between myth and reality (Eidlin 2012). Such a claim rests on the assumption that power is not simply an actor's ability to impose their will on another actor, nor argues Eidlin (ibid), is it a simple mechanism of push and pull. Eidlin (2011) writes that power insinuates itself throughout the social world. Understanding the nature of power is therefore fundamental to gaining insights into how authority, legitimacy, and the relationships between organisations within the arts field are shaped. This inquiry necessarily draws upon theories of power, how it is understood, and the conduits through which it operates. Questions of power concern the extent to which individuals are simply subject to external (coercive) forces and whether power should be understood as being inherently coercive or, in fact, legitimate. The ways in which power is constructed, where it is sited and how it is enacted, necessarily affect the freedom of agents to act as they would wish to do.

The insinuation that the arts and cultural sector are being subjected to an expansion of the bureaucratic as a result of policy pressures (see Mangset, Kleppe, Røyseng 2012) is reminiscent of Max Weber's (2001 [1904]), vision of domination by bureaucracy which Weber described as an 'iron cage'. However, Weber's view relies upon power being monopolised by functionaries and civil servants, resulting in a loss of all societal dynamism, and thorough stagnation throughout society (Weber, 1968b in Kalberg, 2001, p. 179). However, in Steven Lukes' *Power: A Radical View* (2005) the author understands power not simply as a one-dimensional force, such as Weber, (1978) suggests, but as a multi-dimensional one.

Lukes (2005) reasons that power lies not only with individuals - whereby one exercises power over another in order to bring about a desired outcome - but that power is sustained by the "socially structured and culturally patterned behaviour of groups, and practices of institutions" (Lukes, 2005, p. 26). Lukes' (ibid.) exploration of power further develops these understandings and recognises that power is not simply the exercise of one actor's will or one dominating force over another (who is resistant to it), but acknowledges that the ability to 'influence, shape and determine' wants, is also a crucial component of power. Eidlin (2011), like Lukes (2005), argues that power is not simply the ability of one actor to induce another to do their bidding, but it is the extent to which an actor is sufficiently able to achieve particular goals (Eidlin 2011). Power is therefore not simply a matter of coercion, but about precipitating willingness and acceptance of dominant views through the legitimisation of power. By controlling

information and via social reproduction, the preferences of dominant groups and individuals may be shaped and naturalised. From this perspective, power may be viewed as securing voluntary compliance, whereby power is transformed into a legitimate force to which others willingly comply (Lukes 2005 p. 112). Such a view is grounded in the work of Foucault (1969) for whom actors are the products of discourse. The concept of 'discourse' for Foucault (1969) entails all that can be said, thought or written about a given subject. Through the command of discourse, individuals are able to deploy knowledge and claim it as legitimate truth thereby enacting control over others. The extent to which a person can grasp and utilise discourses will enable them to exert a degree of power over individuals whose command of the discourse is not as great. Foucault's work is illustrative that power is not something that is simply a 'top-down' affair but is pervasive and acts on a micro-level. Foucault points to the often-mundane rules embedded in practices that govern (Power 2011) through which compliance is induced 'rendering its actual exercise unnecessary' (Foucault 1982 in Lukes 2005).

Foucault's (1982) tenet that power is an insurmountable force, is persuasive, however it may be over-stated. Lukes (2005) expresses the concern that Foucault, 'offers an ultra-radical view of power that has profoundly subversive implications for how we are to think about freedom and rationality' (Lukes, 2005, p. 106), in so much that Foucault's understanding of power is deeply situated in society through its institutions as well as through the normalisation of practices through history. In this way, the need for top-down law-making is replaced by the construction of societal norms. Foucault's totalitarian notions of power are, as a result, problematic. As Gibson (2007) points out, in adopting such a pervasive account of power which then serves the function of explaining other concepts, weakening all other influences in the social world or 'exposing them as redundant' (Gibson, 2007, p. 23) this totalitarian interpretation belies the capacity for change. Such objective understanding of power, Lukes (2005) points out, relies on individuals being both unaware of the forces of power at play as well as being unable to react against them. As previously noted, such notions render actors unable to change or challenge structures, a situation this inquiry questions. Foucault's (1969) understanding of power is borne out in the notion of 'false consciousness' to which structuralists refer, in which individuals are hoodwinked by those in power pedalling misinformation into mis-recognising their beliefs and desires (Lukes, 2005, p. 149). Williams (2012) agrees with assertions that power is at times misrecognised within society. However, for Williams (2012) it is not necessarily

perpetuated via the construction of misinformation per se. For Williams (ibid.), phenomena such as the ‘halo effect’ lend themselves to the misrecognition of power. The halo effect describes a situation in which one above-average trait exhibited by an entity leads others to judge all the traits of their activity as having above-average quality. This in turn leads to misrecognition. Williams (2012) describes the phenomena as a situation in which high-quality in one area of work ‘generates the impression’ that the entirety can be, ‘trusted and deflects questioning’ (p. 96). Whilst the halo effect is illusory, it affects the ways in which power is perceived, particularly by those down-system. Although the halo effect may be based on poor judgement, it does bring about ‘a common-sense view of integrity’ (p. 203), which provides a source of legitimacy and therefore may be understood as a form of symbolic capital.

To wholly deny the ability of individuals to influence their own circumstances in the face of society, is questioned in the work by Rose and Miller (2010). They point out that power is:

not so much a matter of imposing constraints upon citizens, as of ‘making up’ citizens capable of bearing a kind of regulated freedom’. Personal autonomy is not the antithesis of political power, but a key term in its exercise, the more so because most individuals are not merely the subjects of power but play a part in its operations

Rose and Miller (2010, p. 272)

For Rose and Miller (2010), individuals are a key component to shaping power and play a part in its operation (ibid). Echoing Bourdieu’s (1991) struggles for power, in which actors are both subject to and complicit within power relations, Rose and Miller (2010), recognise that power may be reproduced and maintained through individual actions which in turn shape power relations.

Rose and Miller’s (2010) observation resonates with the views of institutional theorists. Their notion of regulated freedom is useful for the purposes of this project as it does not aim to locate a position of absolute power but seeks insights into the ways in which actors or organisations are either constrained by or offered opportunities by their environment in order to achieve sufficient autonomy for the fulfilment of their personal or organisational missions. The work of Stinchcombe (2002), rejects over-emphasis of the primacy of power within organisational contexts. Stinchcombe claims placing emphasis upon power is a ‘causal ordering problem’. Stinchcombe’s claim is that power is ‘created in the course of an action – not prior to it’ (Stinchcombe 2002). Stinchcombe’s (ibid.) perspective on power implies that power maybe acquired *through* action bears some parallels with Bourdieu’s (1991) view that power maybe acquired

through struggles that are won via amassing institutionally appropriate capitals. Stinchcombe's (ibid.) assertion also suggests that claims of structural domination within institutions are created within the institution themselves, a situation this inquiry seeks to explore.

When considering power relations, Lukes (2005) stresses it is important to recognise that willingness to accept authority (to conform) doesn't preclude *unwillingness*, 'One can consent to power and resent the mode of its exercise' (Lukes, 2005, p.150). Individuals are not merely puppets of power and may very well recognise it. In many cases, however, in the interests of an individual's relative happiness, they make choices that comply with, or concede to power dimensions. Such a view is key in the work of Pierre Bourdieu, who argues that individuals,

move between the forced choice between constraint (by forces) and consent (to reasons), between mechanical coercion and voluntary, free, deliberate even calculated submission

(Bourdieu, 2001 in Lukes 2005 p. 139)

The ability of actors to respond to regulated freedom is explored in the works of scholars such as (Scott 2014; Eidlin 2011; Bordo 2003 in Lukes 2005), who note that compliance to coercive forces may in fact provide modes of constructing agency as well as opportunities for resisting power. Bordo, (2003, in Lukes 2005) understands that individuals are able to transform structures of domination even via conformity.

Such a position is expressed in Eidlin's (2011) statement that power may sometimes lie in the hands of those who are able to 'run with the current' (p.6). By complying to power, actors may accrue legitimation and support which further enables them to gain sufficient agency to achieve their aims. Eidlin (ibid.) goes on to clarify that power lies in the hands of those best able to make use of the available conditions. Whilst Eidlin (2011) describes power as parasitic in the way in which it permeates society through material practices, traditions and symbols, he also suggests that compliance to it offers actors the opportunities for resistance. Eidlin (2011) emphasises that power is not a monopoly that is centralised, but that it lies in various hands and is diffuse. What Eidlin (ibid) understands, is that power and influence may be subject to individual contexts. This resonates with what Coburn (2016) observes; structural demands may not necessarily stand in opposition to individual autonomy. Her (2016) research (within an educational context) finds that institutional demands may present enabling opportunities for some actors. Compliance to the requirements of the institution contributes to agency for some. However, Coburn (ibid.) sounds a note of caution by stressing that the ability to take advantage of the situation is dependent

upon an actor's position within the social hierarchy. Coburn's (2016) assertion chimes with Thornton et. al.'s (2012), who claim that the outcome of power struggles within institutional contexts is shaped in part by the distribution of the material and cultural resources within the environment. This observation points to a situation in which actors already in possession of relatively powerful positions within a particular social context are those most likely to be able to capitalise from institutional demands. This is an important consideration for this inquiry, as it suggests that those actors in dominant positions within a field hierarchy are the most likely to be able to take advantage of instrumental policy making.

Understanding these definitions of power and utilising Bourdieu's theory of how it is deployed and legitimised through society provides a useful starting point for an exploration of the ways in which inter-organisational power is maintained, legitimised, and challenged within the arts sector. One of the fundamental features of both Luke's (2005) and Bourdieu's (1990, 1991, 1992) understandings of power is that it is relative, and context specific. In order to understand power relations, it seems vital to distinguish between nuanced conduits for its operation and the capitals that contribute to the construction of power.

2.5 Constructing Legitimacy – Possession of power, or possession of resources?

Having established that power is diffuse, and that the power to respond to external constraints does not equate to absolute power, I now wish to clarify some of the ways in which power operates. Throughout the discourse surrounding power there are references to the concepts of voice, influence, and elites. Whilst these terms may be understood as synonymous with power, each imply different mechanisms of domination which are relevant to this study. In essence, they represent forms of symbolic capital from which actors may draw in order to secure positions in Bourdieu's sites of struggle. Eidlin's (2011) essay helps to highlight the ethereal nature of power as well as foregrounding the nuances between the *possession of power* and the *possession of resources (capitals)* such as voice and influence. Whilst both voice, elites and influence imply power structures, they do not necessarily equate to being powerful. Similarly, as I will discuss shortly, power is dependent upon claims to legitimacy which is a key resource for its exercise. In order to understand hierarchies, identifying and understanding conduits for the successful exercise of non-coercive power are necessary.

In what follows I present an overview of key resources which may contribute to the accumulation of power.

Moore and Muller (1999) present a critique of ‘voice discourse’ in which they explain that ‘dominant voice’ describes the privileging of a particular hegemonic point of view over other points of view. They describe the concept of ‘voice’ as the categorisation of knowledge bases according to membership of a particular social category – or different stand points. Dominant voices fail to acknowledge the subjectivities of other forms of knowledge. Consequently, voices whose knowledge and experiences are not represented in what has been termed grand narrative are subordinated. Put simply, ‘voice’ implies a power struggle in which categorised groups struggle to put forward their point of view. Arnot and Reay (2007) articulate the view that the concept of voice is most pertinent when there is significant distance (or ‘insulation’) between the various boundaried standpoints. Arnot and Reay (ibid.) make it clear that having a dominant voice doesn’t necessarily imply an ability to bring about (or maintain) change, quoting Bernstein, they write:

Power relations which sustain such boundaries, therefore, establish the “voice” of a category and “any attempt to weaken the classification - that is, to reduce the insulation so as to change ‘voice’ (discourse) will provoke the power relationship to re-establish the relations between ... categories by restoring the insulation”

(Bernstein, 1990, p. 24 in Arnot and Raey 2007 p.317).

Voice endows actors with the ability to include themselves in their world (conversely and perhaps more pertinently, not to be *excluded* from their world). Voice provides a means of understanding how the social world may be understood and is constructed through recognising the ways in which versions of reality are accepted. Those whose subjective understanding of events deviate from the dominant voice may be dismissed or over-looked. From a Bourdieusian point of view, voice may be understood as a form of (symbolic) capital which in turn can be converted help secure a position within the social hierarchy.

The concept of influence, as with voice, is one that is referenced widely in conjunction to power relations. Influence implies *a degree* of power, though does not equate to total authority – this may be particularly true in cases whereby individuals or organisations seek to influence those in authority. This situation highlights the nature of power as being both diffuse and situational in that influence implies the ability to affect the course of an authority in a position of relatively more power. The work of Martin and Hewston (2010) explores the nature of influence and distinguishes between

two forms. In Martin and Hewston's (ibid.) view, influence may be formed of either majority or minority influence. Majority influence is based upon conformity. It suggests that actors seek approval from others and the verification of their beliefs. 'People generally wish to belong to majority groups and people accept as true beliefs that are widely shared' (Martin and Hewston, 2010 p.6). This notion in many respects shares the views relating to 'voice' outlined above – dominant views are accepted by a majority. However, this view is then challenged by the phenomena of minority change. Whilst it is generally accepted that minorities lack the power, wealth or status to influence others, they are able to enact influence through being consistent and committed to their aim. Whilst initially their views may be rejected by the majority, their consistency leads to 'certainty and confidence'. Tomala, Petty and DeSensi (in Martin and Hewston, 2010) once again detail the importance of legitimation in the ability of minorities being able to enact influence. People are persuaded by minorities only when they feel that their basis for previously rejecting it has been illegitimate.

The possession of voice, influence, or legitimacy does not equate directly to power, however, this project views them as non-economic capitals that are deployed within the social space to create opportunities within an institutional field. Bourdieu (1984) cites legitimacy as a key component in securing dominance within the social realm. Bourdieu, (ibid.) terms the struggle for legitimacy, 'a classification struggle'. In 'Distinction' (ibid.) he determines that power struggles are struggles of reproduction. Bourdieu understands these struggles as an actor's ability to *legitimate* what they do. Bourdieu claims that those individuals who are able to claim their activities as legitimate, are those who are able to dominate the social space. Legitimacy is therefore a key construct in the formation and maintenance of power. For Berger et al. (1998) legitimation is a 'fundamental social process that mediates the relationship between power and authority' (Berger et al., p379). Berger et al. go on to state it is 'fundamentally a problem in the social construction of reality' (ibid. p. 380). Legitimacy is a resource to be capitalized upon and, argue Berger et al. (1998), it is crucial for the perpetuation of power and influence. Both Williams (2012), and Lukes (2005) highlight that securing compliance through non coercive power is reliant upon legitimation. As with power, the process of legitimation is dependent upon activities being congruent with prevailing values within society:

According legitimacy to another or others is not in itself enough to render them legitimate: their actions must be consistent with established rules and roles that can be justified by prevailing norms, or beliefs by both dominant and subordinates who consent to the power relation.

(Beetham, 1991, p. 16).

What Beetham highlights in the statement above, is that the construction of legitimacy and thus the maintenance of social position, is reliant upon a cultural process through which actions are accepted as being the right thing to do according to prevailing sets of values.

Legitimacy invokes the claim to be ‘heard, believed and obeyed’ (Bourdieu 1991 p.73). It is a key process through which ‘acts in specific, concrete situations of action are justified in terms of the norms, values, beliefs, practices and procedures of pre-given structure’ (Zelditch, 2001. p. 14). However, at the same time, legitimation is considered to be the process through which change may take place. However, that social change can only take place if it is legitimised and subsequently accepted. Within organisational theory, legitimation is viewed as playing a fundamental role in achieving and maintaining dominance with scholars including Cress and Snow (1996) claiming legitimacy constitutes a discrete form of non-economic capital.

Powell and DiMaggio (1991) emphasise the importance of legitimacy for maintaining organisational dominance. They cite the two main sources of organisational power as, firstly, an organisation’s ability to, “define the norms and standards which shape and channel behaviour” and secondly, “elites who can define appropriate models of organisational structure and policy which then go unquestioned for years to come” (Katz, 1974 in Di Maggio and Powell (1983). Further, in the work of Meyer and Scott (1983) organisational legitimacy is described as:

the degree of cultural support for an organisation – the extent to which the array of established cultural accounts provide explanations for its existence.

(Meyer and Scott 1983a p 201 in Di Maggio and Powell 1991 p. 170)

Meyer and Scott’s claim that legitimacy requires cultural support is at the heart of Larsen’s (2014) claims regarding the role of instrumentality within the cultural sector. More recently, Berger et. al (1998) argue that through the processes of legitimation, organisations may be understood to gain status and prestige thus enabling them and potentially granting them access to rewards. Berger et al (1998) and Baumann (2006) state that organisational success is defined by the attainment of legitimacy. Crucially, Baumann (2006) posits that legitimation affects which organisations may exercise power - including providing a key element in providing opportunities to contribute to policy negotiations or to the processes of rewarding and evaluating individuals (Baumann *ibid*). The view that systems of rewards and the ability to bestow them lend themselves to legitimacy is one that Bourdieu (1990) notes. The ability to bestow praise

or reward is a practice that Bourdieu (1990) understands as a form of symbolic violence

- or:

a gentle, invisible trust, obligation, personal loyalty, hospitality, gifts, debts, piety, in a word, all of the virtues honoured by the ethic of honour, presents itself as the most economical mode of domination because it best corresponds to the economy of the system.

(Bourdieu, 1990, p.127).

The acts of ‘nomination’ and ‘designation’ (the ability of an actor to monopolise what is considered legitimate or not) (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993) are based on a set of subjective values are then applied ‘and converted into explicit principles’ over time (Bourdieu 1990 p. 101). In organisational contexts, rewards and evaluations may include, for example, the awarding and recognition of prizes, and the design, delivery, and certification of professional qualifications. Especially pertinent to this thesis are Bourdieu’s insights into the field of cultural production, in which he observes symbolic violence in the form of legitimising institutions, and the power to grant ‘consecration’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), as well as who determines the type of cultural goods most valued and the consumer capable of consuming them. (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993, p121).

Bourdieu (1984, Bourdieu and Johnson 1993) asserts that societal elites play a key role in establishing the values that are applied and the conduits for their recognition within a given institution. The assertion that dominance may be secured through elites is one this inquiry is particularly interested in. However, it is important to understand the relationship between power and elites. As with voice and influence, the notion of elites may not necessarily imply power. In ‘Researching Power, Elites and Leadership’, Williams (2012) claims that elite groups ‘seem intrinsic to human society’ (p. 63) and defines them as ‘those who have some form of power which is exercised through influence or coercion’ or through ‘originality or virtuosity within a creative domain (p.12). Citing Floyd Hunter’s (1953) work, Williams (ibid.) distinguishes power elites as those groups who assume positions at the top of power structures. Brint et al., (2020) claim that individuals are able to build or ‘brand’ themselves according to the values of wider society. They define elite groups as follows:

Elites are composed of individuals in positions of power and prestige in consequential domains of social activity. The business elite is constituted by the senior executives and members of the governing boards of the most highly capitalized corporations. The political elite is constituted by the top elected and appointed officeholders in federal and state government. These people wield substantially more power through their control of productive forces and legal instruments than

do the mass of ordinary citizens. A third elite group, the cultural elite, is defined by its prominence in the domain of symbolic action.
(Brint et al. 2020 p.93)

Brint et al.'s (ibid.) definition of elites points to three elite domains, highlighting the contextual nature of elite positions. This contextual nature is one Eidlin (2011) recognises. Eidlin (2011) claims that membership of elite groups *can* bring about increased individual power, as well as producing sets of similar goals and ideals that benefit the group. However, he also highlights a paradox in which he claims that whilst elite groups as a whole may dominate systems, as individuals they are simply bound by their own value structure and have very little real individual power. Power in one domain does not necessarily equate to power in all domains (although it doesn't preclude it). Power is differentiated and distributed across different domains according to context. Whilst supporting Bourdieu's (1984) supposition that elites have a role in the production and reproduction of power structures, he cautions against assuming all elites are powerful as a consequence. This is a key assumption for this thesis, as it recognises that power is not absolute and is bound by context. Brint et al.'s (2020) reference to symbolic action pertains to systems of domination, such as those described in the work of Bourdieu (1992) who claims they are constructed via the creation of:

Categories of perception of the social world which, being adjusted to the divisions of the established order (and therefore, to the interests of those who dominate it), [...] impose themselves with all appearances of objective necessity

(Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 p. 13)

As with the process of legitimation (which forms a key component in the construction of elite groups) Bourdieu (1992) claims the construction of elites within society is constituted through symbolic actions which are widely represented as being natural and accepted as truths within the social realm (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), a situation this project is interested in exploring within organisational contexts. These insights are useful for this inquiry as they provide ways of understanding the construction of elite institutions and how they are legitimated, as well as providing insights into the role of elite groups in creating elite organisations.

For Williams (2012), there is little which distinguishes between those in 'leadership positions' and 'elites', he argues that both are able to maintain what he defines as 'up-system' positions of power through processes of influence and legitimation. These positions are subsequently communicated to those down-system, thus bestowing both elites and those in leadership positions with corresponding power.

Williams (2012) goes on to describe how powerful elites are formed by the pursuance of ‘conspiratorial’ interests. This notion of conspiracy is one which Ostrower (1995) observes. In Ostrower’s (1995) research into arts governance in the US, she defines elites as ‘being characterised by solidarity within the group, social exclusivity, and a distinctive cultural identity’ (p. 12). Ostrower (*ibid.*) defines an elite as an individual who is, ‘listed in the social register, or is a member of an elite club, or is a graduate of an elite prep school’ (*ibid.*). Whilst in the UK context there is no ‘social register’ the systems of independent education and of peerage and titles have some equivalence.

The acceptance of cultural elites is based on cultural normative values and is congruent with the ways in which legitimacy is constructed. Elites within the arts and cultural sector are, as Ostrower (1995) notes, in the business of amassing cultural capital for themselves, whilst at the same time lending non-economic resources to arts organisations. The role of elites within the specific context of the UK arts and cultural sector is given more attention shortly. What is clear, is that legitimation is key to maintaining power. In the work of Bourdieu (1990, 1984), as with Williams (2012), is that legitimacy is frequently constructed through symbolic means.

Further drawing attention to the symbolic nature of power resources, Meyer and Rowan (in Powell and DiMaggio, 1991) urge organisational researchers to pay attention to the symbolic capital resources bestowed through the material objects. Organisational theory has acknowledged the role of the material in representing ideas and the construction of legitimacy. A fundamental insight into institutional logics, specify Reay and Jones, (2016) is revealed in patterns of material practice and the ways in which material artefacts bear meaning (Tilley in Atkinson et al. 2001). Tilley explains that objects bear social meaning and have ‘value’. Crucially, for this investigation, Tilley explains that the importance of an object frequently lies not in its practical use, but in its capacity to be converted into other things; it may be exchanged, in the same way as Bourdieu’s symbolic capitals, into something else of value. Tilley explains that material goods may be transformative – and perhaps most significantly for this inquiry, the possession of some material goods may attract other valuables (Tilley 2001, p. 263). Further, the metatheory of institutional logics (Thornton et al., 2012) is dependent upon attention to both the symbolic and the material. In drawing attention to the material, this inquiry may provide insights into how transposition from the material to the symbolic is understood within an institutional context thereby providing insights into logics, change and shared understandings within the field.

Material culture is a term which has been used widely in anthropology and describes the study of ‘objects which give material form to the rules and belief patterns of those who trade, purchase or use them’ (Grassby, 2005 p.592). For Bourdieu, objects ‘acquire sense in relation to their position to other phenomena which share the context’ (Siva and Warde 2010, p. 17) and one of the purposes of this thesis is to explore what meaning objects potentially transmit. Whilst organisational theorists such as Scott (2014) acknowledge the role of the material, his work is focussed largely on the role of technical developments as a way of exploring the material. By exploring symbolic capital in the form of material objects including artefacts, design, buildings, and architecture Molnár (2016) suggests we may deepen our understanding of how relations are constructed within an institutional field. Molnár (ibid) recognises the role of material objects in the construction of meaning and notes that whilst the material has been widely accepted within sociology, she posits that material practice has, to date, focused too much on representation ‘through the built environment’ (p.204) and makes a plea for greater attention to be paid to material objects used ‘in the hands of ordinary people in ground-up practices’ Molnár (2016 p.207). Furthermore, she claims material culture provides ‘a unique analytical lens to disentangle complex histories, interactions and power relations’. As such this thesis recognises a need to pay attention to the symbolic capital which may be manifested in the relationships between material objects and their context. This project in part seeks to contribute further insights into the role of the material in contributing to institutional and organisational understandings of their relationships. For the purpose of this study, an understanding of the role of material objects in the transmission of meaning and the extent to which they are used as symbolic forms of capital, is required. On this basis, this study pays attention to material objects and endeavours to establish which material objects are used (and how) to convey cultural meaning and the extent to which those objects relate to prevailing field understandings in existence.

The discussion thus far has established that power and resultant agency is dependent upon the specific circumstances in which it is operating. It is constituted through means that are relative and context specific. These specific contexts in which currencies of power are recognised, accepted, and deployed form discrete social realms in which individual action and meaning is ‘culturally embedded’ (Thornton et al. 2012). These realms are understood as institutional fields.

2.6 Institutional Fields

Institutions are constituted of the interplay between common sets of behaviours, cultural practices, structures, organisational actors, and the ability of actors to act within their environment (Roberts 2009; Lawrence, Suddaby and Leca, 2009). Institutions provide ‘stability and meaning to social life’ (Scott 2014).

Historically, institutions were studied with a view to isolating the particular properties of institutions that impact on individual choices, thus explaining wider collective behaviour, ‘Little or no attention was given to the surrounding social/cultural environment of organisations’ (Scott, 2014 p. 22). Powell and DiMaggio (1991) observed that this traditional institutionalism neglected ‘social context’ and was inconsistent with what they observed in the world. They argue that explanations of institutional behaviour became too ‘descriptive, historically specific or so abstract as to lack explanatory punch’ (Powell and DiMaggio 1991, p.2). The emphasis placed on rational action and the economy didn’t, in their view, sufficiently explain the nature of institutions. Subsequently, calls grew for more emphasis to be placed on the environments in which organisations operate and investigation of the ‘taken for granted beliefs’ associated with organisational fields (Mutch et al. 2006; Elgar and Smith 2005).

Powell and DiMaggio’s ‘The New Institutionalism in Organisational Analysis’ (1991) is regarded as a seminal work in organisational theory. Moving away from the focus on mechanisms such as bureaucratisation, (Weber, [1904] 2001; Merton, 1940) and process (Selznick 1948), new institutionalism began to explore the role of culture in organisational action. The authors within the volume explore the role of institutional and organisational practices and the ideologies shaping decision making within organisations. Fundamental to the work of neo-institutionalism is the assertion that organisations, as with individuals, are not free from external pressures and expectations. Additionally, within organisations and institutions there is an (often conflicting) interplay between society, organisations, and individuals (Thornton et al. 2012 p76). Organisations may be understood as bound to, amongst others, social expectations, legal, and economic constraints. Like the individual actors in sociological discourse, organisations too are bound to institutional processes, structures, and agreed social behaviours. In the field of neo-institutionalism, Meyer and Rowan (1977) are widely accredited as making one of the first significant contributions to understanding organisations within a societal context (see Powell and DiMaggio 1991; Delbridge and Edwards 2007; Thornton et. al. 2012). With echoes of the work of Barthes (2009)

outlined earlier, Meyer and Rowan (1977) posited that highly institutionalised phenomena, including services, techniques, policies, and programmes function as ‘powerful myths’ (1977, p. 340). Meyer and Rowan (ibid.) go on to explain that these ‘myths’ may be taken up by organisations in order to gain legitimacy. They describe how “organisations adopt practices and procedures of prevailing rationalised concepts [...] Organisations that do so increase their legitimacy and survival prospects” (p.41). They claim that whilst adherence to these mythical practices and procedures conflict with ‘practical activity’ (p.60) they provide organisations with sources of legitimacy and support. Meyer and Rowan’s (1977) work emphasises the role of powerful organisations in ‘forcing immediate networks to adapt to their structures’. They (ibid.) claim this takes place through creating rules of practice, personnel certification (enforced through the education system), and the law. Meyer and Rowan’s (ibid.) piece recognises that organisations are impacted by external forces and that alongside the production of products, professions, policies, and programs are also created (Meyer and Rowan (1977, p. 340). Meyer and Rowan (ibid) note that many of the formal structures that run through institutions are enforced by public opinion and knowledge legitimised through such systems as the educational system and through ‘social prestige’ (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p. 343). Neo institutionalists therefore understand institutions as characterized ‘by the elaboration of rules and requirements to which organisations must conform if they are to receive support and legitimacy (Powell and Di Maggio, 1991, p. 123). As a direct result of institutional practices often being at odds with efficiency criteria, organisations may adopt them merely ‘ceremonially’. This process which Meyer and Rowan (1977) call ‘de-coupling’ builds ‘gaps between their formal structures and actual work activities’. In the more recent work of Scott et al., (2000) Scott states:

‘Organisations require more than material resources and technical information if they are to survive and thrive. [...] They also need social acceptability and credibility’

(Scott, Ruef, Mendel and Caronna, 2000 in Scott, 2014 p. 71)

In other words, organisations require legitimacy which may be secured via conforming to the rules and requirements of the field – even if only ceremonially. According to Thornton et al. 2012 the meaning and value of these tacit rules are revealed through ‘system carriers’ including networks, vocabularies of practice and symbols. These system carriers are the subject of this inquiry as I attempt to understand how the arts and cultural field operates in practice.

Di Maggio and Powell's (1991) theory of institutional isomorphism provides an explanation for how organisations become homogenized. It reveals the phenomena through which organisations become more similar within a given institution. Through processes of either coercion, via regulation or legal constraints or through mimetic processes, organisations model themselves on organisations they 'perceive to be more legitimate or successful' (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991 p.70). Through the process of isomorphism, organisations are forced to adopt accepted practices of other organisations, either because they are dependent upon them, or as a result of cultural expectations. Di Maggio and Powell (*ibid.*) suggest the adoption of such practices may be the result of force, persuasion or as invitation to join in collusion. This situation occurs via 'normative pressures' which include the professionalisation of institutions providing a vehicle for 'the definition and promulgation of normative rules about organisational and professional behaviour' (Di Maggio and Powell, 1991 p. 71). The assertion that the professionalisation (and the creation of bodies that are able to consecrate the profession) of institutions is for Bourdieu (1992) 'dangerous'. Bourdieu claims 'Profession is a folk concept which has been uncritically smuggled into scientific language and which imports into it a whole social unconsciousness' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). He goes on to suggest that through professionalisation, a group and an object is conceived and therefore a space of competition and struggle is created (*ibid.*). This assertion is underpinned in more recent critiques of professions in Schinkel and Noordegraaf (2011), who claim, "Profession," [...] is a manifestation of the arbitrary in the guise of the natural. It is a concept of domination' (p. 80). This view is one that has been echoed in recent arts and cultural discourse.

Nicholson et al (2018 p. 26) argue that within policy discourse, 'amateur' cultural activity is 'less significant than professional or subsidised culture' and consequently the voluntary-amateur sector has been constructed as 'valuable primarily because it develops an appreciation of the arts' (p. 27). The absence of the voluntary-amateur from much of the arts discourse suggests the sector lacks prestige and influence. Yet the substance of these assertions may simply be an illustration of taken for granted ideology such as those described in Bourdieu and Johnson (1993) who observes the oppositions of amateur and professional which are set up within the arts and cultural field, 'claim to establish the frontier between what is, and what is not art' (p.82). Thus claims the voluntary-amateur sector is less significant, may simply exemplify how dominant ideology prevails within the field valorising the professional and subjugating the amateur. Therefore, the disproportionate interest in the subsidised

arts at the expense of the voluntary-amateur arts raises important questions about how power and prestige have been constructed in the sector.

Bourdieu's (1992) claims that definitions such as amateur and professional are simply set up in order to assert authority, accords with Powell and DiMaggio (1991) who conclude that the process of isomorphism demonstrates the importance of power struggles within an organisational field. These ideas posited by Meyer and Rowan (1977) and later Powell and Di Maggio (1991) are further taken up by Friedland and Alford (1991) who claim organisations are able to adopt particular forms of operation, not because they are efficient – but because they are 'effective at eliciting resources from other organisations which take them to be legitimate'. This situation has been recognised within the arts and cultural context. Durrer et al. (2019) observe the importance for arts and cultural organisations of adopting 'recognisable organisational structures' (p.327). Without these recognisable structures, they argue, institutions are unable to 'trust' them and therefore this impedes cooperation (ibid.). One of the key observations made by Friedland and Alford (1991) is the way in which organisations recognise and take up, even if only symbolically, modes of production and operation which are recognised throughout the institution. In doing so, this conformity contributes to their organisational legitimacy – which in turn may be understood as conferring power - and in turn relative autonomy.

What Meyer and Rowan's (1977) theory of de-coupling, Powell and DiMaggio's (1991) theory of institutional isomorphism, and Friedland and Alford's (1991) institutional contradictions collectively suggest is that organisations are subject to powerful structures, however they do have some ability to respond and adapt to their institutional surroundings. These phenomena indicate both a degree of structural power as well as a degree of organisational autonomy.

Drawing from the work of Luhmann (2000), institutions may be understood as systems. Luhmann's (ibid.) understanding of a system bears some similarities with Bourdieu's (1990; 1992) understanding of 'social fields' in which social and historical processes result in the creation of social spaces each with their own specific 'logics'. Luhmann (2000) describes a system as 'autopoietic' meaning the system itself self-monitors and self regulates. For Luhmann, an 'autopoietic' system determines itself 'and this they can only do through self-generated structures' (Luhmann, 2000, p. 108). Luhmann does not suggest that systems operate in isolation: 'there are structural couplings between autopoietic systems and systems in their environment which are compatible with autopoiesis' (Luhmann, 2000, p. 107). A system, in this sense

determines itself through ‘self-generated structures’ but what Luhmann describes as ‘irritations’ can occur, ‘each of which is then processed into information within the system’ (Luhmann, 2000 p 108). This resonates with Bourdieu’s understanding of how newcomers may successfully gain access to a given institutional field; in order for them to be accepted, and to have influence, they must prove themselves as legitimate (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993 p.58).

As Luhmann (2000) points out in his theory of ‘irritations’ or Bourdieu through his understanding of fields, actors may find ways in which to disrupt the dominant system. Bourdieu sets out three main ‘strategies’ occupants of the social space may use to change or maintain the conditions in which they find themselves: conservation, succession and subversion (Swartz, 1997, p.125). Swartz clarifies these three modes of operation further; conservation strategies are those deployed by those currently in dominant field positions who endeavour keep things as they are, whilst succession refers to strategies adopted by new entrants to the field who may try to succeed through trying to gain access to the accepted ideologies of conservation which prevail in the field, finally, subversion strategies challenge the overall legitimacy of field standards.

Drawing from Luhmann (2000) and Bourdieu’s perspectives, Scott (2014) defines institutions as follows:

Institutions comprise regulative, normative, and cultural cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources provide stability and meaning to social life.

(Scott, 2014, p.56)

Scott (2014) details three pillars on which institutions rest: the regulative pillar, the normative pillar and the cultural cognitive pillar. These pillars are helpful in providing an analytical framework for exploring institutional understandings of legitimacy. As Scott (2014) states, ‘each of these elements has been identified as the vital ingredient of institutions’ (Scott, 2014 p.59). Scott’s three pillars are upheld by a particular basis of legitimacy. These pillars broadly reflect different schools of thought and approaches to institutions. Scholars have tended to view institutions through only one of these three perspectives, isolating particular characteristics. However, Scott (2014) claims over emphasis on any one pillar would be over deterministic. Scott’s (2014) first pillar is the regulative pillar and it refers to instrumental policy rules and regulatory processes as well as laws which ensure largely coercive compliance. Scott (ibid.) states the importance of an organisation’s ability to ‘establish the rules’ and ‘manipulate sanctions, rewards or punishments in an attempt to influence future behaviour’ (Scott,

2014 p. 59) and also stresses that sanctions may be implemented informally through the shaming or shunning of non-compliant organisations. For Scott, interest and emphasis on the regulative pillar has been the domain of economists in the past as it prioritises the role of formal control and rational action. Such a criticism may be exemplified with relation to the arts and cultural sector in the work of Gray (2013). Gray (*ibid.*) engages with public policy instruments as modes of influencing strategy formation in the UK museums sector, asserting the importance of considering organisational activity as a mode of ‘strategic-relational action’, (in which organisations respond strategically to policy aims), he fails to engage with the symbolic practices and power relations which may also impact organisational action. Authors such as Hadley and Gray (2017), Belfiore (2004, 2012) too, tend to view the arts and cultural sector through this regulatory institutional lens.

The second pillar Scott (2014) identifies is the normative pillar, which operates through ‘appropriateness’ certification and accreditation and is upheld by morally governed legitimation. Scott’s second pillar resonates with Bourdieu’s concept of symbolic violence, in which the ability to consecrate ways of behaving constructs a sense of loyalty, or indebtedness within the relation which forms a power dynamic. Finally, Scott’s third pillar is the cultural-cognitive pillar. It relies upon the taken-for-granted understandings which include ‘comprehensible, recognisable, culturally supported legitimation’ to create common modes of action (Scott 2014, p. 60). In particular, Scott (2014) maintains that that organisational adherence to external, structural pressures (such as policy demands) may also be understood as conferring legitimacy, reflects the assertions outlined previously claiming that conforming to sets of rules can contribute to promoting organisational success and power (Bordo 2003 in Lukes 2005, Eidlin 2011, Coburn 2016). Scott’s insights are particularly useful for this research as they provide an entry points for understanding how those organisations not in receipt of regular funding, whilst not being required to meet the regulatory demands of cultural policy, may nevertheless find themselves bound to them through normative and culturally situated sets of shared institutional practices serving to legitimise the work they undertake – thus lending them sufficient authority to meet their organisational aims. It also urges scholars to look holistically at institutions and to consider the variety of mechanisms at play within them.

Considering the work of Bourdieu (1984), Scott (2014) and Thornton et al. (2012), within a given institution, there are accepted ideologies to which actors, including organisations – as with individuals - must subscribe in order to be a legitimate

force within it. However, these institutional ideas – or logics are not static. These logics determine how legitimacy is constructed and create accepted ways of functioning within a given institutional setting. One of the purposes of this inquiry is to examine how structural constraints, which may be understood as ‘stable characteristics of society outside the organisation’ (Lounsbury and Ventresca 2002), are negotiated by individual organisations within the field.

2.6.1 Fields

Bourdieu uses the concept of ‘the field’ to describe ‘a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992 p. 96) in which social life is takes place. Bourdieu’s (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993) fields do not have a fixed locus but operate through the relationships between individual occupants within a given social space. Bourdieu (1990 [1980]) describes the creation of fields as: ‘human activity in modern society [...] leading to the creation of social spaces with a specific legitimacy and functioning’ (Hilgers and Mangez, 2015, p. 2). These fields operate with their own sets of rules and behaviours.

Bourdieu’s (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) understanding of a field may be understood as a relatively autonomous space in which all the participants agree on the issues at stake. ‘A space of possibilities’ (Bourdieu and Johnson p.64) it is ‘simultaneously a space of conflict and competition’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.17). Bourdieu likens this field to that of a ‘game’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992 p.98, Bourdieu 1990, p.67). Fields are made up of rules, as well as interactions, between ‘players’ on the field. The relationships between players are what defines a field at any one time. Using Bourdieu’s analogy of a game, Thompson in Grenfell (2008) goes on to describe the field as:

A bounded site where a game is played. In order to play the game, players have set positions - when the football field is represented in visual form, it is as a square with internal divisions and an external boundary, with the set positions marked in predetermined places. The game has specific rules which players must learn, together with basic skills, as they begin to play. What players can do and where they can go during the game, depends on their field position. The actual physical condition of the field (whether it is wet, dry, well grassed or full of potholes), also has an effect on what players can do and thus how the game can be played.

(Patricia Thompson, cited in Grenfell, 2008, p. 68)

Bourdieu, however, makes it clear that unlike in a game, a field is ‘not the product of a deliberate act of creation, and it follows rules, or better regularities that are not explicit or codified’ (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 98). Inside Bourdieu’s fields, conflicts and

struggles are played out between individuals; however, the patterns of behaviour inside each of these fields are not simply arbitrary, each field has a logic and those individuals inside the field understand how to behave within the field. Just as in Thompson's (2008) analogy, there are rules that exist within each field which players are aware of. Sets of 'Doxa' operate within the field which are understood as fundamental, taken-for-granted, principles, values, and discourses - these doxa are usually considered to be true, however, they are often arbitrary constructs that are simply accepted in the field. Bourdieu's concept of the field is a place of both resistance as well as domination. Whilst they may not be places in which 'social transformation' occur, they do represent sites of struggles for dominance within the confines of accepted field rules (see Swartz, 1997). This is a key premise in Bourdieu's oeuvre who in essence claims that depending upon an actor's ability to access to available resources – an individual may be afforded the agency to achieve some aims, win some struggles, or even become a class 'defector' (Bourdieu 1992) – but overall, they are unlikely to affect social transformation. To use the idiom – Actors may win a battle – but not the war.

As stated earlier, for Bourdieu (1986) one key resource in the social world is provided via networks. Networks act as conduits for the exchange of resources, including knowledge and thus 'the volume of social capital that an ego actor possesses depends both on the number of connections to network alters and on the volume of capital resources possessed by all the alters to which ego is connected (in Knoke, 2009 p.1693). Responding to Bourdieu's claim that networks are important conduits for capital, this literature review now turns its attention to the role of networks.

2.6.2 Networks as Fields

Bourdieu, in Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) rejected network analysis as a tool for inquiry on the basis that it abandoned the relational in preference to analysing specific flows of things (for example exchanges of money or information). Bourdieu's rejection of network theory is based upon its historical tendency to use network analysis to make particular 'things' visible, rather than attempting to reveal underlying structures. However, in the work of Crossley, (2012) it is argued that social networks are an objective illustration of a field. Crossley's (ibid.) assertion is based on the work of Bottero, (2009) who claims that networks provide the means through which social fields may be constructed. This claim therefore forms a crucial element to the sampling logic which is described later within the methodology chapter. In the work of Crossley (2011, 2012) he claims that networks provide a means of conceptualising the field. In

keeping with the work of both Crossley (2012) and Mohr (2013) this project therefore understands network analysis as a methodological tool for visualising field relationships.

The work of Burt (1992) understands the network itself as a form of capital. Walker et al. (1997) describe networks as being ‘necessarily stable’, as actors need to maintain their existing relationships in order to convert them into social capital. Therefore, exploring connections between organisations can help provide insights into the structure of the field in which organisations are operating. Mohr (2013) rejects Bourdieu’s criticism of the use of networks for studying relations, suggesting that the historic, exclusively positivistic approach to network analysis Bourdieu describes has since evolved. As a result – and in spite of Bourdieu’s apparent rejection of the use of network analysis, Decuyper (2020) clarifies that network analysis is a useful tool and can be undertaken from a relational perspective. For organisational theorists, the analysis of networks can help researchers to understand ‘how the social context in which firms are embedded influences their behaviour and performance’ (Inkpen and Tsang 2005 p. 146) and provide crucial access to new knowledge. From this perspective it may be assumed that networks provide useful ways of understanding field dependencies and interactions.

At its simplest level, analysis of networks can show how organisations are grouped to form subgroups which reveal patterns of relations within the network (Scott, 2014). Organisations ‘seek to avoid being controlled’ (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978 p. 261 in Oliver, (1991) ‘The greater the loss of autonomy associated with forming a relationship, the less likely it should be to occur’ (Oliver, 1991 p. 944). It therefore seems reasonable to assume from Oliver’s (1991) assertion that the formation of a network relationship should contribute to an organisation’s autonomy. Knoke (2009) describes the way in which networks determine field rules and the ways in which non-networked organisations form partnerships - thus shaping the organisational field. As these ties evolve, the field becomes institutionalised. Knoke (2009) goes on to argue that network ties generate commitments and obligations which help provide assistance to others and come about as a response to either challenges or opportunities (p.1695). This assertion is one echoed in the work of Offer (2012) who claims that network properties such as reciprocity reveal both interdependency and hierarchies. Reciprocal relationships within networks may be understood as maintaining the stability of the network, obligations and expectations from relationships flow through reciprocal network ties. As such, argues Offer (2012) they form an important element

of cohesion within the network. Crucially, Offer, (ibid.) also argues that failure to reciprocate ties may result in exclusion, claiming ‘information about uncooperativeness spreads quickly in the network’ (Offer, 2012 p. 793).

Drawing from the earlier discussion of elites, networks have a crucial role in the formation, maintenance, and reproduction of elite groups. By forming close ties to one another, the interests of elite groups are protected. At times, these ties may be tightly woven resulting in what Williams (2012) describes as ‘elite interlocking’ which refers to networks of people who hold more than one elite position. Similarly, networked groups form ‘inner circles’ of elite groups which contain the ‘hyper-elite’ or an elite group constituted of members of an elite group. One of the aims of this inquiry is to further understand the role of elites as forms of legitimising capital within the arts as posited earlier. In order to do so, I adopt networks as an important mode of informing this study.

One seminal network theory put forward by Gitell and Vidal (1998) noted that social networks have the capacity to either ‘bridge’ or ‘bond’. These two distinguish between networks that either bring people together who previously did not know each other’ (bridging networks) or bring groups together who already know each other (bonding networks). Putnam (2000) described bonding networks as ‘getting by’ whilst bridging networks as ‘getting ahead’ however, Putnam posits that bonding networks serve to reinforce current structural inequalities whereas bridging networks include diverse groups. Putnam’s (2000) view has been reinforced by Yuan and Gay (2006) who predicted networks were most likely to form between groups who share similar traits (p.1075). Similarly, Borgatti et. al (2013) describe two research interests within social capital network analysis, one is the investigation of how achievement and success are functions of social ties, the other focuses on how attitudes and behaviours are influenced by network ties. Theoretical gaps remain in the study of organisational networks and this project draws upon Mohr’s (2013) work in which he posits a network approach whereby organisations map themselves with respect to how they locate themselves in a ‘logic space’. In doing so, Mohr (ibid.) claims organisations then ‘speak in strategic ways regarding a preferred vision of the field including their perceived (imagined or desired) location within it’ (Mohr 2013 p.24). Mohr’s understanding of how network data can be used relationally is one adopted by this inquiry.

The assertion that fields are constituted by shared beliefs and struggles to obtain legitimate power within them is fundamental to this research. The assertion that fields may not be determined a priori is given further attention in the methodology chapter.

However, in order to provide context for this study, it seems necessary to establish some of the ways in which the ‘arts and culture’ are understood within the UK policy landscape and how understandings of it have emerged according to shifts in political and historical circumstances. As Thornton et al. (2012) argue, organisational structures ‘shape individuals’ and groups’ focus of attention’ which in turn determines ‘which problems and issues get attended to’ (p.90). In the section which follows I will endeavour to outline how historical and political shifts in attitudes to the arts and cultural sector have been hewn.

2.7 Cultivating an Institution – New Public Management

In this section I discuss how the arts and cultural field has been shaped within the UK. I try and present an overview of how current arrangements within the arts and cultural sector have evolved, and how they are understood.

In much of what follows, the discussion appears to attend only to discourse which discusses those arts organisations in receipt of public funds. As stated within the scope section of the thesis, this is not to deny the role of popular and commercial activity, however, it draws from established arts policy in order to understand how it impacts field arrangements and to understand its relevance for the wider sector.

The view that government policy provides opportunities for organisations is reflected widely within the institutional theory previously discussed as well as Larson’s (2014) argument that instrumental claims for the arts function not simply as constraints but that they fulfil an important role in legitimising organisations and the work they do (making them culturally acceptable). Claims that policy instruments have a legitimising (and therefore enabling) function within a given institution are cautiously acknowledged within Coburn’s (2016) work. However, Coburn (ibid.) claims that the potential enabling effects of policy demands are unevenly distributed within a given field. Similarly, Larsen’s (2014) argument posits that policy instruments may be used to simply justify prevailing structural conditions within the sector. As Ahearne (2009) points out, cultural policy is not framed solely by government, nor is it necessarily found exclusively in the governmental sphere where it is made explicit but is ‘also framed within capitalistic commerce where they remain largely implicit’ (Ahearne, 2009, p. 144). Ahearne’s assertion has implications for this thesis as this research seeks to understand how cultural policy impacts not only those organisations ‘exclusively in the government sphere where is made explicit’ (those organisations in receipt of public funds) but seeks to understand the extent to which organisations beyond those in

receipt of public funds may be shaped by policy. This thesis questions the extent to which these institutional arrangements are subsequently imposed upon organisations beyond those in receipt of public funds.

Current Arts and Cultural policy with the UK for the subsidised sector is broadly viewed as having been impacted significantly by new public management (O'Brien 2014; Hewison 2014; Bell and Oakley 2015). The assertion that legitimacy (and subsequently relative power) is dependent upon securing culturally acceptable support for an organisation's existence accounts for justifications for, and criticisms of, the role of new public management (NPM) in framing government policies. New public management provided the foundations for the creation of culturally acceptable practices and for securing organisational conformity to institutional rules and policy demands. Through these, arts organisations are better placed to justify their existence. NPM 'establishes legitimacy regardless of operational substance' (Power, 1999, p. 304). The parallels between Meyer and Rowan's (1983) observations in institutional theory and Power's (1999) observations of the 'audit society' are stark. NPM functions to define standards and shape behaviours within publicly funded organisations. It enables the creation of consultants and professionals who then 'define and promulgate organisational rules and professional behaviour' (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991, p. 71). In Diefenbach's critique of NPM he sees the introduction of NPM as simply benefitting managers, who become well versed in the generic mechanisms of NPM enabling them to advance their own interests and career prospects as they increase their own market value by having 'broad managerial experience' (Diefenbach, 2009, p. 903). Thus, organisations may view adherence to such policy practice as a source of promotion via legitimisation within the arts and cultural sector.

Much of the academic literature concerning the 'instrumentalisation' of the arts points to the ascription of value as being a product of more recent years (namely the Thatcher and New Labour years) (e.g., Vestheim, 2007; Belfiore, 2002; Gray, 2007). Authors such as O'Brien (2014), Hewison (2014) and Bell and Oakley (2015) explicitly emphasise that the need for the sector to justify its value came sharply into focus with the implementation of New Public Management.

New Public Management, in which business management and market techniques are transferred from the private to the public sector (Siltala, 2013), was introduced by the newly elected Conservative government in 1979. It is justified on the grounds of globalisation and neoliberalism (Diefenbach, 2009). Its purpose is to increase the 'efficiency, effectiveness and productivity' of public services and attempts

to make public sector organisations - and those working in them - more business-like and market orientated (ibid). NPM affects almost all aspects of existing organisational work but includes additional processes such as: ‘regulation, assessment, evaluation, and inspection, [...] best practice-concepts, benchmarking, league tables, customer feedback mechanisms, performance reviews staff appraisal and other systems’ (ibid.). Requiring organisations to save money and improve quality at the same time, NPM is expected to produce cheaper, more efficient [...] and more effective programmes’ (Siltala, 2013 p.473). Critics of NPM claim that NPM tools serve only to act as top-down control:

[...] public service reform in the United Kingdom has conducted itself as if the government were little different from running Marks and Spencer, that is, simply a means of delivering goods and services.

(Hoggett in Du Gay, 2005, p. 169)

Hoggett’s (1996) scathing polemic against NPM is similarly taken up in Michael Power’s ‘Audit Society’ (1999) in which he delivers a convincing argument suggesting that audit and control systems serve little or no real purpose other than to maintain power structures and legitimise organisations. These claims directly echo those within Bourdieu’s work and the assertions from institutional theorists including Di Maggio & Powell (1991), Scott (2014), and Thornton et al. (2012), as well as reflecting Larson’s (2014) direct assertion that this is their function for the arts and cultural sector.

NPM reforms include, ‘standards of performance, greater emphasis on output control, increased competition, contracts, devolution, disaggregation of units, and private sector management techniques’ (Christensen & Lægrid, 2001, p. 78). With the introduction of the National Audit Act (1983) the publicly supported bodies including both local authorities and the Arts Council, became subject to assessment according to economy, efficiency and effectiveness (Alexander, 2007). Whilst proponents of NPM claimed it would yield positive outcomes, in practice, NPM has been heavily criticised. Juha Siltala (2013) claims that NPM serves as a way of ‘scapegoating’ public organisations, that is, politicians are able to distance themselves from publicly funded bodies and delegate responsibility for funding decisions. In reality, the burden of responsibility for reporting, audit, evaluation and control has fallen to individual organisations in receipt of public funds. For the arts and cultural sector this requires individual organisations to justify their existence to the ACE, or to local authorities (or both). With that, both local authorities, Arts Council England and the organisations they support have had to adopt the language of business (Alexander 2007).

Beck (1989, p. 365) identifies five main areas that were most affected by the introduction of NPM in the UK arts sector. Those areas include:

- a reduction in the rate of increase in annual monies;
- pressure to encourage organisations to increase income from earnings, sponsorships or other non-public monies;
- to improve accountability and popularity;
- to be more commercial in their outlook;
- in some sectors the arts were to be weaned from the welfare state mentality
(Beck, 1989, p. 370).

In addition, the Arts Council was encouraged to adopt a more ‘business-like approach’ to its work and management consultants were appointed in 1984. The arts were subject to increased commercialisation and were required to become more self-sufficient (Beck, 1989) and the Arts Council members became more commercial (*ibid.*). This included encouraging the private sponsorship of the arts.

The creation of bodies such as the Arts Funding and Philanthropy Programme and later the Clore Leadership Programme testify to the increased importance placed upon commercialisation and professionalisation in the sector. The establishment of such bodies are compelling evidence of the continuing impact of NPM and the ways in which the arts have been encouraged to adopt more business-like approaches. Rex (2020) demonstrates that the language of business has been fully embraced within arts policy practice at both arts council and local authority levels.

Hewison (2014) is vehemently critical of NPM and the fate of the arts under its policies claiming, ‘Cultural policy became part of economic policy. Culture was an industry, and its products a commodity.’ (*loc.* 145). Hewison (*ibid.*) noted a shift towards economic emphasis throughout Arts Council documents as access and economic value became of increasing concern. Hewison (2014) believes NPM caused policy makers to avoid aesthetic questions, and install a regime of targets, funding agreements and measurement intended to make the economic and social outcomes of their cultural investment predictable.

The salience of NPM for this inquiry lies in its potential to create institutionally accepted modes of practice. Whilst proponents of structuralist thinkers such as Weber (1978 [1956]) might view the imposition of NPM policies as burdensome structures, NPM strategies may reflect the very policy demands those organisational theorists including Meyer and Rowan (1991) and Di Maggio and Powell (1991) claim create crucial sources of legitimacy for organisations.

2.8 Demonstrating Value

The need for publicly funded arts and cultural organisations to respond to demands from new public management created concerns that the arts in the UK are succumbing to instrumentalist and bureaucratic powers (Vestheim 1994; Kleppe 2016; Gray 2002, 2007, 2008; Belfiore 2004, 2012; Gilmore 2014). Cultural policy discourse expressed succumbing to the imposition of rules and restrictions or calls for them to address broader public issues. The contention of Hadley and Gray in their (2017) publication goes on to suggest that cultural policy is shifting towards becoming ‘hyper-instrumentalised’. Their claim is that this situation is brought about by a lack of discrete funding for the cultural sector. Using a case study in Northern Ireland, they claim that cultural policy is moving so far towards purely instrumentalised ends that there is no longer a justification for a discrete cultural policy at all. Hadley and Gray (2017) argue that the cultural sector is politically weak and lacks autonomy. Their assertion is reminiscent of Max Weber’s claim that action is prevented as a result of bureaucracy. For Max Weber (1978 [1956] p. 224) the effects of capitalism, namely those of bureaucratisation and rationalisation, result in a lack of human autonomy. These effects, Weber suggested, result in individual actors being stripped of any real autonomy and being trapped in what he termed, an ‘iron cage’ (ibid.). For Weber, bureaucratic functions, such as auditing and reporting, result in them becoming unable to act as they would wish to do. If Weber’s notion is true, it follows that regularly funded arts organisations in the UK, having been subjected to a succession of instrumental policies, will have had their capacity to make autonomous decisions restricted (if not stripped entirely) by governmental and capitalist structures. According to Gray and Hadley, the phenomenon of hyper-instrumentality ‘could easily and rapidly cross geographical boundaries’ (2017 p. 103). In their view, the cultural sector runs the risk of simply becoming a service provider for other policy areas by delivering results relevant to the policy area from which it is drawing down funds. Hadley and Gray (2017) argue that it is core actors within the *non-cultural* sector who ‘manipulate the allocation of finance, prestige and value in their own favour’. As result of the sector’s weakness, they argue that the sector runs the very real risk of receiving funds solely on its ability to demonstrate social and economic output and not for the ‘intrinsic’ value of cultural output. Gray (2007) implies that power in the cultural sector lies primarily in government policy making and arts funders. Yet, as previously discussed, the sector may be a product of its own self-regulating logics (Luhmann, 2000; Bourdieu, 1994) which has been complicit in the creation of its own situation. Dubois

(in Hilgers and Mangez, 2015, p. 200) makes it clear that politicians, civil servants, experts, representatives of interest groups all have a stake in shaping policy. Brint and Karabel (1991) note that institutional policies:

‘do not reflect in mirrorlike fashion the distribution of power in the larger society. On the contrary, such policies and structure may, under some circumstances, embody less the interests of external groups than the logic of the organisation itself.

(Brint and Karabel in Di Maggio and Powell, 1991, p. 347).

Brint and Karabel’s (ibid.) suggestion is that policy making is not simply a top-down affair but is constituted by a variety of other influences.

Gray (2002, 2007, 2008, 2010) is not alone in asserting that instrumental policy goals are weakening the arts and cultural sector. It has been a recurring theme throughout much of the policy discourse of the past two decades (Belfiore 2004, 2009; Gilmore 2014; Gibson 2008; Chong 2010; Vestheim 1994). This rather gloomy picture points to a cultural sector bound by structural demands and unable to act with autonomy, leaving arts organisations passively responding to the demands placed upon them by non-sector policy makers. It suggests culture is ‘denied validity’ (Hadley and Gray 2017) by non-cultural actors and pertinently, that the artistic work produced is merely a by-product of other activities. However, such claims resonate with DiMaggio’s (1988 in Lawrence et al. 2009) observation that some institutional critics are guilty of ‘metaphysical pathos’ and under-estimate organisations’ ability to respond to their external circumstances.

Concerns based around instrumental policy making are broadly understood as ‘diluting’ the arts (Chong, 2010, p. 53) and largely rest upon the historical assumption that art should remain autonomous and be protected from interference in order to maintain its excellence. Hewison’s (2014) opinion of instrumental policy is scathing, claiming local management is undermining the aesthetic value of the arts:

Ever since its formation in 1945, the Arts Council had supported the arts for what it saw as aesthetic reasons – that is to say, what it believed to be the intrinsic value of the art forms themselves. Local authorities, however, were looking for directly beneficial social and economic outcomes

(Hewison, 2014, Loc. 268-271)

Hewison’s (2014) view reflects that of Vestheim (1994), who claims instrumentality to be the opposite of artistic autonomy (Kleppe 2016). In essence, Vestheim (1994) is echoing the philosophical position that instrumentality shifts (in this instance) the arts away from acting of their own volition and towards a set of expectations and values imposed upon them by those on whom they rely (see Hampsher-Monk, 2009). In

describing this situation, Gray (2007) argues that the arts have found themselves being used for ‘instrumental’ public use as a result of ‘policy attachment’ an argument in which he claims the arts sector has sought to compensate for a lack of political power by claiming roles in the fulfilment of goals in other policy areas. Gray (2007) asserts that instrumentalism is ‘systemic’ within the UK, arguing that instrumentalism requires the cultural sector to ‘demonstrate a real contribution to a range of other concerns that are perceived to be of greater political, social or economic significance’ in order to survive (Gray 2007, p. 210).

However, in Gibson (2008), she argues that any attempt to separate culture’s intrinsic and instrumental value is a fallacious endeavour. In doing so, Gibson (2008) constructs a compelling argument that instrumental policy forms a fundamental part of breaking down the elite power structures that have existed in the field. Gibson (ibid) rejects claims that instrumentality is fundamentally opposed to the intrinsic value of art and posits that the two are largely indistinguishable and are self-reinforcing. The result of this ‘self-reinforcement’ (p.255) is that cultural institutions are forced to engage simultaneously with the social and political imperatives of agendas such as inclusion at the same time as critical engagement with artistic quality. Gibson’s (ibid.) argument stands in opposition to both Hewison’s (2014) and Hadley and Gray’s (2017). Gibson’s argument is important to this piece as she recognises that whilst instruments have been imposed through government structure, they are aimed at challenging prevailing attitudes within the sector. Additionally, Gibson’s (2008) view, points to evidence of the way in which cultural elites use ‘excellence’ and the autonomy of the cultural sector to defend their own interests. The implication that the instrumental cultural policies of recent years undermine intrinsic aesthetic value is also somewhat disingenuous; as will be discussed in the following section, the value of art has always been instrumental (Upchurch 2016).

In the detailed history of the social function and purpose of the arts provided by Belfiore and Bennett (2008), it may be seen that the arts have been ascribed some kind of instrumental use throughout modern history. Belfiore and Bennett (ibid) argue that the arts can never claim to be ‘autonomous’. What is argued within their work is that throughout history, the way in which the arts have been talked about, used, and justified, has *always* been very much as ‘a means to an end’. In other words - one way or another, the arts will ‘achieve’ something. Belfiore and Bennett (2008) point to the educational, personal, and civilising benefits that have been claimed by exposure to the arts. They argue the arts have always been irrefutably laden with value. They

argue the historical construction of ‘value’ has been based upon numerous arguments ranging from claims the arts are merely a distraction from the ‘pursuit of truth’, on the one hand to Cicero’s notion that arts afford those in search of truth ‘help to unwind’ on the other (Cicero, 2000 in Belfiore and Bennett, 2008, p. 109). Belfiore and Bennett (2008) situate the beginnings of the debate in ancient Greece where Plato and Aristotle set up two opposing views. Plato takes the view that the arts are a corrupting distraction from the more valuable pursuit of ‘truth’, whilst his pupil, Aristotle views them as having a ‘cathartic’ function which, Belfiore and Bennett (2008) argue, may be interpreted as being a cleansing one, equipping audiences with ‘moral fortitude’ (Meisiek, 2004, p. 803 in Belfiore and Bennett, 2008, p. 87). However, one of the things Plato and Aristotle appear to have agreed on is that they in some way affect emotional response on the human psyche. Belfiore and Bennett (*ibid*) also detail the views which have contributed to understandings that arts act as a conduit for self-improvement, as crucial to education and the production of a ‘civilising effect’, which assists in the maintenance of societal stability. It is on this premise, writes Upchurch (2016), that government funding was made available for supporting the arts and cultural sector in the UK at the inception of the Arts Council.

In the work of Immanuel Kant artwork should ‘please without concepts’ and ‘be devoid of all interest’ (in Bennett 2013 p. 112). Thus, for Kant, artistic excellence rests on ‘an exemplary form of originality’ resulting from ‘genius’ which, in turn, is reliant upon autonomy (Kant in Bennett 2013). Kant’s understanding of artistic autonomy became popular in the 18th and 19th centuries and forms part of the basis for Marx’s assertion that art lies beyond the capitalist economy (see Wayne, 2004). It was also taken up in the work of Theodor Adorno (1963), who understood aesthetics as a practice of ‘interpretation and commentary that aims to produce a critical and self-reflexive form of individuality that ‘stands free of any guardian’ (Adorno, 1963 in Bennett, 2013, p. 128). The Kantian ideal of artistic value as lying solely in itself is one that is easily refuted; it is a paradox. As Bennett (2013, p. 123) notes, Kant himself believed a work of art should impact the ‘consumer’ by inducing self-reflection. Kant argues that the simply ‘agreeable’ effects of what Bennett (*ibid*) describes as ‘mechanical arts’ are inferior, as the (true) arts should ‘unsettle’ in order to bring about critical thought. Thus, Kant clearly recognises that art has value in its ability to induce particular ways of thinking, feeling, or both. For Kant the very notion of aesthetic excellence, and its ability to invoke a response is its value. One of the key themes to be identified here is that the idea of artistic autonomy as a fundamental prerequisite

for artistic value is, and has always been, unachievable. What remains unclear is what exactly the arts achieve and how these achievements may be valued.

More recently, the Arts and Humanities Research Council's report on Cultural Value (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016) sought to identify and capture the effects of engaging with arts and culture. The report concludes that there are a multitude of benefits to encounters with the arts, but additionally, that its impact is difficult to capture and its effects are produced in variety of ways, many through spill-over effect (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016 p.159). The endeavour to capture the 'purpose' and 'value' of the arts remains ongoing (Throsby 2001, 2012; Belfiore and Bennett, 2007; Matarasso, 1997; O'Brien, 2014; Lee, et. al, 2011; Taylor 2015). In the work of both Throsby (2001) and Taylor (2015) cultural value is described as intrinsically different from economic value. Throsby (2001) claims that cultural value is constituted not through its utility but through its usefulness in the intellectual and moral development of future generations (cf. Ritenour 2003). However, whilst Throsby (2001) builds a convincing case for supporting cultural endeavours as well as preserving past works, he does not address some of the thornier, subjective questions including which products constitute cultural products of value. Whilst more recently, Throsby acknowledges investment in culture has positive social welfare outcomes, he doesn't identify which cultural goods may produce the best public good effects (Throsby, 2012). The recent work of Calvin Taylor (2015) similarly asserts that cultural value and the value of the aesthetic should be set apart from the value of rational, market economy. Whilst both Taylor and Throsby succeed in presenting a strong argument for culture as distinct from the market economy, neither succeed in positing which cultural products or activities are deserving of necessary support. As Mark Taylor (2016) asserts, the benefits of culture and leisure have mostly been studied through the lens of state funded activities rather than 'everyday' ones (Taylor, 2016). Whether participating in everyday cultural activities offers the same value as those activities recognised within policy remains an area largely unattended to. This has implications for the function of organisations offering arts and cultural opportunities within the voluntary-amateur sector whose contributions are largely unacknowledged but may contribute to positive social welfare outcomes.

Nevertheless, what is clear is that any claims that artistic value lies solely in aesthetic excellence which in-turn is reliant upon its autonomy is, as Schaeffer (1998) and Bürger (1984) state, simply, 'mythical'. Furthermore, Schaeffer (1998) claims that the perpetuation of the myth of artistic autonomy fulfils a social function – largely in

order to maintain the authority of art over itself. This sentiment is one echoed by Bennett (2013) for whom the Kantian ideal of autonomous art, in which its value lies in its uselessness, cannot be achieved. This assertion resonates with Gibson's (2008) work cited earlier; trying to separate the intrinsic from the instrumental is a fallacious endeavour.

Bennett (2013) argues that the aesthetic ideal simply provides:

‘a new space for the aesthetic in which the exercise of judgement was brought under a new kind of authority, which rather than prescribing a rule for judgement sought to guide it so as to secure the ends of culture.’

(Bennett, 2013, p. 125)

Bennett's (ibid.) claim is that ‘artistic autonomy’, as a guiding principle for the cultural sector, is simply a construct of those in authority. ‘Far from standing opposed to instrumentalism’, argues Bennett (2013, p. 126) ‘the conception of art's autonomy requires it’ - that is, art, music and literature have been the concern of the ruling elite in the manufacture of ‘culture’ with the purpose of bringing order to, and changing, society. This sentiment is echoed in the work of Upchurch (2016) who understands artistic autonomy within the UK context as a construct, in part perpetrated by those she describes as ‘self-appointed guardians of civilization’, whose role was ‘to do something that society, unaided, would not do for itself’ (Upchurch, 2016, p.52). The assertions made by both Upchurch (2016) and Bennett (2003) suggest that the ascription of value is steered by elite members within the arts and cultural institution. Furthermore, they imply that concerns surrounding instrumentality are being voiced, not out of concern for the future of the sector but, out of concerns that (in particular) traditional values held about the arts are being challenged – and with them, hierarchical positions within the institution. Concerns such as Bennett's, (2013) and the supposition of Larson (2014), imply organisational position-takings, with the sector lying in the hands of ruling (elite) groups who seek to maintain control over the ways in which artistic value is understood. This assertion is one which lies at the heart of Bourdieu's (1984) *Distinction* in which he stresses the importance of understanding symbolic practices in the reproduction of power. Pierre Bourdieu (1990) observed that ‘The purely economic cannot express itself autonomously but must be converted into symbolic form’ (Swartz, 1997 p.90). Bourdieu's observation suggests that within a given field, money alone is an insufficient mode of gaining power and recognition. Wealth has to be legitimated through symbolic means in order to obtain and maintain power and prestige. This project is concerned with how these symbolic capitals serve as important vehicles for organisational autonomy. Bourdieu's (1990) observation is

particularly relevant to this study as it is concerned in looking at the mechanisms through, and extent to, which organisations, as with individuals are governed by the negotiation between the shaping of tastes and values and adhering to them – a situation he terms as a ‘dialectic of pretension and distinction’ (Bourdieu, 1984 p.227).

The ‘dialectic of pretension and distinction’ (Bourdieu, 1984 p.227), is one that is well recognised within the UK’s cultural sector. It is illustrated in Hewison’s (2014) acknowledgement that legitimate art (or high art) remains central to the construction of social advantage within the UK. Similarly, the pursuit of artistic excellence, according to Chong (2010), requires arts organisations to ‘be in the business of shaping taste, which requires leading rather than merely reacting’. However, Chong (ibid.) expresses concern that instrumentalism threatens to undermine it. Together these observers of the arts and cultural sector point to the ways in which society negotiates between the construction and recognition of artistic value. Therein lies a crucial observation; it is, in Chong’s view (ibid.), the arts sector who must take responsibility for ‘shaping taste’ - and yet such a statement fails to acknowledge that taste and its formation is deeply embedded in societal power structures and that organisations themselves play a leading role in shaping the institutional arrangements they operate within.

Bourdieu (1984) asserts that understanding ‘excellence’ requires an acceptance of dominant viewpoints. As previously noted, for Bourdieu (ibid), the judgement of artistic excellence is privileged and dependent upon relations of power. For Bourdieu, ‘taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier’ (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993, p. 2). His understanding posits that the ideas behind both cultural autonomy and excellence are expressions of societal power relations. Bourdieu points out that attitudes and understandings of the arts and culture are mechanisms through which cultural elites are both produced and reproduced. In Bourdieu’s understanding, only those in possession of the required capitals will be able to successfully understand the tacit rules which define ‘art’. Elites, he claims, thereby legitimise their positions as experts - who according to Hilgers and Mangez (2014), are then well positioned to influence government policy.

The assertion that elites have the capacity to steer government policy is categorically supported in the work of Upchurch (2016). Referring specifically to the Arts Council in England, Upchurch (2016) writes ‘studies of policy making are the studies of power and wealth’ (Upchurch, 2016 p.vi). The claim that societal elites have

a crucial role in the formation of institutional (policy) rules and power hierarchies is, therefore, of further interest to this project.

In keeping with the mechanisms described earlier, Bennett (2013) posits the very idea of artistic autonomy is ‘produced’ through elite acts of imposing and naturalising dominant positions. In Anna Upchurch’s (2016) ‘Origins of the Arts Council Movement’, she provides a detailed account of the construction of prevailing ideology within the arts and culture within UK policy. She describes how intellectual elites have charged themselves with the role of ‘guardians of past treasures’ (Upchurch, 2016 p. 52). Highlighting the work of Raymond Williams, Upchurch (2016) pays attention to the ‘positions and ideas which are implicit or even taken for granted’ within arts policy. The insights of Raymond Williams (1963 in Storey, 2017) are important, as he understood that ‘the traditional culture of a society will always tend to correspond to its contemporary system of interests and values.’ What Williams (ibid.) was asserting is that culture was in need of democratisation. He advocated for a ‘common culture’ that wasn’t want based on ‘a hierarchical culture of difference and deference’ (ibid) that had been called for by scholars such as Leavis or Hoggart (cf. Storey, 2017). However, as Upchurch (2016) points out, the motivation of arts policy makers in the past has been one of ‘clerisy’, a term which amounts to a self-proclaimed a role as guardian of culture. Upchurch’s (ibid.) understanding of ‘clerisy’ describes wealthy, influential individuals who share the ideological belief that appreciation of the arts is essential to human civilisation and development, combined with intellectual credentials and a sense of social responsibility. She writes that these individuals, understand that support of the arts forms part of the social responsibility of the wealthy to create opportunities for working class people to engage in the civilising effects of education and the arts. What Upchurch (2016) reveals is the extent to which elite groups have impacted upon the role and mission of both arts-grant and policy makers for over seventy years and evidence that the ideology of ‘clerisy’ perpetuated by elites has prevailed. Clerisy, the ideologies of guardianship, and the arts as a civilising force have been both produced and reproduced through cultural elites and has had important implications for arts funding in the United Kingdom. Coupled with Bourdieu’s (1984) assertion that knowledge of the arts provides important forms of cultural capital, it is reasonable to suggest that elite involvement within the arts sector further supports elite influence over them.

Francie Ostrower (1995, 2002), points to the crucial role the arts play in the production and reproduction of elites, in particular via organisational governance

(Ostrower 1995, 2002). Congruent with the position of Upchurch (2016), Ostrower views the provision of support to the arts as the continuation of the class hierarchy supporting ‘spiritual cultivation’ (Upchurch 2014) which in turn has been historically viewed as central to ensuring national stability (cf. Belfiore and Bennett 2008). Ostrower (1995) claims the financial needs of organisations within the sector provide an environment in which elites are able to exert influence and make their mark within their own class. In her more recent publication, Ostrower (2002) concludes that members of elite groups are attracted not only to giving, but to becoming trustees of arts organisations which provide them with access to other elites ‘in prestigious and exclusive settings’ (Ostrower 2002 p.109). Ostrower (ibid.) goes on to point out, whilst the value of the arts and the need for access to it is recognised amongst elite individuals, the relationships elites form with arts organisations is contingent with Bourdieu’s (1984) contention that involvement with arts organisations forms an important part of elite cohesion. Elite financial support and governance for the arts remains a ‘social institution’, ‘a way of life that serves as a vehicle for the cultural and social life of their class, overlaying it with additional values and norms’ (Ostrower 2002, p.6). Ostrower’s (2002) assertions are by no means restricted to those organisations publicly funded but refer also to support for the arts across the spectrum. Supporting arts organisations is, argues Ostrower (1995), ‘a mark of class status of an elite, in a society that stresses democratic, egalitarian values’ (p.133). This position clearly reflects the historically produced ideology described in Upchurch’s (2016) work. Upchurch’s (2014) claims that cultural policy based on clerisy and guardianship of the arts has not only provided justification for state funding and policy for the arts but also provides a rationale for philanthropic provision for the arts, based largely upon condescension.

Drawing upon Francie Ostrower’s (1995; 2002) treatise on elites, the relationship between power, wealth and status on elite arts boards serves as a useful theoretical basis from which to explore power relations within the arts and cultural sector. What is clear from her work, is that the relationship between arts organisations and their boards serve a variety of functions. What Ostrower (ibid.) makes clear is that not only do organisations benefit from having the right board members, but those who take on trusteeships have their own status elevated according to the success of the organisation. The more ‘high powered the organisation, the more high-powered its board members’ (Ostrower 2002, p. xi). These insights provide compelling evidence that organisational hierarchies may be explored through looking closely at their governance systems. Ostrower (2002) understands elite organisations in terms of

wealth – both of the organisation and its board members. With this in mind, this project understands boards and their members as forms of capital that organisations are able to draw upon in order to promote their status. In turn those who sit on governing boards have their status raised according to the status of the organisations for which they stand, thus in Bourdieusian terms, their social capital is also increased through trustee activity.

Bourdieu's conviction is that those who are bestowed with large amounts of cultural capital are caught up in a process of what he describes as 'cultural proselytism' (Bourdieu, 1984 p. 226) a situation in which artistic and intellectual elites are torn between the need to make high-art popular – providing it with an audience - and maintaining its rarity. He uses this pejorative term to underline what he understands as:

Their relationship to everything concerned with 'the democratisation of culture' is marked by a deep ambivalence which may be manifested in a dual discourse on the relations between the institutions of cultural diffusion and the public

(Bourdieu, 1984 p. 226)

Whilst Bourdieu's view is that cultural elites are merely ambivalent, Ostrower (2002) views their desire to see greater access as genuine, and that involvement in the arts provides a simultaneous paradox between a cultural democracy agenda, and the arts as a vehicle to take part in elite activity. However, she makes it clear that individual involvement with the arts is not conducted merely for status, her research reveals that elite patrons and trustees care deeply about the work of the institutions they support. This apparent paradox between inclusivity agendas and elitism is echoed in Jancovich (2017) who writes 'cultural policy makers may both aim to share and hold onto power at the same time (p.16). A similar view is reflected in Brook et al. (2018) who find 'attitudes that are the most liberal, most pro-welfare and most left-wing of any industry,' amongst those engaged within the cultural sector in the UK. At the same time, however, finding the same group are complicit in the reproduction of the inequalities within it. This apparently unwitting reproduction of elitism is one Swartz (1997) points to, suggesting it is the result of actors pursuing interests across fields in the only ways they know how. Whilst actors may seek change, they act in similar ways across fields thus translating structural effects across fields. These insights are valuable for this study as they imply a situation in which relationships between donors, elites and arts organisations are well established and understood through an institutionalised

set of historical logics and ideologies. The relationships between them are symbiotic, potentially constructing homologous sets of values that work for both the organisations and their supporters.

In their attempts to counter claims of elitism, the regularly funded sector in England has adopted the rhetoric of cultural access for all. Against the backdrop of NPM there has been increasing policy emphasis placed upon civic participation, democratisation and consultation throughout arts policy. These themes are exemplified in the 2016 government Culture White Paper, as well as the Arts Council's 'Great Art for Everyone' (2013) and subsequent 'Creative People and Places' (2017). As part of the endeavour to combat elite structures, the Arts Council England has placed its current emphasis upon five goals which include excellence, access for all, sustainability, a diverse and appropriately skilled leadership, and children and young people. However, in spite of the publication of the Arts Council England's emphasis on diversity and inclusion, the cultural sector remains impacted by class structures.

Elitism within the UK arts context is a theme Griffiths, Miles and Savage (2008) sought to illustrate in their work. Griffiths et al. (ibid.) claim that elites, whilst no longer 'monopolising' cultural governance (see also Upchurch, 2016), continue to maintain crucial 'bridges and connections' enabling them to remain 'key brokers' in the networks of power in the cultural sector. Resonating with the Williams and Ostrower's notion of elites as 'conspiratorial' groups, Griffiths et al. (2008) posit that elites provide important connections within and to institutions throughout a particular field, as a result, elites bestow 'relative power on those few institutions which are central', and consequently, 'underwrite a dispersed yet effective elite formation' (Griffiths et al. 2008 p. 208). As a result, they maintain, that historical power elites continue to perpetuate the character and governance of cultural activity in the UK (Griffiths, Miles and Savage 2008 p 206). Their work is particularly pertinent for this thesis as they recognise the role of 'metropolitan organisations' as 'prestige organisations' (Griffiths et al. 2008) in bestowing social capital on organisations and individuals, a situation which will be investigated within this research.

Brook, O'Brien and Taylor's (2018) 'Panic' presents a compelling set of data highlighting the inequalities prevalent in the cultural sector workforce. Their research points to the existence of an elite cultural class with unique sets of taste which do not represent the rest of the population's. This situation further attests to understandings of the social world in which elite groups are formed as a result of claims to cultural resources which are distinct from those held by actors down system. Their findings, in

keeping with Bourdieu's (1984) suggest that attitudes towards the arts and to cultural consumption (and taste) are shaped by class. Not only are those within the sector largely from middle class backgrounds (Brook et al. 2018), they, like Hewison (1995), recognise the role of arts and cultural taste as a factor in accessing 'upper middle-class occupations' (p.33). In keeping with Bourdieu's understanding of social reproduction, they find that the patterns of recruitment within the sector play a significant role in the reproduction of shared taste.

What the works of Upchurch (2016), Brook et al. (2018), and Griffiths et al. (2008) illustrate is a symbiosis between elite individuals, prestige, and metropolitan organisations. Through elite connections, both individuals and organisations confer legitimacy on each other. This inquiry draws upon these works in order to further illuminate the ways in which these, in combination with other institutional conditions shape organisational action within a local context.

2.9 Conclusion

In this section, I have discussed some of the ways in which organisational relationships and legitimating practices have been studied in the past. The theories presented here point to social spaces which are imbued with power dynamics and complex relationships in which sets of capitals provide possibilities for organisational action. These insights provide the context and entry points for the research design. As discussed in the literature review, empirical inquiry concerning the construction, reproduction, and nature of relationships within the arts field requires finding ways to examine legitimating practices. Understanding legitimacy and recognising shared attitudes are key to exploring how meaning and value are created within the organisational field. Bourdieu's (1984) understanding of cultural capital is understood in conjunction with 'structural relations' (Silva and Warde p. 17). From the literature review it is clear that both the nature of capitals as well as the structures in place within the field are entirely dependent upon the context in which they are deployed. For Bourdieu (1990), their usefulness does not pre-exist, but comes into being with respect to their broader context. With this in mind, an inquiry of this nature requires a broadly inductive approach (Hammond and Wellington 2013), however by engaging with existing research within organisational and cultural policy research provides a number of entry points for the development of this project. Zilber (2008 in Greenwood et al. 2008) states that power relations between institutional actors are articulated through 'meaning' (p.157) and therefore, one of the purposes of this inquiry is to understand

the nature of those meanings in the arts and cultural sector. Perspectives on the role of legitimation on organisational success suggest that vital sources of legitimating capital are essential for the maintenance of organisational activity. In response to Emirbayer's (2008) claim that organisations require capitals from overlapping or broader, national (or international) fields to supply legitimacy, this inquiry seeks to understand the dynamics of legitimation for organisations within a local context. In addition, it explores how those meanings are conveyed and reproduced.

This literature review has sought to outline the sociological and organisational insights that inform the research questions at the heart of this inquiry. What is clear, is that power permeates the social world, both for individuals and organisations. The work of Pierre Bourdieu forms a useful set of theoretical perspectives on which this work will draw in order to inform methods. To understand power relations, it is necessary to understand how legitimacy, reputation, elites, myths and symbols combine to create sets of capitals which organisations use in order to gain voice, influence and the ability to successfully meet their organisational aims. The Oldham arts field exists within the context of both local and national cultural policies which have increasingly placed instrumental goals at their heart. What is of note here is whilst instrumental, structural forces are largely viewed, throughout this tour of academic literature review, as sources of domination, they may also provide modes of assistance for cultural organisations to meet their aims. As part of this inquiry the ways in which organisations respond to field conditions are examined. This study will endeavour to shed light on the extent to which structural conditions may be understood as an enabling factor in organisational agency. Nevertheless, whilst institutional conditions may provide opportunities for organisational action, this literature review has also evidenced that elites exert influence upon the nature of the institution. Brint and Karabel's (1991) assertion that elites influence policy making and further that elites may utilise Bourdieu's (1984) 'cultural proselytism' or they are 'negotiating between the need to carve out an exclusive space for themselves and endeavouring to be inclusive', as Ostrower (2012) claims, calls into question the nature of influences on the institutional field. It suggests that fields are simultaneously spaces of opportunity and spaces of domination.

This inquiry seeks to understand the dynamics of legitimation for organisations within a geographical context outside a vibrant cultural hub. In addition, it wants to explore how those meanings are conveyed and reproduced. Having explored current

understandings within social and organisational theory regarding how power shapes an institutional field, the following research questions emerge:

1. Is there evidence of inter-organisational hierarchies within the arts and cultural field?
2. Which forms of non-economic capital are valorised in the arts and cultural field and how are organisations enabled by them?
3. How do organisations within the Oldham arts and cultural field use non-economic capitals to respond in practice to field conditions in order to obtain, or maintain their relative position within the field of struggles?
4. How does Oldham's situation as a satellite town impact on the relative power of its arts and cultural organisations?

Chapter 3. Methodology and Methods

3.1 Chapter Overview

Informed by the research questions, this chapter offers an overview of the philosophical assumptions and interpretive frameworks upon which this thesis rests and a rationale for the research design. Following the opening section which sets up the ontological and epistemological position of the research, this chapter describes the rationale for the use of a case study. It then provides a detailed account of how the field of research was constructed. The concept of field formed the basis for sampling. Therefore, the methodology engages with theories relating to field construction including the works of Crossley (2010, 2013) and Hilgers and Mangez (2015). The chapter then provides a detailed account of each of the data collection methods including participant produced network maps, semi-structured interviews and use of moving through spaces with participants to gather information about the material aspects of organisational environments. I justify the combination of three different interview strategies as an overarching data collection method, which I have called a triptych interview. I describe how participant-produced network information was drawn together as a further method of data collection (Decuyper 2020). In addition, I detail the collection of data using web-based document research which was used to identify patterns of governance. This information was then transformed into network data which was visualised. The chapter then goes on to outline the approach to the data analysis. The chapter discusses the methods of network analysis and a form of discourse analysis that were harnessed for this inquiry. The combination of methods sought to answer calls for the development of new ways to investigate organisations relationally and a ways to further understand organisational agency. This chapter also offers a reflexive account of the relationship between the research and my position as researcher as well as discussing some of the ethical considerations impacting this work.

The aim of the project is to explore questions of hierarchies, the value of non-economic capitals and the nature of power relationships between organisations within the Oldham arts sector. It seeks data informing the construction of non-economic capitals and explores how these are used to legitimise the work of organisations, in order to gain power within the field.

The research project was designed to inform the following questions:

1. Is there evidence of inter-organisational hierarchies within the arts and cultural field?

2. Which forms of non-economic capital are valorised in the arts and cultural field and how are organisations enabled by them?
3. How do organisations within the Oldham arts and cultural field use non-economic capitals to respond in practice to field conditions in order to obtain, or maintain their relative position within the field of struggles?
4. How does Oldham's situation as a satellite town impact on the relative power of its arts and cultural organisations?

This chapter explores the ways in which these questions were addressed by examining the philosophical, ontological, and epistemological positions underpinning the study of power within organisational contexts.

3.2 Qualitative Social Inquiry – The Ontological and Epistemological

As discussed within the literature review, organisations and institutional fields are constructed by individuals. However, cultural phenomena, such as power, may be discerned by observing patterns of behaviour which contribute to a group, organisation, or institution's cohesion (see Holliday, 2007 p. 12). One of the core objectives of this project was to explore organisational 'interests' and shared 'beliefs' in order to better understand their role in creating shared cultural understandings within the arts and cultural field. As such this inquiry used a range of empirical tools in order to try and gain a fuller understanding of the relationships and values in evidence within the Oldham cultural sector. To study these, this inquiry adopted a largely qualitative methodology the rationale for which is detailed in what follows.

Ontologically, this study is positioned in the belief that power and privilege are observable phenomena. However, the nature of power, as described in the literature review (Lukes, 2005; Bourdieu, 1980, 1984, 1991; Bourdieu and Johnson 1993; Eildin, 2011), marks it as a highly contested concept which, as with all cultural phenomena, shifts. It is a process. Power cannot exist independently of its relationships to the social world. As such, positivist methods of investigation that seek to isolate particular phenomena would fail to reveal the complexity of how power is experienced by individual organisations, or how it is constructed and experienced in a variety of organisational contexts. 'Backgrounds, interests and broader social perceptions defy quantitative research' states Holliday (2007 p.5). In contrast to positivist, quantitative, research paradigms which rest on the ontological belief that *single* objective truths may

be determined through an attempt to eliminate the effects of cultural phenomena (Denzin and Lincoln (2018 p.114), the nature of this qualitative inquiry rests on the ontological assumption that social reality is *constructed*. Phenomena in the social world may be observed, but they are not fixed, they are relative. Qualitative approaches consider the importance of societal interaction with its surroundings, and the data for this inquiry was collected using largely qualitative methods, including interviews, the production of network maps, and attending to the role of material objects in the construction of organisational status. Each of these methods are described in more detail later in the chapter. Nevertheless, in order to analyse the data gathered, analytical tools grounded in quantitative techniques, including the use of coding and network visualisation were used. The use of quantitative analysis tools for qualitative data is one that Decuyper (2019) argues is not one that is at odds with the epistemological or ontological position of qualitative research but provides a method of analysis that allows researchers to “trace the complex entanglements by means of which specific practices are constituted” (p.74). As such, Decuyper (2019) argues that quantitative tools serve to visualise qualitative data in order to understand relationships and relationality better. The use of the quantitative methods described in relation to the network data in this thesis were therefore an explicit attempt to make the presentation of the results more readable.

The investigation is based on the understanding that the social world is constituted through; lived experiences, our relationships with other members of society, and with society as a whole. Holliday (2007) explains that the variables which are inherent in everyday lives shape our own individual realities and he goes on to explain that these variables cannot be reduced. Consequently, this research took up the task of investigating these phenomena deeply within their social settings using a broadly phenomenological approach (Creswell and Poth 2018). Phenomenology (Creswell and Poth 2018) requires the researcher to understand cultural phenomena (such as power) through the experiences of individuals, in this instance cultural professionals as organisational representatives. The knowledge informing this research was collected first-hand from cultural professionals who share their subjective experiences from within the field to inform the ways in which the field is understood. These experiences are particular to the context in which participants are and therefore reflects the assumption that reality is constructed by individuals in their contexts.

Whilst broadly constructivist in nature in so much as the study recognises my own subjectivity and role in the construction of my version of reality as an inquirer

(Lincoln et al in Denzin and Lincoln, 2018 p 114) – it engages too with critical theory. Thus, it provides a set of methodologies for exploring the ways in which power plays a fundamental role in shaping the social world. Critical theory explores the social world and critiques the ‘normalised notions of democracy, freedom, opportunity structures and social justice’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018 p. 102). Critical theory is ontologically situated on the assumption that the social world is ‘based upon a struggle for power’. Critical theorists tend to emphasise the need to empower those in subjugated positions. (Denzin and Lincoln 2018, p114). This approach diverges from constructivism which maintains the primacy of meaning making by valuing the role of all in shaping social phenomena (Creswell and Poth, 2018). Unlike critical theory, constructivism does not actively seek to reveal structural inequality, although it may tacitly form revelatory findings by allowing research participants to give their views through mutual interactions between the researcher and their participants. However, as Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba (2018) point out, there are no universally applicable rules between paradigms. As such this research results from a hybridity of epistemological positions from which I took elements of both. This hybridity is characteristic of Bourdieusian methodologies, as his work reflects elements of both critical theory as well as constructivism.

Williams (2012 p.56) uses Phillip Dick’s claim that ‘reality is something that doesn’t go away when you stop believing in it’ as a means to illustrate the ethereality of power. The slippery nature of power made it a difficult research subject. This research asserts that although power is constructed and constituted by people and interpreted in different ways, it is a ‘real’ phenomenon. Therefore, by taking both critical and constructivist paradigms to produce an overarching ‘meta-theory’ (see Fiaz, 2012) the epistemology of the inquiry may be viewed as having been guided by the ‘real’ phenomenon of power relations, whilst at the same time being intersubjective, process orientated, and dependent upon the time and setting of the inquiry. (Denzin and Lincoln p. 116). Whilst this research was positioned firmly within the critical theory paradigm that the social world is constructed through struggles for power, the aim of this inquiry was not to position itself as a direct challenge to social structures, but rather as an exploration of the frames of reference within which cultural organisations operate. Thus, it sits in a blurred area between the constructivist and critical theorist positions. The thesis drew upon the epistemological position posited by Bourdieu, in which human activities within modern societies lead, ‘to the creation

of social spaces with a specific legitimacy and functioning’, otherwise known as ‘fields’ (Hilgers and Mangez, 2015).

3.3 Case Study Research

In Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), Loïc Wacquant urges researchers to adopt ‘methodological polytheism’, meaning an array of methods should be used to inform sociological ‘problems’ (p.30). However, Wacquant also stresses that research problems and methods cannot be disassociated; the methods chosen to research a problem should be appropriate. Whilst the work of Bourdieu presents a grand theory of the social world, Bourdieu also emphasises the importance of method throughout his work (Swartz, 1997). Bourdieu entreats researchers to reject the privileging of substance over relationships. Calling for a relational approach to social research, Bourdieu’s oeuvre seeks to emphasise that the attributes of individuals or groups are not independent of the contexts in which they are set. Consequently, Bourdieu argues for research that searches for, ‘the real not with substances but with relationships’ (Bourdieu, 1984 in Swartz 1997 p. 61). Drawing from the theoretical positions underpinning understandings of the role of power in the social world (Bourdieu 1991; Bourdieu and Johnson 1993) and how it affects organisational action (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991) it was clear that to understand power dynamics within an organisational field, relationships needed to be attended to. As a result, my research methods attended to the relations between field members as a means of illuminating power structures and organisational agency within the Oldham Arts and Cultural field. My cross-disciplinary data collection methods, in particular the use of a triptych interview (which included participant produced network mapping, inquiry into the material, a semi-structured interview), and web-based governance research, were developed to uncover the nature of relationships between organisations. The rationale for each data collection method will be attended to later in the chapter.

My research strategy adopted a case study approach. As previously noted, Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) call for increased attention to relational, organisational research. Whilst recognising that case studies are situational, timebound snapshots that may not be replicable, they argue that individual case study research projects may be used cumulatively in order to inform wider organisational theory. As described in the introductory chapter, Oldham bears similarities to other towns on the outskirts of metropolitan areas, therefore the findings of this inquiry may be applicable to locations elsewhere. As such there may be generalisable conclusions drawn from this case study

category (Denscombe, 2017). In particular, it may bear general similarities to other post-industrial town settings.

The selection of a case study research design enabled me to explore organisational relationships within their own contexts. The study of hierarchical relationships and the contribution of symbolic capitals towards them could not be abstracted such as to enable one data collection method to investigate it. The pervasive nature of power and the way in which it insinuates itself required a mixture of epistemologies in order to reveal it. As discussed within the literature review, power may be revealed through language, symbols, material artefacts and institutional relations. A case-study approach enabled me to design a mixture of data collection methods which provided insights into each of these phenomena. Whilst broadly speaking interviews attended to language, network data attended to relations and material objects attended to the transmission of symbolic meanings, there were overlaps, and each method revealed insights into another. For example, language revealed relations as well as the symbolic meanings attributed to material objects.

A case study offered the opportunity to gather evidence from a number of organisations in a series of different ways and systematically collate and analyse it (Yin, 2014). The rationale for a case study approach rested upon the assumption that the use of case study would provide a comprehensive set of operational procedures that help to satisfy concerns surrounding validity and rigour, particularly in the absence of statistical data. For my inquiry this meant, in practice, conducting interviews with organisational representatives in which participants responded to a set of semi-structured interview questions. During the interview, participants were invited to produce a visualisation of their network and lead me on a tour of their venue (where applicable). Outside of the interview context, I collected data from public sources to inform the nature of governance. The rationale and a detailed description of each of these methods are attended to more closely in following sections. Having collected this data, I was able to analyse each data set in the same way, using the analytic framework which is described later in this chapter. By consistently deploying these data collection methods, I produced valid replication across organisations even in the absence of quantitative data.

Questions of case-study-validity still arise if the sets of methods utilised within the study are deemed to be unsound (cf. Gorard, 2020). As such, the definition of the case, the design of the data collection and the treatment of it was carefully planned and systematic, (Yin 2014). Denscombe (2017) states that case studies form exploratory

functions which help develop theory and deepen understanding. However, as Yin (2014) points out, case studies rely on existing theory in order to provide a framework by which data may be analysed. To inform the theoretical framework existing theory was established through the literature review. My case study adopted theoretical perspectives from the work of Pierre Bourdieu and organisational theory, in particular Thornton et al.'s (2012) Institutional Logics.

This inquiry searched for patterns of meaning that actors bring to the field in order to better understand how organisations within the field relate to each other. Similarly, as this study is epistemologically positioned straddling critical theory and constructivist paradigms, a case study provided the opportunity to explore the contributions of history, behaviour, and relationships. However, this case study presents only a 'snapshot' of the Oldham arts and cultural setting, which is specific to a particular time frame. This makes it impossible to reproduce and means that the results cannot be separated out or eliminated from the samples. In 'Researching Power' Williams (2012) emphasises power's fluidity and stresses that power changes hands – it shifts and declines. Likewise, Capano and Howlett (2020) express the temporal element of policy effects in institutions. Nevertheless, this case study enabled organisations and their relationships to be observed systematically. Using a case study provided a time-bound exploration of the state of the field in which current dynamics may be explored.

Case studies rely on multiple sources of evidence (Yin 2014, p.17) providing opportunities for the epistemological positions described earlier to be simultaneously addressed through the data collection methods and analytical framework, which are discussed later in this chapter. The evidence collected contributes to a detailed account of field dynamics (Denscombe 2017). This inquiry selected the use of a single case study as the core method of data collection. A single case was selected in order to explore how institutional logics and non-economic resources are used and understood within the case. In selecting a single case – the field of Oldham, I hoped to build upon current theories of organisational action by introducing new forms of data collection to further the understanding of organisational action within the arts and cultural sector. The literature review informed the construction of a robust analytical framework which guided coding and the treatment of network data. The analysis drew upon the existing theories discussed within the literature review to identify patterns inductively. This single case study has one 'context' (the Oldham arts field) and within that context, a number of units of study (for the purposes of this research, the individual

organisations) were embedded within it. Across these embedded units a logic of replication was applied (cf. Yin 2014). ‘The logic of replication’ (ibid.) in this study refers to the replication of data collection methods across each of the units in the study. Similarly, the data from each embedded unit was subjected to the same process of analysis. Using the same systems of data collection and data analysis across each of the units of study enabled me to establish patterns and match themes and logics across them (Yin 2014).

A detailed overview of Oldham, including the salient historical and demographic insights into the borough, has been presented within the introductory chapter of this thesis. The Borough of Oldham is home to a broad demographic which includes rural and urban populations and encompasses both some of the poorest as well as some of the wealthiest communities within the UK. As detailed within the introductory chapter, Oldham Borough Council have adopted the arts and culture as means of promoting social inclusion, health and well-being and supporting the town’s economic growth. The town and its immediate surroundings are home to a variety of both publicly funded professional and voluntary-amateur cultural organisations. The borough’s demographics, its role as a constituent member of the Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA) and the nature of the borough’s geographical proximity to a well-established creative city makes it a compelling case study for this research.

3.4 Constructing the Field

This investigation adopted the works of Bourdieu (1984, 1989, 1991, 1992; Bourdieu and Johnson 1993) for informing the theoretical and methodological basis for this inquiry. As noted in the literature review, one of the justifications for choosing the work of Bourdieu is his provision of a set of methodological tools - in particular, through his understanding of the field. Following a discussion of the theoretical insights into field construction, I will outline how this was implemented in practice.

This inquiry was bound by a ‘field’. The term was adopted in a distinctly sociological sense for the purpose of this thesis. Fields relate not to a specific geographic boundary, nor a finite time boundary; ‘fields’ are bound by human activity and relations. Bourdieu’s (1992) ‘fields’ are born of Gestalt theory (Hilgers and Mangez 2015 p.43). Originally a term from psychology, Gestalts refer to ‘fields of perception’. Gestalt theorists (e.g. Köhler 1947 in Hilgers and Mangez 2015) maintain that any one percept, or stimulus, has meaning only in relation to another, thus no one stimulus is independent of any other and together they form a particular, mutually dependent

dynamic. The term was then adopted by sociologists to describe a social space. In this sense, fields describe the environment in which an actor operates. This dynamic underlined the need for this inquiry to straddle both constructivist and critical theoretical epistemologies, as it sought to understand both the ways in which: a) field understandings are created through shared meanings and b) understanding the ways in which these meanings are brought into play through institutional practices. Bourdieu's (1992) fields reflect this idea and are relatively autonomous domains which respond to rules that are specific to the field (ibid).

The purpose of fields within the study of the social world is to overcome some of the absolutes implied by the positivist tradition and to acknowledge the relational nature of the dynamics between the elements that constitute it (Hilgers and Mangez 2015). As discussed within the literature review, Bourdieu's (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993) autonomous fields are simultaneously subject to two principles: one of economic power and the other of cultural power. For Bourdieu (ibid), a given field is structured by the negotiations (or struggles) between these two forms of capital and the field imposes its own norms and sanctions within it (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993 p. 40). As Swartz (2011) states, the field 'is a classification struggle, over the right to monopolize the legitimate definition of what is to be the most legitimate form of capital for a particular field' (p.47). A field is determined by the distribution of capitals, and the struggles for them within it.

As Levi Martin (2003) notes, the theory of 'fields' is subject to various interpretations. For organisational theorists such as Di Maggio and Powell, (1991 p. 65) a field, 'cannot be determined a priori' but is institutionally defined by the organisations within it. Di Maggio (1983, in Powell and DiMaggio, 1991 p. 65) claims that this field definition comes about via four processes: i) the extent of interaction among organisations within the field, ii) through structures of domination and patterns of coalition iii) an increase in the information load with which organisations in a field must contend, and iv) the development of a mutual awareness among participants in a set of organisations that they are involved in a common enterprise (Di Maggio 1983 in Di Maggio and Powell 1991 p. 65). These four processes are salient premises on which this study rests. Drawing from theorists including Crossley (2011) and Emmel and Clark (2009), attending to organisational networks can inform the four processes listed above. Consequently, networks were used in this study to provide key insights into the make-up of the field. The construction of the Oldham arts and cultural field was formulated by asking organisations to provide information via the production of a

network map and posing questions about the organisations they interact with. These interview methods are presented in more detail shortly. This process enabled me to gather information about organisational relationships which were then probed through interview questions. In turn these contributed to understanding structures of domination and coalition. One of the features of 'fields' is that they are not fixed, but fluid. Similarly, the views and values articulated within it are subject to change.

In the context of this thesis, the Oldham arts and cultural field was understood as being a relatively autonomous social space (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993) in which the actors within it share specific sets of knowledge and are able to recognise specific logics and beliefs. The autonomous space did not recognise geographically constructed boundaries. Relationships between organisations in the Oldham arts and cultural sector spread beyond the borough of Oldham. Whilst the focus of the field was on the borough of Oldham, the field boundary was not defined 'a priori' according to a geography confining it within the borough. It recognised the influence of organisations beyond. This distinction was an important one. This project considered the spheres of influence, sources of legitimation and the organisations engaged in related struggles for both economic and cultural resources which extended beyond the town. The role of organisations in neighbouring boroughs and those within the city centre proved to play key roles within the construction of the field. The field was determined by mutual recognition of what, and who is at stake within the Oldham context. As stated in the literature review, Crossley (2011) posits that fields are constituted by network relations. Crossley's (ibid.) supposition provides an important theoretical basis for how the field is defined for the context of this inquiry. Similarly, organisational theorists (e. g. Emirbayer 2008) acknowledge that fields overlap, with broader fields exerting influence over smaller ones.

Whilst the town of Oldham provided the starting point for shaping the field, the field itself was defined 'of and by itself'. The organisations taking part understand each other as relationally bound and those included in the sample were identified by Oldham based organisations as members of the field.

In practice, the selection of study units (organisations) to be included in the study was drawn initially from investigation using desk research including, specifically, internet searches (Google) enhanced by some prior knowledge of the Oldham arts and cultural sector. Project sampling began by using some a priori knowledge and was extended with a simple web search using the search criteria 'Oldham Arts and Culture'. By conducting an internet search for 'Oldham Arts and Culture' my own

knowledge of organisations operating within the field was broadened beyond the narrow formal offerings I had previously been aware of. This provided new entry points to the field of enquiry. The sampling process began by listing Oldham based organisations known to me, plus those Oldham based organisations appearing in the initial web-based search. Then, drawing on the assertions of Bottero (2009) and the work of Crossley (2011) that network relations reveal the constituent elements of the field, organisations were further identified through the participant-produced network diagrams obtained within the interviews.

Organisations cited by participants within the interview and mapping stages of the investigation were then contacted for interview. Contact was made with individuals with the titles of director or manager from each organisation and they were subsequently invited to take part in the inquiry. Following initial interviews, the process was purposely self-selecting, with new managers or directors being contacted as their organisations were identified by the networks of field members. Self-selection may be considered disadvantageous when considering the validity of the inquiry (King and Horrocks, 2010), on the basis that participants often name others who share their view. However, in this instance, the sample may be justified as the organisations that identify others in the study do represent a distinct, institutionally-bound field. As previously stated, networks are conduits through which the field is constructed. Whilst the organisations in the study will not be exhaustive in this representation of field relations – this sample represents a group of organisations that understand, accept and operate within a set of particular logics. The biasing effect of what in essence may be deemed ‘snowball’ sampling was also mitigated in the initial case selection by trying to access a variety of organisations with contrasting funding models, capacities and size. I made attempts to mitigate the biasing effect of a self-selecting snowball sampling by accessing ‘What’s On’ pages of Oldham newspapers and contacting local radio. I also attempted to reach into the voluntary-amateur arts sector – however, these groups were hard to access and I had only limited success. Voluntary-amateur organisations and informal groups, by nature, have a less formalised infrastructure. Without marketing, websites, or frequent press releases, their presence was hard to discern. In an attempt to access these groups, I tried to make contact via Facebook groups or word of mouth. This acknowledged that many informal groups including craft circles, dance troupes, or organisations such as small choral groups, were reached. Although attempts were made to identify these groups, searches yielded no ways of contacting them. The amateur organisations that took part in this study tend to operate with semi-formal

organisational structures, which enabled me to find a way to get in touch with them. Organisations with up-to-date websites, or those whose organisational structure and public communications strategies provided contact data within the public realm, were easier to access. Whilst informal arts and cultural groups undoubtedly operate in Oldham, they exist with such small public footprints that they were inaccessible to me. Similarly, they were not identified by the established organisations as partners. This had implications for this study which are further discussed within the findings.

Whilst some organisations were named frequently by participating organisations either on their participant produced network map or within the participant interview process, some organisations were unwilling to take part in the project. The denial of access to some organisations may reflect a wider power dynamic. As Williams (2012) observes, powerful organisations set up systems of inquiry expressly designed to gate keep. One possible implication of their refusal to take part may be that organisations view participation in the study as providing no benefit to their organisation (Oliver, 1991). Similarly, refusal to participate may reflect concerns that the inquiry may be unsympathetic (Williams 2012). Concerns that an inquiry into potential field dynamics might call into question organisational legitimacy, resulting in an unwillingness to take part. This project is only able to explore the values of those organisations willing to be accessed. Therefore, the nature of reciprocity of relationships could not always be tested. Nevertheless, the number of organisations presented here provided a large number of replications from which some certainty may be drawn despite limited access.

The field of this inquiry was bound by the acknowledged relationships between those within it. Thus, the field was self-defining based upon those organisations cited by other organisations in the field. The field was identified by its participants who acknowledged each other. The field participants recognise a shared set of values, and a sense of connection. Within the sampling logic there was a crossover between a sampling design, and replication logic as the study sought to identify a significant number of replications identified by participants themselves, although that selection still rested upon my personal judgement and discretion regarding the cases explored (Yin 2014). This discretionary judgement explains why there are instances of organisations identified by an organisation within the context of their network map, but I chose not to approach them for an interview (for example, the Edinburgh Festival). This was usually based on the assumption that it would result in the focus moving too far out of Oldham and into much wider regional and national fields in

which Oldham is embedded. Similarly, organisations with no, or few shared connections may represent organisations I identified through the initial search, though are not recognised more broadly within the field.

3.5 Inquiry Design Overview and Data Collection Methods

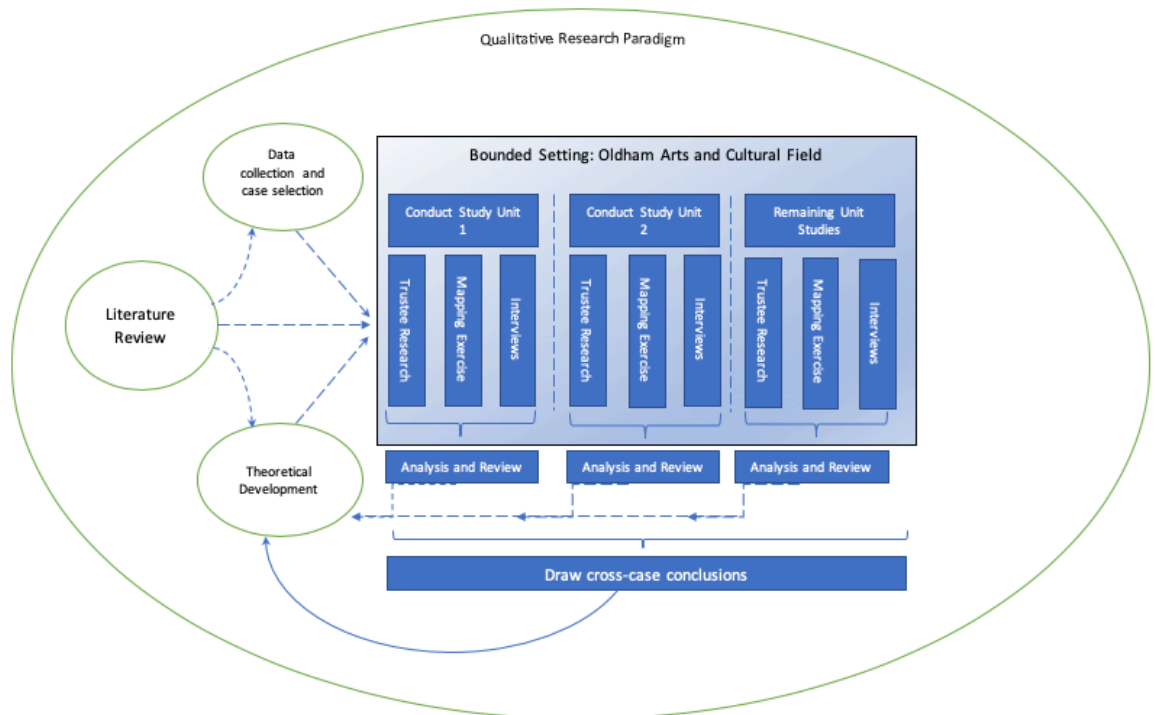


Figure 3.1 Research Design (adapted from Yin, 2014 p.60)

The illustration above (fig. 3.1) outlines the overall case study design. Based upon the findings of the literature review, I gathered data via three main methods: interviews, network mapping and governance research. Each of these sets of data are used collectively in order to produce a relational understanding of the field (Reay and Jones 2016). Each organisation represents a 'unit of study' within the case study. For each unit the data collection is replicated. Each of the units of study are interconnected via the field. By adopting the concept of field for this project, those participating in the inquiry constitute a bounded social setting, thus allowing the enquiry to understand the institutional connectedness of the participants. Through analysing each of the data sets, common themes that bind the field were revealed. The interconnectedness of the data helps to ensure the validity of the enquiry through the relationships between them and the field within which they operate. Each of the organisations taking part share

some common understandings of their setting which is revealed in the texts they produce.

The data collection methods were designed in response to Raey and Jones (2016) work which urges researchers exploring institutional logics to develop new approaches to capturing these logics. They state that logics 'are revealed through language, practices and are manifested in symbols and materials' (Raey and Jones 2016 p. 442). As such, this inquiry endeavoured to engage with these elements when creating the research design. In using case study, it enabled the inquiry to deploy a unique combination of methods which engage with both constructivist and critical ontological and epistemological positions. This approach provided an opportunity to layer important contextual data which provided an account of the ways in which cultural and material resources combine to shape opportunities for action within the field. The following sections will provide a full description and the rationale for each of these three methods.

3.5.1 Triptych Interviews

The primary method of data collection was through interviews with organisational decision makers. The official titles of those decision makers varied from director, manager, and committee chair to untitled organisers of voluntary-amateur organisations. As described within the literature review, whilst an individual is not an organisation, for this inquiry individuals were viewed as nested within their organisational contexts and in accordance with Clark, (1998, p.248) were understood as 'unitary actors'. The organisational versus individual problem was further resolved when the opportunity to interview more than one representative of the organisation, either collectively or on two separate occasions, arose. Furthermore, interview questions were designed to engage individuals in conversation about the work and mission of their organisation.

One of the original contributions of this thesis was the multi-dimensional aspect of the interviews that took place. The use of interviews within the inquiry was chosen in order to develop knowledge in three distinct ways, each within the context of one interview appointment (usually lasting around ninety minutes). As a result of each interview comprising three different components, I have named it a Triptych Interview. The term simply references the three-fold nature of the interview and acknowledges the word's arts and cultural connotation relating to three elements combined to create a whole picture. The first of the three interview components was

used to gather knowledge through conversation guided by a semi-structured interview guide. The second was to gather data from a participant-produced network map, which contributed to both data collection and the sampling logic, and the last was to gather data about the symbolic capitals that are revealed through material artifacts. In what follows I will provide a detailed account of each of these elements in turn.

In 'Researching Culture' Alasuutari (1995) emphasises the inseparability of institutions, the material and the social. 'Speech and language convey meaning, produce states of affairs and construct subjects and identities all at once' (Alasuutari 1995, p. 115). As referenced within the literature review, language is a key component in the production and reproduction of social conditions (Saussure 1959; Barthes 2009; Suddaby and Greenwood 2006; Berger and Luckmann 1989). Methodologically, interviews may be understood as a way in which participants are encouraged to articulate their knowledge of the world as they understand it. In this context the inquiry enabled participants to describe their experience of the field in their own words. The nature of language is such that it reveals knowledge. Yet, as Fairclough (2015) makes clear, 'language is a social practice' (Fairclough 2015 p. 55). Knowledge and understanding are produced through talk. Or as King and Horrocks (2010 p. 215) further elucidate, 'The stories we tell, the ways we narrate our lives, are infused with the power and knowledge made available by existing discourses.' What King and Horrocks (2010) as with Fairclough (2015) illustrate, is that knowledge produced verbally is socially constructed. The very nature of language is such that it has the ability to reveal meaning through the ways in which we use language to represent experience. Since language contributes to our construction of reality, interviews may reveal the ways in which people are 'positioned in relation to each other, in a variety of institutional settings' (Fairclough 2015 p. 89). This view of the nature of language has also been accepted within the field of institutional logics whereby scholars are able to prove 'insights into actors' explanations for particular behaviour, thus helping to show values and beliefs that may guide practices' (Reay and Jones 2016 p. 451).

The use of interviews as a tool for exploring the relationships between organisations was also intended as a move away from what Phillips and Malhotra (in Greenwood et. al 2008 p. 703) have described as a 'taxonomic' approach which has historically prevailed within institutional theory. As referenced within the literature review, until relatively recently, institutional theory had often focussed on discrete phenomena, in particular, trying to find specific causes of organisational action which defied theories of 'rational action' or searched for one causal effect in the construction

of institutions (Thornton et al 2012). This taxonomy, which emphasises the classification of things and how they are, fails to explain how they came to be. Phillips and Malhotra (2008) recommend the use of interviews to gain insights into the mechanisms by which institutions are developed and stress the need for them to be examined through the use of discourse. Interviews provide the opportunity to conceptualise the ‘process through which institutions are socially constructed’ (ibid). By conducting interviews, a discursive unit, or ‘text’ is produced.

Texts are units of, in this instance speech, which when taken in conjunction with other texts revealed patterns of shared ideas and beliefs. By analysing each text, seeking patterns of shared institutional vocabularies, common institutional understandings were revealed. As Phillips and Malhotra (2008) point out, a text can only be meaningful in relation to other texts; one text alone does not have the capacity to reveal institutional structure. However, by analysing texts and observing the ways in which texts drew upon similar themes and from each other, shared, institutional meanings were revealed. Further, interviews and the production of texts revealed how organisations respond to institutional structures. The process of interviews produced a discursive unit with the potential to reveal elements of the broader relationships between discourse, institutions and action.

Figure 3.2 (taken from Phillips and Malhotra in Greenwood et al. 2008 p.714) illustrates how discourse offers a backdrop for action. It shows how bodies of language produce shared ways of talking which in turn construct institutional understandings. These understandings go on to become institutionalised, a situation which may be enabling, as illustrated in the upward arrows, or disabling, as represented by the downward arrows. In practice what this means is that language within texts reveals the relationship between organisational action and structure. Shared understandings of practices and the use of common language reveal the ways in which institutions are constructed. For some organisations, institutionally specific texts are enabling, whereas for other organisations these represent institutional constraints. Attending to discourse reveals how actors use these texts to frame their action, or inability to act. Phillips and Malhotra posit that as particular texts are reproduced and shared, they provide the background for action (fig. 3.2). Phillip and Malhotra’s discourse perspective formed the rationale for seeking shared themes across each of the individual interviews in order to identify common understandings of the role of relationships, material practices, and symbolic capitals are made meaningful within the institutional field.

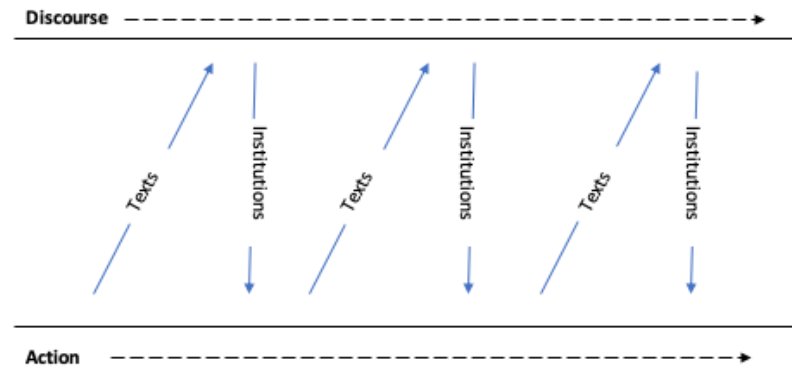


Figure 3.2 The Relation between Action and Discourse (adapted from Phillips et al. 2008 p.714)

The inquiry considered the most appropriate format for the interview to be a semi-structured one. Through the use of a semi-structured interview format, a natural sense of conversation was produced. Through natural conversation, the impact of the interviewer was reduced in contrast to structured interviews which standardise the responses (Denscombe 2017). The semi structured format enabled participants to develop ideas and to talk about issues from their own perspective. An interview guideline, however, was produced in order replicate and standardise the inquiry and to elicit responses which would reveal some comparable insights into the ways in which cultural leaders interpret the mechanisms of the institutional field (Appendix 1).

The interviews were designed to inform the research questions and to reveal how relationships, legitimacy and power contribute to the production and reproduction of institutional logics. Williams (2012) suggests, ‘Whose knowledge counts the most and why?’ is the key epistemological question in the context of researching power (Williams 2012, p.57). Williams (ibid.) also draws attention to a number of key sites where power has historically been observed. Williams suggests researching power may be undertaken by paying attention to evidence of, elites, influence, coercion, bureaucratic systems, technical systems, and the ways in which legitimacy is constructed. With this in mind, my interview included asking participants about their networks and asking them to explain the value of organisational connections. In understanding the role of these elements in the exercise of power, the semi-structured interviews were designed to reveal these elements through conversation. The semi-structured interview guide was designed to try and elicit discussion that would reveal organisational understandings of their relationships to other organisations within the field. In William’s (2012) view, semi-structured

interviews offer the opportunity to build trust and rapport as well as build on participants' responses. The questions included in the interview probed organisational understandings of success, the resources required for organisational success and organisational traits. Drawing further from William's (*ibid.*) work, I asked organisations about those other organisations that they admired and their reasons for doing so. This was a way of trying to establish which practices and principles are valorised. I also posed questions about the things they were most proud of or thought they did well. By asking organisations about what they believed would enable their work and their views on organisations they wished to emulate, I established understandings of which qualities or assets – material or symbolic - were considered most valuable. In addition, I probed participants about organisations they felt had influence or voice. These questions were posed in order to engage participants in talking about how they understand their organisation in relation to others within the field ecology.

The interview was designed to encourage participants to talk about their own organisation in the context of their environment. The purpose of each of these questions was to ask participants to engage with how they understand their operational environment and to gain insights into the language of the institution. In conducting these interviews, I was able to gather insights into the language of the institution. Additionally, it enabled me to look for patterns across the ways in which participants described their organisation, operations, and frames of reference for operating within the institutional field. The questions were designed to understand the 'process' of institutionalisation and the roles of the actors within it (cf. Phillips and Malhotra, in Greenwood et al. 2013 p.717). The aim of the interview was to explore the ways in which organisations make meaning of their practices and their environment. By asking them about their views on their own organisational strengths, their capacity for action, constraints, and the strengths of other organisations within the field, as well as establishing what was considered to be desirable, participants engaged with describing their institutional environment relationally. Specifically, the questions were designed to draw research participants into a conversation that revealed organisational understandings of legitimation and hierarchies within the institutional setting. More broadly, these questions were designed to open-up a conversation about their perspectives on their organisations position within its environment.

To understand relationships within the organisational field, as well as to explore the constituent features of the field and its boundaries, during the interview

participants were asked to create a map of their networks. In contrast to standard network analysis, this inquiry uses network visualisation as a method of data collection (Emmel & Clark, 2009). Provided with a sheet of A2 paper and a selection of coloured pens at the beginning of the interview, participants were free to design their network map as they wished. The mapping exercise took place simultaneously with the interviews and gave research participants the opportunity to steer the conversation. This form of ‘respondent generated imagery’ (Margolis and Pauwels, 2011) draws upon the work of Novak, (1998); Mc Lindon, (2013); Kearney and Hyle (2004) and Wheeldon 2010). Whilst these studies have endeavoured to consolidate current scholarly methodological arguments for the advantages of using participant drawings, there remains a paucity of literature dedicated to the generation of mind maps within organisational theory and social study. Whilst participant generated photography has attracted more attention (Banks 2001; Pauwels 2015) the use of hand-drawn visualisation as a complementary method to accompany semi-structured interviews seems to have been used only sporadically.

This inquiry drew upon community mapping and personal network visualisation methods (Amsden and Van Wynsberghe 2005; McCarty 2007; McLinden 2013) to construct a participatory method of data collection in which research participants were requested to depict their organisational networks visually. Visualisation techniques are participatory, flexible techniques which have the capacity to represent relationships between ‘physical elements, cultural values and abstract ideas’ (Blanchet-Cohen, Ragan and Amsden, 2003 in Amsden and VanWynsberghe 2005 p. 361.). The creation of participant-produced concept maps (Novak 1995) enabled me to gather nuanced relational data about organisational networks.

McCarty (2007) noted that participatory mapping techniques have not been widely adopted in the social sciences despite evidence of their usefulness. McCarty, (ibid) describes the successful use of network visualisation techniques as qualitative methodologies within the fields of anthropology and therapy as ways to understand social environments (McCarty 2007. P. 145). In spite of their successful use within other academic disciplines, participant generated maps have not been widely adopted as data collection methods within the social sciences or cultural policy. A situation this inquiry contributes to addressing. The usefulness of mapping techniques is echoed in the work of Kearney and Hyde (2004) and is further posited by Wheeldon (2010). McCarty (2007) reasons that participant produced mapping has not been adopted widely, in part, as a result of a lack suitable of software solutions that visualise the

collected data. This view is one that this project found to be true, with the visualisation of the data proving one of the most challenging features of this project.

Decuyper (2020) argues that mapping as a data collection method has not achieved popularity as a result of the quantitative emphasis that has been placed upon network analysis as a means of trying to understand social structures. Decuyper (ibid.) argues that the focus on exploring network data quantitatively has limited the usefulness of participant drawn maps. Decuyper's (2020) observations chime with Bourdieu's criticism of network analysis (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) in which network analysis has tended to focus on trying to quantitatively capture isolated linkages in order to understand capital flows. This inquiry therefore used network mapping as a qualitative method (Decuyper 2019). It used the visual maps to reveal sets of connections to illustrate the way the field is constituted and help to describe how those relationships reflect some of the practices within it. My inquiry considered the network maps both alone, and in conjunction with contextual data gathered from interviews.

According to Emmel and Clarke (2009) the use of participant generated networks within the context of interviews enables participants to elaborate thus shifting emphasis from identifying specific network attributes towards providing richer detail about network relationships. By embedding the use of social network analysis within a wider set of data collection and analysis, this inquiry aimed to understand organisational relationships not in terms of specific causal network properties, but as a way of understanding how the field is constructed. Emmel (2008) demonstrates the usefulness of participatory mapping as a way to enhance spoken interviews by allowing participants to focus on particular features of their map. Furthermore, one of the benefits of such a technique is that it gives 'participants the opportunity to represent their experiences' (Wheeldon, 2010 p. 88). The technique provided the opportunity for participants to talk about their network whilst having complete ownership of it. Visualisation provides a 'cue' for memories which, argues McCarty, then tends to trigger further recall. Kearney and Hyle (2004) quote Weber and Mitchell (1995) in their article,

Drawings offer a different kind of glimpse into human sense-making than written or spoken texts do, because they can express that which is not easily put into words: the ineffable, the elusive, the not-yet-thought-through, the subconscious

(Weber and Mitchell 1995 p.34, in Kearney and Hyle 2004, p.362)

Kearney and Hyle (ibid.) go on to justify the use of participant generated images by stating they afford,

participants every opportunity to frame their own experiences, unencumbered by our biases about people and organizational change.

Visualising their networks allowed research participants to shape the structure of the interview by talking about the elements they identified as important as they visually represented their relationships to other organisations.

Once the network diagrams had been produced, their purpose was to create an overall picture of the field. By carefully analysing the data, (the method for which is described in the analytical framework) the maps were used to establish both synergies and mismatches between organisations and their dependencies. The mapping exercise therefore complemented the interview by enriching the data gathered. As Emmel and Clark's (2009) work stresses, this method of data collection did not seek to understand researcher ascribed values to the relationships, but to develop an image illustrating broad network data.

As a third component of the interviews, the inquiry engaged in a 'Go Along' (Kusenbach 2003). Based upon assertions that objects 'have meanings based on culture, function and power' (O'Toole and Were 2008 p. 619), go-alongs entailed a participant-led tour through the organisation's space whilst in conversation. The rationale behind a 'go-along' was for participants to engage with the organisational environment enabling me to witness how participants understand and engage with physical elements of their work. A 'go-along', explains Kusenbach (2003) reveals more than an observational approach as the participant is more likely to comment on what is going-on when they are in the environments in which they take place. By moving through spaces which are familiar to participants, the research was designed to access participants' environmental perceptions and capture guiding logics by looking for patterns of importance linked to objects. The work of Dickinson and Aiello (2016) highlights the importance of moving through spaces in order for material meaning within the environment to be revealed. They assert the environment is 'a medium of communication in its own right' (p. 1295), and further that in order to appreciate the 'power' and role of material objects, we need to move through them. By moving through spaces, bodies and the environment are interwoven with the material. In doing so, action combines with material conditions and evokes a series of sensory responses and performs social judgments (*ibid.*). This movement invokes memory and allows the environment to 'be known'.

The work of O'Toole and Were (2008) highlight the importance of material objects in the construction of organisational power and status. By paying attention to

references made to symbolic material objects in the duration of the interview, the process helped to illuminate how the present has been shaped by the historic and how values and understandings associated with the material are embedded within the institutional field. It was not always possible to conduct a go-along as many of the organisations (particularly voluntary-amateur ones) that took part operate without a venue, or from a small office space. However, those venue-based organisations taking part in the study walked with me through their environments which allowed them to speak through the building and reference important material aspects within it. Those occupying small spaces were invited to talk about the spaces they occupied. Some organisations, however, had no official workspace and interviews took place in other unrelated settings. However, seven organisations were able to take part in go-alongs from which insights into field understandings could be gleaned.

3.5.2 Organisational Governance – Researching Trustees via Online Document Analysis

In Francie Ostrower's (2002) monograph 'Power Wealth and Status on Trustee Boards' she writes that 'power, wealth and status come together as central elements' (p.xi) in American cultural organisations. As discussed in the literature review, the ways in which legitimacy is bestowed on organisations and individuals through the governance of arts organisations is twofold. Ostrower (2002) explores the dichotomous, symbiotic relationship between the status gained by individuals from being a trustee of an arts organisation and the importance of high-status individuals to the organisations themselves. Additionally, the role of elites in power and its legitimation, are pinpointed by Williams (2012). Williams describes how elites form an integral part of power structures in the social world and are an important focal point for examining power and legitimacy. As such, this thesis was concerned with looking at the make-up of governing bodies across the organisations within the case study. In understanding who makes up an organisation's decision-making body, the research sought to shed light on the ways in which governance impacts overall power and legitimation within the field. In order to examine the composition of governing bodies, the inquiry used documentary data. As Denscombe (2017) points out, documents can play a role in revealing more than simply straight forward data and may be interpreted as 'meanings or structures' (Denscombe 2017 p. 245). Specifically, online documents were gathered, and where possible information was taken from a combination of Companies House, or the Charity Commission. Using government publications,

helped to ensure the credibility of the data. This however caused a further methodological consideration, as the data published on government websites pertains to the financial year prior to the current year, creating at times a confusing mismatch, or outdated information. Where possible, the data was corroborated through an organisation's own website as an alternative source of information. In the instances in which organisations were not registered with either Companies House or the Charity Commission, those organisations were contacted directly to establish how those organisations were governed. In order to gain a fuller picture of governance, the inquiry looked at both trusteeships for the financial years 2017-2018 and 2018-2019, thus including the data for the financial periods during which field work took place. Therefore, the patterns of governance and the interview data reflect the same 'snapshot' of time. The benefit of using official data is that it accurately reflects the official status of those in positions of governance. However, the official data may not fully reflect the involvement of significant individuals in board activity. The role and influence of 'observers'¹ who may regularly attend board meetings could not be fully known within the scope of this inquiry. Although allowing observers to attend meetings is common practice across organisations, these individuals could not be discerned through official governance lists. Some organisations list board members including observers on their own websites, and this information was also gathered in to gain a fuller picture of individuals in positions of influence on the boards of each organisation.

In some instances, the interview participants themselves named individuals who are regular board observers. Whilst observation of governor's and trustee board members may have provided me with an alternative, useful data collection method, the complexities of gaining access coupled with the logistics of attending meetings for each organisation made this an unrealistic and inefficient method of gathering information.

The inquiry sought to get a fuller picture of the occupations and social status of trustees by further online research through the use of professional networking social media sites including LinkedIn, Xing or company websites. Whilst the Charity Commission requires the occupation of trustees to be listed, it doesn't give details of the companies for whom they work. The justification for the use of these websites

¹ Observers may be individuals who regularly attend meetings and have full access to the same information as the board members, but who have no voting rights in organisational proceedings. These observers may be in positions of influence or have access to knowledge useful to an organisation.

and no other social networking sites is grounded in the ethical considerations discussed in the ethical considerations section within this chapter. Professional social networking sites reveal not only a more detailed picture of trustees' professional status, but they also inform the nature of the companies they work for – as well as significant positions they may have held in the past. By drawing this data together, it was possible to gain an insight into connections within the trustee body, and across organisations. Using the internet and social networking sites made it possible to research people who would otherwise be unavailable for the inquiry to access (Flick, in Denzin and Lincoln, 2018 p. 457). The use of social media as a documentary source additionally provided insights into trustees' 'sense of self and their understandings of their roles' (ibid) and added a more nuanced picture of organisational governance within the field. This resonates with Williams's (2013) assertion that elite power stemming in part from reputation, has also begun to include digital reputation. Thus, by using networking sites in combination with authoritative documentary data, extra meaning was drawn from individuals' participation in the public domain via the internet.

Having described the methods of data collection and their theoretical underpinning, the following section describes the theory and practice for the data analysis.

3.6 Analytical Framework

This inquiry responds to Thornton et. al.'s (2012) call for analytical development within institutional logics research. This study supplements the growing interest amongst organisational theorists for adopting sociological paradigms as ontological and epistemological frameworks for informing organisational understandings of their institutional contexts (Emirbayer and Johnson 2008; Suddaby and Greenwood 2005; Powell and DiMaggio 1991; Alvesson and Karreman 2000). Reay and Jones (2016) offer three distinct approaches to capturing organisational responses to institutional logics. They posit 'Pattern deducing, Pattern Matching and Pattern Inducing' as different ways of revealing institutional understandings through organisational inquiry. As part of a mixed methods case study, this inquiry has adopted each of these approaches to analyse the empirical data gathered.

The first of the three approaches; the pattern deducing approach focuses on gathering raw data which is recognised as having value. In the context of this inquiry this included data gathered about network relationships through participant produced network diagrams and relationship data identified through verbal interview texts. That

data was then prepared for computer analysis. By ensuring the data could be read by computer analytical tools such as NVivo software, and Gephi software (Bastian, Heymann & Jacomy 2009) could be used to produce representations. By producing visualisations, the data could then be analysed. The collection and analysis of network data was based on this approach. It reveals a tension between positivist and interpretive paradigms as in this instance it uses qualitative data collection and converts it into standardised, countable occurrences (in this instance, network ties). This approach offered the opportunity to make standard observations and identify patterns within the Oldham context.

The second approach Reay and Jones identify is 'pattern matching' which uses existing theory and extant literature as guidance for identifying actions or behaviour which match to 'ideal types' identified within established literature. Pattern matching was used to help guide the coding for the interviews in order to identify themes convergent with those identified within institutional theory.

Finally, this inquiry adopts Reay and Jones' pattern inducing approach. This aims to identify patterns through an inductive approach, using texts and grouping them into categories to reveal patterns of behaviour. This lends itself to revealing 'localized practices' and serves to 'capture actors' explanations of values and beliefs' (Reay and Jones 2016, p. 443). By adopting each of these approaches to analysing the data collected across a mixed data collection method, this inquiry captured some of the ways 'in which organisations within the field understand their context.

Pattern deduction and pattern matching techniques utilised deductive analysis in which existing theory is used to identify and explain organisational behaviours by matching them to 'ideal types' (Reay and Jones 2016). This inquiry drew upon the findings of the literature review to inform the identification of instances of legitimacy and power construction throughout the analysis. Deductive 'pattern inducing' utilises sociological-linguistic philosophies such as Saussure's (1959) as described in the literature review, which gives precedence to vocabulary and language as means of revealing of the social world. In Bourdieu's 'Language and Symbolic Power' (1992) he claims that language has the 'power to produce existence by producing the collectively recognised, and thus realised, representation of existence'. Bourdieu's claim refers to the role of language in bringing taken for granted assumptions into existence. The analysis paid attention to language as a way of revealing meaning. By attending to the 'co-occurrence of words, practices, and actors' (Reay and Jones 2016 p. 444) prevailing logics were discerned.

Inductive analysis (pattern inducing) Reay and Jones (2016 p. 449) also seeks patterns of language and behaviour however, it uses texts beyond looking at the words themselves, as a means of identifying patterns of behaviours, and symbolic practices to reveal underlying meanings. In practical terms, this required the systematic coding of interview transcripts to identify examples of legitimising language and how they are used amongst the professionals within the field.

The data gathered with respect to this inquiry produced three sets of raw data for each individual case. The three types of data for analysis included verbal accounts, participant-generated visual data and documentary evidence. These raw data were analysed using a variety of methods which are outlined in the following section. In keeping with the research design, each case was analysed separately, and then using a mixture of both deductive and inductive analysis, patterns of convergent behaviours were found which capture some of the logics within the field. Taken as a whole, the separate areas of analysis provide complementary relational data that is drawn together in an attempt to reveal the logics within the field.

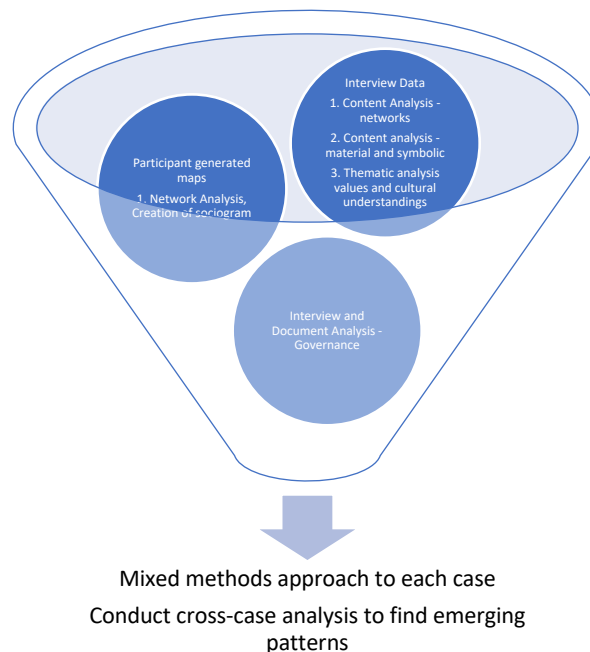


Figure 3.3 Mixed Methods Analysis Approach

3.6.1 Analysing Network Data

As discussed earlier in the section, network visualisations are tools for exploring relationships and assist in ‘describing’ a particular research object (Decuyper 2020). Decuyper (ibid.) views the use of visual network analysis tools as well suited to exploring the relational properties of a network. Similarly, drawing from the work of

Emirbayer (1997) the analysis of participant generated maps rested on the assumption that social ties are fundamental elements of relations (Emirbayer 1997). Gathering network data allows the researcher ‘to trace the complex entanglements by means of which specific practices are constituted’ (Attride-Stirling,2001; Knox et al. 2006 in Decuyper 2020). The purpose of the network maps was to build a picture of how organisations within the Oldham arts field relate to each other. Each individual map was then combined to generate further maps which visualise the relationships identified by each participating organisation (each organisation representing a case study unit).

To produce a visualisation of the combined maps that was readable, showing the mutual connections between organisations, network visualisation software was used. The attempt to visualise the networks with a view to producing a meaningful, readable data set posed one of the biggest methodological challenges of this project. Both the choice of software as well and the challenges of imputing data and creating meaningful visuals for a printed page raised unexpected choices and challenges. I chose to use the network visualisation software, Gephi (Bastian, Heymann & Jacomy, 2009) to create the final images, having attempted to use various other software packages including UNICET and SocNetV. One of the advantages of Gephi software is it requires no prior programming skills. Gephi provided the most flexible, readable, and exportable images (the latter being one of the greatest challenges), as well as providing opportunities to display different network properties in one visualisation. To create the computer-generated visualisations, the participant-produced maps had to be subjected to a manual process of quantification in order to produce the visualisation which could then be analysed. The data was quantified via the creation of an ‘adjacency matrix’ (Edwards and Crossley 2009). An adjacency matrix translates each network tie into a data spreadsheet that can be read digitally. Each organisation mentioned represents a ‘node’ and each connection is an ‘edge’. A true adjacency matrix is a perfect square with the number of rows and columns being the same, however, as participating organisations identify organisations that did not take part in the study, the resulting matrix is an ‘affiliation matrix’. Column headings on the spreadsheet represent each of the organisations participating whilst the rows represent the organisations they identify. Where a tie is identified by an organisation between itself and another, a ‘1’ is placed in the corresponding box. Where no tie exists, a ‘0’ is entered. The ‘1’ represents a tie – or an ‘edge’.

Initially the affinity matrix comprised only the data which was provided by participants via their hand created network maps. This affinity matrix detailed the connections which participants identified in their own visualisations. The first matrix excluded any references to organisations which were additionally cited by participants within the interview transcripts but not written down. Following the creation of the initial affiliation matrix, a second round of analysis was conducted which added to the participant-produced map data. On the basis that network connections themselves may be considered as forms of non-economic capital, this inquiry draws conclusions about both the desirability of a connection and ‘presence’ as significant points of consideration. Clearly, the desire to make a connection with a given organisation implies that a connection offers ‘value’ to the organisation that desires it. The content analysis of the interview transcripts then sought references to desired connections as well as searching for organisations that were named even though no relationship existed. These mentions were used to gain further insights into the nature of the field. Organisations who were identified out of the context of a relationship clearly maintain a presence in the field. Those organisations named by participants in their interviews, although excluded from their direct networks, were considered as significant within in the context of the broader institutional landscape. Thus, after conducting a content analysis of the interview data, the affiliation matrix was amended to include the data emerging within the verbal data. The content analysis searched for any organisations that were referred to during the course of the interview transcripts but had not been written on participant maps. As with the participant-produced map data, any mention of organisations beyond those identified in the mapping exercise was then added into quantitative data tables to be read by computer software to transform them into diagrams. To reflect the nuance between quantitative network analysis and this mixed methods approach to social network data, these diagrams will be referred to as sociograms (Emmel and Clarke 2009). A sociogram gathers information from various sets of data and combines them together in order to visualise connections that are identified (Emmel and Clarke 2009; Tubaro et al. 2016). The resulting affinity matrix may be found in Appendix 2.

One of the first methodological challenges lay in how to clean the data. Organisations mentioned ‘housing associations’, ‘schools’, ‘community groups’ and ‘local businesses’ sometimes generically, with others naming specific partners. I chose to group all schools together for clarity, the effect of which will be discussed in the results. Similarly, housing associations, churches, local businesses and community

groups were treated generically for the purposes of the network visualisation. Mentions of specific artists were also removed from the data as this inquiry is interested in relationships between organisations and does not engage with individual artists. Nevertheless, mentions of individual artists were considered in the analysis of interview data. Where participants made specific reference to influential artists (in particular as a conduit for legitimising their work) it is then discussed.

As network visualisation tools are usually used for displaying networks for quantitative analysis, computer software uses sets of algorithms to arrange the data on the page. This presented a further set of methodological questions. Network visualisation software does not ‘simply present the data’ it rearranges it according to the visualisation algorithm the researcher selects and prioritises the arrangement on the page accordingly. In the recent work of Zoss et al. (2018) the authors outline the need for increased ‘visual network literacy’ particularly in the light of network data being used increasingly for qualitative study. As noted earlier in the methodology section, the use of participant generated network maps is a relatively new tool for qualitative analysis in sociology and cultural policy and therefore there is currently no existing standard for their visualisation. One of the primary concerns of this research was to make the organisational connections easy to read and analyse on the page.

To produce readable visualisations, a number of layouts (algorithms) may be used. One of the key limitations of available (free, open access) software is that the models produced are ‘dynamic’ images. Dynamic images are useful for 3D models, and for live presentations but their usefulness on the printed page is limited. In addition, complex or dense networks become difficult to read, making qualitative analysis of the data difficult. In order to optimise layouts, Gephi software offers the choice between a number of ‘standard layouts’ (cf. Börner and Polley 2014). The layout I selected was Gephi’s ‘Force Atlas 2’ layout (Jacomy et al. 2014). A force directed layout algorithm calculates the position of nodes (in this case, organisations) on the page according to their ties to other organisations putting those organisations with connections in close proximity on the page (Börner and Polley 2014). Each node repels other nodes, but edges draw the nodes together. The Force Atlas 2 algorithm however dissuades nodes with only a few connections from being repelled too far from those with more connections. In selecting Force Atlas 2, clarity on the page was provided and helped prevent the images running over the page edge. In addition to displaying the network and the organisations within it, Gephi software enables the data to be assigned a ‘direction of flow’ (depicting whether the relationship is mutual, or a

unidirectional one), and produced a sociogram which visualised inter-organisational network connections. According to Lin (2001, in Borgatti, Everett and Johnson 2018) the direction of network connections may be understood as representing the flow of resources, including power, on which organisations are able to draw. Fundamentally, the visualisation methods chosen allow for the qualitative analysis of organisational connections, a representation of the field boundaries, and also a means of exploring the ‘flow’ of networks.

Once a readable visualisation had been created, it was possible to use standard algorithms to investigate the connections more closely. Existing network theory (Borgatti, Everett and Johnson 2013; Börner and Polley 2014; Landherr and Heidemann 2010) uses quantitative measures for the exploration of the connections and the properties within a network. At its most simple, a network may be described according to the number of organisations and the number of connections that are contained within it. Further to these two pieces of basic network information which reveal both the size and density of the network, creating a visualisation of the field allows for further investigation. As described in the literature review, networks may be understood as non-economic capitals themselves, as well as a means of illustrating the nature of the connections within the field. As a result, I chose to try and understand which organisations hold significant positions within the network.

According to network theorists (Borgatti et al. 2018), the number of network ties an organisation has contributes to its ‘centrality’. Centrality may be understood as the ‘contribution the node makes to the structure of the network’ (Borgatti et al. 2018 p.190). Borgatti (2018) goes on to state that ‘centrality is seen as falling under the general rubric of social capital concepts, in which a node’s position is a source of opportunities and advantage’ (p. 190-191). In essence, the more connections an organisation displays, the greater organisational support from the network it receives. Centrality simply reflects the number of ties an organisation has, however, each tie is understood as a conduit, a relationship to the wider network. By visualising the connections using Gephi’s Force Atlas algorithm, organisations with the most influence are made visible. By making the network visible, it becomes possible to observe the mechanisms through which capitals flow. The nature of the capitals may include, amongst other things, information, support, influence or material goods. (cf. Borgatti et al. 2013, p. 9). As Borgatti et al (ibid) point out, centrality in network theory remains undefined and does not necessarily directly equate to ‘prominent or influential, or leaders, or gatekeepers, or as having great autonomy, control, visibility, involvement,

prestige, power and so on' (Borgatti, Everett and Johnson (2013 p. 190). Whilst the precise nature of centrality is a contested concept within sociology (see Borgatti, Everett and Johnson, 2013) it is broadly accepted that 'centrality' is a positive trait indicating a network member has access to opportunities and resources in order to influence others within the network (ibid). As such, for the purposes of this research, centrality within the network is considered to be a non-economic capital.

In the context of this project *incoming-degree* centrality was also considered. Incoming-degree centrality considers the direction of the connections within the network – i.e., it matters which organisation identifies the relationship and whether the relationship is mutually acknowledged.

In addition to considering the number and direction of connections an organisation has, this project considers the role of 'eigenvector centrality'. Eigenvector centrality considers not only the connections an organisation has – but also the number of connections the organisation's immediate network neighbours have. It 'measures the potential to influence others via both direct and indirect ties' (Borgatti et al. 2013). An organisation's influence or popularity is determined by its being connected with other organisations who are well connected. Eigenvector centrality assumes that some of the most significant members of a network are those who have access to the wider network by maintaining only a few of their own connections. Eigenvector centrality places emphasis not on how many connections you have, but to the significance of them. It is calculated by assuming an organisation's centrality is proportional to the sum of the centralities of the organisations it is adjacent to. 'The equation basically says that each node's centrality is proportional to the sum of centralities of the nodes it is adjacent to' (Borgatti, Everett and Johnson 2013 p.194). Using the eigenvector equation (a standard feature contained in network software) a score of over 0.75 suggests a high degree of centrality for a node (ibid.). Both in-degree centrality and eigenvector centrality may be readily calculated using the statistical functions embedded within most network visualisation software including Gephi. Both in-degree and eigenvector centrality were used to explore field positions in this project.

In addition to exploring an organisation's centrality, the production of a visualisation using directed connections enabled the investigation of reciprocity – or mutual connections. Reciprocity, according to network scholars including Lewis (2015) represents the foundation on which communities are built. Reciprocity, state Hanneman and Riddle (2005) may suggest equality across the network with the more reciprocation in the network, the more equal the relationships. Conversely, a lack of

reciprocity may imply hierarchical structures. With organisations viewing some relationships as not providing any benefit to them. Therefore, the network ties are directed in order to assess the extent to which ties are reciprocal.

The data gathered from public documents about individuals in positions of governance within the Oldham arts field quickly revealed a multitude of interconnections between organisations. To gain a fuller picture of the relationships within the field, I drew once again on the premise of Crossley (2013) and Decuyper (2019) that visual networks reveal fields. I visualised the governance connections using the same methods as I had used for the participant produced network maps. Creating ties between individuals and organisations to reveal the field relationships between them. In order to visualise these relationships, I produced an affinity matrix with individual trustees identified via numbers (largely for readability, using full names would have resulted in unreadable sociograms). Each individual is assigned a node which is labelled (where possible) with their occupation. I produced a matrix to tie each individual to the organisations they represent. Using this information, I produced a sociogram of governance within the Oldham arts field. In doing so, I was able to produce a set of visual data showing how organisational ties are forged through systems of governance, as well as being able to use quantitative statistical measures to establish positions of network centrality.

Having taken data from professional networking websites, I was able to add contextual data to the names of trustees as well as find additional data about their roles in with the cultural landscape. In doing so I was also able to establish patterns of common occupational positions across the governance landscape and investigate common ties between organisations.

3.6.2 Analysis of Verbal Accounts

Using both content, thematic, and elements of discourse analysis the verbal texts were analysed to illuminate the nature of inter-organisational network relationships and then to gain a fuller understanding of the nature of relations within the field.

To systematically analyse the content of verbal accounts, all verbal data were transcribed, read, and scrutinised closely. Following close reading, each individual interview text was then subjected to coding. Using NVivo coding software, each text was interrogated and coded with three distinct purposes. Each of the three purposes relate to three differing areas of inquiry.

Firstly, content analysis which in this qualitative context comprises ‘techniques mainly to produce codes and categories’ (Denzin and Lincoln 2018 p.620) and describes the process of systematically coding texts using computer software. The purpose of this is to ‘establish trustworthiness’ (ibid). The first coding set used a basic content analysis which simply identified organisations within the organisational network. All instances of mentions of organisations were added numerically to the affinity matrix which was then used to create the sociograms described earlier in this chapter. The content analysis was conducted by using a text query analysis using NVivo software. Any organisation that appeared on an individual map was then searched for amongst all the interview data from all the interview participants. This process identified significant organisations within the field. It went beyond the mapping exercise and lent an extra layer of complementary data as it drew out the names of institutions who, whilst they may not have been identified on maps as networked partners, were deemed significant, or influential enough to be mentioned by the participant. The value of the analysis was to look for organisations who, whilst are not necessarily networked partners, are recognised amongst the field. Using the visualisation software, the ties identified through interviews, but not written on the participant produced maps were layered on to the sociogram to produce an overall picture of the field.

Secondly, thematic analysis drew upon themes and theories from the literature review to identify common patterns of field understandings across participants was used (see King and Horrocks 2010). The purpose of the second coding was used to highlight references and meanings subsumed in material culture and material practices. The process identified references to material objects and practices revealed by participants to shed light on institutional logics revealed through non-economic capitals. References to the material were identified and assigned codes in order to understand how material objects are acknowledged and valued within the field.

Finally, the verbal data was interrogated using thematic analysis. This analysis was concerned with exploring patterns that emerge across the texts which highlight commonalities of experience. The themes addressed via the analysis relied upon the understandings of existing theoretical knowledge (inductively) and reflect the themes that have been drawn out within the literature review. References to symbolic violence, to institutional practices including professionalisation, educational qualifications and so on were identified. A full code book is provided in Appendix 3. To understand and

interpret the interview texts, this project drew from discourse analysis, to reveal meaning from organisational narratives.

I was mindful that power may be revealed through language, thus, a form of discourse analysis was used. Bourdieu (1991) describes how language is a form of symbolic power. Bourdieu claims that by attending to language, symbolic capital can be revealed. Attending to examples of official language being deployed or monopolised, the language of condescension or of gratitude, legitimised symbolic practice is exposed (Bourdieu 1980). This contextual data was sought through using inductive coding.

Alvesson and Kärreman (2011) state, ‘The only thing that unites much discourse work is the use of the term discourse’. Socio-linguistic analysis is rooted in the work of Saussure, Barthes, Foucault and Bourdieu as discussed in the literature review and has been used increasingly in the study of institutional processes (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005). Discourse analysis seeks to reveal the cultural assumptions (Denscombe, 2017) embedded within language. For the purposes of this research, discourse analysis is defined as ‘research that aims at uncovering the features of text that maintain coherence in units larger than the sentence’ (Brown and Yule, 1983 in Denzin and Lincoln, 2018 p.672). Linguistic analysis pays attention to meanings beyond the words that are articulated and tries to identify cultural meanings underlying a discursive unit. Alvesson and Kärreman (2011) are critical of the lack of definition regarding what discourse analysis entails and point out its weaknesses, including its subjectivity. This criticism is echoed in Denscombe (2017) who points out that discourse analysis relies upon subjective researcher interpretations of texts that make claims difficult to verify thus detracting from its credibility. These critiques are both acknowledged. Nevertheless, as Alvesson and Kärreman (2011) go on to suggest, these criticisms may be balanced out when the analysis is used in conjunction with other methods. This project shares the view of Alvesson and Kärreman (*ibid.*) whereby language represents one of many conduits through which social reproduction may occur. By considering language in conjunction with other conditions, many of the criticisms of discourse analysis are ‘balanced out’.

This project explicitly distances itself from claiming to use *critical* discourse analysis (Fairclough 2015; Wodak, 2001) recognising the methodological complexities of researcher bias. Whilst this thesis does regard ‘language as social practice’ (Wodak 2011) discourse is not the ‘entry point’ for this study (Fairclough 2015) the primary concern of this research is not to enter a critique of capitalism nor does it attend to

issues of the grammatical semantics (*ibid*). For the purpose of this analysis, discourse analysis simply refers to analysis which explores not only single words or values expressed explicitly within a text (literal interpretations); it also considers how texts may be interpreted beyond their literal meaning. The analysis pays attention to larger units of meaning than the single word and draws on the knowledge and experience of external factors including society and cultural ideologies existent within the field (see Denscombe, 2017).

Discourse analysis provides a useful way of conceptualising the process through which institutions are socially constructed' [...] 'provides the building blocks for a theory of the production of institutions and a method for researching instances of institutionalisation

(Phillips and Malhotra in Greenwood et al. 2013, p. 704)

Phillips and Malhotra (2013) claim that discourse analysis can provide the 'building blocks' which will enable a greater understanding of institutional relationships and how they are socially constructed. In examining texts through the use of discourse analysis the process by which relations within institutions are produced and reproduced may be empirically investigated. The specific processes of coding content will be discussed in more detail in what follows.

To undertake a robust analysis of the interview texts, the discourse analysis used for the purpose of this research drew first on the fundamentals of thematic analysis, in which elements of the text are carefully coded. The codes relate not just to simple words or phrases but sought to find relationships between what is being said and broader values and understandings. Whilst discourse analysis has been criticised (e.g., Widdowson, 1995) for its ambiguities and for drawing too much on the subjective views and suppositions of the researcher (Denscombe 2017), this study endeavoured to reduce those ambiguities through referencing elements known within current scholarly work from both discourse analysis (Fairclough 2003) and institutional theory (Phillips and Malhotra 2013). Similarly, understandings drawn from the literature review informing the current thinking on how institutions are formed, legitimacy is constructed, and participants' ideological perspectives were considered.

The production of code books shows the coding logics for each of the text analysis and how they relate to the theories discussed within the literature review. Following the analysis of each individual case, common patterns were identified from which I was able to draw conclusions which are then discussed in Chapter Four. All codes are attached in Appendix 3.

3.7 Positionality of the Researcher

The research into struggles for power and autonomy cannot be free of power itself. This inquiry is impacted by my own position as inquirer. Reflexivity is a theme Bourdieu refers to throughout his work (1992, 2003). Bourdieu argues that even our choices of research topic are linked to our ‘socially constituted dispositions’ (2003, p.284). In ‘An invitation to Reflexive Sociology’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) Bourdieu suggests the existence of three specific biases affecting the researcher’s gaze. The first refers to my social origin. As a white, middle-class woman, a European, a feminist, socialist, privileged immigrant, and the many other social categories to which I have either subscribed or been ascribed I bring with me my own lived experiences. These experiences impact upon the subjective interpretations I make within this inquiry. Bourdieu (*ibid.*) claims these are the easiest to overcome by means of mutual and self-criticism. In practice this meant that I endeavoured to pay due attention to, and question, the values I brought with me to this research, and how these positions affected my methodological and analytical choices. I recognised that my presence as a researcher travelling in from an international location may have been viewed as bestowing prestige, particularly for the voluntary-amateur organisations in the study – this would certainly accord with some of the findings. However, whilst this may have assisted to a limited degree with gaining access, I have no reason to believe it ultimately resulted in biasing results. A further potential bias is my own position in the intellectual hierarchy within the academic field, one which Bourdieu understands as a site of struggles, as with any other field. However, in terms of my own research and position within academic hierarchy; as an early career post graduate researcher, my status within academia affords me little advantage, or motive which may bias the results of this inquiry. Finally, Bourdieu highlights the impact of ‘intellectualist bias’ (1992, p.39). This claim is levelled at data collection methods, accepted academic conventions and habitus, including the construction of the research object. Within this observation, Bourdieu (1992) expresses concern over processes of coding expressing the need for ‘introspection’ throughout the process rather than being guided by a ‘collective academic subconscious’ (1992 p.40). Grenfell (2010) observes however, that Bourdieu’s third bias marks a paradox, in which Bourdieu’s thinking runs the risk of going ‘too far’. What Grenfell (*ibid.*) is suggesting is that slavish adherence to Bourdieu’s thinking as a set of methodological rules is an act of compliance to the very methodological rules he was seeking to reject. In respect to this third bias, this inquiry drew upon both emerging and accepted data collection methods which have evolved,

partly in response to Bourdieu's criticisms (cf. Grenfell and James 2004; Barret, 2015) in the hope of reducing bias whilst maintaining a robust methodological framework.

One key consideration for this research was my role as a trustee of an Oldham based arts organisation. This position had methodological implications which impact the research in both positive and negative ways. Holding a trustee position within the field of research had the potential to affect the responses participants offer. In Bastian's (2006) 'They would say that, wouldn't they?', Bastian highlights that respondents may be inclined to give a particular view according to their view of the organisation they represent. Similarly, having a role within the field lends to a risk of 'confirmation bias' (Allahverdyan, Armen & Galstyan 2014) whereby during the research process the researcher seeks to find 'confirmation' of the preconceived ideas they hold. Therefore, in order to minimise bias, I suspended my role for the duration of the field work. I openly disclosed my role as a trustee of a local arts organisation to all interview participants (though some were, of course, already aware of my role), though clarified that I had suspended my role and withheld the name of the organisation until the interview was ended (most interview participants did not inquire which organisation I was connected with). I endeavoured to minimise bias within the analysis by shaping both the data collection methods as well as the analysis in ways intended to reduce the effects of bias. I tried to prioritise conscious adoption of standard definitions (cf. Babbie 2017) and concepts. This is demonstrated through the use of standard network analysis practices, the use of visualisation software, coding practices, as well as justifying the theoretical assumptions underpinning the inquiry through discussion within the literature review. Coupled with the set of mixed methods I chose it is hoped that I have created a meaningful set of data which minimises the inevitable effects of my personal biases and opinions. The data collection methods described within this section represent an attempt to address the traditional power imbalance between the researcher and the researched (King and Horrocks 2010) and enable participants to co-produce (Bell and Pahl 2018) the knowledge which is presented here. Whilst the inherent bias associated with my role as a trustee may be understood as disadvantaging the research findings, my involvement within the field also enabled the research. The role gave me some knowledge of location and some of the individuals in key positions within it which assisted with access. Similarly, my role afforded me some useful background knowledge which assisted in my initial definition of the field. This initial bias in terms of sampling, however, was negated by the use of web-based searches which both confirmed my initial knowledge and provided knowledge of other

organisations beyond my initial knowledge. The methods of data collection and the analysis that have been described within this chapter were selected with these conceptual biases in mind and represent a personal endeavour to negate them through the data collection design as well as the analytical framework.

3.8 Research Ethics

As previously stated, this inquiry is ontologically positioned as both critical and constructivist in nature. Critical studies aim to expose structural inequalities and therefore pose a direct challenge to prevailing structural conditions. Roof et al. (2017) acknowledge some of the tensions inherent in the relationship between ethics and critical approaches. They argue that there are inherent tensions between ‘truth telling’ and ideological bias on the part of the researcher who claims to be ‘superior’ to accepted values (Roof et al. 2017 p.83). In addition, they are concerned that ‘theorists and researchers know the direction society should be taking socially and politically’ (ibid). Nevertheless, Roof et al. argue that the pursuance of democratic values justifies critical research. However, as previously asserted, the purpose of this inquiry is not to pose a direct challenge to those in dominant field positions; my purpose is to understand the mechanisms of domination, rather more than to offer a direct challenge to it. In addition, as discussed in the context of my positionality, researcher bias and subjectivity throughout the research are phenomena that have been considered throughout and mitigated wherever possible.

The research of power necessarily poses a particular set of ethical questions as it seeks to examine accepted values prevailing within the field. Williams (2012) argues that one of the ethical dangers of researching the nature of power systems is the researcher’s assumption that those in positions of power, ‘do not need, or deserve, the same ethical considerations as others’ (p. 129). Whilst this assertion is one which needs to be considered, it is not a position of particular relevance within the context of this study. For this study I assert that there is an important distinction to be made between understanding powerful organisations and powerful people. This inquiry sought to understand organisational power and does not engage directly with individual power. Whilst the role of the individual in organisational contexts is discussed in detail within the literature review and considers them as “nested agents” (Powell and DiMaggio 1991; Thornton et al., 2012) the individuals that participated within this study are by no means powerful beyond ethical consideration. Since the aim of this research was to explore the ways in which organisations operate within a field and how meanings are

constructed within the social milieu, the inquiry has necessarily had to adopt a human focus. Nevertheless, the focus of the research was on the organisational, rather than the individual. The interviews were conducted with decision makers within the organisations participating and whilst these individuals were employees of powerful organisations, this by no means necessarily equates with them being powerful people. Returning to the literature review, these people may have voice, influence, or elite connections, but these are capitals and do not equate directly to power. Therefore, I suggest that Williams (2012) concern, with regard to this study, is unfounded; all those individuals participating are understood as equally deserving of the same ethical consideration.

Understandings of individuals' realities have been sought in order to inform this project and therefore ethical considerations have been taken seriously. None of the individuals interviewed were considered to be at risk. For the purposes of this research, those individuals interviewed are professional representatives of their organisations, who gave informed consent to presenting their views on the organisational relationships they understand their organisations to be in. The relationship between participants, the knowledge produced via the inquiry and the responsibility of the researcher has been managed with a view to avoiding bias or harm. The issue of my own personal bias has been discussed within the context of my positionality. In summary, the robust grounding of the research and the analysis in established theory aims to address researcher bias.

Researching individuals through the internet and social media put forward specific ethical questions. Participants were unaware that their public profiles were being used for the purposes of research. Making a distinction between web-based research and social media research, Henderson et al. (2013) raise specific concerns about the use of social media data. Whilst the use of websites for research raises no specific ethical concerns, the use of social media for research does. According to Henderson et al. (2013) the ethical considerations concerned with the use of social media data (defined "a group of internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of User Generated Content" (Kaplan and Haenlein 2010, p. 61 in Henderson 2013, p. 547) revolve around two antagonistic positions. The first is that as the production of online information is by a human participant, therefore the principles of ethical privacy and consent apply. Conversely, the second position is that the information online is in the public domain and is therefore available for public

consumption. Henderson (ibid.) contends that the use of social media for research should be considered in the context of individual research projects. One of the primary concerns with the use of social media is that whilst information may be public, the publisher's intention may not have been for it to be so – in particular Henderson refers to, for example, the publication of videos or family images. By using only professional networking websites limited to LinkedIn and Xing both of which are specifically aimed at placing professional information into the public domain, this project views the use of professional, social media web sites as ethical. Similarly, company websites that publish information about their trustees' and employees' biographies are purposefully, and with consent, placing information about individuals in the public domain, with the aim of them being consumed publicly. By restricting the use of social media investigation to public, professional sites, or organisational websites this project views the use of professional networking sites as both valuable and ethical (see Golder et al. 2017).

Denscombe (2017) establishes four basic principles of ethical research including the protection of participants' interests voluntary informed consent, openness and honesty about the nature of the research, and finally, compliance with the law. These four principles have been embedded in the research and the following section will outline how each of these principles was addressed during the inquiry.

The following ethical safeguards were put in place to ensure the integrity of this inquiry. The inquiry was granted ethical approval via the University of Leeds ethical approval committee (see Appendix 4) in January 2018. In order to protect participants' interests, where requested, they have been anonymised. The informed consent forms may also be found in Appendix 4, as can copies of the information letter which was sent to each participant (Appendix 4). In addition to the information letter, interviews were opened with a brief summary of the purpose of the research. Whilst organisations are named throughout this document, individuals are not. Personal safety risks to participants were considered minimal as interviews were held at their place of work. They were accompanied by colleagues, or the interview setting was a public space of their choosing.

In compliance with data protection, no personal details of research participants have been kept on file and all interview transcripts have been kept privately and securely using password protected storage devices. The data will be kept securely for one year following submission of this thesis. Whilst there are calls for the open publication of data sets (see Moore, 2014), the raw data sets informing this project will

not be shared, they will be kept only for the purposes of any necessary revisions of this document that may occur.

3.8 Limitations of the Research

There are a number of limitations to this research. One of the main limitations which needs to be acknowledged is the access to organisations which was an enduring problem, with a number of organisations declining to take part in the study. Consequently, this case study is not exhaustive. Whilst some organisations were unavailable or declined to take part in the inquiry, the sample of those who did participate in the study have provided rich insights and corroborates common themes.

As this research adopted a field approach and the ability to define the field cannot be achieved 'a priori' (Di Maggio and Powell 1991, p.65) but requires 'empirical investigation' this has resulted in the field of this study and the resulting sample being largely self-selecting. This inherently implies the potential for built in biases. I attempted to address this bias through additional sampling tools of internet searches and the use of 'What's On' sections of the local newspapers, in order to inform the initial sample. However, the field simply revealed itself to be made up of organisations who recognise and legitimise one another through their self-identification. Nevertheless, it clearly identifies an institutional field as understood by those within it. This will be discussed further within the findings. Nevertheless, the purpose of the network mapping exercise was for organisations to construct their own 'field' and reveal the organisations with whom they are in competition for similar resources within a shared social space. The field represents an organisational context bound by the product of its own functions and is 'determined by the relations in it' (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993 p.6). I attempted to build flexibility into the sampling method in order to reflect the dynamism (or lack of it) at play within the given field and allow for the sample to shape itself (*ibid.*).

This project does not claim to offer a complete picture of all the mechanisms at play within the field. However, it does present a significant range of insights, and in accordance with the calls from institutional theorists (Emirbayer 2008; Thornton et al. 2012), it serves to contribute to a body of case studies which may be accumulated in order to inform wider theory. Time constraints also meant that this research paper is not exhaustive.

3.9 Reflection and Conclusion

In practice, the data collection strategy was challenging. Data collection was by no means a linear process which meant the data was also changing. The idea of a ‘snap-shot’ provided by a perfect case study denies the reality of data collection taking place over a period of over a year. During the field research period, governance changes occurred, creative projects began and ended and various capital projects stalled, completed or entered planning. Nevertheless, I believe this study has provided some rich insights. One of the main drawbacks of the research was the disappointing number of organisations willing to take part. The connections revealed by those organisations taking part reveal a closed network, however, this is a finding in itself and well-illustrates the closed characteristic of the field.

Some participants were nervous of getting their map ‘wrong’ (which I assured them was impossible) or were concerned about spelling and some interpreted the exercise as ‘note-taking’ the mapping undoubtedly enabled participants the opportunity to steer the conversation and talk about the organisations they work with as well as their own organisational structures. One participant commented, ‘it’s quite cathartic this’. Other participants commented upon how the process helped them to clarify their thoughts, ‘I’ll take a copy of this, because it might help me with my thinking’. Many participants enjoyed the mapping exercise and found it useful to spend time reflecting on the organisations they work with, almost all photographed their finished map to keep a copy for themselves.

Go-alongs, were not a viable option for all the interviews however, they were a rewarding data collection method. Although not all organisations had a venue, the go-along data collection design focussed attention on the material in ways that I would probably not have considered in the context of a semi-structured interview. Conducting go-alongs helped me to recognise the ways in which non-venue-based organisations spoke about material artifacts, even though we were unable to move around their space. Allowing participants to lead a tour and speak about objects in their place of work undoubtedly provided insights that reveal the crucial role of the material in the construction of organisational agency.

The Interview with the Stoller Charitable Trust participant was a deviation from the methodology. Whilst the organisation is not an arts organisation, the name was mentioned on several occasions, and I therefore felt the organisation’s presence in the field justified its inclusion. The interview undoubtedly provided valuable insights into some of the mechanisms of influence within the field. In particular the interview

highlighted the work of the Manchester Lieutenancy and insights into the governance landscape in Oldham.

The data analysis was carried out using a mixture of quantitative elements derived from network theory, as well qualitative interpretation based around discourse. Creating visualisations of the networks involved a lot of starting over. The creation of enormous spread sheets and the production of a final readable image that would fit on the page was hugely time-consuming and nerve-fraying. It required a great deal of trial and a large number of errors which then required me to start again (on multiple occasions). On reflection, however, it has been pleasing to be exposed to network visualisation software, and how to use it. The creation of visualisations for qualitative work as a methodology I would wish to pursue further. Making choices regarding how to interpret generic partners such as schools and businesses and cleaning data to ensure a visual that worked away from a digital platform was possibly the most challenging part of the data collection and analysis. The time-lag and fluctuation in governance membership as the project evolved was similarly frustrating. Ultimately, I had to make a decision as to when no further changes would be made to the document, it is my belief that the governance data provides an accurate data set which sufficiently illustrates the ways in which organisations are connected. Were there to be a next time, I would be more familiar with software and be able to process data much more quickly.

A further significant difficulty of the methods occurred as a result of research participants conflating the names of some of the organisations in the field. This had implications for an organisation's 'visibility' within the field when trying to interpret the data. For example, some participants conflate the Oldham Music Service, with the Lyceum – this situation occurred as the Music Service is housed in the Lyceum Building. Where this occurred, I clarified whether participants were referring to the theatre or the Music Service by interpreting the context from their interview transcripts. Likewise, Gallery Oldham and Library Oldham are often conflated as they are both housed at the same location, in adjoining buildings. This situation was acknowledged as common amongst the general public in one of the participant interviews. Similarly, references to Oldham Borough Council include non-arts related relationships – such as traffic management or general council services. There is some overlap between references to the council broadly, and the council arts and leisure services. I have endeavoured to correct this where I understood it to be in the interests of 'cleaning' the data for the network visualisations. However, I have also tried to

consider these errors within the context of the participant interview transcripts as they may contribute further evidence of those organisations whose existence go acknowledged and are understood amongst field participants.

In order to investigate themes of organisational agency within the arts sector, this methodology chapter has set up the justification for a case study of the Oldham arts and cultural field. The field of Oldham was selected based upon a combination of its geographical and demographic properties as well as its potential to provide results that may be applicable to other post-industrial satellite towns. Drawing from the existing academic knowledge presented within the literature review, I have presented my reasoning for each of the data collection methods. Cumulatively, the combination of methods has provided insights into the nature of field hierarchies, modes of legitimacy construction through non-economic capitals, and an understanding of how Oldham's geographical position impacts organisational capacity for action.

The data collection was primarily conducted via Triptych interviews. These interviews were designed to reveal the field through the creation of participant-generated network maps, to understand the role of material artifacts in the construction of organisational agency through a 'go-along' conversation (Kusenbach, 2003) which enabled participants to engage with material elements of their organisation. These 'go-alongs' were designed to reveal symbolic meanings attributed to material artefacts in the field. The interviews also generated narrative data to inform understandings of institutional relations and logics operating within the field. Desk-based web research was also conducted to understand patterns of governance and how governance structures contribute to power relations within the field. This chapter has also detailed the use of content, thematic, and discourse analysis using NVivo software as well as detailing the process of visualising and interpreting network data using Gephi software. The data analysis was conducted using a mixture of quantitative elements derived from network theory, as well as qualitative interpretation based around discourse. This methodology chapter has also discussed the ethical implications of semi-structured interviews and ethical justification for the use of social networking sites for investigating individuals involved within arts and cultural systems of governance. It has discussed the implications of my own positionality as a researcher and provided a reflection upon the methods in practice. Having detailed the theoretical framework for the study through the literature review and provided the justification for the case study methodology and associated data collection methods, as well as the data analysis methods, the following chapter now turns to presenting the results.

Chapter 4. Negotiating the Field

4.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter presents and discusses the results of the empirical research which was designed to answer the following questions:

1. Is there evidence of inter-organisational hierarchies within the arts and cultural field?
2. Which forms of non-economic capital are valorised in the arts and cultural field and how are organisations enabled by them?
3. How do organisations within the Oldham arts and cultural field use non-economic capitals to respond, in practice, to field conditions in order to obtain or maintain their relative position within the field of struggles?
4. How does Oldham's situation as a satellite town impact on the relative power of its arts and cultural organisations?

As is evidenced in what follows, power, its manifestations, and the struggles for it are revealed in a myriad of ways through a multitude of subtle permeations. This chapter shows that it often reveals itself through combinations of language, symbols, context, and relationships. To separate each of these from one another completely would result in a reductionist set of repetitive findings which belie the nuanced, relational nature of each piece of evidence. As a result, creating a coherent overall structure for this chapter has presented great difficulty. Throughout the chapter, I endeavour to remove dichotomous references to structure and agency and try and understand the interplay between structures how they are then used, valued, adapted, and reproduced. I have therefore endeavoured to group ideas together in ways less conventional than those in the thesis chapters that have gone before it. Whilst I have tried to draw themes together coherently, the nature of power is so pervasive that the themes illuminated reference each other backwards and forwards throughout. Reflecting the nature of power, structure and agency forwarded by Bourdieu, to separate the findings from one from another would serve to diminish them. Each piece of evidence works together with the others contributing answers to each of the research questions. One piece of evidence sometimes serves to illuminate more than one of the research questions, whilst simultaneously supporting an earlier finding which informs another. Therefore, to order this chapter using a rigid adherence to any particular

structure denies the very nature of the findings. It is the simultaneous combination of interrelated evidence that mutually reference each other which illuminates the inquiry. Nevertheless, I have endeavoured to arrange the chapter into broad themes to assist its readability. From the data, three broad themes emerge. The themes, as well as their analysis, are informed by both the literature review and the methodology which have provided the framework for establishing relevant themes and guiding the discussion of patterns emerging from the data. The first concerns the importance of network connections in revealing relations in the field, the second theme engages with the importance of institutionalised meanings conveyed through symbols, material objects, professionalisation and policy rhetorics, and the final theme concerns the influence of Oldham as a geographic and demographic site in the field dynamics. Collectively, the themes drawn from the data function to provide an overall picture of the ways in which organisations understand their place within the Oldham arts and cultural field. I have presented the findings under subheadings which are direct quotes from participant interviews which lend themselves to the themes contained within the section.

Following an overview of the data collected, the discussion opens with a presentation of the data informing membership of the field. 'All These Different Connections' outlines of the nature of the field. The network mapping data is analysed and quantitative tools evidence some of the hierarchical properties within it. These initial findings are discussed. The field and its relations are then further informed in 'They're not patrons for no reason you know!' in which the results of the governance inquiry are presented. These two opening sections present contextual evidence of field members and some initial insights into the nature of the networks. Drawing further on networks and relationships in the field 'It's What They Need to Do' looks further towards some of the symbolic value that networks bestow. The section begins to identify the symbolic resources available to field participants, the ways in which these resources are understood and evidences some ways in which those symbolic resources are used to enable organisational work. 'I've Never Even Heard of Them' presents findings from the narrative data that reveal how organisations experience the hierarchies in the field. In the next section 'He Used to Work for the BBC', I try to gather information about common ways in which prestige organisations are used as sources of legitimising capital, prior to a discussion of the ways in which organisations are able to both draw legitimacy or demonstrate authority through the giving and receiving of praise and recognition in 'How Could you do That?!' This section investigates the nature of symbolic violence, organisational position takings and how

they are accepted and legitimised by other organisations within the field. The role of the material in shaping the field is the focus of the findings and discussion presented in ‘A rather nice Steinway’. The section explores some of the ways history, materiality and symbolic practices contribute to field positions. The next section includes further exploration of the relationships between organisations and their operating environment. It discusses evidence for the existence of prevailing field hierarchies through meaning making and the isomorphic and legitimising effects of professionalisation in ‘How to do Stanislavski’. The final two themes discuss the role of policy structures in institutional meaning making. Under the heading ‘What will be the value of this, blah blah... So that helped get the money’ I present the ways in which organisations draw upon policy demands as ways in which to enact organisational agency, this is further explored in ‘They still won’t come’ which focuses on the specific policy theme of diversity. Finally, particularly in response to research question number four, the chapter discusses how organisational hierarchies within the field are impacted by their geographical situation within a post-industrial, satellite town setting in a section entitled ‘There is a relationship... They Send us Money’.

4.2 Introducing the data

A total of 33 participants took part in interviews during which 24 participant-generated visual network maps were produced. The discrepancy in numbers between participants and maps is a result of some organisations being represented by two individuals attending one interview but collectively producing one map. Nine organisations are represented by more than one interview participant. This situation further ensures the data collected is representative of organisational work. A table detailing the nature of each of the organisations taking part in the inquiry, including their mission, funding model and approximate income is provided in Appendix 5. Photo reproductions of each of the participant-generated maps may be found in Appendix 6.

The interviews represent 21 different organisations within the arts and cultural field of Oldham. Again, the discrepancy between the number of participants, the organisations represented, and the total number of maps produced is explained by either, more than one decision maker from the organisation agreeing to take part in the project on separate occasions, or more than one representative of the organisation being present at one interview. Interviews yielded 32 hours 55 minutes and 44 seconds of recorded audio, all of which were transcribed and coded. Of the 26 interviews, two

were second interviews which took place in order to accommodate a ‘go-along’ interview.

The summary provided in Appendix 5 gives an overview of each of the participating organisations, including their funding models. It also provides an overview of the number of participants that represented each organisation. In addition to the organisations who took part in the study, the table provides a list of organisations who were identified as field participants though declined or did not respond to requests to take part in the inquiry. Organisational non-participation in the research may evidence structural conditions within the field however, there is not enough evidence of this within the confines of this project.

Further to the literature review, the organisations identified by research participants within the context of the network mapping exercise may be understood to represent the Oldham arts and cultural institutional field (Decuyper, 2019). As previously acknowledged, the project recognises that the scope of this study has been limited by access. Nevertheless, one of the initial findings of this inquiry is the existence of institutional blindness. Within the field there is no recognition of small, informal groups that might be in operation within it. Recognition is only given to organisations which have ‘recognisable structures’ (Durrer et al. 2019 p.327). Whilst I attempted to include and evidence the existence of small organisations such as collectives, choral groups, pottery groups or other forms of artistic or cultural concerns, these go unrecognised. There is a clear sense of a field, much as Mulcahy’s (2006) ‘latitudinarian’ policy definition, that is constituted of the subsidised arts and of voluntary-amateur groups creating a canon of aesthetic expressions easily recognisable through their organisational forms. There is little or no connection with organisations operating in parallel fields. Similarly, there is little recognition of the organisations involved with commercial or popular cultural endeavours. This finding suggests a situation in which the conceptual framework of inter-organisational recognition is itself highly institutionalised.

Participant produced network maps were generated by 24 interview participants from 21 organisations (Gallery Oldham, Peshkar Productions, and Global Grooves each provided two separate interviews with different individuals each producing a map). Where two maps were provided, the data was merged (Both Peshkar and Global Grooves conducted 2 separate network mapping activities. Although the interviews took place at separate times the mapping results displayed striking congruence in the partnerships the individuals identified. This situation supports the

view that organisational actors are embedded). Similarly, some maps were ‘team efforts’ produced by two representatives from one organisation. These include Saddleworth Live, Saddleworth Festival/Saddleworth Concerts Society (husband and wife team), Saddleworth Show, Oldham Arts and Events, and Manchester International Festival.

Of the 33 participants, only one organisation was represented by an individual from a minority ethnic group and all but six organisations were represented solely by men. Apart from this speaking directly to the work of Brook et al. (2018) presented within the literature review, it provides a potential first glimpse of how the field is constituted.

4.2.1 All These Different Connections

This section begins to outline the nature of the social space in which Oldham arts and cultural organisations operate. The features of the field initially outlined are then taken up further in the discussion as I examine the opportunities field conditions present its participants for organisational action. This opening section to the findings presents insights from the largely quantitative analysis methods used in network analysis. Later sections go on to discuss the nature of network connections exhibited through governance structures, prior to giving further relational context throughout the discussion.

The network data was gathered on the assumption that networks provide a methodological tool to ‘assist the researcher in describing the relational composition of practices’ as described in the methodology chapter. Further, that social relations are fundamental to the formation of a field (Decuyper 2019). Accordingly, the analysis and discussion of networks provides a fundamental insight into the nature of the field of study. Through the literature review and the methodology, I have established that by observing network relations between organisations insights into power structures, enabled by influence and authority, may be revealed (Williams, 2012). Epistemologically, networks not only reveal the field, but network relations may be considered as symbolic capital. These two positions are considered separately for clarity within the discussion.

The participant-produced network maps, as described in the methodology, were simultaneously a sampling tool as well as a qualitative method to gather data about the structure of a participating organisation’s ‘field’ as they understand it. Initially I provide an overview of the data collected from the mapping exercise, prior

to engaging in a more detailed discussion. Further to the assertions detailed in the methodology, the participant produced network visualisations were combined with narrative data to produce 'sociograms' (Emmel and Clarke 2009; Tubaro et al. 2016) as rather than simply visualising one data set, it brings together different data sources, drawing from both visual and interview data and is discussed against the backdrop of contextual data.

The network maps provided a set of visual data illustrating the connections between the organisations within the field. By analysing these ties, both qualitatively and quantitatively, this project is able to explore some of the mechanisms through which power and authority within the field is constructed.

According to the analytical framework described in the methodology chapter, the results of the network mapping exercise (see Appendix 6) were collated and through a process of quantifying the ties identified on the participant produced maps, those connections were visualised. The purpose of the visualisation was to provide a readable depiction of the field and an overview of the nature of the relationships within it. Having taken the data from each of the individual participant produced network maps I cleaned and then transformed it, as described in the methodology, into an affiliation (or affinity) matrix (Borgatti et al. 2017). Using the results of the content analysis from the interview data, I then added the additional ties as identified by research participants within the course of interviews. Using this combined data, the resulting affiliation matrix comprised the 21 organisations participating in the study as column headings, and 136 rows - each representing the organisations identified within the participant produced sociograms and the corresponding verbal accounts from interviews. The affinity data table may be seen in Appendix 2. Using this data matrix, I created a sociogram, (Emmel and Clarke 2009, Tubaro et al. 2016).

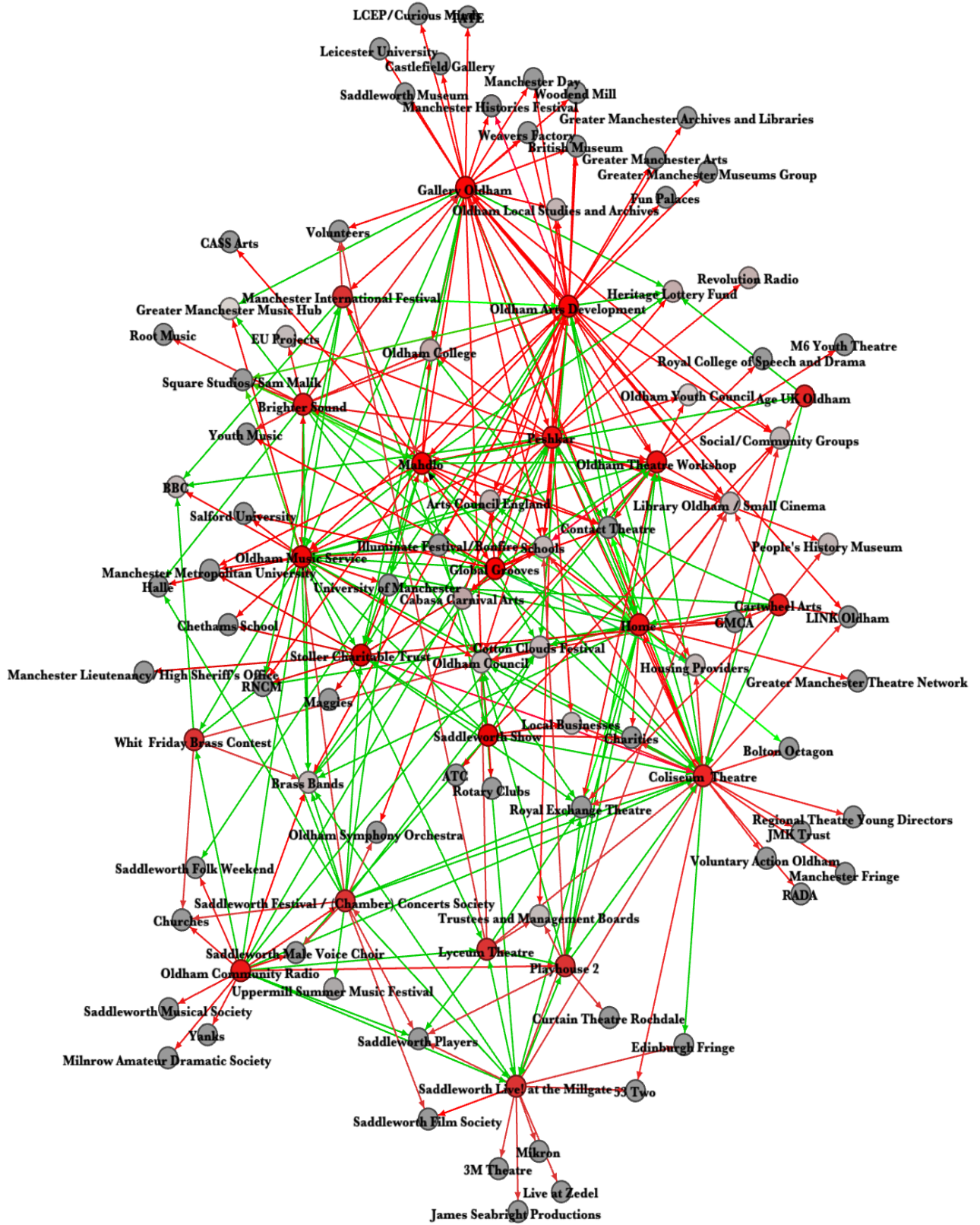


Figure 4.1 Network Sociogram.

The resulting sociogram (figure 4.1) illustrates all the ties as identified by each of the organisations taking part in the study. Each of the participating organisations within the inquiry are shown as red dots, other organisations are shown in grey. The ties that were identified on participants' own maps are shown in red. The organisations identified by participants within the context of their interview transcripts, but not identified on their maps, are shown on the sociogram in green. The connections shown in green, therefore, represent verbal acknowledgement of other field participants as revealed in the interview transcripts – even though an organisational connection to them (acknowledged via the mapping exercise) may not exist. Each connection is directional with arrow heads pointing to the organisation that the participant organisation identified. It is reasonable to assume that the connections shown in green on the map imply that the organisations identified are recognised and have some relevance within the context of the organisational field. Congruent with the assertion of Bottero (2009) and Crossley (2011) the sociogram (fig. 4.1) presents a visual overview of organisations constituting the Oldham arts field.

As asserted within the literature review and methodology, the precise nature of what flows via the networks between the organisations cannot be known exactly in the context of this study, nevertheless both network theorists as well as organisational scholars (Knoke 2009; Mohr 2013; Decuyper 2019; Gulati et al. in Baum 2002) agree it is reasonable to assume that networks are both the conduits for a range of capitals, as well as constituting a useful capital themselves. Following this assumption, it is further reasonable to conclude that organisational agency is likely to be enabled through greater access to the organisational network.

Drawing from the discussion within the methodology (Börner and Polley, 2014; Borgatti et al. 2013) there are variations in the ways the properties of networks can be discussed and how organisational network access is understood. At its most fundamental, it can be assumed that the more ties an organisation has within the network, the greater its access to further capitals. The organisations displaying large numbers of ties appear in the resultant sociogram (figure 4.1) as hubs.

Given the assertion that the more connections an organisation has the greater its exposure to the field (Borgatti, Everett and Johnson 2013), those organisations displaying the biggest hubs are deemed to be 'authorities'. The participating organisations towards the centre and the top right of the sociogram (fig. 4.2) show a dense set of connections. Towards the bottom-left of the sociogram, there is an area of organisations with fewer, mostly anecdotal (green) connections. To the left, the Whit

Friday Brass Contest displays a low density of connections and at the bottom the two Saddleworth based organisations, and the two amateur theatre companies, participating in the inquiry. The participating organisations (nodes coloured in red) appearing in the top-right two thirds of the sociogram, characterised by denser connections in red, are regularly funded organisations. Of the participating organisations in the bottom-left third of the sociogram (characterised by fewer ties) are all voluntary-amateur organisations – and all but one are based outside of the town centre. The organisations featured in the bottom-left section of the sociogram are organisations from the Saddleworth district of the borough with the exceptions of the Lyceum Theatre, which is situated in the town centre, whilst the Playhouse Two is based in the Shaw area of the borough.

The overall number of connections an organisation possesses is defined as its centrality. In other words, the more connections an organisation has, the more it is assumed to have greater ‘exposure in the network’ (Borgatti et al. 2018 p. 192). The organisations with the largest number of connections regardless of direction are: Oldham Arts Development with 39 connections, The Coliseum Theatre with 38 connections, Gallery Oldham with 35 connections, The Oldham Music Service with 34 connections, Mahdlo with 32 and Peshkar Productions with 31.

Of the six organisations claiming the highest numbers of connections and thus the highest degree centrality, three are Oldham Borough Council run services: Oldham Arts Development, Gallery Oldham, and Oldham Music Service. This may be an indication that the local authority led services lie at the heart of Oldham’s cultural field. Further, the other three organisations claiming high numbers of network connections are regularly, publicly funded organisations that sit within the borough. Of these, The Oldham Coliseum Theatre and Peshkar Productions are the two Arts Council England (ACE) National Portfolio Organisations (NPOs) based within Oldham and are also supported by the local authority. This finding underscores Durrer, Gilmore and Stevenson’s (2019) assertion that local authorities and the Arts Council England share ‘institutional kinship’ (p. 327), a situation which will be evidenced further later in the chapter. Mahdlo, Oldham’s youth zone, is part of the ‘On-Side’ group, a national organisation which partners with local authorities, businesses, charities - as well as Sport England and the Lottery Fund in order to provide youth zones nationally. Mahdlo employs a full-time arts manager. Without exception the organisations central to the field by degrees of connections are run either directly by the council or are in regular receipt of significant public funding - in part

through the local council. The significance of this finding is discussed further throughout the chapter as further evidence and context is presented.

What is evidenced here is that publicly funded organisations appear to enjoy the greatest amount of exposure to the network. Degree centrality, however, is of limited use as an indicator of field position. Organisations may simply claim connections, making them appear influential and yet themselves go unrecognised within the field. It is therefore necessary to scrutinise the network more carefully. To understand the field better, the *direction* of connections, the *value* of each connection and the degree of *reciprocity* may present a more nuanced view of the field. With this in mind, the sociogram has been considered further.

As described in the methodology, an organisation's centrality is only one quantitative measure of relative authority within a network. Degree centrality only considers the number of connections identified, it therefore treats all connections as of equal importance, and does not ascribe any meaning to the direction of a tie. Consequently, I reanalysed the same visualisation, this time taking into account the direction of connections. The more outgoing ties an organisation has refers to the 'gregariousness or expansiveness' of the node whilst in-degree ties are considered to establish the prestige or popularity of the node (Borgatti et al 2013 p.202). Incoming-degree centrality considers only incoming mentions (i.e., the recognition of a given organisation by others). When considering incoming degree centrality, the network is dominated by the Oldham Coliseum Theatre.

The Oldham Coliseum Theatre is the most recognised organisation within the field. Of the twenty-one participating organisations in the case study, eighteen of them recognise the Oldham Coliseum Theatre in some way, either as a direct part of their network (as shown on their map) or afforded anecdotal recognition through the course of the participant interviews. Oldham Council (as a generic provider) and Oldham Music Service follow as the organisations with the most inward recognition. However, it is brass bands who follow these three organisations, with references to brass bands constituting 11 inward connections, meaning over half of the organisations within the study made mention of brass bands and recognise their position within the field. Whilst specific bands are not always identified by name, there is strong recognition of brass bands and their importance across the field. The brass bands constitute an area in which the brass tradition, the Whit Friday Band Contest, and the individual bands may constitute a rich sub-field. Their presence and contribution to the Oldham cultural ecology is widely acknowledged and yet few organisations have identifiable

relationships with them. The references to brass bands and the Whit Friday Band contest (itself consisting of individual contests) are often conflated and referred to in generic terms, making more specific analysis problematic. Although neither the brass tradition, nor specific bands are recognised through identifiable partnerships (appearing only on the sociograms of the Whit Friday Brass contest, the Arts Development Team and Oldham Community Radio), brass bands are sufficiently recognised to be spoken of across the Oldham Cultural landscape. As brass bands were not named individually, but collectively, it is difficult to draw specific conclusions, however, what is clear is that brass music exerts some influence within the field.

The Music Service's offering, as will be evidenced in the contextual data to follow, offers mainly formal music training, this reflects the activities of the music-based organisations in the Saddleworth district of the borough. As I will demonstrate in sections that follow it is reasonable to suggest that the ties between the Oldham Music service and the Saddleworth music-based organisations, are broadly bonding connections. The Oldham Music Service, Saddleworth Chamber Concerts, Saddleworth Festival and the Whit Friday Brass contest all name the Royal Northern College of Music (RNCM). There is evidence that the RNCM serves an important role and function within the cultural ecology which will also be discussed later within the context of this chapter.

Mahdlo and Oldham Theatre Workshop are both well recognised within the Oldham cultural landscape each attracting ten inward ties. Additionally, a third organisation, the Royal Exchange Theatre also claims ten inward ties, although it lies beyond the borough. The presence of the Royal Exchange Theatre within the field demonstrates how field relations are not bound geographically. As the Royal Exchange theatre did not respond to requests to participate in the study, the degree to which it reciprocates these ties remains unknown, however, that it commands a high number of inward ties points to its significance within the field. Whilst only three of the inward connections it commands are cemented as network partnerships from the mapping exercise, The Royal Exchange Theatre is more widely referenced amongst the field participants than some of the research participants that are geographically situated at the heart of the borough including council run services such as Gallery Oldham which claims high degree centrality, but lower incoming degree centrality. Like the Royal Exchange Theatre, the Manchester-based Contact commands nine inward mentions. This finding is a first indication of the influence of the organisations that lie outside the borough, and more specifically those organisations that operate

directly in the city centre. Their presence within the field is a first insight into the role of organisations from ‘overlapping’ fields (Emirbayer, 2008). The implication of field members from outside the borough will be contextualised and explored in proceeding sections.

Of those organisations participating in the study, three organisations received only one inward tie. Age UK Oldham was only given one inward mention – through ‘Men in Sheds’ which partners with Mahdlo on a number of creative, intergenerational projects - yet Mahdlo’s association with them was not mutually acknowledged. Rochdale based Cartwheel Arts were mentioned only via the city centre organisation Home. Finally the sole incoming Saddleworth Show tie was acknowledged through the interview transcript confirming the mutual tie between itself and Mahdlo. The presence of Oldham Community Radio and Cartwheel Arts within the sample was borne of my own web-based research. The radio station provided rich insights into the rest of the cultural ecology, even though it went unacknowledged by other participating organisations. Whilst two local radio stations were mentioned as partners - Revolution Radio were cited by Peshkar, but declined to be interviewed, and a Manchester based radio broadcaster was cited by Mahdlo within their interview transcript as a connection, Oldham’s own voluntarily led station is not recognised as part of the field by any field participants. This may be a reflect the nuanced difference in the ‘usefulness’ radio stations provide for the organisations taking part. Both Peshkar and Mahdlo identify partnerships with radio stations which provide platforms for workshop activities, or for showcasing their work. Oldham Community Radio, however, provides mostly reviews or promotes local cultural activities.

Having described inward-degree centrality, I have subsequently sought to gain further insights using eigenvector centrality. In accordance with the methodology, exploring eigenvector centrality (Landherr, Friedl and Heidemann 2009) helps to understand the value of the connections an organisation possesses. It considers the extent to which any connections lead to further connections in the field. Drawing upon the methodological rationale, eigenvector centrality is a method of understanding the significance of absent ties within a social network. It recognises that one or two highly important field participants may be the only network ties they require to access a range of network capitals on offer within the network. This is helpful within the context of this case study, as it places more value upon those organisations whose direct connections tie them with large numbers of other organisations within the field, rather than simply considering the volume of connections an organisation attracts from the

immediate field. Following the methodological assumption described earlier, a score of 0.75 or more, using the standard eigenvector algorithm available within Gephi software, is thought to indicate an authoritative node (organisation). As with inward degree centrality, it is the Oldham Coliseum Theatre that commands the greatest degree of centrality using the eigenvector method. The other organisations with eigenvector centrality scores of over 0.75 include Oldham Music Service, the Arts Development team, Home, Contact, Gallery Oldham, Mahdlo, and Peshkar Productions. Without exception, each of these organisations enjoy significant public funding. The presence of both Home and Contact within the network, coupled with their high eigenvector scores underpin the initial finding that field relations extend beyond the borough of Oldham and the 'field' is constituted not only of organisations within the borough itself. As with the Royal Exchange Theatre, the Manchester city centre-based organisations Contact and Home are considered to have significant authority within the field, a situation which will be contextualised further as the discussion progresses.

In accordance with the literature, Knoke (2005) and Offer (2012), claim that in order to understand field relations, it is necessary to understand the nature of *reciprocity* within a network. Their research (ibid.) claims reciprocity denotes patterns of interdependence whilst a lack of reciprocity indicates existence of hierarchies or inequalities within the network. As this inquiry seeks insights into the nature of hierarchies, I wanted to explore the degree to which ties were reciprocated amongst the participants within the research. To visualise reciprocal relationships within the network, I excluded all ties that were not reciprocated within the network. The resulting sociogram (figure 4.2) shows the reciprocal connections identified between the participating organisations. As in the previous diagram, those ties identified through the participant produced mapping exercise are shown in red, whilst those identified only in within the interview texts are shown in green.

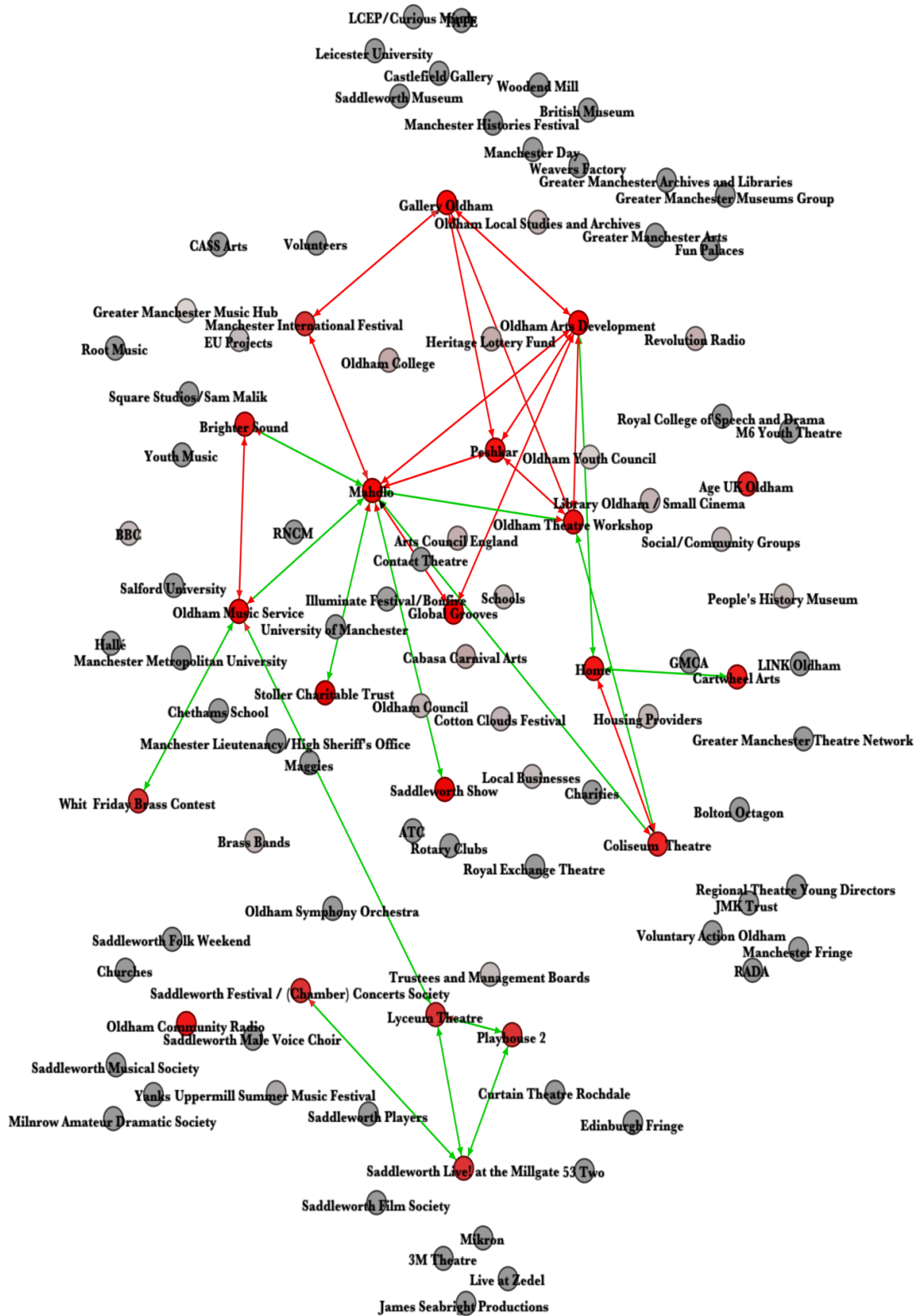


Figure 4.2 Mutual Ties

Notably, only 12 ties identified through the mapping exercise are reciprocated (in red). From the literature review, it can be assumed that reciprocal ties reveal important field characteristics. As argued by Knoke (2005), reciprocity implies mutual interdependence and obligation between organisations. Further, Offer (2012) argues *lack* of reciprocity implies hierarchies and inequalities within the field. Considering these positions, this visualisation suggests that there is a sense of perceived mutual interdependence between those organisations tied by red connections, these identified each other mutually in their sociograms. Those connections shown in green suggest, at best, a sense of mutual recognition. Where there are no ties, this points to unequal relationships within the field.

In figure 4.2, it shows that eleven of the organisations participating in the project exhibit at least one mutual connection via their own sociograms. What is clear from this examination of mutual ties is the centrality of Mahdlo, Oldham's youth zone. This finding suggests that whilst Mahdlo is primarily a youth service, it features prominently within the Oldham arts field and has mutually dependent relationships with a range of arts and cultural organisations both within the immediate borough and beyond. Mahdlo's prominence may well reflect the institutional policy arrangements emphasising work with young people resulting from the Cantele report (2004). This will be illustrated further as more data is analysed. Nevertheless, the sociograms indicate that the youth zone enjoys significant influence within the field, but also enjoys mutual affiliations through its networked partners. The finding implies that network benefits flow both from and to Mahdlo. The organisations that sit within the Council, all mutually reciprocate their sociogram ties, with Gallery Oldham, Oldham Theatre Workshop and Oldham Arts Development Team each naming each other individually. The Music Service's recognition of the council's cultural services was done so collectively. As these organisations that sit within the council share common financial provision and managerial structures it is unsurprising that they identify each other. The close relationships between the council led organisations was clearly articulated by one interview participant from a council led service:

We have had some really amazing partnerships with so many different council services. And we are – we are council so therefore the sort of the link between us and them is much easier, I think. We can just dial three or four numbers or phone numbers and get straight through to them and our name comes up on their thing and it's all very clear that we're all internal.

The Oldham Council leisure services are a cohesive group that mutually recognise each other's presence in the field. Nevertheless, the Oldham Music Service displays some anomalous network behaviour.

Both the Oldham Music Service, and the Oldham Coliseum Theatre share the common traits of displaying uneven ties within the network and yet both exhibit high eigenvector centrality. Their eigenvector centrality is a result of the limited ties they do possess being with organisations elsewhere in the field with significant network capital. The findings of the quantitative analysis of the sociograms show that both the Oldham Music Service and the Oldham Coliseum Theatre command high degrees of prestige within the field, however both display a distinct lack of reciprocity within their networks. These findings concerning the two organisations are discussed in more detail in the sections 'I've never even heard of them' and 'The power to make that work really thrive' respectively.

One of the starkest sociogram characteristics evidencing potential network hierarchies and inequality, in existence within the field is illustrated by the Coliseum Theatre's *lack* of reciprocity. Whilst it is recognised by other field participants, with 18 incoming ties (all but three of the organisations participating within the study), it reciprocates only one of them via its network map and that tie is with Manchester city-centre based Home. The two other organisations the Oldham Coliseum Theatre acknowledge within the organisation's interview transcript are Mahdlo and the Oldham Arts Development team. All of the non-professionally run theatre organisations (whilst Saddleworth Live! put on professional plays, they are a non-profit, non-publicly-funded amateur organisation) mention the Oldham Coliseum Theatre and yet there is no reciprocity from the professional theatre company. The contribution of the amateur or non-profit organisations in the field go unacknowledged by the Oldham Coliseum Theatre. Whilst the Age UK interview transcript suggests they have a valued relationship with the Oldham Coliseum Theatre, this connection is not acknowledged by the theatre itself. As with the evidence provided through the eigenvector score, the Oldham Coliseum Theatre's lack of reciprocity suggests a high degree of authority within the field. The ties it has are few, but they are with other well-connected organisations, and therefore their few ties are sufficient for it to maintain its authority.

From the quantitative analysis the Oldham Coliseum Theatre clearly enjoys a high degree of centrality and prestige, with many organisations claiming partnerships, or referencing their relationship with them. The Coliseum Theatre's network, beyond

its educational and community ties to local schools and community groups, is focussed on organisations external to the borough. They also comprise mostly ties to up-system organisations, suggesting whilst local organisations look to them for capitals, they look to organisations beyond the borough for their own sources of capital.

The Oldham Coliseum Theatre's network seems to illustrate the position that network ties are sought and maintained only if the partnership is of benefit to the organisation. The Oldham Coliseum Theatre is unable to utilise ties with other drama organisations within the town for their own benefit. These are indicative of power inequalities. Drawing from the work of Knoke (2009), cited in the literature review, that network ties generate commitments and obligations which help provide assistance to others (p.1695), suggests that the Oldham Coliseum Theatre recognises few obligations to other organisations within the town. This is an indication of power inequalities within the network. This situation is also illustrated with the Oldham Music Service. Both organisations appear to place little value on the organisations operating within the town but concentrate their networks upon up-system organisations lying beyond the borough, largely through the prestige organisations within Manchester.

Beyond the Council-led organisations, mutually acknowledged partnerships as revealed through the mapping exercise (shown by the connections or arrow heads in red) exist exclusively between regularly funded organisations. Regularly funded organisations display tightly reciprocated patterns of connections. They are, without exception, organisations funded regularly by either Oldham Council or the Arts Council England (or by both bodies). Within the voluntary-amateur sector, there are no mutually recognised ties identified within the participant produced maps. However, reciprocal acknowledgement does exist amongst the Saddleworth voluntary-amateur, and the Oldham theatre-based organisations in anecdotal form within the interview transcripts.

As noted within the literature review, network theory suggests a number of further possible perspectives to be taken into consideration when examining networks. Borgatti et. al. (2017) describe one of those considerations as 'homophily'. Borgatti et. al. (ibid) recognise that organisations with similar sets of values or structures tend to network with one another. It is reasonable to suggest that mutual organisational ties between organisations exhibiting homophily are examples of 'bonding relationships' (Gitell and Vidal 1998; Putnam 2000). The ties within the field connect the organisations along what might be termed 'ways of doing things' a commonality which

may be implied by those in receipt of regular funding. The mutual ties here may evidence a situation in which similar entities are attracted to one another by virtue of similar sets of values (Borgatti et al. 2017). Alternatively (or additionally) this may evidence isomorphism (Di Maggio and Powell, 1991). Institutional isomorphism, as described in the literature review, describes the situation where institutionalised rules and norms shape the environment in which organisations find themselves. This creates sets of homogenous groups that force each other to operate in similar ways. In this instance, the organisations that recognise each other through fairly formalised connections are connected by their funding structures and share common rules of accountability, in particular to the local authority. The reciprocity of network ties between these formalised, regularly funded organisations are congruent with the Di Maggio and Powell's (1991) claim that 'organisations force their immediate relational networks to adapt to their structures and relations,' further that, 'organisational forms perpetuate themselves by becoming institutional rules'. The network structures evidenced within this field may partly be based upon institutionalised occupations, functions and rules. (Meyer and Rowan 1991). The institutionalised norms broadly conforming with the effects of new public management, that are reflected within the publicly funded organisations go some way to explaining how and why they are networked. In adhering to these norms and shared rules of accountability, organisations are understood to increase their chances of 'success and survival' (Meyer and Rowan 1991).

The ties between the Saddleworth organisations may also be considered to evidence homophily. The organisations are bound not only by their close geographic proximity. The Saddleworth organisations tend to be concentrated upon the traditional art forms of classical music and theatre. They are run largely via a system of committees and trustee boards, many of whom share committee members and members of one organisation are often members of another. This situation is evidenced not only in the participant sociograms, but also in the interview transcripts with one organisation saying:

I find it's a very overlapping crowd in Saddleworth, who, you know if they're on the erm - if they're part of the friends of castles and roman forts, then they're probably also on the [...] I did a talk (...) a couple of weeks ago and. One of the people who came along - He was from the Local History Society, [I said] 'Oh that's nice', and then he's like, 'Oh and I also am at the Lyceum players, [...] And then he's like oh and also... I... and you just realized how, you know - All these different

connections that people have when they are healthy and wealthy and retired.

The statement captures the interconnected nature of some of the voluntary-amateur sector in the borough, as well as an insight into the nature of Saddleworth organisations and its demographic. It is noteworthy that this participant views the Lyceum Theatre in essence as part of the Saddleworth organisations even though its home is in the town. There is an implication that participation in the Lyceum Theatre reflects patterns of participation within the Saddleworth area, a situation that is supported by its position within the network data.

Both the amateur theatres also acknowledge the age demographics to which they appeal with the Lyceum claiming:

We're now running... the average age is about 55.

Whilst the Playhouse Two stated:

It used to be that the average age was about 60. It's coming down now...

There are further similarities expressed between the Lyceum Theatre and the Playhouse Two. Both theatres are amateur theatres, they share common interests and identify common organisations as significant within the field. Both playhouses cited the Curtain Theatre, Royal Exchange Theatre and the Oldham Coliseum Theatre. The two amateur theatres operate on broadly similar lines, both entirely voluntary with similar management structures. This is confirmed within their interviews. Of the Playhouse Two the Lyceum participant said:

It's not a dissimilar situation. I don't know them particularly well. I've performed there. But it's a very similar set up.

It is, therefore, perhaps unsurprising that these organisations recognise each other and the work that they do.

This section has focussed upon the connections organisations have through working relationships. To explore the field further, the following section pays attention to the field relationships revealed through governance.

4.2.2 They're Not Patrons for No Reason, You Know!

Whilst the initial exploration of inter-organisational relations has already revealed a highly networked field, this inquiry attends to field relationships forged through governance. Using public documents such as Charities Commission and Companies house data I identified 157 individuals in positions of trusteeships. One

initial finding was that over a quarter (27.7%) of the individuals identified hold trustee or significant positions of influence with more than one organisation. The structures of governance appeared to be highly networked and therefore I wanted to explore governance more closely. By creating another affinity matrix (see Appendix 7) I created figure 4.3, which shows a sociogram mapping individual governors, organisations and the direct connections between them.

To try and make the figure 4.3 more readable, I have coloured all organisations in red and each unique individual is numbered. Using data in the public domain, including social networking sites including LinkedIn or organisations' own websites, where possible I have labelled individuals with their occupation or significant other position. Most individuals are shown as grey nodes, however, individuals with honorary titles are coloured green. Ostrower's (2002) research into arts and cultural boards of governance as described within the literature review, provides a useful frame for establishing the foundations of power relations within an arts field. Ostrower (*ibid.*) claims that 'board status and organisational status are intertwined (Ostrower, 2002 p.27).

The local authority services do not operate using trusteeships, however, individuals within the service do have links with organisations in the field via posts as observers. Four organisations in the study are Oldham Borough Council led services and therefore have no trusteeships. It should however be noted that ties via their own professional networks connect council led organisations with many of the organisations featured in the governance network map. A further three organisations, Saddleworth Live!, The Lyceum Theatre, and the Whit Friday Brass Contest are run via independent, informal management structures and therefore exhibit no ties via trusteeships. Global Grooves and Oldham Community Radio are entirely governed by their founding members, and finally Playhouse Two is the only trustee governed organisation that shares no trustees with other field members. The link Age UK Oldham shares is weak, as it is connected via a company of solicitors – not an individual. Every other organisation is tied to at least one other field member through its governance.

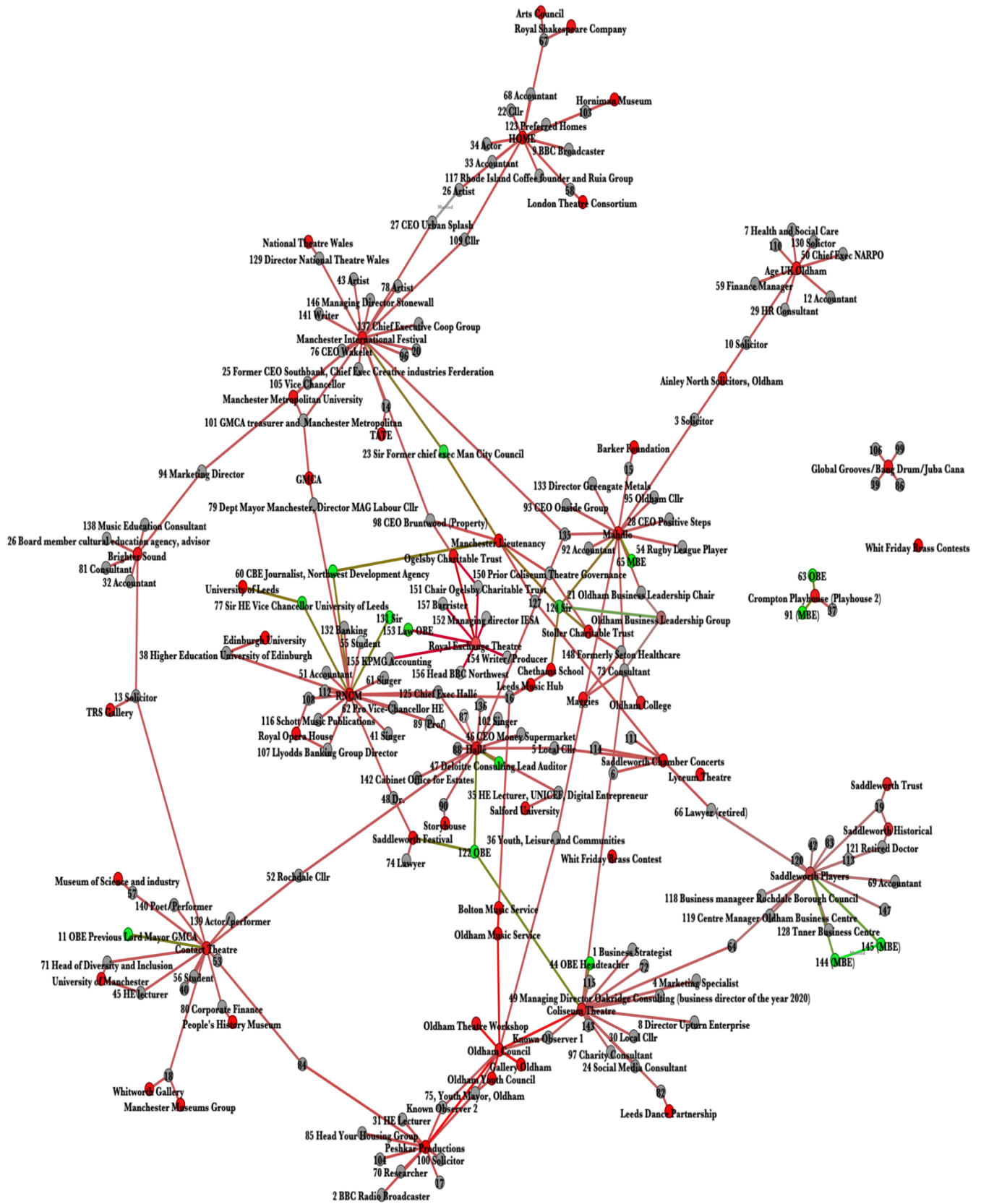


Figure 4.3 Governance Ties

The presence of elites within the management structures of the Oldham based organisations is a striking finding of the project. Drawing from Brint's (2020) definition of elite occupations, the analysis of the management boards for each of the organisations reveal the involvement of many influential individuals at board level. Board memberships within the field include 16 titled individuals as well 18 individuals who have the title of Chief Executive or Director. Board members connect Oldham organisations to a variety of up-system or elite organisations, and as evidenced in the literature review, these ties may provide potential flows of funding or other non-economic capitals including information, from up-system organisations. Furthermore, 12 trustees work in local government positions, including positions of significant authority within the GMCA. These findings are a direct echo of Griffiths, Miles and Savage's (2008) assertions that elites are 'key brokers' (p.77) within the field. A further significant finding of the inquiry not shown on the map, is between organisations, local authorities and Arts Council North. One trustee of Home and MIF also sits on the Arts Council England North board, another board member is a local councillor who is also active in the GMCA, a trustee of Halle and Contact. This demonstrates the highly connected nature of the field demonstrating strong links between funders, local council and organisations.

Overall, the organisations from the sample show broad homogeneity in their board make up, with most boards comprising one or more business leaders, a higher education professional, a member of the legal profession, and a financial industries representative. Additionally, titled trustees lend an elite edge to some organisations including Manchester International Festival, Mahdlo, HOME, the Saddleworth Chamber Concerts, and the Crompton Stage Society (Playhouse 2).

Using the governance data, the organisations with the highest Governance eigenvector centrality are Manchester International Festival, Hallé, Mahdlo, The Coliseum Theatre and the RNCM, meaning any connection to those organisations are considered the most valuable. A significant finding from the investigation of governance structures is the high eigenvector scores of both the Coliseum Theatre and Mahdlo, whose prestige accords with the eigenvector scores from the participant produced map and interviews. This finding points to a close relationship between organisational influence and influential individuals, further supporting Ostrower's (2002) claims that elite individuals and elite organisations are closely linked.

Manchester International Festival's eigenvector centrality within the governance structure results from a board comprising members including the Vice

Chancellor of Manchester Metropolitan University, a number of elite business representatives, members of the GMCA, as well as well-known artists and entrepreneurs, in addition it shares a trustee with Chetham's School and a second trustee with Home, offering it further access to a broader network.

Many of the ties illustrated throughout the governance network represent conduits for accessing operational advantages for organisations. The desire for organisations to attract either councillors, or council employees to their boards, is self-evident, with ties to council officials offering organisations the opportunity to stay in touch with local political change and affording them some voice or representation within the political environment. This is clearly evidenced in the relationships trustees have to local government, with those organisations with greatest authority having representatives not just from local borough council, but representatives from significant positions of authority within the GMCA. Alliances with local council bodies give organisations insights into policy priorities and enable them to be represented within the local authority. These connections provide crucial information and help organisations in their decision making. One participant clearly signposted the value of close relations to local authority stating:

I speak to the council every month and we look at what we're doing and what they're doing.

For those organisations in receipt of public funds within the field, their governing body may include at least one representative from either a housing association or a school and may well include both. Peshkar Productions have both a retired teacher and a housing association manager on their board, The Oldham Coliseum Theatre have an honorary titled head teacher and Home have a representative from Preferred Homes on their board. These governance ties help enable these organisations to access key target groups in order for them to demonstrate the value of their work. It is perhaps notable that the two Oldham based ACE funded NPOs have direct links with schools, this may well further reflect Oldham's policy focus on engaging young people. Furthermore, connections to other cultural organisations through networked trustees or governance provides potential sources of information about current trends within the sector.

Another resource cultural organisations appear to value and foster through their governance structures, (particularly those in receipt of regular public funding) is links to higher education establishments. These relationships resonate with Bourdieu's claim that Universities provide 'institutional authority' (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993,

p. 124). The provision of ‘institutional authority’ provides an explanation for the presence of several universities in the field. Universities act as a conduit for legitimation, as well as information. Both operational networks and the governance network illustrate that the RNCM, Manchester Metropolitan University, Salford University, the University of Manchester are all field members, and through governance ties or connections outside the field the Royal College of Speech and Drama, the University of Leicester, the University of Edinburgh and the University of Leeds are all also connected to operations within the field. These relationships are seen across the professional organisations with Manchester University, Salford University and Manchester Metropolitan Universities being cited as partners by five participants and Leicester University being a key partner for Gallery Oldham. These links to tertiary education also extend to the London School of Speech and Drama through personal ties within Oldham Theatre Workshop. These tertiary education links exist only within the context of publicly funded organisations – and in particular those with public funding. Speaking directly to Upchurch’s (2016) assertion of ‘clerisy’ at play throughout the sector, the Arts Council England refers to universities as ‘custodians’ of culture who support artistic development and in a recent publication expressed a clear desire for their organisations to work with academic partners:

One way that arts organisations can collaborate with universities is to invite a representative from the local university to sit on boards of governance. This allows them to share their expertise and networks to the benefit of the company, creating synergies and joined-up thinking.

(Arts Council England 2016, p.13)

From the governance network it is clear that organisations both in the regularly funded and voluntary-amateur sector ensure their trustee boards are able to serve their statutory needs. Most have a legal representative (either current or retired) as well as a trustee with a background in accounting. The governance data also shows patterns of organisations filling trustee positions held by educators, local councillors, representatives from housing associations and university lecturers. These individuals provide key sources of capital enabling flows of information as well as potential organisational access to the institutions they are associated with. This situation is explored further in sections that follow.

A further finding from the governance network is that whilst many of the Saddleworth based voluntary-amateur organisations exhibited limited mutual ties to organisations within the borough in the participant produced network exercise, their governance network connections show them to be well connected with the wider field

through their systems of governance. The Saddleworth Festival is connected via one trustee to both Hallé and the Oldham Coliseum Theatre. The Saddleworth Players also share a trustee with the Oldham Coliseum Theatre, as well as sharing ties with three other Saddleworth cultural organisations. This finding is particularly interesting as although neither of the Saddleworth organisations are acknowledged by the Oldham Coliseum Theatre through their network map, they are connected through their governance. There are several possible explanations for this situation. One possible explanation may be that the individuals participating in amateur theatre are high-capacity individuals who bring elite status to the board of the Oldham Coliseum Theatre (this can be assumed as Saddleworth is known to have a wealthy demographic, as evidenced earlier). Alternatively, it may be that the trustees themselves gain cultural capital via their involvement with the Oldham Coliseum Theatre, which supports Ostrower's (2002) claims. Alternatively (or additionally), it may evidence a situation in which the Saddleworth organisations seek to draw down legitimising capital from their connection to the professional theatre. Without doubt, this finding necessarily requires further consideration of the demographic identified amongst those participating within the voluntary-amateur organisations participating in the inquiry. Many of the voluntary-amateur organisations are based in the Saddleworth area and by their own admission serve a mainly white, wealthy demographic. The voluntary-amateur organisations rely upon the contributions of high-capacity individuals who are able to foster personal connections with other high-capacity individuals through friendships and organisations such as Rotary, as demonstrated by Saddleworth Show. In turn these connections enable organisations to gain direct access to other influential and well-connected individuals. Nevertheless, what this inquiry shows is that ultimately, most of the organisations participating within the study foster ties with the same organisations that dominate the field such as to draw upon the capitals those connections bestow. This further assists them to build their organisational capacity. This is demonstrated further in coming sections.

There is evidence within the interview transcripts that some crucial network ties within the field are formed through friendships and personal connections. Where Global Grooves, the Lyceum Theatre and Playhouse Two appear to be disconnected in the governance network (fig. 4.4), interviews revealed that key individuals are known to each other beyond immediate organisational ties. These personal connections provide further sources of network capital. Global Grooves identify a key staff member working within the Oldham Arts Development team as having taken part in music

activities with them, which has enabled them to access support and opportunities within the borough. They also name a key connection to Home:

We have a connection through the – [...] the director of Home - because he's from Mossley - and because over the years [named individual] has worked on projects with him.

The participant from HOME identified a personal connection with the Playhouse 2. Other ties include the Manchester International Festival participant who was previously employed by Oldham Council in the Arts and Events team. Personal connections with key individuals may assist organisations to gain strength within the Oldham cultural field. These personal connections once again point to a closed network which is heavily constructed through bonding networks within the ecology. The situation resonates with Luhmann's (2000) theory of 'autopoiesis' through which systems, in this instance institutions, are self-regulating. Within the institutional field, sets of self-legitimation and confirmation are created leading to the progressive homogenisation of the field.

There is a marked correlation between elite board members and elite organisations. The further 'up-system' the organisation is, the more powerful the board representatives are. Similarly, that the further up-system the organisation is, the closer the ties are to prestige national organisations (National Theatre Wales, Royal Shakespeare Company, London Theatre Consortium) which speaks directly to the work of Savage et al. (2013), who argue the metropolitan nature of cultural participation within the UK. Many of the connections converge with London based, or national organisations. It evidences a field governed by a narrow band of high-capacity individuals with significant overlap between roles and organisational connections.

Board members lend themselves to the overall capital at the disposal of an organisation, not only as a result of their personal knowledge and skills, but also via their own personal networks and organisational connections. As the governance illustration (figure 4.3) clearly indicates, connections to business leaders provide organisations with important access to potential financial resources. It is clear that the strategic selection of trustees forms an important source of capital. Governors and trustees provide important conduits for information and provide linkages to key partnerships.

The governance findings also show that organisations are deeply embedded within broader societal class structures. Wealthy elites exhibit influence over the field.

There are few organisations who are disconnected from a wider system of governance with ties to up system individuals who typify Cunningham and Savage's (2015) metropolitan elites. The institutional field is shaped via elite governance and elite consecration (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). As I will demonstrate, this situation presents an important tension for arts and cultural organisations. Whilst organisations wish to respond to the policy rhetoric of inclusion, ultimately, the field is networked with a homogenous group of individuals.

Within this inquiry the proliferation of elite individuals serving on one or more of the participating organisations' boards is notable – and their value to the organisations that they govern is acknowledged. This is perhaps most explicitly asserted in the following:

Some of our patrons are patrons in other places as well in Manchester.
So they're not patrons for no reason you know - they're connected
people

Whilst the participant uses the word 'patron' in this quote, the organisation in question names many of its patrons as part of their governance body too. The insight above is important as it recognises the closely networked nature of the field and acknowledges the importance of further ties. Whilst some governance connections provide prestige through the use of symbolic capitals such as titled individuals, other governance ties are more directly related to accessing financial support through close business connections or connections to funding bodies. The influence of elite individuals upon the operation of organisations presents a paradox operating within the field. On the one hand organisations recognise and welcome funding from elite donors whilst claiming opposition to elitism. The participant responsible for the statement about their powerful patronage above also stated:

'The thing [...] all my team hate – [...] is elitism'.

The participant's rejection of elitism belies the same organisation's reliance upon its elite connections of whom the participant states:

'We - the whole thing is funded by patrons and supporters and that's allocated to budgets...'

The organisation presenting the views above boasts one of the most elite, well connected governing boards in the research as well as being an organisation that enjoys close ties to other elite bodies. It also receives significant funding from elite philanthropic giving. This dissonance permeates the field and is evidenced further in another organisation who criticised the operations of other organisations:

people get quite snooty... [...] (there is) this rather old-fashioned view of patronage and worthiness and what have you.

whilst revealing direct compliance with ‘snootiness’ by remarking within the same interview:

I wouldn’t say she goes to many high-quality classical music events – I haven’t seen her at the Bridgewater Concert Hall.

This finding belies the rhetorics of broader participation that are demonstrated later in the chapter. The participant above directly equates quality with a venue, implying quality only occurs within established contexts. It clearly demonstrates evidence of taken for granted assumptions about quality within the institution, which directly support Bourdieu and Johnson’s (1993) assertions regarding ‘bourgeois’ cultural consumption.

The trustee network visualisation (figure 4.3) provides evidence of the influence of two wealthy philanthropists within the field. Seven organisations display connections with Sir Norman Stoller or the recently deceased, Michael Ogelsby. Both men command considerable wealth and both have established charitable organisations which provide funds for a variety of projects in and around Manchester. In addition to Michael Ogelsby having held trusteeships with both the RNCM and Chetham’s, both men also exhibit significant ties within the network. Whilst the Stoller Charitable Trust’s interests are largely focussed on Oldham-based activity, the Ogelsby Charitable Trust (in addition to the Ogelsby family’s business, The Bruntwood Group), contributes to a variety of organisations and currently supports the work of the Manchester International Festival, Contact, as well as the Royal Exchange Theatre. The chair of the Ogelsby Charitable trust is a Royal Exchange board member, a further Ogelsby Charitable Trust board member sits on the board of Mahdlo. In addition to their patronage of arts organisations across the region, both men have held positions on the Manchester Lieutenancy.

The Manchester Lieutenancy is made up of selected individuals who have been awarded the ceremonial roles of High Sheriff, Lieutenants or Deputy Lieutenants of Manchester. These ceremonial roles are awarded to influential figures within the Manchester area. Both the Ogelsby and Stoller families have been engaged with the Lieutenancy’s work and both have provided significant funding for cultural organisations in and around Manchester. Members of the Manchester Lieutenancy are identified as being connected either currently, or within the time-span of this project, through organisational governance structures with the RNCM, Hallé,

Chetham's, Saddleworth Chamber Concerts, The Oldham Coliseum Theatre, Manchester International Festival and Mahdlo. Perhaps one of the strongest illustrations of the association between the Lieutenancy and cultural giving is the Stoller Hall at Chetham's School. The atrium of the hall is named the Olgelsby Atrium, and the building houses the Stoller Hall as well as the Carole Nash Hall, the latter also being a member of the Lieutenancy.

Sir Norman Stoller's giving is managed through the Stoller Charitable Trust, which participated in this inquiry. One of the three trustees of the Stoller Charitable Trust also holds a position within the Lieutenancy. The research participant for The Stoller Charitable Trust is both a member of the Lieutenancy and until recently was a trustee of the Oldham Coliseum Theatre. A second trustee of the Stoller Charitable Trust also holds a position on the board of Mahdlo. The Stoller Charitable Trust's participant produced map references Sir Norman Stoller's commitment to providing financial support for Oldham based organisations and listed some of the capital projects the trust has funded including the Stoller Organ at Manchester Cathedral, The Stoller Hall for Chetham's School, the construction of Mahdlo (and support for further expansion) as well as supporting the Oldham Coliseum Theatre's proposed new theatre building in Oldham. The Stoller Charitable Trust's giving clearly examples Upchurch's understanding of philanthropy as part of 'social responsibility'. The interview transcripts highlight Sir Norman Stoller's charitable giving as an act of elite patronage, which parallels Ostrower's (1995) claim that patrons wish to 'exert influence and make their mark'.

Sir Norman Stoller's contribution to the borough is widely acknowledged throughout the interview transcripts both across the council led, the regularly funded organisations, as well as those in the voluntary-amateur sector. Each of the following are taken from different participant interviews:

'And I would think the person who has given most over the years is the man who was - Oldham is the home of the tubular bandage... Norman Stoller'

Oldham's in a fantastically lucky position - Norman Stoller.

[Named Individual] was good mates with Sir Norman Stoller KBE and still is. And that has been a very useful connection for us in terms of securing sponsorship for things like tours and so on. Erm, but also the other connection is that Norman is very keen to support arts endeavours and so on.

I mean Norman Stoller – and others who provide the finance.

Sir Norman Stoller [...] He's the tubular bandage plus other things as well - he's an amazing guy. I mean - he wouldn't like me talking about him -but he just inspires all of us really.

I think fortunately, Norman Stoller likes to do that kind of thing [Acting as a patron].

Referenced within the interview transcripts as well as evidenced in the governance research, the Saddleworth Concert's Society also exhibits a direct tie to the Manchester Lieutenancy via one of their committee members. This elite body seems to serve as a significant hub within the network for trustees and patrons of the arts and culture across Greater Manchester. The research participant makes reference to the resources the connection enables – including access to Sir Norman Stoller. The connection to the Lieutenancy provides important access to up-system individuals:

[Named member of the Lieutenancy] is on our Committee (and) was very good at twisting arms of our sponsors. Usually an undisclosed amount, but they'd be in the account

The statement above points to how ties to elite individuals serve as an enabling capital for organisations. Such ties provide access to sources of both wealth, as demonstrated above, but also enabling organisations to maintain their position within the field. Many of the members of the lieutenancy hold influential positions across a wide range of business, social and political spheres. Whilst as individuals they represent individuals with limited power, their access to each other has the capacity to create 'non-individualistic' power (Lukes 2005, p.47). It exemplifies William's (2012) 'elite interlocking' through which elite individuals create 'upper-echelons' and elite spaces (p.55). In turn these spaces have the capacity to open-up opportunities for promoting the 'life chances' of success for some organisations and even 'stunt' the rise of others (Lukes, 2005 p.48). This situation enables established organisation to access support which allows it to continue its activities.

A further finding from analysis of the governance network is that the organisations with the greatest degrees of eigenvector centrality from figure 4.3, are those organisations who have close ties to either the Ogelsby, or Stoller charitable trusts. The influence of philanthropic giving in the Oldham cultural field may contribute to its ability to participate within the field.

The influence of powerful, wealthy donors within the field are undeniably evidenced. This finding supports Ostrower's (1995) claims that the provision of funding for the arts remains a mark of elite class. Similarly, it evidences Bourdieu's

(1984) theory that the arts are imbued with dual discourse. Whilst arts organisations purport to action societal calls for cultural democracy, arts governance offers opportunities for elite condescension (Upchurch 2014). These acts of condescension remain rooted in the historical position that art should serve to civilise (ibid). Whilst the situation in evidence is one that suggests wealthy elites exert considerable influence over the field, there is also evidence which clearly indicates that organisations are willing to harness the opportunities that elite involvement provides. From this perspective the relationship between elite individuals and elite organisations is symbiotic. For trustees of cultural organisations there is social capital to be gained on a personal level through their association with cultural organisations, however, this thesis focusses on the capital afforded to organisations rather than the capital the organisation affords those who associate with it.

Elite individuals serve on the boards of cultural organisations and cultural organisations seem able to attract and welcome them. One organisation expressed the importance of their titled governing body chair:

She's MBE, – We wheel that out when we need it! 'Get your badge!
[...] – And she's like, 'Alright!'

For this organisation, there are no direct financial benefits to the prestige title their trustee holds, however, the connection provides a symbolic capital which the organisation is able to convert into increased attention and prestige. This situation is one that is strongly in evidence throughout the governing bodies and resonates directly with the work of Ostrower (2002).

Having established how networks form a vital source of information about the field and that it demonstrates a highly connected field, the following section now turns to discuss the symbolic nature of network capital and how it contributes to power is provided in the discussion that follows.

4.2.3 The Power to Help That Work Really Thrive

In much of the previous sections I have tried to evidence some of the properties of the field using networks as a method to create data. The initial findings present a closely networked field largely dominated by Manchester city based, regularly funded organisations. Whilst the construction of the sociograms has provided a useful overview of the field participants, it provides little insight into the nature and value of symbolic capitals. By combining the evidence from the sociogram with the contextual data within the interview transcripts it is possible to reveal further insights into the nature

of field positions. The networks described in the section above suggest many connections provide sources of social network capital that are easily transformed into organisational advantage. Quantitative analysis of the participant produced sociograms has established the membership of the field and provided some initial insights into how field members are positioned within its hierarchy. In what follows, I will begin to provide further insight into the symbolic nature of meaning within the field. In doing so, I will attempt to evidence the symbolic meanings organisations attribute to the network.

One of the aims of this thesis was to try and understand how organisational position takings are established within the field. However, the quantitative and network analysis provided thus far have only provided a limited understanding of the nature of conditions within the field.

There is direct acknowledgement that network connections have the capacity to attract other valuables and they may be translated into economic capital. One organisation articulated:

Yes, [the] public preconception that we've got shed loads of money - you know we're very well resourced - but actually, we have to bring in funding for programmes like everybody else. *So, we use those networks.*'

Organisations throughout the field use their networks and governance structures to secure maximum benefit for themselves. Networks provide organisations access to gatekeepers which enables them to secure further success. The need to access key individuals in order to promote organisational aims was expressed clearly by one participant who said:

We're trying to share amazing work with people and sometimes it's difficult to get your foot in the door – or even get through to the right person to talk about it – *or kind of reach the person in certain organisations who has the power to help that work really thrive in a certain timeline, or community* - and that can be a bit frustrating.

However, the data gathered suggests networks serve more than just the practical functions described here. By forging connections with organisations viewed as being more prestigious, organisations are able to acquire organisational legitimacy through association. The legitimising role of networks is evidenced throughout the interviews. In the following statement by one participant, network connections are viewed as being an essential part of gaining access to the institutional field, claiming:

[Networking with city centre organisations] It's what *they* need to do as organisations in order to get a foothold in the cultural ecology of Greater Manchester'

This quote not only explicitly states the importance of network connections in order to succeed in the institutional field as will be discussed in the following section but also tacitly implies an authoritative voice. The use of 'they' evidences Bourdieu and Johnson's (1993) structural othering and points towards a taken for granted assumption within the field that Oldham based organisations are othered and need the recognition that other organisations may bestow on them via network connections. By separating itself from those trying to 'gain a foothold' it acknowledges the existence of organisations that are dominant, well-established organisations in the field and implies that others are still 'trying to gain a foothold' and are therefore less self-assured. This evidences the view that networks constitute capitals (Burt, 1992). It also further supports Miles and Savage's (2008 p.196) work observes that there is a 'distinctive, metropolitan dynamic in the governance of the cultural world'. However, Oldham based organisations operate within this structural dynamic with a sense of pragmatism as will be evidenced throughout the findings.

Organisations recognise that connections to well-recognised organisations or individuals plays a significant role in securing both economic and symbolic capitals. The capitals supplied through connections vary, but cumulatively serve to enable organisational agency. When asked about the value of network relationships, one organisation confirms that nurturing network connections assists them to leverage funding stating:

Researcher: 'Do [network] relationships [...] make you more attractive to funders, do you think?

Participant: I think so, yeah.

The symbolic value of network connections is perhaps best articulated in the following excerpt from the interview data. When questioned about the value of network ties, one organisation said quite simply:

Status. - We become credible then as an arts centre.

This participant clearly articulates the epistemological position that networks themselves constitute sources of symbolic capital for organisations within the field (Burt, 1992). Network connections are not merely conduits for providing direct access to financial resources but have the ability to bestow valuable symbolic capital upon the organisation. The quote above clearly articulates that network ties may be

accumulated to further organisational interests, in this instance by promoting organisational status within the field. It chimes with the claim expressed earlier that networking is what organisations require ‘to get a foothold within the cultural ecology’. Symbolic violence notwithstanding, this statement serves to demonstrate that organisations are fully aware of the need to maximise their field positions via any means they have available.

One of ways in which networks are translated from the symbolic to economic is that they provide an important source of organisational legitimacy. Without strong links to up-system organisations, it may be difficult for organisations to gain recognition for the work they do. The use of networks to legitimise organisational work seems to be a widespread practice. The ties between organisations serve to bestow credibility on the work of each of the organisations. Organisational ties to individuals or organisations— particularly those Griffiths, Miles, and Savage (2008), describe as ‘prestige organisations’ were referenced often within the interview transcripts. The references to these organisations were used to emphasise the resonance and importance of the work of the participating organisation – or to legitimise themselves and the work they do. This situation is perhaps most clearly evidenced in the following statement in which the Oldham town-based participant refers directly to the effect partnerships with prestige organisations have with a view to ‘bringing more people to us’ and ‘raising our profile’. It also references the direct benefit from the additional financing that the partnership provided. The participant makes specific reference to hierarchies existent within their network; claiming the ties with Tate and the British Museum constitute ‘bigger’ partnerships:

The Tate, [...] And the British Museum. But we've recently started to build relationships with both of those organizations. You know? So we're in the partnership [...] British Museum now we're doing an exchange, a staff exchange this year where our front of house manager is going to spend a week in the British Museum. Somebody from the British Museum is going to come up here. And so, that's great and that's the starting point to bringing some British Museum items here.

The speaker goes on to talk about their relationship with Tate:

Based around one painting that Tate acquired a couple of years ago by an Oldham artist, which kind of meant they couldn't really not approach us, I think, we've been able to build those partnerships and I'd like us to do more of that. *It's about raising our profile* so that, so the Tate shows the - the *Artists' Rooms* came with what, to us, is an unimaginable marketing budget. You know that we would never have - And so there's a lot of little adverts - only yay big. On every on every Metrolink tram at

the moment for that show. Now we'd never able to do that normally. It would be interesting to see to what extent it brings more people to us. but it's that - *It's that kind of raising our game and raising our profile are the kind of aspirations that those bigger partnerships... Definitely.*

This insight clearly points to a situation in which Oldham organisations are able to fulfil their aspirations, but that this success is secured with the assistance of up-system organisations. The situation endorses the view presented by Durrer et al. (2019) that local organisations 'jostle entrepreneurially for the attention of national bodies to secure their inclusion in the network and gain access, influence and control' (p.327). The relationship described in the excerpt above not only illustrates the immediate financial benefit to the organisation, but it also exemplifies Powell's and DiMaggio (1991) theory of isomorphism through the articulation of professional practices being institutionalised and shaped via powerful organisations. Further, it indicates the ability of an up-system body to consecrate the working practices of the staff through a professional exchange (so that British Museum artefacts may be permitted to be housed there) and a reliance upon the up-system organisation to assist with the raising of the Oldham organisation's profile. Much can be gleaned from this one statement which highlights topics of both professionalisation and consecration. These are themes to which I will return.

The nature of up-system ties as a conduit for bestowing status and legitimation may be illustrated in the relationships organisations seek with the Royal Northern College of Music. As with the aforementioned British Museum, or Tate, the Royal Northern College of Music constitutes a 'prestige' organisation. As such, relationships with the college are venerated. Ties with the college serve as affirmation of an organisation's own significance and mark the activities related to the college as exemplary within the institutional field. The interview and sociogram data from this inquiry evidence that the Royal Northern College of Music occupies a position of authority within the cultural ecology, and that it serves as an important source of network capital for a number of organisations within the field. The effect of ties with the College seem to reach beyond its utility as a tertiary education establishment. RNCM is valued beyond the organisations in receipt of regular funds. The organisations offering traditional music activities within Oldham, without exception, seek ties with the Royal Northern College of Music. Voluntary-amateur, council led, or regularly funded organisations with a music focus seek legitimation through the RNCM and as illustrated earlier, their ties converge there either through their

operational or governance ties. References to those who have studied at the RNCM and the authority that bestows is evidenced further across a range of interviews:

He picks good musicians – they’ve all been through the Royal Northern College of Music.

One participating organisation is keen to seek the approval of the RNCM stating:

We want to see the Northern College’s reaction to how amazing these young people are with having no formal training whatsoever - but we have never been able to just get that.

The Oldham Music Service asserts their ties to the Royal Northern College of Music and underlines their access to it by referencing a connection to the Principal of the College. The importance of the connection to the Music Service is further implied by the participant stating:

within the GM Hub on our board we have the erm Chief Exec of the Hallé, the Head of the RNCM, erm - *lots of influential people*

Further another participant said:

I mean we sing at the Royal Northern College of Music – we have international soloists, you know

This final quote suggests merely being in the building consecrates the organisation. It is clear, that networking with RNCM is seen as an important source of legitimation. These sentiments are echoed in the transcripts of a range of organisations including the Saddleworth Concerts and Saddleworth Festivals Societies who emphasize their relationship with the RNCM, placing particular value on performers who have trained, or teach at the college. Without these ties, there is a sense that traditional musical activity, particularly within the voluntary-amateur sector would struggle to attract any attention. The RNCM clearly demonstrates some of the institutionalised understanding which prevail within the field. The College enjoys elite patronage and serves as a vital source of legitimation for musical activity. At the same time however, it speaks to Larson’s (2014) assertion that cultural legitimacy of traditional art forms has been questioned. There is a sense that without out the RNCM’s attention or legitimising function, much of the traditional musical activity in the borough would have little support or legitimation from the rest of the sector.

Whilst non-traditional music forms such as those offered by Global Grooves do not have a direct connection with the Royal Northern College of Music, they do seek to work with the Oldham Music Service. In doing so, they would have their musical contribution legitimised by an organisation with important ties up-system.

Nevertheless, as seen in the sociogram, the Music Service currently succeeds without establishing links with organisations such as Global Grooves or Mahdlo – even though they are sought, suggesting the Music Service sees no benefit to making those connections. Both Global Grooves and Mahdlo’s musical offering are centred on non-traditional forms, in contrast to those of the Oldham Music Service. Whether the Oldham Music Service’s rejection of network connections with the two other organisations is based upon ideological grounds, or simply due to a perceived lack of organisational advantage cannot be known from the data here. However, what is clear is that the work of the Oldham Music Service is enabled directly by its own direct links to up system organisations which it is able to access through the Greater Manchester Music Hub.

Within the sociogram analysis the Oldham Music Service, like the Oldham Coliseum Theatre is identified as having significant centrality, whilst simultaneously attracting some contention. The situation resonates with Offer ‘s (2012) assertion that failure to reciprocate network ties may prove damaging to an organisation’s reputation. The council run service is recognised within the borough as the formal partner for music delivery. It works primarily with schools but also has connections to a number of prestigious Manchester city centre organisations, including the RNCM and Brighter Sound. The participant also sits on the board of the Greater Manchester Music Hub. Whilst it the Oldham Music Service operates within the remit of Oldham Council’s formal arts and cultural offering, its position in the institutional field is somewhat distant from Oldham Theatre Workshop, Gallery Oldham and Oldham Arts and Events. One organisation diplomatically articulated the Music Service’s somewhat anomalous status by observing:

that’s got a certain flavour to it, hasn’t it?

The Music Service does not articulate reciprocity across many of the ties other organisations claim to have with it. As with the Oldham Coliseum theatre, beyond their ties with schools the Oldham Music Service focus their network outside the borough. Within the local ecology, two organisations express a desire to work with the Music Service more closely, but their interviews suggest an unwillingness from the Music Service to pursue ties:

We’ve tried to connect with them a lot of times [...]and haven’t really got much to show for it yet. I don’t want to obviously be kind of negative about another organisation but so far, we haven’t really got much – we haven’t really got much to show for the for the fact we’ve been trying to make a link... I actually had a very open conversation from the

Music Service about sign-posting young people to this project – and was told that it ‘probably wouldn’t be that appealing to X person, because actually they will potentially lose young people from their project because they’ll come to you – whereas my kind of feeling was – Well, can’t they do both?’

As well as revealing the Oldham Music Service’s reluctance to make connections with the organisation, this quote clearly demonstrates the nature of networks. The participant articulates that ‘they don’t have much’ from trying to make the link. Here we see a clear sense that the construction of networks is aimed at securing organisational gain. The frustration articulated in the previous quote was shared by another organisation, who clearly see value in trying to work with the Music Service:

The only sticking point we’ve had is with Oldham music service. Not interested in working with us - quite dismissive of us really.

The second of these statements describes the attitude of the Music Service as ‘dismissive’ a situation suggesting the Music Service sees no value in forging a relationship with the local organisation. Through the Greater Manchester Music Hub, the Oldham Music Service is well connected to organisations up system (Hallé, Brighter Sound, Chetham’s, RNCM). As a result, it is reasonable to suggest the Music Service views its own position as commanding sufficient strength without requiring the connections on offer to them. In network theory terms, the two organisations endeavouring to work with the Music Service are not regarded as offering sufficient value (Borgatti et al. 2013). This evidence points to Oldham Music Service as being the subject of some tension amongst field participants. There seems to be an underlying sense of frustration that the Music Service is aloof. Yet, the sociogram data evidences that the Music Service receives considerable recognition throughout the field. Connections to the organisation are sought after, but these requests are not met with corresponding enthusiasm, indicating that the organisation is not dependent upon local ties. In spite of its lack of network reciprocity it is sufficiently able to command field authority without making connections with its most local counterparts.

The Music Service holds a unique characteristic within the Council run cultural offering. Of the council run organisations, it seems to be one of the few organisations within network that links the Saddleworth, and voluntary-amateur organisations to the rest of the cultural ecology. The Music Service is identified by Saddleworth organisations as an important resource. The Concerts Society (and by default the Saddleworth Festival) identify the Music Service as a key partner, Oldham

Community Radio and Saddleworth Show both identify the music service as a high quality and well-run service which has great importance. Similarly, the Whit Friday Brass Contest value the role and function of the Oldham Music Service. These connections are broadly homophilic, joining together traditional musical forms including choral and classical music in what is, by their own admission a similar demographic, the music service admit their participants are:

Erm... It's mainly white, middle-class

A statement which also describes the Saddleworth demographic. Whilst the Music Service has turned down partnerships with organisations looking to create non-mainstream musical genres, it has cooperated with the Saddleworth organisations, producing classical works. The homogenous nature of the participants and the sources of legitimation shared amongst these closely networked groups once again demonstrate a narrow band of voices represented across the field. There is a clear sense *between* these organisations of a shared social space, and yet very little acknowledgement of the fields of creative and cultural practice that may be taking place within the wider running in parallel to them (the nature of which are beyond the scope of this thesis). The themes of diversity this situation raises will be picked up later in one of the final sections.

The Oldham Arts Development team is one of the Council-led organisations viewed as a key organisation by almost all the publicly funded organisations within the study. Whilst this may, in part, be explained by the sampling method, or explained via homophilic ties, it is clear that this council service is both highly influential, and highly valued within in the field. The evidence for the strength of the Arts Development team is weakened as a result of some participants referring simply to ‘the Council’ within their interviews – however, within some interviews, whilst this cannot be firmly evidenced, there was a strong indication that a reference to ‘The Council’ was a reference to the Arts Development team. Those organisations referencing connections to the Arts Development team tended to refer directly to one of three named individuals - thirteen of the interviews name at least one representative of the Oldham Arts Development team by name – including each of the Manchester city centre organisations. All the Borough’s regularly funded organisations have a direct relationship with the Arts and Events team, including the Oldham Coliseum Theatre – who, whilst omitting the Borough Council or the Arts Development team from their network map said of their relationship with the council:

[It's] Really... really strong. Yeah.
 [...] Especially with the new build - it's certainly in a good place, at the moment, because of that joint interest
 [named Council individual] sits on our board as well

Not only is does this statement underline the importance of the relationship with the Arts Development Team it also asserting the value of having a member of the Oldham Council Leisure Services team on the Coliseum's governing board.

The role of the Arts Development team in supporting organisations within the borough is further underlined in Mahdlo's expressed support for and gratitude to the Arts Development Team who had lent advice for a successful Arts Council funding bid that Mahdlo had applied for. The degree of reciprocity between the Oldham Arts Development's sociogram with other regularly funded organisations suggests they enjoy a position of equality within the network. The borough council has positioned itself as a key resource for the organisations within the borough. The cohesion between the council's leisure services (Gallery, Music Service, Theatre Workshop and Arts and Events) evidenced within the earlier quote seems to lend to their strength, as does the personal nature of the connections forged between partnering organisations by the named individuals involved.

Whilst the voluntary-amateur organisations within the study make mention of the council including the Arts Development Team, they do not see the same value in it as the regularly funded organisations. References to Oldham Council services from voluntary-amateur organisations tended to refer to road traffic management, risk assessments or other council services as opposed to direct links to the Arts Development team. For the Lyceum Theatre, as with the Millgate Theatre (via Saddleworth Live! at the Millgate) relationships to the council extend to the ownership of their respective buildings. The presence of the voluntary-amateur organisations within the borough were broadly unacknowledged by the council. As I will demonstrate shortly, the Council works closely with regularly funded organisations, however, they evidence little connection with the voluntary-amateur organisations.

Saddleworth Live! At the Millgate, occupies a position at the edge of the sociogram. Whilst it does not claim many network ties within the field the organisation has begun to attract the attention of other organisations in the field. A relative newcomer to the field, the entirely self-funded couple from Dobcross have won popular support from the other Saddleworth-based organisations as well as those in the amateur theatre landscape. Their work has also been noted amongst the Central

Manchester organisations. Previously operating from a pub, the pair now put on professional theatre productions at the Millgate Arts Centre in Delph. Several organisations pointed to their success:

They're great – they used to run The Swan. They are great. Superb. Those guys, we used to go to theirs a lot and I've got friends who are, were, given opportunities by them - playwrights erm they're terrific. I wish we'd have got them.

Another organisation observed:

We've been overtaken I'm afraid. [Saddleworth Live!] are doing a much better job, of putting on a vast variety and they fill the hall.

The position of Saddleworth Live! is somewhat unique as it enjoys recognition within the field, and is admired, however it has no formal network ties. Saddleworth Live! may further evidence the importance of absent network ties. Whilst it draws upon references to national and international prestige organisations in order to legitimise the work it does (namely the Edinburgh Festival and Broadway). The organisation is entirely self-funding, it requires no public funding and succeeds in its work without reliance upon other organisations. As such, it has no need of the capitals available to it through local network connections. Whilst access to public funds through the Arts Council England or local authority is viewed as a source of legitimation by some organisations (as I will demonstrate), for Saddleworth Live! it is viewed with ambivalence. Describing a conversation with a colleague, they proudly eschew Arts Council England funding stating:

We don't need to bother the public purse! Everybody is happy! You know the artists are getting paid!
That was one of the things that spurred us on.

For them, any suggestion that they should be publicly funded would indicate a failure of their organisation. Their programme generates sufficient income through ticket sales and the bar to sustain its activities. Saddleworth Live! is able to operate broadly independently, although works with the Saddleworth Players in order to share the Millgate Arts Centre venue, however, a lack of their own space is acknowledged as a constraint, they state:

although we love it here [the Millgate] we're just not quite in control
like we were in the pub

Nevertheless, they hint at some highly influential connections that extend well beyond the Oldham arts and cultural field, which have clearly enabled their success; as well as

connections to national organisations including James Seabright Productions, they said:

John MacDaniel [...]we met him in New York and he got us through doors we'd never go in

Whilst they currently do not draw upon local capitals available to them, their success has established them within the field, of which they are now sought-after members. One well-established up-system organisation referenced 'Saddleworth Live!' stating unequivocally:

We should connect with them.

The above statement implies that 'Saddleworth Live!' are becoming recognised as an emerging 'authority' within the field which may provide benefit to the organisation seeking the connection.

The apparent lack of network ties exhibited by 'Saddleworth Live!' suggests they are only loosely bound within the institution. They operate largely independently from the rest of the field. Nevertheless, the recognition they enjoy from up-system organisations some of which express a desire to work with them suggests, their activities offer a perceived value to existing established organisations. Saddleworth Live! recognise their own potential within the field stating:

I think the thing is - we don't find anybody else a threat to what we do
- but what we do - some other theatres - find us a threat to their audience.

What cannot be known, is the extent to which 'Saddleworth Live!' will seek to maintain their relative independence from the field, or whether (either deliberately, or through an emerging process) they will become subsumed into the institutional field. For the moment, however, they appear to have little need of the capitals afforded by the field.

Network connections are actively pursued with transcripts showing organisations expressing desire for network ties to be established, or strengthened further:

I went to Brighter Sounds - in Manchester which used to be Manchester Music Service to try and work with them -but they're just too busy

And referencing the desire for strengthening another connection stating:

I want more from Home really.

What this section begins to demonstrate is, in keeping with Archer's (1995, 2000) assertion about individuals in the social world, that organisations are not passive. They

use the knowledge of their operating environment consciously to shape and maximise what they might achieve. This section has attempted to show how network capitals are highly valued sources of non-economic capital within the field. The connections organisations form provide crucial sources of legitimacy, prestige, or access to influential individuals. Nevertheless, networks alone do not tell the full stories of how hierarchies and power are constructed. Within the following section, I will try and further illustrate how hierarchies are constructed and revealed in the field.

4.2.4 I've Never Even Heard of Them

In attempting to answer the first of the research questions, this inquiry has engaged with searching for evidence of hierarchies within the field. As stated at the beginning of the chapter, this study finds that power relations are evidenced in a wide variety of ways. Hierarchies have already begun to emerge from the data. Relative power is evidenced through the relationships organisations foster, through prestige governance and through the nature of network reciprocity. The findings here support the theories of Lukes, (2005), and Bourdieu and Johnson (1993) presented within the literature review that power is pervasive, through its articulations and inculcations. As asserted in the literature review (Williams 2012), I will now demonstrate how organisational power is constructed largely through legitimacy. Much of this process is subtle and relies upon accepted beliefs prevailing within the institution.

Hierarchies are implied throughout the findings, with both direct and indirect references to field positions and position takings. In addition to the network analysis findings, there is a large body of evidence illustrating a hierarchical field. Some of the evidence of field positions are insinuated through particular organisational and symbolic practices. In what follows I have tried to group similar articulations of power together. This section details the references to hierarchy that are transmitted through the taken for granted, the implied, or directly referenced through discourse.

As discussed in the literature review, the accumulation of economic wealth is highly significant in an agent's ability for individual action. Organisational domination is assisted by economic success (Thornton et al 2012). This is a situation that is reflected within the findings of this thesis. Funding is a recurring theme throughout the interview transcripts regardless of field position. When asked which organisations were the most powerful voices in the cultural landscape, one participant said emphatically:

Establishment. You know, Hallé and the Royal Exchange, definitely establishment. *Funding, they've got a lot of money, In fact all of those people have got a lot of money [...]it's those big organisations that are really well funded that are able to in a sense, sit around the table when you're thinking about culture*

One participant conveys a sense of resignation about their *lack* of economic power and influence within the broader national cultural landscape when describing their withdrawal from a national scheme:

we're moving away from [that] because of the cost'. They've got big artists involved now, and they've got a different agenda.

However, key here too is the use of the word 'establishment' in the first quote. The term 'establishment' suggests a highly institutionalised field (see Meyer and Rowan 1991) in which the nature of power and legitimacy are accepted. The term 'establishment' implies a situation in which some positions within the field are largely static over time. According to this participant there is a power implied not only through both economic capital but also an organisation's ability to draw down upon history and conformity to the institutional rules. Referring back to the literature review, it is the ability of organisations to draw upon these taken for granted ideologies that lends itself to organisational dominance. What follows endeavours to evidence these ideologies at play within the field and further inform how organisations understand the hierarchical nature of its occupants.

The contribution that economic wealth plays in securing positions of power within the field's hierarchy is clearly illustrated by the excerpt from one of the interview transcripts at the opening of this section. There is evidence that simple economics are viewed as having a role to play in determining an organisation's position within the field hierarchy. As demonstrated in what follows, much of the evidence from this inquiry points to cultural organisations in the Oldham arts field endeavouring to create conditions which maximise their exposure to financial opportunities. In keeping with Bourdieu's (1991, 1992, 1984; Bourdieu and Johnson 1993) assertions, all non-economic capitals are converted into sources of power one way or another. However, as this enquiry attempts to illustrate, this organisational capacity building takes place through a range of means and through the conversion of a variety of capitals, and by harnessing the prevailing understandings within the field.

Taken for granted acceptance of organisational dominance within the field was revealed in a number of interviews. The symbolic nature of inclusion and exclusion are revealed throughout the field, with interview transcripts providing clear insights

into how organisations view their own position in the field hierarchy. As described in the literature review, the use of these opposing terms such as ‘bigger and smaller’ exemplify Bourdieu’s (1991 in Swartz, 1997) explanation of symbolic systems based upon inclusion and exclusion in which binary logics serve to construct (and stabilise) power relationships within the social realm. Organisational status within the field is illustrated by direct references using terms in oppositional ways. This othering signposts understandings of how the field is understood by those within it. The implication of these comments is that these organisations understand themselves to be of less significance and command less influence within the field, deferring to other organisations they consider to be further up the hierarchy – regardless of income status. This is particularly significant for organisations operating in the voluntary-amateur sector who accept their position within the field, deferring to the professional organisations occupying dominant field positions. These quotes provide evidence of how organisations in dominated field positions accept their own status within field relations.

One of the research participants from within the borough described attendees of a meeting:

‘Oh, all the *big ones* Home, Royal Exchange, Contact, The Whitworth’,

Similarly, another described a situation, stating:

‘Home, Brighter Sound – and like - there were a couple of biggies and *a few smaller ones - a couple of smaller ones like us*’

This exemplifies the elevated status of both Home and Brighter Sound, a situation that is similarly evidenced within the network analysis. Examples of how organisations understand their dominated position within the field of struggles are further revealed in the interview transcripts. One Oldham based organisation used the term ‘big people’ as an explicit reference to an organisation they considered superior to themselves, in this instance - the Contact:

‘We’ve started working with Contact Theatre - and just trying to get the *big people* in that we admire.’

Similarly, the status of Brighter Sound is referenced as follows:

‘they used to be the Manchester Music Service, but *they’re much bigger than that now*’.

The quotes above demonstrate that there are elements of organisational complicity in the structural nature of power. In each of the quotes, the apparent superiority of

organisations in the city of Manchester is clearly revealed. These statements point to a field in which organisations defer to those organisations they understand as being more authoritative, broadly on ideological grounds.

This is further illustrated in the ways in which organisations valorise the work and values of the Arts Council. The acceptance of prevailing field hierarchies and taken for granted understandings are evidenced in the assumption that adopting the methods prescribed by Arts Council England reflects ‘the right way’ to operate. One manager stated:

‘so, we’ve [...] brought in arts council principles in our planning and things like that - we’re learning as we’re going along - not just to get the grant *but we want to do things right*’

This is a direct reference to the ability of powerful organisations in dominant field positions to set the institutional agenda. It points directly to Scott’s (2014) institutional pillars, or an organisations’ ability to ‘own and frame ideas’ (Thornton et al., 2012 p.8). The Arts Council maintains institutional authority via not only the implementation of instrumental funding requirements, but also through the construction of morally governed rules of appropriate behaviour. This apparent deference to the Arts Council England implies an acceptance of the Arts Council’s status and authority. The situation also implies the acceptance of structural phenomena within the field and that organisations are willing to accept and comply with the regulation of the Arts Council England and welcome its effect. From this perspective, the Arts Council England have established cultural support for their values.

There is evidence to suggest the Arts Council England’s field function for organisations in receipt of their funding is beyond that of a source of income. There is a sense of a halo effect that is created by ACE recognition. One organisation spoke directly of an ‘ACE effect’ when speaking of Oldham’s two regularly funded (NPO) Arts Council England funded organisations:

It’s [The Oldham Coliseum Theatre] definitely got, like, an amplified voice. I would say, I would say so, I mean and to add Peshkar to them too - I mean that they're the two ACE funded, you know. That's. That's what Arts Council does in Oldham.

The suggestion that Arts Council support provides amplified voice as a result of organisational legitimacy afforded by Arts Council England is echoed in the following statement:

These guys, the NPOs They've been funded for a long time. So they're the ones with relationships to the Arts Council, in a way that - it's hard

for us to do so - I think...[...] in terms of the ACE - I just wonder whether HLF just doesn't somehow manage to have the same effect. There's not an HLF effect like there is an...[ACE one]

The view presented here acknowledges that the provision of Arts Council England funding not only secures organisational income but lends organisational legitimacy for those in receipt of their funds.

Relationships with Arts Council England, or the receipt of Arts Council funds for projects are considered sources of legitimation amongst some participants. There is a clear sense that in being recognised by the Arts Council England, organisations receive not only financial support, but also secure increased authority and legitimacy at the same time. One organisation stated, 'we're officially NPO status now' and went on to confirm the legitimising effect National Portfolio Status brings them, claiming:

The profile has just gone through the roof – especially with the recent NPO news It's like suddenly now – it's pricked peoples' ears up and people are now like – 'Oh. Right. They're serious, are they?'

Whilst another organisation described a particular element of their activities emphasising:

For that, we got Arts Council funding

The implication of the statement above was to demonstrate that the project 'was good enough' to secure Arts Council funding. The participant draws directly upon the grant as a source of legitimation.

There is also a modicum of evidence hinting that organisations receiving Arts Council England's funding are viewed as establishment. The following statement by one organisation suggests a resignation about the immovable status of some organisations within the ecology. There is a sense that some organisations are so well-established that it is hard to discern if the Arts Council's support exemplifies organisational quality, or whether quality is measured via the receipt of Arts Council support. This situation is reflected in one organisation stating in conversation:

They've got a national reputation. It's exceedingly unlikely that they would ever lose their [Arts Council] funding.

The local authority run Arts Development Team ensure they have ties with the borough's two Arts Council England National Portfolio Organisations. One insight within the interview transcripts hints that the Oldham Council support lent to both Peshkar Productions and The Coliseum Theatre is given on the taken for granted basis of the legitimacy afforded to the two organisations through being Arts Council England

National Portfolio Organisations. A representative from the Arts Development Team stated:

I think, - it's local authority showing support for its NPO [...] You know, it's right that we do that and also the fact that - that's it's not just done in cash funding, but it's also done in buildings making sure that they have a home within the borough and things like that.

The comment above points once more to the 'halo' effect Arts Council England bestows. This indicates the halo effect not only amplifies the status of the individual organisations, but also the borough itself. There is an allusion here to the borough wishing to ensure it is able to support and maintain two regularly funded organisations. This poses a challenge to Durrer et al.'s (2019) notion of institutional 'kinship' between the two organisations being a thing of the past (p327). As the discussion evolves, what is becoming clear is that accessing vital sources of legitimation is easiest for organisations in receipt of public funds. For organisations operating within the voluntary-amateur sector, their bases of legitimation need to be drawn through more nuanced structures in order to maintain their foothold in the field. Whilst their activities may mirror those of the organisations recognised via public funds, they are unable to draw down on the symbolic effect it bestows.

The organisations within the field based in Manchester appear to command considerable authority within the field. In keeping with the evidence from the analysis of the sociograms, the analysis of the interview transcripts further supports the dominance of Manchester based organisations. In particular, the Royal Exchange Theatre, the RNCM, Contact and Home. As Contact were not available to take part in the inquiry, only a limited amount of evidence for their field position may be produced. Nevertheless, Contact is referred to directly in connection with its significance in the field by Oldham organisations. Contact is named in eight interview transcripts. In addition to the reference by one organisation expressing their admiration for the work of Contact, cited previously, another organisation describe Contact as follows:

You know Contact in Manchester? [...] as much as anything we have (more so in the past), looked to them for kind of leading the way – a lot on certain things. So they have been quite influential to us.

Further, Contact was identified by another participant who stated:

I guess I like the mission and values of Contact

Contact is mentioned within these findings as being a constituent member of ‘the big’ organisations within the field. It is understood as being a leading practitioner that exerts considerable influence within the sector. Each of the quotes above come from those organisations that are publicly funded. Contact exemplify how (relatively) new field entrants may enter the field and achieve domination through subversion strategies (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993; Swartz, 1997). Since its refurbishment at the beginning of 2000, Contact have cultivated a reputation for eschewing traditional practice; emphasising their participatory policies and succeeding in attracting a demographic far broader than average theatre audiences (Jancovich, 2015). In keeping with Meyer and Rowan’s understanding of institutional isomorphism, Contact have now won a well-established position of dominance within the field, as evidenced through their elite patronage via the Bruntwood Group, and direct links to Arts Council North. Like one of Luhmann’s ‘irritations’ (2000), they have been able to establish new modes of practice which other organisations within the field seek to emulate. The desire to replicate the work of Contact may be borne of the demands of funders for organisations to address inequalities of access to the arts – a situation which is given closer attention in the sections which follow. Contact have demonstrated their ability to attract a wider audience, and now those in receipt of public monies are under pressure to do likewise. Contact illustrates the ways in which new field entrants may quickly have become subsumed into the institution. In spite of their espoused non-traditional practices, have become a leading part of the agenda setting establishment. Contact now evidence Bourdieu’s (1989) ‘world-making’. Contact have established ‘sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition’ Bourdieu (1989 p. 23).

The Oldham Coliseum Theatre’s dominant presence in the institutional landscape is undeniable. Interview transcripts reveal broad acknowledgment that the theatre occupies a position of status within the field. One interview participant stated:

We have a self-proclaimed premier league – to take a football analogy
– who are the Coliseum. The Coliseum dominate.

Similarly, another organisation states:

Well, the Coliseum is the place really

The Oldham Coliseum’s position as an authority within the field is expressed by one participant who describe the theatre as a ‘star partner’, a situation suggesting the theatre is of superior quality to other partners and hinting that the Oldham Coliseum Theatre is a source of legitimation for organisations offering drama-based

activities within the borough of Oldham. However, as with the Music Service, it concentrates its own network on ties which reach beyond the town.

The ascription of star quality to the organisation suggests an apparent reverence with which the theatre is viewed. Notably, the network partnership went unreciprocated in the Oldham Coliseum's network map. Another participant stated:

it [the Coliseum Theatre] does a very good job' and should be judged against the Manchester theatres.

Again, this quote reveals not only the dominant position the Oldham Coliseum Theatre enjoys within the field, but also underpins the influence and perceived status of the organisations within Manchester city centre. In referencing those organisations within the city centre as a benchmark for quality against which Oldham organisations are compared, the relevance of the organisations in the city is further evidenced. It indicates the sense that Oldham is overshadowed by its counterparts in the city.

As already shown, the Oldham Coliseum is an undeniable presence within the cultural ecology of Oldham. Whilst it is clear that the Coliseum Theatre commands relatively high status within the field, its relationship to other organisations within the local ecology seems to be one of underlying tensions. The Coliseum Theatre seems to polarise local organisations' opinion. This once again supports Offer's (2012) claim that lack of network reciprocity can be detrimental to organisational reputation. One publicly funded organisation describes their relationship to the Coliseum as, 'fluctuating' whilst another from the voluntary-amateur sector remarks:

We don't understand why we're not all skipping through the tulips together - as we would like to be.

The interview transcripts point to a paradox whereby the theatre's position in the local ecology is both significant, but also somewhat detached from the local landscape. One participant said:

Although we've talked [about them] so much, I haven't put the Coliseum on here. That's funny.

And goes on to add:

There's a real recognition around the Coliseum. Now whether that's a good voice in terms of listened to by all the other arts organizations is a different thing.

This statement illustrates how power is accumulated through a variety of conduits. Whilst the 'voice' and 'recognition' observed by the participant above imply the

Coliseum Theatre has a significant degree of influence, there are questions about whether this amounts to actual power in practice.

A further comment illustrating the implied disconnect from the rest of the local ecology was articulated thus:

We've had nothing to do with them... So, there's really no need for me to be... <falters> to – they don't programme things that I'm interested in.'

Yet, the theatre still featured on the participant's own sociogram. In the statement above there is a sense that the theatre is so deeply embedded and established within the field, that its activities are barely of relevance. This may indicate a halo phenomenon, where the basis for the theatre's authority in the field is illusory, yet nevertheless, it dominates the field. One participant described the tensions between the theatre's domination of the ecology and the other organisations within the field as, 'the elephant in the room'.

The evidence provided by the Oldham Coliseum Theatre suggests an unwillingness to passively accept their current field position. The Coliseum Theatre seeks greater dominance within the field. The following statement reveals the tension between accepted field positions and the aspiration to enhance their own field position:

If we just started doing plays, that the Royal Exchange do, some people believe that would alienate a lot of the existing audience - My belief differs because I believe it would challenge and actually enable us to progress

This crucial piece of evidence illustrates an awareness of the dominant position of the Royal Exchange Theatre, but also references the relative agency the Oldham Coliseum Theatre understands itself as having. The theatre does not believe its position to be static but understands that it has opportunities for organisational action and the ability to secure greater field dominance. For this participant, by aspiring to produce plays in line with those that the Royal Exchange offer, it would enable to theatre to 'progress' to a more dominant field position. Oldham organisations are acutely aware of their relationships to organisations in Manchester, and the role they play within the wider institutional structure, however, the excerpt above from the Oldham Coliseum Theatre suggests that organisations do not always passively accept these positions will go unchallenged.

The data implies that organisations in dominant field positions may well recognise their positions within the hierarchy. What is clear from the analysis thus far is that many organisations endeavour to form and nurture ties with legitimating, up-system bodies. However, in forming relationships with legitimating bodies is illustrative of Bourdieu's understanding of symbolic violence. Up-system organisations form relationships with dominated organisations and are complicit in the 'structured relations' within the field. In some instances, dominated organisations appear to misrecognize reciprocity in their relationship and as such may find themselves merely complicit in affirming the dominant position of others in the field – or as Swartz describes it, 'the deep structure of domination and subordination in social life' (Swartz, 1997, p.85). A direct example of this may be illustrated through the interview transcripts. One Oldham based organisation explicitly identified through their network map and interview a well-established, city centre organisation as a partner. The Oldham based organisation benefits from a small number of tickets to city centre activities. Yet the relationship was not only absent in the network of the corresponding organisation, but the up-system organisation's representative stated:

I've never even heard of [them].

This lack of reciprocity and recognition displays evidence of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence requires 'the complicity of those who do not want to know they are subject to it' resulting in consent (Bourdieu, 1991 in Swartz, 1997 p.164). The Oldham based organisation misrecognises the gift of tickets as being enabling, which masks the servitude of the Oldham based organisation that (in theory) provides the up-system organisation with access to a non-traditional, Oldham based-audience, which probably benefits dominant organisation (as will be demonstrated later). The dominant organisation fails to acknowledge any relationship with the dominated one. This may be interpreted as the connection not being of significant value to the dominant organisation, and thereby the Oldham organisation goes unrecognised.

This section has provided insights into the relative field positions organisations occupy, though they are evidenced further throughout the sections that follow. It has demonstrated that organisations understand their relative positions within the field. This understanding does not, however, necessarily imply acceptance. This section has also pointed to situations in which legitimate status is being questioned. As evidenced in the literature review (Lukes, 2005; Bourdieu, 1984) legitimacy is a key element of

securing and maintaining dominance within the field. The following section explores modes of legitimacy construction as a means of justifying their position in the field.

4.2.5 He Used to Work for the BBC

Field understandings are constructed through the creation of powerful, taken for granted stories and position takings echoing both Barthes (2009), Meyer and Rowan (1977) and Bourdieu and Johnson (1993) in their understandings of the construction of cultural norms. Organisations draw upon institutionalised values constructed through venues, organisational age - especially accompanied by buildings of grandeur or prevenience (a situation I will come to in sections which follow), and a perceived gravitas in the work an organisation undertakes. These references point to the ways in which deeply structured understandings of power and authority permeate the field. These understandings are reflected in how organisations speak about and understand themselves and others via legitimising factors beyond their network connections. The following quote exemplifies some of these valorised capitals:

‘They [Oldham Theatre Workshop] do theatre very seriously - 50 years old this year, you know, international stars come from there so they’re very disciplined about what they do’

Indicators of organisational legitimacy according to this participant lie in organisational age, an international resonance, and a perception that the organisation is serious about the work it undertakes. The subjectivity associated with doing theatre ‘seriously’ seems almost absurd. Abstracted as it is here, it demonstrates how organisations are ascribed subjective characteristics which are understood as being taken for granted markers of quality. Their quality is marked by their seriousness, but also questions the other organisations within the field, are we to suppose that they are, in contrast, not serious?

Organisational age appears to be an accepted marker of authority. An organisation’s ability to survive is one of the ways in which organisations ascribe their own organisational legitimacy. References to the longevity coalesce with taken for granted legitimacy. Organisational ages and anniversaries are routinely referred to in the transcripts as testimony to legitimacy as a field occupant:

This is our 90th anniversary.

Upper Mill is the oldest and Upper Mill started in 1884, right?

So, it’s our 50th year.

What these statements evidence, is that organisational ability to survive within the social space is a testament to it, and in lends to its reputation. Longevity appears to elevate organisational status. There is a sense that if the organisation has already been a field member for a long time, it seems likely it will remain. This has similarities to the sense of establishment conveyed by the earlier statement about organisations being unlikely to lose their funding, on the grounds, that it has already been funded for so long.

Throughout the interviews, participants validate their activities with references to lose ties with valorised, prestige institutions. These references indicate hierarchies through systems of institutionalised consecration. Organisations reference relationships to prestige organisations even if the relationship is historical, limited, irregular or tenuous. The role of the BBC provides an example of the recognition and halo effect association with the body has. As well as featuring prominently on the Oldham Music Service network map, the Whit Friday Brass Contest participant, was keen to emphasise the presence of international broadcasters and their relationship with BBC Radio stations. The participant spoke of the organisation's relationship with 'Songs of Praise' (BBC Television) and 'Listen to the Band' (BBC Radio 2) through which they created a sense that the Whit Friday and brass tradition are cemented firmly not only within the local but within in the national cultural landscape. What is significant here is that the interest shown in the event by national organisations such as the BBC are taken for granted markers of quality and highlight the significance of the event:

They were featured on 'Listen to the Band'. Yes, I was interviewed, Phil the conductor of Delph Band was interviewed. And I think that went quite well. And then there's a lot of stuff on the BBC entertainment website

Similarly, the Whit Friday Brass Contest draw upon their connection to the film production 'Brassed Off' (Mark Herman, 1996). Underlining the filming of *Brassed Off* (ibid.) and mentioning members of the cast and production bestows a sense of the band contest's national and international relevance, impact, and legitimacy. These relations and associations with national, prestige institutions – whilst they are not evidenced to any great extent as formal partnerships, may illustrate that the Whit Friday Brass Contest has no need of relationships to other organisations within the local ecology as they are recognised well beyond the immediate field. They have the capacity to act without the support of local organisations.

Connections with the BBC serve as conduits for prestige by association. The recognition surrounding the national institution is evidenced not only by the Whit Friday Contest who have been broadcast, but also through employment connections:

They've got a really great bloke working for them [...] who is their programme manager – he's manager of all of the on-air stuff and he really, really knows his stuff – he used to work for the BBC

In this quote, we see the use of association with the BBC as a benchmark for the quality of the people the organisation works with. The importance of the BBC is also reflected in at least three publicly funded organisations in the field naming BBC broadcasters on their governing bodies, a situation which attaches prestige to the organisations those individuals serve.

References to celebrity connections regularly punctuate the transcripts. Actors, musicians, poets, broadcasters, writers, and television personalities who have taken part in the activities of the various organisations are named in order to emphasise the importance, quality and significance of the organisational work that takes place. This excerpt is just one illustration:

John MacDaniel [...] he's a Grammy, Tony, Emmy award winning pianist arranger - on Broadway - massive on Broadway [...]

For voluntary-amateur organisations with no regular income these connections are crucial sources of legitimation. Without commercial profit, for many organisations, these ties are the demonstrable currency of success. Just as the taken for granted meanings and values are ascribed material objects within the field, celebrity connections and connections with prestige institutions are taken for granted means of validation within the field and assist organisations to secure greater authority within the field. This is further illustrated throughout the data analysis, as I will illustrate. What Oldham organisations demonstrate is the importance of legitimation through recognition from organisations further up-system to secure their success. What follows further displays the ways in which organisations endeavour to secure it, as well as how field relations are accepted and stabilised.

4.2.6 How Could You Do That?! You're Amateurs!

A key insight into the way in which hierarchies are formed within the field was revealed through the ways in which praise is offered. These findings draw once again from Bourdieu's theories (1991 p. 164 in Swartz 1997), and his understandings of both symbolic capital and symbolic violence. The capacity to confer praise reveals

condescension (Bourdieu, 1991), thus further illuminating the nature of hierarchies in operation. Up-system organisations in the field command sufficient field capital to bestow a condescending praise, and with it a sense of their ability to legitimise the work of others. In the following excerpt from the participant interviews, one participant from the voluntary-amateur sector succinctly demonstrates how power relations may be understood. The following came as part of an anecdote in which one amateur organisation has praise bestowed upon them by the artistic director of a professional organisation:

The Artistic Director came when I did 39 steps – so they came to see that – and they said – ‘How did you do that?, How did you do that?! How could you do that? You’re amateurs!’ [...] He could not believe how we put the shows on!

This situation reveals the condescension by the professional organisation in their praise of an amateur one. This ability to bestow praise and opinion from a position as an expert authority evidences the ways in which ideological field understandings prevail; in this instance the assumption that professional organisations are necessarily better than voluntary-amateur ones. Not only does this reveal condescension but clearly demonstrates prevailing attitudes towards the voluntary-amateur sector. It mirrors the assertions of Nicholson et al.’s (2018 p. 26) claim that amateur cultural activity is considered to be less significant than professional or subsidised culture. Voluntary-amateur organisations are assumed to be inferior to their professional counterparts. Significantly however, this quote also reveals a sense of the deference of voluntary-amateur organisations to the profession ones. The condescending praise from the professional organisation is espoused enthusiastically by the voluntary-amateur organisation. For the voluntary-amateur organisation, this praise bestowed on them from a professional organisation confers legitimacy. However, the dominated organisation perhaps misrecognises what this condescension indicates. The situation demonstrates how the conditions within the field are such that the superiority of professional organisations is necessarily real. It is accepted as natural.

The capacity to bestow praise is recognised as a key element of asserting authority (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Scott, 2014). In the Oldham arts field, the role of awards in legitimising practice seems pervasive, but also reveals patterns of power in nuanced ways.

Legitimation flows through both the giving and receiving of awards and prizes. In the literature review, both within the work of Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) as

well in the institutional theory of Scott (2014) they claim that those organisations able to award prizes, position themselves as authorities. By ‘consecrating’ the work of others through acts of condescension, they cast approval upon the work they deem to be worthy. For organisations in receipt of awards, they have their work recognised and legitimised via largely self-appointed bodies who are recognised as experts. Awards therefore affirm sets of institutional standards by acknowledging those who reach them. By taking part in competitions and receiving awards organisations are able to demonstrate their legitimacy and status within the field. Awards are sources of benchmarking and pride, even when they are accepted with a degree of facetiousness. The following examples show how organisations recognise awards and prizes as meaningful justifications for the work they do:

They were awarded the platinum award - which is the top-level and they will be competing at the National Finals [...] we expect them to do well at that level as well - they have achieved the top-level award before there - so we’re optimistic. So, as I say we tend to operate at a very high level.

This first statement lays claim to their organisational work – and success – being at a ‘top level’. It shows what Swartz (1997) describes as matter-of-fact symbolic legitimation (p.93). The organisation’s ability to be recognised, nationally, within the context of the award serves to demonstrate that the organisation is one that delivers high quality. The participant frames the role of the award as being consequential regardless of whether or not the award is won. Merely taking part in the award ‘at that level’ is prestigious and thus demonstrates the organisation’s abilities. The participant also stresses that the awards are national, which, as noted within the literature review, infers wide ranging influence and a resulting legitimation. Nevertheless, consecration via awards confers greatest authority to the awarding body to whom all those taking part defer. Bourdieu contends that through systems of awards, organisations consent to authority (Swartz, 1997). The unnamed guardians of quality implied in the excerpt remain a dominant force, however this situation is unquestioned. Further evidence of awards as legitimation in the field was provided throughout the transcripts. The following reference to ‘Museum of the Year’ demonstrates the desire to claim a title:

They won Museum of the year a couple of years ago - So that's where we should absolutely aim. [...] chase some awards.

For this Oldham based participating organisation, winning an award is an expressed aim. Expressing a desire to ‘chase’ an award points to a situation where institutionally

recognised ways of doing things will be actively undertaken with the express desire of obtaining recognition through an up-system organisation. The awarding body of Museum of the Year is 'Art Fund' a body whose website establishes its own authority and prestige not only through its 110 years of history but via a 15-member trustee board which comprises of 5 individuals with honorary titles, 4 with Professor titles, and members who have held positions in established roles as national theatre, gallery and festival directors (artfund.org retrieved May 2020). The nature of this up-system body further illustrates a field that relies upon longevity and elite notions of art in order to confer organisational legitimacy. All of which returns to the findings from the sociograms, through which was evidenced the field is highly reliant on elite structures. In addition to giving prizes, 'Art Fund' offer training and development for museums and galleries. Training and development programmes help to establish institutionally accepted modes of practice (Bourdieu Di Maggio and Powell 1991; Thornton et al. 2012; Scott 2012) and will be further evidenced in the themes which follow.

The situation is not only evidenced within the regularly funded organisations, but also in the amateur sector. The excerpt from one of the amateur theatre participants suggests that the amateur sector is equally subject to institutional dominance and is legitimised through institutional means, including the practice of award giving:

We recently joined NODA, which I didn't want to do. But some people do because they say - you know we should be getting gongs - Because of the standard we do.

As with the Art Fund, NODA (The National Operatic and Dramatic Association) as an awarding body explicitly draws upon its age as a source of legitimate authority stating on its website that it was established in 1899. The organisation shapes the work of amateur theatres not only through its awards scheme, but by offering education programmes and advice. Its governing council is comprised of all-white members. Its role provides further verification of the nature of established bodies securing dominance and field authority and serving to shape the behaviour of other organisations within the field through acts of consecration.

Awards exist too for those in arts and cultural management within local authority:

I did win the award for the best local authority arts champion. [...]. It's very, very nice. And that was not about me. That was about recognition of local authority. [...]- because it's not that exciting - when you talk

about local authorities, it's [culture] not seen as the exciting end, probably.

The awarding body for the local authority award is 'Hearts for the Arts' a body formed of members including Association of British Orchestras, Society of London Theatre, UK Theatre, Equity, BECTU, and the Musicians' Union. It has been chaired by two honorary titled individuals - Sir Melvyn Bragg and Dame Joan Bakewell. Other (all-white) board members include the director of a national theatre company as well as other cultural elites from classical music and theatre. Consecration via award giving, suggests Upchurch's (2016) notions of 'clerisy' still pervade throughout the field, their reifying effect means they impact even within a local context.

The nature of award giving bodies unequivocally supports claims of elitism in the arts which reaches beyond those organisations in receipt of public funding. Nevertheless, for some individuals, prizes are viewed as sources of resistance. One organisation describes presenting work in an awards context that is unconventional, that does not conform to institutional standards, as a motivation. Nevertheless, for this participant, there seems to be an inevitability about the need to take part, or a fatalistic acknowledgement of the role awards and prizes play. For this organisation awards and prizes are resisted or brushed off as unimportant:

They didn't win a prize; they didn't get nominated for a prize. No one really paid any attention to them - they were phenomenal. So that just made me think - let's put more of that on. We don't care about prizes!

There is no evidence to confirm or reject the assumption that in this instance, awards are dismissed as unimportant on the basis that the organisation was not in receipt of one. It would be interesting to know if the same participant would refer to the award's insignificance had it been won. However, this organisation views their lack of conformity an important act of resistance, a recognition of that they are somehow bound in the wider ecology - but unwilling to conform to all aspects of it. It is perhaps worth reflecting that this organisation has considerable financial and other forms of non-economic capital at its disposal, which perhaps contribute to its ability to dismiss conventional modes of practice, as they are endowed with considerable power from other sources.

A further source of symbolic power is manifested through material artefacts. The value attributed to objects is the primary focus of the section which follows.

4.2.7 A Rather Nice Steinway

Displays of prize certificates and trophies, such as those adorning the entrance of the Oldham Music Service, or the trophy marking the award in the Oldham Arts Development office, are only some of the ways in which organisations use the material to evidence their status or legitimacy in the field. Objects are valorised and bear material witness to the work of an organisation. Organisations were happy to send me away with brochures, programmes, and flyers to ‘give me a feel’ for what they do. Venue based organisations were generally eager to show me around providing an opportunity for the building and its contents to speak for and evidence what they do, as if to bear witness to the claims made of themselves through the interview. Material objects in conjunction with a venue work to embody the values of an organisation. Artefacts and material possessions, such as venues, lend authenticity, legitimacy, authority, and prestige to the organisation. Those organisations who were able to take part in ‘go-along’ interviews revealed organisational understandings of their work and their status through the way in which they spoke about the material objects they possessed. One of the most striking examples being:

We have got I think about 16 uprights, we’ve also got 2 grands - and a rather nice Steinway - which is why the Associated Board like being here - I quite like this place, obviously

The capitals these material objects relate not only the monetary value of the objects. Being in possession of them bestows symbolic capital on the organisation. As Tilley (2001) observes, material goods have the capacity to attract other valuables. Molnár (2016 p.206) refers to the ‘productive power’ of material objects in the social world and their ability to ‘shape the conditions of possibility’. The quote above seems to exemplify the power of the material to present opportunities to the organisation. The symbolic value of material objects is understood throughout the field. Objects serve to make an organisation attractive beyond its ability to fulfil its stated organisational utility. Objects and artefacts strengthen the position of their possessors within the field by providing opportunities for claims to legitimacy through the conversion of the symbolic meaning carried by them. Another example of how material objects were used to confirm organisational success included visual images. Both amateur theatres used pictures of well-known actors, both past and present, as an illustration of successful productions:

So, then we have pictures of past players up here and some of the gigs.
That’s – oh, what’s her name? – Kiki Dee

The theatre who provided the statement above has rows of photographs lined up on the walls of the theatre bar with images from historical productions. The pictures are professional and capture cast members in plays with impressive set designs and props which the theatre is proud to have produced. One organisation pointed to several images on the walls adorning the space:

We'd got to do the whole of the 1934 Hitchcock film. And you can only use what's in his apartment. So - he had the decorators in - he had these ladders up So she made that into the fourth bridge, we made an aeroplane out of a bicycle...

The images are of comparable quality to those that might be found at any professional theatre and there is a sense that the pictures serve to prove to those who sit in the bar area that they are witnessing the highest quality theatre, even though the organisation is not professional.

One of the amateur theatres specifically drew my attention to a painting on one of its walls. The painting depicts the building in which it is housed (which is a listed building), as well as depicting important figures from both the theatre and the town's history. It shows Winston Churchill (previously a member of parliament for Oldham) and references Lancaster Bomber aircraft (which were manufactured in Oldham) as well as members of the theatre's committee at the time the building was renovated. The large painting which the participant describes as 'like Dali's Dream' serves to place the theatre and its building into a historical context along-side images which refer to history of national significance. These images confront the observer with the theatre's success, demonstrated how the building has witnessed important parts of Oldham's history and fixes its position as a significant part of it. The painting itself is not old but draws upon the prestige of the building and significant historical figures to frame the theatre's position in the cultural landscape. The painting serves to remind those who share in the organisation's activities that they are in a place of heritage and significance; that the organisation itself is part of a historical fabric of the town. It is a visual testament to the legitimacy of the organisation.

In addition to organisational age as a marker of legitimacy identified earlier, interview data is punctuated by references to buildings. The valorisation of venues is perhaps well captured by one organisation's observation of neighbouring Rochdale:

What Rochdale doesn't have *is a large institution*, it doesn't have the Coliseum, [...] there's no big venue.

The statement above identifies the absence of a venue for Rochdale as an explanation for (in this participant's view) an inferior cultural offering when compared with Oldham's. Of the references to material objects contained within the interview data, one of the most significant material objects within the study is a venue. Only one organisation participating in the study prides itself on not being venue based:

We are going out into communities, we never wanted to be a building-based organisation

Whilst eschewing the value of buildings itself, the statement serves to recognise that other organisations ascribe considerable meaning to buildings. Attitudes to the buildings in which organisations are housed which reveal deeply structured field understandings of the built environment within the field. These understandings resonate with the organisational work of O'Toole and Were (2008 p. 619) who attend to the built environment and assert 'Social structures relating to power, status and authority are reflected in the places that we live in.'

With 120 references to venues marked throughout the transcripts, the nature of the spaces in which organisations operate are central to the way in which they talk about their own work, and the way organisations speak of others. For many organisations in the Oldham field, this is currently foregrounded in the context of the capital project underway in which the creation of a new cultural quarter is taking place. However, it is by no means limited to the context of the creation of a new Cultural Quarter for Oldham. Organisations refer to the grandeur of their own buildings as a source of pride – and as a way of underlining organisational status. Participants are explicit about the ways in which buildings enhance their work:

I mean if you want to talk about cultural experiences for the kids - obviously what we come here to do is to give a musical experience - but at the same time - how many of them get to come to buildings like this on a regular basis?

Venues appear central to organisational identity, underpinning the work and legitimacy of the organisation. They form a fundamental element of field understandings and organisational position takings. One participant speaks specifically of their venue as being a key component of their organisational strength:

It's the building that makes the difference [...] it's the actual building that I think sets it apart

Venue space is understood as a valuable source of organisational legitimacy is exemplified in the following excerpt:

We hold our activities at Bridgewater Hall and places like that simply because they are the only venues big enough -and because they are flagship venues as well.

By referring to a 'flagship venue' the participant creates the sense that buildings themselves are situated within a field hierarchy. It is unclear if organisational status is achieved by being able to fill the space or access the space which is the key legitimating factor, primarily however, the implication is quite simply that the venue adds a sense of quality, authenticity and legitimacy to the organisation. This was previously noted in previous references both the 'singing at the RNCM' or attending 'Bridgewater Hall'. The venues themselves are associated with 'quality'. The nature of space enhances organisational activity through the reputation of the building itself rather than any specific functional quality of the building itself may possess.

There is a sense that venues are pivotal to establishing organisational reputation. A prestige environment appears to contribute to a halo effect. One participant speaks of the band rooms which house some of the well-known brass bands Referring to previous quotes, it is also noteworthy that their work is referred to as being 'serious':

The top bands that do things - they take very seriously very, very well-organized, beautiful band rooms and you know the – the one at Brighthouse is beautiful. And I haven't seen the one at Black Dyke but it looks from the pictures - like - it looks terrific

The beautiful band rooms appear to amplify the bands' quality, pointing to venue as a key legitimating theme within the field. The participant infers that the quality of the room is a direct reflection of the band quality.

As observed earlier, venues in the field are presented almost as an extension of the organisation's character. One venue stands out as bestowing the organisation it houses with an added sense of reputation, the building itself is understood to underline the organisation's vibrancy and be an extension of its character. Three Oldham based organisations spoke of Contact in Manchester not in terms of the work they do – but in terms of the venue itself:

You walk in the building and there is that sort of atmosphere and sort of it's got an attitude to it

The sort of young people that [we] work with would be utterly intimidated or overwhelmed by the bright lights and the funky kinda extremely, almost aggressively confident atmosphere at Contact - I mean - you've been to Contact you know what I'm talking about - it's an extremely vibrant place.

We want our new venue to run like Contact - you know - we want to have that sort of erm presence with young people

The perceived importance of venue is emphasised in differing ways – the value it brings to the performance, the performers and the audiences is recognised as a key component of organisational success. The references to venues are pervasive. Venue size and an organisation’s ability to fill it contribute to the ways in which organisations are able to express their legitimacy. All the venue-based organisations within the study, without exception, disclosed the capacity of their venue – without being prompted to do so. From the planned capacity of the largest city centre based organisation:

It's got this kind of 5000 capacity warehouse space and then theatre space. But it can all be completely reconfigured differently.

to the smallest venue participating in the study:

initially it was [the venue capacity] 60 but we actually cut the front row a bit in the end’.

Naturally the ability to fill venues is key to organisational narratives of success, strength, and significance. Selling out a venue or having so many participants that the space has been outgrown, testifies to an organisation’s success from which they may draw pride and legitimation. It also provides a means by which other organisations are able to judge the organisational success of others:

They've sold out [the theatre] almost everything they've put on.

The Oldham Lyceum building, which houses both the Lyceum Theatre, and the Oldham Music Service, is a landmark, listed historical building. The building is a source of organisational legitimacy for both organisations with the Music Service stating:

In Greater Manchester there are two, possibly, three really good music services [...] And those three organisations all offer something similar to this - not necessarily on quite the same scale that we're able to offer it. [...] They deliver in a different way in so far as they have to do a lot more remote satellite working because they don't have *this kind of building* at their disposal.’

Whilst there is a literal sense conveyed of the building’s utility, the participant describes it as ‘This kind of building’ which references not only its utility but the heritage and distinction of the old building in which it is housed. The grandeur of the building with

its historical connection to the past wealth and stature of the town confers its organisational inhabitants with corresponding stature. The reality of the building is, however:

There's a flat roof above there - which has leaked for about the last 7 or 8 years and it's supposed to have been repaired once, probably about 5 years ago and it was all right for a while and we had the interior rooms redecorated and replastered. It's as bad as ever. It's got worse now.

In spite of the state of disrepair, the building remains an important conduit for transmitting the character of the organisation to the world and as previously referenced, the organisation posits the question 'how many of them [participants] get to come to a building like this?'.

The participant from the Lyceum Theatre understands that the building was given to the Council on the proviso that the theatre would only pay a peppercorn rent in perpetuity. This now ensures that the theatre can continue and enables them to channel monies from ticket sales into either improving the space they have (there are plans to renovate the bar area) or to use the money purely for sets and costumes for the next show. The Lyceum theatre, as with the Playhouse 2 recognise that owning their buildings affords them a luxury that other voluntary-amateur organisations are not afforded, whilst also acknowledging the cost of maintaining them. The Lyceum Theatre articulate the privileged position they enjoy by having ownership of their own building:

I was talking to one [another theatre company] last week. They pay - they need two and a half thousand [pounds] a month before they do anything.

By not having to pay rent, proceeds from productions are used to maintain the building. The capacity of amateur organisations to sustain their work and maintain a building lend to their organisational narratives of legitimacy.

There is general agreement amongst the participating organisations that the availability of space is important for the cultural life of the borough. One participant spoke of the importance of the arts centre in Delph as follows:

I mean the Millgate, to me is, if I'm honest - every blessed community should have a building, like the Millgate.

The Millgate is used largely by the Saddleworth Concert's Society, the Saddleworth Film Society, the Saddleworth Players and now by Saddleworth Live! For organisations who do not have a home, they are dependent upon the use of school

halls, church halls and civic buildings, which fail to command the same degrees of prestige of the larger venues such as those cited earlier.

The construction of a series of new spaces for the arts and culture in the town of Oldham is accompanied by the assumption that new spaces will add strength to the organisations who will benefit from them. The ability to expand or improve on the facilities they have are understood as ways to provide organisations with new opportunities to increase their audience capacity and organisational validity. One organisation claimed that the creation of a new venue would:

Elevate our strands of work

and went on to add:

[A new space]It creates partnerships and loyalty with companies – so as the companies grow, they’re still with us and so the companies that maybe we supported 3 years ago who were maybe putting 50 people in the studio – when we have the new build – will be able to put 200 in the new studio – so we’re kind of moving forward with them

By being able to house more people, the assumption is they will be able to associate their activities with more (or bigger) companies – and thus enhance their own volume of work within the field. In doing so, the implication is that they will be able to enhance their reputation by increasing their physical capacity. This statement also points to how network and partnership connections provide important sources of non-economic capital and how organisations use symbolic violence. In the quote above we see how by enabling others to use their space, it will create loyalty from dominated organisations to them, in ways that will secure consent from dominated organisations. What is also particularly interesting about this statement is that claims about how a new venue will improve its work stands in direct opposition to the claim the same organisation makes about the importance of its *current* venue as a key source of organisational legitimacy:

[This venue is] Traditional – they love that. You’d be surprised, I think, how much young people like the old

And further:

I think it is nice that we’ve got traditions like that attached to our [building]. There’s so much history.

Further evidence for the enabling nature of creating of more space is expressly articulated by one organisation. The creation of a new venue space will allow the organisation to grant access to valuable rehearsal and performance space to other

organisations in need of it. The ability to be able to control access to a valuable resource once again epitomises Bourdieu's notions of symbolic violence. The creation of a new space for one organisation will enable them to occupy a more powerful position in the cultural landscape. The organisation whose capital project will involve a new venue invokes their ability to bestow access to other organisations in the field as a way of asserting power. This assertion is made tacitly, but clearly. The organisation references another in the field who have, in the past, been unwilling to respond to requests for partnerships and says that it will be:

Something they'll regret in the end – and I don't mean that maliciously,
but – you know, our extension is going to be a performance area

The above quote refers tacitly to the organisation's forthcoming power to permit or deny other organisations in the field to access their new space. The space will create reliance upon them. The implication within the statement above is clear; a new venue space will bestow the organisation with greater power within the field through being able to allow others to access it.

This section demonstrates some of the ways in which organisations successfully use the value and meaning ascribed to objects and their material environment as ways in which to signify their legitimacy. This legitimacy then assists them to build capacity for organisational agency. It illustrates the ways in which organisations are able to draw upon the symbolic, in practice in order to support their work. A further key theme identified through this study is that of the meaning and value ascribed to qualifications within the sector.

4.2.8 How to 'Do' Stanislavski

Interview transcripts show how qualifications function as non-economic capital and contribute to securing organisational dominance. This situation echoes the assertions in the literature review from institutional theory, Meyer and Rowan's (1977) theory of rationalised institutional structures in which the 'professionalisation' of an institution in turn creates the 'opportunity, and the impulse to organise rationally' (p.45). Powell and DiMaggio (1991) go on to assert that professionalisation contributes to 'a commonly recognised hierarchy of status'. As discussed within the literature review, the professionalisation of the sector confers a legitimised skill set on those working in the field, which results in isomorphic change (Thornton et al. 2012) and also reifies agreed field understandings and accepted ways of doing things.

The following references illustrate how organisations make reference to their qualifications which form part of taken for granted institutional practices. These qualifications serve to legitimise those working in the field - bestowing both authority and prestige on their organisation:

So I went to Central [School of Speech and Drama] donkeys years ago,
and studied Applied Theatre'

I'm RNCM alumnus myself

So I myself, did my Masters at RADA and kept that relationship going
- go and teach there and go and do workshops there

Within recent literature scholars such as Schinkel and Noordegraaf (2011), view notions of the professional as being borne of power struggles. They accord with Bourdieu in asserting that being a professional is not a functional necessity, but it is a 'an outcome of a struggle for control' (p. 70). They assert professionalisation is ideological and is concerned with status, inclusion, and control. They are explicit in their claim that professionalisation is a valued symbolic capital which serves as a mode of obtaining power and control. Similarly, Scott's (2014) institutional pillars cite the role of professionalisation as key to the construction of legitimacy within a given institutional field. Bourdieu (1992) viewed the notion of 'profession' as a 'dangerous' concept which has been 'smuggled into scientific language and [...] into the social unconscious' (p. 242). The symbolic role of formalised educational qualifications is evidenced by interview participants who speak about their own, or the qualifications of others.

The assertion that professions are symbolic functions of prestige and control is well illustrated through the above quotations. In particular, these references illuminate how academic qualifications within the arts serve to create what Bourdieu and Johnson (1993) termed as 'a monopoly of artistic legitimation' (p.252). Qualifications enable individuals and organisations to establish their credentials as experts. However, these references also highlight some of the deeply problematic tensions within the field. In the third of the references, the participant draws attention to their post-graduate qualification, bestowed by RADA (Royal Academy of Dramatic Art). RADA is governed by a predominately white, male, council whose members enjoy a variety of knighthoods and honorary titles (rada.ac.uk). This prestige qualification undoubtedly legitimises both the individual and the work of the organisation. Yet the elite

qualification, bestowed by an organisation run by a narrow band of elite individuals, is juxtaposed by the emphasis placed on the organisation's commitment to diversity, access and inclusion. Whilst the strategic use of policy themes as capitals is afforded specific attention in the final two sections of this chapter, one of the quotes provided above offers an initial example into how policy rhetorics are at odds with field conditions. One of the participants quoted above drew heavily upon inclusion rhetorics as legitimising the work that their organisation does, drawing specifically upon, 'BME', 'low socio-economic' and 'disability' groups as points of reference. This situation exemplifies the existence of structural tensions within the field. On the one hand, the policy demands upheld by the cultural-cognitive institutional pillar (Scott 2014) require organisations to respond to instrumentalised demands for inclusion and democratisation as strategies to meet the needs of an inclusive cultural democracy, whilst the institution is simultaneously legitimised through a system of educational qualifications awarded by institutional elites (broadly speaking, referencing Scott's (2014) regulatory pillar. This finding highlights a deeply problematic situation, as the professionalisation of the arts and cultural sector requires it to overlap with another highly institutionalised sector. There is a clear tension between the field's espoused desire for inclusion and participation, and yet prestige and accreditation is bestowed via institutional arrangements which displays little evidence of the same (cf. Woodward, 2019).

The nature of professionalisation as an important source of legitimacy also impacts the voluntary-amateur sector. Committed members of the voluntary-amateur sector also lay claim to qualifications in the arts. One interview participant refers to how formal education has provided new forms of professional legitimation within the field revealing they undertook a degree in drama:

We have replaced what was rep – little good theatres like ours - you want wanted to get into theatre? There was no drama degree. There was no one to teach you how to do Stanislavski. And all that bollocks that I did. You went down to your local rep and you'd say, 'I want to be an actor' and they'd say – 'there you go, there's a brush' and that's how you started.

However, in accordance with Schinkel and Noordegraaf (2011), this voluntary-amateur organisation recognises that there are few functional reasons for professional qualifications within the context of theatre. On the one hand, the speaker reveals they have studied a degree which legitimises their role, whilst on the other hand dismissing it as 'bollocks'. This situation also draws attention to the way in which professional

qualifications are used within the professional sector as vital sources of legitimacy and yet within the voluntary-amateur organisation referenced above, the qualification is dismissed as being worthless.

Nevertheless, voluntary-amateur organisations use the tropes of professionalisation as a mode of legitimacy construction. Organisations within the voluntary-amateur sector are seen to take up professional practices as a means of constructing legitimacy allowing them to maintain their field positions, one participant suggests their organisation is set apart from others in the voluntary-amateur sector as a result of its professional approach:

This is different... I say, very professional. Very professional people work here. So... it's slightly different to other places.

What this excerpt serves to illustrate is how taken for granted 'symbolic imposition' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992 p.243) through which organisations may claim their work as legitimate. Additionally, it clearly demonstrates Bourdieu and Johnson's (1993) claim that the terms amateur and professional form part of symbolic systems which set up the ideological difference between what constitutes art and what does not.

There is further evidence that the amateur organisations foster (and espouse) their associations with professional organisations. For example, the interview with the Lyceum Theatre's it was revealed that their marketing and box office is run by:

The ex-marketing director of The Royal Exchange.

And in the interview with the participant from The Playhouse Two disclosed that their publicist works with Oldham Council:

She just gets it out there on the local radio in the magazines. She's all over it and (be)cause she's at the Council publicity office, she knows who to speak to.

Of course, these quotes may simply reference pragmatic strategic organisational activity. Nevertheless, the voluntary-amateur organisations who shared these stories may also imply these individuals provide other important symbolic capitals. The first conveys a sense that the organisation is of sufficient quality to attract an individual from a prestige, professional organisation, highlighting its own 'professionalism'. The second refers to the additional capacity the individual brings to their organisations for promoting organisational action not only through their function but also as a conduit for organisational influence, 'she knows who to speak to'. These observations draw upon established, well recognised professional positions as modes of highlighting their own legitimate value. What these observations also serve to illustrate is that the

voluntary-amateur sector is woven through connections such as these, into the fabric of the institutional field. The voluntary-amateur groups represented here use institutionally accepted forms of legitimation in order to assert their own legitimacy.

Whilst those with professional qualifications draw upon their importance for establishing organisational legitimation, some interview participants demonstrate that organisational success is not reliant upon qualifications. Firstly, this situation highlights that professional qualifications are, in fact, largely merely symbolic and are not essential for organisational success. Additionally, it highlights an important observation highlighted within the work of Brook, O'Brien and Taylor (2018). Three participants claim an absence of formal qualifications and point to their organisational success as a result of luck or enthusiasm. This sense of an unwearied enthusiasm for their work rather more than formal qualifications as key components of their operation was evidenced amongst three newcomers – Global Grooves, Mahdlo and Saddleworth Live! These organisations emphasised a love of their work as well as luck as key to their success:

We don't have any arts background [...] we didn't know anything about putting on a play, or what they needed...

We did it because we loved it. That was the reason we did.

You've got to either be stupid or have a profound community feeling to do things like this. And – we balance – we're caught between the two!

None of the participants who gave the statements above have formal arts qualifications. They have not secured their positions within their organisations through educational legitimation, but by rely on what they describe as 'good fortune', 'love' or 'community feeling'. However, closer examination of these narratives and mindful of Brook et al.'s (2018) claims, their organisational success seems to be accompanied by other forms of legitimation or advantage which have contributed to the success of these organisations. What Brook et al.'s (ibid.) work points to is that rhetorics of luck form part of a broader set of values prevailing within the institutional field. Narratives of luck such as these may simply function as modes of down-playing social advantage within arts management roles. Whilst my data collection did not focus on participant backgrounds, the quotes above were all provided by white males. In addition to these three examples a fourth participant stated:

I think that because - I haven't got a degree in art or anything, I'm a doodler more than anything and I've got a bit of a writer - no body is threatened by me [...] I think I've two advantages - I'm not interested

in the politics and try to keep out of them- and the other thing is I think I don't know what I'm doing -so...

This may exemplify what Brook, O'Brien and Taylor (2021 p.504) describe as 'the gentlemanly repertoire of luck, self-effacement and a resistance to vulgar, brash claims about individual talent or deservedness to help explain [...] their own success.'

Whilst each of these participants conveys a genuine sense that the motivation for the success of their organisation, in the face of a paucity of formal qualifications, is a love of what they do, or pure enthusiasm – it may be significant that each of the four organisations drawing upon luck as a key component of their success, echoing Brook et al.'s (2018) findings that professionals within the sector with privileged backgrounds (each of the participants providing the quotes above is white, all but one male) use tactics of self-effacement which bely the privileges bestowed by their demographic advantage. All but one of the organisational representatives that offered the quotes above openly referenced their high-capacity backgrounds, including their university education, their roles as managers in large corporate organisations, their capacity as higher education lecturers, or references to the area in which they grew up (Saddleworth); only one of these participants was female.

What this section highlights is the increasingly professionalised nature of the institution. This situation has also highlighted tensions between the arts and cultural policy rhetoric of inclusion and the realities of prevailing institutional practice. These themes are further highlighted in the section which follows which illustrates how organisations harness policy demands to further their organisational interests.

4.2.9 What will be the value of this, blah blah... So that helped get the money

This section explores some of the ways in which organisations use the language of instrumental policy as a crucial source of capital. These themes were identified through the coding of the transcripts.

There is no evidence to suggest that organisations view themselves as in Weber's 'iron cage' and constrained by instrumental policy demands. Echoing the work of Martin and Hewston, (2010 p.6), the demands of policy are not understood as mechanisms of domination, but they evidence forms of cultural and moral majority support. This is illustrated through the ways in which they have permeated organisational work beyond the organisations who receive public funds. In keeping with the assertions of both Larson (2014) and Coburn (2014), as well as Eildin (2011),

the evidence gathered so far suggests a field in which organisations adopt the wishes of policy makers as a tool for harnessing either direct financial benefits, or the legitimising capital they offer – in some cases both. Patterns of rhetoric tended to reproduce key themes identified within the Cattle (2006) report, concerning community cohesion, diversity, women’s participation and young people. Similarly, vocabularies reflecting policies which lie central to both government and Arts Council England policy, these include young leadership and themes of health and well-being.

The importance of being able to respond to current trends from funders is expressed explicitly by one participant who articulated the benefits of connections with Arts Council England, stating:

I think we get a lead from the Arts Council about what are their priorities. And they will probably use examples of projects they’re quite liking at the moment

The value of this particular knowledge points directly to the financial benefit close ties with the Arts Council England confer. However, this anecdote, in conjunction with one from one of one of its mutually acknowledged network partners, highlights the value of network connections and how those connections are translated directly into financial benefit. Knowledge was passed from the organisation with the direct connection to ACE to a further organisation. The knowledge that was brokered through the network enabled the knowledge recipient to submit a successful ACE funding bid:

[Named individual] has helped us with an arts council grant, which we got, which is pretty cool

The theme of cultural leadership and cultural pathways for emerging artists was evident amongst those organisations led by the council, or in receipt of Arts Council England funding. It speaks to one of the Arts Council themes that was central to the 2018-2022 funding round and the establishment of a ‘Transforming Leadership’ fund (Arts Council England). This policy seeks to address the deficit of diversity within the cultural sector as identified by Brook et al. (2018). The specific use of the phrase ‘pathways’ was shared by three of the four council-led organisations participating within the inquiry suggesting it has been used within the context of a common council policy aim. Similarly, ‘artist -’ or ‘talent - development’, ‘emerging artists’ and ‘young leaders’ were prominent themes across the Arts Council England funded organisations. These phrases imbued the interview data provided by those current National Portfolio

Organisations, those who had recently won Arts Council grants, and those at the heart of the Council offerings. One organisation said:

we try and kind and get this trajectory for young people right from primary school through to secondary school doing work with [named individual] to hopefully going into the industry. So we want to be creating that pipeline

Whilst another claimed:

there are people in this town who really benefit from and appreciate cultural experiences and how life enhancing that can be and how that can open doors if for instance people want to pursue a creative career.

These statements point to an emphasis upon cultural careers having become an important policy priority. The specific themes of ‘cultural pathways’, trajectories or pipelines, do not feature in the vocabularies of any of the voluntary-amateur organisation, although recognition around a need to engage young people is widely acknowledged, evidence for which accompanies some of what follows.

Organisations claim they do not change the overall mission of their work in order to respond to funding policy demands, on the contrary, they feel they are well skilled at responding quickly to changing policy, and are able to continue their work, not by changing what they do, but by framing similar work in different ways. Nevertheless, one organisation was open about the ways in which they adapt their work in order to secure support:

Sometimes, there will be a difference in direction of travel that will be announced and we'll all - I'll have to say, I say, ‘oh well we'll have to do that instead’. Because your strategy might change [...].

Organisations describe how changes in policy demands may act as inconveniences, but that they are well able to adapt and shift the focus of the same work in order to speak to the changes in national and local policy priorities:

But yeah - you need to adapt a little bit. Sometimes you find something is funded and you go on a little tangent to just fit in there. Sometimes it works sometimes it doesn't. I mean we've not digressed much from what we do.

One participant describes how changes in policy emphasis from younger people to older people resulted in the reframing of a piece of work. I asked if the organisation had still managed to achieve their organisational aim and the emphatic response was:

Yeah.

We started some strands of activity [...] aimed more at kind of commissioning [...] so one of the things - projects - we did was looking at the Mental Health Act and - we did a project around dementia and actually worked with [young] carers.

Meyer and Rowan (1991) describe how ‘organisations which incorporate institutionalised myths are more legitimate, successful and likely to survive’. They describe how organisations are able to align themselves with institutionally accepted policies and practices ‘ceremonially’. Organisations speak to legitimising structures and develop ambiguous goals whilst at the same time maintaining their practical organisational activities. This is perhaps exemplified in one participant expounding:

What we *say* we do is art for a reason which is using creativity for a social outcome.

Organisations are able to recognise the opportunities offered within a highly institutionalised field. They understand the necessary role of being able to reproduce the language of the institution - one organisational leader clarified:

There’s certain language that you have to use for example in a funding application to describe something – that might be slightly different to the way you’d describe it to your mate or your mum – or the people in the room that that you’re about to start working with – but actually the project is the same

Whilst much of the evidence presented thus far in the context of this section points to organisations that are strategically adept at securing public funding, it is worth reasserting that the value of securing funding from bodies, in particular the local authority or Arts Council England, goes beyond direct financial benefit. Those organisations who can demonstrate their capacity to attract public funders are able to simultaneously draw down considerable legitimacy and prestige.

The need to fulfil policy requirements in order to secure funding is partly evidenced by the centrality of schools and community groups in sociogram (fig 4.1). Schools serve as key partners for all the organisations within the inquiry in receipt of regular funding each of which emphasised the work they do with schools. Schools appeared on the network maps of each of the National Portfolio Organisations. Similarly, schools were central to the work of each of the Council-led organisations. Each of the Council-led services and each of the publicly funded organisations participating in the study understand the relationship between themselves and schools not because working with schools is their organisational purpose, but because schools enable them to readily access the young people they are funded to work with:

We work with housing associations, and of course schools. [...] Because they have access to the groups, and they are more specialist in first stage contact with them. We bring the cultural contact - but they have the relationship.

Other participants echo the importance of these relationships:

We've got different types of education partners locally, but the teachers really are key partners

Our primary partners networking connections are school leaders, parents, and pupils - erm there are just about a hundred schools in Oldham

Nevertheless, as demonstrated through Oldham's Active Lives survey results, presented within the case context in introduction, the connections between schools may provide easy routes to accessing young participants, however, whether those connections provide effective pathways to engaging a wide demographic of young participants remains in question.

As with the role of schools, community groups and housing associations are identified within the sociograms of all the publicly funded organisations. The interviews suggest that by forming network ties with housing associations, and local community groups, organisations are able to access communities that assist them to 'demonstrate' that they are providing value. These relationships directly reflect the Council's policy aims of fostering community cohesion in response to the Cantle report (2006). One organisation stated:

We kind of get bits of money where we can - to deliver that - some of it is - we did a big project yesterday - which is our community scheme. That's the only core funded project that we deliver - so we bring community groups together in the building. Yeah. Sometimes they are housing associations. Last night we had 2 housing associations

Another publicly funded organisation stated:

The housing associations have a remit for community engagement and community activity - and they also can be good supporters for your work. And sometimes they have a little bit of cash, you know.

Organisations demonstrate their ability to maximise capacities and access direct financial benefits of working with instrumental goals – specifically by working with schools and housing associations.

The following excerpt from an amateur organisation provides a clear demonstration of how organisations are able combine the capitals at their disposal to maximise their capacity:

I got [Simon Armitage] to come and do a workshop for Year 10 - so that school thought that they got some value because it went into Year 11 and the exams were better - and it's all - a lot of the set books were all his poems so it fitted in well but when we applied for the Arts Council grant I had to ask, you know, what will be the follow up, what will be the value of this, blah blah... So that helped get the money for the Tasmin Little workshop for young people'

The above quote not only shows how the organisation was able to harness instrumental policy for funding, but also harnessed personal connections 'I got him to come' in order to create legitimation for their organisational aims. The participant is dismissive of the requirements for the grant but recognises it as a means of obtaining the money to fund what the organisation sought – the money for Tamsin Little's appearance. In addition, the participant was able to demonstrate the organisation's legitimacy in a number of ways, firstly, the ability to secure a small grant from ACE, secondly, their ability access to a prominent individual through a personal connection, and finally, the appearance of a prestige musician at their event. Each of these demonstrate the organisation's ability to secure financial benefits by ceremonially adopting policy practice which then enabled them to further draw upon accumulated capitals. This statement illustrates a high degree of organisational awareness of institutional arrangements, and the organisational capacity to utilise institutional instrumental demands as modes of obtaining organisational legitimacy. Organisations are able to harness the 'usefulness' they have been ascribed and skilfully increase their capacity with it. This accords directly with the assertions of Meyer and Rowan (1991) who claim organisations adopt policy ceremonially. By doing so, it increases their chances of survival, as adherence to policy provides crucial legitimacy, whilst their actual activities respond to 'practical considerations' (ibid. p.58). Instrumentalised policies as opportunities manifest themselves in a multitude of ways for organisations.

The evidence in this section shows how organisations, in keeping with Archer's (1995) view of the social world, are able to mediate their response to structures. The ceremonial nature of organisational responses to policy are further evidenced in their proficiency at evidencing their value. Organisations have adopted forms of practice in the knowledge that it assists them in demonstrating their value to funders. The claim that new public management policies, 'establish legitimacy regardless of operational

substance' (Power, 1999, p. 304) asserted in the literature review is demonstrated within the interviews. This is exemplified in the way in which some organisations draw upon their ability to bestow Arts Awards as a means of quantifying their own value and affirming their status. One organisation stated:

So, we have a couple of staff who are trained up to deliver Arts Award and we have done some Arts Award stuff in the past. We - it's a - it's... *very usable*... [...] because it's nationally recognised

A situation evidenced further by another organisation who point to the ability to deliver Arts Awards as forming an important resource for evidencing their own work for funders:

We use Arts Award [...] *Because obviously that data capture thing* - a lot of, - a lot of NGOs are not reporting meaningfully enough as far as the Arts Council are concerned.

The second of these two extracts suggests the organisation uses Arts Award for the sole purpose of demonstrating their own value. The benefit of Arts Awards may be understood further as being two-fold, firstly, Arts Award enables organisations to present quantifiable data to up system funders. Secondly, the ability to bestow the award positions the awarding organisation as authorities. Arts Award creates legitimising value for both their recipients and bestowing organisations.

Oldham based organisations seem to recognise the opportunities available to them for exploiting instrumental policy demands for their own benefit. However, organisations also demonstrate an awareness that other up-system organisations are required to demonstrate compliance with them too for the fulfilment of their funding criteria. There is a very real sense that organisations are complicit in the 'game' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, Grenfell, 2008) which is playing out in the field. Oldham based organisations obtain legitimacy through partnerships with more prestigious organisations in lieu of supplying them with the resources that the up-system organisation require. This was articulated by the following participant who said:

I can't understand why some people are not all over us - because the thing we've got is lots of young people - that's our commodity. Erm - And they need young people to show they've delivered!

Whilst the commodification of young people is in many ways shocking, it demonstrates how organisations use all the resources at their disposal to secure their own advantage. The advantage bestowed to organisations in Oldham able to demonstrate their work

with young people is a direct reflection of the policy priorities emerging from both the Cante (2006) report and the Culture White Paper (2016) more broadly. This clearly illustrates how policy operates as both constraint and enabler, depending upon an organisation's situation.

The contrast between the success and power enjoyed by organisations working with young people, when compared to that of organisations such as Age UK Oldham may be a direct reflection of Age UK Oldham's arts and cultural offering being unable to speak to the policy priorities placed upon work with young people. Age UK's aim is to provide support and cultural services which include crafts, choirs, dancing and intergenerational programmes for the elderly. Similarly, Mahdlo provides support and cultural services for young people. Mahdlo's cultural offering also includes art, music, dance and drama activities. Age UK Oldham's cultural offering for the elderly within the borough similarly includes crafts, music, dance, and drama, yet the work of Age UK Oldham goes largely unrecognised by the other organisations in the cultural field. Whilst both organisations are tied to larger national umbrella bodies, Mahdlo's contribution to Oldham's arts and culture is considered central in the field, Age UK Oldham's is not. The youth zone has benefitted from both local and national policy emphasis on young people and the need for Oldham to address the skills deficit within the working population (Cante, 2003; Pike et al. 2016). Similarly, arts policy within the UK currently places greater emphasis on work with young people rather than with the elderly. As discussed in the literature review, the current government white paper (DCMS, 2016) emphasises that culture should be an essential part of every child's education - a policy demand echoed in the Arts Council England's 'Goal five' - 'Every child and young person has the opportunity to experience the richness of the Arts' (Arts Council England 2016). As explained in the literature review, in order to secure organisational success, the ability to conform to policy may provide mechanisms through which organisational authority may be established. Mahdlo's stated aim of becoming an arts centre may have been enabled by its ability to take advantage of policy demands. This situation might contribute a possible explanations for the comparative disparity between the two organisations' field positions. In a similar vein, Age UK Oldham's position may change over time as Greater Manchester's Cultural Strategy seeks to:

Capitalise on Greater Manchester's status as the UK's first age-friendly city region, enabling, promoting, and celebrating later life creativity and talent.

(GMCA Cultural Strategy, 2020)

Health and well-being as an overarching justification for cultural activities is evidenced in three quarters of the interview transcripts. Many organisations, in keeping with Larson's (2014) claim, use health and well-being outcomes as instrumental justifications for their work.

We were looking at establishing a social movement for arts and health across Greater Manchester

We've worked with, obviously the youth services, we worked across all sorts of health services and care services

We're looking at young people's mental health at the moment

It's a mental health, mental health and diverse young people is what's bringing in the [money]... I was thinking of starting a youth theatre.

Themes of health – particularly mental health and well-being (for organisations working in the publicly funded sector – mental health within the context of young people) were evidenced across both the funded organisations as well as those from the voluntary-amateur sector.

Whilst much of the policy rhetoric is deployed by those regularly funded organisations, there is evidence it is also taken up by the amateur sector. This may demonstrate the importance of policy in shaping the institution as a whole. In attempting to draw legitimacy from the field, voluntary-amateur organisations acknowledge and endeavour to adopt accepted field practices. In doing so, as previously demonstrated through professionalisation, they are able to speak of themselves and the work they do in institutionally acceptable ways. However, drawing from policy poses difficulties for voluntary-amateur organisations, particularly those with a focus on traditional art forms. One voluntary organisation stated:

The problem was, just even the thought of doing that [a mental health piece]. We don't have the people for it. And sometimes if you try and overextend yourselves in getting into areas where you think 'oh this is the route to go' - suddenly you drain all your resources and you end up doing something that's a bit of a white elephant that actually takes away from what you actually do really well.

The above statement conveys an element of organisational will to engage with instrumental outcomes, even though, as a voluntary-amateur organisation, they are under no obligation to subscribe to them. There is recognition that subscribing to policy goals may provide a 'route' (presumably, a 'route' refers to the organisation's ability to advance their field position). This statement shows there is clear evidence

that the rhetorics of field practices seep into the voluntary-amateur sector. This situation was perhaps most evident in rhetorics of diversity, which I will discuss in more detail in the section which follows.

4.2.10 They Still Won't Come

Diversity was a recurring theme, with each of the regularly funded organisations drawing heavily on the themes of diversity and inclusion. The rhetoric of diversity however, reached beyond the professional, regularly funded organisations. The diversity agenda and community cohesion has long been a policy theme for Oldham as discussed earlier in this inquiry (Cantle 2006, Pike et al., 2016). What is evident, however, is that despite the borough's diverse demographic, accessing a diverse audience is viewed as problematic amongst the participating organisations. Several organisations are aware of a lack of diversity in their offer and the following statements from four different organisations demonstrate an awareness of diversity issues, and a desire to address them. Whilst the demographic make-up of Oldham offers theoretical opportunities to access diverse communities with relative ease, the interview transcripts, as with the Active Lives survey data, suggest that in practice, there is only very limited success. Organisations engage with the language of diversity and inclusion as core to their mission and values, however, many recognise that they have failed to engage minority groups:

We don't have - we have very few minorities. Black, African-English, Pakistani, Indian. It's cultural, culture, isn't it? It's English culture, theatre, and so that's going to be - that's always going to be difficult. When I, when I went to London recently to see a few shows and I looked in the audience and it was mostly white. You know some black but not many Asians at all. So, I didn't feel as bad.

It's not through want of trying [...] I'm just trying to think if I've had any Asian or black children in here -and I can't think of any off the top of my head - but then it's western rock music that we play - so...

Participant 2. But we have also in the past offered Asian music, Indian music, we bought sitars and erm what else did we buy?

Participant 1: - We brought a spread of erm - what they called?

Participant 2: What are they called - the Indian drums that we bought? We ended up giving them away in the end because nobody wanted them - we went nowhere! *So we've given up on that idea and we continue to do what we're doing* and we're trying to engage the young people with what you might consider to be western music - whether that's popular or classical - it doesn't matter. But it's what we do at the end of the day now.

We are trying to widen the diversity base of the show. One of the things I was quite keen to do from the music things this year was to try and get some – you know we are a multi-racial community – not necessarily reflected in Saddleworth but it is in Oldham and we're part of Oldham – and I think we need to do more work there.

We would love you know - the audience is very white in our shows - we'd love there to be a more ethnically diverse audience

But even having said that – I know the groups – they still won't come. These are Bangladeshis – this is a Bangladeshi community -and then these here these are the Pakistani community – they are more open to coming into here – mainly because they're on the doorstep – they're on this side here. Westwood – they are two tram stops away.

What is not wholly clear via these statements is the extent to which their positions merely reflect an awareness of institutionalised rhetoric of diversity, or a desire to tackle structural inequalities based upon the organisation's own values. However, the second statement hints at a position that it is more policy driven than organisational value driven; by claiming 'we continue doing what we're doing' the organisation suggests the 'idea' of diversity was initiated by a source beyond the immediate management of the organisation and has subsequently been abandoned.

The rhetoric of diversity and inclusion exposes the complex relationships between policy rhetoric of inclusion in the arts and culture and the reality of the cultural practices in which individuals participate (Taylor, 2016). Both the amateur theatre companies as well as Saddleworth Live! and the Saddleworth Show openly admit to engaging a broadly homogenous audience base which lacks ethnic diversity. These organisations display an honesty that is possibly not reflected by those in receipt of public funding. Remarking upon the work of one of Oldham's regularly funded organisations the participant from Home remarked:

It reaches the audience more than most people do. Erm – so, which is a strength – *a big challenge for them is getting diversity.*

Which contradicts the claims made by the organisation in question who claim:

They support our scheme *because we have so many BME young people.*

This contradiction further exposes a commodification of demographics. Oldham organisations are well able to *access* a broad demographic through their work however, the first of the two statements, calls into question the extent to which they are able to meaningfully engage ethnic minority groups and retain participation.

What many of these interview excerpts illustrate is that diversity policies within the traditional art forms have largely failed. Whilst the racially motivated unrest in Oldham spurred a policy emphasis on encouraging social cohesion and broader participation, for most of the organisations in the field, they struggle to access the very populations they were tasked to engage.

The use of diversity and other policy rhetoric points to institutional pressure permeating the field both for professional regularly funded and voluntary-amateur organisations. Themes of diversity permeate the voluntary-amateur sector, which suggests that they are upheld by Scott's (2014) Cultural-Cognitive institutional pillar, (which is governed by shared beliefs; 'Actors who align themselves with prevailing cultural beliefs are likely to feel competent and connected' (Scott, 2014 p. 70), rather than the regulatory one (ibid). Nevertheless, whilst the rhetoric of diversity has been adopted and each of these organisations recognise the need to engage a broader audience, it is clear that (in the words borrowed from one of the statements earlier in the chapter), the cultural offering within the field remains accessed by a 'white middle-class' demographic.

In the previous sections of this chapter, I have demonstrated evidence of hierarchies and how they are constructed, including the use of symbolic violence, the bestowal of praise, and condescension. I have provided insights into some of the ceremonial, and mythical understandings of the field are accepted and used to secure vital sources of legitimacy which enable organisations to fulfil their organisational aims. In the final section of this chapter, I focus on how the characteristics of place serve to enable the organisations within the field.

4.2.11 There is a Relationship [...] They Send Us Money

As this inquiry has demonstrated so far, Manchester organisations play an important role in the field conditions. Proximity to Manchester and the way in which organisations understand their position in relation to those in the city centre are evidenced throughout the data. Oldham organisations' relationship to the city is complex, simultaneously offering opportunities and challenges to Oldham organisations.

There is an overall sense amongst the organisations within the study that Oldham and Oldham-based organisations function as places to 'start-out' with one field participant no longer based in the town stating:

I've done work as an artist in Oldham because I lived there – and they taught me – but...

The participant refers to Oldham in terms of a memory, and whilst acknowledging Oldham as contributing to their education, the 'but' appears to consign Oldham very much to historical context rather than a part of a significant present. In this sense we see that Oldham, whilst skilled at producing creative leaders and creative talent, is not a town able to retain them. Directly echoing the assertions of Leslie and Catungal's (2012) assertions, Manchester city centre organisations and the city's cultural offer draws creative professionals away from the surrounding area. This is evidenced within several transcripts which demonstrated the imposition of the city over the rest of the region.

Organisations within Oldham are aware of their status, within a hierarchy that prioritises its metropolitan counterparts, as has been evidenced in much of what has been found already and will be evidenced further throughout this section. There is an overwhelming sense that Oldham based organisations are means to other ends not an end in itself. A participant working in the field but no longer in the town states:

I used to be an arts manager in Oldham [...] It was my first job in the arts actually.

There is a tacit implication within the interview data, that Oldham based organisations are merely stepping-stones for those who work within the field and that Oldham provides a backdrop for gaining experience or cutting one's teeth. The network, governance, and interview analysis, presented in the previous section, evidences that Oldham organisations within the field generally command less authority than many of their metropolitan counterparts and may well recognise it, and yet, Oldham's role in providing the raw material for success stories, whether it's individual actors, musicians or artists serves to enable Oldham based organisations in the work that they do. These narratives of success contribute to securing organisational legitimacy in order to secure positions within the field. Yet each point to a situation in which ultimately, talent is drained from Oldham:

Square One started off with us in the museum building – we provided a small amount of space for them. [named individual] is at Contact now

The amount of professionals who come through here, who've gone on into TV and theatre. You know we have people in the West end who started here on TV who are on every night on TV.

[Named individual], who started off at a drumming group in Mossley and is now – [the director of] ...I think it was the second largest capital project outside of London...

Whilst the Oldham Arts field has adopted the recent rhetoric of cultural career pathways, it has clearly been providing career pathways for a long period of time. Nevertheless, what is, perhaps, at stake here is that Oldham is unable to retain its success stories. Oldham operates as a springboard for artists to move up – and out into more prestige positions within the field.

The characteristics of Oldham afford it specific sources of capital which are evidenced frequently in the interview transcripts. There is legitimation afforded to Oldham-based organisations because of the town's economic and demographic position. Drawing directly from the opportunities Oldham's position as a secondary town afford those with in the sector, the town's demographics are referenced by nearly all the participants in the study:

This is the most deprived area in the North West – possibly in the UK...

The articulation of Oldham as a place of poverty and inequality is one which many of the organisations taking part in this project use in order to secure funds:

The area is horrendous. You know, we're in the bottom of everything!
And we're not beyond saying that as well - not when we go for a grant.
We put all that information out there

The benefits of working amongst the poorest of the poor operates as a key source of capital allowing organisations working in the borough to legitimise organisational work. The narrative of being the poorest borough seemingly defines some of the organisational work that takes place and plays a crucial part in how the organisations within the field understand what they do:

One organisation referred directly to the benefits of being based in Oldham, stating clearly:

We play a game with Oldham

And further clarifying:

There's a lot of careerism that goes on, you know - and the industry is poverty.

This statement clearly presents a situation in which some organisations based in the town centre exploit the town centre's demographic to secure their organisational legitimacy. Oldham offers access to some of the poorest and most diverse populations in the UK. This enables Oldham based organisations to claim they are contributing to

key policy goals. It points to a commodification of demographics for organisational success. There is widespread recognition surrounding the benefits to organisations of Oldham's ranking as 'the worst rated' and 'the poorest'. In recognition of the capital that Oldham's economic status affords some of the stakeholders in the town, one participant remarked scathingly:

There are a load of gate keepers who protect their jobs essentially who don't actually want change to occur.

This claim points to a situation in which organisations value poverty as a vital commodity for securing their futures. The instrumental value of working with poor, and diverse communities provides organisations with legitimating capital from which they are able to draw down financial rewards:

Grown and Made in Oldham, if you like, heritage and legacy [...] because we can, - we can demonstrate from a branding point of view that we are expert - Well we must be, right? But actually, as has been the case our core funder, [...] they're very keen for us to be based in Oldham - but they see our remit being wider, yeah?

For this organisation, success in Oldham translates to a brand and expertise working with marginalised communities that can be translated to other similar towns – thereby enabling their own expansion. The situation clearly examples how adherence to policy, and the ability of an organisation to demonstrate, through NPM style accounting, provide organisations with vital legitimacy. This in turn provides organisations the means to demonstrate their expertise and establish themselves as authorities.

Whilst this situation benefits the organisation above, it is a concerning find which points to Oldham organisations becoming reliant upon poverty for their future survival. It also implies that organisations in Oldham rely on the locality remaining poor. This clearly speaks to Durrer, Gilmore and Stevenson's (2019 p.327) claim that places, 'are encouraged to adopt economically located identities'. Claims that the arts and culture assist economic growth are in direct conflict with an organisational reliance upon poverty for its existence.

Oldham's demographic and socio-economic position have provided advantages to Oldham organisations over previous years. However, there is evidence that this advantage may be shifting. The extract that follows demonstrates the potential shift from a focus on arts and cultural activity in Oldham. It also demonstrates how Oldham based organisations are dominated by the activities conducted by their city centre counterparts. One Manchester based organisation is

turning its focus away from the borough of Oldham and bestowing its attention upon other satellite towns in the Greater Manchester ecology saying:

Yeah, and we saw actually there's quite a lot going on in Oldham right now so actually Rochdale, which is struggling... yeah. Tameside which is kind of - a little bit on the up - getting quite exciting but not quite there... And then Bolton.'

According to this organisation, the arts and cultural needs of Oldham have been met, and thus attention should now be turned to other boroughs. This is a clear demonstration that Oldham's proximity to Manchester presents it with a complex set of dependencies as well as the interdependencies and opportunities I have already presented. In this instance, Oldham is no longer the object of interest for the organisations in the city centre which may prove detrimental to Oldham in the longer-term.

One recurring talking point was Oldham's access to Manchester city centre and the physical connection between the two. Patterns of cultural consumption within the borough and the wider field are discussed within many of the participant interviews. The Metro Link tram between Oldham and Manchester is understood by a number of participants as a key feature in the cultural ecology impacting Oldham organisations and their relative status to the city centre organisations in the field. The public tram link between the town and the city centre was established approximately six years ago and many organisations refer to it as a pivotal event in shaping the cultural landscape of Oldham. For some, there were tangible effects immediately following the establishment of the tram link:

When they built the tram, - the council had the idea that if they built the trams - you could bring people in from all the points from outside (and) they would all flock into Oldham but in fact what they all did, was they all flocked into Manchester.

The same participant went on to add:

The tram was laid and that was like a massive barrier and what happened is, audiences started - well, basically, - audiences collapsed

This view further illustrates the extent to which Oldham organisations share arts and cultural field space with the city centre and there is direct competition between organisations based within Oldham and those in Manchester, a situation which has become more pronounced with the establishment of a public transport connection. Moreover, it points directly to a field dominated by the city centre organisations in terms of the city centre's ability to attract consumers. In keeping with the public

transport data presented within the introduction, the tram takes more people out of Oldham than it brings in.

The effect of the tram is spoken of by another Oldham based organisation. Whilst they refer to the tram as having a positive effect on the cultural life of the borough, their statement also reveals tacit deference to Manchester based organisations:

[It's] easy for them to go and watch theatre in Manchester, or to go to Manchester, and be young creatives in Manchester, and get down to Contact, the Exchange – or those things. That's brilliant, and they bring all of that rich experience back.

The participant intimates that Oldham does not have the capacity to provide a 'rich experience'. Furthermore, as I have already demonstrated, much of the 'rich experience' doesn't return to Oldham in the long term. The same organisation's relationship to one Manchester city centre based organisation is based upon a scheme of free tram and bus tickets enabling Oldham residents to access an offering within the city centre:

They [Manchester centre-based organisation] have a programme where we can have free tram tickets and bus tickets to get to them and they'll give us heavily discounted things for shows

The participant once again illustrates Bourdieu's symbolic violence at play. The Oldham organisation is a beneficiary of 'free tickets' and 'heavily discounted tickets' which create loyalty to the up-system organisation. The Manchester organisation appears to use their connection to the organisation in Oldham as a means of accessing audiences. The city centre organisation is able to benefit from the connection and further their own interests by drawing participants into the city.

In the evidence above, the up-system organisation harnesses the capital provided through its network connections to draw audiences in, and yet does not convey any reciprocity. In fact, when questioned, the up-system organisation said of its relationship with Oldham organisations, dismissively:

There is a relationship, in that Oldham is part of the Greater Manchester Combined Authority - and they send us Money.

This statement leaves little doubt that this city neighbour commands a position of power in the field and recognises it. The value placed upon the cultural organisations in Oldham is one of master and servant.

Other city-based organisations were less direct about their relationship with Oldham and the surrounding boroughs. Discussing the transport connections in and out of the city, the participant reflects:

A lot of organisations who are in the region of the city, but not in the city [...] I feel... They have a tendency to feel overlooked or they feel that there's a tendency for them to be over-looked... So I would say that the issue now for everybody is that. [...] Manchester city region needs to *think* of itself as a city region. [...] we need to get the transport system that is really right and we need to get that flow.

The same participant goes on to add:

In many other major cities, (in London) you actually think nothing of going to Stoke Newington and then going to Brixton the next day and then going up to Highgate the next day, you know? – You wouldn't think of it.[...] So how do you get a city to culturally shift? Instead of thinking, I can only get to The Royal Exchange, Home, and maybe Hope Street Theatre, ... you don't even look at going to the [Oldham] Coliseum – just down the road?

This statement acknowledges the view that Manchester city centre organisations currently dominate the field. This organisation attributes the situation to a broader set of attitudes prevailing in the field.

One Saddleworth based organisation, however, counters the trend and reveals that there may be potential for the borough to draw from the city centre. Saddleworth Live! describe their experience of being a venue for the Manchester Fringe expressing their low expectation of attendees coming out to their (then) venue 'in the middle of nowhere'

Getting an audience to come from Manchester - just never going to happen - that's what we thought' [...] just a little place in the middle of nowhere – not like these proper Manchester...

The organisation goes on to state that for each of the performances they put on, they sold out. Saddleworth Live!'s ability to attract audiences from a wider geographical area is not merely anecdotal, but is confirmed by another organisation who said:

They tap into what people want. People will come from a long way away [to see their shows].

Whilst Saddleworth Live! may be capable of drawing audiences from Manchester, there is broad acknowledgement that even they do not seem able to draw audiences from the town of Oldham to its rural neighbour in Saddleworth:

I suppose the Council might say, well we've got the Library, we've got the Gallery, we're going to have a new Cultural Quarter and the Coliseum is going to go there, but you ask anybody in this

[Saddleworth] area what their connection is with Oldham – there isn't one! [...] It's like the Berlin Wall – no one goes – No one wants to go! (They say) 'We're not going to Oldham! – And they don't come to us either!

Conversely Oldham based organisations confirm the lack of reciprocity stating:

How do you get those people from Saddleworth to come to Oldham for their culture and not to Manchester?

The above statement as with others throughout the interview transcripts, references to divisions between the cultural consumption habits within the borough itself. In particular, between the Saddleworth communities and those in the town itself. There is an indication that the divide is not necessarily down to the cultural products on offer as the following statement evidences:

One year, everything that we'd had on [they] had on at the Library! I don't know why you'd do that because it had been on four miles away! [...] - *it's a different audience.* Oldham. We don't get a lot of people travelling...

The divisions between Saddleworth based and town centre-based organisations are widely acknowledged:

They [Saddleworth organisations] don't work with anybody else, really – I've tried. [...] I wonder whether a lot of the Saddleworth things do ever – I imagine they feel quite separate to Oldham?

There are number of explanations which may be offered for the divisions, including weak transport connections between the town centre and Saddleworth, wealth inequality and demographics. However, there is modicum of evidence that shows limited areas of convergence do exist between the two areas. As shown within the sociograms, one such area is through the Whit Friday Brass Contest which forms an important part of the borough's cultural offering, and whilst it has few common connections with other organisations, it connects the town centre with the Saddleworth organisations. Further, organisations also claim there are crossovers through local choirs:

Sopranos and altos [...] and Oldham and Saddleworth both come in on that – so there is quite a lot of crossover really

and whilst addressing diversity the Saddleworth Show states explicitly:

You know, we are a multi-racial community – not necessarily reflected in Saddleworth but it is in Oldham and *we're part of Oldham*

This inquiry contends that one of the central grounds for the division between the town-based organisations and the Saddleworth based organisations is not so much geographical but is related to their different bases of legitimacy. The ways in which organisations within the Town Centre are legitimised differ from the ways in which those in Saddleworth are. Whilst the Saddleworth organisations draw heavily upon traditional cultural forms legitimised through elite governance ties, the town centre organisations rely upon local council support and legitimacy through their status via public funding. With public funding comes a need to adhere to regulative institutional practices with instrumental logics through which they are legitimised (Scott, 2014), whereas Saddleworth organisations tend to be based on culturally supported systems of shared values (*ibid.*). In spite of these different bases of legitimacy at one level, there is compelling evidence that these bases of legitimacy converge through ties to powerful organisations, influential individuals, and connections in the city and beyond. Overall, the evidence suggests that as a satellite town of Manchester, Oldham's operations are dependent upon the activities of organisations within the city centre where power converges.

4.3 Chapter Summary

The findings from this analysis of network maps, governance ties, contextual data from interviews and the observation of material objects reveals a rich, complex set of relations within field. The analysis reveals patterns of power and influence within the Oldham arts field drawn down both governance structures and funding systems. Power is, as Rose and Miller (2010) state, relative. It is constituted within the institutional field through combinations of a wide variety of capitals both economic and symbolic. The ways in which organisations utilise the structural elements of the institutional field in order to build their capacity also evidences Stinchcombe's (2002) claim that power has a causal nature, and individual actions create opportunities for enhancing positions of power. Crucially, symbolic capitals are converted into legitimacy, which plays a critical role in the construction of power within the field. The situation speaks directly to the works of Bourdieu (1989, 1991, 1984), Thornton et al. (2012) and Scott (2014) in finding that organisations amass non-economic capitals which are converted into value, usually through processes of legitimacy. Legitimacy is bestowed not only directly through economic success, but through a series of mutually acknowledged properties. Local authority and Arts Council England funded organisations benefit from a 'halo' effect which seems to elevate their status within the

field. This affords them further support through additional attention from the Council in the borough. This results in a highly networked set of publicly funded organisations that collude closely in the borough. Their governance boards are able to access the council for information regarding current plans and opportunities which they are able to take advantage of. For Oldham Council-led organisations, they enjoy the benefit of strong local government support. They are part of a tightly related cultural offering and enjoy the benefit of being able to draw directly from information advantages they are able to access from being local authority. Oldham has benefited from elite philanthropy, particularly from contributions from the Stoller Charitable trust. Organisational success is consciously manufactured through the amassing of capitals. However, there is a clear that Coburn's (2016) observations are true. Manchester city-centre based organisations dominate the Oldham arts and cultural field and symbolic violence is in evidence throughout the inquiry. For organisations already enjoying positions of (relative) power, particularly those field members located in Manchester, it is much easier for them to harness the benefits of the opportunities the institution offers. They tend to be closer to (or constitute) the 'world-makers' (Bourdieu, 1989), closer to wealthy patrons and donors, and closer to government and policy. Using symbolic violence, the organisations within the city foster dependent relationships upon them creating what I will term 'satellite-dependencies'. Acts of symbolic violence or the need to foster ties with elite individuals affect organisations within both the professional, and voluntary-amateur organisations.

The organisations with the most relative power exemplify Swartz's (1997) conservation strategies, the institution provides them access to opportunities for maintaining their current field positions. Series of awards and qualifications create standard benchmarks for organisations which contribute creating accepted practices and professional standards that have become markers of prestige. For the voluntary-amateur sector, dedicated amateurs endeavour to keep their activities going. In order to do so, they too find ways of accessing the legitimising mechanisms of the institution. For the voluntary-amateur sector, this entails adopting institutionally accepted ways of operating and drawing legitimacy from awards, drawing from recognisable professionalised practice or by fostering ties with influential, prestigious, elite groups. The voluntary-amateur organisations rely heavily on making connections with other up-system organisations or accessing elite support. This has profound implications for the field, which will be discussed in the coming chapter. Without being able access legitimising capital, voluntary-amateur organisations are in danger of becoming

irrelevant or invisible (as stated within the sampling, voluntary-amateur organisations are largely invisible). Similarly, the ability to speak to current policy offers opportunities to organisations within the field. Oldham's demographic situation offers a stark example of how the rhetorics of inclusion have been harnessed for organisational advantage. Oldham's situation suggests it is not the arts that have been commodified, but poverty. Whilst no organisations considered themselves constrained by policy demands; many funded organisations were aware of the advantages operating in Oldham bestows. The findings here support theories that the arts institution remains governed largely by elite groups, whose involvement with the arts stems from old fashioned ideals of elite patronage. These understandings are both produced and reproduced by 'world-makers' in the field and prestige organisations and individuals beyond, in overlapping fields (Bourdieu, 1989). Nevertheless, organisations illustrate an ability to navigate their way within the field using the opportunities presented to them. The findings point to the position of Hadley and Gray (2017) as falling foul of DiMaggio's (1988) 'metaphysical pathos' which denies the agency of organisations. Although benefits that institutional practices offer organisations are unevenly distributed within the field. Just as stories of class more broadly reproduce patterns of inequality, this is similarly true for organisations. Although they are complicit in the production and reproduction of the field dynamic, they recognise their place, although they may seek ways to challenge it. Perhaps one of the key findings here is that ultimately, organisations are all reaching for the same sources of legitimation; however, some are more able to access it than others.

Chapter 5. Conclusion: House of Cards or Institutional Monolith?

5.1 Power, Capitals and Legitimacy Construction in the Oldham Arts Field

This research identified a paucity of literature within organisational and institutional theory, as well as cultural policy studies regarding the role institutional hierarchies and the opportunities institutional arrangements present to arts and cultural organisations. Whilst there is considerable literature concerning instrumentality and artistic autonomy (e.g., Hadley and Gray, 2017; Belfiore 2012; O'Brien 2014), this research attends to building knowledge about the relationships within the institutional field. It has mobilised theoretical perspectives from sociology, namely those of Bourdieu (1980, 1984, 1989, 1991, 1992; Bourdieu and Johnson 1993) and Margaret Archer (1995, 2000) and the methodological insights for the exploration of how organisations establish conduits for organisational agency, provided in the work of Bourdieu (1980, 1992, Bourdieu and Johnson 1993). It has shown how institutional arrangements provide opportunities for the relative autonomy of arts organisations. The institutional field, and its closest overlapping fields, provide sets of diverse logics (Thornton et al. 2012) from which non-economic capitals may be derived. These capitals are subsequently converted into valuable resources through which organisations may maintain or advance their field position.

In order to explore power distribution and the institutional arrangements within the arts and cultural field, I selected a case study of Oldham. This selection has enabled new insights into the relationships between arts and cultural organisations within the context of a satellite town lying on the edge of a creative city (Roodhouse 2010). It uncovered important insights into the relationships between arts and cultural organisations in a major creative city and those in a satellite town. Responding to works including Jancovich (2016), Durrer et al. (2019) and Markusen (2016) it considered how not only organisations in regular receipt of public money but also voluntary-amateur organisations fit into the cultural ecology.

Additionally, the research finds that instrumental policy goals as well as other institutional structures, including professionalisation, provide key sources of legitimation to organisations throughout the field.

Using a combination of data collection methods, methodologically rooted in field theory (Hilgers and Mangez 2015) and analytical tools drawing from social

network analysis (Borgatti et al. 2018; Emmel and Clark 2009) this research revealed a highly elastic field. This elasticity creates contested, fuzzy, field boundaries (Borgatti et al. 2018). Whilst not all the organisations identified within the project could participate in the research, the research design succeeds in identifying what Borgatti et al. (2018) describe as a ‘sociologically real’ (p.39) network. Field members recognised themselves as belonging to the network and thus the field (Crossley, 2011; Emmel and Clark 2009). The use of networks as a mode of understanding the field required subjective, discretionary methodological research decisions as described within the methodology, in order to maintain a manageable research project. These decisions were based broadly upon both geographical closeness to Oldham and the perceived intensity of network connections. Similarly, whilst the research made use of tools from social network analysis (Bottero 2009; Crossley 2011, 2012; Mohr 2013) it did not seek to identify specific capitals that flow through the network. Mindful of Bourdieu’s (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) criticism that network analysis has historically adopted a positivist approach to networks, this research adopted a relational approach. By combining social network analysis techniques with contextual data from interviews it presents a nuanced approach to understanding inter-organisational relationships. Drawing from Burt (1992) and Decuyper (2020) this research considered networks as capitals in themselves and recognised them as conduits for a variety of capitals. In order to avoid reductionist conclusions the relational approach acknowledges that networks generate relationships (Knoke 2009) and that they may contribute to organisational autonomy (Oliver 1991) thus shaping the institutional field (Offer 2012).

5.1.1 Research Question I

Is there evidence of inter-organisational hierarchies within the arts and cultural field?

In response to the first research question, this inquiry presents considerable evidence of hierarchies within the Oldham arts and cultural field. This research finds that the institutional field is dominated by established organisations and there is strong indication of Bourdieu’s (1990) symbolic violence at play in maintaining the hierarchies within it. The hierarchies within the field are constructed through complex relationships which draw together prevailing, taken for granted beliefs and values, which are then translated and transmitted variously through inter-organisational relationships, professions, and material artefacts which cumulatively secure legitimacy. The acceptance that large, metropolitan and national organisations, including the Arts

Council England exemplify ‘the right way’ of doing things or exemplify quality, creates sets of legitimating practices. According to the literature, the ability to legitimise activity is key to organisational success (Battilana and D’Aunno in Lawrence et al. 2009). This situation is one this project finds to be true. Towns such as Oldham are subject to what I have termed ‘cultural-satellite-dependency’ a situation in which established metropolitan, prestige organisations and metropolitan elites provide crucial sources of symbolic resources to organisations on the periphery. The Oldham-based organisations’ reliance upon organisations within Manchester city centre and organisations beyond, with national influence, for sources of legitimacy enables dominant organisations to maintain their positions of power through the use of symbolic violence. This was demonstrated through the provision of training services, the bestowal of awards, praise or via offering special ticketing arrangements and transport deals to those organisations within the borough of Oldham. In turn however, this enables up-system organisations to justify their own operations and increase their influence in the field.

The evidence in this study also suggests access to funding alone is not necessarily enough to secure organisational dominance within the field. Dominance is secured by those organisations able to amass not only financial capital, but a range of symbolic capitals. Organisations depend upon up-system capitals for further legitimation. Furthermore, it is up-system that legitimating ties converge, ultimately with connections with the most prestige individuals and organisations.

5.1.2 Research Question II

Which forms of non-economic capital are valorised in the arts and cultural field and how are organisations enabled by them?

The second research question was informed through the development of a triptych interview method which comprised elements of participant-produced network mapping, a semi-structured interview, and using movement through spaces to engage with material objects, I gathered data revealing organisational understandings prevalent within the field. In keeping with Archer’s (1995, 2000) theories of agency and structure being simultaneously, though distinctly, at work, this project finds that organisations are able to exhibit agency within their context through the amassing of various capitals. Amidst the research findings, there is no evidence to suggest that organisations understand themselves to be constrained by policy expectation. However, an organisation’s capacity for action is dependent upon its ability to

demonstrate its own value and legitimacy. In order to do so, arts and cultural organisations in the Oldham arts and cultural field are reliant upon their ability to convert non-economic capitals into institutionally recognized forms of capital. The successful use of capitals including (but not limited to) histories, relationships with elite individuals or celebrities, professional qualifications, and their closeness to national and international bodies provide organisations with scope for organisational action. The forms of capital required remain dependent upon other highly institutionalized areas of the social world – including through education, elite connections, and national organisations. Legitimacy is also claimed via taken for granted neo-liberal ideology. This is evidenced by the policy rhetoric of new public management and instrumental policy goals. References to policy goals which have become key cultural components in legitimacy construction. Not only does adherence to policy demands indicate compliance to regulatory institutional arrangements for those organisations in receipt of public monies, but they form crucial mechanisms for garnering cultural-cognitive support (cf. Scott 2014). The organisational acceptance of cultural policy aims, based on moral and cultural values, within the institution therefore spills into the voluntary-amateur sector. The adoption of culturally acceptable practices enshrined by wider national policy provides a source of legitimation for organisations beyond those that are publicly funded. The processes of legitimation, particularly amongst those organisations within the voluntary-amateur sector are highly dependent upon legitimation from up-system organisations for their success. The meanings attributed to particular aspects of institutional relations, vocabularies and practices are manifold and reifying. They permeate the voluntary-amateur sector as well as those in receipt of public funds.

Up-system organisations are endowed with a rich combination of capitals which they are readily able to convert in order to maintain their dominant position within the cultural landscape. Some of the capitals afforded by the institution are unquestioned myths, in particular established views on the relationship between ‘quality’, ‘professionalism’, and ‘organisational age’ as well as shared acceptance of the quality and good governance ascribed to dominant organisations. These taken for granted myths, ethereal as they are, provide an essential means of maintaining current field arrangements. In this sense, the institution represents a monolithic structure - the attitudes and hierarchical arrangements appear immovable.

The mythical nature of legitimising practices based on history, tradition, and consecration through prizes, as well as the prestige bestowed via honorary titles, and

ceremonial groups such as the Manchester Lieutenancy points to a field based upon uncritical assumptions rather than genuine regulatory or legal pillars of institutions. On the whole, organisations from the voluntary-amateur sector are generally less able to draw upon instrumental rhetoric for their survival. Shared cultural-cognitive (Scott 2014) understandings are ethereal and yet seem vital to the survival of some organisations. For voluntary-amateur organisations, there is a sense they are more reliant upon traditional forms of legitimation, in part because their existence is embedded in traditional cultural forms, and their sources of legitimacy are drawn directly from institutionalised structures. However, they also enjoy a degree of benevolence and the participation of wealthy business individuals who are drawn from high-capacity backgrounds. This situation weakens their basis of legitimacy as they are unable to speak directly to the institutionally accepted policy goals of increased cultural democracy. However, as shown throughout this thesis, ultimately, all the organisations depend upon the same sets of field conditions, drawing important sources of financial and symbolic capital from up system ties for their organisational continuance. For voluntary-amateur organisations, they are less able to legitimise their work through demonstrations that they have met current national policy goals. This situation weakens their position within the field.

Organisations valorise their up-system counterparts and partnerships with them bestow organisational prestige and legitimation. This in turn acts as an enabler for up-system organisations. This was particularly evident in the patterns of governance, which revealed that the further up-system organisations tend to have more ties with individuals from prestigious national organisations, or other high capacity individuals. By attending to structures of governance this research uncovered the significance of elite governance and patronage in establishing positions within the field. Even in the event that organisations claim to have no elite ties or claim to be making changes to the make-up of their governing bodies, there is evidence that these organisations maintain other means of association with elite individuals, and significant decision makers via personal connection or patronage. This situation enables them to simultaneously make morally and culturally welcome shifts in their organisational arrangements, whilst continuing to enjoy attention from high-capacity individuals. This has important implications for organisations whose governing bodies provide them with crucial sources of capital for their continued existence and for whom eschewing the involvement of high-capacity, or highly influential governors and trustees may impede their ability to maintain their field position.

The research has highlighted a field which tends to recognise only a narrow band of cultural organisations from traditional art forms. As a result, ‘Quiet vernacular’ (Gilmore 2013) cultural organisations forms are not visible within the field. Institutions within the field are largely blind to informal groups whose lack of recognisable modes of operation exclude them from the institutionalised organisational canon.

Valorised capitals are based in history, tradition, and buildings. I consider these myths to be institutional fallacies and whilst they are individually unremarkable and largely go unnoticed, they form a seemingly crucial role in constructing, upholding, and reproducing important institutional legitimacy. They form small parts of a carefully constructed ‘house of cards’, which collectively create the illusion of an imposing monolithic institution.

One of the key findings of this thesis is that those organisations within the study represent organisations who understand themselves to be part of the cultural field, and who are consciously engaged in the struggles within it for survival, audiences, and field recognition. Without exception, all of the organisations within the scope of this inquiry are drawing down capitals from the institutional landscape. From this perspective, this inquiry shows that the institution to some extent *is* the resource. The institution is a monolith, but it is one that offers footholds via which organisations may obtain the necessary support to enhance their relative position. By being part of the field, opportunities are afforded to those who occupy the space and comply with the arrangements in it.

Whilst institutionalised practices do provide organisations with opportunities for organisational agency, the opportunities are not evenly distributed. As such, some organisations are better able to take advantage of instrumental policies. This inequality is evidenced in particular by the voluntary-amateur sector who are not offered the same degree of legitimation, regardless of their attempts to adopt modes of professional practice. Similarly, they are not afforded legitimacy through funding bodies which serve to affirm an organisation’s trustworthiness.

The cultural organisations within this study, just as within the social world more broadly, are subject to systems of domination. Those organisations not in possession of sufficient economic capital must try and acquire sufficient symbolic capitals which they may convert into advantage within the field. Similarly, this inquiry finds that organisations are subject to acts of symbolic violence which secure a sense of trust or obligation, through ties to up-system organisations.

5.1.3 Research Question III

How do organisations within the Oldham arts and cultural field use non-economic capitals to respond in practice to field conditions in order to obtain, or maintain their relative position within the field of struggles?

This inquiry finds that organisations within the Oldham cultural field draw down capitals in different ways according to their funding model and geographical location within the borough. For those organisations in receipt of regular public funding, legitimisation is afforded through their ability to demonstrate their instrumental value, namely poverty alleviation and inclusion. For those regularly funded organisations situated within Oldham Town, their ability to demonstrate access to minority groups lends to their ability to attract funding which in turn bestows legitimacy and prestige. Nevertheless, in order to secure capitals, they remain heavily reliant upon organisations within the city centre for the provision of network and other forms of symbolic capital. Those organisations within the city centre show further up-system ties to prestige, national organisations as well as to highly influential elite business connections and wealthy philanthropists. Whilst Oldham based organisations draw upon the rhetoric of poverty, diversity and inclusion, many acknowledge they have only limited success.

The institutional beliefs, which tie the organisations within it together, are deeply embedded. The findings of this research point to an institutional field which is dominated by sets of values which are at times conflicting. These conflicts are particularly obvious in attitudes to inclusion and diversity when juxtaposed with the homogeneity evidenced in up-system organisations and similarly so in vocabularies of inclusion juxtaposed by the exclusivity demonstrated through governance and patronage. These dualities are problematic but so deeply embedded within the institutional fabric, that attempts to create new modes of cultural operation, access, and funding appear to remain unattainable through the current institution.

As previously stated, organisations in the voluntary-amateur sector rely on legitimisation from business and cultural elites and are highly dependent upon the continued participation of high-capacity individuals. For organisations within the voluntary-amateur sector, success is highly reliant upon adhering to sets of 'mythical' institutionalised values situated in the arts and cultural institution, which reflects the wider social world. These organisations are heavily reliant upon legitimating ties with up-system organisations in order to endow them with credibility. Their inability to

draw legitimation from the fulfilment of instrumental policy leaves them unable to gain financial support from means other than donations and sponsorship, for which they turn to personal connections available to them. These connections, in keeping with the nature of their participant base, are with high-capacity individuals, who may already have access to businesses and professionals who may be able to assist them in their operations.

5.1.4 Research Question IV

How does Oldham's situation as a satellite town impact on the relative power of its arts and cultural organisations?

It seems that the arts and cultural organisations in Oldham will remain subordinate to those organisations within Manchester, not only because of the city centre's geographical position, or because of funding per se, but also because field arrangements are such that the organisations in the city centre and beyond provide vital sources of legitimacy, without which many of the Oldham organisations would not be able to exist. Alternatively, they would need to draw legitimacy from other national prestige organisations.

As noted previously, Oldham demonstrates cultural-satellite-dependency. Up-system organisations, largely based within Manchester city centre, are able to consecrate the work of those organisations located in the periphery. Prestige organisations in receipt of large amounts of funding (whether through wealthy donors, or public bodies) and 'world-makers' close to policy making, use symbolic violence and paternalism to exploit the legitimation needs of organisations situated at the periphery of the city. The value of prestige locations, big venue sizes and closeness of ties to national or international field members means that Oldham based organisations are unlikely to ever challenge their city-centre based counterparts for institutional dominance. The capitals at the disposal of Oldham based organisations tend to be weak personal ties and intermediaries – a situation as true for regularly funded organisations as for voluntary-amateur ones. Closeness to the borough council, for example is not as powerful as closeness to GMCA. The metropolitan nature of the elite structures show Oldham organisations as lacking the access to the volume of prestige capital which is available to those directly in the city centre.

Organisations drawing legitimacy directly from policy and local demographics are straightforwardly able to add a layer of culturally supported legitimation to their work, which other organisations (particularly those in the voluntary-amateur sector),

are not afforded. The layer of policy rhetoric, however, allows them to claim greater authority in the field. As demonstrated within the governance and contextual evidence provided by this inquiry, legitimating practices converge up-system.

In keeping with Emirbayer and Johnson's (2008) assertion that institutional fields overlap with fields of 'greater scope' (p.21), this analysis identifies nested fields each drawing down crucial legitimacy from fields of greater scope through networked relationships. The Oldham arts and cultural field is highly reliant upon relationships with organisations situated in the broader institutional context of Manchester and beyond that, the organisations within a wider, national, institutional field. The research finds that whilst calls have been made for a more localised cultural policy approach (Gilmore et al. 2018) such an approach needs to reach beyond the regional and recognise that nested fields operate at micro-levels. Not only does Oldham nest within the Manchester field ecology, but similarly, the organisations operating in the Saddleworth area of the borough represent a field space which itself rests within the Oldham field. Further, all these sit in regional, national and – increasingly - international cultural fields. These small, nested fields display crucial dependence upon the fields of greater scope.

5.2 Implications for Policy and Practice

As the interviews have revealed, Oldham organisations acknowledge that they possess a 'commodity'; the assumed easy access afforded by their geographical proximity to a diverse ethnic population that includes some of the poorest communities in the country. This access offers organisations a way to garner legitimacy through claims of working in ways that speak to explicit policy aims of inclusion and diversity. Nevertheless, the stated policy aims of harnessing the arts both for inclusion and economic growth have largely failed to materialise. From the evidence presented in this study, few organisations are actually successfully accessing diverse audiences and participants. There is clear evidence of policy failure to address both participation and economic inequality. Almost two decades since the Cantle report (2006), Oldham remains deeply divided both ethnically and economically (Rhodes et al. 2019). The beneficiaries of these policy programmes would appear to be those who are already high-capacity individuals from well-off white backgrounds, and the organisations themselves who have demonstrated the savvy ability to speak to them and provide them with a key source of legitimacy.

Similarly, for cultural policy, this study reveals patterns of dependency upon publicly funded and metropolitan bodies in order to establish organisational legitimacy. This inquiry illustrates that the arts and cultural sector is increasingly shaped through systems of nationally accredited professionalism, accepted institutional modes of practice, and accountability. This situation creates increased exclusivity as organisations strive to demonstrate their validity. Local organisations must draw from metropolitan organisations who in turn draw from national bodies for their own sources of capital to obtain organisational authority. The continued dominance of publicly funded national bodies and corresponding bodies of accreditation and education reproduces accepted values and standards within the sector. This has constructed field dependencies for dominated organisations, including those in the voluntary-amateur sector who draw down capitals bestowed by authoritative organisations. As previously suggested in the work of Durrer et al., (2019) and Jancovich (2019), the results of this inquiry present a challenge to current policy agendas. Established arts and cultural organisations only recognise organisations that mirror their own modes of operation. The legitimising effect of local authority or Arts Council England funding perhaps suggests that its support should be widened to organisations within the amateur sector however, this study asserts that such a move would simply create further hierarchies. This study demonstrates there is no simple solution to addressing the hierarchical nature of the field, especially as its construction is constituted of nuanced understandings and relationships making up sets of institutional logics. The institution is embedded in intersecting social spaces and complex institutional understandings and arrangements. The Oldham arts and cultural field reflects not only organisational hierarchies, but also the hierarchies displayed within society as revealed through patterns of governance and relationships to donors and patrons.

This study has shown that the role of governors and trustees in the arts and cultural sector remains dominated by elite individuals. This situation provides organisations with important sources of both economic capital and prestige. Whilst current funding policies have turned their attention to demonstrating greater diversity amongst governing bodies (Davies et al., 2015) the make-up of both management and organisational governors remains broadly homogenous across the organisations within the field. The problem remains of how to engage diverse individuals as regards traditional cultural forms including theatre and classical music. Funders need to be open to questions about what constitutes the cultural offering and the organisational

structures through which it is delivered. However, one of the significant findings of this inquiry is the role of educational qualifications and the professionalisation of practice. The creation of standardised sets of accepted practices within the field, conferred through prestige institutions, sets up further organisational reliance upon prestige institutions. In keeping with Powell and DiMaggio's (1991) assertions, the isomorphic effect of this reproduces institutionalised sets of values and beliefs that make new forms of organisational operation less likely. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suggest that Arts Council England's continued policy of exclusively supporting professional artistic activity may serve to stifle the inclusion of non-traditional forms of art and culture, and emerging organisational forms which have the potential to access new audiences.

The increasing role of professionalisation within the sector presents potential problems for the role of arts and culture in contributing its espoused local economic development. As observed by Leslie and Catungal (2012), the increasing need for professional qualifications, or high levels of experience results in the perpetuation of inequalities. Similarly only a limited number of accredited professionals are available amongst the workforce and those may be drawn away from satellite towns such as Oldham into creative city centres.

The inquiry has evidenced the importance of prestige organisations and elite support for conferring legitimacy upon the work of amateur organisations. Whilst many of the institutional arrangements within the field speak to professional organisations, they have important consequences for the work of non-professional organisations. In particular, the funding mechanisms which prioritise professional work, such as by the local authority or Arts Council England, bestow the halo effect evidenced in the findings. Amateur organisations are unable to access the legitimisation bestowed via funding in this manner and are more reliant upon loose networked ties, historical success, and the involvement of influential elites within their committees, management boards or trustees. In order to survive, the amateur sector is required to draw upon institutional arrangements to garner support for its work. As such it needs to be able to foster relationships with up-system organisations. Whilst the provision of public funding to amateur organisations would potentially resolve this lack of capital for the amateur sector by bestowing legitimacy upon their work, in turn this would merely create new sets of institutional norms. Amateur organisations would undoubtedly benefit from being more widely acknowledged in the cultural ecology. Greater attention to voluntary-amateur organisations that recognises their

contribution to the cultural life of towns and cities would seem to provide a platform for a more equal institution which values more organisations. Whilst organisations supporting amateur groups currently exist, a move to encourage greater cohesion between amateur and professional organisations could forge spaces for significant new voices.

The findings of this inquiry are also important for demonstrating how the logics of the sector impact not only organisations in receipt of public monies, but also impact organisations that are not. Voluntary-amateur organisations adopt the logics of the subsidised sector, accepting and adopting the same rules at play within the field. Although they are not subject to the same mechanisms of accountability, they use similar vocabularies. In keeping with Meyer and Rowan's (1991) theory of institutional isomorphism - further echoed in Durrer et al (2019) who suggest arts and cultural organisations adopt 'recognisable organisational structure' (p. 327) - voluntary-amateur organisations are able to demonstrate trustworthiness and accrue symbolic capitals which help to demonstrate their legitimate presence within the field. The study reveals a highly institutionalised field which fails to recognize activity in parallel fields. The institution is 'blind' to alternative organisational activity or organisational forms in operation which do not conform to those accepted practices within their own field. This finding suggests that in combination with the homogeneity of network ties, organisations are unlikely to achieve their stated aims of securing diverse audiences, as they tend not to recognise activities or modes of practice that differ from those within the institutional field.

5.3 Original Contribution and Areas for Further Research

This thesis challenges the ongoing discussion within the arts sector and the field of cultural policy studies about instrumentalism and instrumental functions of the arts. By examining the role and meaning of symbolic capitals including the principles, vocabulary, and symbols within a given institutional order (the Oldham arts and cultural field) this study has further illuminated some of the sense-making logics embedded within the arts field. In particular, I have demonstrated the ways in which organisational ability to speak instrumental policy goals is used to confer legitimacy in ways that are recognised by practitioners within the institutional field. Whilst arts policy discourse has primarily viewed instrumentality as an imposition, in practice it plays a key role in the success of organisations within the institutional field. The ability of organisations to adopt instrumental policy goals, even if only rhetorically, forms an

essential enabling function within the field. I have shown that whilst policy goals are set with the intention of maximising the impact of public monies, these policy goals also affect the work of organisations in the voluntary-amateur sector, that need to harness elements of policy vocabulary and professional practice in order to accumulate sufficient legitimacy to take part in the institutional field. In keeping with my earlier illustration of cultural-satellite-dependency, this further evidences how organisations at local level, are forced to establish relationships with up system organisations through which they are able to legitimise their work.

In keeping with Scott's (2014) assertions that institutional inquiries have attended largely to only one 'institutional pillar', cultural policy discourse has had a tendency to focus attention on Scott's (*ibid.*) regulatory institutional arrangements. This thesis demonstrates that closer academic attention to the roles of the normative and cultural-cognitive mechanisms in upholding institutional arrangements may provide a more nuanced understanding of the arts and cultural ecology.

This thesis also has also contributed to the development of theoretical and methodological perspectives within organisational and arts management theory. By using a case study approach this project departs from taking intra-organisational approaches to organisational action towards inter-organisational insights. In doing so it further develops relational understandings of the field. This study responds to calls from organisational theory (Thornton et al. 2012; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008), providing new data and bringing new methods to the existing body of research. It deepens current understandings of how mechanisms of power and resistance operate at organisational level within the arts cultural sector. This project has sought to develop further some of the methodological perspectives for arts management and organisational scholars. Using visual network mapping and in-depth interviews in conjunction with governance research it has provided empirical evidence that sheds light on how satellite towns are impacted by city centre dominance within the institutional field.

Through the combined use of participant generated network maps, interviews, governance research, and attention to material culture this research has contributed to empirical studies that seek to understand how organisations both comply with, and reproduce, some of the structural conditions existent in their fields. The importance of adopting this triptych approach is perhaps highlighted in one of the most striking finds of this inquiry. A significant piece of evidence provided through the sociogram data and the accompanying context provided through the interviews, was the extent

to which those organisations in receipt of regular funds appeared to display considerably more partnership ties within the field than those in the voluntary-amateur sector. However, the addition of further contextual evidence through the research of governance data revealed that for voluntary-amateur organisations these sources of capital are established through their personal and governance ties. Whilst the participant-produced maps suggested that organisations within the voluntary-amateur sector access few benefits from partnerships with other organisations and fulfil their organisational aims without close network ties, in fact they too are reliant upon resources in the network. Their individual network illustrations point to a lack of formalised working relationships between themselves and other organisations in the field. However, the data obtained from the governance investigation revealed that the voluntary-amateur sector also relies heavily on relationships to elite individuals through governance structures and legitimising capitals in the form of anecdotal connections for their success.

The data collection methods used within this case study may be usefully translated to provide ways of investigating not only the cultural sector, but other third sector organisations. New scholarly insights are engendered by the exploration of hierarchies through their relationships, symbolic capitals and field understanding, as well as by the consideration of their governance.

The effect of cultural cities upon the cultural offering of surrounding smaller towns has received little scholarly attention. By selecting the town of Oldham as the site of this case study this research aims to add empirical data to these two areas of discussion. This case study built on current insights into the nature of relationships within the cultural field of a satellite town. In doing so, this thesis highlights a need for funding bodies, local government and those cultural organisations already firmly established within the fabric of the institution to find new ways of accessing informal cultural activities in small towns and towns on the edges of cities. These organisations need to recognise the extent to which some informal cultural activity relies upon the relationships provided within the institutional field for their legitimacy and accordingly; their existence.

The parameters of this research were set by finite concerns including time and access. Further research using case studies of post-industrial and satellite towns would help to establish further patterns of organisational hierarchies that take forward the concept of cultural-satellite-dependencies. Greater scholarly attention into informal cultural practice and its relationship with the formal would also help establish a

broader framework for meaningful cultural participation. In addition, further insights to organisational governance to include both the voluntary-amateur, as well as the professional cultural offerings in a wider range of regional contexts would provide valuable insights into the nature of the field and the institutions on which it relies.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guideline

Example text for Go-Along and Interview Guide

During a ‘go-along’ interview, it is anticipated that participants will point out some material artefacts that have significance to the organisation.

As an opening to the interview, participants are invited to speak about the organisation and to take me on a ‘guided tour’ through their workspace.

The conversational style interview hopes to also elicit answers to the following:

- Please give an overview of what your organisation does and how it functions
- What do you believe your organisation does best?
- Thinking back over the last few years, which factors do you think have contributed most to your success?
- (Apart from economic constraints) Which factors do you see as being the biggest constraints to your work?
- What does autonomy mean to your organisation? (Probe these ideas)
- If you had to model your organisation on one other local (Manchester area) which organisation would you choose and why? (Probe ideas)
- Of the attributes you have identified – which would you consider the most important? (Probe ideas)
- Which organisations do you think have ‘voice’ locally?

If material objects are identified – ask about their significance and what they mean.

Appendix 2: Affinity Matrix Map and Interview Data

		Peshkar	Cartwheel Arts	Global Grooves	Mahdlo
2	Peshkar	0	0	0	1
3	Cartwheel Arts	0	0	0	0
4	Global Grooves	0	0	0	1
5	Mahdlo	1	0	1	0
6	OTW	1	0	1	1
7	Oldham Arts and Events	1	0	1	1
8	Gallery Oldham	1	1	0	1
9	Oldham Community Radio	0	0	0	0
10	The Lyceum Theatre	0	0	0	0
11	Playhouse 2	0	0	0	0
12	Age UK Oldham	0	0	0	1
13	Stoller Charitable Trust	0	0	0	1
14	Saddleworth Live - Millgate	0	0	0	0
15	Saddleworth Concerts Society	0	0	0	0
16	Saddleworth Show	0	0	0	1
17	Whit Friday Brass bands	1	0	1	0
18	Oldham Music Service	1	0	1	1
19	Coliseum Theatre	1	1	0	1
20	Brighter Sound	0	1	0	1
21	HOME	0	1	1	1
22	MIF	0	0	0	1
23	Library Oldham	1	1	0	0
24	Contact Theatre	1	1	1	1

		Peshkar	Cartwheel Arts	Global Grooves	Mahdio
25	Oldham Youth Council	1	0	0	1
26	Schools	1	1	1	1
27	Oldham College	1	0	0	1
28	M6 Youth Theatre	0	1	0	0
29	Royal Exchange Theatre	0	1	0	0
30	London Bubble Speech Bubbles	0	0	0	0
31	RCSSD	0	0	0	0
32	New Vic Theatre	0	0	0	0
33	Salford University	0	0	1	0
34	BBC	0	0	0	0
35	MMU	0	1	0	1
36	CHETS	0	0	0	0
37	RNCM	0	0	0	1
38	Hallé	0	0	0	0
39	Mikron	0	0	0	0
40	Kings Arms Salford	0	0	0	0
41	3M Theatre	0	0	0	0
42	GM Fringe	0	0	0	0
43	Edinburgh Fringe	0	0	0	0
44	Live at Zedel	0	0	0	0
45	Saddleworth Players	0	0	0	0
46	Saddleworth Film	0	0	0	0
47	Millgate	0	0	0	0
48	53 Two	0	0	0	0
49	James Seabright Productions	0	0	0	0
50	Revolution Radio	1	0	0	0
51	Housing Associations	1	1	1	0
52	Hack Oldham	1	0	0	0

		Peshkar	Cartwheel Arts	Global Grooves	Mahdio
53	The Arts Council	1	1	1	1
54	Heritage Lottery Fund	1	0	0	1
55	Full Circle North West	1	0	0	0
56	Fuse/Roc	1	0	0	0
57	People's History Museum	1	1	0	0
58	EU partners	1	0	0	0
59	Community Groups	1	0	1	1
60	International Partners	1	0	1	0
61	Patrons/Trustees/ Management Board	1	0	0	1
62	MAKO Media	0	0	0	1
63	CASS Arts	0	0	0	0
64	Cabasa	0	0	1	0
65	Youth Music	0	0	1	0
66	Handmade Parade	0	0	1	0
67	Local funders	0	0	0	0
68	Businesses	1	1	1	1
69	Charities	0	1	0	0
70	Fun Palaces	0	0	0	0
71	LINK Oldham	0	0	0	0
72	Voluntary Action Oldham	0	0	0	0
73	Youth Groups	1	1	1	0
74	Manchester University	0	1	0	0
75	GMCA	0	1	0	0
76	Yanks	0	0	0	0
77	Hope (Church)	0	0	0	0
78	Milnrow Amateur Dramatic	0	0	0	0
79	Saddleworth Male Voice Choir	0	0	0	0
80	Live Music Now	0	0	0	0

		Peshkar	Cartwheel Arts	Global Grooves	Mahdio
81	Maggies	0	0	0	0
82	Children's University	0	0	0	0
83	Stroke Association	0	0	0	0
84	Churches	0	0	0	0
85	Saddleworth and Lees District Partnership	0	0	0	0
86	Saddleworth Museum	0	0	0	0
87	TATE	0	0	0	0
88	British Museum	0	0	0	0
89	Leicester University	0	0	0	0
90	Greater Manchester Museums Group	0	0	0	0
91	NAF	0	0	0	0
92	Museum Development North west	0	0	0	0
93	Curious Minds	0	0	0	0
94	MIND	0	1	0	0
95	Local Groups	0	0	0	0
96	ATC	0	0	0	0
97	Oldham Symphony Orchestra	0	0	0	0
98	Henshaws	0	0	0	0
99	(Dementia)	0	0	0	0
100	New Arts Exchange	0	0	0	0
101	Walk the Plank Manchester	0	0	0	0
102	Chrysalis Theatre	0	0	0	0
103	(LGBT)	0	0	0	0
104	Greater Manchester Music hub	0	0	0	0
105	GO Baby	0	0	0	0
106	GO explorer	0	0	0	0
107	Jim McMahon	0	0	0	0
108	Sean Fielding	0	0	0	0

		Peshkar	Cartwheel Arts	Global Grooves	Mahdio
109	Castlehead Gallery	0	0	0	0
110	Weavers Factory	0	0	0	0
111	Natural History Group	0	0	0	0
112	Community Gallery	0	0	0	0
113	Oldham Open	0	0	0	0
114	Woodend Mill	0	0	0	0
115	Manchester Day Parade	0	0	0	0
116	Manchester Science Festival	0	0	0	0
117	Manchester Histories Festival	0	0	0	0
118	Brass Bands	0	0	0	0
119	Oldham Council	1	0	1	1
120	Regen Team	0	0	0	0
121	sponsors	0	0	0	0
122	Capricorn Stewarding	0	0	0	0
123	Saddleworth and Oldham Whit Friday Prize	0	0	0	0
124	Square Studios	0	0	0	0
125	Root Music	0	0	0	0
126	Volunteers	0	0	0	0
127	Greater Manchester Arts	0	0	0	0
128	Greater Manchester Theatre Network	0	0	0	0
129	Rotary Clubs	0	0	0	0
130	Pakistani/Indian Association	1	0	0	0
131	Saddleworth Folk Festival	0	0	0	0
132	Cotton Clouds Festival	0	0	1	0
133	Curtain Theatre	0	0	0	0
134	Eileen Bentley	0	0	0	0
135	Whitworth Gallery	0	1	0	0
136	Andrew Lloyd Webber Foundation	0	0	0	0

		OTW	Oldham Arts and Events	Gallery Oldham	Oldham Community Radio
2	Peshkar	1	1	1	1
3	Cartwheel Arts	0	0	0	0
4	Global Grooves	0	1	0	0
5	Mahdlo	1	1	0	0
6	OTW	0	1	1	1
7	Oldham Arts and Events	1	0	1	0
8	Gallery Oldham	1	1	0	0
9	Oldham Community Radio	0	0	0	0
10	The Lyceum Theatre	0	1	1	1
11	Playhouse 2	0	0	0	1
12	Age UK Oldham	0	0	0	0
13	Stoller Charitable Trust	0	1	1	0
14	Saddleworth Live - Millgate	0	0	0	1
15	Saddleworth Concerts Society	0	0	0	1
16	Saddleworth Show	0	0	0	0
17	Whit Friday Brass bands	0	1	0	1
18	Oldham Music Service	1	1	1	1
19	Coliseum Theatre	1	1	1	1
20	Brighter Sound	0	0	0	0
21	HOME	0	1	1	0
22	MIF	0	0	1	0
23	Library Oldham	1	0	1	0
24	Contact Theatre	1	0	0	0
25	Oldham Youth Council	1	0	0	0
26	Schools	1	1	1	1
27	Oldham College	0	1	1	0
28	M6 Youth Theatre	1	0	0	0

		OTW	Oldham Arts and Events	Gallery Oldham	Oldham Community Radio
29	Royal Exchange Theatre	1	0	0	0
30	London Bubble Speech Bubbles	1	0	0	0
31	RCSSD	1	0	0	0
32	New Vic Theatre	1	0	0	0
33	Salford University	0	0	0	0
34	BBC	0	0	0	0
35	MMU	0	0	0	0
36	CHETS	0	0	0	1
37	RNCM	0	0	0	0
38	Hallé	0	0	0	0
39	Mikron	0	0	0	0
40	Kings Arms Salford	0	0	0	0
41	3M Theatre	0	0	0	0
42	GM Fringe	0	0	0	0
43	Edinburgh Fringe	0	0	0	0
44	Live at Zedel	0	0	0	0
45	Saddleworth Players	0	0	0	1
46	Saddleworth Film	0	0	0	0
47	Millgate	0	0	0	1
48	53 Two	0	0	0	0
49	James Seabright Productions	0	0	0	0
50	Revolution Radio	0	0	0	0
51	Housing Associations	0	1	0	0
52	Hack Oldham	0	0	0	0
53	The Arts Council	0	1	1	0
54	Heritage Lottery Fund	0	1	1	0
55	Full Circle North West	0	0	0	0
56	Fuse/Roc	0	0	0	0

		OTW	Oldham Arts and Events	Gallery Oldham	Oldham Community Radio
57	People's History Museum	0	0	0	0
58	EU partners	0	0	0	0
59	Community Groups	0	1	1	0
60	International Partners	0	1	0	0
61	Patrons/Trustees/ Management Board	0	0	1	0
62	MAKO Media	0	0	0	0
63	CASS Arts	0	0	0	0
64	Cabasa	0	0	0	0
65	Youth Music	0	0	0	0
66	Handmade Parade	0	0	0	0
67	Local funders	0	0	0	0
68	Businesses	0	0	0	0
69	Charities	0	0	0	0
70	Fun Palaces	0	1	1	0
71	LINK Oldham	0	0	1	0
72	Voluntary Action Oldham	0	0	0	0
73	Youth Groups	0	1	0	0
74	Manchester University	0	0	0	0
75	GMCA	0	1	0	0
76	Yanks	0	0	0	1
77	Hope (Church)	0	0	0	1
78	Milnrow Amateur Dramatic	0	0	0	1
79	Saddleworth Male Voice Choir	0	0	0	1
80	Live Music Now	0	0	0	0
81	Maggies	0	0	0	0
82	Children's University	0	0	1	0
83	Stroke Association	0	0	1	0

		OTW	Oldham Arts and Events	Gallery Oldham	Oldham Community Radio
84	Churches	0	0	0	1
85	Saddleworth and Lees District Partnership	0	0	0	0
86	Saddleworth Museum	0	1	1	0
87	TATE	0	0	1	0
88	British Museum	0	1	1	0
89	Leicester University	0		1	0
90	Greater Manchester Museums Group	0	1	1	0
91	NAF	0		1	0
92	Museum Development North west	0	0	1	0
93	Curious Minds	0	0	1	0
94	MIND	0	0	0	0
95	Local Groups	0	0	0	0
96	ATC	0	0	0	0
97	Oldham Symphony Orchestra	0	1	0	0
98	Henshaws	0	1	0	0
99	(Dementia)	0	1	0	0
100	New Arts Exchange	0	1	0	0
101	Walk the Plank Manchester	0	1	0	0
102	Chrysalis Theatre	0	1	0	0
103	(LGBT)	0	1	0	0
104	Greater Manchester Music hub	0	0	0	0
105	GO Baby	0	1	1	0
106	GO explorer	0	0	1	0
107	Jim McMAhon	0	0	1	0
108	Sean Fielding	0	0	1	0
109	Castlehead Gallery	0	0	1	0
110	Weavers Factory	0	0	1	0
111	Natural History Group	0	0	1	0

		OTW	Oldham Arts and Events	Gallery Oldham	Oldham Community Radio
112	Community Gallery	0	0	1	0
113	Oldham Open	0	0	1	0
114	Woodend Mill	0	0	1	0
115	Manchester Day Parade	0	1	1	0
116	Manchester Science Festival	0	0	1	0
117	Manchester Histories Festival	0	0	1	0
118	Brass Bands	0	1	0	1
119	Oldham Council	1	1	1	0
120	Regen Team	0	0	1	0
121	sponsors	0	0	0	0
122	Capricorn Stewarding	0	0	0	0
123	Saddleworth and Oldham Whit Friday Prize	0	0	0	0
124	Square Studios	0	1	0	0
125	Root Music	0	0	0	0
126	Volunteers	0	0	1	0
127	Greater Manchester Arts	0	1	0	0
128	Greater Manchester Theatre Network	0	0	0	0
129	Rotary Clubs	0	0	0	0
130	Pakistani/Indian Association	0	0	1	0
131	Saddleworth Folk Festival	0	0	0	1
132	Cotton Clouds Festival	0	1	0	0
133	Curtain Theatre	0	0	0	0
134	Eileen Bentley	0	0	0	1
135	Whitworth Gallery	0	0	0	0
136	Andrew Lloyd Webber Foundation	0	0	0	0

		The Lyceum Theatre	Playhouse 2	Age UK Oldham	Stoller Charitable Trust
2	Peshkar	0	0	0	0
3	Cartwheel Arts	0	0	0	0
4	Global Grooves	0	0	0	0
5	Mahdlo	1	0	0	1
6	OTW	0	1	0	0
7	Oldham Arts and Events	0	0	0	1
8	Gallery Oldham	0	0	1	1
9	Oldham Community Radio	0	0	0	0
10	The Lyceum Theatre	0	1	0	0
11	Playhouse 2	1	0	0	0
12	Age UK Oldham	0	0	0	0
13	Stoller Charitable Trust	0	0	0	0
14	Saddleworth Live - Millgate	1	1	0	0
15	Saddleworth Concerts Society	0	0	0	0
16	Saddleworth Show	0	0	0	0
17	Whit Friday Brass bands	0	0	0	0
18	Oldham Music Service	1	0	0	1
19	Coliseum Theatre	1	1	1	1
20	Brighter Sound	0	0	0	0
21	HOME	0	0	0	0
22	MIF	0	0	0	0
23	Library Oldham	0	0	0	0
24	Contact Theatre	0	1	0	0
25	Oldham Youth Council	0	0	1	0
26	Schools	0	1	1	1
27	Oldham College	0	0	0	0
28	M6 Youth Theatre	0	0	0	0

		The Lyceum Theatre	Playhouse 2	Age UK Oldham	Stoller Charitable Trust
29	Royal Exchange Theatre	1	1	0	0
30	London Bubble Speech Bubbles	0	0	0	0
31	RCSSD	0	0	0	0
32	New Vic Theatre	0	0	0	0
33	Salford University	0	0	0	0
34	BBC	0	0	0	0
35	MMU	0	0	0	1
36	CHETS	0	0	0	1
37	RNCM	0	0	0	1
38	Hallé	0	0	0	0
39	Mikron	0	0	0	0
40	Kings Arms Salford	0	0	0	0
41	3M Theatre	0	0	0	0
42	GM Fringe	1	1	0	0
43	Edinburgh Fringe	0	1	0	0
44	Live at Zedel	0	0	0	0
45	Saddleworth Players	0	1	0	0
46	Saddleworth Film	0	0	0	0
47	Millgate	1	1	0	0
48	53 Two	0	0	0	0
49	James Seabright Productions	0	0	0	0
50	Revolution Radio	0	0	0	0
51	Housing Associations	0	0	0	0
52	Hack Oldham	0	0	0	0
53	The Arts Council	0	0	0	0
54	Heritage Lottery Fund	0	0	1	0
55	Full Circle North West	0	0	0	0
56	Fuse/Roc	0	0	0	0

		The Lyceum Theatre	Playhouse 2	Age UK Oldham	Stoller Charitable Trust
57	People's History Museum	0	0	0	0
58	EU partners	0	0	0	0
59	Community Groups	0	0	1	0
60	International Partners	0	0	0	0
61	Patrons/Trustees/ Management Board	1	1	0	1
62	MAKO Media	0	0	0	0
63	CASS Arts	0	0	0	0
64	Cabasa	0	0	0	0
65	Youth Music	0	0	0	0
66	Handmade Parade	0	0	0	0
67	Local funders	0	0	0	0
68	Businesses	0	0	1	1
69	Charities	0	0	0	0
70	Fun Palaces	0	0	0	0
71	LINK Oldham	0	0	0	0
72	Voluntary Action Oldham	0	0	0	0
73	Youth Groups	0	0	0	0
74	Manchester University	0	0	0	1
75	GMCA	0	0	0	0
76	Yanks	0	0	0	0
77	Hope (Church)	0	0	0	0
78	Milnrow Amateur Dramatic	0	0	0	0
79	Saddleworth Male Voice Choir	0	0	0	0
80	Live Music Now	0	0	0	1
81	Maggies	0	0	0	1
82	Children's University	0	0	0	0
83	Stroke Association	0	0	0	0

		The Lyceum Theatre	Playhouse 2	Age UK Oldham	Stoller Charitable Trust
84	Churches	0	0	0	0
85	Saddleworth and Lees District Partnership	0	0	0	0
86	Saddleworth Museum	0	0	0	0
87	TATE	0	0	0	0
88	British Museum	0	0	0	0
89	Leicester University	0	0	0	0
90	Greater Manchester Museums Group	0	0	0	0
91	NAF	0	0	0	0
92	Museum Development North west	0	0	0	0
93	Curious Minds	0	0	0	0
94	MIND	0	0	0	0
95	Local Groups	0	0	0	0
96	ATC	0	0	0	0
97	Oldham Symphony Orchestra	0	0	0	0
98	Henshaws	0	0	0	0
99	(Dementia)	0	0	1	
100	New Arts Exchange	0	0	0	0
101	Walk the Plank Manchester	0	0	0	0
102	Chrysalis Theatre	0	0	0	0
103	(LGBT)	0	0	1	0
104	Greater Manchester Music hub	0	0	0	0
105	GO Baby	0	0	0	0
106	GO explorer	0	0	0	0
107	Jim McMAhon	0	0	0	0
108	Sean Fielding	0	0	0	0
109	Castlehead Gallery	0	0	0	0
110	Weavers Factory	0	0	0	0
111	Natural History Group	0	0	0	0

		The Lyceum Theatre	Playhouse 2	Age UK Oldham	Stoller Charitable Trust
112	Community Gallery	0	0	0	0
113	Oldham Open	0	0	0	0
114	Woodend Mill	0	0	0	0
115	Manchester Day Parade	0	0	0	0
116	Manchester Science Festival	0	0	0	0
117	Manchester Histories Festival	0	0	0	0
118	Brass Bands	0	0	0	0
119	Oldham Council	0	1	1	1
120	Regen Team	0	0	0	0
121	sponsors	0	0	0	0
122	Capricorn Stewarding	0	0	0	0
123	Saddleworth and Oldham Whit Friday Prize	0	0	0	0
124	Square Studios	0	0	0	0
125	Root Music	0	0	0	0
126	Volunteers	1	0	0	0
127	Greater Manchester Arts	0	0	0	0
128	Greater Manchester Theatre Network	0	0	0	0
129	Rotary Clubs	0	0	0	0
130	Pakistani/Indian Association	0	0	0	0
131	Saddleworth Folk Festival	0	0	0	0
132	Cotton Clouds Festival	0	0	0	0
133	Curtain Theatre	1	1	0	0
134	Eileen Bentley	0	0	0	0
135	Whitworth Gallery	0	0	0	0
136	Andrew Lloyd Webber Foundation	0	0	1	0

		Saddleworth Live - Millgate	Saddleworth Concerts Society	Saddleworth Show	Whit Friday Brass bands
2	Peshkar	0	0	0	0
3	Cartwheel Arts	0	0	0	0
4	Global Grooves	0	0	0	0
5	Mahdlo	0	0	1	0
6	OTW	0	0	0	0
7	Oldham Arts and Events	0	1	1	1
8	Gallery Oldham	0	0	1	0
9	Oldham Community Radio	0	0	0	0
10	The Lyceum Theatre	1	1	0	0
11	Playhouse 2	1	0	0	0
12	Age UK Oldham	0	0	0	0
13	Stoller Charitable Trust	0	1	1	0
14	Saddleworth Live - Millgate	0	1	0	0
15	Saddleworth Concerts Society	1	0	0	0
16	Saddleworth Show	0	0	0	0
17	Whit Friday Brass bands	1	1	1	0
18	Oldham Music Service	0	1	1	0
19	Coliseum Theatre	1	0	1	0
20	Brighter Sound	0	0	0	0
21	HOME	0	0	0	0
22	MIF	0	0	0	0
23	Library Oldham	1	0	0	0
24	Contact Theatre	0	0	0	0
25	Oldham Youth Council	0	0	0	0
26	Schools	0	1	1	0
27	Oldham College	0	0	0	0
28	M6 Youth Theatre	0	0	0	0

		Saddleworth Live - Millgate	Saddleworth Concerts Society	Saddleworth Show	Whit Friday Brass bands
29	Royal Exchange Theatre	0	1	0	0
30	London Bubble Speech Bubbles	0	0	0	0
31	RCSSD	0	0	0	0
32	New Vic Theatre	0	0	0	0
33	Salford University	0	0	0	0
34	BBC	0	0	0	0
35	MMU	0	0	0	0
36	CHETS	0	1	0	0
37	RNCM	1	1	0	0
38	Hallé	0	0	0	0
39	Mikron	1	0	0	0
40	Kings Arms Salford	1	0	0	0
41	3M Theatre	1	0	0	0
42	GM Fringe	1	0	0	0
43	Edinburgh Fringe	1	0	0	0
44	Live at Zedel	1	0	0	0
45	Saddleworth Players	1	1	0	0
46	Saddleworth Film	1	1	0	0
47	Millgate	1	0	0	0
48	53 Two	1	0	0	0
49	James Seabright Productions	1	0	0	0
50	Revolution Radio	0	0	0	0
51	Housing Associations	0	0	0	0
52	Hack Oldham	0	0	0	0
53	The Arts Council	1	1	0	0
54	Heritage Lottery Fund	0	0	0	0
55	Full Circle North West	0	0	0	0
56	Fuse/Roc	0	0	0	0

		Saddleworth Live - Millgate	Saddleworth Concerts Society	Saddleworth Show	Whit Friday Brass bands
57	People's History Museum	0	0	0	0
58	EU partners	0	0	0	0
59	Community Groups	0	0	1	0
60	International Partners	0	0	0	0
61	Patrons/Trustees/ Management Board	0	1	0	0
62	MAKO Media	0	0	0	0
63	CASS Arts	0	0	0	0
64	Cabasa	0	0	0	0
65	Youth Music	0	0	0	0
66	Handmade Parade	0	0	0	0
67	Local funders	0	0	0	0
68	Businesses	0	1	1	0
69	Charities	0	0	1	0
70	Fun Palaces	0	0	0	0
71	LINK Oldham	0	0	0	0
72	Voluntary Action Oldham	0	0	0	0
73	Youth Groups	0	0	0	0
74	Manchester University	0	0	0	0
75	GMCA	0	0	0	0
76	Yanks	0	0	1	0
77	Hope (Church)	0	0	0	0
78	Milnrow Amateur Dramatic	0	0	0	0
79	Saddleworth Male Voice Choir	0	1	1	0
80	Live Music Now	0	0	0	0
81	Maggies	0	0	0	0
82	Children's University	0	0	0	0
83	Stroke Association	0	0	0	0

		Saddleworth Live - Millgate	Saddleworth Concerts Society	Saddleworth Show	Whit Friday Brass bands
84	Churches	0	0	0	1
85	Saddleworth and Lees District Partnership	0	0	0	1
86	Saddleworth Museum	0	0	0	0
87	TATE	0	0	0	0
88	British Museum	0	0	0	0
89	Leicester University	0	0	0	0
90	Greater Manchester Museums Group	0	0	0	0
91	NAF	0	0	0	0
92	Museum Development North west	0	0	0	0
93	Curious Minds	0	0	0	0
94	MIND	0	0	0	0
95	Local Groups	0	0	1	0
96	ATC	0	0	1	0
97	Oldham Symphony Orchestra	1	0	0	0
98	Henshaws	0	0	0	0
99	(Dementia)	0	0	0	0
100	New Arts Exchange	0	0	0	0
101	Walk the Plank Manchester	0	0	0	0
102	Chrysalis Theatre	0	0	0	0
103	(LGBT)	0	0	0	0
104	Greater Manchester Music hub	0	0	0	0
105	GO Baby	0	0	0	0
106	GO explorer	0	0	0	0
107	Jim McMAhon	0	0	0	0
108	Sean Fielding	0	0	0	0
109	Castlehead Gallery	0	0	0	0
110	Weavers Factory	0	0	0	0
111	Natural History Group	0	0	0	0

		Saddleworth Live - Millgate	Saddleworth Concerts Society	Saddleworth Show	Whit Friday Brass bands
112	Community Gallery	0	0	0	0
113	Oldham Open	0	0	0	0
114	Woodend Mill	0	0	0	0
115	Manchester Day Parade	0	0	0	0
116	Manchester Science Festival	0	0	0	0
117	Manchester Histories Festival	0	0	0	0
118	Brass Bands	0	1	0	1
119	Oldham Council	0	1	1	1
120	Regen Team	0	0	0	0
121	sponsors	0	0	0	1
122	Capricorn Stewarding	0	0	0	1
123	Saddleworth and Oldham Whit Friday Prize	0	0	0	1
124	Square Studios	0	0	0	0
125	Root Music	0	0	0	0
126	Volunteers	0	0	0	0
127	Greater Manchester Arts	0	0	0	0
128	Greater Manchester Theatre Network	0	0	0	0
129	Rotary Clubs	0	0	1	0
130	Pakistani/Indian Association	0	0	0	0
131	Saddleworth Folk Festival	0	0	0	0
132	Cotton Clouds Festival	0	1	1	0
133	Curtain Theatre	0	0	0	0
134	Eileen Bentley	0	1	0	0
135	Whitworth Gallery	0	0	0	0
136	Andrew Lloyd Webber Foundation	0	0	0	0

		Oldham Music Service	Coliseum Theatre	Brighter Sound	HOME
2	Peshkar	0	0	1	1
3	Cartwheel Arts	0	0	0	1
4	Global Grooves	0	0	0	0
5	Mahdlo	1	1	1	0
6	OTW	1	1	0	1
7	Oldham Arts and Events	1	1	1	1
8	Gallery Oldham	0	1	1	0
9	Oldham Community Radio	0	0	0	0
10	The Lyceum Theatre	1	0	0	0
11	Playhouse 2	0	0	0	0
12	Age UK Oldham	0	0	0	0
13	Stoller Charitable Trust	1	0	0	0
14	Saddleworth Live - Millgate	0	0	0	1
15	Saddleworth Concerts Society	0	0	0	0
16	Saddleworth Show	0	0	0	0
17	Whit Friday Brass bands	1	0	0	0
18	Oldham Music Service	0	0	1	1
19	Coliseum Theatre	0	0	1	1
20	Brighter Sound	1	0	0	0
21	HOME	1	1	1	0
22	MIF	0	0	1	0
23	Library Oldham	1	0	0	0
24	Contact Theatre	0	1	1	0
25	Oldham Youth Council	0	1	0	0
26	Schools	1	1	0	0
27	Oldham College	0	1	0	0
28	M6 Youth Theatre	0	0	0	0

		Oldham Music Service	Coliseum Theatre	Brighter Sound	HOME
29	Royal Exchange Theatre	0	1	1	0
30	London Bubble Speech Bubbles	0	0	0	0
31	RCSSD	0	0	0	0
32	New Vic Theatre	0	0	0	0
33	Salford University	1	0	0	0
34	BBC	1	0	0	0
35	MMU	1	0	0	0
36	CHETS	1	0	0	0
37	RNCM	1	0	0	0
38	Hallé	1	0	1	0
39	Mikron	0	0	0	0
40	Kings Arms Salford	0	0	0	0
41	3M Theatre	0	0	0	0
42	GM Fringe	0	1	0	0
43	Edinburgh Fringe	0	0	0	0
44	Live at Zedel	0	0	0	0
45	Saddleworth Players	0	0	0	0
46	Saddleworth Film	0	0	0	0
47	Millgate	0	0	0	0
48	53 Two	0	0	0	0
49	James Seabright Productions	0	0	0	0
50	Revolution Radio	0	0	0	0
51	Housing Associations	0	1	0	1
52	Hack Oldham	0	0	0	0
53	The Arts Council	1	1	0	1
54	Heritage Lottery Fund	0	0	0	0
55	Full Circle North West	0	0	0	0
56	Fuse/Roc	0	0	0	0

		Oldham Music Service	Coliseum Theatre	Brighter Sound	HOME
57	People's History Museum	0	0	0	0
58	EU partners	0	0	0	0
59	Community Groups	1	1	0	1
60	International Partners	0	0	0	0
61	Patrons/Trustees/ Management Board	1	1	1	0
62	MAKO Media	0	0	0	0
63	CASS Arts	0	0	0	0
64	Cabasa	0	0	0	0
65	Youth Music	0	0	1	0
66	Handmade Parade	0	0	0	0
67	Local funders	0	1	0	0
68	Businesses	0	1	0	0
69	Charities	0	1	0	1
70	Fun Palaces	0	0	0	0
71	LINK Oldham	0	1	0	0
72	Voluntary Action Oldham	0	1	0	0
73	Youth Groups	0	1	0	0
74	Manchester University	0	1	0	0
75	GMCA	0	0	0	1
76	Yanks	0	0	0	0
77	Hope (Church)	0	0	0	0
78	Milnrow Amateur Dramatic	0	0	0	0
79	Saddleworth Male Voice Choir	0	0	0	0
80	Live Music Now	0	0	0	0
81	Maggies	0	0	0	0
82	Children's University	0	0	0	0
83	Stroke Association	0	0	0	0

		Oldham Music Service	Coliseum Theatre	Brighter Sound	HOME
84	Churches	0	0	0	0
85	Saddleworth and Lees District Partnership	0	0	0	0
86	Saddleworth Museum	0	0	0	0
87	TATE	0	0	0	0
88	British Museum	0	0	0	0
89	Leicester University	0	0	0	0
90	Greater Manchester Museums Group	0	0	0	0
91	NAF	0	0	0	0
92	Museum Development North west	0	0	0	0
93	Curious Minds	0	0	0	0
94	MIND	0	0	0	0
95	Local Groups	0	0	0	0
96	ATC	0	0	0	0
97	Oldham Symphony Orchestra	0	0	0	0
98	Henshaws	0	0	0	0
99	(Dementia)	0	0	0	0
100	New Arts Exchange	0	0	0	0
101	Walk the Plank Manchester	0	0	0	0
102	Chrysalis Theatre	0	0	0	0
103	(LGBT)	0	0	0	0
104	Greater Manchester Music hub	0	0	0	0
105	GO Baby	0	0	0	0
106	GO explorer	0	0	0	0
107	Jim McMAhon	0	0	0	0
108	Sean Fielding	0	0	0	0
109	Castlehead Gallery	0	0	0	0
110	Weavers Factory	0	0	0	0
111	Natural History Group	0	0	0	0

		Oldham Music Service	Coliseum Theatre	Brighter Sound	HOME
112	Community Gallery	0	0	0	0
113	Oldham Open	0	0	0	0
114	Woodend Mill	0	0	0	0
115	Manchester Day Parade	0	0	0	0
116	Manchester Science Festival	0	0	0	0
117	Manchester Histories Festival	0	0	0	0
118	Brass Bands	0	0	0	0
119	Oldham Council	1	1	1	1
120	Regen Team	0	0	0	0
121	sponsors	0	0	0	0
122	Capricorn Stewarding	0	0	0	0
123	Saddleworth and Oldham Whit Friday Prize	0	0	0	0
124	Square Studios	1	0	1	0
125	Root Music	0	0	1	0
126	Volunteers	0	0	0	0
127	Greater Manchester Arts	0	0	0	0
128	Greater Manchester Theatre Network	0	0	0	1
129	Rotary Clubs	0	0	0	0
130	Pakistani/Indian Association	0	0	0	0
131	Saddleworth Folk Festival	0	0	0	0
132	Cotton Clouds Festival	0	0	0	1
133	Curtain Theatre	0	1	0	0
134	Eileen Bentley	1	0	0	0
135	Whitworth Gallery	0	0	1	0
136	Andrew Lloyd Webber Foundation	0	1	0	0

		MIF
2	Peshkar	1
3	Cartwheel Arts	0
4	Global Grooves	0
5	Mahdlo	1
6	OTW	0
7	Oldham Arts and Events	1
8	Gallery Oldham	1
9	Oldham Community Radio	0
10	The Lyceum Theatre	0
11	Playhouse 2	0
12	Age UK Oldham	0
13	Stoller Charitable Trust	1
14	Saddleworth Live - Millgate	1
15	Saddleworth Concerts Society	0
16	Saddleworth Show	0
17	Whit Friday Brass bands	0
18	Oldham Music Service	1
19	Coliseum Theatre	0
20	Brighter Sound	0
21	HOME	0
22	MIF	0
23	Library Oldham	1
24	Contact Theatre	0
25	Oldham Youth Council	0
26	Schools	1
27	Oldham College	1
28	M6 Youth Theatre	0

		MIF
29	Royal Exchange Theatre	0
30	London Bubble Speech Bubbles	0
31	RCSSD	0
32	New Vic Theatre	0
33	Salford University	0
34	BBC	0
35	MMU	0
36	CHETS	0
37	RNCM	0
38	Hallé	0
39	Mikron	0
40	Kings Arms Salford	0
41	3M Theatre	0
42	GM Fringe	0
43	Edinburgh Fringe	0
44	Live at Zedel	0
45	Saddleworth Players	0
46	Saddleworth Film	0
47	Millgate	1
48	53 Two	0
49	James Seabright Productions	0
50	Revolution Radio	0
51	Housing Associations	0
52	Hack Oldham	0
53	The Arts Council	0
54	Heritage Lottery Fund	0
55	Full Circle North West	0
56	Fuse/Roc	0

		MIF
57	People's History Museum	0
58	EU partners	0
59	Community Groups	0
60	International Partners	0
61	Patrons/Trustees/ Management Board	1
62	MAKO Media	0
63	CASS Arts	0
64	Cabasa	0
65	Youth Music	0
66	Handmade Parade	0
67	Local funders	0
68	Businesses	0
69	Charities	0
70	Fun Palaces	0
71	LINK Oldham	0
72	Voluntary Action Oldham	0
73	Youth Groups	0
74	Manchester University	0
75	GMCA	1
76	Yanks	0
77	Hope (Church)	0
78	Milnrow Amateur Dramatic	0
79	Saddleworth Male Voice Choir	0
80	Live Music Now	0
81	Maggies	0
82	Children's University	0
83	Stroke Association	0

		MIF
84	Churches	0
85	Saddleworth and Lees District Partnership	0
86	Saddleworth Museum	0
87	TATE	0
88	British Museum	0
89	Leicester University	0
90	Greater Manchester Museums Group	0
91	NAF	0
92	Museum Development Northwest	0
93	Curious Minds	0
94	MIND	0
95	Local Groups	0
96	ATC	0
97	Oldham Symphony Orchestra	0
98	Henshaws	0
99	(Dementia)	0
100	New Arts Exchange	0
101	Walk the Plank Manchester	0
102	Chrysalis Theatre	0
103	(LGBT)	0
104	Greater Manchester Music Hub	0
105	GO Baby	0
106	GO explorer	0
107	Jim McMahon	0
108	Sean Fielding	0
109	Castlefield Gallery	0
110	Weavers Factory	0
111	Natural History Group	0

		MIF
112	Community Gallery	0
113	Oldham Open	0
114	Woodend Mill	0
115	Manchester Day Parade	0
116	Manchester Science Festival	0
117	Manchester Histories Festival	0
118	Brass Bands	0
119	Oldham Council	1
120	Regen Team	0
121	sponsors	0
122	Capricorn Stewarding	0
123	Saddleworth and Oldham Whit Friday Prize	0
124	Square Studios	0
125	Root Music	0
126	Volunteers	1
127	Greater Manchester Arts	0
128	Greater Manchester Theatre Network	0
129	Rotary Clubs	0
130	Pakistani/Indian Association	0
131	Saddleworth Folk Festival	0
132	Cotton Clouds Festival	0
133	Curtain Theatre	0
134	Eileen Bentley	0
135	Whitworth Gallery	1
136	Andrew Lloyd Webber Foundation	0

Appendix 3: NVivo Code Book

Name	Description	Files	References
ACE Goals		5	6
Artist Development		10	18
ATC		1	1
Audiences		6	21
Big Draw		1	1
Celebrities		5	13
Competition		5	19
Constraints		15	40
Corby Cube		1	1
Edinburgh Fringe		2	4
Fun palaces		2	3
Greater Manchester Arts		2	8
Greater Manchester Museums Group		1	3
Greater Manchester Music Hub		1	3
Instrumental goals		17	84
International		7	19
Legitimation		24	125
Leicester University		2	3
Library Oldham		6	8
Live at Zedel		1	1
Lottery Funding		3	3
Luck		6	9
M6		2	5
Manchester Fringe		2	2
Methodological reflections		10	12
Mikron		1	1
MIND		1	2
Money		22	70
Network		21	79
ABRSM		1	2
Age UK Oldham		2	3
Andrew Lloyd Webber Foundation		2	3

Name	Description	Files	References
Annie O'Neill		13	22
Arts Council England		15	41
Band In the Barn		2	3
Band on the wall		1	1
Brighter Sound		3	6
British Museum		2	2
Businesses		6	12
Cartwheel Arts		1	1
CASS arts		1	2
Chetham's		4	6
Coliseum Theatre		17	53
Community		13	17
Contact Theatre		8	16
Cotton Clouds		5	7
Curtain Theatre		2	5
Eileen Bentley		3	5
Foyle Foundation		1	1
Gallery Oldham		9	12
Global Grooves, Jubacana, Bang- Drum		3	6
GMCA		2	5
GMCVO		1	1
Greater Manchester Theatres Network		1	2
Hack Oldham		1	1
Halle		2	3
Hepworth		1	1

Name	Description	Files	References
Heritage Lottery Fund		6	12
HOME		8	18
Housing Associations		7	18
Lyceum Theatre		6	9
Mahdlo		13	26
Manchester Museum		1	1
Manchester University		2	2
MIF		5	5
Millgate Arts Centre		3	6
MMU		4	4
Oglesby Trust		1	1
Oldham Business Forum		1	1
Oldham College		5	8
Oldham Male Voice Choir		1	2
Oldham Music Service		13	20
Oldham Pledge		1	1
Oldham Theatre Workshop		10	21
On-Side		1	1
People's History Museum		1	1
Peshkar		9	17
Piece Makers Quilting Group		1	1
Playhouse 2		3	7

Name	Description	Files	References
Revolution Radio		2	2
RNCM		6	12
Root Music		1	4
Rotary		1	4
Royal Exchange		7	15
Royal School of Speech and Drama		2	2
Saddleworth Live		7	17
Saddleworth Players		4	10
Saddleworth Show		1	2
Schools		16	33
Square One Studios		3	4
TATE		1	2
Unity Radio		1	3
Upper Mill Summer Music Festival		1	6
Whit Friday		9	16
Whitworth Gallery		3	3
Yanks		2	3
New Cultural Quarter		10	35
Oldham Council		24	59
Oldham Leisure Services		0	0
Oldham Pledge		2	2
Oldham Town and Demographic		21	88
Oldham Youth Council		2	7
Patrons and Trustees		12	42
Sir Norman Stoller		8	21
Pocklington Arts Centre		1	1
Politics		12	26

Name	Description	Files	References
Publicity		6	16
Quality		15	31
Reciprocity		11	34
Resonance		3	6
Rochdale Council		1	2
Saddleworth Concerts		1	2
Saddleworth Male Voice Choir		2	2
Saddleworth Musicals Society		2	4
Salford University		2	2
Status		20	108
National Reach		8	11
Staff numbers		6	8
Untitled		1	1
Untitled (2)		0	0
Values		22	110
Venues		26	120
Volunteers		9	19
Walk the Plank		0	0

Appendix 4: Participant Information Letter, Informed Consent and Ethical Review Approval

<p style="text-align: right;">Claire Burnill-Maier School of Performance and Cultural Industries University of Leeds Leeds LS2 9JT</p> <p style="text-align: right;">December 2017</p> <p>Dear «FirstName»,</p> <p>Towards a Relational Understanding of the Oldham Arts Sector</p> <p>I am a PhD student at the University of Leeds researching the ways in which arts organisations respond, in practice, to external structures - including policy demands.</p> <p>Part of my research will involve mapping the Oldham arts sector as well as an interview and I am writing to invite you to take part, as I would value your insights into, and experiences of, the sector.</p> <p>The mapping activity would form a starting point for the research project enabling me to gather data about the shape and structure of networks in the Oldham arts sector. The aim of the mapping activity will be to find out about the way in which local organisations relate to each other and to other key individuals. The activity will also hope to gain insights into the ways in which power and influence are shaped in the sector. The mapping activity will last (no-longer-than) 60-minutes, I would hope to follow up the mapping activity with a tour of your venue (time permitting).</p> <p>The data collected will be kept confidential and you may choose for your contribution to kept anonymous. The results of the research findings will be published as part of a PhD thesis.</p> <p>There are no immediate financial benefits to participation, though it is hoped the research will provide a deeper understanding of how arts organisations are enabled and constrained and contribute useful insights for arts managers and policy makers.</p> <p>You are under no obligation to take part.</p> <p>Should you be willing to get involved, please email to arrange a mutually convenient time. I would also ask you to complete the attached consent form and return it to me at acclbim@leeds.ac.uk by January 10th 2018. Please note, you are free to withdraw your</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">I look forward to hearing from you. With very best wishes, Claire Burnill-Maier</p> <p style="text-align: right;"> Claire Burnill-Maier</p> <p style="text-align: right;">consent at any time up to 3 months after participation by emailing me. You are not obliged to justify your withdrawal.</p>
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Informed Consent to take part in ‘Towards a Relational Understanding’ MappingExercise

	Add your initials next to the statements you agree with
I confirm that I have read and understand the information letter dated December 2017 explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.	
I agree for the data collected from me to be stored and used in relevant future research in an anonymised form.	
I understand that relevant sections of the data collected during the study, may be looked at by auditors from the University of Leeds or from regulatory authorities where it is relevant to my taking part in this research. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my records.	
I agree to take part in the above research project and will inform the lead researcher should my contact details change during the project and, if necessary, afterwards.	

Name of participant	
Participant’s signature	
Date	
Name of lead researcher	Claire Burnill-Maier
Signature	
Date*	

*To be signed and dated in the presence of the participant.

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter/ pre-written script/ information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be kept with the project’s main documents which must be kept in a secure location.

The Successful
University of Leeds
Leeds, LS2 9JT UK (0113 343 4473)
Email: ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk



Chaire Bernik-Muier
School of Performance and Cultural Industries
University of Leeds
Leeds, LS2 9JT

Arts, Humanities and Cultures Faculty Research Ethics Committee

4 May 2021

Dear Claire,

Title of study: Captivity, Agency, and Legitimacy: Towards a relational understanding of the Oshman Arts Sector
Ethics reference: LTRPC1941

I am pleased to inform you that the above application for light touch ethical review has been reviewed by a representative of the Arts, Humanities and Cultures Faculty Research Ethics Committee and I can confirm a favourable ethical opinion as of the date of this letter. The following documentation was considered:

Comment	Version	Date
LTRPC1941 Standard Review Light Touch Ethics Review	1	18/03/2021
LTRPC1941 Standard Review participant consent form (new v18)	1	18/03/2021
LTRPC1941 Standard Review the study info sheet	1	18/03/2021
LTRPC1941 Standard Review the study information sheet (new)	1	18/03/2021
Review of participant 1	1	18/03/2021
Review of participant 2	1	18/03/2021
LTRPC1941 Standard Review Application for Research Participation - Urgency Evidence	1	18/03/2021
LTRPC1941 Standard Review Submission Letter Participant	1	18/03/2021

The reviewer made the following comments:

General comments		
This is a clear, detailed review. The suggestions listed aim to ensure comparability between the information sheet and the application.		
Application action	Comment	Response required/ amended application required/ for consideration
B1	It would be helpful to include the proposed length of both interviews in the application form and on both information sheets. At the moment it only appears on the initial invitation to interview.	For consideration
Information sheet	For transparency, indicate how and for how long audio recordings will be stored for as indicated on the application.	For consideration
C1	Is there a risk to the researcher in undertaking off-site	For

Interviews? Will risk assessments be completed before the interviews take place? consideration

Please notify the committee if you intend to make any amendments to the original research on submission of date of this approval, including changes to recruitment methodology. All changes must receive ethical approval prior to implementation. The amendment form is available at <http://leeds.ac.uk/Ethics-Committee>.

Please note: You are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation, as well as other documents relating to the study. You will be given a two week notice period if your project is to be audited, there is a checklist listing examples of documents to be kept which is available at <http://leeds.ac.uk/Ethics-Committee>.

We welcome feedback on your experience of the ethical review process and suggestions for improvement. Please email any comments to ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk

Yours sincerely

Aurilia Shukla
Senior Research Ethics Administrator, the Successful
On behalf of Prof Robert Jones, Chair: RJC@ethics.leeds.ac.uk
CC: Dr Leah Jankovich

Appendix 5: Summary of Organisations

ORGANISATION	MISSION AND MODEL*	DECLARED INCOME**	PARTICIPANTS
Age Oldham UK Ltd	Age UK Oldham manages a full range of services that benefit older people either directly or indirectly. Funded through service agreements with local Authority, Lottery fund, Pennine Care NHS trust, and Age UK funding. Also through retail outlets. www.age.co.uk/oldham	2.6M	1
Cartwheel Arts	Promotes social inclusion, cohesion, diversity and regeneration through community participation in vibrant, innovative, high-quality arts projects. Enabling people who may have had little experience of the arts to explore and develop their creativity and talents, generating a sense of ownership and pride. Local Authority, GMCA, www.cartwheelarts.org.uk	234K GBP	2
Brighter Sound	Manchester City Centre based music charity working across the UK. Supports and promotes diverse talent and acts as a catalyst for change in the music industry. Creative music-making projects & activities including residencies, workshops, courses and training for children, young people, emerging professional musicians and adult learners. Consultation and support. Strategic development of the music offer for the region with emphasis on children in challenging circumstances and emerging musicians.’ www.brightersound.com	631.4K GBP	1
Gallery Oldham	‘Provides a wide range of exhibitions and activities targeted at different audiences of all ages within Oldham and the surrounding area. Oldham Council and supplementary grants including Stoller Charitable trust and Heritage Lottery fund www.galleryoldham.org	Unknown	2 (Separate Interviews)
Global Grooves	‘Creating environments for world-class Carnival arts to happen and bring people of every kind together to learn, share, collaborate and develop through music, dance and visual arts. Training, courses and masterclasses in music, dance, performances and parades. Arts Council England NPO, Donations and Admission fees. www.globalgrooves.org	(Income Figures from 2017-2020) 2.04 Million GBP	2 Separate Interviews
HOME (Greater Manchester Arts Centre Ltd)	To promote, maintain, improve and advance education, particularly by the encouragement of the arts. This includes the arts of cinema, photography, painting and sculpture	6.4 Million GBP	1

	and including all other arts of a visual nature. Supported by Local Authority, GMCA, Arts Council England, Lottery Fund, ticket sales, and other grants and donations www.homemcr.org		
The Oldham Coliseum Theatre	Oldham Coliseum Theatre's mission is to provide a wide variety of theatre performance and participatory activities for people from Oldham, Greater Manchester and nationally. Arts Council England National Portfolio Organisation Local Authority grants, donations and ticket sales. www.coliseum.org.uk	2.62 Million GBP	2
Oldham Council Arts Development Team	Council department supporting artists, festivals, and events across the borough of Oldham. Oldham Council and supplementary project grants (including ACE) oldham.gov.uk	Unknown	2
Sir Norman Stoller Charitable Trust	Sir Norman Stoller's grant-making charity in the fields of the advancement of young people, healthcare research and development and cancer relief throughout the north west region	1.3 Million GBP	1
The Lyceum Players	Amateur theatre company run from the Lyceum Theatre. Run by management board under a 90 year old constitution. As yet unregistered as a charity. Income via ticket sales and bar www.lyceumtheatre.org.uk	Unknown	1
Mahdlo	To deliver high quality activities and experiences for young people from Oldham aged 8-19 (25 with a disability) to enhance the quality of their lives and including 'Get Creative' utilising the specialist dance studio, music room and media suite young people can engage in a broad range of arts and media opportunities. www.mahdloyz.org	1.05 Million GBP	1
Manchester International Festival	Biennial Arts Festival. Housed in 'The Factory' aims to stage one of Europe's most ambitious and adventurous year-round creative programmes. Inspired by our city's unmatched history of innovation, it will present bold new work by the world's most exciting artists. Local Council and Arts Council England Other patrons and donors www.mif.co.uk	9.1 Million GBP	2
Whit Friday Brass Contest	A series of village-based brass contests held on Whit Friday. Voluntary donations, discretionary grant Saddleworth and lees District Partnership	Unknown	1

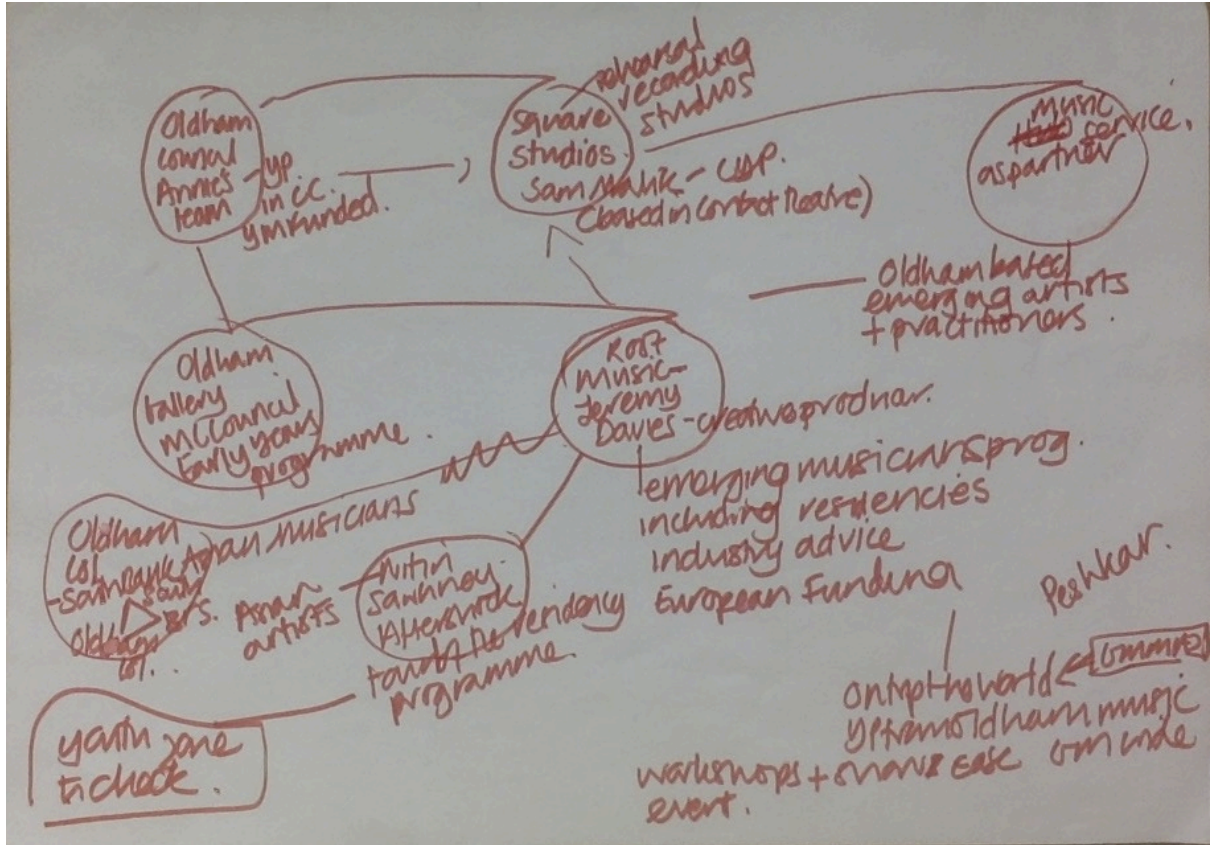
Saddleworth Live! at the Millgate		'Saddleworth Live brings visiting professional theatre companies and performers to the Millgate Arts Centre. From hosting famous faces from the world of theatre and entertainment, to showcasing the work of emerging and critically acclaimed performers, we produce a varied and high-quality programme for audiences of all ages to enjoy.' www.saddleworthlive.com	Unknown	2
Saddleworth Concerts' Society/Saddleworth Festival		Engaging small ensembles of strings, wind, piano, etc. Annual Subscriptions, Donations, Ticket Sales, Annual Dinner www.millgateartscentre.co.uk	Unknown	2
Saddleworth Show and Wellifest		Organised by Rotary clubs Oldham Metro and Saddleworth to provide and enjoyable weekend's entertainment. Showcase local business, craft producers and charities. To raise funds to be distributed to good causes via Rotary Clubs www.wellifest.com	Unknown	2
Peshkar Productions		Participatory arts organisation targeting young people who are deemed hard to reach or socially disadvantaged. Peshkar works utilising the full range of arts forms for young people Arts Council England, Local Authority and other project grants www.peshkar.co.uk	134K GBP	2
Playhouse (Crompton Society)	2 Stage	An amateur theatre company with a 153 seat theatre in Shaw, Oldham providing entertainment for the local community and theatre facilities for use by other touring theatre groups, schools and societies.. A voluntary organisation providing entertainment including producing plays, hosting gigs, and running a cinema. Income generation: bar and ticket sales. www.playhouse2.org	149.4K GBP	1
Oldham Community Radio		Community Radio station that targets the many varied communities in the Oldham Metropolitan Borough area. Voluntary. Funded via Donations www.oldhamcommunityradio.com	1,000 GBP	1
Oldham Service	Music	Part of the Greater Manchester Music Hub, providing music education through schools, ensembles, community choirs and orchestras. Local Authority Managed and funded with Arts Council England funding via music hubs www.oldhammusicservice.co.uk	Unknown	1

Oldham Workshop	Theatre	Oldham Theatre Workshop 'Contributing to the personal and social development of all people in Oldham'. Acting, improvisation, singing, dancing and design for young people aged 6-25. Delivering teacher training and drama activities Local Authority Managed and Funded and Project based funders www.oldhamtheatreworkshop.co.uk	Unknown	1
Arts Council England North		<i>Across the North West, Yorkshire and the North East we are supporting 223 National Portfolio Organisations between 2018-22 with total investment of over £380 million. Public Funds</i>		<i>Declined</i>
Cotton Festival	Clouds	<i>Cotton Clouds a music festival held at Oldham's Saddleworth Cricket Club. Its first staging in 2017 returned a nomination for Best New Festival at the UK Festival Awards. Ticket Sales</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Organisers declined due to time constraints</i>
Royal Theatre	Exchange	<i>Central Manchester Theatre Arts Council England National Portfolio, Local Authority and GMCA. 'Award Winning cultural charity, that produces new theatre in the round, in the community and on the road and online'</i>	<i>8.8 Million GBP</i>	<i>No response to requests</i>
Contact		<i>create and produce our own shows, host tours from some of the best theatre companies in the world and develop the next generation of artists, performers and community leaders. www.contactmcr.com</i>	<i>1.857 Million GBP</i>	<i>No Response (Artistic Director on leave)</i>
Saddleworth Players		<i>Amateur theatre company based in the Millgate Arts Centre, Delph. The society produces five plays per season, a Christmas production and participates in the four-yearly Saddleworth Festival of the Art www.saddleworthplayers.org.uk</i>	<i>180K GBP</i>	<i>No Response</i>
The Grange Theatre (Oldham College)		<i>Grange Theatre, part of Oldham College an industry standard, fully operational theatre. practice, rehearse and put on many of which are open to the public. www.oldham.ac.uk</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>No Response</i>
Oldham Symphony Orchestra	Symphony	<i>Oldham Symphony Orchestra providing a platform for young soloists. Funded through membership subscriptions, a patronage scheme and ticket sales. www.oldhamsymphonyorchestra.org.uk</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>No response</i>
Revolution Radio		<i>Owned by Credible Media, Revolution Radio initially replaced the Oldham Evening Chronicle print newspaper. Made for Oldham, Rochdale and Tameside, an Independent local radio station.</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Declined</i>
Mikron		<i>Non-venue-based theatre Company Arts Council England mikron.org.uk</i>	<i>309K GBP</i>	<i>No Response</i>

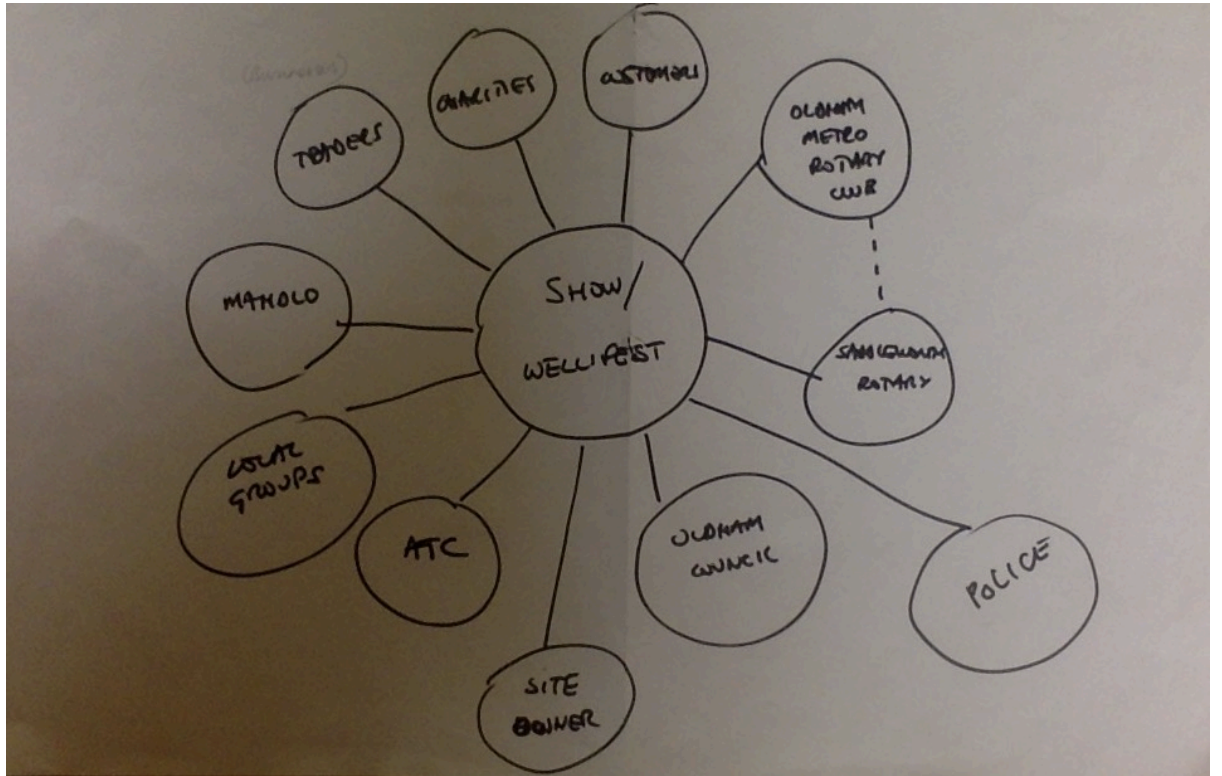
*Mission/Purpose as declared on organisations website or other source in the public domain

**Taken from Charities Commission or Companies House financial statement financial year ending 2018. Refers only to TOTAL income, and not expenditure.

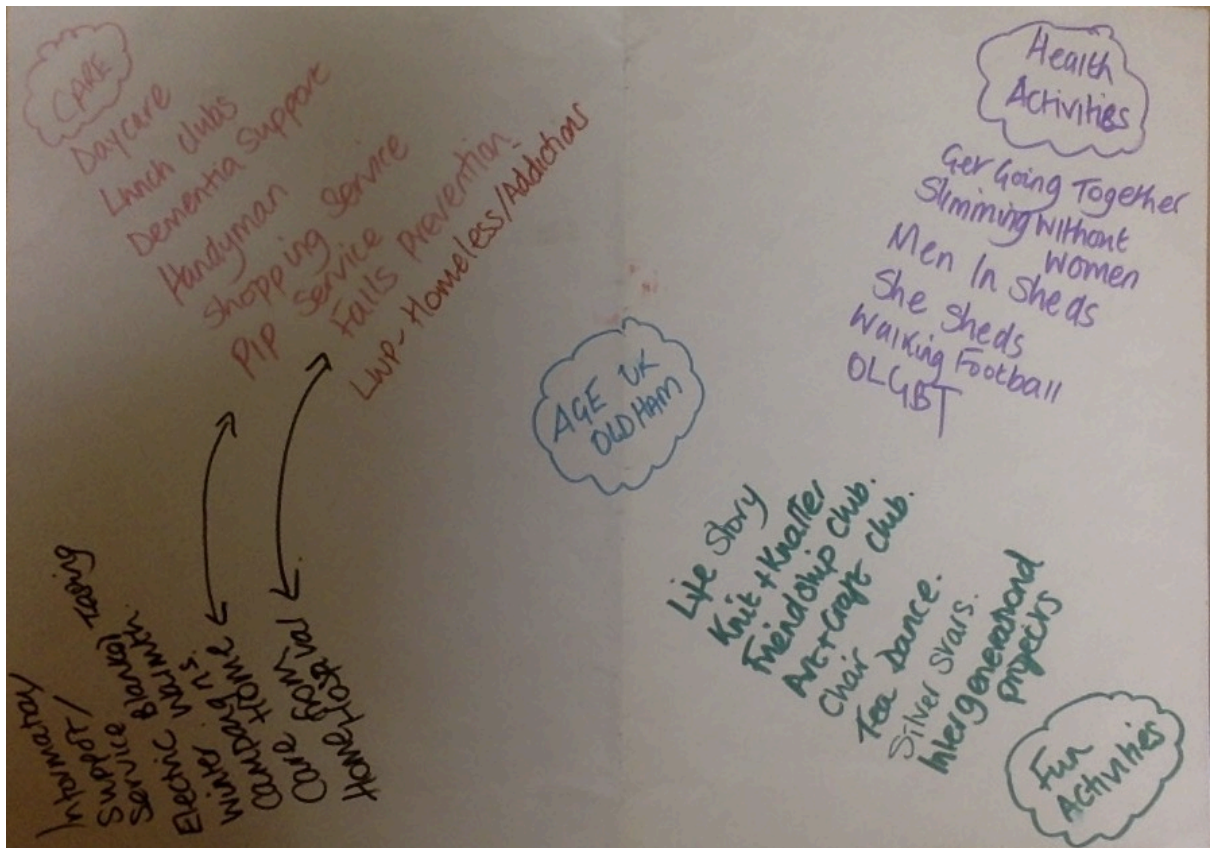
Appendix 6: Participant Produced Maps



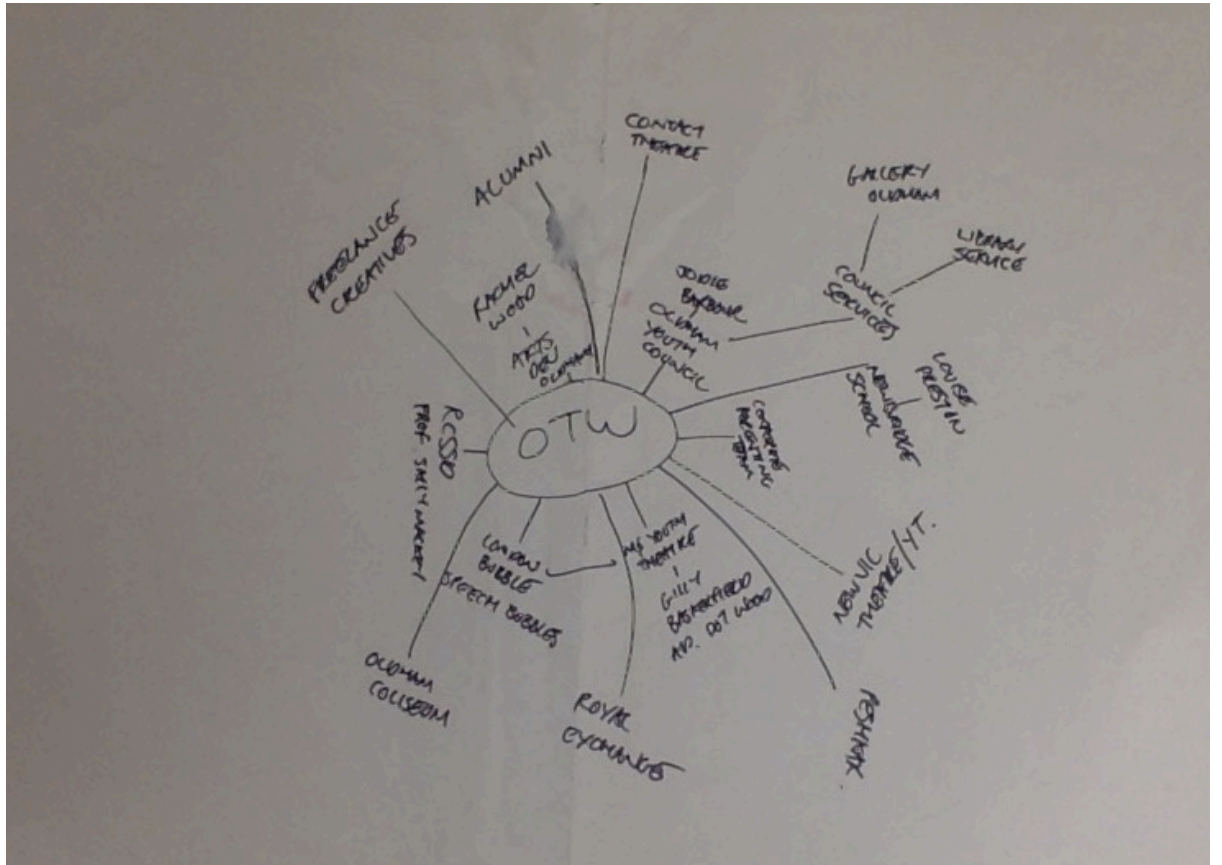
Participant Map 1 Brighter Sound



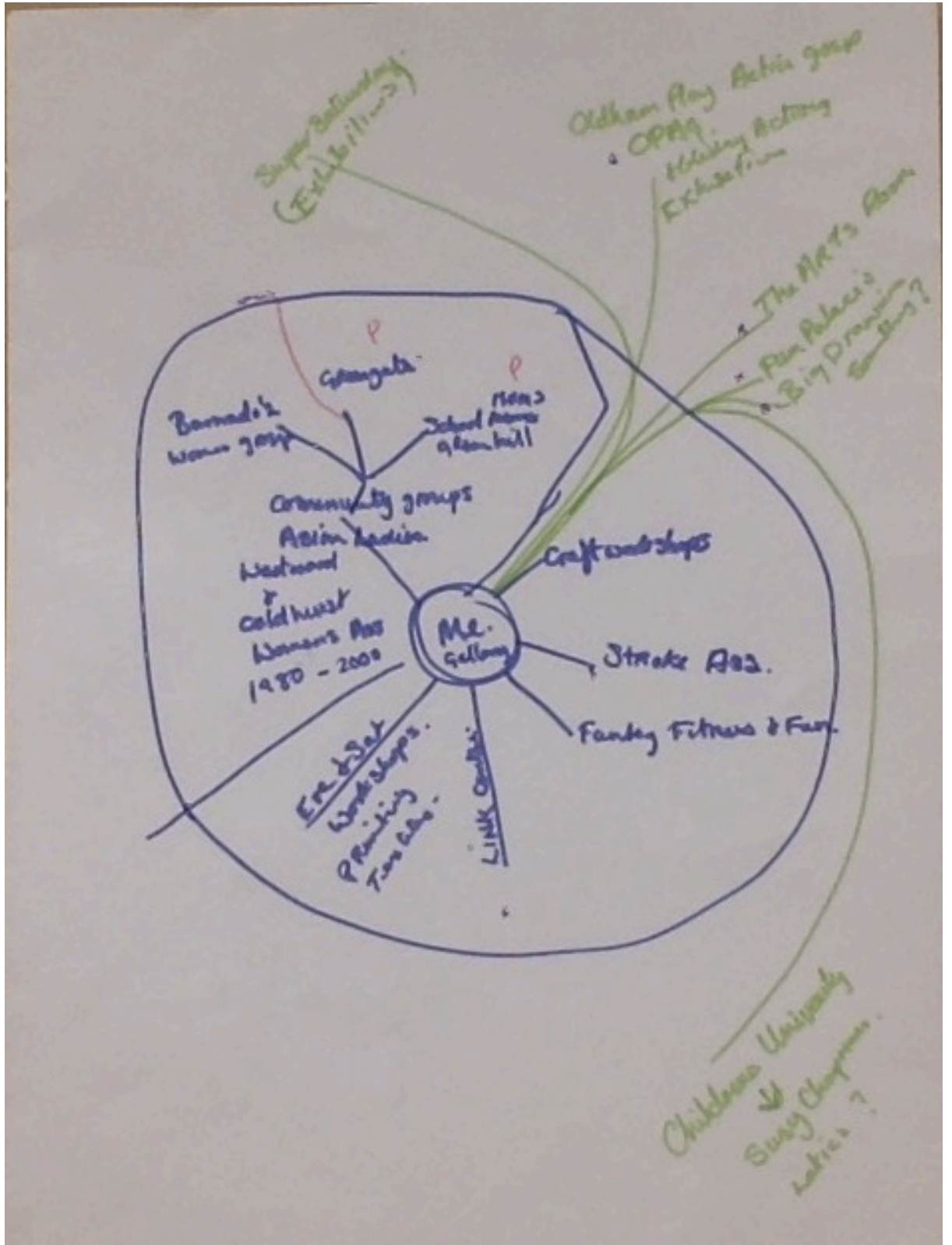
Participant Map 2 Saddleworth Show



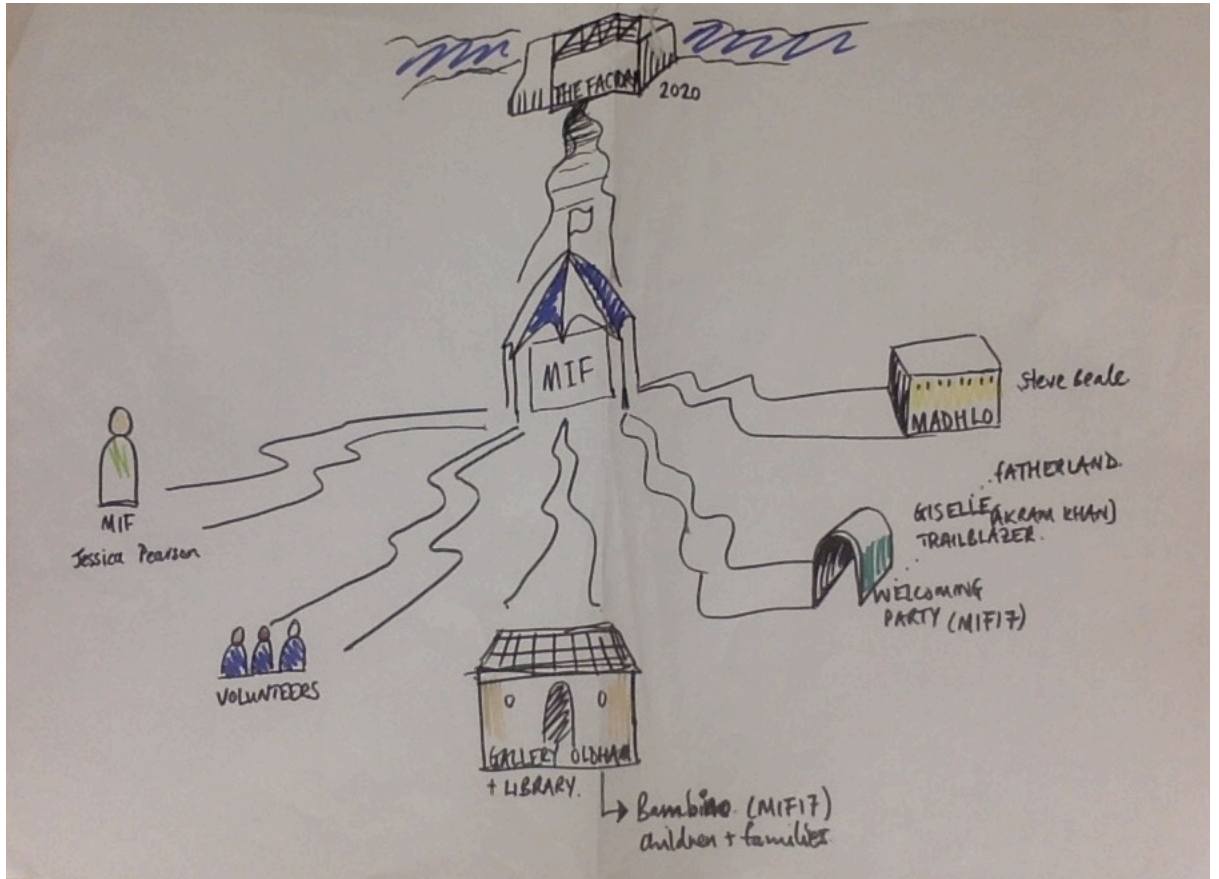
Participant Map 3 Age UK Oldham



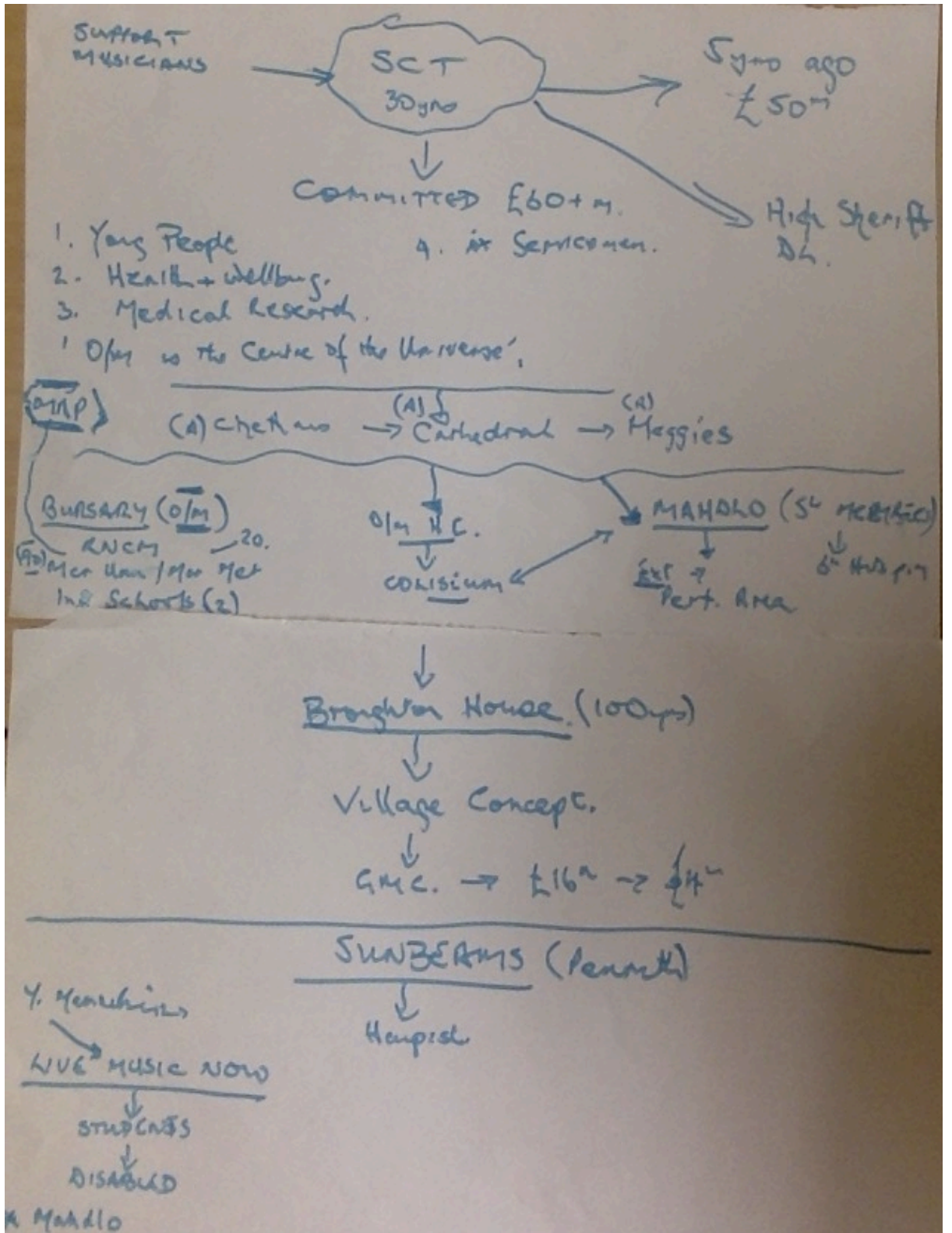
Participant Map 4 Oldham Theatre Workshop



Participant Map 5 Gallery Oldham Participant 1



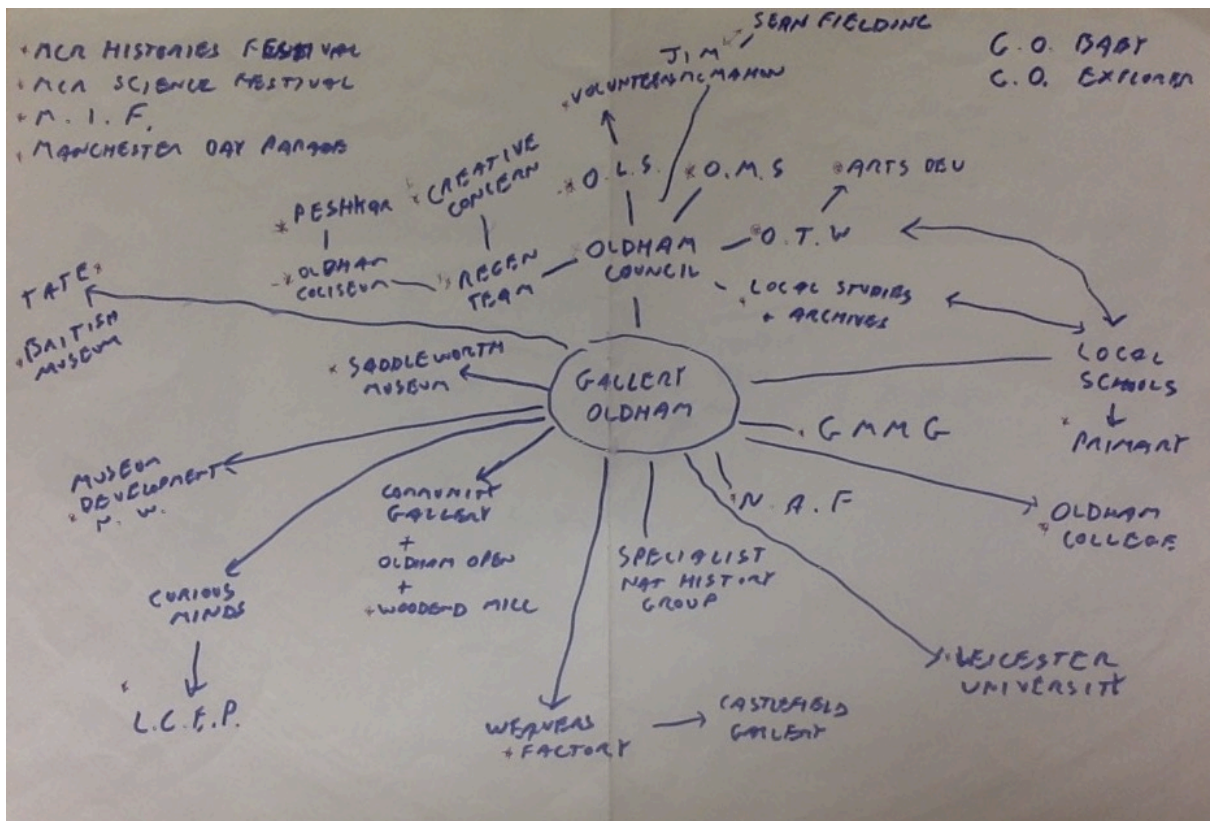
Participant Map 6 Manchester International Festival



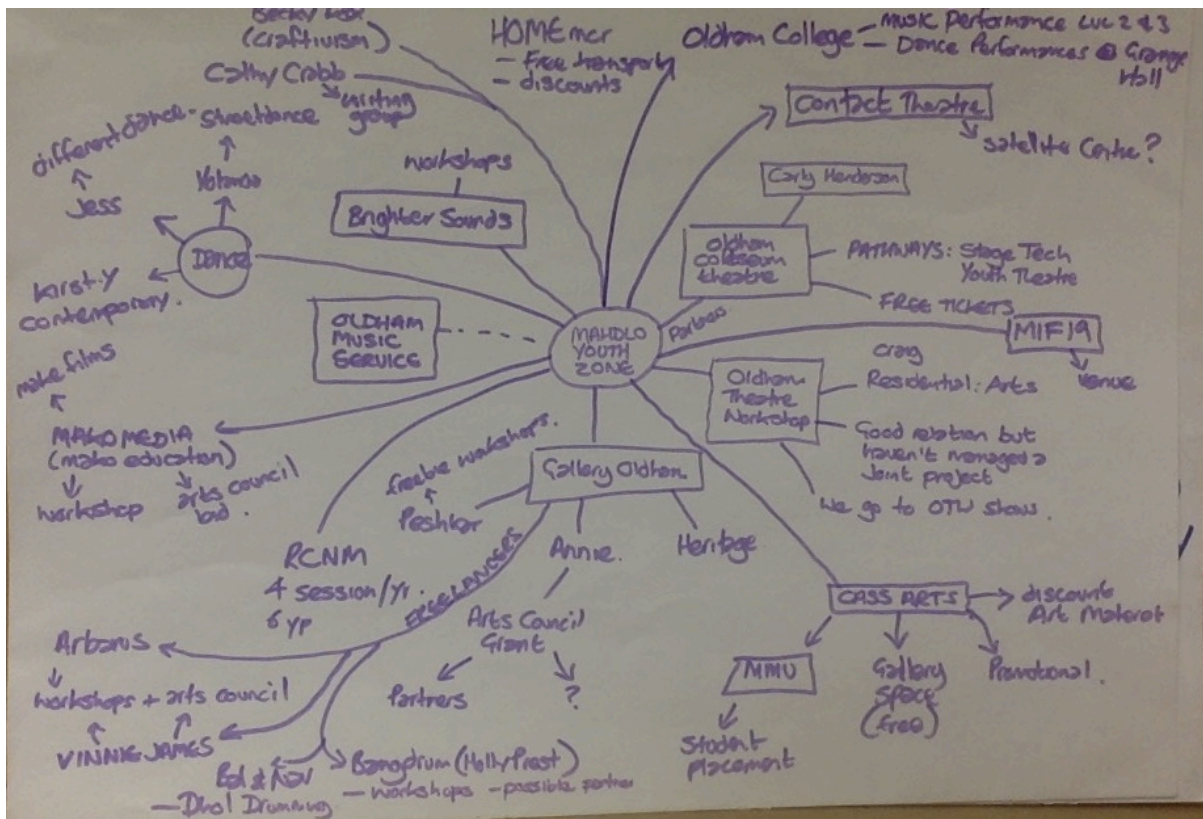
Participant Map 7 Stoller Charitable Trust



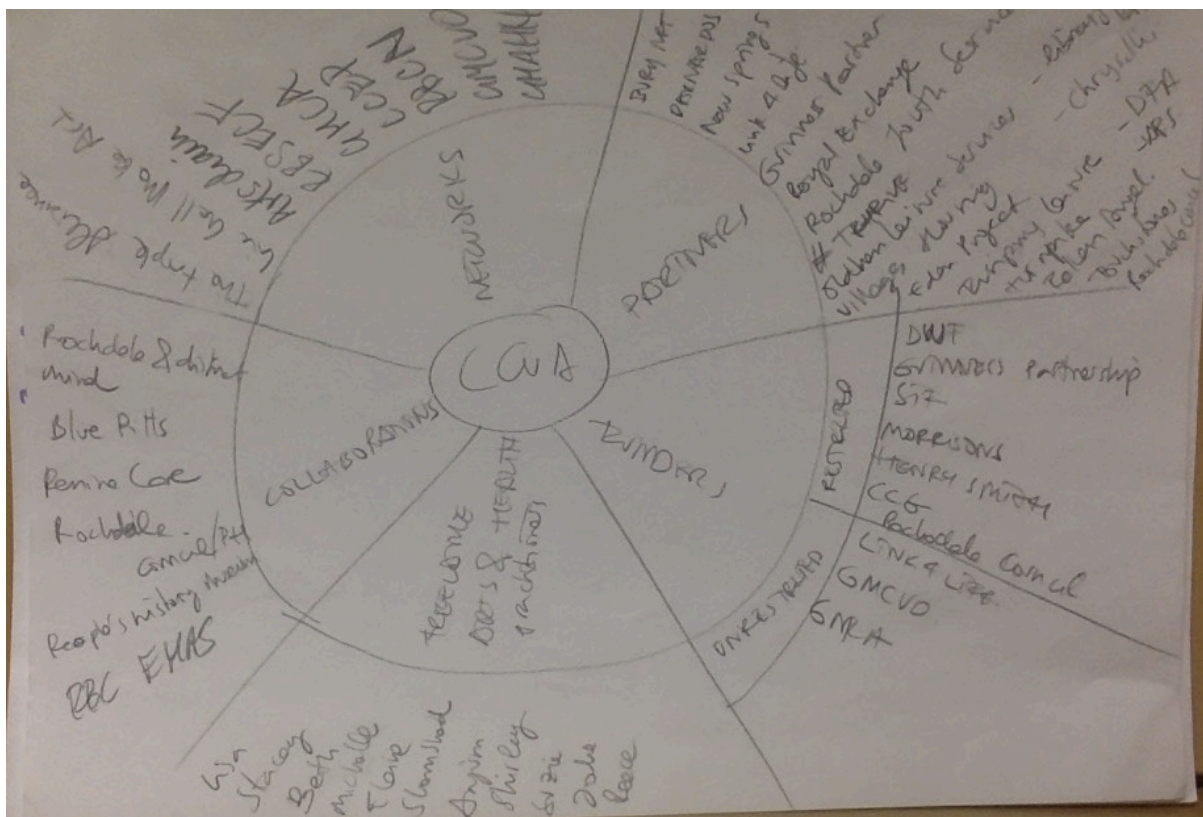
Participant Map 8 HOME Manchester



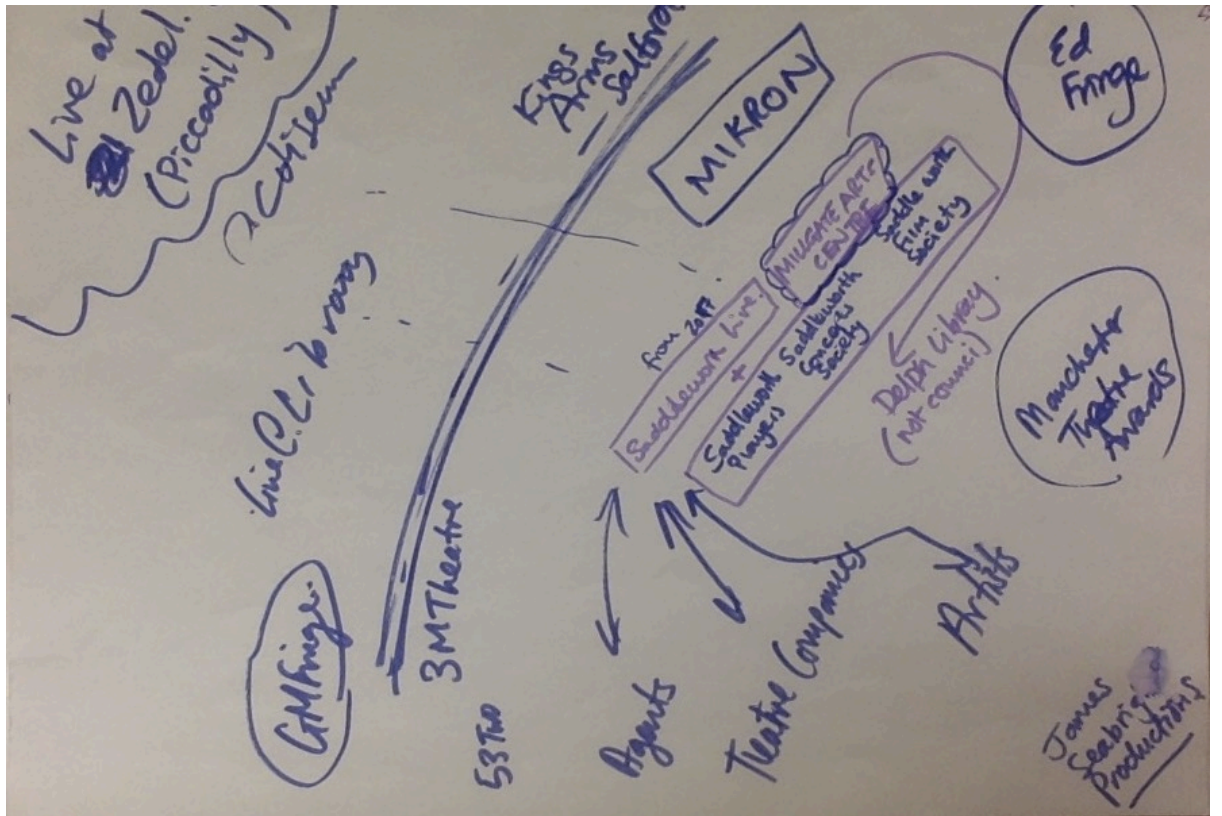
Participant Map 9 Gallery Oldham Participant 2



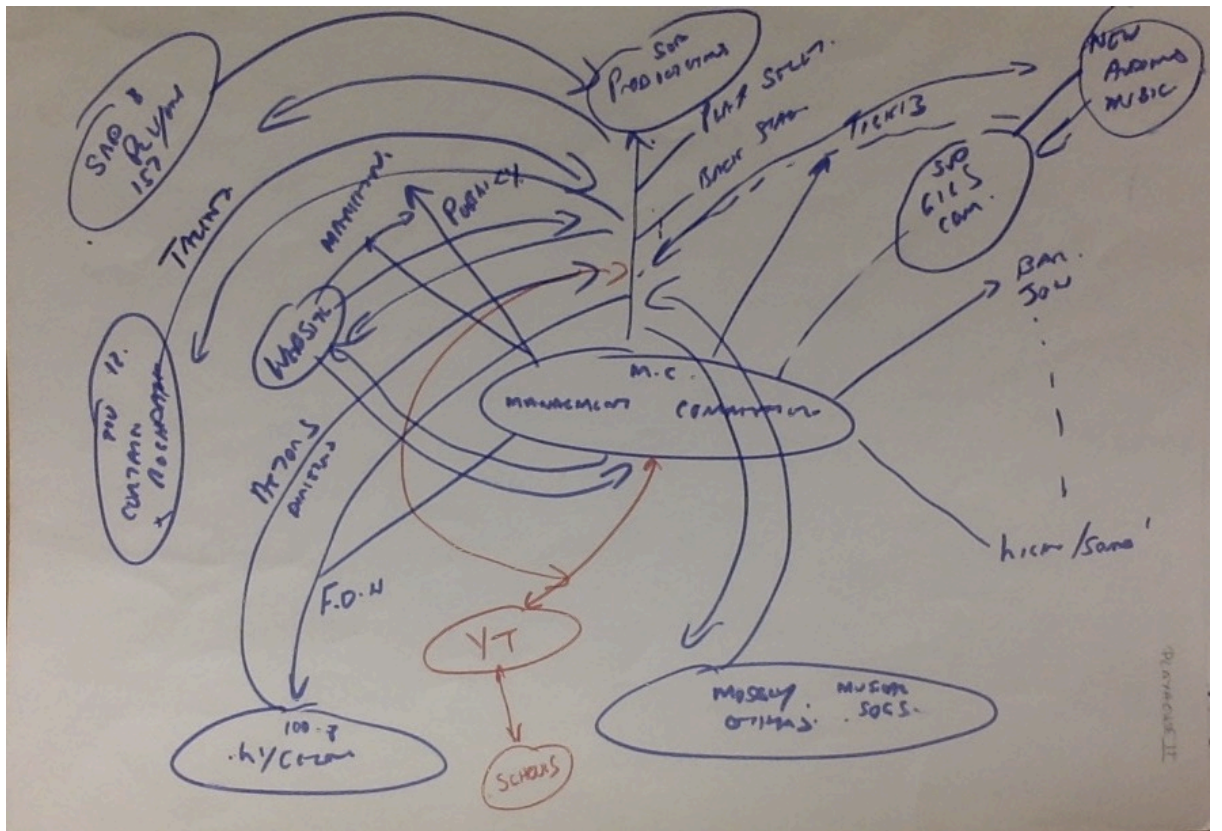
Participant Map 10 Mahdlo Youth Zone



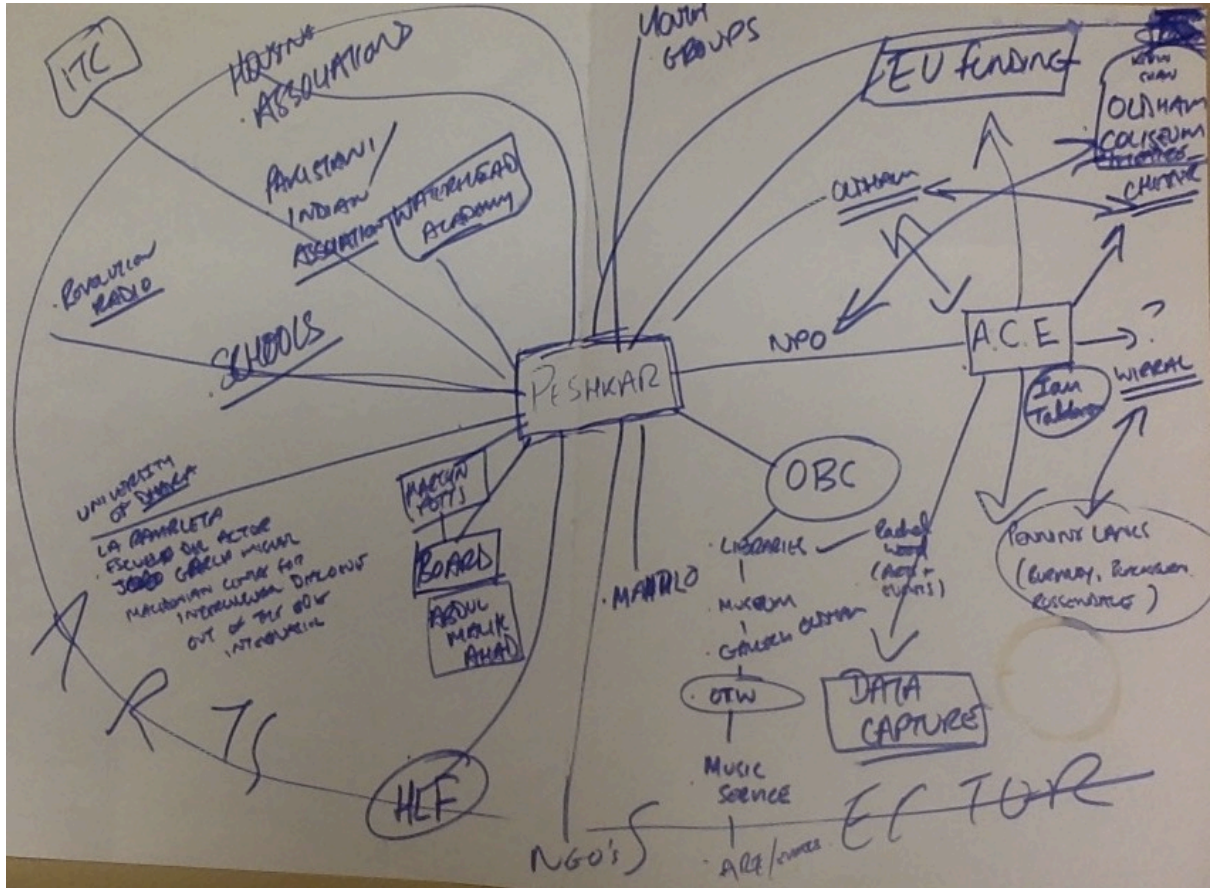
Participant Map 11 Cartwheel Arts



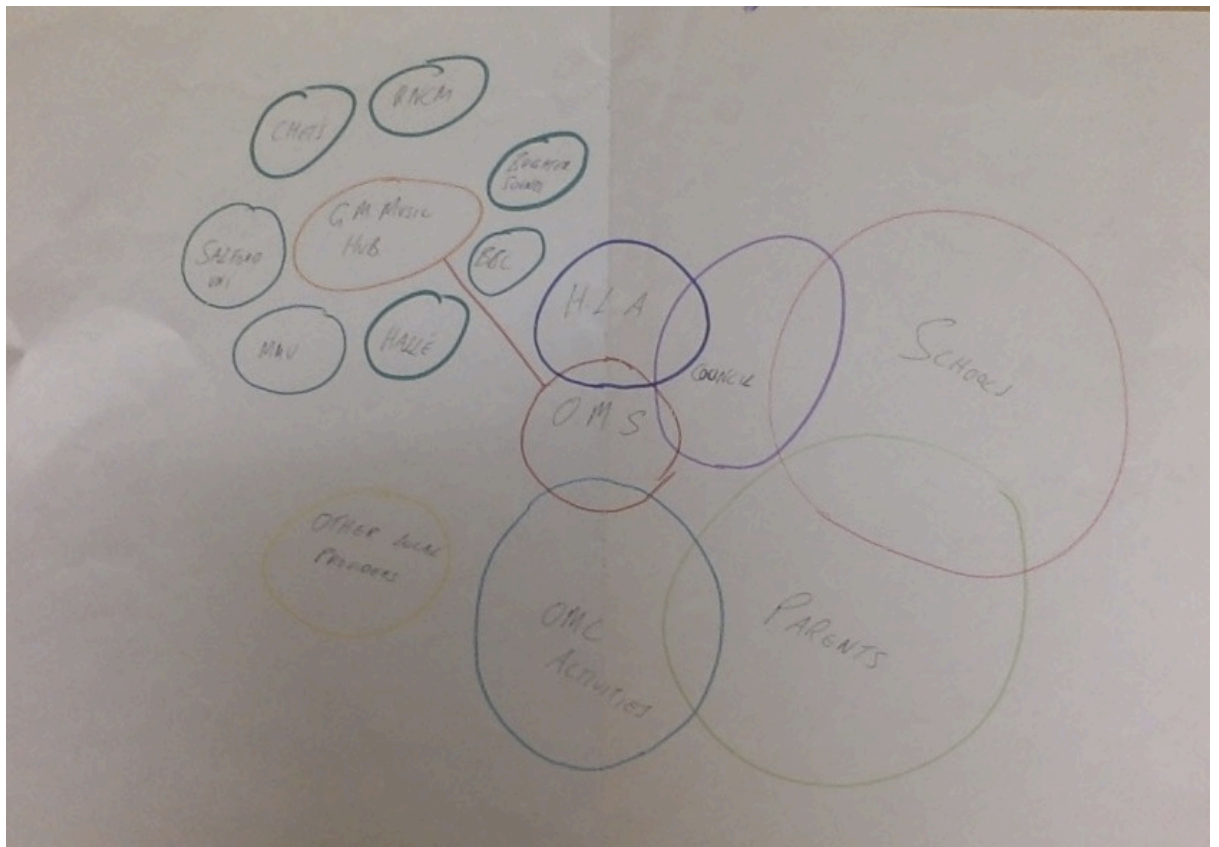
Participant Map 12 Saddleshworth Live! at the Millgate



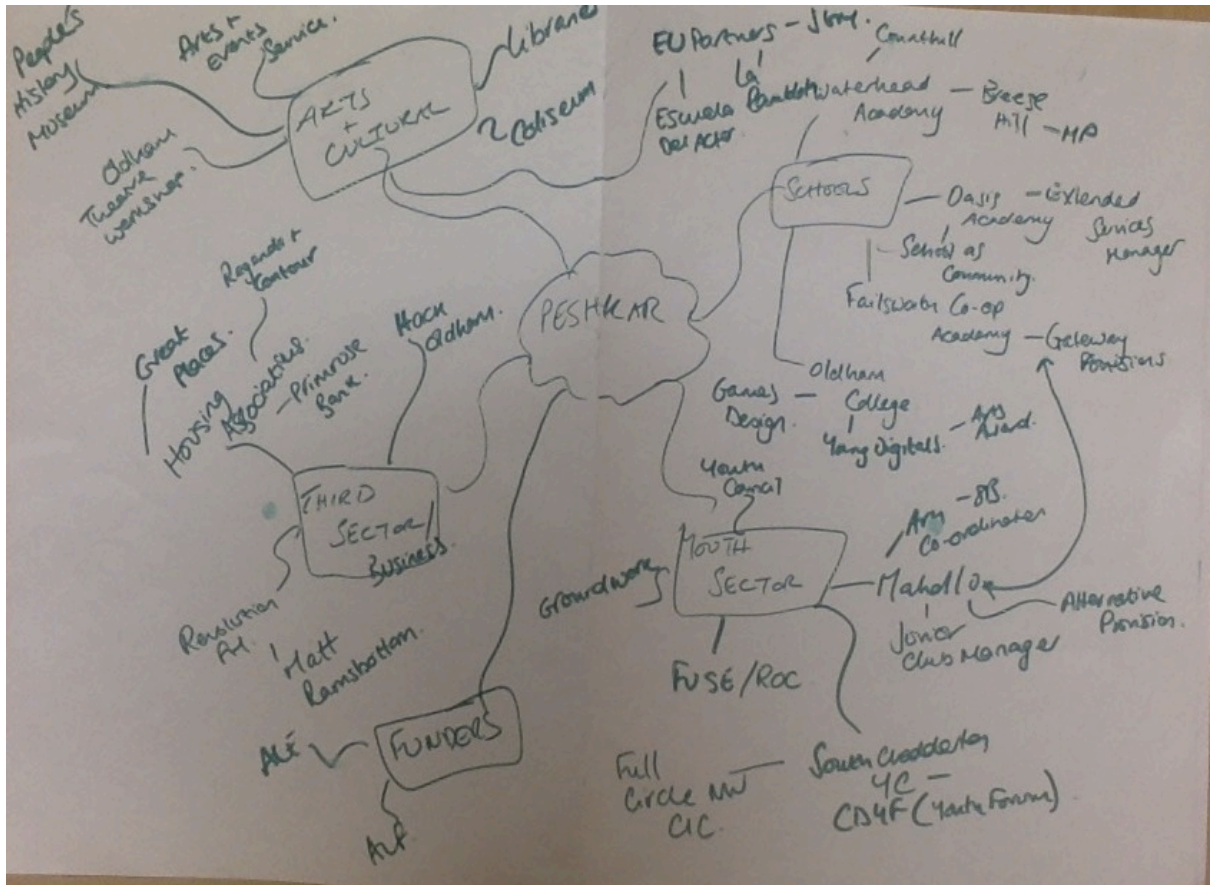
Participant Map 13 Playhouse 2



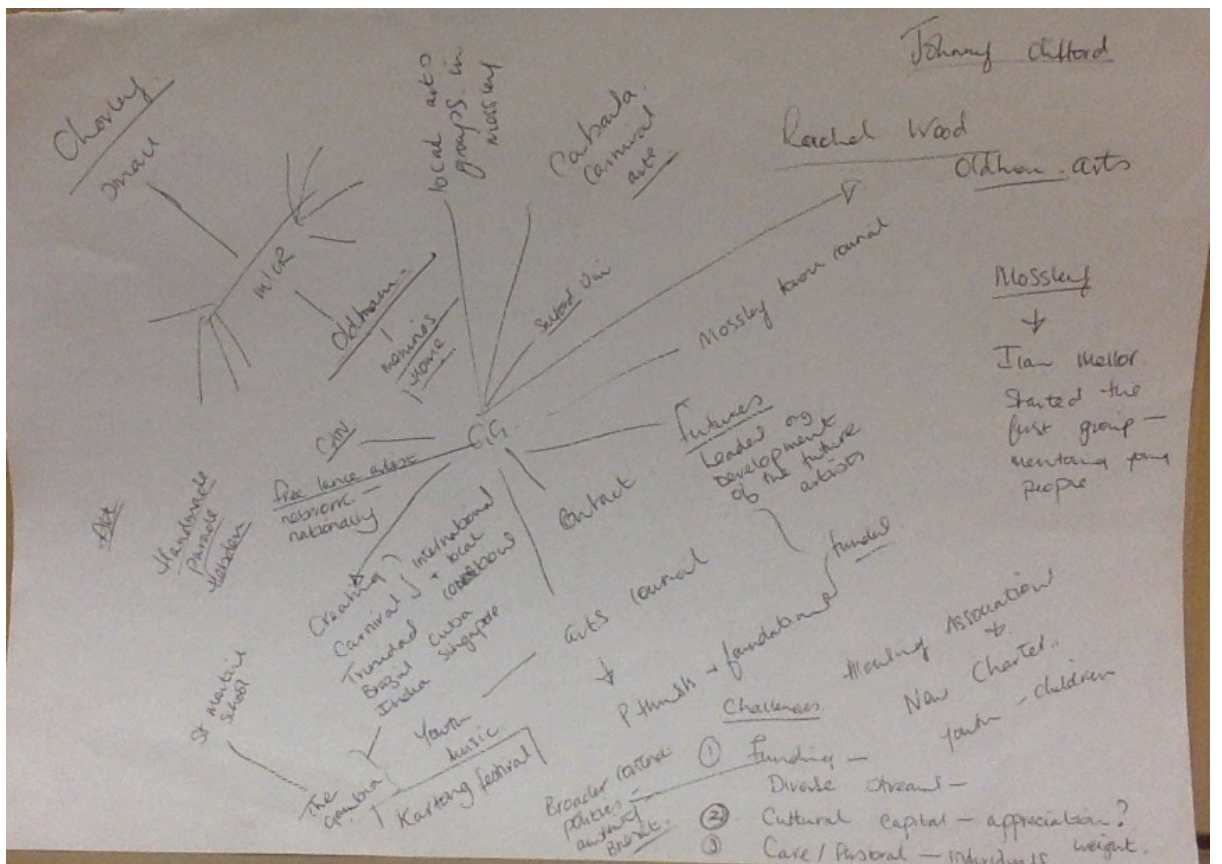
Participant Map 14 Peshkar Productions 1



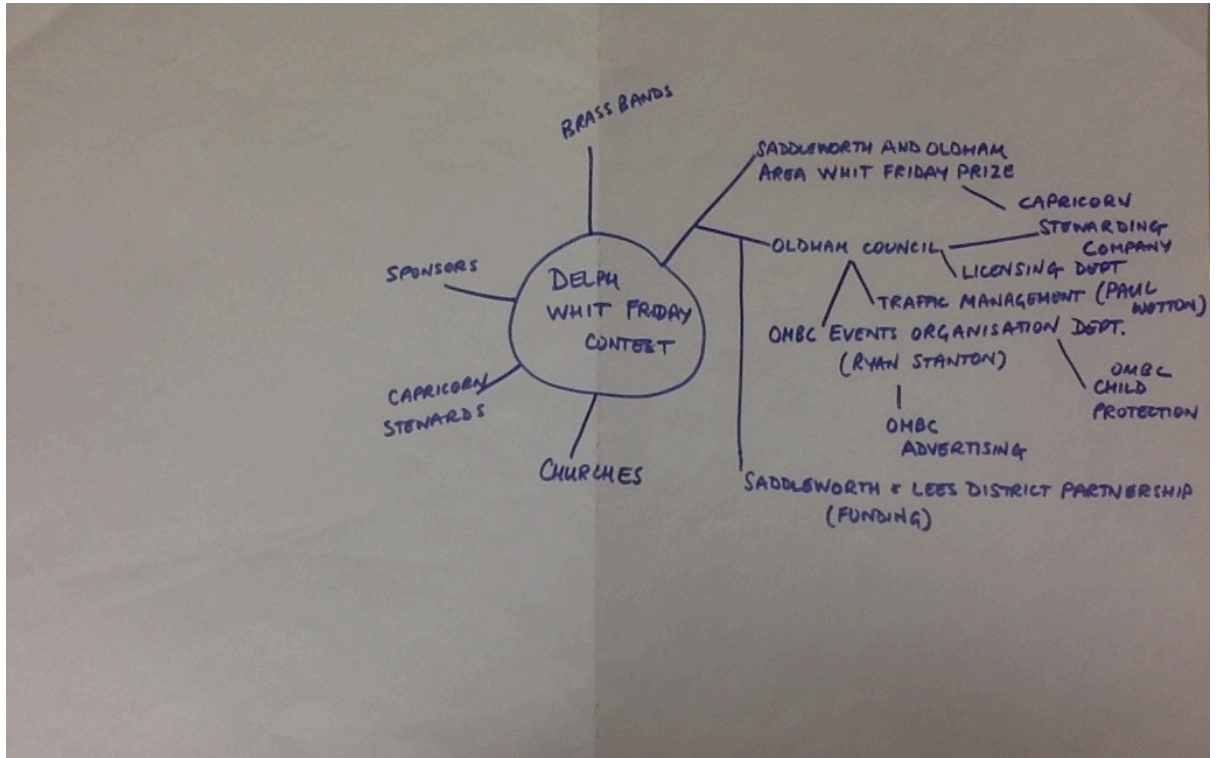
Participant Map 15 Oldham Music Service



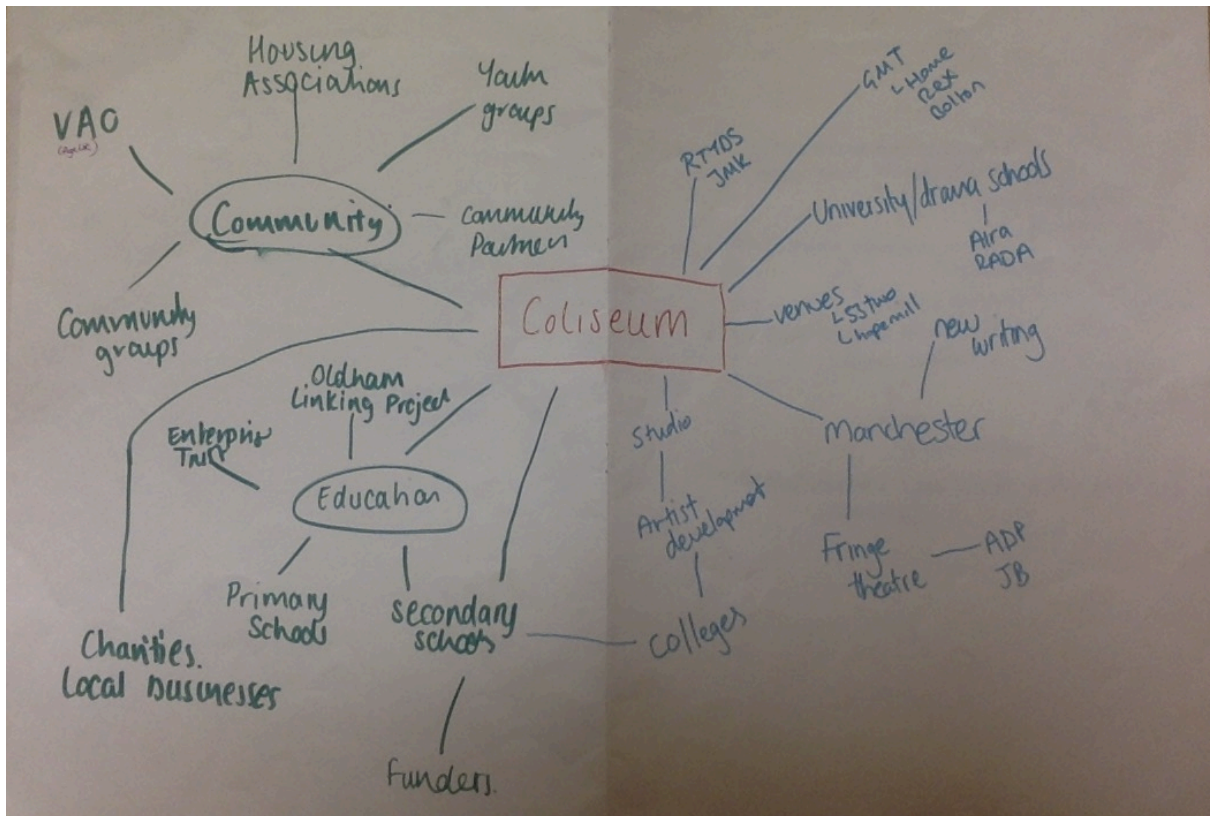
Participant Map 16 Peshkar Productions 2



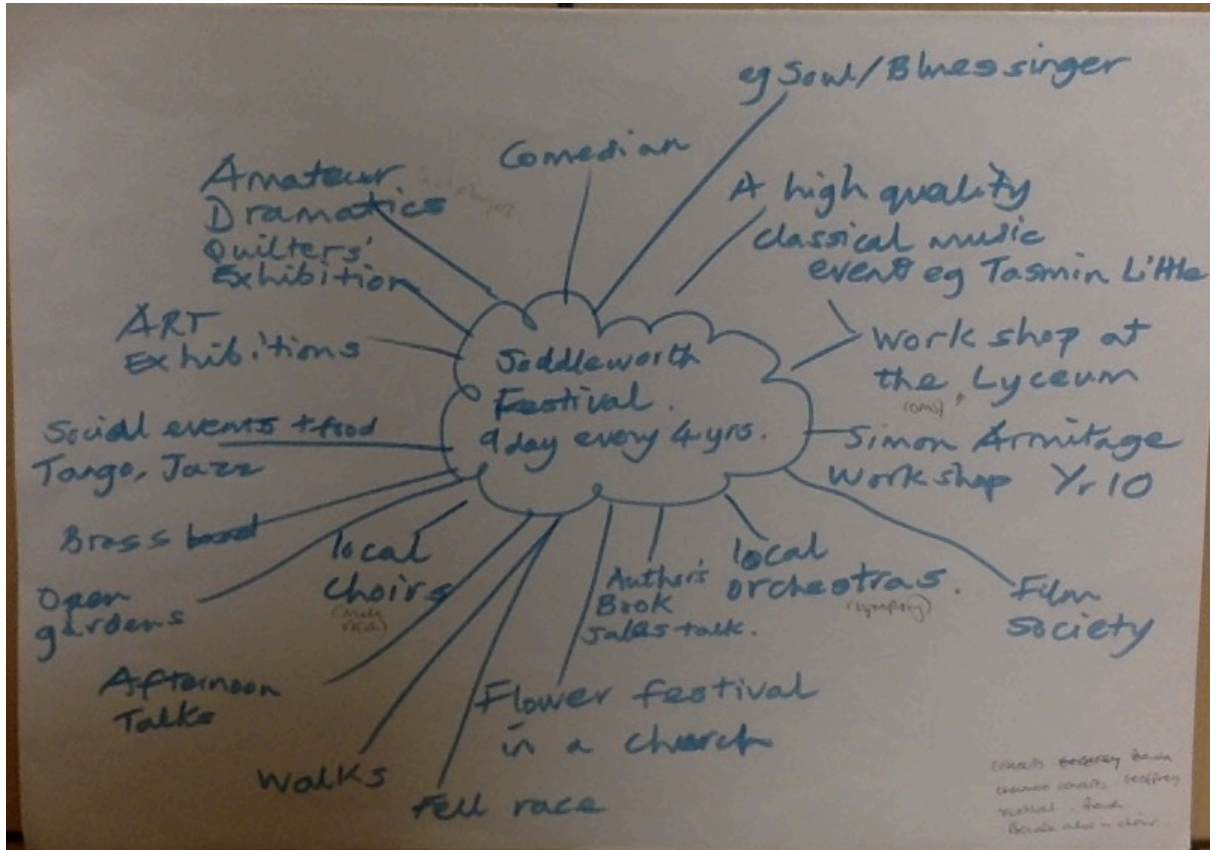
Participant Map 17 Global Grooves 1



Participant Map 18 Whit Friday Brass Contest



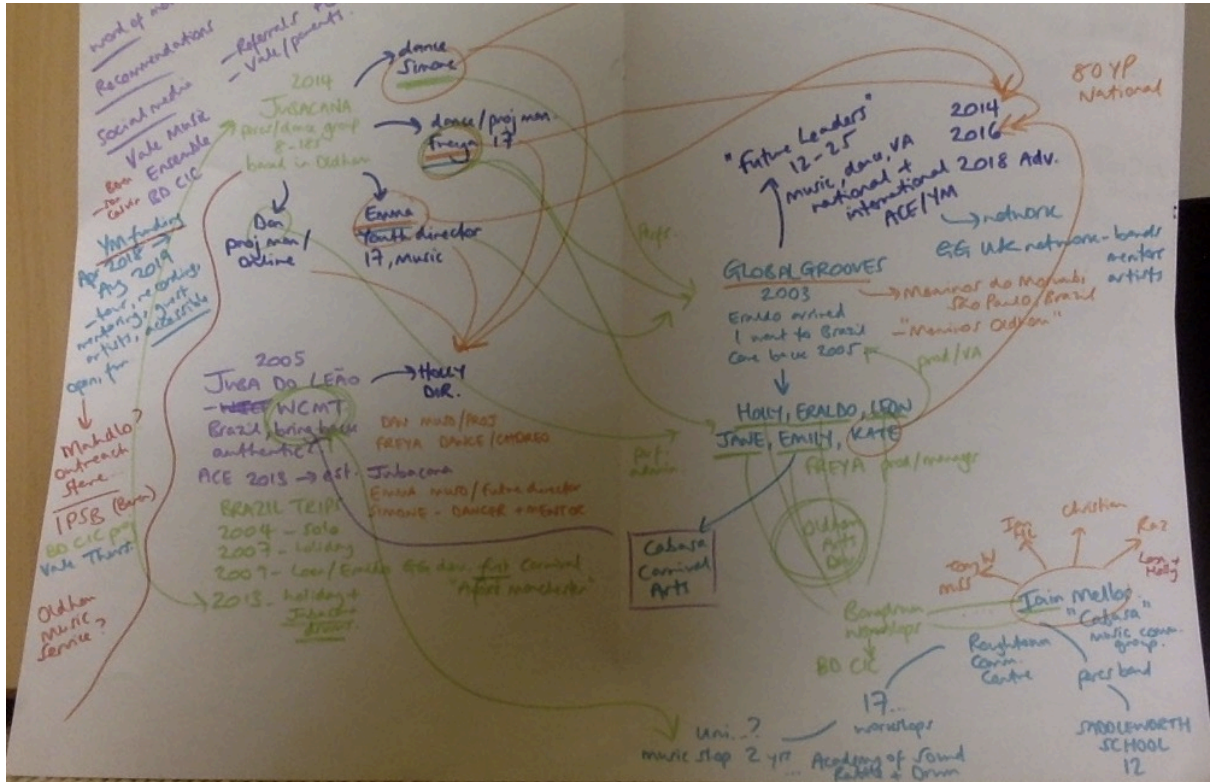
Participant Map 19 Coliseum Theatre



Participant Map 20 Saddleworth Festival/Saddleworth Concerts Society



Participant Map 21 Oldham Arts Development Team



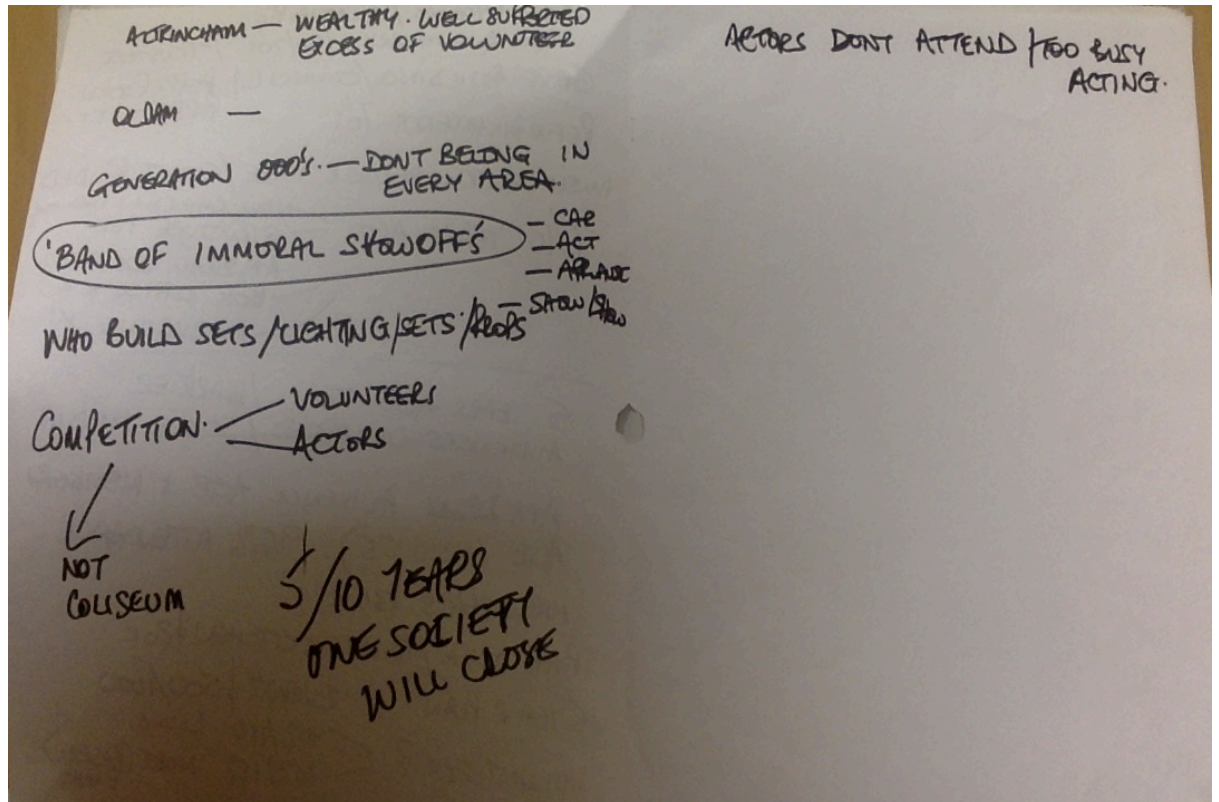
Participant Map 22 Global Grooves 2

1928. LYCEUM. / PARADOXIC
 90th ANNIVERSARY / 60/70s / TRUSTEES
 SAVE BUILDING / COUNCIL / PERPETUITY
 REFURBISHMENT 70s PERPETUITY.

MUSIC CENTRE SERVICE FREE / GOVT FUNDED
 7/10 YEARS AGO — NEW CHAIRMAN Professor
 — STRUCTURE FOR
 — AM DRAM SOCIETIES
 — BOX OFFICE * 2.
 — MARKETING * 1

5 YEARS AGO TEAM / BARRIER
 AUDIENCES COLLAPSED. / SOCIAL MEDIA
 AM DRAM AUDIENCE AGE & MEMBERS
 AGE (NOW 55) 96% ATTENDANCE
 NEW SEATS. £30K
 BAR AREA / TOILETS & KITCHEN £20K
 5 YEAR PLAN. EVENT £500/1000
 VOLUNTEERS? — 90% / 110 LOSING
 — 20% / 152 MORE (BIGGER) BANK

Participant Map 23 Lyceum Theatre front



Participant Map 24 Lyceum Theatre reverse

List of Organisations Taking Part in the Study - Including the organisations approached but declined/did not respond to a request to take part.

Appendix 7: Governance Ties Matrix Data

Source	Target	Type	Id
100 - 51 Accountant	12 - RNCM	Undirected	74
101 - 52 Rochdale Cllr	3 - Hallé	Undirected	79
101 - 52 Rochdale Cllr	9 - Contact Theatre	Undirected	78
102 - 53	9 - Contact Theatre	Undirected	77
103 - 54 Rugby League Player	2 - Mahdlo	Undirected	80
104 - 55 Student	12 - RNCM	Undirected	81
105 - 56 Student	9 - Contact Theatre	Undirected	82
106 - 57	31 - Museum of Science and industry	Undirected	84
106 - 57	9 - Contact Theatre	Undirected	83
107 - 58	108 - London Theatre Consortium	Undirected	86
107 - 58	8 - HOME	Undirected	85
109 - 59 Finance Manager	7 - Age UK Oldham	Undirected	87
110 - 60 CBE Journalist, Northwest Develo...	12 - RNCM	Undirected	88
110 - 60 CBE Journalist, Northwest Develo...	40 - Manchester Lieutenancy	Undirected	89
111 - 61 Singer	12 - RNCM	Undirected	90
112 - 62 Pro Vice-Chancellor HE	12 - RNCM	Undirected	91
113 - 63 OBE	14 - Crompton Playhouse (Playhouse 2)	Undirected	92
114 - 64	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	93
114 - 64	13 - Saddleworth Players	Undirected	94
115 - 65 MBE	2 - Mahdlo	Undirected	95
116 - 66 Lawyer (retired)	13 - Saddleworth Players	Undirected	97
116 - 66 Lawyer (retired)	4 - Saddleworth Chamber Concerts	Undirected	96
117 - 67	118 - Arts Council	Undirected	99
117 - 67	119 - Royal Shakespeare Company	Undirected	98
117 - 67	8 - HOME	Undirected	101
120 - 68 Accountant	8 - HOME	Undirected	102
121 - 69 Accountant	13 - Saddleworth Players	Undirected	103
122 - 70 Researcher	1 - Peshkar Productions	Undirected	104
123 - 71 Head of Diversity and Inclusion	17 - University of Manchester	Undirected	106
123 - 71 Head of Diversity and Inclusion	9 - Contact Theatre	Undirected	105
124 - 72	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	107
125 - 73 Consultant	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	109
125 - 73 Consultant	126 - Oldham Business Leadership Group	Undirected	112
125 - 73 Consultant	19 - Maggies	Undirected	110
125 - 73 Consultant	24 - Oldham College	Undirected	111
125 - 73 Consultant	2 - Mahdlo	Undirected	108
127 - 74 Lawyer	6 - Saddleworth Festival	Undirected	114
127 - 74 Lawyer	6 - Saddleworth Festival	Undirected	242
128 - 75, Youth Mayor, Oldham	1 - Peshkar Productions	Undirected	115
128 - 75, Youth Mayor, Oldham	25 - Oldham Council	Undirected	116
128 - 75, Youth Mayor, Oldham	26 - Oldham Youth Council	Undirected	254
130 - 76 CEO Wakelet	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	117
131 - 77 Sir HE Vice Chancellor University ...	12 - RNCM	Undirected	118
131 - 77 Sir HE Vice Chancellor University ...	18 - University of Leeds	Undirected	244
132 - 78 Artist	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	120
133 - 79 Dept Mayor Manchester, Director...	12 - RNCM	Undirected	121
133 - 79 Dept Mayor Manchester, Director...	30 - GMCA	Undirected	122
134 - 80 Corporate Finance	135 - People's History Museum	Undirected	124
134 - 80 Corporate Finance	9 - Contact Theatre	Undirected	123
136 - 81 Consultant	10 - Brighter Sound	Undirected	125
137 - 82	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	126
137 - 82	138 - Leeds Dance Partnership	Undirected	127
139 - 83	13 - Saddleworth Players	Undirected	128
140 - 84	1 - Peshkar Productions	Undirected	131
140 - 84	9 - Contact Theatre	Undirected	132
143 - 85 Head Your Housing Group	1 - Peshkar Productions	Undirected	133
144 - 86	15 - Global Grooves/Bang Drum/Juba Cana	Undirected	134
145 - 87	3 - Hallé	Undirected	135
147 - 88	3 - Hallé	Undirected	235
147 - 88	3 - Hallé	Undirected	236
149 - 89 (Prof)	12 - RNCM	Undirected	138
149 - 89 (Prof)	3 - Hallé	Undirected	137
150 - 90	151 - Storyhouse	Undirected	140
150 - 90	3 - Hallé	Undirected	139
152 - 91 (MBE)	14 - Crompton Playhouse (Playhouse 2)	Undirected	141

153 - 92 Accountant	2 - Mahdlo	Undirected	142
154 - 93 CEO Onside Group	2 - Mahdlo	Undirected	143
155 - 94 Marketing Director	10 - Brighter Sound	Undirected	145
155 - 94 Marketing Director	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	144
156 - 95 Oldham Cllr	2 - Mahdlo	Undirected	146
157 - 96	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	147
158 - 97 Charity Consultant	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	148
159 - 98 CEO Bruntwood (Property)	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	149
159 - 98 CEO Bruntwood (Property)	160 - Ogelsby Charitable Trust	Undirected	150
159 - 98 CEO Bruntwood (Property)	40 - Manchester Lieutenancy	Undirected	151
160 - Ogelsby Charitable Trust	229 - Royal Exchange Theatre	Undirected	262
160 - Ogelsby Charitable Trust	230 - 151 Chair Ogelsby Charitable Trust	Undirected	263
162 - 99	15 - Global Grooves/Bang Drum/Juba Cana	Undirected	153
163 - 100 Solicitor	1 - Peshkar Productions	Undirected	154
164 - 101 GMCA treasurer and Manchest...	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	155
164 - 101 GMCA treasurer and Manchest...	165 - Manchester Metropolitan University	Undirected	157
164 - 101 GMCA treasurer and Manchest...	30 - GMCA	Undirected	156
166 - 102 Singer	3 - Hallé	Undirected	158
168 - 103	169 - Horniman Museum	Undirected	161
168 - 103	8 - HOME	Undirected	160
170 - 104	1 - Peshkar Productions	Undirected	162
172 - 105 Vice Chancellor	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	163

172 - 105 Vice Chancellor	165 - Manchester Metropolitan University	Undirected	234
174 - 106	15 - Global Grooves/Bang Drum/Juba Cana	Undirected	165
175 - 107 Llyodds Banking Group Director	12 - RNCM	Undirected	166
175 - 107 Llyodds Banking Group Director	35 - Royal Opera House	Undirected	167
176 - 108	12 - RNCM	Undirected	169
176 - 108	35 - Royal Opera House	Undirected	168
177 - 109 Cllr	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	170
177 - 109 Cllr	8 - HOME	Undirected	171
178 - 110	7 - Age UK Oldham	Undirected	172
179 - 111	4 - Saddleworth Chamber Concerts	Undirected	173
180 - 112	12 - RNCM	Undirected	174
181 - 113	13 - Saddleworth Players	Undirected	175
182 - 114	4 - Saddleworth Chamber Concerts	Undirected	176
183 - 115	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	177
184 - 116 Schott Music Publications	12 - RNCM	Undirected	178
185 - 117 Rhode Island Coffee founder an...	8 - HOME	Undirected	180
186 - 118 Business manager Rochdale Bo...	13 - Saddleworth Players	Undirected	181
187 - 119 Centre Manager Oldham Busine...	13 - Saddleworth Players	Undirected	182
188 - 120	13 - Saddleworth Players	Undirected	183
189 - 121 Retired Doctor	13 - Saddleworth Players	Undirected	184
189 - 121 Retired Doctor	67 - Saddleworth Historical	Undirected	185
190 - 122 OBE	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	188

190 - 122 OBE	3 - Hallé	Undirected	187
190 - 122 OBE	6 - Saddleworth Festival	Undirected	243
191 - 123 Preferred Homes	8 - HOME	Undirected	189
192 - 124 Sir	126 - Oldham Business Leadership Group	Undirected	194
192 - 124 Sir	20 - Stoller Charitable Trust	Undirected	190
192 - 124 Sir	2 - Mahdlo	Undirected	192
192 - 124 Sir	38 - Chethams School	Undirected	191
192 - 124 Sir	40 - Manchester Lieutenancy	Undirected	193
193 - 125 Chief Exec Hallé	12 - RNCM	Undirected	195
193 - 125 Chief Exec Hallé	3 - Hallé	Undirected	196
194 - 126 Board member cultural educatio...	10 - Brighter Sound	Undirected	197
195 - 127	40 - Manchester Lieutenancy	Undirected	199
195 - 127	4 - Saddleworth Chamber Concerts	Undirected	198
196 - 128 Tnner Business Centre	13 - Saddleworth Players	Undirected	200
197 - 129 Director National Theatre Wales	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	201
197 - 129 Director National Theatre Wales	198 - National Theatre Wales	Undirected	202
199 - 130 Solicitor	7 - Age UK Oldham	Undirected	203
200 - 131 Sir	12 - RNCM	Undirected	204
201 - 132 Banking	12 - RNCM	Undirected	205
202 - 133 Director Greengate Metals	2 - Mahdlo	Undirected	206
204 - 135	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	210
204 - 135	2 - Mahdlo	Undirected	261

204 - 135	2 - Mahdlo	Undirected	208
204 - 135	3 - Hallé	Undirected	209
205 - 136	3 - Hallé	Undirected	239
206 - 137 Chief Executive Coop Group	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	238
207 - 138 Music Education Consultant	10 - Brighter Sound	Undirected	211
208 - 139 Actor/performer	9 - Contact Theatre	Undirected	212
209 - 140 Poet/Performer	9 - Contact Theatre	Undirected	213
210 - 141 Writer	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	214
211 - 142 Cabinet Office for Estates	3 - Hallé	Undirected	215
212 - 143	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	216
213 - 144 (MBE)	13 - Saddleworth Players	Undirected	218
213 - 144 (MBE)	214 - 145 (MBE)	Undirected	219
214 - 145 (MBE)	13 - Saddleworth Players	Undirected	220
215 - 146 Managing Director Stonewall	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	221
216 - 147	13 - Saddleworth Players	Undirected	223
217 - 148 Formerly Seton Healthcare	19 - Maggies	Undirected	227
217 - 148 Formerly Seton Healthcare	20 - Stoller Charitable Trust	Undirected	226
218 - 150 Prior Coliseum Theatre Govern...	20 - Stoller Charitable Trust	Undirected	228
218 - 150 Prior Coliseum Theatre Govern...	40 - Manchester Lieutenancy	Undirected	229
219 - 15	2 - Mahdlo	Undirected	247
219 - 15	56 - Barker Foundation	Undirected	248

220 - Known Observer 1	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	249
220 - Known Observer 1	25 - Oldham Council	Undirected	250
221 - Known Observer 2	1 - Peshkar Productions	Undirected	252
221 - Known Observer 2	25 - Oldham Council	Undirected	251
224 - Oldham Theatre Workshop	25 - Oldham Council	Undirected	256
225 - Gallery Oldham	25 - Oldham Council	Undirected	257
226 - Oldham Music Service	25 - Oldham Council	Undirected	258
226 - Oldham Music Service	58 - Bolton Music Service	Undirected	259
226 - Oldham Music Service	58 - Bolton Music Service	Undirected	260
229 - Royal Exchange Theatre	230 - 151 Chair Ogelsby Charitable Trust	Undirected	264
229 - Royal Exchange Theatre	231 - 152 Managing director IESA	Undirected	265
229 - Royal Exchange Theatre	232 - 153 Law OBE	Undirected	266
229 - Royal Exchange Theatre	233 - 154 Writer/Producer	Undirected	267
229 - Royal Exchange Theatre	234 - 155 KPMG Accounting	Undirected	268
229 - Royal Exchange Theatre	235 - 156 Head BBC Northwest	Undirected	269
229 - Royal Exchange Theatre	236 - 157 Barrister	Undirected	270
25 - Oldham Council	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	231
25 - Oldham Council	1 - Peshkar Productions	Undirected	232
25 - Oldham Council	26 - Oldham Youth Council	Undirected	230
41 - 1 Business Strategist	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	0
42 - 2 BBC Radio Broadcaster	1 - Peshkar Productions	Undirected	2

43 - 3 Solicitor	2 - Mahdlo	Undirected	3
43 - 3 Solicitor	37 - Ainley North Solicitors, Oldham	Undirected	4
44 - 4 Marketing Specialist	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	5
45 - 5 Local Cllr	3 - Hallé	Undirected	6
45 - 5 Local Cllr	4 - Saddleworth Chamber Concerts	Undirected	7
46 - 6	4 - Saddleworth Chamber Concerts	Undirected	246
47 - 7 Health and Social Care	7 - Age UK Oldham	Undirected	8
48 - 8 Director Upturn Enterprise	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	11
49 - 9 BBC Broadcaster	8 - HOME	Undirected	10
50 - 10 Solicitor	37 - Ainley North Solicitors, Oldham	Undirected	13
50 - 10 Solicitor	7 - Age UK Oldham	Undirected	12
51 - 11 OBE Previous Lord Mayor GMCA	9 - Contact Theatre	Undirected	14
52 - 12 Accountant	7 - Age UK Oldham	Undirected	15
53 - 13 Solicitor	10 - Brighter Sound	Undirected	16
53 - 13 Solicitor	28 - TRS Gallery	Undirected	20
53 - 13 Solicitor	9 - Contact Theatre	Undirected	17
54 - 14	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	21

54 - 14	27 - TATE	Undirected	22
60 - 16	12 - RNCM	Undirected	25
60 - 16	38 - Chethams School	Undirected	26
60 - 16	58 - Bolton Music Service	Undirected	27
60 - 16	59 - Leeds Music Hub	Undirected	28
61 - 17	1 - Peshkar Productions	Undirected	29
62 - 18	63 - Manchester Museums Group	Undirected	31
62 - 18	64 - Whitworth Gallery	Undirected	32
62 - 18	9 - Contact Theatre	Undirected	30
65 - 19	13 - Saddleworth Players	Undirected	33
65 - 19	66 - Saddleworth Trust	Undirected	34
65 - 19	67 - Saddleworth Historical	Undirected	35
68 - 20	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	36
69 - 21 Oldham Business Leadership Chair	126 - Oldham Business Leadership Group	Undirected	113
69 - 21 Oldham Business Leadership Chair	2 - Mahdlo	Undirected	37
70 - 22 Cllr	8 - HOME	Undirected	38
71 - 23 Sir Former chief exec Man City Cou...	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	39
71 - 23 Sir Former chief exec Man City Cou...	40 - Manchester Lieutenancy	Undirected	40
72 - 24 Social Media Consultant	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	41
73 - 25 Former CEO Southbank, Chief Exec...	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	44
74 - 26 Artist	8 - HOME	Undirected	43

75 - 27 CEO Urban Splash	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	45
75 - 27 CEO Urban Splash	74 - 26 Artist	Undirected	46
76 - 28 CEO Positive Steps	2 - Mahdlo	Undirected	47
77 - 29 HR Consultant	7 - Age UK Oldham	Undirected	48
78 - 30 Local Cllr	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	49
79 - 31 HE Lecturer	1 - Peshkar Productions	Undirected	50
80 - 32 Accountant	10 - Brighter Sound	Undirected	51
81 - 33 Accountant	8 - HOME	Undirected	52
82 - 34 Actor	8 - HOME	Undirected	53
83 - 35 HE Lecturer, UNICEF, Digital Entrep...	33 - Salford University	Undirected	245
83 - 35 HE Lecturer, UNICEF, Digital Entrep...	3 - Hallé	Undirected	54
84 - 36 Youth, Leisure and Communities	25 - Oldham Council	Undirected	233
84 - 36 Youth, Leisure and Communities	2 - Mahdlo	Undirected	55
86 - 37	14 - Crompton Playhouse (Playhouse 2)	Undirected	57
87 - 38 Higher Education University of Edin...	12 - RNCM	Undirected	58
87 - 38 Higher Education University of Edin...	32 - Edinburgh University	Undirected	255
88 - 39	15 - Global Grooves/Bang Drum/Juba Cana	Undirected	59
89 - 40	9 - Contact Theatre	Undirected	60
90 - 41 Singer	12 - RNCM	Undirected	61
91 - 42	13 - Saddleworth Players	Undirected	63
92 - 43 Artist	11 - Manchester International Festival	Undirected	64
93 - 44 OBE Headteacher	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	65
93 - 44 OBE Headteacher	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	65
94 - 45 HE lecturer	17 - University of Manchester	Undirected	66
94 - 45 HE lecturer	9 - Contact Theatre	Undirected	67
95 - 46 CEO Money Supermarket	3 - Hallé	Undirected	68
96 - 47 Deloitte Consulting Lead Auditor	3 - Hallé	Undirected	69
97 - 48 Dr.	12 - RNCM	Undirected	240
97 - 48 Dr.	6 - Saddleworth Festival	Undirected	241
98 - 49 Managing Director Oakridge Consu...	0 - Coliseum Theatre	Undirected	71
99 - 50 Chief Exec NARPO	7 - Age UK Oldham	Undirected	72