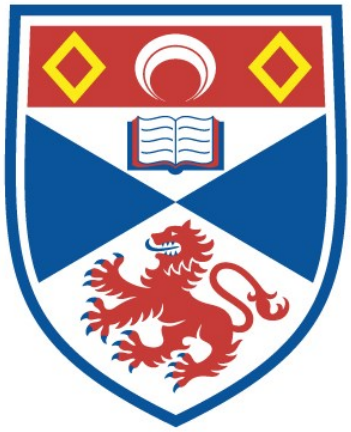
Challenging legitimacy in cultural fields : the case of Dundee Rep

Holly Patrick

A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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CHALLENGING LEGITIMACY IN CULTURAL FIELDS: THE CASE OF DUNDEE REP

ABSTRACT

This thesis argues for a dualistic, epistemological, framework for the study of legitimacy which recognises the different ways it might be understood to exist, and as such be managed, within organisations. It is based on an ethnography of a Scottish professional theatre, Dundee Rep, undertaken over a 30 month period. The research adopts a social constructionist ontology and an epistemological framework based on the *knowing that / knowing how* framework of Gilbert Ryle to present three accounts of the legitimacy of the theatre – as *belonging, becoming* and *integrated*- and to challenge the notion implicit in the organisation studies literature that legitimacy is treated (and should be treated) as a *belonging* by organisations. The proposed integrated epistemological framing of legitimacy explains how notions of legitimacy as an emergent, negotiated perception and as a competitive resource possessed are both crucial to developing an integrated understanding of how legitimacy is produced at the organisational level.

FIGURE 1 - PRODUCTION SHOT, A CHRISTMAS CAROL

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My thesis has been a collective endeavour, in every way that does not involve plagiarism, and I have several people I would like to thank.

I am incredibly grateful to everyone at Dundee Rep for welcoming me into their fabulous theatre. Special thanks go to James Brining and Ian Alexander for inviting me in and supporting me throughout the journey, to Amanda Lowson for introducing me to Creative Learning, to Caroline Bowditch for being an all-round superstar, and to everyone involved with the Talking Heads tour for putting up with me hanging around for months on end. It is truly uplifting to know that people so talented and committed to their art would be kind enough to take time out of their schedules to welcome in a graduate student, and put up with her occasionally getting pulled in different directions by the literature. It is also very uplifting to know that they will now have that time back to carry on doing so much good for the people of Dundee.

I would be probably be stuck in some sort of management consulting job, earning much more but living far less, if it wasn't for the well-timed intervention of Barbara Townley and Nic Beech. You have been brilliant supervisors; we haven't always agreed about everything but I am incredibly lucky to have supervisors who will let me go my own way, so long as I can justify it. You have changed my life, and I am honoured. I only hope you are not sick of me after four years!

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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

Although *performance* is an intrinsic part of human activity which can be traced throughout the ages (cf Schechner 2003), *theatre* is a particularly ritualised and socially embedded mechanism of performance. Attitudes towards theatre in the United Kingdom have dramatically shifted over the past century. Where in the Shakespearean age it was common to see all echelons of society represented in theatre audiences, theatre has increasingly been seen (alongside other forms of cultural consumption) as a means of *distinction* amongst members of society (cf Bourdieu 1984). Attending theatre has shifted from being a common means of entertainment to a marker of socio-economic position, particularly with the invention of the wireless radio and the television which enabled cultural consumption and entertainment to take place in the home (Schechner 2003). Over time this characterisation of theatre audiences has become further ingrained, and has, in places, led to a backlash with theatre being considered a preserve of the rich minority and therefore unworthy of public investment. With the British economy having faced recent recession (Office for National Statistics 2011), the attention paid to public spending in certain areas has been increasingly close. In this climate the security of public funding for an industry which has come to be seen in many quarters as a means of distinction rather than an economic or social generator has been increasingly questioned.

However, from a different perspective, the legitimacy of the theatre industry is very secure both over time and at the present moment. There is historically strong support for the arts in the United Kingdom and, more broadly, in Western Europe (Schechner 2003). This support is based on the belief that the arts in general offer broad intrinsic benefits to a community. From this perspective, a strong cultural industry is a marker of a developed society, of a civilised community; a way of celebrating history, questioning the present and imagining the future. It is a key component of national identity; important for the wellbeing and happiness of citizens and a source of creativity in society and industry. The moral discourse is particularly important at the current time in Scotland. Recent years have seen the launch of cultural initiatives such as 'Made in Scotland' and 'Homecoming', both aiming to celebrate the unique cultural offering of Scotland. 2012 was both the 'Year of Creative Scotland' and the year of the Cultural Olympiad running alongside the London Olympic Games, both of which placed culture at the centre of national identity and projected that image of national identity across the world. Further to this, 2014 will see Scotland hold a referendum on whether or not to remain in the United Kingdom, which may result in more emphasis being placed on national identity, and in particular the

culture of Scotland. The focus on national identity through culture has therefore contributed to making the position of the Scottish theatre industry more secure than it has perhaps been over a long period. It is in the context of these competing discourses of cultural value that I came to study Dundee Rep.

INTRODUCING DUNDEE REP

"Dundee has gone from one of the less fashionable ends of Scottish theatre to being an absolute must-see destination."

Robert Dawson Smith, Speaking to STV News (June, 2010)

Dundee Rep has existed since 1939; developing from a relatively small partnership between an amateur dramatics club and a group of professional theatre artists into a large and diversified performing arts hub. It has three major producing strands with an integrated commercial operation (a bar and restaurant) and two cross-functional teams (business development and finance/administration). The three major producing strands are the core theatre (known as the 'main house'), the outreach department (known as 'Creative Learning') and the dance theatre (Scottish Dance Theatre).

The main house at the theatre is unique in the UK because they employ an ensemble of actors on long-term contracts who normally produce work for the theatre all year round and participate in the other activities of the theatre (such as Creative Learning) in addition to their acting roles. This is highly unusual, as all other theatres in the UK employ actors on a project basis (apart from the Royal Shakespeare Company, which employs actors on 9 month contracts). The ensemble currently has five permanent members and nine associate members (Theatre Webpage 2013, accessed 14-01-13). Creative Learning is a large and diversified department which offers theatrical participation opportunities to the local community 'from nae hair tae grey hair', i.e. from babies to the elderly. They are unique in having a full time dramatherapist and work extensively with organisations and local authority bodies in the areas of education, health and social justice. Scottish Dance Theatre (SDT) is the only contemporary dance troupe of their scale in Scotland. Originally called Dundee Rep Dance Company, SDT has grown extensively since its founding in 1986. Being the only contemporary dance troupe of their scale in Scotland, the dance theatre often tours their work both nationally and internationally. Over the recent past, SDT have toured North America, continental Europe, China and India.

The theatre managers are concerned with how to demonstrate the value of the organisation to their various 'constituencies'. The theatre is historically very well regarded by the industry. According to conventional measures of success in theatre, such as critics' evaluations, awards and sustained public funding, the theatre is performing very well. Over the fieldwork period (2009-2012), the theatre won ten national Critics' Awards for Theatre and one UK-wide Theatre Management Award. In 2010, Dundee Rep's success in awards led to it being christened by STV News the "leading theatre in Scotland" (STV News 2010). Dundee Rep has also attained the most secure form of public funding available from the national funding body for the arts (previously Scottish Arts Council, since replaced by Creative Scotland). As a 'foundation' organisation, Dundee Rep theatre is one of less than fifty organisations nationwide invited onto the 'foundation funding' programme. Foundation organisations receive 'capital' funding (meaning that their costs as a whole, rather than specific projects, are funded). This form of funding is far more secure than the normal route, flexible funding, which requires a new application ever two years. Furthermore, in 2008 Scottish Dance Theatre was also made a 'foundation' organisation, in recognition of its importance to the national cultural fabric of Scotland.

Despite this period of success, the managers of the theatre are concerned about the evolving demands of multiple organisational constituencies. This is primarily because the theatre is heavily reliant on external bodies to fund their activities, and the revenue of the theatre is based on a complex set of funding arrangements. Dundee Rep relies on earned revenue (from ticket sales and bar/restaurant profits) and major grants from both the national arts funding body and from the local council to maintain its operations. Each year the theatre incurs around £3.8m costs, of which around £2.5m arise from main house expenditure, £1m from the dance theatre and £250k from the outreach department. Over the same period the theatre earns around £1m from ticket revenue and various subscriptions, around half of which originates as ticket revenue from 'main house' shows, £300k from visiting shows, £100k from the dance theatre and the remainder from the outreach department. These figures are illustrated overleaf in Figure 2.

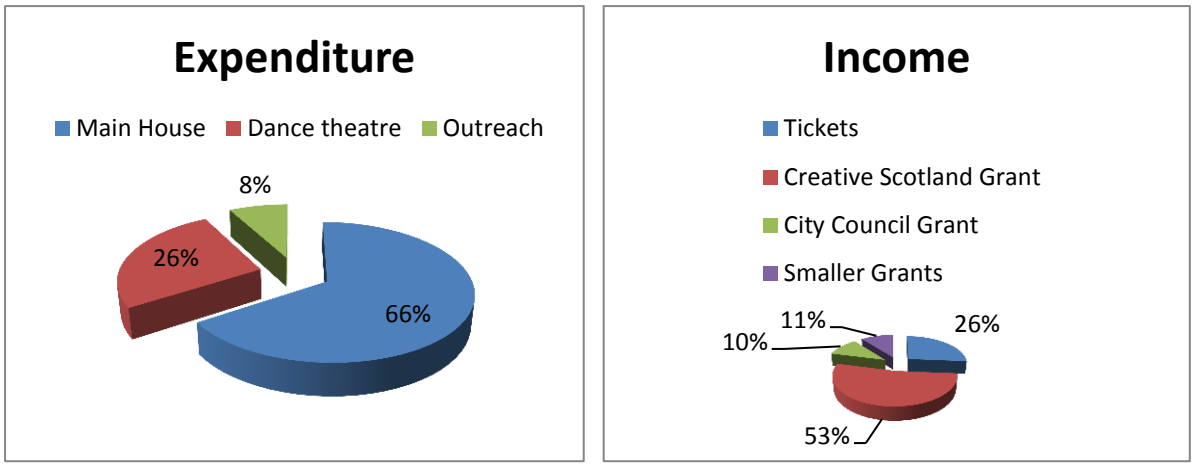


FIGURE 2 - INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

This leaves an approximate trading deficit of £2.8m each year, the cost of which is met by various grant sources, the most significant of which are two major 'revenue grants'. Revenue grants are unrestricted funds which are awarded to the theatre, the largest two of which are awarded by the national arts funding body (Creative Scotland) and the local authority (Dundee City Council). The Creative Scotland grant currently amounts to around £2m (allocated as two separate awards for the main house and the dance theatre) and the City Council award amounts to around £400k. To put the Creative Scotland funding figure into some context, the amount awarded to the main house and dance theatre is relatively commensurate with the large producing theatres in the central belt (Dundee Rep is regional, not in the Edinburgh/Glasgow area commonly referred to as 'central belt'). To put the City Council figure into some context, the award made to the theatre is considerably the largest grant in this portfolio (i.e. they awarded a much larger grant to the theatre than to any other project or organisation in arts or sports). The theatre may be considered, relative to organisations in general, to be heavily reliant on grant income, although for a professional, non-profit theatre, such figures may be considered relatively typical.

The Tensions of Public Funding

The reliance of the theatre on grant income means that they need to be responsive to the emerging demands of their funding bodies, and to proactively demonstrate the value of the organisation to the theatre industry, to the local area and to Scotland. In order to achieve these ends, the theatre managers need to continually communicate with their funders, in order to appreciate their demands. However, as the fieldwork commenced in 2009 the national funding body was in a process of change. The previous body, the Scottish Arts Council, was being dissolved to create a new body, Creative Scotland. This was a substantive change of organisation; although some positions and priorities were seen as being likely to remain,

Creative Scotland was to have a new senior management team and a new mission statement. At the outset of the research this handover process was already beginning. As employees of the Scottish Arts Council were unable to identify which jobs were secure, nor the exact character of Creative Scotland's priorities, so was the industry largely uninformed about the specifics of the handover. Although Dundee Rep had consistently been able to meet the demands of the Scottish Arts Council, a lack of clarity regarding the new body jeopardised their ability to appreciate and address the demands of this changing constituency.

In addition to having to navigate the ambiguity around the demands of Creative Scotland as an emerging organisational constituent, Dundee Rep also needs to manage the needs of Dundee City Council, its other primary funder. The council has been traditionally very supportive of the theatre, not only in maintaining funding levels but also in responding to Dundee Rep's increasing size and complexity. For example, the council provides separate funding to ensure that Creative Learning is secure in financing outreach activities. Furthermore, Dundee City Council has traditionally relied on the artistic judgements of national arts funding body in assessing the quality of the theatre's productions. This simplifies the diversity of 'measurements' which are used to assess the theatre, making the management of funding constituents simpler.

However, the demands of the Scottish Arts Council and Dundee City Council are not synonymous. The City Council has specific organisational pressures and priorities related to the socio-economic and political structures of the local area which impact upon the priorities it passes down to funded organisations. Thirty per cent of Scotland's most deprived communities are located in Dundee, and this deprivation has led to other social issues, such as the highest rate of teenage pregnancy in Scotland since statistics were first recorded (Farrell 2011). Census figures show that unemployment in Dundee rose by 3% in 2012, decreasing the total percentage of adults in work in the city to just 65.2%, much lower than the national average of 71.8% (Cherrymen 2013). The same source shows that wage levels in the city also fell by 3% over the same period, unlike every other city in Scotland, which saw relative wage rises. Correspondingly, Dundee has one of the highest rates of benefit claimants in Scotland at 5.2% (Guardian Datablog 2013) and the Local Housing Strategy identified that 62% of households renting in the City were in receipt of Housing Benefit (Dundee City Council 2004). Such socioeconomic problems create significant difficulties for Dundee City Council in allocating public funds to an organisation with a primarily cultural output (rather than primarily economic or social output).

National cultural funding bodies, such as Creative Scotland, are likely to encourage the organisations they fund to address problems in the industry, such as encouraging funded organisations to tour more productions nationally, to fill the gap in mid-sized touring productions across Scotland. However, a local funding body might be dissatisfied to see a production which they have part-funded tour to other areas, rather than being made more widely available or better subsidised for local audiences. Especially when the local authority faces challenging socio-economic problems, as in the case of Dundee. As one local authority official told me: "the danger with being nationally renowned is that you would lose your roots into the whole community… I think if you become simply nationally renowned, you would certainly lose the rationale for local funding". Therefore having multiple funders creates a tension, for while their demands may be satisficed, divergent demands may not all be satisfied. Furthermore, in the case of Dundee Rep one of these funders was in a period of re-organisation, with emerging ambiguous priorities, making the balancing of various funders' demands even more challenging.

The Organisational Constituencies of Dundee Rep

Although funding bodies continue to be very important to the ability of Dundee Rep to stay successful, the theatre has many other 'constituencies'. These are groups of organisations and/or individuals which influence organisational priorities and judge the value of the theatre, including partner-organisations, competitors and, perhaps most importantly, the general public. Dundee Rep works in partnerships of different kinds, and these partnerships frequently extend beyond the theatre industry. In its outreach activities with children, Creative Learning works extensively with schools and with the local education department. In its work with vulnerable adults, the department works with the local social work department and with community centres across the city. In creating events which promote the cultural sector, the theatre works with galleries, museums and other cultural producers across the city. In creating theatrical co-productions, Dundee Rep works with other theatres across the country. Partner-organisations are a large and diverse constituency, and are centrally important to delivering many of the theatre's most important activities.

Another constituency which may be considered important to Dundee Rep is made up of other theatres across Scotland, which are the organisation's competitors and collaborators. In situations where Dundee Rep is staging a similar production to another theatre which draws upon the same audience, and when multiple theatres are applying for limited funds, this organisation-constituent relationship is competitive. However, because of the small size of the industry and the practice of sharing resources (such as props, spaces, or even uniquely skilled

workers), the relationship between Dundee Rep and other Scottish theatres is often collaborative. For example, Scottish theatres frequently collaborate in the production of 'industry benchmarked' audience statistics reports which allow individual theatres to better understand the relative profile of their audiences.

Each of these groups is central to the theatre's ability to fulfil its core purpose and to address the requirements placed upon the organisation by its primary funding bodies. These constituencies are also important 'audiences' of Dundee Rep's activities. The demands and expectations of these audiences constitute both the resource pressures (i.e. the need to devote organisational resources to certain activities) and institutional forces (normative pressures on the theatre to conform to certain socially accepted 'norms' of organisational behaviour) experienced by Dundee Rep. For example, working with the local education authority places certain resource pressures on the theatre, such as restrictions on when the outreach activities may take place during school hours, and institutional pressures, such as the norms guiding what activities are appropriate for outreach theatre in an educational setting. The education department, and individual schools, generally have certain ideas regarding what types of drama-based activities are appropriate for the classroom, often being more comfortable with more traditional exercises (such as developing and staging a play) than more experimental techniques. In producing these pressures, organisational constituencies influence the ability of Dundee Rep to fulfil its core purpose and to meet the demands of its funders.

Finally, aside from well-defined organisational constituencies, such as partner organisations and competitors/collaborators, Dundee Rep is accountable to the general public. This accountability arises both from the financial dependence of the organisation on public funds (whether directed through Creative Scotland or Dundee City Council) and from the public mission of the organisation ('Our work transforms lives: We are a vital element of the cultural and social fabric of Dundee and Scotland'; Organisational Strategy, 2009). An important feature of Dundee Rep's environment is that each of their organisational constituencies is also accountable (directly or indirectly) to the general public. By 'directly', I refer to the direct reporting relationship and by 'indirectly' I refer to a more general accountability. Creative Scotland is directly accountable to the national government and Dundee City Council is accountable to both its local constituents and directly to the national government. The national government is, in turn, accountable to its population. Therefore, the theatre although is directly accountable to two funding bodies, these funders and Dundee Rep are both eventually accountable to the general public. The same is true of other organisational constituents of Dundee Rep, such as partner organisations, competitors and local authority bodies (in areas

such as education, health and social work). The map below illustrates the major constituents of Dundee Rep, each of which exerts both resource-based and institutional pressures upon the organisation, influencing the ability of Dundee Rep's managers to address their core priorities and to demonstrate the value of their organisation.

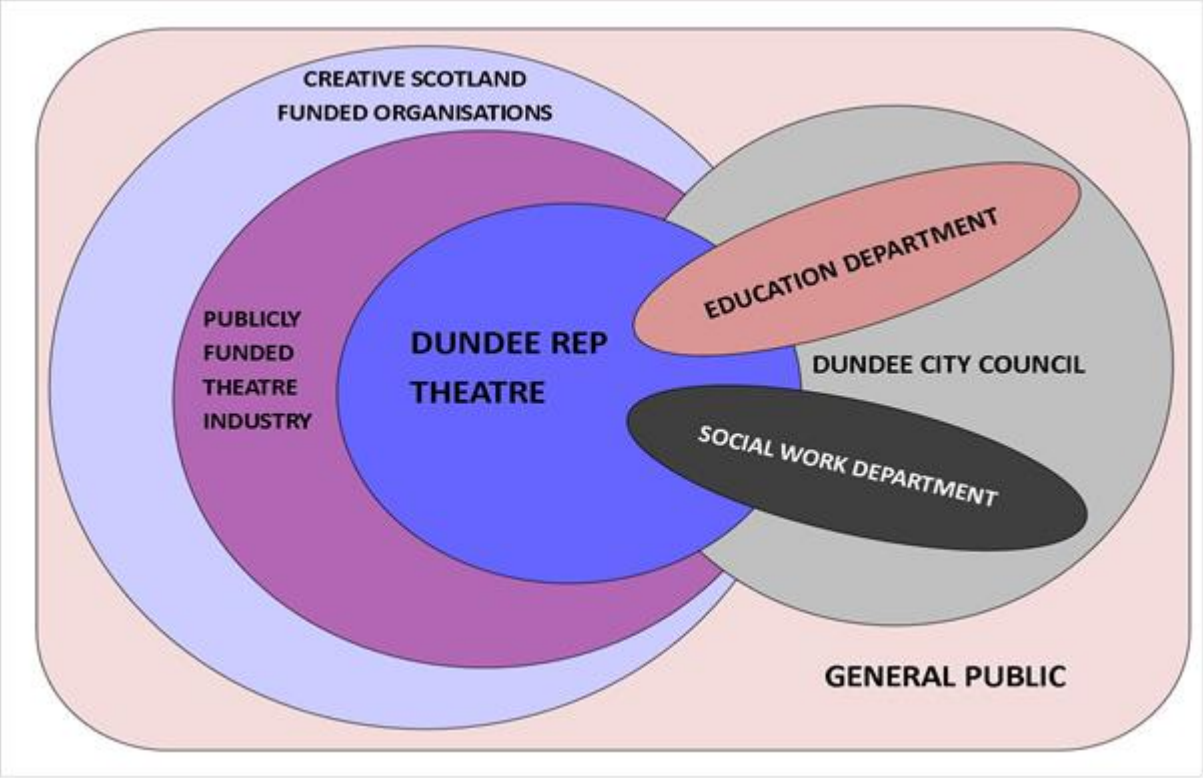


FIGURE 3 - MAP OF DUNDEE REP'S CONSTITUENCIES

Finally, the ability of the theatre to appeal to their constituencies and demonstrate their value is inhibited by the difficulties of assessing their core product--evaluating theatrical quality is not simple. As Scott Walters, a prolific theatre blogger, stated in the Guardian theatre blog:

> *"Like a rainbow, which only exists when rain, sunlight and an observing eye are in proper relation to each other, quality exists when a play with certain characteristics in a production with certain characteristics interacts with an audience who recognises, appreciates and is able to interpret those characteristics"*
>
> Scott Walters, quoted in The Guardian Theatre Blog (07/01/10)

Walters caused an intense debate amongst theatre bloggers by stating the belief that *artistic quality* is dependent not only upon the inherent artistic qualities of a theatre production, but

also on the reception of that production by the audience. The debate arises from the fact that artistic quality is, on one hand a standard closely guarded and awarded by theatre critics, but on the other hand is commonly considered to be a highly subjective notion. One of the key features of the theatre industry, and of cultural industries in general, is that judgements of the success of a cultural product cannot be made as objectively as in fields characterised by a logic of profit. Without embarking on a philosophical discussion of the notion of art and artistic quality (cf Bourdieu 1996), it is clear that the theatre industry in particular is characterised and structured by judgements of artistic quality which are structured through accordance to socially-defined ideas of 'art', rather than absolute principles. Cultural products are the main output of professional theatres, and so the difficulties associated with objectively defining 'success' extend to the level of organisational analysis.

Conclusion

There are substantial moral arguments for the value of theatre to society, yet the particular situation of resource scarcity throughout the period of study placed the theatre industry as a whole under great pressure to demonstrate its societal benefits. Within this broad system of institutional pressures, Dundee Rep exists in a specific web of 'constituents', such as funders, audiences, partner organisations, competitors and local educational and social work departments. These constituents place specific 'resource' and 'institutional' demands on the theatre concerning what organisational activities should be prioritised and how they should take place. Some constituents wield substantial and immediate power over the theatre, in particular its funders, Creative Scotland and Dundee City Council. Each of these bodies is likely to 'pass down' certain priorities to Dundee Rep, and these priorities may often be to some degree conflicting. Furthermore, the ambiguity caused by the replacement of the Scottish Arts Council by Creative Scotland complicates the ability of theatre managers to perceive and address the emerging priorities of its national funder. For these reasons, Dundee Rep faces challenges to its position in the industry, due to being in a situation where the ability of the theatre to both comprehend and respond adequately to the demands of its constituents is compromised. In seeking to better understand and deal with these challenges, the managers of Dundee Rep commissioned this research into the legitimacy of the theatre.

In response to the managers' reasons for commissioning the research, I sought to enquire how constituents in the organisational environment form perceptions of the organisation. They were particularly interested in the concept of legitimacy, and how this concept could be used to explain the basis upon which the theatre was being evaluated. Legitimacy is defined as the "generalised perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or

appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions" (Suchman 1995: 574). As a theoretical concept, therefore, legitimacy relates to the mechanism by which institutional norms and organisational aims and activities are co-ordinated. However, I found the literature largely ill-equipped to evaluate the basis of the legitimacy of the theatre, because it largely focusses upon the actions of managers. A great deal of effort has gone into theorising how legitimacy may be strategically captured, but the managers of Dundee Rep wanted to know how their legitimacy was constructed, not the strategies by which they might capture it. As the managers of Dundee Rep felt less in control of their legitimacy than the dominant perspective suggested, I adopted an inductive research design based on the guiding question: 'how is legitimacy produced at Dundee Rep?'

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The remainder of the thesis is organised as follows.

In Chapter Two I present a review of the literature on legitimacy. In so doing I seek to achieve three major aims. First to define the concept of legitimacy. Second to review the extant literature on organisational legitimacy, to illustrate how the theoretical approach taken to legitimacy has evolved, and to highlight the persistent inconsistencies and gaps in the literature. Third to justify my characterisation of certain studies as adopting a perspective of legitimacy 'as a belonging'. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the theoretical framework used to structure the thesis, Gilbert Ryle's *knowing that* and *knowing how*, and what implications this approach has for the study of legitimacy.

In Chapter Three I discuss the methodology applied throughout the research process. In the first section of this chapter I explore the general ontological approach adopted in the thesis (social constructionist), and the particular focus used in the analysis, relationally responsive social constructionism (Cunliffe 2008). Following this I discuss in detail the research design; the data collection, analysis and presentation techniques employed.

Chapter Four is the first of the data chapters which presents, explores and justifies the character of legitimacy as understood through an epistemology of belonging. I begin this chapter with an in-depth description of the Creative Campus strategy, which I argue is the vehicle used to legitimate Dundee Rep. In describing how the focal organisation frames corporate strategy to legitimate the organisation, I illustrate three dimensions of legitimation-as-belonging. First, I establish that the strategy (the 'Creative Campus') is specifically framed in order to legitimate the organisation. Second, I look at the role of legitimation in relation to 'rational myths' in the institutional environment of the theatre. Third, I consider how the creation and distribution of the strategy constitutes an appeal to notions of 'best practice' and evidences an awareness of the part of Dundee Rep's managers of the 'double-edge' of organisational legitimation.

In Chapter Five I introduce the alternative epistemological perspective on legitimacy, legitimacy-as-becoming. In contrast to the previous chapter, this epistemological perspective emphasises process and meaning. As such, the data is presented as a series of ethnographic accounts which critique certain assumptions of Chapter Four regarding the process and content of the Creative Strategy. It illustrates how, from a different epistemological perspective, the Creative Campus strategy can be seen to have a very different role in establishing the legitimacy of Dundee Rep. Furthermore, it shows how legitimacy-as-becoming is cultivated by Dundee Rep.

Chapter Six integrates the epistemologies outlined in Chapters Four and Five then discusses the implications of the findings presented in relation to the extant literature. The chapter first recaps the theoretical basis for integrating the two epistemological perspectives into a dualistic model of legitimacy before discussing the implications and conclusions of the research. It argues that legitimacy-as-belonging and legitimacy-as-becoming have respective roles to play in enabling the organisation to manage its legitimacy in times of stability and change. Further, it asserts that the two forms of legitimation are complementary and both necessary in allowing the organisation to manage multiple conflicting legitimacy demands, and to address direct legitimacy challenges.

CHAPTER TWO - LITERATURE REVIEW

"…many researchers employ the term legitimacy, but few define it"

(Suchman 1995: 572)

SUCHMAN'S DEFINITION OF LEGITIMACY

"Within contemporary organizations theory, legitimacy is more often invoked than described, and it is more often described than defined"

(Suchman 1995: 573)

Legitimacy is a popular concept within organisation studies. It allows scholars to draw links between institutional structures and the actions of organisations and individuals, through definitions of appropriateness. In particular, the concept of legitimacy allows scholars to infer how institutional structures come to impact upon the organisation's resource environment. This is because legitimacy is commonly evaluated according to institutional definitions of organisational 'appropriateness' and, as such, it impacts on organisations through mediating their access to valuable resources, such as investment and organisational partnerships. Although the purported theoretical origins of legitimacy in contemporary organisation studies are fairly diverse, Suchman's (1995: 574) definition of legitimacy as the "generalised perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions" is consistently adopted.

While it might be argued that Suchman's is a psychological definition of legitimacy, since it invokes the concept of *perceptions* rather than *beliefs*, the way it is normally mobilised is sociological. In his own treatment of this definition, Suchman states that this definition of legitimacy operates at the level of the social audience as a whole, rather than in the head of the individual evaluator of legitimacy. He states that legitimacy "reflects a congruence between the behaviors of the legitimated entity and the shared (or assumedly shared)beliefs of some social group… [legitimacy] is dependent on a collective audience, yet independent of collective observers" (1995: 574). Suchman's definition highlights two generally accepted principles of legitimacy that can be found throughout treatments of the concept: firstly, legitimacy is a "*generalized* perception or assumption" and; secondly, notions of legitimacy may be based on the perceived or assumed *desirability, properness or appropriateness* of the organization. When researchers of legitimacy have mobilised the term 'perception' in describing legitimacy, they have done so in reference to perceptions at the level of the organisational environment, rather than individual perceptions (for example, Elsbach (1994) and Hudson (2008)). When legitimacy is referred to as a generalised perception in this thesis, it also refers to the level of the organisational environment, rather than the individual evaluator.

Suchman's definition highlights two central priciples of the treatment of legitimacy in organisation studies. The first generally accepted principle of legitimacy, that it is a "*generalised* perception or assumption", means that the legitimacy of any organisation is based upon a general belief created from the universe of social perceptions or assumptions made by stakeholders evaluating the organisation. Constitutive of this general belief will be judgements of different kinds, made by different constituencies with different levels of power over the composition of organisational legitimacy. The generalised nature of legitimacy means that it is difficult to empirically measure; not only is it generalised across individual stakeholders but also often across value systems (for example, across art and commerce). However, difficulties in closely defining the character of legitimacy have not prevented researchers from operationalizing legitimacy. When it is difficult to accurately define the basis of organisation's legitimacy, empirical researchers commonly accept the judgment of a single powerful stakeholder (or group) as indicative of legitimacy. For example, in many studies which look to determine the impact of external challenges upon organisational survival, the valence of press reports is generally taken as an indicator of organisational legitimacy (e.g. Lamin and Zaheer 2012). However, as studies which adopt legitimacy as a central variable have shown, the valence of the press towards an organisation is not only partial, but susceptible to strategies of rhetorical legitimation spearheaded by media savvy managers (e.g. Elsbach 1994). Further, adopting broad barometers such as press opinion as indicators of legitimacy necessitates a consideration of the role of the press in determining normative structures generally, and of the influence of power relations between corporations, governments and press organisations. These drawbacks limit the usefulness of using media sources as 'proxy' judgements for organisational legitimacy, but they are commonly underexplored in the literature.

The second generally accepted principle of legitimacy, that it is based on the perceived or assumed *desirability, properness or appropriateness* of the organisation, highlights one of the key features of legitimacy- the presence of different forms of social judgement. An organisation might be judged desirable *or* proper *or* appropriate (or some combination thereof). Legitimacy judgements, it is argued, can be made consciously and unconsciously (Aldrich and Fiol 1994), they might involve an explicit consideration of the normative correctness of the actions of organisational managers or might be based on an evaluation of the processes or outcomes of the organisation (Ruef and Scott 1998). Furthermore, there might be different 'thresholds' for legitimacy depending on whether the organisation requires active support or simply the passive acquiescence of their stakeholders (Suchman 1995, Di Maggio 1988). Therefore, the complexity of legitimacy lies not only in the diversity of stakeholders who may make judgements regarding the organisation, but also in the character of those judgements themselves.

This chapter comprehensively expands on Suchman's definition of legitimacy through reviewing, critiquing and re-characterising the literature according to an epistemological framework. First, an enumerative definition of legitimacy is produced, through a chronological review of the legitimacy literature. Second, the coherency of this 'definition' is questioned, through highlighting a series of issues with the literature. Third, the concept of legitimacy is re-defined in a way which recognises its epistemological character. Finally, this chapter will set out to demonstrate that much of the existing literature treats legitimacy as a belonging of organisations, and to illustrate how this epistemological fallacy can be understood through applying Gilbert Ryle's *Theory of Mind*.

CHRONOLOGICAL REVIEW OF THE ORGANISATIONAL LEGITIMACY LITERATURE

Origins of Legitimacy

Weber's constructs of legitimate order and legitimate authority, used to explain the relationship between accepted social orders and the purposive action of individuals, are widely accepted to be the theoretical predecessors of legitimacy in organisation studies. Weber's theory of social organisation is partially concerned with the sources of co-ordinated social behaviour as imposed by a system of authority. He uses the construct of 'ideal types' to explain how different forms of authority come to construct legitimacy, these 'ideal types' being perfect-type examples of a course of actions and set of consequences designed to act as a pure comparative for sociological analysis (therefore not designed to represent the complexity of everyday life). For Weber, there are three ideal types of authority; traditional (e.g. patrimonialism and feudalism), legal (based on rules and objective standards of justice) and charismatic leadership (characteristically rises when either legal or traditional authority are in crisis and is dependent upon the personal qualities of a leader) (1978: 20). For Weber, 'legitimacy' acts as a quality which validates and strengthens an authority (over and above the factors of self-interest and custom) which, in turn, orients individual conduct and social relationships (1978: 71). To expand, Weber states that "no system of authority voluntarily limits itself to the appeal to material, or affectual or ideal motives as a basis for guaranteeing its continuance… every such system attempts to establish and to cultivate the belief in its 'legitimacy'" (Weber 1947: 325).

In his theory of social organisation, Weber theorises the concept of legitimacy in two related but distinct contexts, that of the *legitimate order* (or *legitimate authority*) and that of *imperative co-ordination*. By *order*, Weber refers to broad systems of normativity and by *imperative co-ordination* he refers to "the probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) from a given source will be obeyed by a given group of persons" (1947: 324). Thus, imperative co-ordination may be considered as one of the mechanisms through which a legitimate order exercises its authority over a given group.

The authority of various legitimate orders is secured, Weber argues, through either *direct* or *conventional* sanctions. Where an authority retains its legitimacy through being considered binding, it is generally understood that deviation from that authority will result in *direct sanctions* administered through a legal system (e.g. the law) and enforced by "a group of men especially charged with authority for that purpose" (e.g. the police) (Weber, 1978: 75). On the other hand, when an authority is considered exemplary, legitimacy may be retained through *conventional means*; deviation from the authority will likely be met with widespread and "significantly perceptible" disapproval from a social group (ibid). The distinction between law

and convention has been, on the whole, untreated by the organisation studies literature for the simple reason that law is assumed to be a separate system. However, changes in convention may result in changes of law, and as such the two forms of sanction are not completely distinct.

However, often social disapprobation and application of the law are commonly not necessary in order to ensure adherence to the legitimate order. There are two ways in which legitimacy may be guaranteed; through self-interest and on a subjective basis. While self-interest is fairly self-explanatory, the subjective rationalisation of legitimacy is one which Weber broke down into three constituent rationalisations. Firstly, subjective legitimacy may be guaranteed by "merely affectual, or emotional surrender" (ibid: 75); secondly, it may be guaranteed through its being based in religious attitudes (in the broad sense, meaning that the behaviour is "guided by the belief that salvation depends on obedience to authority) and; thirdly, "it may derive from an absolute validity of the authority as an expression of ultimate, binding values of an ethical, aesthetic or of any other kind."(ibid: 75). Most likely, in any given situation, the subject will be 'bound' to the legitimate authority through some combination of the aforementioned compulsions.

Many studies of organisation which draw upon the concept of legitimacy do not cite Weber. It was previously quite common to see Talcott Parsons' 1960 "Structure and Process in Modern Societies", which draws heavily on Weber, cited. It is likely that the preference for Parsons lies in his rather more easily quoted definition of legitimacy as the "appraisal of actions in terms of shared or common values in the context of the involvement of action in the social system" (Parsons, 1960: 175, cited in Dowling and Pfeffer, 1975: 123). Nonetheless, the legacy of Weber in the 'types' of legitimacy invoked by contemporary theorists is considerable. Weber's argument that the legitimacy of an authority may be guaranteed without pressure from other subordinates or the enforcement of the law has become the centrepiece of contemporary legitimacy. Weber, as previously outlined, argued that this may occur through the mechanisms of self-interest and/or on a subjective basis. Self-interest has become the paradigm governing the understanding of legitimacy within the resource-exchange paradigm (although this is often, without need, restricted to economic self-interest (Kraaijenbrink, Spender, & Groen 2010)), Further to this, the notion of absolute validity (one of Weber's three bases of subjective granting of legitimacy) is the central premise of normative approaches to legitimacy, with normative/moral legitimacy being one of the most commonly cited forms (Suchman 1995). Therefore, shades of Weber underpin many of the more contemporary theoretical constructs of legitimacy in organisation studies.

1975-1991 - Strategic/Institutional Divide

It was not until 1975 that the concept of legitimacy was adopted within the fledgling organisation studies literature. This literature on legitimacy is traditionally characterised by two approaches; the strategic approach and the institutional approach (Suchman 1995). The prevalent interest in the 1975-1991 period, across business and sociological literatures, on the evolving nature of the relationship between business and society drove a focus on legitimacy as one of the "survival functions" of organisations, which tied organisations into social and institutional structures (Epstein, E.M. and Votaw, D. 1978). Legitimacy was seen as being important because theorists postulated that organisations could not survive without it. The strategic and institutional approaches to studying legitimacy were both based on the initial understanding of Parsons (1960) that legitimacy was the "appraisal of actions in terms of shared or common values in the context of the involvement of action in the social system" (Parsons 1960: 175, Dowling and Pfeffer 1975:123, cited in). The institutional literature evolves from this perspective to consider how these "shared and common values" come to influence ways of organising, and how this institutional process of congruence establishes organisations as legitimate (cf Meyer and Rowan 1977, DiMaggio and Powell 1983). In contrast, the strategic literature focuses on the process through which the "appraisal of actions" occurs, placing the onus upon the managers of the organisation to identify and ensure that the conditions for legitimacy are met by the organisation (cf Dowling and Pfeffer 1975, Pfeffer 1981).

The strategic approach to legitimacy is indebted to the work of Dowling and Pfeffer (1975). Distinguishing between legitimacy and other organisational factors such as economic stability or legality, Dowling and Pfeffer argue that firms behave in ways which are explicitly aimed at increasing their legitimacy (1975). The review of diverse sociological literatures and the case study presented by Dowling and Pfeffer builds on the previous work of Perrow (1961), who suggests that organisations may actively pursue what he terms 'prestige'. Dowling and Pfeffer seek to explore the particular strategies which are used by organisations to gain legitimacy, these strategies they term 'legitimation'. In their empirical example, Dowling and Pfeffer (1975) examine the case of the American Institute for Foreign Study (AIFS) which seeks to overcome normative opposition concerning the appropriateness of commercial educational organisations. In seeking to legitimate its operations, the AIFS undertakes a series of structuring operations designed to deflect attention from any accusations of 'inappropriateness' through distancing commercial and educational activities and associating educational activities with existing prestigious institutions and individuals. Strategies of legitimation such as these later become central in the efforts of Pfeffer and his colleagues (Dowling and Pfeffer 1975, Pfeffer 1981,

Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978) to understand legitimacy. They focus on 'legitimation' as the primary area of interest, due to their underlying premise that legitimacy is something which is 'done' by organisations. As such, they begin from the argument of Perrow, that "Legitimation is the process whereby an organization justifies to a peer or superordinate system its right to exist, that is to continue to import, transform, and export energy, material, or information" (Perrow 1961, in Maurer 1971: 361).

In this period, two further studies of organisation were produced which closely relate to the study of legitimation. First, Pfeffer (along with another contributor, Salancik) produced a book outlining how organisations were controlled through external sources through their resource dependence (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) establish the resource-dependence approach, a perspective which emphasises the extent to which organisations are externally controlled by their resource environments. In the content of this widely cited work, legitimacy exists as one of the mechanisms by which this external control is guaranteed; if the organisation does not attempt to accept or engage with its environment, then it will lose the legitimacy it requires to survive. Second, Miles and Cameron (1982) produce an extended empirical account of the efforts of the tobacco industry to counter increasing levels of scientific proof that their core product is dangerous to health. This account of an industry-wide response to an external threat does not directly seek to contribute to the legitimacy literature, but now serves as one of the enduring examples of legitimation in the face of growing normative opposition to core organisational activities. The case is especially interesting because of the conflicting priorities, and therefore legitimacy assessments, of the US government. Although the government is provided with extensive scientific evidence that smoking causes cancer, it encounters pragmatic opposition to plans opposing the industry because of the level of federal income produced through the taxation of cigarettes. This highlights the complexity inherent in legitimacy judgements and, correspondingly, in the legitimation efforts of organisations.

The second major theoretical step forward in the strategic literature came with the argument that legitimation could be achieved through both substantive and symbolic means, as outlined in the typology section (Richardson 1985). Richardson argues that substantive legitimation methods are based upon the premise that 'true' legitimacy can only be achieved through democratic negotiation finding the organisation to be commensurate with a 'true legitimate order'. As such, substantive legitimation is based on the "transformation of actions to conform to social values" (1985: 145). On the other hand, those firms unwilling or unable to substantively conform their organisation with expected social forms and norms may pursue

symbolic legitimation. Symbolic legitimation, it is argued, constituted the effort to *appear* in substantive conformance with legitimacy demands through symbolic means (Richardson 1985).

In 1990, the conceptualisation of strategic legitimacy moves away from the moral distinctions highlighted by Richardson (concerning whether or not a single 'legitimate order' existed) to focus on the situational applications of various legitimation strategies. Ashforth and Gibbs (1990) elaborate a framework of strategic legitimation by identifying four methods of substantive management and six methods of symbolically managing legitimacy, which have since been extensively empirically explored within the field.

Substantive Legitimation Methods	Symbolic Legitimation Methods
Role Performance	Associating illegitimate actions with legitimate factors
Isomorphism	Denial
Altering Resource Dependency	Concealment
Influencing Social Values	Espousing socially acceptable values
	Reframing offending incident
	Distracting attention by highly visible legitimate action

Communication-based methods of symbolic legitimation

TABLE 1 - ASHFORTH AND GIBBS STRATEGIES FOR LEGITIMATION

Ashforth and Gibbs (1990) theorise that organisations can pursue substantive legitimation through four methods. First, an organisation can gain legitimacy by either conforming substantively, through performing the role expected by the institutional environment ('role performance'). Second, it can gain legitimacy through forcibly altering organisational structure to meet external expectations ('isomorphism'). Third, the organisation can alter its resource dependency, that is, reform the resource environment to reduce conflict with the institutional environment. Fourth, rather than aligning internally with external values, the organisation might seek to influence the social values which conflict with corporate goals. However, each of these substantive legitimation techniques can be limited in its applicability or efficacy in certain situations. Bringing the values and practices of an organisation into alignment with resource partners or external norms may prove detrimental (or oppositional) to the achievement of organisational goals, and the necessity of maintaining conformity with a wide array of stakeholders can force the organisation to operate 'hypocritically'. This was illustrated by Brunsson (1989), who argues that organisations systematically behave in hypocritical ways (by

making statements and carrying out actions which explicitly conflicted with one another) in order to simultaneously meet the demands of their resource and institutional environments. Brunsson's 'hypocrisy' refers to an inconsistency between an organisation's talk, decisions and actions. Furthermore, while in certain situations there may be scope for organisations to tailor their stakeholder relations to align them with organisational values, such as in Ruef and Scott's evaluation of hospital accreditation sources discussed in the typologies section (1998), many organisations may be limited by their scope or industrial nature. Finally, while altering socially institutionalised practices has been studied within the tobacco industry (Miles and Cameron 1982), Epstein and Votaw point out in their book *Rationality, Legitimacy and Responsibility* that internal factors are usually much easier to manipulate than external values (1978).

In situations where the substantive management of legitimacy is restricted due to organisational factors, Ashforth and Gibbs argue that symbolic management can be an effective way of staving off challenges to legitimacy (1990). They propose six methods of 'symbolic legitimation'. The primary method of symbolically discouraging interested stakeholders from negative legitimacy judgements is through associating the area of organisational activity which is (likely to be) perceived as illegitimate with legitimate practice, symbols or actors. However, the majority of methods of symbolic legitimation proposed by Ashforth and Gibbs rely on the communication between organisation and stakeholder, as can be seen in Table 1 on the previous page. The second method of symbolically legitimating an organisation is to deny the offending action or situation, the third being to attempt to actively conceal the action or situation. The fourth method of symbolic legitimation is to openly espouse socially acceptable values; to stress in communication with stakeholders that the organisation is committed to ends which are normatively appropriate. The fifth method is to reframe the offending action or situation; to offer an explanation which accounts for the illegitimate feature in legitimate ways. The final method of symbolically legitimating an organisation is to engage in highly visible legitimate practices as a way of potentially distracting stakeholder attention from illegitimate actions or situations. The strategic literature as a whole is based on an agentic conceptualisation of legitimacy, on the notion that legitimacy can be achieved through organisations and managers exercising their agency, and as such it has generated a comprehensive taxonomy of principles and management methods related to the building, maintenance and protection of legitimacy.

In an alternative approach taken between 1975 and 1991, a different group of scholars adopted an approach which has been characterised as the *institutional* approach to legitimacy. Where strategic approaches focus on the managerial aim of how to purposefully align organisational

and institutional values, institutional approaches focus on how normative structures determine organisational structure and activity. Viewed from this perspective, legitimacy is something which is naturally conferred on organisations, rather than something which is primarily pursued or captured through the actions of managers. Institutional theorists see legitimacy as a naturalised congruence between organisational and institutional values, rather than as an organisational resource which can be manipulated. The influential work of the early institutional legitimacy theorists emphasises how organisational legitimacy can be achieved through the decoupling of formal structure from organisational activity (Meyer and Rowan 1977) and on the pervasiveness of isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983).

Meyer and Rowan, building upon the earlier construct of institutionalised rules (Bergerand Luckmann 1967), argue that the formal structure of organisations arises as a result of institutional pressures (1977). They preface their theoretical discussion by arguing that, as a result of the need to maintain legitimacy through institutional conformity, "the formal structures of many organizations in postindustrial society dramatically reflect the myths of their institutional environments instead of the demands of their work activities" (Meyer and Rowan 1977: 341). They therefore draw a distinction between the institutional environment (and normative pressures) and the resource environment (and efficiency pressures). In particular, they state that institutional rules function as 'rational myths' which organisations incorporate and, in so doing, gain legitimacy. In order to achieve this, formal structure and actual organisational activity may become decoupled, such that organisations operate under logics of good faith, rather than operating strict formalised controls on activity. This enables the organisation to be perceived as legitimate by the environment through its conformity with those norms ascribing appropriate organisational form, while maintaining a degree of adaptability to the resource environment.

Di Maggio and Powell (1983) advance the institutional agenda by specifying the mechanisms through which formal structure comes to reflect institutional rules. They theorise that the individual rationality of organisational members comes into alignment with collective institutional rationality as an area of organisational activity emerges as a coherent 'field' with shared normative foundations. As individually rational actors seek to further their organisation within the newly constituted field, they engage in processes of organisational isomorphism to gain organisational legitimacy. This legitimacy then acts as protection against resource uncertainty and professionalization concerns. This can be illustrated through the empirical work of Kamens (1977), who discusses how the higher level education becomes formalised into the field of Higher Education, which is characterised by shared normative values, and which

subsequently results in the genesis of certification categories (such as 'Bachelor of Arts'). These certification categories, and the symbolic meanings with which they are endowed, act as protection for the field (and individual organisations which adopt these categories) against legitimacy challenges. Three categories of isomorphism are identified by Di Maggio and Powell (1983): coercive (powerful organisations require their resource partners to adopt certain structures or processes); mimetic (in situations of uncertainty, organisations mimic the structures of others perceived as more stable) and; normative (arises from field wide attempts to professionalise and operates through the adoption of professional norms by staff members, and through increased inter-organisational knowledge transfer facilitated by a growth in professional networks). A further theoretical advance made by the institutional literature concerns the recognition of different thresholds of legitimacy related to whether an organisation requires passive acquiescence or active support (Di Maggio 1988).

Post 1988, much of the theoretical and empirical work undertaken in the area of the legitimacy moves away from a tight focus on the institutional premise and towards a perspective which integrated strategic and institutional dimensions. These two literatures, which are frequently characterised as separate (Suchman 1995), share many of the same premises (such as the reliance on Perrow's definition of legitimacy), making integration an incremental step. For example, in Dowling and Pfeffer's 'strategic' article they establish the nature of the relationship between organisation and environment in terms commonly used in more institutional contexts: "Organizations seek to establish congruence between the social values associated with or implied by their activities and the norms of acceptable behavior in the larger social system of which they are a part" (1975: 122). The perspective developed after 1990 can be characterised as the *integrated* approach to legitimacy.

1991-2011 – The Integrated Approach to Legitimacy

The first study to adopt what would come to be termed the integrated approach to legitimacy was Oliver's paper concerning strategic responses to institutional pressures (1991). Recognising that one of the key convergent assumptions of both literatures is the idea that organisations seek legitimacy, Oliver constructs a theoretical model to account for how different types of strategic responses might be related to different types of institutional pressures. The five strategic responses she identifies (aquiescence, compromise, avoidance, defiance and manipulation) are very similar to those developed by Ashforth and Gibbs (1990). She advances theory by purporting that in order to predict the use of these strategic responses, five key features of the institutional pressures must be studied. First, what is the *cause* of the pressure; Second, who are the *constituents* exercising this pressure; Third, what is the *content* of the

pressure, i.e. what norms are being invoked; Fourth, how are the norms which are being exerted *controlled* by the constituents and; Fifth, what is the environmental *context* of the organisation. Oliver (1991) argues that a possession of these facts enables prediction of the strategic responses produced by the firm in order to secure its legitimacy.

Elsbach and Sutton expand the neo-institutionalist literature with an empirical examination of how social movement organisations gain organisational legitimacy through illegitimate actions (Elsbach and Sutton 1992). This study advances the neo-institutionalist agenda by illustrating how organisational actions which remain unexplained by institutional approaches (such as actions which intentionally violate institutional norms) can be accounted for through blending strategic and institutional explanations of legitimation. Elsbach and Sutton's in-depth study of eight illegitimate actions undertaken by two organisations demonstrates a factor which had been absent from purely theoretical studies of legitimacy; the notion that organisations might actively seek to violate social norms in order to gain visibility to a large audience. The reason for adopting this seemingly irrational strategy lies in the inherent tension faced by social movement organisations between their need to be seen as normatively correct, and their associated need to spread awareness of their cause. On the one hand, the best way to be seen as a legitimate spokesperson for a cause is to meet normative expectations. However, Elsbach and Sutton note that meeting normative expectations means that the organisation is unlikely to attract any new supporters, as it will be taken for granted. Thus, in order to attract supporters, which is their primary aim, they must behave illegitimately (to gain visibility) and then seek to ameliorate or justify these illegitimate actions through traditional symbolic legitimation strategies, such as decoupling and offering legitimate accounts of these actions.

Continuing her investigations into the use of legitimation techniques, Elsbach (1994) produced an empirical study of the use of 'verbal accounts' by managers in the California cattle industry to manage perceptions of legitimacy. Through three inductive and deductive examinations of the verbal accounts produced by these managers, Elsbach postulates two previously unknown features of legitimation tactics. First, she finds that the content of the verbal accounts was as important as their 'type' (e.g. acknowledgement/denial). In particular, she argues that such accounts might make references to either institutional or technical features of the organisation, and that each type of content will have a different impact on the audience. Second Elsbach establishes that, in the case of the cattle industry, different types of verbal accounts enjoy different levels of success in defending the legitimacy of the focal organisation. In particular, she suggests that acknowledgements are more effective than denials, that reference to institutionalised characteristics is more effective than reference to technical characteristics and

that accounts combining both of these features are the most effective in securing the legitimacy of the organisation. Furthermore, Elsbach (1994) is the first to highlight the importance of audience *expertise* in determining the successfulness of legitimation techniques.

During the same period, interest was beginning to be paid to the intra-organisational dynamics of legitimacy. Although intra-organisational legitimacy had been recognised as an important dimension of organisational legitimacy as early as the conference upon which Epstein and Votaw based their 1978 book 'Rationality, Legitimacy and Responsibility', it had not received any great empirical attention until Brown's (1994) study of politics, symbolic action and myth-making. Drawing upon Boje (1991) Brown classifies myths as "narratives or extended metaphors which incorporate organizational meanings derived from past activities; they not only create, sustain and legitimate historical, current and future actions, but also shape and conceal political interests and permit organizational actors to rationalize difficult and complex phenomena" (p863). Through an empirical study of a product development process, Brown shows how gaining control of organisational myths through symbolic activity can give sub-organisational groups control over the common understandings (who we are) and activities (what we do) which are key to organisational legitimacy.

Following Suchman's influential meta-review of the literature in 1995, which resulted in the evaluative typology to be discussed in the typologies section on page 48, there was an increased focus on empirically testing the underlying assumptions of legitimacy theory. First, Deephouse undertook an empirical (Deephouse 1996) investigation of the strategies of commercial banks and the reception of those strategies by regulators and the media. This paper seeks to empirically justify the theoretical assumption that isomorphism positively impacts on firm legitimacy. To do this, he examines the conformity of the asset strategies of commercial banks in the Minneapolis-St Paul region over a seven year period and compares with two measures of legitimacy: regulatory and public endorsement. He uses the investment classifications issued by regulators as the measure of regulatory legitimacy, and content analysis of print media sources as the measure of public legitimacy. Through a quantitative analysis of these three factors, Deephouse empirically reinforces the theoretical link between isomorphism and legitimacy proposed by Meyer and Rowan (1977) and Di Maggio and Powell (1983). In the second study looking to empirically verify the theoretical propositions underpinning legitimacy, the relationship between legitimacy and performance is illustrated by Westphal et al in their large-scale examination of the adoption of TQM practices by hospitals (Westphal, Gulati, and Shortell 1997). Using a sample of over 2700 hospitals, Westphal et al illustrate that the uptake of Total Quality Management (TQM) programs, while originally simulated by the promise of efficiency

gains, was largely designed to protect organisational legitimacy. Although 'early adopters' utilise TQM strategies due to efficiency gains, the symbolic importance of adoption soon outstrips any efficiency gains, and 'late adopters' make little or no performance gains from adopting TQM. Thus legitimacy and performance are often unlinked, and maintaining legitimacy might require an organisation to make efficiency 'trade-offs'.

In 1998 three empirical studies of legitimacy, all in healthcare settings, were published; Ruef and Scott (1998), Brown (1998) and Elsbach, Sutton and Principe (1998). Ruef and Scott develop the typology of managerial and technical legitimacy previously discussed through a longitudinal and multi-dimensional study of 143 hospitals over 46 years. This study draws empirical linkages between both forms of legitimacy and organisational survival, conditional upon the nature of the prevailing institutional environment. Brown's study looks at the implementation of an IT system in a healthcare setting, particularly focussing on the sub-organisational political dynamics of narratives. He argues that the "introduction of a new IT system provides opportunities for those associated with it to bolster their status as legitimate members, and (especially in the case of larger systems) can also symbolize the organization's claim to legitimacy in the wider social system" (1998: 38). Although this study primarily contributes to the literature on organisational narratives, it addresses sub-organisational dimensions of legitimacy (in particular the legitimacy of people, groups, narratives and technologies) and treats power explicitly. As such, it provides one of few empirical accounts of the intra-organisational nature of legitimacy, and the extent to which organisational legitimacy may be subject to the political negotiations of organisational members. Finally, Elsbach et al (1998) conduct an empirical study of the impression management used to frame hospital billing practices. Although again not seeking to directly contribute to the legitimacy literature, the study provides an interesting case of an organisation using pre-emptive strategies to deflect potential criticism from stakeholders. They find that the hospitals used forms of anticipatory impression management to "distract, diminish or overwhelm patients' attention to hospital charges" and to "induce emotions that lead patients to simplify their information processing of those charges" (Elsbach, Sutton, and Principe 1998: 68). This raises the question of whether the legitimation tactics of organisations might similarly differ depending on whether the organisation is actively defending against a threat or simply managing on-going legitimacy.

Over the period between 2002 and 2011, the literature on legitimacy diversified from the development of the integrated standpoint. First, there was a further development of the 'new venture' studies, through a series of studies which contest whether legitimacy is essential for new venture survival, and the conditions under which illegitimate organisations might survive.

Second, alongside the linguistic turn in organisation studies more generally, there is a development of language-based approaches to studying legitimacy and legitimation.

The first of the studies in this period to focus on the importance of legitimacy to new venture survival is Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002). Zimmerman and Zeitz argue that the strategic acquisition of legitimacy is a key issue determining the success of new ventures. In their review of existing studies of new venture legitimacy, the authors develop a series of propositions regarding how new ventures might seek to acquire various kinds of legitimacy. In order of achievability for new ventures these are, conformance (conforming with existing social norms), selection (choosing a favourable institutional environment to locate within), manipulation (intervening in the normative environment through innovation or disruption) and creation (forming a new institutional environment, as in the case of new industries). This study was superseded by De Clercq and Voronov (2009), who argue that two separate forms of legitimacy may be crucial to the social acceptance of new ventures. In an insight reminiscent of the empirical argument made by Elsbach and Sutton (1992) concerning the need for cause-related organisations to avoid attaining a 'taken-for-granted' status, De Clerq and Voronov (2009) argue that newcomers face deviating pressures to conform and to stand out. On the one hand, newcomers may seek to acquire *institutional legitimacy* by seeking to 'fit in' with the institutional structures of the field. However, newcomers may also require to deviate from field norms (whether to gain acceptance or to meet resource demands) are as such may be bestowed with *innovative legitimacy*. Further, the authors argue that the 'bestowing' of either kind of legitimacy upon a newcomer may play a role in sustaining or transforming the institutional structures of the field. The importance of legitimacy in justifying new ventures was also later explored by Cornelissen and Clarke (2010) in their theoretical consideration of how opportunities are imagined and rationalized by newcomers.

Each of these studies is based upon the assumption that legitimacy is a necessary condition for organisational survival. This is a theoretical assumption which is implicit across much of the literature, and which is explicitly recognised by Deephouse and Carter (2005). Deephouse and Carter seek to distinguish legitimacy from the closely related concept of reputation through a close examination of the characteristics of each. First, they argue that reputation is conceptualised as relative (firms are judged against one another) whereas legitimacy is understood to exist independently of comparisons. Second, where isomorphism positively influences legitimacy (as was empirically proven in Deephouse 1996), Deephouse and Carter argue that it may damage the standing of high reputation firms. They further argue that good performance positively affects reputation, where no relationship has been found between good

performance and legitimacy. Finally, reputation studies constitute an attempt to fuse economic and sociological approaches to understanding public-firm interactions (as in the case of Fombrun and Shanley 1990), which constitutes a different approach to the sociological construction of legitimacy, which is less based on economic rationales.

However, despite the implicit (and explicit) assumptions that legitimacy is a necessary condition for organisational survival, in this period attention was also beginning to be paid to organisations which were able persist despite being, apparently, legitimate. Hudson (2008) investigates the under-explored area of negative social evaluations, of organisations which persist despite illegitimacy. This paper constitutes the first effort to integrate the associated theory on 'organisational stigma' into the legitimacy literature. Organisational stigma is defined by Hudson as a ""spoiled image" in the perceptions of external observers of the organization" (2008: 254). In contrast to studies which argue that legitimacy was required for organisational survival, and that illegitimacy is simply defined as a lack of legitimacy (Deephouse and Carter 2005), this theoretical review argues that illegitimate (or 'stimatized') organisations not only persist, but may differ in the character of their illegitimacy. They propose a distinction between the stigma which is attached to certain organisational 'events', to discrete episodes (event stigma), and that which is attached to the central nature of the organisation (core stigma). They argue that researching core stigmatized organisations may provide valuable general insights, for many types of organisations are likely to face stigma from certain audiences, whilst being more generally considered legitimate.

Hudson followed up this theoretical paper with an empirical study which explores the persistence of core-stigmatized organisations (Hudson and Okhuysen 2009). Taking men's bathhouses as the empirical case of a core-stigmatized organisational population, Hudson and Okhuysen examine the tactics which enable these illegitimate organisations to persist. One of the key assumptions of the legitimacy literature is that illegitimate organisations fail because they are unable to maintain relationships with legitimate organisations. This is because it is assumed that illegitimacy may be 'transferred' between organisations which are seen to have a relationship. Of particular interest in this study is the exploration of how such illegitimate organisations set about shielding their partners from the transference of illegitimacy. The authors examine how the men's bathhouses maintain relationships with organisational partners through partitioning the interactions between customers and partners and through perpetuating a sense of ambiguity around their core activities.

Across the period 2005-2011, the legitimacy literature evolved to consider the importance of language and linguistic strategies to the production of legitimacy. The first of the studies to adopt this approach was Suddaby and Greenwood (2005). Taking a close empirical focus on one particular legitimacy struggle, Suddaby and Greenwood focus on the role of rhetoric in legitimation. Their institutional study of the discursive struggle resulting from the purchasing of a law firm by a major accounting firm highlights the extent to which organisations might seek to challenge prevailing norms of 'appropriate organisational form'. Suddaby and Greenwood's data comprises the testimony produced by 193 witnesses in the investigation conducted by the Securities and Exchange Commission into the emerging multi-disciplinary organisational form. Arguing that organisations combat these challenges through rhetorical strategies, the authors argue that both 'institutional vocabularies' and 'theorizations of change' are important to understanding such struggles. By 'institutional vocabularies' they refer to language "used to achieve shifts in logic within institutional fields" (Suddaby and Greenwood 2005: 35-6) and 'theorizations of change' which are described as "broadly stated theorizations about the appropriate scale and pace of change and the role of the [regulatory] agency" (2005: 51). This study illustrates and specifies the ways in which organisational change can be reframed according to different justifications and in different vocabularies, in order to secure organisational legitimacy.

Continuing the emphasis on the language-based aspects of legitimation, Golant and Sillince (2007) reconceptualise legitimacy as a recursive narrative process. Recognising (as Suchman (1995) previously highlighted) that studies of legitimacy tend to rely on either agent-centred (strategic) or on structural (institutional) descriptions of legitimacy construction, Golant and Sillince propose a model which accounts for both of these processes. They argue that the construction of legitimacy depends not only upon the persuasive efforts of managers to shape and promote certain narratives of organisational legitimacy (a strategic view), but also upon the "realization of a taken-for-granted narrative structure" (an institutional view) (Golant and Sillince 2007: 1149). They argue that any study of the workings of legitimacy must consider not only how organisations (and managers therein) attempt to secure legitimacy, but how those attempts are woven into the narrative understandings of stakeholders. The novelty of their approach to conceptualising the fit between strategic and institutional explanations of legitimacy is based upon their theory that legitimation requires realisation of a pre-existing narrative structure.

Erkama and Vaara (2010) also adopt a linguistic approach to legitimacy in their study of the tactics used to legitimate the restructuring of Volvo, which focuses on a plant shutdown.

Although this study primarily seeks to contribute to the literature on organisational restructuring, it develops the literature on legitimacy by proposing five dimensions of rhetorical legitimation based upon insights from their empirical case (logos, pathos, ethos, autopoesis and cosmos). Vaara follows this study with a second empirical examination of legitimation and organisational change, focussing this time upon the formation of cross-border mergers in the creation of Nordea, a financial services group. This study primarily seeks to contribute to the narrative literature by proposing an explanation of how antenarratives are used to legitimate and resist change. However, it is also of interest to the legitimacy literature as it demonstrates the importance of cultural, as well as institutional, narratives to organisational legitimacy. In the case of Nordea, nationalist and Nordic forms of storytelling are key to the efforts of organisational members to legitimate and resist change.

Finally, over the past five years there have been a number of studies which emphasise the importance of legitimacy to organisational decision-making. In a theoretical study of organisational responses to poor performance projections, Desai (2008) argues that legitimacy (alongside age and experience) influences the propensity for risk taking in organisations. Topal (2009) argues that legitimating tactics are a key factor determining the outcomes of public hearings. The presence of such tactics, and the expertise which can be developed therein, leads to public hearings being used to gain legitimacy for the exercising of state and institutional power, rather than for fulfilling their espoused democratic purpose (Topal 2009). The workings of legitimacy are also used to describe how design knowledge development ventures gain 'good currency', in other words, how the reflective cycle necessary for good design comes to be enacted (or not) by its participants (Heusinkveld and Reijers 2009). In this study, Heusinkveld and Reijers explore how legitimacy dynamics shape the evolution of the 'reflective cycle' which structures the design knowledge development process, enabling the process to be seen as legitimate. Desai (2011) examines how firms respond to challenges to the legitimacy of organisations in the same field, or to challenges to the legitimacy of the industry as a whole. Using a sample of railroad firms as the empirical case, Desai argues that the propensity of firms to respond with tactics of legitimation to a legitimacy challenge of another organisation depends upon the similarities between the two organisations, and the nature of the legitimacy challenge. Specifically, he posits that organisations are less likely to respond to the legitimacy predicaments of others when they share prominent characteristics, and that organisations are more likely to respond to challenges which create 'disturbances' in the field when there is a greater level of scrutiny concerning the focal issue, or when the challenge has been externally induced. Finally, Cowen and Marcel (2011) study the decisions of organisational boards to dismiss reputationally compromised directors. Although this study is primarily interested in the

reputational difficulties of individuals, and the responses of boards to these difficulties, it is also of interest to legitimacy. This is primarily because the authors locate the board decisions as being based in a consideration of the effect of the reputational compromise on the ability of the organisation to secure external resources and support. It illustrates the pragmatic importance of resource-based considerations in the construction of decisions which may appear to be normatively grounded.

2011- Present – Emphasising Fit, the Evaluator and Internal Legitimacy

Over the past two years, the literature on legitimacy has been characterised by three developments. First, a number of studies have sought to reframe the discussion of how organisations balance pragmatic and normative/cognitive legitimacy demands through characterising organisational environments as 'contingency-based' and 'institutional'. Second, as briefly outlined in the 'typologies' section of this chapter, there has been a turn to the evaluator, as crossovers between social psychology and organisation studies have caused researchers to question how stakeholders form judgements regarding the appropriateness of organisations. Third, there has been an explicit consideration of internal legitimacy both in terms of its links to identity and in terms of how it is integrated with external legitimacy considerations.

The literature has recently sought to explore how the management of organisational legitimacy is often made difficult because of conflicts between meeting the institutional and resource demands of the organisation, particularly through mobilising the notion of 'fit'. Volberda et al (2011) empirically study the organisational trade-off in prioritising 'institutional fit' (through conforming with the institutional environment) or 'contingency fit' (through conforming with the resource environment). They use a large scale quantitative study of 1904 companies to examine the relationship between contingency and institutional fit. The results of their study show that these two 'fits' are complementary in improving performance, however organisations which prioritise one fit over another (for example, by optimising contingency fit) perform better. Furthermore, they produce some interesting findings regarding the characteristics of firms which have optimised either contingency or institutional fit. Those firms which optimise contingency fit, which would be more closely related to pragmatic legitimacy, are less likely to compromise institutional fit in the pursuit of performance gains. On the other hand, those firms which optimise institutional fit, more closely related to normative and cognitive legitimacy, are more likely to compromise their performance in the pursuit of contingency fit.

Benner and Ranganathan (2012) provide an excellent explanation of a situation where a firm has chosen to optimise contingency fit for performance reasons, and the impact this has on their legitimacy. They show, through an empirical study of industries undergoing technological change, that firms' adoption of effective new technology (which is encouraged by technological pressures from adaption, i.e. contingency) is inhibited by the negative recommendations of securities analysts, who prefer firms to upgrade existing technology (i.e. institutional pressure not to adopt). The situation is resolved by those firms who do choose to invest in the new technology (i.e. choosing to optimise contingency fit) repurchasing their shares in order to demonstrate alignment with shareholder values (i.e. improving institutional fit to safeguard legitimacy). Contingency fit must be prioritised in order to remain competitive, but this requires the firm to engage in a (largely symbolic) tactic of share repurchasing in order to demonstrate the effectiveness of this strategy, in the face of institutional resistance.

Other than the reframing of the literature in terms of 'fit', the other main development in the contemporary literature has been the development of the 'evaluators' perspective'. Legitimacy is consistently considered to be a 'generalised perception' which is produced through the relations and evaluations of all the organisation's stakeholders; thus "legitimacy ultimately exists in the eye of the beholder" (Zimmerman and Zeitz 2002: 416). Despite this being an accepted truth within the literature, it is only recently that studies have challenged the overwhelming predominance of the literature to adopt the perspective of the manager. Bitektine (2011) pioneers this new perspective, constructing a psychological model of how stakeholders construct social judgements regarding organisations. Other than proposing a model which integrates multiple forms of social evaluations (legitimacy, reputation and status), Bitektine's primary contribution is to identify the two conditions that motivate stakeholders to adopt the legitimacy evaluations of others. He argues that evaluators are likely to surrender their own analysis for the judgement of another in order to satisfy a need for 'cognitive economy' and in the interests of 'institutional conformance' (2011: 174)). Thus, if evaluators are under pressure either to make a speedy judgement, or to agree with the evaluations of other institutional actors, each will lead to an overall homogeneity in the generalised judgement of an organisation's legitimacy.

Closely following Bitektine is Tost's integrative model of legitimacy judgements. Tost (2011) argues that stakeholders make legitimacy judgements along three dimensions (instrumental, relational and moral) and in one of two modes (evaluative or passive). Thus his framework closely corresponds to the 'types of legitimacy' identified by Suchman (pragmatic, moral and cognitive), with Tost including a relational dimension. This relational dimension refers to the

propensity of an evaluator to judge an organisation as legitimate when it reaffirms an aspect of that person's identity through their relationship, or when it reaffirms an identity to which they closely relate. Further to this, Tost emphasises the recursiveness of legitimacy judgements, proposing a model in which each exercise or 'use' of a legitimacy judgement prompts evaluators to reassess their original legitimacy judgement (2011: 694). Finally, Tost argues that 'jolts' to the institutional environment (in the form of innovations), 'contradictions' (between institutional environments) and the reflexivity of the evaluator constitute the main 'prompts' for a re-evaluation of organisational legitimacy.

This increasing focus on the evaluators of legitimacy, rather than the organisation seeking to manage its legitimacy, is reflected in the most recent empirical work on legitimacy. Lamin and Zaheer (2012) study how the legitimating tactics used by firms differ in their efficacy, relative to two different stakeholder groups. They use accusations of sweatshop labour levelled at US corporations between 1990 and 2002 as their data set, and study the responses of the firms challenged, and how well these responses were received by the general public ('Main Street') and the investment community ('Wall Street'). They study the use of four different tactics to defend legitimacy—denial, accommodation, defiance and decoupling—and analyse whether each strategy had a positive or negative effect on the judgements of each stakeholder group. Thus they empirically illustrate that different stakeholder groups judge organisational actions in consistently different ways; "suggesting that these worlds operate by separate moralities in which Main Street appears to privilege fairness as a core value, whereas Wall Street privileges profit" (p47). Where Main Street does not judge any attempts at salvaging legitimacy positively and judges denial and defiance negatively, Wall Street is ambivalent towards all responses except decoupling, which it views positively (Desai 2011).

While studies exploring fit and the evaluator's perspective have focussed on how perceptions of legitimacy have formed externally to the organisation, Brown and Toyoki (2013) and Drori and Honig (2013) have drawn explicit attention to the concept of internal legitimacy. Internal legitimacy is defined as "an ongoing set of individual and social processes manifested in an apparent collective acceptance by its members that their organization is, to some extent, desirable, proper or appropriate" (Brown and Toyoki, 2013: 875). Brown and Toyoki's empirical study of a Swedish prison system highlights the extent to which the identity work of organisational members is implicated in the production of internally ascribed organisational legitimacy. They utilise a discursive approach to identity work, and as such illustrate how prisoners construct their ideas of self by drawing on discourses which sometimes support and sometimes undermine the legitimacy of the prison. By adopting this discursive approach, Brown

and Toyoki produce an understanding of internal legitimacy as continually constructed, and multiply defined. They state that "Individuals do not simply accept or reject the legitimacy of their organizations but construe it in multiple and often contradictory ways through their narrativizations of self" (2013: 890). As such, this article represents a more processual approach to the study of legitimacy than is evident in previous studies. A process-based approach is further emphasised in Drori and Honig's (2013) model of the relationship between internal and external legitimacy. Through a longitudinal study of a creative firm, the authors find that "Internal and external legitimacy evolve through a process of emergence, validation, diffusion and consensus" (2013: 345). The longitudinal nature of this study is particularly important in allowing the authors to explain how the production of legitimacy differs depending on the age and institutional positioning of the firm under study. This study represents an important advance to the literature in three aspects. First, it explicitly argues that the construction of legitimacy occurs as an ongoing process. Second, it argues that this process is dispersed across the organisation. Third, it lays out a model to explain how external legitimacy (which is the focus of the vast majority of the literature) is related to internal legitimacy. Together, these two studies represent a novel, process-based approach to legitimacy which is further developed in this thesis.

ISSUES IN THEORISING LEGITIMACY

Despite the considerable efforts that have been put into refining and developing a 'theory' of legitimacy, there are several inconsistencies and gaps in the literature. I will draw out four of these inconsistencies: whether legitimacy is considered a binary concept; the existence of a sampling bias in the empirical literature; the under-examined difficulties of operationalizing legitimacy and; the problems associated with trying to build a systemic understanding of legitimacy.

Legitimate or Not?

Many authors, including Deephouse and Carter (2005) have argued that legitimacy is distinguished from other forms of social evaluations by its binary nature- An organisation is *either* legitimate or illegitimate. However, this argument is not universally accepted in the literature. As Epstein and Votaw question, "Is illegitimacy correctly perceived as being the absence of legitimacy, as dark is perceived as the absence of light? Is the same message conveyed by illegitimate as by lacks legitimacy?" (1978: 80).

It is possible that legitimacy is primarily considered a binary distinction in the literature because legitimacy has been used to explain the failure rates of new ventures (Aldrich and Fiol

1994). As laid out in the preceding chronological review of the legitimacy literature, legitimacy has been argued by theorists to be one of the 'survival functions' of organisations in their relations with their environments (Epstein and Votaw, 1978). The key assumption of such 'survival function' studies is that organisations either possess or do not possess legitimacy, and that illegitimate organisations are unable to survive. This view is surmised by Epstein and Votaw, who state "if there is one thing on which everything else hangs, it is the dynamics of legitimacy. If you lose legitimacy, you have lost everything. You are an absolute dead duck, no matter how much threat you have." (1978: 71). Legitimacy is therefore commonly discussed as a binary concept; organisations may be either legitimate or illegitimate.

However, despite common assertions that legitimacy is a binary distinction, both the theoretical treatment of legitimacy and the empirical evidence suggests that this distinction is not clear cut. It is quite common to see authors discussing how an organisation which is already legitimate may seek to 'gain legitimacy'. Westphal, Gulati and Shortell (1997) justify why organisations adopt Total Quality Management in the absence of productivity gains by arguing that "later adopters gain legitimacy from adopting the normative form of TQM programs" (p366). Similarly, Heusinkveld and Reijers' (2009) discussion of the need to gain 'good currency' in design knowledge development illustrates an assumption that an already legitimate process may stand to gain or lose legitimacy. If legitimacy is a binary concept (something that an organisation has or not) then to suggest relative increases or decreases in legitimacy would be false. The fact that empirical theorists consistently state that legitimacy has relative properties would suggest that a binary conception of legitimacy is oversimplified in the theory. Furthermore, an organisation may face several distinct 'evaluating communities' that may produce conflicting evaluations of whether or not the organisation is legitimate. Ruef and Scott (1998) argue that, because of the different bases on which legitimacy may be conferred, legitimacy should be considered a multi-dimensional construct, rather than something which an organisation has or not.

It could be the case that the confusion of espousing a binary distinction while speaking of gains is caused by papers not engaging with the distinction between the legitimacy of an organisation, and the legitimacy of its activities. Certain organisational activities may become legitimate or illegitimate, while the (il)legitimacy of the organisation remains static.

However, legitimacy is consistently stated to be a generalised perception, which makes a binary distinction less useful in expressing the nuances of organisational legitimacy. For instance, if an organisation is in a position where it is considered illegitimate by the general public and by

politicians but which is sustained through producing high profits which make it legitimate to owners and customers, does it make theoretical sense to simply label that organisation 'legitimate'? The same argument can be applied to organisations which appear largely illegitimate. There is substantial evidence to show that 'core-stigmatised' organisations (which are illegitimate by Deephouse and Carter's standards) are able to persist in their operations (cf Hudson 2008, Hudson and Okhuysen 2009). If illegitimacy is characterised by the failure of the organisation (as Epstein and Votaw (1978) argue), then such organisations are legitimate, in the same way as organisations with uniformly positive stakeholder evaluations are considered legitimate. As is clear from this brief discussion, the binary character of legitimacy is espoused in theory but not supported by empirical studies.

The Difficulty of Operationalizing Legitimacy

The second issue in the literature is the difficulty associated with operationalizing legitimacy, and the tendency of empirical studies to not articulate this difficulty clearly. Terreberry (1968), in one of the earliest organisational treatments of the concept, deals with this very issue when he states that "legitimacy is mediated by the exchange of resources… The willingness of firm A to contribute to [firm] X... testifies to the legitimacy of X" (p608). As Terreberry identifies, it is an exchange of resources which commonly testifies to the legitimacy of an organisation, not any close examination of the views of stakeholders (which may be implicit). This is why, for instance, an inconsistency exists in the evaluation of whether Hudson and Okhuysen's (2009) bathhouses are illegitimate (because they are socially stigmatised and considered 'inappropriate') or legitimate (because they continue to receive resources). This difficulty arises because legitimacy is commonly used to explain the mechanism through which certain activities of organizations are correlated with certain external benefits; because when organisations are judged to be legitimate they are granted access to desired resources. This mechanism is inferred, rather than empirically studied. It is implied, for example, that Cheit's (1971) managers cultivate social responsibility so that their organisation receives less attention from regulators, and that this reduction in attention is because they have increased their legitimacy. In this study, as in others which operationalize legitimacy to explain the linkages between appropriate organisational actions and positive organisational outcomes, no empirical proof of legitimacy is provided, it is simply implied in the realization of the positive outcome.

One of the difficulties of studying legitimacy directly is that, because it exists only in its realization as tangible benefit to the organization, survival is often taken as proof of legitimacy (Hudson 2008). Similarly, as highlighted in the preceding section, if legitimacy is regarded as a binary distinction then the proof of illegitimacy is organisational failure. This perhaps further

explains why 'legitimacy' has not gained currency as a concept within the practitioner sphere: In the academic field the term functions as a theoretical link between the evaluations of stakeholders and organisational outcomes, whereas practitioners focus on gaining *specific organizational benefits*, not on gaining the *generalised legitimacy* which may mediate access to these resources. However, the distinction between legitimacy and organisational benefits, and the practitioner perspective, is not often addressed by empirical researchers looking to operationalize the term, and as such the ability of those empirical studies to develop a close understanding of the basis upon which legitimacy is established may be inhibited. If survival is taken as proof of legitimacy (and failure as proof of illegitimacy) then many complexities in terms of conflicting evaluations and power relations may be ignored. Furthermore, if legitimacy is less important to practitioners than the resources it provides access to, and as such it functions purely as a theoretical link, then to speak of legitimacy as something organisations actively pursue and may 'possess' may be misleading.

Sampling Bias in the Legitimacy Literature

Perhaps the biggest issue with the legitimacy literature is the lack of empirical studies of legitimate organisations. In other words, empirical studies of legitimacy almost always use organisations which are threatened with illegitimacy as their sample. The focus on organisations facing legitimacy challenges could be once again due to tendency of extant studies to treat legitimacy as a 'survival function' of business, and therefore to assume that legitimacy is only important in its absence. The focus on organisations facing challenges to their legitimacy could also be explained in terms of both accessibility to data (which will likely be easier when an organisation's legitimacy is being publicly debated) and in terms of providing interesting cases. However, given that legitimacy has been shown to be a complex, multi-dimensional construct (Ruef and Scott 1998), organisations might be continuously seeking to ameliorate legitimacy conflicts, whether between their institutional and resource environment, or even between institutional environments. These organisations are actively involved in managing their legitimacy, but are not the type of organisation commonly sampled in the literature. This sampling bias has created a body of literature which is equipped only to explain how organisations in positions of normative uncertainty manage their legitimacy. There is little evidence to show if and how organisations manage their legitimacy on an on-going basis.

Another sampling bias further limits the scope of the literature. Empirical studies often use as their 'sample' situations where the focal organisation is responding to the legitimacy requirements of a single evaluating community (such as a regulator, or the press). In such situations it is simpler to determine the basis upon which legitimacy judgements are made,

however such situations are not necessarily representative. Organisations continually manage their legitimacy in the face of a far broader set of evaluating communities with less determinable legitimacy requirements, making legitimacy itself usually a highly complex phenomenon. This is the problem that Palazzo and Scherer identify when they talk of the need to study "organizations in processes of active justification vis-à-vis society rather than simply responding to the demand of powerful groups" (2006: 71). Drori and Honig's (2013) study of a dotcom enterprise over its complete lifecycle illustrates the diversity of findings which can be produced from a longitudinal approach to data sampling. As such, this sampling bias may have led to a tendency to theorise legitimacy as more determinable than a wider sample may have suggested, as the evaluations of single powerful stakeholder groups are generally regarded as synonymous with organisational legitimacy.

How is Legitimacy Generalised?

"… times have changed and corporate legitimacy is now in the hands of all the company's stakeholders"

(Johnson and Holub 2003: 269)

The issue of how individual stakeholder judgements, once made, are agglomerated into a generalised perception of legitimacy has, perhaps surprisingly, received little attention in the literature. The turn to the 'evaluators perspective' has led to theoretical examination of how individual stakeholder examinations are produced, but not to how these individual evaluations are agglomerated into organisational legitimacy. The quote above comes from an article which explores how the economically efficient practice of several US companies moving their headquarters 'offshore' to reduce their tax bills became the subject of a public outcry and, despite being legally and economically legitimate, was eventually abandoned and reversed by the sample of companies which had pursued it (Johnson and Holub 2003). This study comes from a body of literature closely related to that of legitimacy, that being the study of stakeholder groups and their relative importance (or 'salience'). Given that legitimacy is produced through the generalisation of the judgements made by individual evaluators, the literature on stakeholder salience must be considered key to understanding how legitimacy is produced. The Johnson and Holub study is somewhat of an exception in the empirical studies of stakeholder salience, as the 'general public' does not usually emerge as the most 'salient' stakeholder. This role is usually reserved for stakeholders such as the press, which are sometimes seen as a proxy for public opinion (Lamin and Zaheer 2012).

The question of how to deal with the distinction between individual evaluations and generalised perceptions of legitimacy remains unresolved, despite some studies of legitimacy identifying complex constellations of stakeholder judgements (with evolving salience) being implicated in organisational legitimacy. The issue of stakeholder salience was initially brought into empirical studies of legitimacy by Ruef and Scott (1998). In their study of how hospitals use managerial and technical forms of legitimacy to survive, they argue that "All legitimacy assessments are not of equal importance. In the case of hospitals, normative assessments by industry-wide professional associations have more salience than do regulative or cognitive assessments, at least during the post-World-War-ll period" (p880). In this study, the authors show that the levels and character of stakeholder salience for different organisational consistencies change over time, the visible outcome of these changes being a shift in the form of legitimacy optimised by the hospitals. However, outside of the legitimacy literature there is also a substantial literature on salience, which identifies other factors relevant to the production of legitimacy. Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) explain the salience of different stakeholder groups based on their power (to influence the firm), the legitimacy (of their relationship with the firm) and the urgency (of their claim on the firm). This study departs from previous theories of salience through its differentiation of power and legitimacy (and their integration into a model) and the recognition of the importance of time (i.e. urgency) alongside these other two influences.

Issues of power, relationship legitimacy and urgency are currently not addressed in studies of legitimacy. Incorporating such factors could result in a more detailed model of how stakeholder judgements are implicated in legitimacy. Such a model might be helpful in explaining how, in cases such as Ruef and Scott's (1998) hospitals, the judgements of the stakeholders with the most legitimate claim on evaluating the organisation (such as the public) have less of an effect on organisational legitimacy than those with less legitimate, although more urgent, claims (such as the press). However, attempts to rework theory in a 'normative fashion'; to explore how and why certain stakeholders are more or less represented in organisational legitimacy, have encountered resistance. This has come from researchers such as Gioia (1999), who has retorted that "Everyone with any important decision experience in a business organization knows that the constellation of legitimate stakeholder interests cannot be weighted equally when making corporate decisions. It is pragmatically naive to suggest otherwise" (p229). It is clear that while legitimacy is theoretically 'generalized' across all stakeholder groups, a theory of legitimacy must also account for practical situations where, in fact, certain stakeholder groups have a vastly disproportional influence on the pragmatic, normative or cognitive legitimacy of the organisation.

TYPOLOGIES OF LEGITIMACY

Despite constituting something of an "anchor point", linking institutional structures into theories of organisational action (Suchman 1995: 571), Suchman argues that legitimacy is widely invoked yet rarely defined. Several of the problems inhibiting a close definition of legitimacy have now been discussed. However, a greater issue impeding a universalistic definition of legitimacy is the multiple theoretical positions that can be taken with regard to how legitimacy is constructed, and how these 'constructions', of desirability, properness or appropriateness, are related to one another in the generalised perception of organisational legitimacy (Suchman 1995: 574). Before moving on to define legitimacy for the purposes of this study, I will review the most important typologies used to develop the concept of legitimacy.

The first major typology to be identified in the legitimacy literature was developed by Richardson (1985) through an empirical examination of legitimation tactics in the medical profession. Arguing that "It is useful to conceptualize legitimation as a process of semiosis which links the value-standards of society to particular acts and relations" (1985: 141-2), Richardson distinguishes between *symbolic* and *substantive* legitimation. Substantive legitimation involves "the structural transformation of action to conform to social values", it is the altering of an action in a conscious effort to ensure that it is legitimate in relation to the evaluating community (or society at large) (Richardson 1985:145). Symbolic legitimation, on the other hand, is "the symbolic transformation of the identity or meaning of acts to conform to social values" is seen as being dependent upon the perceptions of stakeholders regarding the legitimacy of an act or relation, regardless of the 'actual' (substantive) appropriateness of that act or relation (1985: 142). In this study, the legitimacy of the medical profession depends upon managing these perceptions, whether through the controlling of information, the use of cultural symbols to signify appropriateness or the use of ideologies to restrict the evaluations which could be made of professional legitimacy. The differentiation between symbolic and substantive legitimation identified by Richardson (1985) continues to be utilised by legitimacy scholars to distinguish between those activities aimed at conforming the act or organisation to society and those which aim at creating that impression, although much of the more recent literature on legitimation tends towards an examination of symbolic practices (e.g. Ashforth and Gibbs, 1990).

The second influential typology of legitimacy is proposed by Aldrich and Fiol in their 1994 study of emerging industries. Aldrich and Fiol use legitimacy as a means of explaining the 'liability of newness' phenomenon; the tendency of first movers in a new industry to fail. In this study they make the first distinction between *cognitive* and *sociopolitical* legitimacy. Cognitive legitimacy is defined as how 'taken for granted' a new organisational form is, and sociopolitical legitimacy is

defined as "the extent to which a new form conforms to recognised principles or accepted rules and standards" (Aldrich and Fiol 1994: 645-6). In this context, legitimation refers both to the "spread of knowledge" regarding a new venture (cognitive legitimation) and to "the process by which key stakeholders, the general public, key opinion leaders, or government officials accept a venture as appropriate and right, given existing norms and laws" (socio-political legitimation) (1994: 648). Aldrich and Fiol succeed in making explicit a distinction between legitimacy which is automatically granted or refused (cognitive) and legitimacy which is conferred through a purposeful consideration of socio-political factors.

In his 1995 meta-review of legitimacy studies Suchman refines this distinction by developing a typology which explicitly defines legitimacy in terms of the purposefulness of legitimacy judgements. Suchman argues that legitimacy judgements might be made: According to an explicit consideration of the practical benefit of the organisation to the judging entity; by relation to moral considerations of 'properness'; or might be unconscious judgements related to the 'taken for grantedness' of the organisation. These he respectively refers to as *pragmatic*, *moral* and *cognitive* legitimacy. Pragmatic legitimacy is conferred by an audience for reasons of self-interest; the focal organisation is considered legitimate because it serves a purpose which benefits the evaluating bodies. Moral legitimacy, similarly to Aldrich and Fiol's socio-political legitimacy, depends upon the normative judgements made by the evaluating bodies and cognitive legitimacy is the unconscious 'taken for grantedness' of the focal organisation (as with Aldrich and Fiol). The distinction of pragmatic, moral (/normative) and cognitive legitimacy is one which continues to persist in the literature. It has proved particularly influential because it explicitly recognises the importance of purposefulness to understanding legitimacy judgements, which had previously been only implicitly (and therefore, unevenly) recognised in the literature. Suchman's typology is the structure adopted by later important studies such as Ruef and Scott (1998) and Golant and Sillince (2007).

A further typology which has proved influential in directing the study of legitimacy is Ruef and Scott's (1998) distinction between *managerial* and *technical* legitimacy. Unlike the typologies discussed above, Ruef and Scott's distinction lies in the nature of the activities being evaluated, rather than in the character of that evaluation. In their longitudinal study of managing hospital legitimacy, Ruef and Scott emphasise that the legitimacy of a hospital depends upon the evaluation of the legitimacy of two different aspects of organisational activity. The first of these is managerial legitimacy, which "involves normative support for organizational mechanisms such as personnel management, accounting practices, and the rules of conduct and structure of the administrative staff" (Ruef and Scott 1998: 881-2). This dimension of legitimacy is

dependent on the evaluation of the systems by which managerial control is maintained within the organisation. This is considered as distinct from technical legitimacy, which is "focussed on aspects of core technology, including normative support for staff qualifications, training programs, work procedures and quality assurance mechanisms" (ibid). Technical legitimacy is therefore based on an evaluation of the technical processes that co-ordinate organisational activity. In the case of hospitals (which formed the basis of Ruef and Scott's study) the demarcation between managerial and technical legitimacy is exaggerated because not only are these systems/processes different, but they are also operated by different staffing groups. Managers and administrators are responsible for those activities which are evaluated according to managerial standards of legitimacy, whereas doctors and other medical staff are responsible for those activities which are evaluated according to technical standards of legitimacy. Recognising that legitimacy might be constructed on different bases, Ruef and Scott argue that legitimacy should be conceptualised as a multi-dimensional model, rather than as a unitary concept. A comprehensive list of recent typologies is listed in the table overleaf, which is reproduced from Bitektine (2011: 154).

Legitimacy Typologies in the Extant Literature

Legitimacy Typologies	References
• Pragmatic legitimacy (based on self-interested calculations) • Moral legitimacy (based on normative approval) • Cognitive legitimacy (based on taken-for-grantedness)	Johnson & Holub (2003), Zyglidopoulos (2003)
• Internal legitimacy (with organization's insiders) versus • External legitimacy (with organization's external constituents)	Kostova & Roth (2002), Kostova & Zaheer (1999)
• Cognitive legitimacy (based on taken-for-grantedness) • Pragmatic legitimacy (based on self-interested calculations)	Foreman & Whetten (2002)
• Managerial legitimacy (based on efficiency logic) versus • Technical legitimacy (based on technology, quality, and qualifications)	Ruef & Scott (1998)
• Moral legitimacy (moral approval of most members of society) versus • Pragmatic legitimacy (based on self-interest)	Barron (1998)
• Media legitimacy (equated with legitimacy with the general public) • Regulatory legitimacy (legitimacy with government regulators)	Deephouse (1996)
• Procedural legitimacy (based on soundness of procedures) • Consequential legitimacy (based on the evaluation of outcomes) • Structural legitimacy (based on the evaluation of the organization's structure) • Personal legitimacy (based on the charisma of leaders) • Pragmatic legitimacy (based on self-interested calculations) • Moral legitimacy (based on normative approval)	Suchman (1995)
• Cognitive legitimacy (based on taken-for-grantedness) versus • Sociopolitical/evaluative legitimacy (based on existing norms and laws)	Aldrich & Fiol (1994), Golant & Sillince (2007)
• Sociopolitical regulatory legitimacy (= regulative legitimacy, based on existing norms and laws) • Sociopolitical normative legitimacy (= normative legitimacy, based on existing rules and laws) • Cognitive legitimacy (based on taken-for-grantedness)	Scott (1995), Zimmerman & Zeitz (2002)

FIGURE 4 - TYPOLOGIES OF LEGITIMACY (BITEKTINE, 2011: 154)

DEFINING LEGITIMACY

The typologies presented above focus on the character of the evaluation being made (Suchman 1995, Aldrich and Fiol 1994, Richardson 1985) or upon the activities being evaluated (Ruef and Scott 1998). The most recent turn in the literature has been to a focus on the evaluator; theorising from the perspective of the person engaged in evaluating organisational legitimacy. In 2011, Bitektine published a study which introduced the evaluators' perspective. Bitektine argues that legitimacy studies tend to pose the question 'how can managers go about achieving legitimacy for their organisation'. Studies adopting the perspective of the evaluator seek to ask the previously neglected question of 'how do stakeholders make judgements regarding the legitimacy of organisations'. In asking how stakeholders make judgements, these authors argue that legitimacy is just one of several possible evaluations (such as reputation and status) that might be made. Thus, the final typological evolution in the legitimacy literature has been the identification of the 'evaluator's perspective' as a key route of inquiry, and the argument that legitimacy represents just one form of social judgement, alongside reputation and status.

The majority of theoretical conceptualisations regarding 'types' of legitimacy have been additive. In the earliest study presented, Richardson (1985) argues that organisations might achieve legitimacy through symbolic or substantive activities. Aldrich and Fiol (1994) consider how the judgements by which such legitimacy is produced might be made on a cognitive or socio-political basis. Suchman develops this typology be incorporating a third 'type' of legitimacy which reflects the self-interested nature of many organisational evaluators, pragmatic legitimacy. Ruef and Scott (1998) broaden theorising on legitimacy by considering that legitimacy might be otherwise typified by the organisational activity being evaluated. As such, they argue that an organisation might be subject to evaluations concerning both their technical and their managerial legitimacy. Finally, Bitektine (2011) typifies legitimacy by reference to the perspective of the evaluator, leading him to consider legitimacy one of several types of social judgements which might be made regarding an organisation. According to this review, legitimacy can be characterised along four dimensions illustrated in the figure below.

Legitimacy can firstly be characterised based upon the focal organisation (referred to as the 'legitimating body' in the figure above). Several dimensions of the focal organisation are key to determining its legitimacy, such as the institutional and resource environments within which it operates, and the range of stakeholders with whom it engages. Studies which focus upon the focal organisation tend to emphasise the purposeful 'legitimation strategies' used by managers to secure organisational legitimacy (Ashforth and Gibbs, 1990).

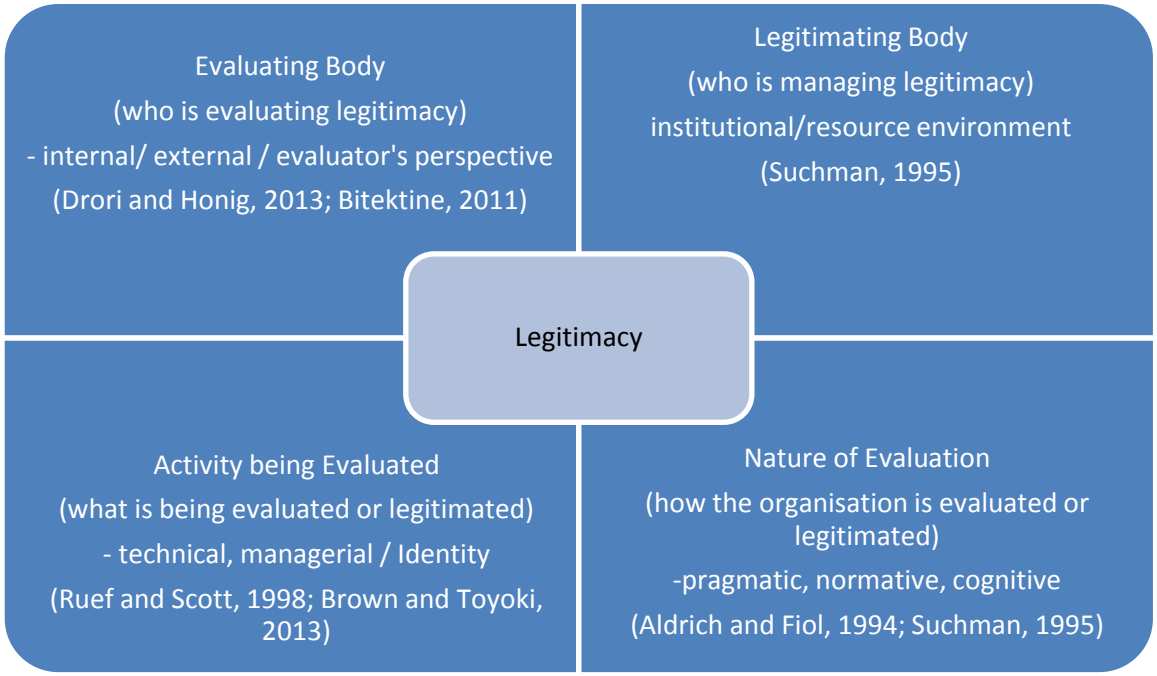


FIGURE 5 - CHARACTERISING LEGITIMACY

Legitimacy can secondly be characterised by the nature of the evaluation process (referred to as 'nature of evaluation' in the figure above). Many of the theoretical models of legitimacy developed in organisation studies have focussed upon the different bases for legitimacy judgements (Suchman, 1995). This stream of literature has resulted in a relative consensus that legitimacy may be made according to pragmatic, normative or cognitive rationales. That is, evaluating bodies may make conscious judgements of organisational legitimacy according to self-interested rationales (pragmatic legitimacy) or with recourse to normative criteria (normative legitimacy), or they may unconsciously regard the organisation legitimate because of its 'taken for grantedness' (cognitive legitimacy).

The third way in which legitimacy can be characterised is by the type of organisational activity being evaluated (referred to as 'activity being evaluated' in the figure above). As Ruef and Scott (1998) highlight in their study of hospital legitimacy that organisations may be evaluated in the basis of their managerial systems, or their technical processes. In this case, hospitals may be evaluated on the efficiency of administrative systems controlled by manager, and on the basis of clinical processes managed by doctors and other medical professionals. Furthermore, as Brown and Toyoki (2013) illustrate, the evaluation of organisational legitimacy (or activities therein)

may also be closely related to organisational members construction of identity-relevant narratives, particularly in the case of internally ascribed organisational legitimacy.

The final way in which legitimacy might be characterised is through reference to the 'evaluating body' (or organisational 'audience'). Authors advocating the 'evaluator's perspective' (cf Bitektine, 2011) have argued that the character of organisational legitimacy can only be accurately understood when the institutional conditions and cognitive processes of the evaluator are considered. In order to understand and define legitimacy, the theory must therefore encompass who is evaluating the organisation, what activities they are basing their evaluation on, how they are conducting that evaluation and, finally, the particular institutional and resource environments of the focal organisation.

TREATING LEGITIMACY AS A BELONGING

Over the past 45 years, interest in organisational legitimacy has evolved from a broad argument in sociology concerning the relation between firms and their environments into a burgeoning theoretical and empirical literature within organisation studies. It can be characterised as having addressed the *who,* the *what* and the *how* of the process whereby organisations are judged to be legitimate (or not) by stakeholders grouped into organisational audiences. Advances in the literature have largely been additive, with successive authors seeking to rework earlier theory in the light of new empirical material, and a single definition of legitimacy is now consistently adopted by studies investigating the concept. This definition considers legitimacy to be "the generalised perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions" (Suchman 1995: 574). However, there is considerable complexity in the empirical realisation of legitimacy. The judgements of stakeholders might be made with various purposefulness (Suchman 1995), in relation to various different activities and/or structures of the organisation (Ruef and Scott 1998) and in response to any number of verbal accounts issued by the organisation (Elsbach 1994). Furthermore, these judgements may be generalised in a variety of ways, dependent upon the character and power of the stakeholders making legitimacy judgements, and the urgency and validity of their claim on the organisation (Mitchell, Agle, and Wood 1997). Finally, these judgements might be linked to a variety of different organisational outcomes, dependent upon the contingency and institutional fit of the organisation (Lamin and Zaheer 2012), and the tactics managers use to combat these legitimacy judgements (Ashforth and Gibbs 1990).

The tensions identified in discussions of legitimacy are a result of the neglect of the epistemological foundations of legitimacy; the dominant motif throughout the literature is one of possession. Legitimacy is subject to the epistemological positioning of the theoretical and empirical researchers who study it. This became clear to me throughout my ethnographic study of Dundee Rep, as I identified a disconnect between the perspective taken in the literature, and the ways that legitimacy was produced in the theatre. It is the contention of this section that both empirical and theoretical studies commonly treat legitimacy as something which can be and should be possessed by organisations. I label such an epistemological approach 'legitimacy-as-belonging' and characterise it as one in which legitimacy is regarded as a defined competitive resource, the protection of which is primarily the preserve of management, primarily through strategic rhetorical forms of legitimation. In outlining how legitimacy is commonly regarded as 'a belonging' within the literature, I will explore each of these tendencies in turn.

The primary way in which the literature treats legitimacy as a belonging is through *objectification*. This objectification is often explicitly acknowledged, as Suchman (1995: 574) states in his oft-cited meta-review of the literature, "legitimacy is possessed objectively yet created subjectively". This objectification is easily visible in the ways in which the language of legitimacy has evolved within organisation studies. Legitimacy is something which organisations 'gain' and 'defend' (Ashforth and Gibbs 1990); something which they must 'acquire' and 'maintain' (Golant and Sillince 2007); something which is 'conferred' (Deephouse 1996) and may be 'challenged' (Ashforth and Gibbs 1990) by other organisations; something which needs to be 'secured' (Erkama and Vaara 2010), and may often be 'enhanced' (Richardson 1985). As such, a key tenet of what I will come to term the 'legitimacy-as-belonging' literature is the treatment of legitimacy as specific sort of organisational resource.

One of the ways in which legitimacy is objectified (and considered a resource) relates to the way in which it is seen to be *conferred* upon organisations. Although legitimacy is generally accepted to constitute a 'generalised perception' (Suchman 1995), discussions of how organisations gain or lose legitimacy commonly relate these gains or losses to the conferring or removing of legitimacy by a powerful stakeholder (or stakeholder group). In his study of business philanthropy, which mobilises legitimacy as a key factor in the decision to gift resources, Galaskiewicz's (1985) intellectuals and funding bodies act as powerful conferring agents. In Deephouse's (1996) empirical study of isomorphism in commercial banks, the media and regulatory agencies are the key conferring agents. Regulatory agencies are also highlighted by Ruef and Scott (1998) in the healthcare sector. Most commonly, important stakeholders are those responsible for conferring legitimacy. However there are also a small number of studies

which posit 'internal stakeholders' (employees) as the most important organisational audiences in the conferring and challenging of legitimacy. For example, Erkama and Vaara (2010), in their examination of the legitimacy dynamics of a plant shutdown decision, identify 'the workforce' as being the most important stakeholder. Each of these stakeholders, whether acting as a conferring or challenging individual or body, is seen as being a type of individual or group with the power to confer or remove the legitimacy of an organisation.

Within studies on legitimacy it is quite usual for legitimacy to be presented as an organisational resource (Durand and McGuire 2005). One of the reasons why this might be so is the relation between the strategic legitimacy literature and the resource-based approach to organisation studies (Suchman 1995, Dowling and Pfeffer 1975). In studies which foreground an objectified notion of legitimacy, inter-organisational dynamics often become the primary focus as legitimacy is seen as a resource selectively passed from one organisation to another. For example, Deephouse (1996) argues that legitimacy is 'conferred' upon organisations, but that only specific social actors (in his case the public and the regulators) are in a position to do so. In their study of new organisations, De Clercq and Voronov's innovative newcomers are 'bestowed' with legitimacy for successfully challenging institutional arrangements (2009). Recently, the literature has also begun to explore the effects of possessing this objectified legitimacy on the organisation. Legitimacy has been considered in its role as a 'buffering resource' allowing organisations to engage in more risky decisions (Desai 2008), and for how it affects decision-making in relation to reputationally compromised directors (Cowen and Marcel 2011). This focus upon inter-organisational relations and the ways in which legitimacy is objectified in the language used by researchers is not simply an issue of presentation and syntax, it has important implications for how legitimacy is theorised at the organisational level. Considering legitimacy an object encourages a tendency in the literature to consider legitimacy as something which can be fully comprehended by organisations and their managers. If legitimacy is treated as if it has a fixed, objective character (rather than being an indefinable 'generalised perception') then the false impression that an organisation should be able to determine the basis of their legitimacy, and manage it appropriately may be exacerbated.

A 'legitimacy-as-belonging' approach can also be identified in the tendency of the literature to adopt a managerial perspective. Bitektine (2011) argues that the predominant approach to legitimacy in organisation studies has been from the perspective of the organisation (as legitimating entity). He is critical of this approach and in formulating his theory of the social judgements made by stakeholders regarding an organisation, he argues that an understanding of legitimacy from the perspective of the legitimating entity cannot be considered complete.

When the area of study is restricted by only adopting the perspective of the legitimating entity (and not the perspective of the evaluator nor considering the contingencies affecting the evaluation process) he argues that the research produced will necessarily focus on the strategic efforts of the legitimator. Thus the term 'legitimation', which could refer to the entire process through which legitimacy is produced (including the evaluation process), is commonly used in the literature to refer only to the strategic efforts of organisations to secure legitimacy.

The term *legitimation* and the accompanying focus upon the purposeful acquisition of legitimacy through managerial planning and execution originates with Dowling and Pfeffer's (1975) analysis of the strategic efforts of the American Institute for Foreign Study to gain legitimacy. Contemporary work in the strategic tradition continues in this vein. Cornelissen and Clarke (2010), for example, consider how legitimacy may be established through the strategic deployment of change agents. In the literature as a whole, legitimation is generally an activity planned and executed by managers. The study of legitimacy as a resource is historically associated with a focus on *legitimation* as a strategic process led by knowledgeable managers.

Furthermore, the focus of legitimation studies tends to be on the intentions of the managers, expressed through their decision-making and plans for legitimation, rather than on the practical realisation of those decisions and plans in the organisational environment. The focus on strategic decisions, on planning over realisation, is not a feature unique to the study of legitimacy. Brunsson (1982: 30) argues that, in organisation studies as a whole, "the choosing of actions has received much more attention than the carrying out of actions". He argues this is because of the legacy of decision-making theory in organisation studies which, being designed to account or the decision-making processes of individuals, is unable to account for the complexity of decision-making in organisations. It is therefore the case that applying theory built on a premise of decision-making to organisations drives a focus on the decisions of top managers (as a relatively small and co-ordinated group, compared to the organisation as a whole). If legitimacy theories are understood to be based on a similar premise, this may explain why a focus has traditionally been placed on legitimacy as an objectified resource, and upon legitimation as the preserve of purposeful, strategic managers. Although this tendency to consider legitimacy the preserve of management originates in strategic studies, it may now be identified in studies across the strategic/institutional continuum.

Finally, from a belonging perspective, legitimacy is a form of objectified knowledge which is determinable (subject to redefinition). In focussing upon the strategic legitimation of managers, studies adopting an epistemology of belonging may often explore the rhetorical tactics used by

managers to manage organisational legitimacy. In particular this approach tends to focus on the legitimating entity and on the strategic use of language by managers as a resource to create, enhance, maintain or repair legitimacy.

In the rhetorical approach to securing legitimacy through language, emphasis is placed on the rhetorical strategies employed by managers to defend organisational legitimacy. The first of these studies focussed upon the different roles played by technical and institutional types of acknowledgements and denials in protecting legitimacy in the California cattle industry (Elsbach 1994). Legitimacy, in this case, is something which the ranch managers actively seek to protect through issuing different kinds of accounts of their actions to their evaluating communities. In this study, emphasis is placed on the perspective of the legitimating managers (through producing a typology of rhetorical legitimation strategies) and the production of legitimacy through the evaluating community of the cattle ranch is not explored. Elsbach followed this with a study of the impression management techniques used to fend off anticipated challenges to the implementation of a potentially unpopular new hospital billing system (Elsbach, Sutton, and Principe 1998). By switching the focus from remedial to anticipatory legitimation, Elsbach, Sutton and Principe assume that their hospital managers fully comprehend the basis of their organisation's legitimacy. Furthermore, this study also explicitly focusses on the tactics from the perspective of the legitimating manager, and does not explicitly engage with the perspective of the evaluating customers. Each of these approaches posits the legitimating entity, and the managers co-ordinating that legitimation, in a position of privileged knowledge regarding their aims and activities relative to the evaluating stakeholder. This enables them to mobilise symbolic language-based devices to negotiate the selective reappropriation and manipulation of knowledge from the private reserve of the organisation into public awareness in order to create/ maintain/ repair legitimacy.

The legitimacy-as-belonging perspective is well characterised by Dowling and Pfeffer when they state that "legitimacy can be viewed as a resource which a given focal organizations attempts to obtain and which, occasionally, competing organizations may attempt to deny" (1975:125). The purpose of this section is not to argue that all studies of legitimacy may be characterised as having a possessive approach to the concept. Rather, it has been to justify the statement that a broad yet implicit perspective, which I have characterised as 'legitimacy-as-belonging' may be diversely identified across the literature. Although this perspective is particularly evident in the strategic literature, the tendency to consider legitimacy a 'belonging' of the organisation is also evident in the contemporary neoinstitutional literature (e.g. Cornelissen and Clarke 2010, Golant and Sillince 2007). The presence of a 'belonging' approach across the literature

represents the primary reason why the term 'belonging' rather than 'resource-based' is used to describe this approach to theorising legitimacy. While 'belonging', as an epistemological position, shares many characteristics with the more broadly identified 'resource-based' approach in organisation studies, the term 'resource' in the legitimacy literature is more closely aligned with the strategic approach, and would therefore be a misleading moniker to identify a broad epistemological concern in the literature as a whole.

AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR LEGITIMACY

One factor remains constant across the various theoretical traditions of legitimacy. Whether legitimacy is regarded from the perspective of what is being evaluated, how it is evaluated, who is managing or evaluating legitimacy, legitimacy is always considered to be a generalised view of the desirability, properness or appropriateness of an organisation. It is a view which results from the conscious or unconscious judgement of some aspect of an organisation, and which influences the behaviour of the evaluator towards that organisation. As such legitimacy is a form of *complex*, *collective, distributed knowledge*.

Legitimacy is a form of *knowledge* because it originates in the judgements of stakeholders. As stakeholders engage with an experience of the organisation (whether consciously or unconsciously) they come to form a judgement of that organisation which exists as a form of knowledge and which guides their interactions with that organisation. It is a *collective, distributed* form of knowledge because it is created by the generalisation of all these individual judgements. Legitimacy itself is constituted as *generalised,* therefore it exists not as individual judgements but as the generalisation of those judgements. However, the collective knowledge produced by this generalisation is not held in any single space (personal or public), it is distributed across all organisational stakeholders. Legitimacy as a form of collective distributed knowledge is *complex* because it is constitutive of the world around it; legitimacy is subject to continual reproduction and it reproduces the social world within which it exists. It is *produced* through the judgements of individual stakeholders, but also *produces* organisational action through effecting and affecting the decision-making and action of organisations and their managers, and finally, the decisions and actions of the organisation come to influence the judgments of stakeholders, further shaping how legitimacy is *reproduced*. Legitimacy is not purely a product of the social world, but actively reproduces the world and the notions of properness and appropriateness upon which it is constructed. As such, legitimacy is defined as a complex, collective and distributed form of knowledge which manifests as a generalised perception of organisational desirability, properness, appropriateness.

"Epistemology is the domain of all those concerned with knowledge, in all its forms"

(Tsoukas 2005: 3)

My thesis constitutes an epistemological critique of the traditional approach to legitimacy which conceives of it as a belonging. A close analysis of the epistemological foundation of the concept is overdue. In the preceding section I illustrated that the legitimacy literature has traditionally treated legitimacy as a 'belonging' of organisations and it is my intention within this section to explain how an alternative approach to legitimacy may be conceived. The epistemological theory which will be proposed relates to how organisational *legitimacy* is conceived of as a form of knowledge or knowing. However, it also relates to *legitimation,* as the activity which produces that knowledge through the relations between legitimating and evaluating entities.

Through a close reading of the *Concept of the Mind* by Gilbert Ryle (1949) two 'epistemologies of legitimacy' will be produced which account for how legitimacy may be understood as not only 'a belonging' but also as a process of 'becoming'. It is testimony to the basic yet insightful nature of Ryle's argument that similar themes to that which he raised still structure contemporary debates on knowledge within organisation studies. Haridimos Tsoukas aims to illustrate the limits of the dominant –intellectualist- forms of knowing through the study of 'complex' forms of knowing (Tsoukas, 2006: 4). According to Tsoukas, "An object of study is complex when it is capable of surprising an observer, and its behaviour cannot be reduced to the behaviour of its constituent parts" (ibid). Legitimacy is such a theoretically complex object of study. The distinction between belonging and becoming is modelled upon Ryle's distinction between the concepts of *knowing that* and *knowing how* (1949). These epistemologies of belonging and becoming are not a direct, homogenous reflection of the literature as it stands and of the proposed character of legitimacy. Rather they are utilised throughout the study as two 'ideal types', through which the epistemological intricacies of legitimacy may be more clearly identified and examined.

The Concept of Mind – Distinguishing Types of Knowing

"… the tendency to treat all knowledge as being essentially the same", Cook and Brown argue "severely limits the current work on epistemologically- relevant organizational themes, both theoretically and operationally"

(1999: 382)

In seeking to theoretically understand the characterisation of the literature as possessive, as outlined above, and in seeking to theoretically determine an alternative epistemological grounding for the study of legitimacy, I turned to the theories of Gilbert Ryle. Ryle (1949) philosophically addresses the fallacies of Cartesian dualism which had previously characterised social science and the humanities, and in so doing he distinguishes between *knowing that* and *knowing how.* Cartesian dualism, referred to by Ryle as 'the official doctrine', asserts that a human being has both a mind and a body, each separate from the other. Thus a person is understood to 'live' in two bifurcated collateral histories; one which is public (body) and one which is private (mind). This distinction between public and private existences arises from the understanding that bodies within a space are materially connected to other bodies in other spaces, whereas each mind is an impermeable whole with no connection to other minds. Thus, as no one mind can be assured of the existence of another, let alone contemplate its working, the only true method for theorising is introspection. Where the senses could prove fallible, the mind itself is best equipped for theorising its own processes.

Ryle argues that this dualistic theory can be conceived of as 'the dogma of the ghost in the machine'; a category-mistake which originates in the moral efforts of Descartes to protect the sanctity of the mind as Galileo set about asserting the universal mechanistic of human existence (1949: 17; 20). In the act of rebelling against mechanism, Ryle asserts, Descartes and subsequent Cartesians set about defining the mind *in opposition* to the mechanical nature of the body, thus at once distancing the mind and uniting it with the body through virtue of negative association. In this way such dualism can be understood as a para-mechanical theory; "Minds are not bits of clockwork, they are just bits of not-clockwork" (Ryle, 1949: 21). Due to negative association, the deterministic approach applicable to the mechanical theory of matter (specifically the body) is logically applicable to the para-mechanical theory of mind. As the actions of the body could be understood through observation and introspection, so too could the actions of the mind, through negative association.

This dualism has interesting implications for the ways in which action has commonly and unconsciously been epistemologically understood in relation to both activity itself and to the understanding of that activity by those not actively engaged. The central consequent of the Cartesian premise is that "the capacity to attain knowledge of truths was the defining property of a mind" (Ryle, 1949; 27). This intellectual definition of the mind leads to all mental operations being subsumed under the aspect of cognition, with operations of the mind which are not strictly intellectual being considered as straightforward applications of the truths generated through the cognitive intellectual function. A person might be engaged either in

intellectually divining truths (through thinking occurring in the mind) or in the application of those truths (through action occurring via the body). All action is conceptualised as two subsequent processes; the intellectual process of generating knowledge about the appropriate course of action, and the subsequent execution of action according to the generated intellectual imperatives.

This intellectualist tradition, which will later be identified as partially invoked in a contemporary epistemology of belonging, thus identifies intelligent action as being composed of a two-step process. This two-step process involves first, cognitively identifying the correct course of action and second, materially executing the action in accordance with the prescribed course. To place this theory within a epistemologically specific context, the mind intelligently generates *knowledge* (which exists 'within the mind' as a stable epistemological object) which is then *applied* in the predetermined fashion.

One of Ryle's most important contributions to epistemology is to refute the *intellectualist legend* depicted above by logically demonstrating that it fails to capture all aspects of intelligent action because it subsumes 'knowing how' into 'knowing that'. The Rylean argument goes as follows.

In order for the intellectualist definition to hold, all action must be able to be conceptualised as consisting of the formulation of a set of imperatives in relation to action and the subsequent application of those imperatives; a double operation.

The primary refutation of this proposition is purely logical:

> "The consideration of propositions is in itself an operation the execution of which can be more or less intelligent, less or more stupid. But if, for any operation to be intelligently executed, a prior theoretical operation had first to be performed and performed intelligently, it would be a logical impossibility for anyone ever to break the circle" (Ryle, 1949: 31)

The proposition can also be refuted through reference to accepted examples of intelligent activity where the 'rules of action' are unformulated (as provided by Ryle, 1949: 30) and through reference to contemporary studies of improvisation in organisation studies, where activity is characterised by its unplanned nature (e.g. Miner, Bassoff, and Moorman 2001, Kamoche, e Cunha, and da Cunha 2003). An excellent example common to this debate is that of riding a bicycle; explicit instruction or understanding of the physical principles of cycling is insufficient to enable a non-cyclist to be able to ride a bike. Furthermore after learning to ride

the bike, a process which is only possible through the actual practice of attempting to ride the bike, the accomplished cyclist is still unable to elaborate upon any intelligent maxims which enable the activity.

Establishing the Epistemology of Knowing How

Therefore Ryle identified the existence of the second epistemological dimension of knowledge; that of *knowing how.* Where *knowing that* is conceptualised as an intellectual endeavour, *knowing how* is the practical aspect of knowledge which operates where there are no explicit 'rules of activity' (such as the cycling example), and also enables the application of *knowing that* in practical situations. Ryle argues that *knowing how* is a disposition, "bound or liable to be in a particular state, or to undergo a particular change, when a particular condition is realised", in particular a multi-track disposition, not a single track disposition (1949: 43). A single track disposition indicates that in a certain a situation, a certain response will always be elicited (such as in the case of a habit or reflex), whereas a multi-track disposition is one where several responses might be elicited from a certain stimuli.

In addition to action itself, understanding is also part of *knowing how; "*The knowledge that is required for understanding intelligent performances of a specific kind is some degree of competence in performances of that kind" (ibid, p3). To use the example of comedy, the capacity to understand and appreciate the jokes of a comic depends upon the audience members' sense of humour, and perhaps even the particular brand of humour being intelligently exercised by the comic. In a similar vein, Ryle logically identifies misunderstandings as a by-product of *knowing how,* as it is necessary to have some comprehension of the practice in order to be understood to *make a mistake* in it; "mistakes are exercises of competences" (p58). Indeed misunderstandings are a central part of the continuous learning which characterises *knowing how*; where habitual (single-track dispositional) practices create identical performances, intelligent practices incorporate learning from previous performances. Thus, where intelligent performances of *knowing how* activity are continuously refined to reflect the learning inherent in previous performances, so misunderstandings are a crucial aspect in the *knowing how* of understanding; "misinterpretations are in principle corrigible, which is part of the value of controversy" (Ryle, 1949: 59).

The *knowing that/knowing how* distinctions proposed by Ryle form the respective bases of the epistemologies of belonging and becoming which will be elaborated through the remainder of this chapter. An important, if not the most important, reason for basing the epistemologies of belonging and becoming upon Ryle's conceptions of *knowing that/knowing how* relates to the relationship between these two forms, as illustrated below in Figure 7.

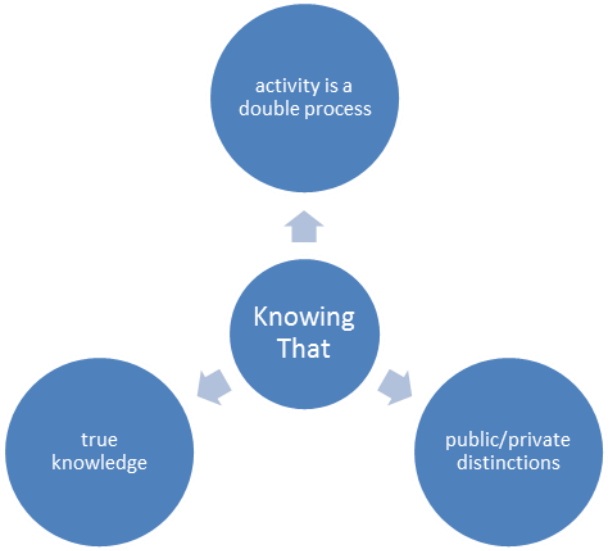


FIGURE 7 - EPISTEMOLOGY OF BELONGING (STAGE ONE)

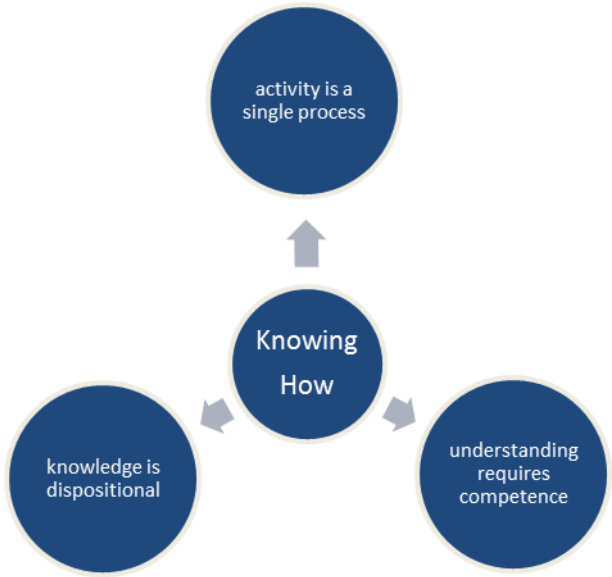


FIGURE 7 - EPISTEMOLOGY OF BECOMING (STAGE ONE)

Knowing that and knowing how as forms of knowledge are not mutually exclusive, just as neither represents a universal conception of knowledge. *Knowing that* and *knowing how* represent historically embedded theories of knowledge, and while *knowing how* is a key facet of the argument which Ryle makes against 'the ghost in the machine' characterising Cartesian approaches to knowledge, it is, as a theory, predicated upon the existence of *knowing that* as a legitimate way of understanding knowledge. Knowing how supplements, not replaces, knowing that in the theory of knowledge proposed by Ryle. Ryle's theory of knowledge accounts for both knowing how and knowing that in the mutual constitution of knowledge and action and, as will be explored in Chapter Six, these two perspectives will be integrated into an epistemological model of legitimacy. The two concepts represent two complementary perspectives that can be taken with regard to knowledge; different ways of understanding the relationship between knowledge and action. This ethic of contrasting rather than conflicting, which is central to the thesis being made here, is thus embedded in the underlying epistemological precepts utilised in the continuing analysis.

Characterising the Epistemology of Belonging

The epistemology of belonging is based upon the concept of *knowing that*; as such it has three major implications for how knowledge (and legitimacy specifically) is conceptualised. Firstly, activity is a two-step process of first intelligently generating imperatives from action in the mind, which are then executed by the body; thus intelligence lies behind the act itself. As such, legitimation, as the process of producing legitimacy, is conceptualised as an activity which is heavily pre-planned. Considering legitimacy a form of *knowing that* means regarding it as defined and knowable, and as such legitimation depends on the organisation firstly comprehending the character of their legitimacy (and the demands necessary for satisfying it) and subsequently enacting activities which will satisfy its legitimacy demands. Such a unified exhibition of organisational action is highly likely to be driven and co-ordinated by organisational leaders and managers. This characteristic of the 'ideal type' of legitimacy as belonging can be identified in the broad tendency of the literature to adopt the perspective of the manager who takes an explicitly strategic approach to securing organisational legitimacy (e.g. Ashforth and Gibbs 1990).

The second characteristic of *knowing that* which has implications for the ideal type of legitimacy as a belonging is that a distinction is drawn between 'private' and 'public' knowledge. As knowledge is seen as something which is both defined and discreet, it can either exist in the public sphere, or can be 'privatised' by individuals or groups (including organisations). As knowledge is produced through purely intellectual activities (knowing through thinking), much knowledge is produced in the private sphere. Legitimacy is a form of knowledge regarding the organisation produced through the private intellectual operations (judgements) of stakeholders. Therefore, the role of the organisation seeking to secure its legitimacy is to find a way of influencing this individual judgement process. As earlier discussed, legitimacy is of crucial importance to the relations of power within an industry or field- those organisations which are legitimate have much greater access to resources and relationships than those without and as such must wield greater power. One of the ways the private/public knowledge distinction is manifested within the literature is through a focus on how organisations seek to (re)shape the public knowledge regarding the organisation which is used by stakeholders in their judging of legitimacy. This aspect of the 'ideal type' of legitimacy as belonging can be clearly identified in the studies of legitimacy which have identified rhetorical ploys key to legitimation (e.g. Brown 1994, Erkama and Vaara 2010). In these studies, the system of public knowledge regarding an organisation emerges as a political economy of truths. The knowledge publicly available regarding the organisation is not value-free, but exists as a political tool in an

economy, within which the organisation must intervene to selectively consecrate (or promote) and to muffle (or discredit) certain 'truths'.

Finally, knowledge is constituted as truths within the mind, and the primary role of the mind is the intellectual pursuit of these truths. Knowledge exists as discrete truths regarding the nature of reality, and these truths are applied and refined through the intellectual operations of the mind, rather than through 'trial and error, or other practical learning processes. This notion ('true knowledge' in the diagram earlier presented) emphasises that knowledge is something is possessed. This idea of knowledge, legitimacy in particular, being something which is possessed by individuals and organisations primarily characterises research informed by an epistemology of belonging. In its application to legitimacy, the concept of true knowledge applies primarily to the singular definition of legitimacy; in adopting the ideal type of an epistemology of belonging, the researcher must assume the existence of an independent legitimate order. This final characteristic of an epistemology of belonging might be identified in those specific studies within the literature which argue for or implicitly manifest an approach which assume an independent legitimate order, classify legitimation attempts based on whether they attempt to substantively legitimate the organisation with this independent legitimate order, or otherwise attempt to symbolically manipulate the perceptions of stakeholders regarding the position of the organisation on this independent order (cf Richardson 1985).

In conclusion, adopting an epistemology of belonging based on Ryle's concept of *knowing that* has implications for how the concept of legitimacy is understood. Legitimacy from this perspective has a fixed (finished) quality. It is something which organisations should seek to possess, and which managers can seek to obtain by manipulating their privileged position (as insiders) regarding public knowledge of the organisation. Likewise, as *knowing that* distinguishes between knowledge and action, so is legitimacy distinguished from legitimation. Legitimation is defined as heavily strategised efforts led by management to possess legitimacy by manipulating perceptions of the appropriateness of the organisation in order to secure the conferring of legitimacy from powerful stakeholders. The characteristic of the epistemology of belonging are illustrated overleaf in Figure 8. These ideal types of legitimacy and legitimation will be illustrated through the first data chapter, and will be referred to throughout the thesis as legitimacy-as-belonging and legitimation-as-belonging.

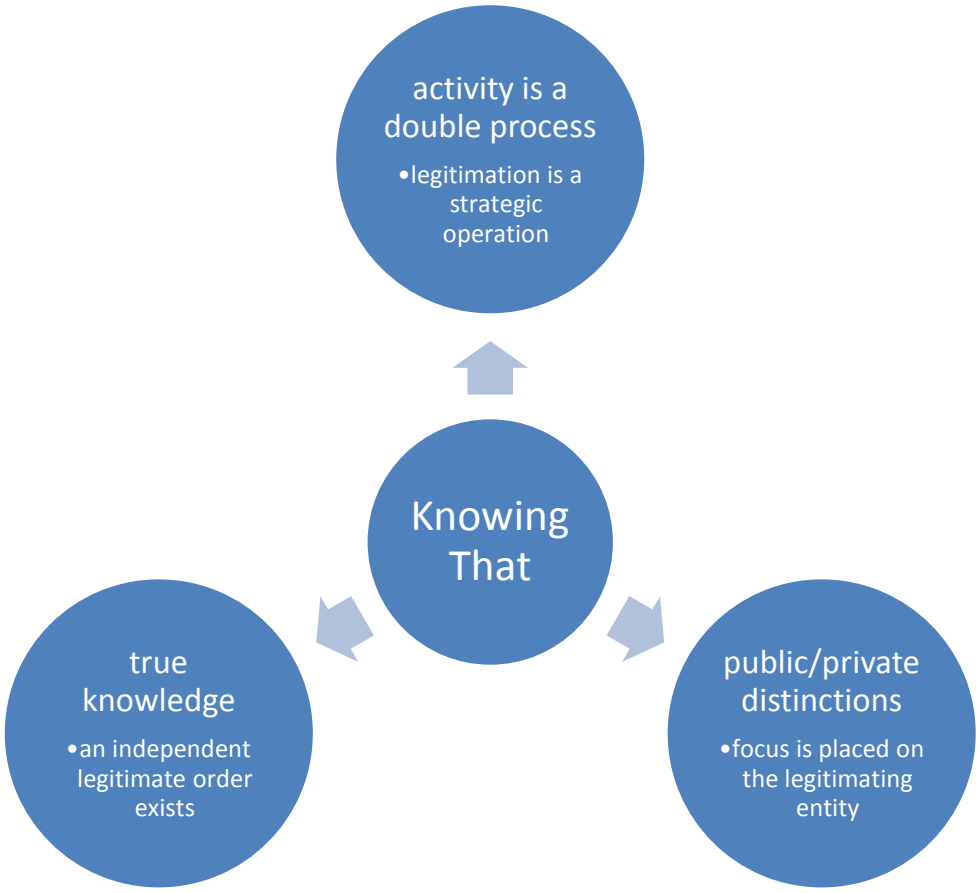


FIGURE 8 - LEGITIMACY-AS-BELONGING

Characterising the Epistemology of Becoming

Recent approaches to the study of legitimacy have moved away from a 'belonging' perspective to consider legitimacy as fluid and emergent. Brown and Toyoki define internal legitimacy as "a fluid discursive resource that is talked and written continuously into and out of existence though organizationally relevant identity work" (2013: 876). In their study, legitimacy is not something which exists independently to the organisation and which is created or possessed by managers, it is something continually re-constructed by organisational members. As prisoners draw upon organisational discourses to author their organisational and personal selves, they affirm and contest various definitions of organisational legitimacy, making the legitimacy of the prison continually fluid. As such, Brown and Toyoki argue that legitimacy is "constructed and reconstructed on a continuing basis by participants through discourse as they fashion versions of their organizational selves" (2013: 890). Legitimacy also emerges as a fluid phenomenon in Drori and Honig's longitudinal study of the legitimacy of a dotcom company, in which they argue for a "dynamic interrelationship" between internal and external legitimacy (2013: 347). They suggest that "Internal legitimacy relies upon emergent 'bottom up' practices accorded through individual agency, as opposed to institutional logics promoted and endorsed by organizational leaders" (2013: 347), meaning that the actions of individuals across the organisation may be important to understanding organisational legitimacy. For Drori and Honig, internal and external legitimacy are continually affected by related factors such as organisational culture, the availability resources and wider institutional factors, making them not only strongly dependent but also inherently contingent and emergent. This emerging turn in the literature can be characterised as legitimacy as 'becoming'.

A epistemology of becoming is based upon the Rylean concept of *knowing how* and has three important implications for the study of legitimacy as knowledge. First, an instance of intelligent activity cannot be productively subdivided; rather than involving a period of theorising and a period of execution, intelligent activity is one process. This is predicated on the idea that "efficient practice precedes the theory of it" (Ryle, 1949: 31). It builds on the idea that intelligent action has a critical aspect beyond mere execution and asserts that the intelligence of an act resides *within the act itself*. Theory and action are not separate processes but are co-extensive; learning occurs through doing, and doing is always implicated in learning. In relation to constructing an epistemology of legitimacy, the co-extensive nature of knowledge and action is very important. If activity is argued to be inherently intelligent then the concepts of legitimacy and legitimation (as knowledge and activity) must be considered co-extensive. That is, if intelligence is produced within and through action then legitimacy is produced through practices of legitimation, it is not secured by this activity but the very character and nature of

organisational legitimacy is created by the intelligent activity of legitimation. Similarly the activity of legitimation must be considered to be inherently creative and diverse, and as such the study of legitimation does not only involve considering the strategic actions of managers, but also the everyday, incidental and on-going legitimation undertaken by all organisational members. Therefore, where legitimation-as-belonging is a stable time bound activity, legitimation-as-becoming is the broad process of managing and negotiating emergent values undertaken by all members of the organisation at the intersection of individual, organisation and institution.

Second, *knowing how* emphasises that intelligent activities are understood by others through virtue of those others having some competence in the area of activity. Understanding is not something which can be garnered through a mindfulness of theory, but rather depends upon developing a competence in the activity under consideration. This feature of *knowing how* has implications for the consideration of how evaluating communities are implicated in the production and consideration of organisational legitimacy. If knowledge and activity are co-extensive, and therefore understanding is gained through a competence in that activity, then evaluating communities may be structured not only by reference to their formal relationship with the organisation, but also by reference to their competence in organisational activities. Although certain stakeholders may have a more legitimate claim on the organisation (through greater understanding), they may not have sufficient power or urgency to exert that claim. In the case of Dundee Rep for instance, other theatres may (through their competence in the activity) be the most capable of evaluating the legitimacy of the activities undertaken at Dundee Rep. However the stakeholders with the most influence over the legitimacy of the theatre do not necessarily share this competence. Furthermore, this characteristic has implications for how we understand the process of legitimation within the organisation; if understanding is truly a competence, then legitimation is not an activity which can be centrally co-ordinated through codified knowledge (such as rules, guides or formal strategy) but is something which must be learnt by organisational members. In this case, the focus when studying legitimation must fall upon the informal processes of 'learning legitimacy' and 'learning legitimation' within the organisation.

Finally, knowledge itself is dispositional; this has three implications for the study of knowledge in general and legitimacy in particular. First, knowledge is unfinished; an individual never possesses a full and complete understanding of the truths of any given situation because these truths themselves are emergent. While it has become increasingly common in organisation studies to refer to organisational knowledge as being *complex* (Tsoukas 2005) and decentred

(and therefore unable to be held by one individual), the literature on legitimacy has not yet engaged to the same extent with this conception of knowledge. In addressing knowledge as unfinished, any study of legitimacy would need to foreground emergence as a key property of legitimacy, to recognise that legitimacy constitutes not a state, but a pattern created through on-going processes of legitimation. Further, regarding knowledge as dispositional means recognising that the process of knowing by which organisational actors understand and act is not uniform; rather it is a complex and indeterminate activity that is highly context dependent. In the context of legitimacy, this draws specific attention to the need to study legitimacy 'from the inside' in order to gain a perspective on legitimacy which is relevant to the particular organisation under study. Third, treating knowledge as a disposition draws particular attention to the character of its exercise, or to how it is realised. To talk of a distinction between the possession and exercise of knowledge is a product of *knowing that*. A more processual, becoming approach, based on *knowing how*, foregrounds knowing as a recursive and wholistic activity. Thus, the exercise of knowledge is, in the case of becoming, a productive process whereby the character of that knowledge is made particularly meaningful in a certain situation and at a certain time. This draws attention once more to the need to recognise legitimacy as an emergent and dynamic form of knowing which both guides and is guided by organisational action.

Adopting an epistemology of becoming, based on Ryle's concept of *knowing how*, has implications for how the concept of legitimacy is understood. Legitimacy from this perspective is unfinished and emergent; it is continually dynamically constructed through evaluations constructed during spontaneous interactions between members and audiences, across the organisation. To be more specific, legitimacy is not only produced through purposeful efforts, but is constructed through the myriad of interactions continually taking place which cause stakeholders to construct value judgements of the organisation. As Brown and Toyoki suggest in their discursive model of legitimacy, "It is from these very many micro, collectively informed identity-based individual claims, judgements and evaluations that legitimacy as an ongoing discursive accomplishment is enacted" (2013: 890). Likewise, as *knowing how* considers knowing and action co-extensive, so are legitimacy and legitimation considered co-extensive. Legitimation is not a defined strategic, managerially-led activity, but is something which happens spontaneously across the organisation. Further, legitimation does not universally appeal to a coherent notion of 'why we are/should be legitimate'. Rather, the production of legitimacy through interactions and evaluations, occurring across the organisation, continually reconstruct legitimacy. Finally, if understanding is defined as a competence, then the evaluative judgements made by stakeholders may be influenced by their level of competence in

organisational activities. Legitimacy as becoming is reflected in the recent turn within the literature towards considerations of process-based and discursive approaches to the study of both internal and external legitimacy. These characteristics of the epistemology of becoming are illustrated below in Figure 9. These ideal types of legitimacy and legitimation will be illustrated through the second data chapter, and will be referred to throughout the thesis as legitimacy-as-becoming and legitimation-as-becoming.

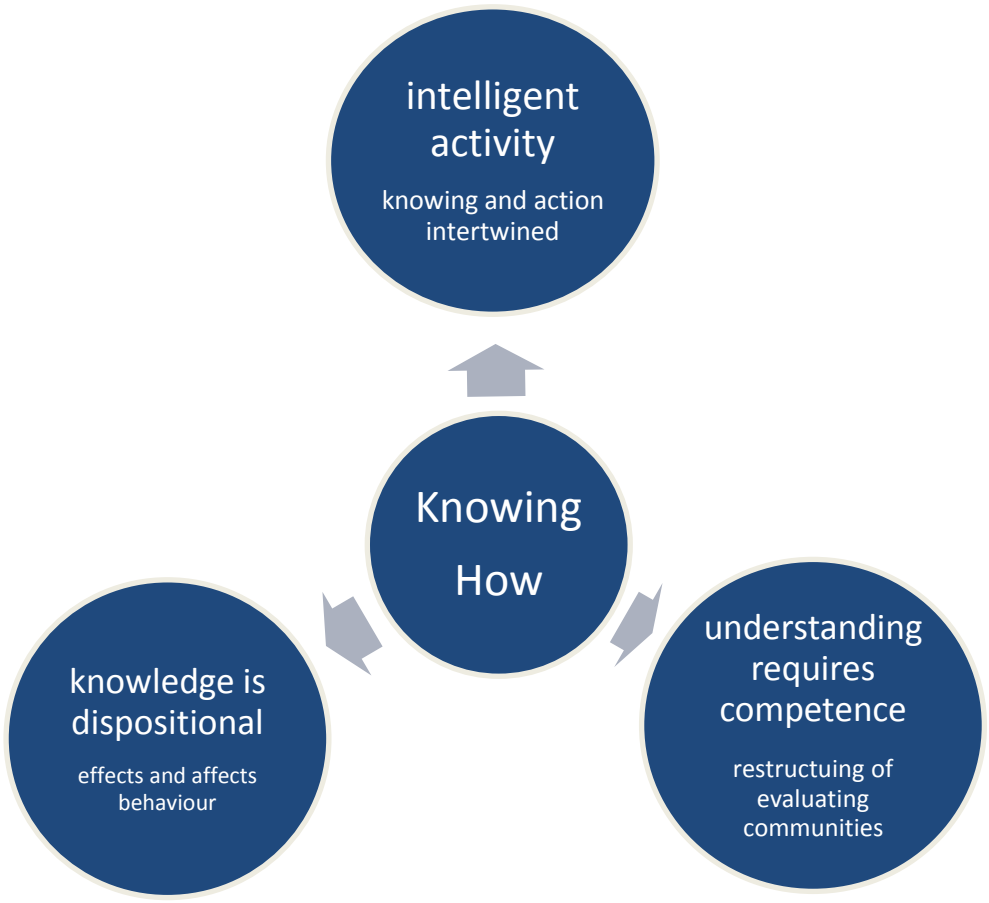


FIGURE 9 - EPISTEMOLOGY OF BECOMING

Integrating Belonging and Becoming

Drawing a distinction between legitimacy-as-belonging and legitimacy-as-becoming will allow for a particularly nuanced description of the different ways in which the legitimacy of the theatre can be understood (theoretically), and the ways in which that legitimacy can be managed (practically). The primary purpose of this study is not to further one perspective or another, but rather to propose an approach to the theory and practice of legitimacy which overcomes the limitations which may be encountered by treating legitimacy **either** in terms of the evolving legitimate role of the organisation (as becoming) **or** in terms of a strategic resource to be captured and exercised in the aim of securing competitive advantage (as a belonging). My thesis is that legitimacy may be understood as being both of these things, and as such to consider either in isolation would give only a partial view. In order to achieve this, I will demonstrate the underlying relationship between Ryle's concepts of *knowing that* and *knowing how*. I will seek to move away from characterising the differences between the two perspectives to considering how they are related or, more accurately, how they are co-extensive.

Ryle wished to illustrate that although *some* action may involve conscious reflection on the part of the agent regarding the knowledge he possesses about that activity, this is not true for *all* action. Ryle argues that *every* instance of activity is at its base inherently intelligent (for no rule may ever encapsulate the specific situation within a universe of possibilities within which it is enacted), therefore we are always *knowing how*, and occasionally *knowing that*; the latter becomes a tool of the former. Legitimacy-as-belonging is therefore but one specific interpretation of a universe of activities through which the legitimacy of the organisation is continually reconstructed as *becoming*. This is illustrated in Figure 10.

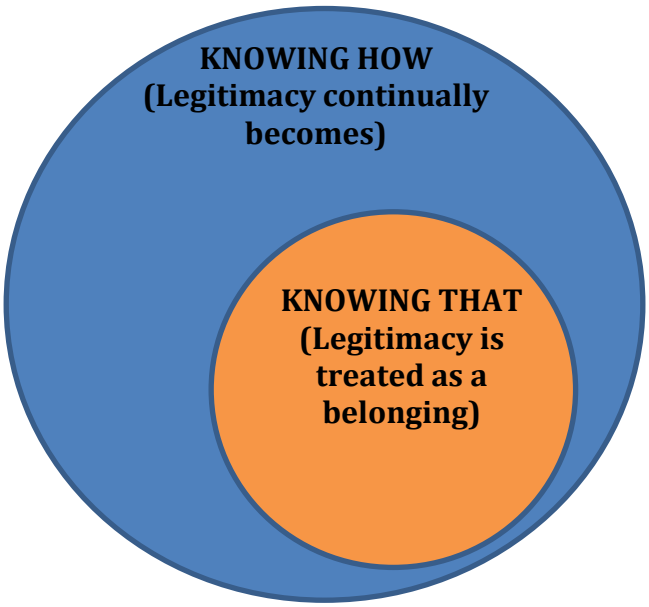


Figure 10 - Knowing That and Knowing How

An important question is raised by the preceding section (Epistemology of Becoming). This section argued that, according to Ryle, *knowing how* is the way in which all relations between knowledge and action should be understood. However, if knowing *how* explains the universe of relations between action and knowledge, what then is the place of *knowing that*?

In Ryle's view, *knowing how* represents the

basic way in which all action should be conceptualised. He argues that each of the three features of the relationship between knowledge and action (intelligent action, dispositional knowledge and understanding as a competence) are epistemologically valid. However, his framework allows for the existent of a relationship between knowledge based on *knowing that*, in other words, objectified forms of knowledge still have a role to play in enabling and informing action. Although this thesis adopts a presentation of the relationships between legitimacy as *knowing how* and *knowing that* are minimised in order to illustrate how legitimacy may both *become* and *belong*, Chapter Six shows how these two accounts of legitimacy at Dundee Rep fold into one another, with each explaining a different way in which legitimacy *works* in the organisation. As such, the thesis retains Ryle's framing of the relation between the two perspectives; I argue that knowing how is the universal relation and knowing that is a particular structuring of that relation. Action is always inherently intelligent although it may in some situations involve a degree of explicit pre-planning[1].

The remainder of the thesis empirically demonstrates this theoretical framework for legitimacy. Therefore, the study considers not only how theorists should study legitimacy, but also how Dundee Rep and its stakeholders actually relate to notions of legitimacy. Through adopting this approach, the study aims to provide an empirically grounded epistemological model of legitimacy.

[1] This mode of integration is notably different to previous efforts to differentiate between *knowing that* and *knowing how* in organisation studies. *Knowing that* and *knowing how* have adopted as a framework similar to Polyani's explicit and tacit knowledge by some theorists (cf Cookand Brown 1999:80). This framing suggests an equality of perspectives; it suggests that knowing how and knowing that refer to different *kinds* of knowledge. This more recent framing therefore runs counter to Ryle's argument as it posits different kinds of knowledge where Ryle posits only different *relations*. Where Cook and Brown argue that people simply 'know how' to do some things (such as hammer a nail) and possess explicit informational knowledge about other things, such as 'knowing that' a hammer is a tool. Ryle, on the other hand, argues that any piece of objectified knowledge cannot be put into action without the use of 'know how'; that an individual might be said to possess 'knowledge' but that they still need to 'know how' to put that into action.

CHAPTER THREE - METHODOLOGY

"Ethnography… is often an exercise in serendipity, in which an openness to chance finds or unpredictable social or political developments generates new research orientations"

Mitchell (2007:56)

The research process leading to this thesis was based on the broad, relatively inductive guiding question: How is legitimacy produced at Dundee Rep" During the ethnography of the theatre, this inductive approach resulted in the serendipitous realisation that legitimacy was being produced in two distinct ways. One form of legitimacy production involved the strategic legitimation of managers, characterised as legitimacy-as-belonging. The second form of legitimacy production involved employees across the organisation continually balancing normative and resource-based concerns, characterised as legitimacy-as-becoming. In preparing to demonstrate how the dualistic framework of legitimacy proposed in this thesis operates in the practical realm, this chapter sets out the character of the methods used, place them into context and explain the philosophical orientation driving the implementation of these methods during the research period. The chapter is therefore divided into three discussions; of ontology, of the research design and of the research setting.

ONTOLOGICAL GROUNDING

"[Social constructionism is] the idea that social reality is not separate from us, but that social realities and ourselves are intimately interwoven as each shapes and is shaped by the other in everyday interactions"

(Cunliffe 2008:124)

This study employs a social constructionist ontology; it regards reality as something which is constructed through the knowing and interacting of subjects. Berger and Luckmann (1967), in a commonly accepted originating text of social constructionism (Gergen and Gergen 2007), argued that society was created through externalisation; continually produced through human action, yet perceived objectively as something which both acts upon and must be learnt by humans. Gergen and Gergen (2007) argue that there are three elements, or distinct developments, which have led to the contemporary shape of social constructionist thought.

These are the critical phase, the literary/rhetorical phase and, the sociology of knowledge phase.

The critical phase characterises the position of social constructionist thinking as counter to positivistic or authoritative counts of reality and of human activity. Social construction theory arose in opposition to scientific theories which proposed that the universe of human activity was analogous to the natural world in terms of its logical, causal predictability and the validity of universal laws. The social constructionist position holds that human interaction is far more complex and, as the world is socially constructed, not capable of being explained through universal propositional laws. The literary/rhetorical phase emphasised the extent to which *all* accounts of the world are structured through and by human language, and are therefore not truly reflective of the world they purport to explain. Social constructionist accounts recognise the role of language and subjectivity in the scientific process and seek, through explaining in detail the particular subjectivity (particularly the philosophical grounding and the positionality of the researcher relative to the empirical data) of the researcher, and the particular character of the research methodology, to mobilise this subjectivity as a tool in explaining the world. The sociology of knowledge phase built upon the literary phase by emphasising the social processes through which knowledge is produced, both in the academic realm and more broadly. This phase led to the emphasis in contemporary social constructionism on recognising the manner in which knowing and understanding are social, not individual, processes and the impact that this has for conceptualising phenomena such as learning and knowledge transfer within organisations.

This description of social constructionism clearly corresponds to Suchman's ontological definition of legitimacy (as something which is "created subjectively" (2005: 574)) and to others in the field and, as such, social constructionism is the ontological position most commonly taken in studies of organisational legitimacy. In other words, it has been found to be a productive lens through which to study organisational legitimacy. As will be clear from the preceding review, the literature almost universally considers legitimacy a "generalized perception or assumption" (Suchman 1995: 574) which is produced by the actions and processes of humans in a certain sphere of activity, but which they largely experience as existing as an independent measure of organisational 'correctness'. As Suchman states in his landmark meta-review of the literature, "legitimacy is something which is created subjectively and possessed objectively" (1995:574).

Relationally Responsive Social Constructionism

However, it is insufficient to simply state that the study is based on a constructionist ontology as it has been argued that a rejection of essentialism is perhaps the only common assumption amongst the great diversity of ways in which social constructionism is adopted in management and organisation studies (Cunliffe 2008). In order to explicate more fully the ontological parameters of this study, I will introduce the notion of "relationally responsive social constructionism" (Cunliffe 2008). This variant of social constructionism emphasises the *inter-subjective* origins of social construction; that is, it argues that meaning and understanding are produced through the relations between subjects, rather than within those subjects. Adopting a relationally responsive perspective on social constructionism has particular implications for the ways in which both organisations and individuals are understood to exist. Organisations are seen as being "re-worked from permanent, independent social structures to relational landscapes continually shifting from the imaginary to the imaginative in interactive moments" (Cunliffe 2002 drawing on, Shotter 1994). As such, this perspective highlights how organisations exist as webs of relations continually reconstructed through organisational members creatively responding to emergent situations. Likewise, any notion of the knowing individual constructing the world around them is replaced by a conception of social beings continually woven into scores of inter-subjective relationships through which reality emerges:

> *"... we are social, embodied beings always already embedded in an intricate flow of complexly intertwined relationally responsive and implicitly knowledgeable activities"*
>
> (Cunliffe 2008: 129)

In adopting the perspective of social constructionism, and in particular relationally responsive social constructionism, several ontological choices, as identified by Cunliffe (2008), have been made and observed in designing and carrying out this research. Firstly, I sought to study the legitimacy of the focal organisation as existing in an emergent reality which is constructed intersubjectively; I have focussed on how meanings are produced between participants in responsive and unpredictable everyday interactions (e.g. Cunliffe 2002). Rather than searching for legitimating tactics as identified in the literature, I sought to more broadly position the inquiry as an exploration of how organisational participants related to external definitions of organisational 'appropriateness' and looked to investigate the extent to which their work was oriented towards legitimation (as the way in which legitimacy is produced) as well as broader organisational goals, such as efficiency.

With regard to 'intersubjectivity', Shotter has argued that the individual has no sovereign existence; that there is no "I" without "you" (Shotter 1989). We are only 'selves' to the extent

that each being is a 'self-in-relation-to-others' (Cunliffe 2008: 129). Our construction and understanding of who we are, and of the social phenomena which surround us only occurs through the relations we have with other subjects. Hence reality is *intersubjectively* constructed. Furthermore, while these relations may be relations with other people around us, they may just as likely be relations with our understandings of the past and future self and others. The relations which construct reality may often be *language*-based, but likewise they may often be embodied interactions. As such, I have sought in my data collection, analysis, and presentation to adequately recognise how meanings are created through conversation and interactions over time. These are the reasons why, for instance, I chose to engage more intensively in multiple areas of the organisation around my general activity of 'hanging around' (Ybema, Yanow, Wels, and Kamsteeg 2009b), and why I chose to become involved with related field activities which tend to influence meaning-making within the theatre. For instance, during the fieldwork period I participated in the practice of critiquing theatre by becoming a critic for the 'Theatre in Scotland' reviewing website. I also investigated how legitimacy, although often unspoken, might be realised in the actions and relations between participants. As such, I paid careful attention to how organisational participants managed the impressions of external stakeholders regarding the purpose of the theatre through both talk (such as by correcting misconceptions) and actions (such as by emphasising the broad impact of the Creative Learning department when giving tours of the theatre building).

Some authors have argued that a social constructionist approach can lead to accounts of organisations which minimises the role of power in the negotiation of meaning (cf Cunliffe 2002, e.g. Watson 1994). However, I have through my epistemological orientations come to focus on meaning-making (particularly regarding the attempts of organisational members to understand and shape notions of organisational legitimacy) as a process with significant dimensions of power. It makes little sense to minimise the role of power in a field characterised by a single source of public funding, particularly when the focal organisation is 80% publicly funded. Thus, the version of social constructionism employed in this thesis allows for the construction of reality being conceptualised as a process imbued by both emergence and power.

Although the two chapters which follow adopt different epistemological perspectives with regard to legitimacy, each is based in relationally-responsive social constructionism. Legitimacy-as-belonging has a more defined character than legitimacy-as-becoming, which allows for more strategic explanations of organisational action to be emphasised. However, both forms recognise legitimacy is produced through an evaluation relationship continually being recreated between an organisation and its audiences. Legitimacy-as-becoming considers

legitimacy and legitimation as co-extensive, whereas legitimacy-as-belonging considers legitimacy (as knowledge) to be distinct from legitimation (as action). However, both epistemological perspectives recognise that the social world within which legitimacy is constituted and legitimation occurs is continually being re-created through the relations between social actors. The difference is that a belonging perspective considers the recreation of legitimacy to be something best achieved through strategic intervention, whereas the becoming perspective privileges meaning-making as a spontaneous and emergent process.

At one time, the science of organisations was permeated by a positivistic approach to the nature of human life; people were understood as sovereign beings utilising their knowledge to navigate objectively existing organisations and industries. However, over time the ontology of management and organisation studies has diversified considerably, and approaches which emphasise the interpretative or constructed nature of reality are commonplace. As Tsoukas and Knudsen have argued, "it is now accepted that organizations are historically constituted social collectivities, embedded in their environments" (2003: 10). Legitimacy is theorised as being a mechanism which mediates the relationship between organisations and their environments (Di Maggio and Powell, 1983; Suchman, 1995). As such, legitimacy is a mechanism which allows theorists to draw links between action and systems of value, at all levels of organisational analysis. Legitimacy has been successfully mobilised to explain the evolution of technology in entire industries (Deephouse, 1996) and also to explain how sub-organisational groups mobilise support for their interpretation of events (Brown, 1998). This study is based on a social constructionist ontology (Berger and Luckmann 1967), in particular one which is 'relationally-responsive' (Cunliffe 2008). In simple terms, it regards the social world as being 'made up' by people through their everyday embodied and linguistic interactions with one another. This means that I regard legitimacy as something which does not exist as an independent, objective standard, but is rather constructed through the relations between individuals seeking to determine their place within the valuation system they have constructed. The next step then in explaining the character of the methods employed in the study is to describe the research design employed, beginning with a discussion of data collection.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The Ethnographic Methodology

"If culture is a system of meanings, and ethnography is writing culture, then ethnography consists of finding out what the system of meanings is, and writing it down"

(Mitchell 2007: 61)

The primary method employed in this study is organisational ethnography. As Mitchell explains above, ethnography etymologically refers to the activity of 'writing culture'. Contemporary ethnography may be seen more as a style of research than a specific method, an umbrella term for a great variety of specific methods applied with the shared central aim of "the exploration of the social meanings of people in the setting by close involvement in the field" (Brewer 2004:313). There are associated pragmatic and methodological reasons why such an ethnographic approach has been adopted in this case. I will explore the theoretical reasons why an ethnographic approach is appropriate in this research and develop a detailed description of the particular methods used. The arguments presented in this thesis emerged from the field work, therefore in order to convince the reader that the critique offered is justified, and the proposed epistemological model of legitimacy is valid, it is necessary that the analysis offered is firmly embedded in the experiences and understanding of participants. In other words, it is necessary that the study exhibits 'withness thinking', as explained below (Shotter 2006).

The Need for Ethnography- Establishing Withness Thinking

Language has been seen to have a powerful role to play generally in constructing meaning. However, the different processes of legitimation (relative to belonging and becoming) produce very different and particular roles for language. Traditionally, from an epistemology of belonging, language has been seen as playing a very important role in framing the rhetorical devices used by managers in public forums to defend or promote the legitimacy of their organisations (e.g. Elsbach 1994). As legitimation (from this perspective) is seen as being the preserve of managers, empirical accounts of legitimacy have heavily emphasised the role of language in the legitimation process (e.g. Ashforth and Gibbs 1990). As such, these studies have relied on methods such as content analysis of media reports (Lamin and Zaheer 2012, Deephouse 1996) and narrative analysis of organisational stories (Brown 1994, Brown 1998, Vaara and Tienari 2011) or life histories of key organisational members (Maclean, Harvey, and Chia 2012).

However, when legitimacy is considered to be something which *becomes* rather than (as well as *belongs*), the role of language in relation to legitimation appears different. Legitimacy as becoming is a process which is continually evolving (and as such perennially unfinished), embodied as well as being constructed through speech, and which involves all members (and indeed stakeholders) of the organisation. In order to gather data on such a decentralised, everyday process, it is necessary to adopt collection methods which expose the researcher to the lived reality of organisational participants. Furthermore, although legitimacy is theoretically considered a 'generalised perception', this perception is built from the individual judgements of

all organisational stakeholders (both internal and external). In order to adequately perceive, understand and re-interpret the form of legitimacy-as-becoming it is necessary to understand the processes of legitimation (and evaluation) occurring at the theatre *from the inside*; it is necessary for a relationship of *withness thinking* to be established between researcher-as-participant and participant-as-researcher.

Shotter (Shotter 2006: 585) argues that "if we are to rethink appropriate styles of empirical research, then we need a different form of engaged, responsive thinking, acting, and talking, that allows us to affect the flow of processes from within our living involvement with them". For him, this "engaged, responsive thinking, acting and talking" comes in the form of 'withness thinking'. When Shotter talks of 'withness thinking' he refers to a form of responsive understanding which can only originate from inside a process, rather than traditional method of theorising process 'from the outside', which he refers to as 'aboutness thinking'. In moving from thinking about a process to thinking within it, the researcher might hope to gain an understanding of the process from the inside, to appreciate the anticipatory feelings of a process as it unfolds. These are the feelings which constitute the lived experiences of participants, but which are unavailable to the researcher whose gaze is externally located. In order to understand the process of legitimation, therefore, it is necessary to develop 'withness thinking'. But what does Shotter's conceptualisation of process mean in relation to the construction of legitimation itself?

Shotter adopts a highy processual view of living interactions which emphasises both the 'wholeness' and the 'inherent change' which characterise human activity. For him, living processes are not "configurations of otherwise independently existing, separate parts" but rather "indivisible, unitary, self-structuring wholes" (Shotter 2006: 591). Processes, such as legitimation, are from this view highly relational, unfolding dynamics which are shaped through dialogical consideration of elements both external and internal to themselves:

> *"At any one moment, their 'parts' owe their 'parts' at some earlier point in time, as well as to their relations to the many larger wholes within which they are embedded"*
>
> (Shotter 2006: 591)

In order to understand a process (such as legitimation) therefore, it is necessary to adopt a long and diversified mode of data collection as, in order to achieve some semblance of 'withness' understanding, not only must the 'parts' (i.e. the state of legitimacy) be comprehended, but also their structuring relations with sub-ordinate and superordinate systems (i.e. the ways in which definitions of appropriateness are developed both within the organisation and across the

industry) and with themselves (across the passage of time). In the case of legitimation, this means that the active evaluation efforts of organisational audiences, not just the active legitimation efforts of managers, must be considered. The legitimacy struggles of different sub-organisational groups and the normative stability of the 'evaluation systems' within which audiences construct their judgements of organisational legitimacy are also crucial in developing a 'withness' understanding. To take a 'snapshot' of such a process and attempt to extrapolate understanding would be of limited use, as "the history of their structural transformations is of more consequence than the logic of their momentary structure" (ibid, p591). In order to understand the process of legitimation from the inside, an ethnographic study across an extended time period exploring not only the focal process but its parts and its relations to other processes and structures is necessary.

The Validity of Ethnography

"Through detailed accounts of organizational life, organizational ethnography has made a substantial contribution over the years towards obtaining an understanding of organizations and organizing"

Ybema, Yanow, Wels and Kamsteeg (2009a: 2)

As the previous section illustrates, ethnography is a genre of research well suited to the particular theoretical pursuit of this research. Before moving onto discuss the methods employed in further detail, however, it would be prudent to mention the validity of ethnography as a methodological choice with regard to the organisation studies literature. Ethnographic methods have become widespread in the study of organisations and work, originating from early work in the Hawthorne studies (for a comprehensive discussion see Smith's 'Ethnographies of Work' (2001) and Yanow et al's (Yanow, Ybema, Kamsteeg, and Wels 2009) selected bibliography). The focus of many studies of legitimacy on large scale, public questionings of organisational legitimacy has facilitated the use of methods such as content analysis and interviewing. However, Brown (1994) utilises an ethnographic methodology in his study of legitimacy dynamics at the sub-organisational level, which allows the study to develop a more detailed account of the politics and myth-making involved in legitimating particular organisational narratives. Furthermore, ethnography is an especially productive method for studies which produce alternative or reframed perspectives on organisational phenomena. It has been argued that ethnographic methodologies are particularly useful in this regard because they allow the researcher to transcend rationalised images of organisational life (Yanow et al, 2009) and to glimpse the messy 'backstage' reality of participants (Goffman 1959). This can be

illustrated through brief reference to Czarniawska-Joerge's (1989) empirical account of public administration reforms, which had formerly been portrayed as a rational organisational process but which emerge from her study as a performative activity achieving the symbolic renewal of organisational life.

The near century of ethnographic work emerging since the Hawthorne studies has generated a "long standing tradition" of detailed accounts of work in the organisation studies literature which has been reinvigorated with an increased emphasis since the end of the 1970s on qualitative methods (Ybema, Yanow, Wels, and Kamsteeg 2009a). Contemporary organizational ethnography has been invigorated by the writings of, amongst others, Brewer (Brewer 2004), Silverman (Silverman 2011), Ybema, Yanow, Wels and Kamsteeg (2009), and Humphreys, Brown and Hatch (Humphreys, Brown, and Hatch 2003). These writers have sought to defend the place of ethnography against positivist critiques which emphasise, for example, the lack of objectivity in ethnographic accounts of work and organization (cf Goldthorpe 2000). Arguing that ethnographic methods represent the best way for researchers to appreciate the meaning-making of the lived world, and to account for their particular subjectivity in ways which enrich the account, these authors have succeeded in ensuring that ethnography continues to be seen as a valid ethnographic approach in the organisation studies literature in general.

With specific regard to the legitimacy literature, empirical legitimacy studies traditionally focus on highly visible mechanisms of 'external legitimation' (such as public statements made through the Press) and talk overwhelmingly only to managers. They also tend to focus on a short timescale surrounding the focal legitimacy challenge. Thus most studies of legitimacy exhibit a certain trend of using qualitative but not ethnographic methods which can be characterised by the types of data collected (public statements), the breadth of data collected (speaking primarily to managers) and time span of data collection (usually tightly bound to the focal incident). Thus the use of ethnographic methods is not widespread in the literature. However, the qualitative approaches adopted in other empirical studies, such as content analysis or semi-structured interviewing, are not suitable for an exploratory study of legitimacy, such as this. As the discussion of 'withness-thinking' (Shotter 2006) illustrated, the particular theoretical endeavour of this study calls for a style of research which exposes the researcher to the active, in-situ, meaning making regarding the character of legitimacy in the focal organisation.

In conclusion, ethnography is argued to be a valid methodological choice both in the organisation studies literature in general and, despite the previous paucity of studies adopting the approach in the specific literature, for this study of legitimacy in particular. However,

Mitchell (2007) argues that the term 'ethnography' tends to gloss over a variety of possible methods occurring within the field work period. Brewer (2004: 312) similarly states that ethnography is "a style of research rather than a single method" which, provided it establishes "access to people's social meanings and activities and involve[s] close association and familiarity with the social setting" need not involve full participation. Thus, it is now necessary to clarify in more detail the exact character of the methods employed in this research other than simply 'hanging out'. In particular I will discuss the use of the ethnographic interview, which has an important place in clarifying insights developed during periods of participant observation.

Specific Methods

In undertaking an ethnography of the theatre I used a variety of data sources in order to enrich my understanding of how organisational members related to notions of legitimacy and legitimation. Van der Waal (2009) argued that there are four main sources of data that can be used in producing an organizational ethnography: the focal organisation's website; unpublished organisational ('grey') literature; (participant) observation and; interviews. The table overleaf (Table 3) illustrates the extent to which I made (extensive) use of each of these types of data during my fieldwork. After the table, each method is discussed in more detail.

Web Data	Grey Literature	Participant Observation	Interviews
Theatre website (organisational history and up-to-date staffing lists)	Audited Accounts (from 2009 onwards) (provided by theatre)	In Marketing Department Observation in department; Attendance at industry seminar (1 seminar)	Management 4 Board Members; CEO; General Manager; Associate Director
Federation of Scottish Theatre website (industry information)	Funding agreements and assessments (from 2006 onwards) (provided by Local Council)	In Dance Theatre Participation in Industry Network (4 meetings); Participation in workshop (2); Attendance at conference (1)	Main House Production Manager; Design Assistant/Scenic Artist; Finance Manager; Finance Assistant; Administration Manager
The Stage (trade magazine)	Organisational Strategy – Creative Campus (provided by theatre)	In Main House Observation in rehearsals (2 shows); (Participant) Observation across planning, rehearsal, staging and touring (1 show); Attendance at Show	In Business Development Head of Business Development; Marketing Manager; Press Officer; Digital Audience and Outreach Officer; Visitor Services Manager; Box Officer Manager
Creative Scotland Website (information on funding, priorities and governance)	Strategy documents of dance theatre (provided by dance theatre)	In Outreach Department (Participant) observation at workshops (2 in house, 2 around the City)	In Outreach Department Head of Department; Office Manager; Skills and Training Officer; Education, Skills and Training Officer; Community Outreach Officer
Scottish Arts Council Website (historical information on funding, priorities and governance)	Audience Breakdown Reports (as reported to the board) (provided by theatre)	As Critic Critiquing theatre shows in Edinburgh for theatre blog (attending press nights as official press, writing report, publishing online)	In Dance Theatre Artistic Director; Office Manager; Marketing Officer; Marketing Assistant; Education Manager; Dancers (4)
Dundee City Council Website (information on funding awards made to artistic organisations)	The Source Reports (benchmarked audience data) (provided by theatre)	Hanging Around Time hanging around the building, whether back stage or in public spaces	Other Project Manager for a Local Educational Support Program Dance Agent for Change
	Press Reports from 2009 onwards (from all national press outlets) (provided by theatre)		Note- Board Interviewees also serve as Local Councillor (1); Civil Servant (1) and Professor at partner HE institution (1)

TABLE 2 - SPECIFIC METHODS EMPLOYED IN DATA COLLECTION

Web Data

Publicly available web information played an important role in helping me to immerse myself in the field. At the organisational level, I made extensive use of the host organisation's website to learn the history of the theatre, this resource was crucial in enabling me to understand the 'legacy' of community work at the theatre, which participants referred to. Through researching information like this I was able to accelerate the rate at which I could be considered an informed 'participant', rather than an objective researcher. Also of assistance in this regard was the information stored on websites of important organisational stakeholders, particularly industry bodies, funding bodies and trade magazines. In seeking to build an understanding of how the funding system of the organisation operated, I utilised both the website of the current funding body (Creative Scotland) and of its predecessor (Scottish Arts Council).

A detailed comparison of the guidelines and awards announcements made publicly available from each of these bodies was key in enabling me to understand how the funding system evolved as the transition from the Scottish Arts Council to Creative Scotland took place (during the fieldwork period, in 2010). I also spent time reviewing the information presented by Dundee City Council (another of the theatre's funders) relative to that presented by Creative Scotland and the Scottish Arts Council. Comparative reading on the funding strategies, and the statements regarding how these strategies related to local and national policy frameworks, allowed me to understand the extent to which the demands placed on the theatre by these two bodies were likely to be corresponding or conflicting. Studying the website of Dundee City Council also provided me with an understanding of the organisations with which the theatre was 'competing' for funding. Finally, I used the Federation of Scottish Theatre and The Stage websites to keep abreast of industry news. Generally, the information from these sources was more specific to theatre and tended to have more of an artistic bent (especially in the case of The Stage), which provided me with valuable conversation topics for my fieldwork. I also signed up to weekly "Arts Journal" emails in order to receive regular updates on developments in art more broadly than the UK.

The information gleaned from web sources was therefore used to build a basic level of knowledge about the organisation and its situation to improve the quality of the fieldwork.

Grey Literature

Web data provided me with a general level of understanding concerning the funding and policy situation of the theatre. This understanding was further developed through reviewing 'grey literature' collected from across the organisation. 'Grey literature' is a term used to refer to organisational documentation which is neither publicly available nor explicitly private, and is often collected by organisational ethnographers over the course of their fieldwork.

The grey literature I collected ranged from organisational strategies and reports produced for funding purposes, to annual accounts, audience analysis documents and press coverage of the organisation across the fieldwork period. The audited accounts of the theatre were used to provide an introduction to the financial situation of the theatre and were used in producing the section on organisational context in Chapter One. Strategy documents collected from the theatre ('Under One Roof', 'Towards the Creative Campus' and department strategies) allowed me to build up a theatre of how the priorities of the theatre had evolved over the period from 2 years before and throughout the fieldwork period. They also provided useful talking points for the ethnographic interviews later undertaken. The 'Creative Campus' strategy (as the primary organisational strategy document over the fieldwork period) features extensively in Chapter Four. Audience breakdown reports (collected both from individual productions and from the organisation as a whole) proved invaluable in understanding how audience demographics are analysed by the Marketing Department and reported to Senior Management and to the Board. In addition to collecting these reports I also attended a seminar on Audience Development in order to properly understand the reasons behind the expansion of this activity in the 'cultural industries'. Finally, I used the press reports and brochures as a means of ascertaining the extent to which the theatre was in the 'public eye', both locally and nationally, and to look at the success of the theatre's production in critics reports across the fieldwork period. The press reports were collected and collated for organisational purposes by the Press Officer, who gave me access to her archives, and to the stock of brochures, for this purpose.

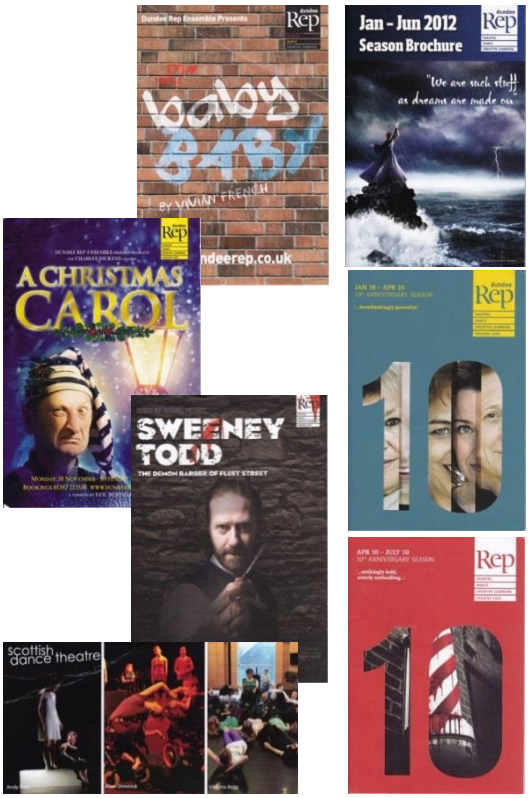


Figure 11 - Fliers and Brochures from Fieldwork Period

Therefore, the grey literature collected from across the theatre was used to develop the knowledge gleaned through the publicly available web data, as a basis for ethnographic interviews and to develop the 'context situation' of Chapter One and the data section of Chapter Four.

Participant Observation

One of the primary ways in which data were collected during the study was through participant observation. I was guaranteed access to the fieldwork site across the research period. At the outset of the research process, I was invited by the management team to explore any part of the organisation, and the General Manager introduced me to employees and across the organisation and secured me access to their activities. However, I was aware of the potential for my presence to distract employees or create unease (perhaps particularly since I was introduced as a 'researcher' by a member of the Senior Management Team), so I sought to avoid disrupting the organisation.

Throughout the first two years of research, I spent approximately two days per week inside the theatre. In these two days I sought to set-up opportunities to accompany organisational members in their work activities, and around this I 'hung around' (Geertz 1998) in organisational spaces where I could observe people working without disturbing them. The activities I participated in with organisational members ranged from observing rehearsals for professional shows, to participating in workshops with the dance theatre and outreach department, to acting as a participant-observer at industry meetings. In establishing the extent to which I might 'participate' rather than just observing, I took the participants' behaviour as my guide and sought to participate whenever the situation allowed it. In some situations this meant I would be acting as a full participant (for example in the workshops I attended in the theatre in the outreach department) whereas in others my participation might be limited, commonly because of a risk of disrupting the artistic process (for example, in ensemble rehearsals) or because of a lack of training on my part (for example, when observing workshops in community centres with vulnerable groups).

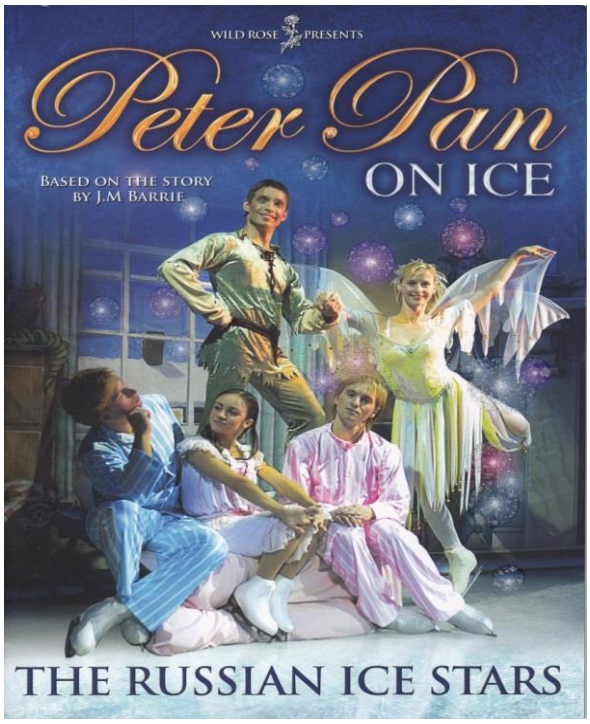
Having no work experience in theatre made establishing my role as a participant (where possible) a gradual process. In addition to building trust with participants, I also sought to build my knowledge base regarding the industry as a means of building participant relationships. While many situations precluded my taking part as a full participant; through learning more about the activities I was getting involved with and spending more time with the participants in question I was able to become less of an observer and more of a participant. Therefore while

many of the initial instances of participant observation took place at the periphery of the activity taking place, by the final instances I was able to take part more fully. For instance, one of the first things I used to do was to sit in on ensemble rehearsals. I sat behind the director's table on a ledge and did not engage with the ensemble. However, in one of my later pieces of participant observation, I followed a production from initial concept, through rehearsal to touring. During this period, I was frequently asked to offer my responses to scenes, was invited to lunch with the participants and even assisted with set building and placing out chairs on the tour.

Around the specifically defined activities to which I had been invited, I spent the remainder of my 2 days per week in the theatre 'hanging out' in (semi-)public organisational spaces. Geertz argues that this activity, which he refers to as 'deep hanging out', can lead to some of the most fruitful insights when conducting ethnography (Geertz 1998). I 'hung out' in spaces such as the Marketing Office, the foyer area in the Box Office and the café area. These were spaces where I could observe the movement around the organisation without disrupting activities. These instances of 'hanging out' served to build familiarity with participants, and also often created serendipitous meetings which led to further participant observation opportunities. This was, for example, how I came to be invited onto the Dance Agent for Change's 'Creative Thinking Network' meetings.

Although the majority of my participant observation activities took place with organisational participants, I also sought to explore external opportunities which offered an opportunity to develop a 'withness' understanding. One of the key instances in which I sought to do this was by participating as a theatre critic/blogger to gain an insight into the way this activity interacts with the work of the theatre. This involved me applying for, being trialled as and eventually becoming a full critic for a theatre blog. As a critic I received 'Press tickets' to productions opening in Edinburgh, attended 'Press nights' and wrote 'Critics Reports' with 'Star ratings' corresponding to the structure recommended by the site manager which were subsequently published on the website. My first outing as a critic, to 'Peter Pan on Ice', is detailed in Figure 12 overleaf. This process of learning to critique performances gave me a valuable insight into how the marketing activities of the theatre relate to the pieces which appear about the theatre in local and national media.

FIGURE 12- MY FIRST ASSIGNMENT AS A THEATRE BLOGGER UNDERTAKEN AS AN ADDITIONAL ELEMENT OF FIELDWORK



In the course of participant-observation, I sought to write my field notes as events were unfolding around me. As such I carried my notebook with me at all times. During the fieldwork period I filled two standard sized A5 notebooks with field notes. It was my practice to type my field notes up into 'headnotes', adding any additional information I felt was prudent, in the evening of the same day. During this redrafting process it was my practice, as is the convention (Rapport 1991), to supplement the descriptive recounting of episodes with my impressions and feelings, such that I might be able to recall the episodes more clearly. In writing up and recursively analysing the data I used my field notes largely as an aide memoires; working from

memory and cross-checking against my field notes and associated data (e.g. Press reports, Company reports, photographs and programmes). This is an approach often used by ethnographers, such as Ottenburg (1990) who relies on a series of minimal notes in the writing process itself known as 'headnotes'. In addition to the two notebooks of field notes, I also have 7153 'headnotes'.

While participant observation offers the researcher a better opportunity to understand the culture and meaning-making of participants than many other methods, it has some drawbacks. Participant observation relies upon the researcher *suspending disbelief*, in forgoing 'objectivity' for cultivating the particular subjectivity of the field of study. This process of 'going native' involves complex tensions between developing familiarity with the logics and rationalities of the field whilst seeking to understand with some clarity the phenomena under study. In the case of this study, legitimacy is something largely unspoken amongst participants. Therefore, I was slowly becoming acclimatised to a culture where legitimacy was unspoken whilst I was trying to gain some clarity on this same, specific concept. Thus there is a tension between the researcher becoming cognitively enmeshed in the world of the field, but subsequently managing to construct a 'scientific account' of those experiences.

In addition to complexifying the role of the researcher, participant observation also (through mobilising subjectivity) may produce results open to interpretations of bias. As Clifford (1986: 10; Quoted in Mitchell, 2007: 63) notes "'Cultures' do not hold still for their portraits". The product of participant observation is not a wholistic view of the culture but a series of glimpses of a world in constant motion and evolution, constructed into a narrative. In addition, not only are such ethnographic accounts partial, they are always 'after the fact'; the unique moments and interactions from which the findings of ethnography are drawn are suspended in the time of their capture in an ethnography, whereas in organisational life they are transposed with later meanings. The ethnography of Dundee Rep theatre presented in this study is not a timeless account of the management of legitimacy in an organisation, but a partial account of a series of interactions occurring in a particular set of organisational, social and political circumstances.

Further, it has been previously pointed out that empirical studies based on large-scale fieldwork tend to suffer from a problem of 'anecdotalism' (Silverman 2011), whereby such studies present only 'anecdotes' or 'snippets' of their research experiences to validate the theoretical propositions drawn from the analysis (through the necessity of being unable to present all their data). Silverman (2009) argues that this may lead to a questioning of the 'validity' of the study, a problem which he states is commonly addressed in two ways. Firstly the researcher might seek

to 'triangulate' their research findings; to build the empirical data presented from multiple data sources. The extent to which triangulation is possible in ethnography is limited, but I have sought wherever possible to cross-check the emerging findings from my fieldwork against other forms of data. This is why, for instance, most of the ethnographic episodes presented in Chapter Five span several situations, and include the testimony or experiences of multiple participants. The second way in which Silverman (Silverman 2009) argues the problem of 'anecdotalism' is usually partially ameliorated is through respondent validation; the validity of accounts may be improved by returning the analysed data to the respondents to collect their reactions. Silverman argues that this tactic can be ineffective, because the field of study will have evolved and as such the later reactions of the respondents to the accounts must not be given privilege over earlier accounts. In this study I have sought to pursue a relatively collaborative approach to research, which has meant that my reflections on the data (early manifestations of 'findings') were often discussed with participants. More systematically, I sent out all the narratives presented in Chapter Five to respondents to gauge their reflections on these accounts of their working environment. Furthermore, I have on a number of occasions in formal and semi-formal contexts presented my work to the management of the theatre.

Ethnographic Interviews

"... narratives work. They allow understandings of what constitutes competence, success and failure, and authorised action, that which may be said and done in the context in question."

(Townley 2008: 129)

Towards the end of my fieldwork period (from October 2011 to January 2012) I undertook a series of 31 ethnographic interviews with organisational members and stakeholders (see Table 2 on p81 for details of interviewees). The interviews took place in or nearby the theatre building, taking between 25 minutes and two hours to complete, and were recorded and transcribed. The transcripts range in length from 1778 to 10717 words, with the average length being 4484 words. The total length of the interview data is 139007 words.

These interviews served two primary purposes. Firstly, I sought to explore issues which had arisen during the field work period, and to source what have been termed "official narratives" (Brewer 2004, Van der Waal 2009: 35) to confirm my understanding regarding organisational members' meanings of legitimacy. This reason for attempting to further substantiate the findings produced through participant observation is reflected in the highly influential account of the nature of ethnography produced by Pratt:

> *"Fieldwork produces a kind of authority that is anchored to a large extent in subjective, sensuous experience… But the professional text to result from such an encounter is supposed to conform to the norms of a scientific discourse whose authority resides in the absolute effacement of the speaking and experiencing subject"*
>
> (Pratt 1986: 32)

These interviews played an important role in critiquing, deepening, and in some cases reinforcing my subjective, sensuous experiences gained during the fieldwork period. In so doing, they allowed me to overcome any discomfort I felt in presenting this ethnography as an honest account of the culture of the organisation, which was a particular personal concern due to my lack of previous experience in the culture of theatre. Taking a semi-structured approach, these interviews were aimed not at addressing specific questions raised by the fieldwork, but rather at raising and discussing issues which had emerged as possibly important. The ethnographic interview is well-suited to this purpose of refining insights in the field. As Fontana and Frey (2000: 653) argue, unlike the structured interview, the ethnographic interview "attempts to understand the complex behaviour of members of society without imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry". Thus, the interviews provided a key stage in refining observations from the field whilst retaining an open-ended structure to allow new insights to be realised.

The interviews took place in and around the theatre building at the convenience of the interviewees. The interviews were semi-structured; each progressed from considering the theatre and its legitimacy in the past, at the current moment in time, and in the future. I regularly updated a three page 'interview schedule' which I used largely as a guide to keep on track. An example of this interview schedule (which was used in the interviews with Creative Learning employees) is included as Appendix B. Within the broad structure of the interview guide I allowed the interviews to be determined by shared experiences and the stories which participants wished to share with me relative to each topic. As such, the interviews all covered the same general structure (reflecting on organisational performance, legitimacy and work in the past, present and future), but each explored different specific situations or stories based on the experiences and knowledge between myself and the participants.

There is a good basis for encouraging the use of story-telling in interview situations. Stories are the means by which behaviour is instructed and regulated within organisations or, as Townley puts it they "function as a means of 'common law', a means to interpret new circumstances in the light of accumulated thinking and 'wisdom' on a topic" (Townley 2008: 128). This is also the

point made by Weick (Townley 2008: 129, citing, Weick 2001) when he argues that stories remind people of values and provide them with "guidelines for activities". Narratives are not just stories, in many ways they have an agency, a purposeful role in developing the social ecology of an organisation. Therefore, actively leveraging storytelling as a method of data collection is a useful way of uncovering the 'hidden' forms of meaning-making occurring within an organisation. I will later discuss how I attempted to preserve the stories of organisational members whilst weaving together accounts of legitimation across the organisation in the 'presentation of data' section of this chapter.

Participants sometimes did not identify strongly with the terms 'legitimacy' or 'legitimation', and were more comfortable discussing organisational history and work/organisational achievements. In order to address this issue, participants were encouraged to reflect on how the organisation had changed over their time with the theatre. The stories they told regarding the development of the theatre were then used as a basis for exploring how they understood the organisation to have conformed or challenged notions of what constituted an 'appropriate' role for the theatre. The interviews also went on to focus on present and future experiences and projections of achievement and development, narrowing gradually to focus on perceptions of appropriateness which could be related to organisational legitimacy.

The use of interviews can be criticised as the interview situation has a particular structure and expectations which may influence the responses given by participants. Throughout the fieldwork period, the ethnographic researcher seeks to establish themselves as a co-participant; to remove any differences of power, role or meaning-making which may impede the researcher in generating a account of the social phenomena of study from *within* the culture of the field. The interview situation, if not carefully managed, may violate the co-participant relationship carefully cultivated across the fieldwork period by establishing the researcher as the 'questioner' and the participant as the 'respondent'. Both the structure of the interview (question/answer) and the content of the topics discussed may be liable to lead the participant to give non-representative responses. I sought to address these issues in two ways. First, with regard to the structure of the interview, I used a broad interview schedule with 15 questions arranged into a past/present/future structure. I began each interview by asking the participant to briefly recount how they came to work at the Rep. This allowed me to establish a rapport and a common ground for reference throughout the remainder of the interview. Secondly, I sought at all times to use the terminology of participants, rather than that of the literature. The literature talks of legitimacy, but my participants sometimes did not; sometimes they preferred

to talk about ‘quality’, ‘value’ or ‘expectations’. Therefore, I attempted to keep the structure and content of the interviews from impeding the responses of participants.

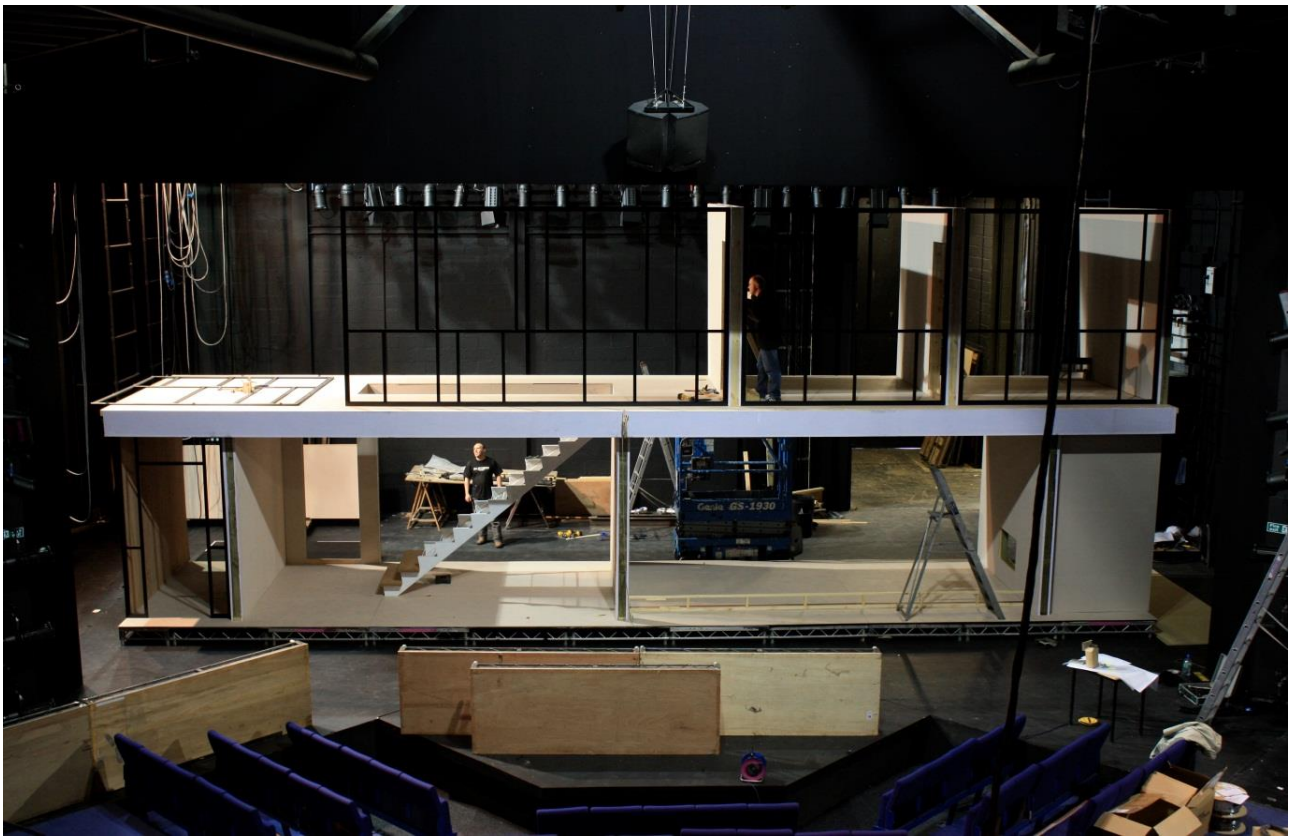


FIGURE 13 – BACKSTAGE--MUCH OF MY EARLY FIELDWORK INVOLVED OBSERVATION OF THE PROCESS OF BUILDING AND REHEARSING 'IN-HOUSE' PRODUCTIONS

FIGURE 14 – SWEENEY TODD--ONE OF THE PLAYS I OBSERVED IN PRODUCTION WAS THE MUSICAL "SWEENEY TODD: DEMON BARBER OF FLEET STREET" WHICH WENT ON TO SELL OUT AND WIN GREAT

FIGURE 15 – TALKING HEADS--TOWARDS THE END OF MY PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION, I FOLLOWED A TOURING PLAY FROM INITIAL CONCEPTION THROUGH TO THE TOUR. THESE ARE PRODUCTION SHOTS OF THE PLAY, WHICH COMPRISED A SERIES OF MONOLOGUES GIVEN BY ENSEMBLE MEMBERS AND WAS AN ADAPTION OF ALAN BENNET'S 'TALKING HEADS'.

FIGURE 16 – NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS-- SOME OF THE HEADLINES AND PIECES IN THE LOCAL AND NATIONAL PRESS WHICH FEATURED MEMBERS OF THE THEATRE, ACROSS THE FIELDWORK PERIOD.

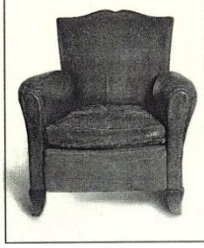
Dundee Rep Theatre — **TECHNICAL SCHEDULE**

Week commencing : 29-Aug-10 — **Sunshine on Leith &Talking Heads**

Week	Times	REP Stage	rehearsal room	Staffing & Information
Sunday 29-Aug-10				
Monday 30-Aug-10	09.00-13.00	Rehearse re-light SOL calls TBC	09.00-13.00 TH rehearsal	sol tech support
	13.00-14.00	break	13.00-14.00 Break	
	14.00-18.00	Rehearse re-light SOL calls TBC	14.00-18.00 LX and set installation	
	18.00-19.00	break		
	19.00-22.00	Dress and photocall		
Tuesday 31-Aug-10	09.00-13.00	Rehearse re-light SOL calls TBC	09.00-13.00 cont install set elements and LX focus/plot	Sol tech support
	13.00-14.00	Break	13.00-14.00 Break	
	14.00-17.25	d plot	14.00-18.00 LX Plot/sound plot TBC	
		Break		
	19.30	Preview perf 1		
Wednesday 01-Sep-10	09.00-13.00	Rehearse re-light SOL calls TBC	09.00-13.00 Tech Chip	sol tech support
	13.00-14.00	break	13.00-14.00 Break	
	14.00-18.00	Rehearse re-light SOL calls TBC	14.00-18.00 Tech Lentils	
	18.00-17.25	break	18.00-19.00 Break	
	19.30	Perf 2 Sol	19.00-22.00 Tech Chance	
Thursday 02-Sep-10	09.00-13.00		09.00-13.00 tech work/lx/sound changes TBC	Sol tech support
	13.00-14.00		14.00-18.00 Dress 1	
	14.00-18.00		18.00-19.00 Break	
	18.00-19.00		19.00-22.00 Dress 2	
	19.30	Perf 3 Sol		
Friday 03-Sep-10	09.00-13.00		get out RR and load for Ardler 10.00	sol tech support
	13.00-14.00		Fit-up, set dress, Focus, from mid day	
	14.00-18.00		break 14.00-15.00 1500-16.30 cont focus	
	18.00-19.00		cast to rehearse on stage 4.30-6.00 break 6.00-7.00	
	19.30	Perf 4 Sol	perf 1 @ 7.00pm then get out approx 9.00 pm	
Saturday 04-Sep-10	09.00-13.00			Sol tech support
	13.00-14.00			
	14.00-18.00			
	18.00-19.00			
	19.30	Perf 5 Sol		

TALKING HEADS

AUDIENCE SURVEY



Hello
Thank you for watching Dundee Rep Ensemble's production of Talking Heads. We would be very grateful if you could spare a couple of minutes to complete this short survey and hand it into one of the Dundee Rep staff members or at reception.

Please turn over to complete survey.

1. Age

14-18 19-26 27-40 41-60 61+

2. Which venue have you visited to watch Talking Heads?

Ardler Complex Douglas Community Centre Whitfield Community Centre
Kirkton Community Centre Menzieshill Community Centre

3. How often do you attend other events at this venue?

Once a year 2-3 times a year Monthly Weekly

4. Are you part of any class/group at this centre, if so, what?

5. How many times have you visited Dundee Rep?

I visit regularly I have been a couple of times Once Never

5. How would you rate Talking Heads?

Excellent Very good Good OK Poor

6. Do you have any other comments?

7. If you are interested in finding out more about Dundee Rep Theatre, please leave your details below:
Name:
Address:
Email:
Contact number:

Dundee Rep Theatre

Rep Production — **Season** January to March 2010

Production/Event Title — **Equus** by Peter Shaffer

Creative Team

Director	Jemima Levick	
Designer	Some ex elephant man	
Lighting Designer		
Choreographer/Movement		
Musical Director		

Schedule

Rehearsals	week commencing 18th January 2010
Production Week	week commencing 22nd February 2010
1st Preview	Saturday 27th February 2010
2nd Preview	Tuesday 2nd March
Press/Opening Night	Wednesday 3rd March
Final Performance	Saturday 20th march 2010
Total number of performances	19

Performance Dates/Times

Saturday 27th Feb, Tuesday 2nd to Saturday 6th Mar		Eves	7.30pm
Tuesday 9th to Saturday 13th Mar		Eves	7.30pm
	Thurs/Sat	Mat	2.30pm
Tuesday 16th to Saturday 20th Mar		Eves	7.30pm
	Thurs	Mat	2.30pm

Ticket Prices — **Previews and Press/Opening Night** £9.00 all tickets

		Tues-Thurs eves	Fri - Sat eves	Matinees
Standard		£14.00	£17.00	£10.00
Level 1	senior citizen, unemployed	£10.00	£13.00	£10.00
Level 2	young person (18-26), students, equity	£7.00	£9.00	£7.00
Level 3	friends	£9.00	£12.00	£10.00
Level 4	children, schools (1teacher free in every 10)	£5.00	£7.00	£5.00
Groups	10+ get the 11th ticket free	yes	yes	yes
Stand By	10 tickets half price an hour before the performance	yes	yes	yes
RCL	Young Groups	£5.00	£5.00	£5.00
	Adult Groups	£7.00	£7.00	£7.00
Rep Staff	only bookable a week in advance & subject to availability	£7.00	£9.00	£7.00

Audio description/Touch Tour
Signed Performance
Caption Performance

THE PRODUCTION WILL TAKE PLACE IN THE ROUND
CAPACITY TO BE CONFIRMED (potential 240 JC to confirm)
TICKETS SOLD AS UNRESERVED

10/08/2010 Calls 12.doc

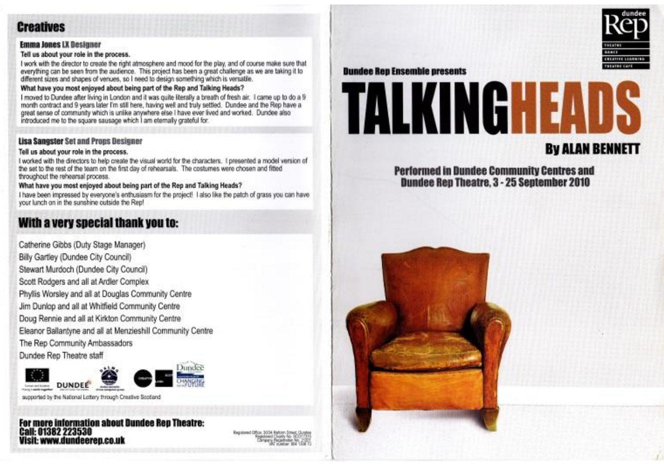
TALKING HEADS

Rehearsal Call 12

Date: Wednesday 11th August 2010

TIME	ACTORS	SCENE	ROOM
10:00-12.20	Ms. Winter Mr. Paterson	Chip in the Sugar	Meeting Room
12:20-13.20	LUNCH		
	30. Ms. Macdougall Ms. Winter Community Mr. Paterson Ambassadors	Meeting about	Meeting Room
13.30-14.00	Ms. Macdougall Ms. Winter Meeting Mr. Paterson	Production	Production Office
14.15-14.45	Mr. Paterson	Costume Fitting	Wardrobe
14.45-15.15	Ms. Winter	Costume Fitting	Wardrobe
15.15-15.45	Ms. Macdougall	Costume Fitting	Wardrobe
15.15-17.30	Ms. Winter Mr. Paterson	Chip in the Sugar	Meeting Room

FIGURE 17 – TALKING HEADS MATERIALS-- AS I WAS MORE HEAVILY INVOLVED IN THE MAKING OF 'TALKING HEADS' I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO COLLECT MATERIALS FROM ACROSS THE RUN. THE PAPERS ABOVE ARE (FROM THE TOP) THE SCHEDULE FOR THE REHEARSAL PERIOD, AN AUDIENCE FEEDBACK FORM USED IN THE TOUR, A BUDGET FOR THE PRODUCTION AND A CALL SHEET.



Creatives

Emma Jones LX Designer

Tell us about your role in the process.

I work with the director to create the right atmosphere and mood for the play, and of course make sure that everything can be seen from the audience. This project has been a great challenge as we are taking it to different sizes and shapes of venues, so I need to design something which is versatile.

What have you most enjoyed about being part of the Rep and Talking Heads?

I moved to Dundee after living in London and it was quite literally a breath of fresh air. I came up to do a 9 month contract and 9 years later I'm still here, having well and truly settled. Dundee and the Rep have a great sense of community which is unlike anywhere else I have ever lived and worked. Dundee also introduced me to the square sausage which I am eternally grateful for.

Lisa Sangster Set and Props Designer

Tell us about your role in the process.

I worked with the directors to help create the visual world for the characters. I presented a model version of the set to the rest of the team on the first day of rehearsals. The costumes were chosen and fitted throughout the rehearsal process.

What have you most enjoyed about being part of the Rep and Talking Heads?

I have been impressed by everyone's enthusiasm for the project! I also like the patch of grass you can have your lunch on in the sunshine outside the Rep!

With a very special thank you to:

Catherine Gibbs (Duty Stage Manager)
Billy Gartley (Dundee City Council)
Stewart Murdoch (Dundee City Council)
Scott Rodgers and all at Ardler Complex
Phyllis Worsley and all at Douglas Community Centre
Jim Dunlop and all at Whitfield Community Centre
Doug Rennie and all at Kirkton Community Centre
Eleanor Ballantyne and all at Menzieshill Community Centre
The Rep Community Ambassadors
Dundee Rep Theatre staff

supported by the National Lottery through Creative Scotland

For more information about Dundee Rep Theatre:
Call: 01382 223530
Visit: www.dundeerep.co.uk

Dundee Rep

Dundee Rep Ensemble presents

TALKINGHEADS

By ALAN BENNETT

Performed in Dundee Community Centres and Dundee Rep Theatre, 3 - 25 September 2010

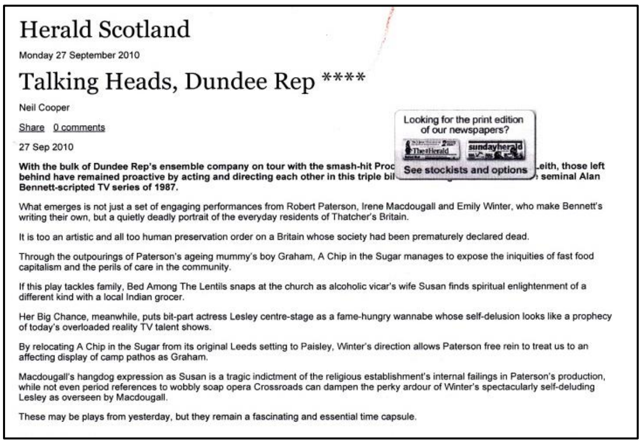
The Courier and Advertiser, Monday, September 13, 2010

by Jennifer Cosgrove

It's good to talk

Ardler Ambassador for the Rep Margaret Rourke (left) and community drama worker Amanda Lowson.

Main picture (from left): Irene Macdougall, Robert Paterson and Emily Winters.



Herald Scotland

Monday 27 September 2010

Talking Heads, Dundee Rep ****

Neil Cooper

Share 0 comments

27 Sep 2010

Looking for the print edition of our newspapers?
See stockists and options

With the bulk of Dundee Rep's ensemble company on tour with the smash-hit Proc … Leith, those left behind have remained proactive by acting and directing each other in this triple bil … seminal Alan Bennett-scripted TV series of 1987.

What emerges is not just a set of engaging performances from Robert Paterson, Irene Macdougall and Emily Winter, who make Bennett's writing their own, but a quietly deadly portrait of the everyday residents of Thatcher's Britain.

It is too an artistic and all too human preservation order on a Britain whose society had been prematurely declared dead.

Through the outpourings of Paterson's ageing mummy's boy Graham, A Chip in the Sugar manages to expose the iniquities of fast food capitalism and the perils of care in the community.

If this play tackles family, Bed Among The Lentils snaps at the church as alcoholic vicar's wife Susan finds spiritual enlightenment of a different kind with a local Indian grocer.

Her Big Chance, meanwhile, puts bit-part actress Lesley centre-stage as a fame-hungry wannabe whose self-delusion looks like a prophecy of today's overloaded reality TV talent shows.

By relocating A Chip in the Sugar from its original Leeds setting to Paisley, Winter's direction allows Paterson free rein to treat us to an affecting display of camp pathos as Graham.

Macdougall's hangdog expression as Susan is a tragic indictment of the religious establishment's internal failings in Paterson's production, while not even period references to wobbly soap opera Crossroads can dampen the perky ardour of Winter's spectacularly self-deluding Lesley as overseen by Macdougall.

These may be plays from yesterday, but they remain a fascinating and essential time capsule.

Courier and Advertiser
Saturday 4 September 2010

MEMBERS OF the Dundee Rep Ensemble staged the first performance of new production Talking Heads at the city's Ardler Complex last night.

This is the first time ensemble members have taken theatre out to community centres and the show will travel to four others across the city before going to the Rep.

The project sees three cast members perform and direct each other in different monologues written by Alan Bennett.

The production will also go to Douglas, Whitfield, Kirkton and Menzieshill community centres before running at the Rep from September 22-25.

● From left—The Rep's Emily Winter, Irene Macdougall, Graham Ross, Margaret Rourke and Robert Paterson.

FIGURE 18 – TALKING HEADS REVIEWS--TALKING HEADS TOURED LOCAL VENUES, BUT IT WAS ALSO RELATIVELY WELL RECEIVED BY THE PRESS AND CRITICS, AS THESE CUTTINGS FROM NEWSPAPERS IN THE PERIOD SHOW. TOP LEFT IS THE PROGRAMME THAT WAS PRODUCED FOR THE PLAY ONCE IT RETURNED TO THE 'MAIN HOUSE'.

Analysis of Data

During this study, two approaches to analysing data were adopted, one analysis method was utilised during the process of data collection and a further period of analysis, which differentiated between the two epistemological positions, was adopted after all the data had been collected. In analysing the data generated during my ethnographic collection, I adopted a grounded theory approach. While Hammersley (1992) argues that ethnographic work may be characterised by its inductive nature, the recursive stages of data collection and analysis undertaken in this study corresponds more closely to Glaser and Strauss' model of abductive reasoning, as employed in grounded theorising. This is because of the iterative style of analysis employed, and also because a 'tabula rasa' approach was not assumed. That is, my analysis involved iterating between data and theory, and I did not assume that I was approaching the analysis with my mind as a blank slate.

Clarke (2007: 424) argues that grounded theory is "first and foremost a mode of *analysis*" (emphasis in original). Grounded Theory, as developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), is based around the notion of abductive reasoning, which represents something of a 'third way' between the inductive method of generating theory from data and the deductive method of testing theory through data. The researcher employing abductive reasoning iterates between data and theory, both allowing the theory to arise from the data collected and allowing the comparison of the emergent theory with existing models. As such, utilising the principles of grounded theory for the gathering and analysis of data allows the researcher to emphasise *emergence* over any *a priori* notions of what the study should produce while retaining the ability of the researcher to actively compare with or critique existing theory in the literature.

Practically, utilising a model of grounded theorising meant that I began the study from a position of relative induction; on entering the field I attempted to immerse myself in the meanings and structures and conventions experienced by the participants. I aimed to become immersed in the environment of the theatre, such that I could begin to understand the nature of *meaning-making* as it was experienced by participants. Once I developed a sense of 'witness-thinking' (Shotter 2006), I was able to return to the existing theories purporting to explain legitimacy and, through a process of recursively comparing and contrasting data with theory, come to critique those theories.

Clarke states that in this "deeply empirical" (2007: 424) approach to theorising, analysis begins as soon as data is generated, and that the parameters of data sampling may be altered to enable adequate data to address emergent theoretical issues is produced. Thus I began analysing once I

had become suitably embedded in the situation. This embedding I sought to achieve from not only spending time in the theatre building 'hanging around' and becoming acclimatised (and allowing others to become more used to my presence) but also through accompanying organisational members in the work that occurred outside the four walls of the theatre and participating in associated industry activities (such as theatre blogging). I sought to achieve immersion in the sense-making of organisational members through directly taking part in these activities, recording my experiences as field notes and reflecting on them through discussions with organisational members. This immersion enabled me to see certain patterns emerging in my field notes (specifically regarding emergent notions of value and legitimacy); to re-mind interactions (Dewey 1997), dialogues and wider discourses in distinct new ways.

When I reached this point of immersion I began systematically analysing the data I had gathered through a sequence of coding. I began with a sequence of open coding which I used to generate a set of thematic categories around the notions of legitimacy, value, culture and identity. For examples, some of the open codes used were 'artistic legitimacy', 'legitimacy and links to organisational identity' and 'legitimacy and local politics'. I undertook this open coding process through repeatedly re-reading and annotating using Onenote software and subsequently seeking to amalgamate my annotations into a coding hierarchy. This first analysis period generated 43 open codes related to the legitimacy of Dundee Rep, with 47067 words of notes used to develop the codes. Using these codes as a basis, and through comparative reading in the legitimacy literature, I adopted the grounded theory tactic of theoretical sampling (Glaserand Strauss 1967). Theoretical sampling involves returning to the field after an initial data collection period in order to 'sample' further data based on emerging theoretical propositions (in this case concerning the nature of legitimacy). In doing so I sought to regularly review the position of my emergent theorising relative to the legitimacy literature I sought to contribute to, to evaluate the extent to which the findings of my data categories were sufficiently robust and redesigned my data collection to ensure that my collected data met the requirements of my theorising. In this manner I moved from broad immersion through ethnography to undertaking a series of more specific data collection projects. For example, in response to the realisation that outreach activities and co-operation with other social service providers was an important aspect of the legitimacy of the theatre I spent time with organisational members involved in outreach projects across the organisation. This data was also then incorporated into my Onenote project book as field notes, photos, and grey literature.

Analysing through Each Epistemology

However, the abductive process discussed above characterises only the analysis process during the period of my study in which I was actively collecting data. Following this period I established that, relative to the literature, my data highlighted an additional definition of legitimacy. I had determined that Gilbert Ryle's model of knowing that/ knowing how was capable of characterising the distinction between the first definition of legitimacy as a *belonging* and an emergent definition of legitimacy as *becoming*. During this second analysis period, in order to adequately understand the distinction between the two epistemological positions it was necessary for me to specifically interpret the data through each epistemology. As such I systematically analysed my fieldwork data through an epistemology of belonging, completing this analysis before moving onto the same process of analysing the data through an epistemology of becoming.

In each analysis process, I began by writing up the theoretical basis of the epistemology, in order to focus my attention upon the key dimensions of legitimacy that I would be seeking to identify in the literature. I then read through my field notes and flagged up accounts of situations or discussions where I felt that legitimacy from that perspective was represented. Having analysed all the data, I then collected the flagged instances and sought to thematically group them. These groupings were defined by the data, rather than by the theory. For instance, I found that I had a series of 'snippets' (Sims, Huxham, and Beech 2009) from discussions and situations related to an industry network which invoked a description of legitimacy-as-becoming, so I grouped these snippets together. Because I had placed these snippets in groupings which related to the field, rather than the theory, I was then able to construct ethnographic accounts which linked the various snippets together and placed them into context. In the case of legitimacy-as-becoming, the accounts are almost entirely drawn from experiences in my field notes. In the case of legitimacy-as-belonging, the accounts also frequently include excerpts from strategic reports, as these are a key method of communication between managers and certain groups of stakeholders. I then selected a number of accounts from this body of analysed data to include in Chapters Four and Five. I selected those accounts which I felt most clearly demonstrated the nature of legitimacy-as-belonging and legitimacy-as-becoming.

The difficulties of adopting two different epistemologies can be illustrated through a consideration of the respective roles of legitimacy and organisation through each perspective. At the organizational level, orienting an analysis through an epistemology of becoming (which is the 'novel' perspective on legitimacy) involves basing empirical reflections on an "ontological reversal" of the relationship between organizations and legitimacy (Tsoukas 2005). Through an

epistemology of belonging, organization is an antecedent of legitimacy; explained by the assertion that legitimacy can be "possessed objectively" by organisations (Suchman, 1995: 574). However, from a becoming perspective, legitimacy is seen as being *constitutive of* organization. Legitimacy is not a resource which is managed by organisations, but rather it actively shapes and is shaped by other organisational factors, such as history, identity and culture. Empirically, this means that when adopting an epistemology of becoming, the analysis involves putting aside the traditional framing of legitimacy and broadening the coding system to consider variables such as organisational culture and identity in their relationships with legitimacy. This was the rationale for adopting loosely structured ethnographic interviews and engaging in a wide range of organisational activities as part of the fieldwork. This allowed for the collection of data which identified both 'belonging-type' language and behaviour (such as explicitly discussing perceptions of the organisation and behaving strategically to reinforce or correct these perceptions) and 'becoming-type' language and behaviour (such as when employees across the organisation spoke of the value of the organisation to the local community and sought to shape their activities in ways that made them more valuable).

Therefore analysis post data collection was highly demarcated between each epistemology in order to avoid any 'bleeding' of concepts between the two analyses.

Presentation of Data

"Scholars interested in power and organization have often linked narratives to notions of hegemony and legitimacy as they relate to subjectivity"

(Rhodes and Brown 2005: 175)

As has been outlined above, the primary methodology employed in this study is ethnographic. The manner of data presentation in the following chapters adheres to the practices of organisational ethnography, but also constitutes an emphasised use of narrative in the presentation of data. By this I mean that the accounts do not unfold in a chronological order, but rather they span different situations across a shared theme in order to illustrate the character of legitimacy from each epistemological perspective. As Rhodes and Brown note in their review of narrative approaches to organisational research, links have often been drawn between narratives and organisational legitimacy. A recent example of such a study would be Golant and Sillince's (2007) study which contends that legitimacy is the result of the narrative constructions of organisational members and the selective realisation of narrative structures at the organisational level. As such, there is a precedent for the use of narrative approaches in

studies on organisational legitimacy. This section outlines the rationale for presenting the data as a series of ethnographic episodes featuring narratives, by reflecting on the character of organisational ethnography and specifically discussing the rationale for the use of narrative to present data in the area of organisation studies.

Firstly, if organisations are regarded as 'storytelling systems' (Boje 1991), then collecting and analysing the stories told by organisational members regarding their legitimacy is a valid way of interpreting social phenomena without abstracting from the original meaning attached by participants to their stories. Boje was speaking of all types of organisation, but a theatre may constitute an especially pertinent research setting for the use of methodologies which incorporate narrative. Many theatre employees are implicated every day in processes of storytelling, and as such are particularly well placed to relate to their own experience through this medium. In the course of my ethnographic study I found that participants would commonly tell me stories as a means of illustrating specific points, and further that many of the stories they told could be seen to be woven into broader organisational narratives concerning 'who we are' and 'what we do'. This was a consistent feature across the fieldwork period, and so was encouraged in the subsequent ethnographic interviews. Thus, having gathered many stories throughout my time at the organisation it seemed fitting to retain the narrative structure in presenting my data.

Secondly, narrative accounts are increasingly seen as a valid method of presenting data within the social sciences. Rhodes and Brown (2005) state that there is an ongoing tension between narrative and positivistic approaches in their review of narrative approaches in organisation studies and management research. However, their argument remains that both stories and science have a role to play. Where positivistic accounts search for universal truth, accounts which utilise narratives preserve the sovereignty of meaning. In adopting a withness approach, I look not to determine the exact formula for legitimacy, to determine what *causes* some organisations to be legitimate and some not. Rather, I seek to understand how participants in a lived reality *experience* legitimacy, to understand what *meanings* they attach to notions of legitimacy and processes of legitimation. As well as being epistemological positions within the literature, belonging and becoming also emerged from the study as being approaches to (the management of) legitimacy which may be taken in organisations. Part of this study therefore reflects the extent to which participants privilege notions of legitimacy as a belonging or as a process of becoming. Further, in this study I did not look to test existing theories of legitimacy, but rather to allow definitions of legitimacy to emerge from the empirical setting within which

the research was conducted. In achieving the aim of identifying and expressing emergent definitions of legitimacy and legitimation, narrative may act as a powerful tool:

> *"a story, unlike a chronology – a list of events in date order – is a "creative re-description of the world such that hidden patterns and hitherto unexplored meanings can unfold""*
>
> (Rhodes and Brown 2005: 167, quoting Kearney 2002: 12)

Thirdly, presentation of data through a narrative format can, if used correctly, allow not only for the original meaning of the participants to be more fully transmitted to the reader but can also enable the equivocality of multiple meanings (Boje 1995). As the initial research question asked "How do participants relate to legitimacy", it is sensible to employ a method of presentation that speaks directly to understandings of legitimacy.

The narrative structure of this study allows for diversity in the data presented in two ways. Firstly, the narrative accounts are broadly diverse across the epistemological boundary. Those stories told to illustrate legitimacy as belonging follow the narrative structure and character in which stories of legitimacy as a belonging are told within the organisation; they are relatively well structured and focus on managerial perspectives and language. Those stories which illustrate the legitimacy of becoming are less formally structured and tie together seemingly disparate organisational activities through their relation to the treatment of legitimacy within the theatre. These narratives are told more often in the direct words of participants from across the organisation and each begins with a direct recounting of a lived experience which introduces the particular topic at hand. Secondly, the narratives across the thesis attempt to incorporate multiple viewpoints, including that of the researcher, through the inclusion of the perspectives of several participants in each story. The aim of this is to ensure that the narratives presented do not appear as an attempt for a universal truth regarding the legitimacy of the organisation, but remain faithful to the meanings attached to organisational legitimacy and legitimation by organisational members and wider stakeholders.

Storytelling has been argued not only to be a feature of all types of management research (Czarniawska 1999) but has also been seen as a key factor in good research (Clegg 1993). However, using narrative in the collection and/or presentation of data has certain implications for the interpretation of the results of that data. Rhodes and Brown (2005: 167) write that "To author a story is always a creative act… A quest for meaning, not scientific truth". In presenting my data as a series of ethnographic narratives I have made a series of choices which are consistent with my ontological standpoint. As with all reality, legitimacy is understood as being

socially constructed; and as such there is not seen to be one 'formula' for legitimacy, but what is central to this study is applying a methodology which will allow the lived experiences and meanings of participants to be honoured in the development of theory. In particular, the narrative structure enables the data to illustrate how different groups of participants in different contexts regard legitimacy as either a belonging or as something which is inherently becoming. This structure of data presentation also honours the process of the thesis journey as a whole, for the theoretical framework developed in the preceding chapter was highly informed by emerging patterns in the data narratives which are later presented.

METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS

As previously noted, adopting a constructionist viewpoint prohibits claiming universal validity for the theoretical insights gained from empirical analysis. However, this chapter has laid out a series of methodological choices which indicate complexity in the research process, and so I will now reflect to a degree on where the implementation of this methodology has been inhibited.

I feel as though my insecurity over the character of the research questions, in particular my reluctance to pre-define that which I thought should be shaped by my research experiences, perhaps inhibited my ability at certain points to enter into the kind of 'open-ended dialogue' which would have resulted in true 'withness thinking' between my participants and myself (Shotter 2006). This is a problem not uncommon to those researchers who wish to carry out exploratory work. When looking to base early theoretical impressions purely upon the meaning being generated through the processes of data collection and not through generating any sort of testable propositions based on existing theory, it can be difficult to properly interpret the diversity of experiences in the field when conducting research in a new organisational setting and culture. In simple terms, when you are trying to do inductive research in an alien culture, it is difficult to express your purpose to participants and to interpret the meaning of cultural symbols and statements. In particular, difficulties can arise in attempting to explain to participants why the researcher should be allowed to 'join in' or 'hang around' when they cannot specify what questions they are trying to answer. Just as researchers may be asked to 'suspend disbelief' and abandon any pre-conceptions they might have of their participants, so might participants have certain expectations of the character and role of 'the researcher' which may be violated through adopting an inductive stance.

However, even if the participants do accept the ambiguity of an inductive beginning to the research process, the problems of 'withness thinking' are not overcome. My inability to share my practice as I was asking the practitioners around me to share theirs meant that while I had

the opportunity to become a co-practitioner, I was effectively inhibiting their ability to participate as co-researchers. As I had few concrete notions of 'where the project might lead' to offer them, this had advantages and disadvantages for including the participants in 'setting the agenda'. On the positive side, the agenda was fully shaped by my experiences, and for a good deal of the length of the project I was open to suggestions for direction (and on occasions actively encouraged participants to suggest avenues for exploration). This led to me being invited onto groups such as the Creative Thinking Network, considerably expanding the range of my fieldwork across the organisational boundary. However, on the negative side, while some participants were happy and felt encouraged to involve themselves in an inductive process, others seemed to feel as though this violated their expectations of the researcher-participant relationship. As I was unable to specify exactly what I wanted to know or what I would 'come up with' many participants were slightly unnerved by the uncertainty of what their role would be. Although I made efforts to assuage any uneasiness felt by the participants affected, this may have actively prevented them from taking on the role of co-researcher. Thus 'withness thinking', a "relationally responsive form of understanding", was transposed to a more "representational-referential (or aboutness) understanding"(Shotter 2006: 590).

Ethical Considerations

Similarly, a number of ethical considerations have shaped the evolution of the research process. These can broadly be grouped into general ethical concerns, concerns specific to the adoption of an ethnographic methodology and concerns specific to the study of legitimacy.

The first general ethical consideration concerns the positionality of the researcher in the research setting. I believe that several preconceptions shaped the way in which participants related to me as a researcher or a co-participant. Many participants were unsure over how to interact with me because of the preconceptions they had about 'academia', and normative preconceptions of how research 'should be done'. For these participants, I was positioned as a researcher. This meant that they treated me differently from other participants; frequently introducing me as a researcher, sometimes attempting to excuse me from activities they felt were irrelevant to my research (as they perceived it) and disturbing their daily work routines to give me special access to activities that they felt would be important to an 'academic study' of theatre. A limited number of participants also had certain preconceptions about what it meant to be a researcher 'from St Andrews University'. The 'St Andrews label', whilst being useful in getting interviews with certain individuals, actively discomforted some participants, who seemed to feel that St Andrews represented an elitist institution. In many cases, this was a feeling I got from interviewees rather than something which they explicitly addressed. In order

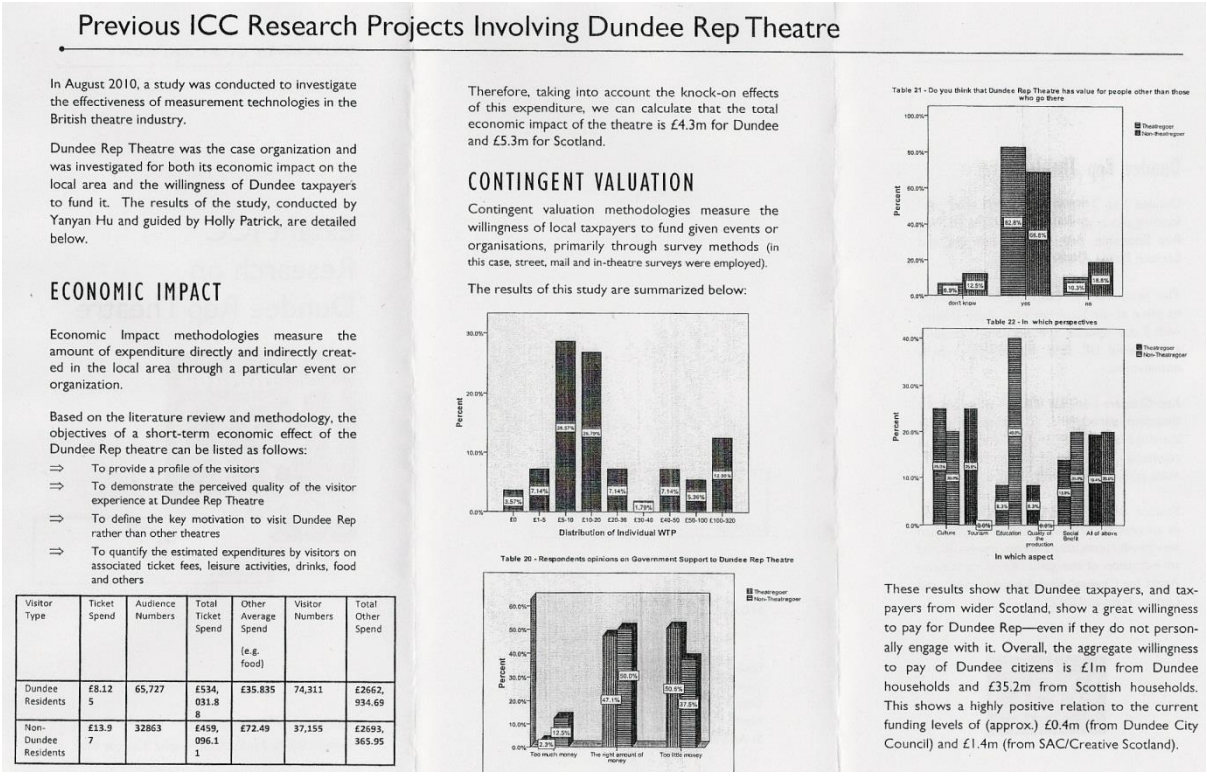
to ameliorate any negative effects that preconceptions of academia or St Andrews could have on participants and on the research process, I was careful to avoid labelling myself a 'St Andrews researcher' or similar. Instead, I referred to myself, when necessary, as 'someone working with the Rep', 'a student studying the Rep' or 'someone interested in the way you work' as I found these various constructs to be less threatening, and to enable the participants in relating to me as a co-participant, rather than a 'researcher'.

A second general consideration related to the difficulty of obtaining 'informed consent' when participating in outreach activities, particularly those involving groups of children or adults with learning difficulties. In these instances, it was frequently not possible to obtain informed consent. Apart from concerns regarding who is capable of giving informed consent for these participants, it would have been extremely disruptive to these activities to ask participants to fill out the participant information and consent forms. However, sensitivity concerning the use of 'data' gathered during these sessions is perhaps even more important than usual. I made several attempts to ameliorate these issues. First, I followed the ethical guidelines issued by the University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) regarding work with vulnerable participants. This included not being left alone with these participants and at all times closely following the guidance of the session leader. Second, I only attended sessions to which I was explicitly invited by a theatre employee and I ensured that the teacher/carer sponsoring the session (where applicable) understood my purpose in being there and was happy for me to participate. Third, I have exercised discretion in including excerpts directly drawn from sessions such as these in my analysis. Many of the insights from these sessions have been formative in interpreting wider activities, rather than being specifically described in the findings. Finally, I ensured that each of the data vignettes used in later chapters were checked by managers/employees of the theatre to ensure (amongst other things) that they were appropriate for inclusion in the final thesis.

The third general ethical consideration which shaped this research project was my introduction to the organisation by managers. As this thesis is based on a CASE studentship, the managers of the theatre explicitly sought out a research student to enter their organisation. As such, I was invited in by management, and some participants may have attached particular significance to this. It is possible that some participants may have perceived my role as an agent of management, and may have questioned what information they should share with me. I was fortunate that the culture of the theatre appeared relatively open and egalitarian, which mitigated such feelings to an extent. In order to further avoid being seen as an agent of management, I spent time 'hanging out' (Geertz, 1998) in the organisation, establishing my

presence as normal and unthreatening. This also provided with me with ample opportunities to informally introduce myself to participants, and to become invited onto projects without a direct introduction from management.

The final general ethical consideration I experienced during the project relates more specifically to the funding of the research project, as a CASE studentship. The organisation I was researching had part-funded my research project, and was considerably involved in the research planning process. They had a particular interest in exploring the different types of cultural evaluation mechanisms which were being implemented in the cultural industries at that time. These mechanisms, which issue from the demand to demonstrate the impact of cultural activities, emanate from a discourse of financial accountability. They aim to provide a bottom-line financial figure for the 'benefit' that an artistic activity or organisation creates, whether through Economic Impact Analysis, Cultural Valuation Methodologies, or other derivative measures. Ethically, I felt (and continue to feel) that this discourse had the potential to clash with the cultural activities which it sets out to measure. This happens, for example, when the focus of cultural activity moves from artistic production to filling 'bums on seats' as the result of a growth in audience analysis. As such, I felt a more critical stance needed to be taken, but there was still the need to both address the desires of the organisation and maintain an academic stance with regard to the research. This system of interests, and my ethical treatment of it, became an important and difficult to manage feature of the research project as it progressed. In order to deal with this, I undertook several smaller research projects alongside my thesis research into the areas of interest to the theatre managers. In one of these, the results of which are displayed below in Figure 19, I collaborated with a masters student from the University of St Andrews to produce a review of economic impact and cultural valuation methodologies, which she then tested at the theatre as part of her dissertation research.



Previous ICC Research Projects Involving Dundee Rep Theatre

In August 2010, a study was conducted to investigate the effectiveness of measurement technologies in the British theatre industry.

Dundee Rep Theatre was the case organization and was investigated for both its economic impact on the local area and the willingness of Dundee taxpayers to fund it. The results of the study, conducted by Yanyan Hu and guided by Holly Patrick, are detailed below.

ECONOMIC IMPACT

Economic Impact methodologies measure the amount of expenditure directly and indirectly created in the local area through a particular event or organization.

Based on the literature review and methodology, the objectives of a short-term economic effect of the Dundee Rep theatre can be listed as follows:

⇒ To provide a profile of the visitors

⇒ To demonstrate the perceived quality of the visitor experience at Dundee Rep Theatre

⇒ To define the key motivation to visit Dundee Rep rather than other theatres

⇒ To quantify the estimated expenditures by visitors on associated ticket fees, leisure activities, drinks, food and others

Visitor Type	Ticket Spend	Audience Numbers	Total Ticket Spend	Other Average Spend (e.g. food)	Visitor Numbers	Total Other Spend
Dundee Residents	£8.12 5	65,727	£534, 031.8 8	£35.835	74,311	£2662, 934.69
Non-Dundee Residents	£13.9 7	32863	£459, 096.1 1	£72.49	37,155	£2693, 365.95

Therefore, taking into account the knock-on effects of this expenditure, we can calculate that the total economic impact of the theatre is £4.3m for Dundee and £5.3m for Scotland.

CONTINGENT VALUATION

Contingent valuation methodologies measure the willingness of local taxpayers to fund given events or organisations, primarily through survey methods (in this case, street, mail and in-theatre surveys were employed).

The results of this study are summarized below:

Table 20 - Respondents opinions on Government Support to Dundee Rep Theatre

Table 21 - Do you think that Dundee Rep Theatre has value for people other than those who go there

Table 22 - In which perspectives

These results show that Dundee taxpayers, and taxpayers from wider Scotland, show a great willingness to pay for Dundee Rep—even if they do not personally engage with it. Overall, the aggregate willingness to pay of Dundee citizens is £1m from Dundee households and £35.2m from Scottish households. This shows a highly positive relation to the current funding levels of (approx.) £0.4m (from Dundee City Council) and £1.4m (from SAC/Creative Scotland).

FIGURE 19- ADDITIONAL RESEARCH UNDERTAKEN WITH DUNDEE REP

The second type of ethical consideration encountered during the research project is specific to the choice of ethnography as the research method. One method-specific ethical concern relates to the difficulty of obtaining informed consent from participants when conducting an ethnography. As previously discussed, the insights of ethnography rely upon the researcher being accepted as a co-participant and on establishing a relationship based on 'with-ness'. The establishing of the ethnographic relationship can be corroded through the need to ask all participants to fill in an informed consent form. In many cases, such a demand is practically impossible because many 'participants' might be, for example, audience members at a production, or representatives from other organisations at meetings. Although the filling in of an informed consent form was frequently not possible, the researcher always sought to inform participants of their rights (for example, to not engage with me or to refuse to answer any questions at any point without needing to explain).

The second ethnographic ethical concern deals with associated issue of the confidences that participants shared with the researcher. At times during the fieldwork, particularly in situations of full participation (on the part of the researcher-as-participant), I was made privy to certain confidences. Whether I was told directly about a clandestine opinion or story, or was simply within earshot, I sought to be very sensitive to the confidences that were shared in my presence.

Often, these confidences were particularly helpful in exposing the discrepancy between espoused organisational facts and the actual experiences and beliefs of employees. However, the retelling of some of these stories may have resulted in negative consequences for the employees involved. Wherever possible, I sought to incorporate the insights gained during these experiences in general terms, and to only explicitly recount episodes which would involve violating confidences. When I needed to use a quote and had any concern that an attributed opinion might have any repercussions for an individual or the organisation, I anonymised the individuals involved. All episodes used in the final thesis have been checked and approved by representatives of the theatre, primarily members of the management team but sometimes also the individuals who feature in the ethnographic accounts.

The third ethical issue related to the choice of ethnography as the research method is the reporting of internal organisational documents. Throughout my time at the theatre I was either given or I specifically requested access to a series of organisational strategy, scoping and operational documents (earlier referred to as 'grey literature'). Some of these documents conveyed 'backstage' discussions of the organisation which may have been damaging to the organisation if directly reproduced in a public forum. To avoid any negative consequences for the organisation, I only quote from these documents where it is necessary and where I believe the excerpt not to be controversial.

The final ethical issue encountered during the study relates more specifically to the type of theory being used. In the academic study of legitimacy, the empirical researcher must avoid taking a normative stance concerning the inherent value of what the organisation is doing. Further, from a social-constructionist standpoint, the organisation and its activities are only ever appropriate or inappropriate in the context of a specific social setting and a specific normative rationality. Therefore, it is necessary to distance the research from notions of correctness and (relatively dispassionately) consider the mechanisms by which a group of stakeholders perceives the organisation as legitimate or not. However, a key outcome for any organisation sponsoring a study of legitimacy is to better understand how to demonstrate organisational legitimacy. Although not oppositional, these two aims are not entirely synergistic, and I experienced a degree of difficulty in seeking to pitch my inquiry in an ethically appropriate manner whilst also satisfying the research agenda of the partner organisation. Viewing the results of the completed project, I feel convinced that I have succeeded in maintaining an academic stance throughout the project, and content to now explore the application of the theoretical insights of this thesis, which will address the agenda of the organisation.

METHODOLOGY - CONCLUSION

"… one of the challenges for OT is to find ways in which practitioners' lived experiences may be incorporated, rather than ignored as 'unscientific' into OT accounts"

(Tsoukas and Knudsen 2003: 11)

The statement recounted above from *The Oxford Handbook of Organization Theory* neatly surmises the role of this chapter in foregrounding the validity of the theoretical arguments to made later in this thesis. The key arguments of this thesis emerged from my ethnographic immersion in the field. As such, the role of this chapter must be to establish how the methodology adopted in the thesis generated these finding through capturing the meaning attached to legitimacy by organisational participants, and systematically analysing these meanings to construct theoretical arguments concerning the epistemological character of legitimacy.

In seeking to illustrate these points this chapter has covered three areas: ontology, research design and, limitations. The ontological grounding of this study has been described as social constructionist, and more specifically that form of social constructionism which is 'relationally responsive' (Cunliffe 2008). Adopting this perspective means regarding the social world in general, legitimacy in particular, as being constructed intersubjectively through the relations between subjects. The section on research design detailed the methodologies and specific methods by which data was collected, analysed and is presented in this thesis. Broadly, the research design is of an ethnographic style which, unlike a social constructionist perspective, is relatively uncommon in the legitimacy literature. The decision to adopt an ethnographic methodology was justified through reference to the need for 'withness thinking'; that is, ethnography was argued to be the best method for generating understanding between researcher-as-participant and participant-as-researcher. In addition to discussing the general rationale for and character of the ethnography, the section detailed the role of the ethnographic interview in generating the narratives presented in the data chapters. The process of analysis employed alongside data collection was characterised as 'abductive' (Glaser and Strauss 1967); the approach employed being 'grounded theory'. In adopting a grounded theory approach, iteration between theory and data resulted in a system of theoretical sampling designed to meet the requirements of the analysis. The data are presented largely as a series of episodes incorporating narrative. The rationale for presenting the data in this way is the ability of a narrative style to convey truthfully the experiences and meanings of participants which illustrate the existence of both variants of legitimation. Finally, I outline the limitations of the

approach taken and the ethical issues which during the research, particularly focussing on the difficulties of developing true 'withness' thinking because of the tensions inherent in the participant-as-researcher construct when the ability of the participants to work as co-researchers in inhibited.

CHAPTER FOUR – LEGITIMACY-AS-BELONGING

This first data chapter demonstrates the existence and character of an epistemology of belonging in the production of legitimacy at Dundee Rep. As legitimacy-as-belonging focusses on the strategic actions of managers, this chapter takes a strategic plan of the theatre as its primary focus. By 'strategic plan' I refer to the document which was produced to justify the future activities and aspirations of the organisation, rather than those plans and aspirations themselves. In order to do this, a detailed description of the strategy document will first be provided. The chapter will then look to demonstrate how this strategy is framed in an effort to gain, maintain and defend the legitimacy of the strategy and by extension the theatre itself, through discussing how the managers of the theatre, through the vehicle of the strategy document, relate the activities of the theatre to prevalent political narratives concerning the appropriate role for a theatre and actively seek to manage the impressions that stakeholders might have of organisational plans.

The strategic plan analysed in this Chapter is the Creative Campus Plan, which was the theatre's strategic plan at the time of study. The importance of this strategy to the theatre can be demonstrated through a discussion of the extent of planning necessary to produce this 43 page document. Dundee Rep's managers commissioned an external consultant to run the "strategic change planning process" which was funded by the Scottish Arts Council. The consultant was one of the senior partners in a national consultancy which refers to itself as "a strategic research consultancy working within the culture, heritage, leisure, media and charities sectors… [which helps organisations develop] enhanced consumer focus, resulting in better business." (Consultancy webpage, accessed 13-01-13). The process was highly structured; progressing from two all day staff workshops (the 'Big Bang') to the refining of ideas raised and the eventual incorporation of these into a series of models designed to help develop the 'strategy tree'.

> *"The 'Big Bang' workshops involved all staff in generating constructive suggestions for the future success of Dundee Rep. The workshops took as their framework the '7 Pillars of a successful 21st century arts organization: Vision-led; Brand-driven; Interdisciplinary; Outcome-oriented; Insight-guided; Interactively engaged; Personalised"*
>
> (Excerpt 11, Towards a creative campus, 2011:12)

The theatre funded the hiring of the external consultant who guided the strategizing process through a grant from the Scottish Arts Council, hence they were not paying the fee directly from revenue. This suggests extensive planning, as it would have required a grant application and

supporting documentation to have been developed months in advance. There is also an opportunity cost to be taken into account, as the Scottish Arts Council/Creative Scotland has finite resources and may be less likely to offer further one-off grants, for example to fund artistic activities, to an organisation which has received both a revenue grant and a grant to support strategy building. The hiring of an external consultant to construct the document is pertinent as it is both expensive and possibly symbolically important. It must also be considered that the activity of strategizing itself has particularly large opportunity costs for the staff involved, as it involved not only the Chief Executive as author, but also all staff being involved in two all-day workshops. For these reasons and more, it is unusual for theatres to embark on such a large and comprehensive strategizing process.

The Creative Campus Report was therefore chosen for the chosen as the focus for this Chapter as reporting emerged, during the fieldwork period, as being a particularly important process for demonstrating the legitimacy of the theatre, and the Creative Campus was the most important reporting process at Dundee Rep.

THE CREATIVE CAMPUS STRATEGY

"Towards a Creative Campus" (hereafter referred to as the "Creative Campus" strategy) is a strategic plan setting out the future direction of the theatre. It was authored by the Artistic Director/Chief Executive (in consultation with the Senior Management Team) between 2009 and 2011. It represents the culmination of a strategic planning process that saw the Senior Management Team working with an external arts strategy consultant to develop a plan for the future which tackles the emergent issues of the sector as a whole, whilst capitalizing on the traditional strengths of the organization. When I use the term 'strategy' I am referring to the plans and aspirations of the organisation, when I use the term 'report' I am referring to the document within which these plans and aspirations are codified.

Although the Creative Campus strategy is presented within the report as a 're-imagining' of Dundee Rep, the proposed changes to organisational culture are relatively developmental. However, the changes it proposes to the physical location of the theatre are ambitious. The building within which the theatre is located was purpose-built on land gifted by the University of Dundee in the 1980s and since that time, the size of the organisation has grown considerably. Spaces previously reserved for one activity or organisational department have had to be adapted for many different uses. Office space is at a premium, as is rehearsal space and

'greenroom' facilities for the performers to use in 'downtime'. The existing building is no longer fit for purpose. Having examined a series of options for increasing space (including replacing the car park with an extension), senior management reasoned that capital expenditure (on a building extension) was not a viable option given the financial position of the organisation. Instead, they opted to explore the option of taking a University-owned building (directly across a courtyard from the existing theatre building) on a long-term loan. The "Creative Campus" would physically consist of the existing and new buildings joined by the courtyard. Securing the use of this new building ('the Bonar Hall') is one of the purposes of producing the Creative Campus report, as it seeks to show the rationale for extra organisational space, and to demonstrate the existence of sufficient opportunities as to make good use of the additional space. While on one hand, the Creative Campus constitutes an attempt to re-imagine the nature of Dundee Rep and in so doing to build on organisational strengths, it also has a significant symbolic purpose in demonstrating the ability and enthusiasm that Dundee Rep has to make use of additional space and to broaden their current range of organisational activities.

Great value is placed on organizational structure by the Creative Campus report; in particular the value of maintaining two performing companies (the main house and the dance theatre) within the one organizational and physical structure. This is a recurring theme in the evaluation and future planning of the theatre; the preceding strategy focussed extensively on stressing the positive culture of all the diverse groups of workers across the organization being "Under One Roof". The strategy, titled "Under One Roof", sought to reinforce managerial intent to keep Scottish Dance Theatre part of Dundee Rep after the dance theatre was awarded a separate tranche of foundation funding from Creative Scotland. Indeed, the "Creative Campus" framing ensures that one of the core notions of "Under One Roof", that of physical proximity and the value of face-to-face working in a single building, is not lost in the expansion of the current site to an additional building. The 'Under One Roof'' plan could be understood largely as a consolidation strategy- an effort to reinforce the strong and positive internal values that would enable the various 'departments' of the theatre to work together more successfully.

The theme of the Creative Campus plan builds on these strong internal values and foregrounds a future orientation of expansion: expansion of the physical space, partnership working, creative practice and the ambition of the organisation to "reinvent the role of a theatre in the 21st century" (Towards a creative campus, 2011: 8). The physical expansion of the theatre (into the Bonar Hall) involves increased partnership working through collaborating both with the building owner (the University) to exercise the capabilities and resources of each partner, but also working increasingly with new partners across the education, social justice, economic

development and commercial sector within the city and beyond, to ensure the delivery of expanded Creative Learning provision within this new space. Before going on to specifically address how the framing of the Creative Campus strategy secures the legitimacy of Dundee Rep, I will outline the contents of the Creative Campus report.

Creative Campus Report Contents

The report begins with a section outlining the "unprecedented success" of the theatre, detailing their "creative process" and discussing the need for "change" (p2). It defines the success of the theatre in terms of awards received, invitations to tour internationally, the expansion of the Creative Learning department and the decision of the Scottish Arts Council to award Dundee Rep two foundation funding grants (with uplifts of 33% for the main house, and 50% for the dance theatre). In terms of the creative process of the theatre, the report states their "vibrant and creative" work environment is ensured by having two permanent performing companies in the same building. This point both links back to the previous "Under One Roof" strategy, and attempts to counter any opinions that either performing company might perform better as a separate organisational entity. Through having these two companies together, it is argued, artists are placed "at the heart of what we do" ensuring that the work produced across the organisation is "powerful and compelling", regardless of where it is staged. The final section of page two details the need for change. This is where the authors, Dundee Rep's managers, establish the argument that reimagining, rather than consolidation, is the best way to adapt the organisation in "straightened economic times". This section begins by arguing that "repeating the recipe for success" is not a viable route forward, and later goes onto argue that "a more creative, more collaborative Dundee Rep [is] a more sustainable Dundee Rep" (p2).

The next page (three) discusses the "journey so far" in establishing the Creative Campus plan. It outlines how the process began in September 2009 when the theatre "instigated a strategic change planning process" which was funded by the Scottish Arts Council and led by an external arts consultant. They state their intention to make the planning process "participative", "collaborative", "creative" and "transparent" as these are the values they wanted the "future organisation" to possess. The report goes on to describe how the process began with two all-day workshops attended by staff and the Board of Directors, entitled "The Big Bang". The purpose of these workshops was primarily to generate ideas about "improving the way we work together, increasing our efficiency and delivery more effective outcomes and impacts" (p3). These ideas were then circulated to all staff and put into action "within days of the sessions". The key themes which emerged from these sessions (as detailed overleaf) were articulated into "vision, mission and objectives" through further cross-organisational sessions.

Key themes:

- “A high value placed on what we do and real pride in our achievements
- The need for more space- to create work, develop new initiatives, expand our work to a wider range of people and agencies
- A wish for more opportunities for learning and reflection amongst staff
- A desire to offer similar opportunities for people within the industry and the community in general
- A fierce desire to maintain our reputation for making work of the highest quality
- The importance of cross-fertilizing within and outwith the Rep
- The need for better communication internally and externally
- Interest in reaching out to our audiences
- A desire to disseminate our success more effectively”

On page four, the report details the ‘manifesto’ produced through these themes and subsequent sessions through the presentation of a manifesto statement and a statement of belief, vision and mission. The manifesto statement outlines the moral role that performance has in peoples’ lives and in society as a whole, particularly on how the experience of performance allows people to connect with their humanity. It argues that theatre and dance “can take us to a place where we see the world through others’ eyes, we feel the world through others’ hearts and we can speak to the world through others’ voices” (p4). Having set out this moral role, the manifesto statement then goes on to argue that the organisation’s responsibility must be to engage, “to challenge, to celebrate, to enter the unknown” through reaching out to people. It concludes by stating that “Dundee Rep contributes to the well-being of the city- for individuals but also collectively – economically, socially and in terms of the reputation of the city” (p4). The final section of page four goes on to develop the belief, vision and mission which support this manifesto, which focus the Creative Campus ‘ideology’ from aspirational ideas into statements of intent. These are detailed overleaf.

"Our Belief:
Our work transforms lives: we are a vital element of the cultural and social fabric of Dundee and Scotland.

Our Vision:
We will foster creativity, leadership and inclusivity: we want to reinvent the role of Dundee Rep in the 21st Century.
We will enable people to develop their full potential: engaging people through performances, through participation and through learning are equally valid.
We are 'world-class local': we make work in Dundee of an international standard

Our Mission – "The Big Idea"
In the next three years we will establish Dundee Rep as a creative campus.
To achieve this we will need to:
Identify and articulate our brand
Reinvigorate our culture
Renew our organisation

Page five of the report develops "The Dundee Rep Brand" as laid out below in Figure 20. It states that this model is intended as a "working document" which can be used to "audit" existing performance and as an "inspirational tool" for developing new organisational plans. The brand is built on the model of a triangle, with three key dimensions of organisational identity being seen as key to delivering the "brand essence" of being a "Creative Hub". This model, which places the aims of the organisation developed on page one into conversation with the moral role of performance introduced on page four, is aimed at a notion of a "brand" not as a customer offer or an external representation of the organisation, but as an intrinsic feature of the organisation. The report states: "Our brand is not a logo, a wrapper or a façade… It's what we believe in, what we stand for and who we are. It is our DNA" (p5).

FIGURE 20 - DUNDEE REP'S BRAND MODEL

After this, the report moves onto the second aspect of the mission statement- "Reinvigorating our culture" (p6). This page of the report constitutes a descriptive list of organisational attributes, values and features that emerged through the "Big Bang" workshops as being key to the ability of the theatre to achieve its mission statement. These are: "**Valued:** to make the Rep an even more highly valued asset in Dundee, Scotland and internationally…" (p6). Other entries are more directly concerned with the "re-invigorated" culture of the organisation, for example: "**Reflective:** constantly learning and evolving as individuals and as an organisation". Finally, some seem to be more focussed on realising organisational goals such as partnership and quality, for example: "**Keeping good company:** partnered with like-minded organisations with whom we will generate mutually beneficial collaborations" and "**World-class local:** to re-define

the idea of a "local theatre"; to demonstrate to the outside world that local can be synonymous with world-class" (p6, emphasis in original).

Page seven integrates the previous sections to give an overview of how the authors intend to "renew" Dundee Rep. They state "There is one clear **need:** more space; one clear **desire**: to work even more creatively; and one clear **ambition**: to reinvent the role of Dundee Rep in the 21st Century" (p7). The report states that "expansion" is a key theme uniting the diversity of plans associated with the Creative Campus strategy, expansion of physical space, but also of "our creative practice, of our brief and of our role" (p7). Arguing that they connect with people in three ways (as audiences, as participants and through training and development programmes), the report states that the internal drive to be better "feeds our outward mission". They argue that in order to be able to develop on these ambitions, the plan "requires a new building, which we have identified, a new staffing structure and new partnerships with outside bodies" (p7).

After this, the document moves on to discuss what they mean by a 'Creative Campus' (p8) and what the benefits to the theatre, to the University, to the city and to the sector are from 'Partnership' (p9), which is a key element of the plan. The page entitled "A Creative Campus" describes how the organisation will facilitate the move to a campus structure through 'consolidating' existing programmes, 'opening' the organisation to emerging artists and 'responding' to the social, cultural and economic fabric of the city, 'levering investment and buy-in' from a broad range of partners. It states that they have developed a plan with the University to convert the Bonar Hall into a "learning and performance space" to accommodate their existing programmes. The page entitled "The Benefits of Partnership" explains that the University and the theatre have enjoyed a "positive relationship" for many decades, and that the theatre's current building was constructed on land gifted from the University. It backgrounds the plans to take over the Bonar Hall by outlining the extent of consultation with the University over "recent years"' and makes it clear that the University has certain requirements with regard to using the building which the theatre can accommodate. This is followed by a section entitled "Benefits to partners" which explicitly sets out the advantages to several of their key partners/stakeholders of the Creative Campus plan. These 'benefits' are laid out overleaf.

Benefits to the City would include:

- Helping develop Dundee as a city renowned for learning and creativity
- Increased range of performances and events for Dundee audiences
- Richer and deeper relationships with Dundee College and schools on a local and regional basis

Benefits for the Rep would include:

- A deeper embedding of the Rep into the life of the city and the region
- Greater scope to develop and diversify the range of activities the theatre is able to offer and generate further income
- Solution to the problem of being at full capacity in terms of space

Benefits to the University would include:

- Increased attractiveness of the idea of studying in Dundee due to the innovative nature of the courses on offer
- Strengthened engagement with diverse communities in the city and enhancement of community relationships

Benefits for the sector would include:

- Increased opportunities for high quality training and development opportunities in relation to performing arts venue of proven excellence
- Greater opportunities for dance and theatre artists with residencies, workshop and mentoring opportunities

Benefits for individuals would include:

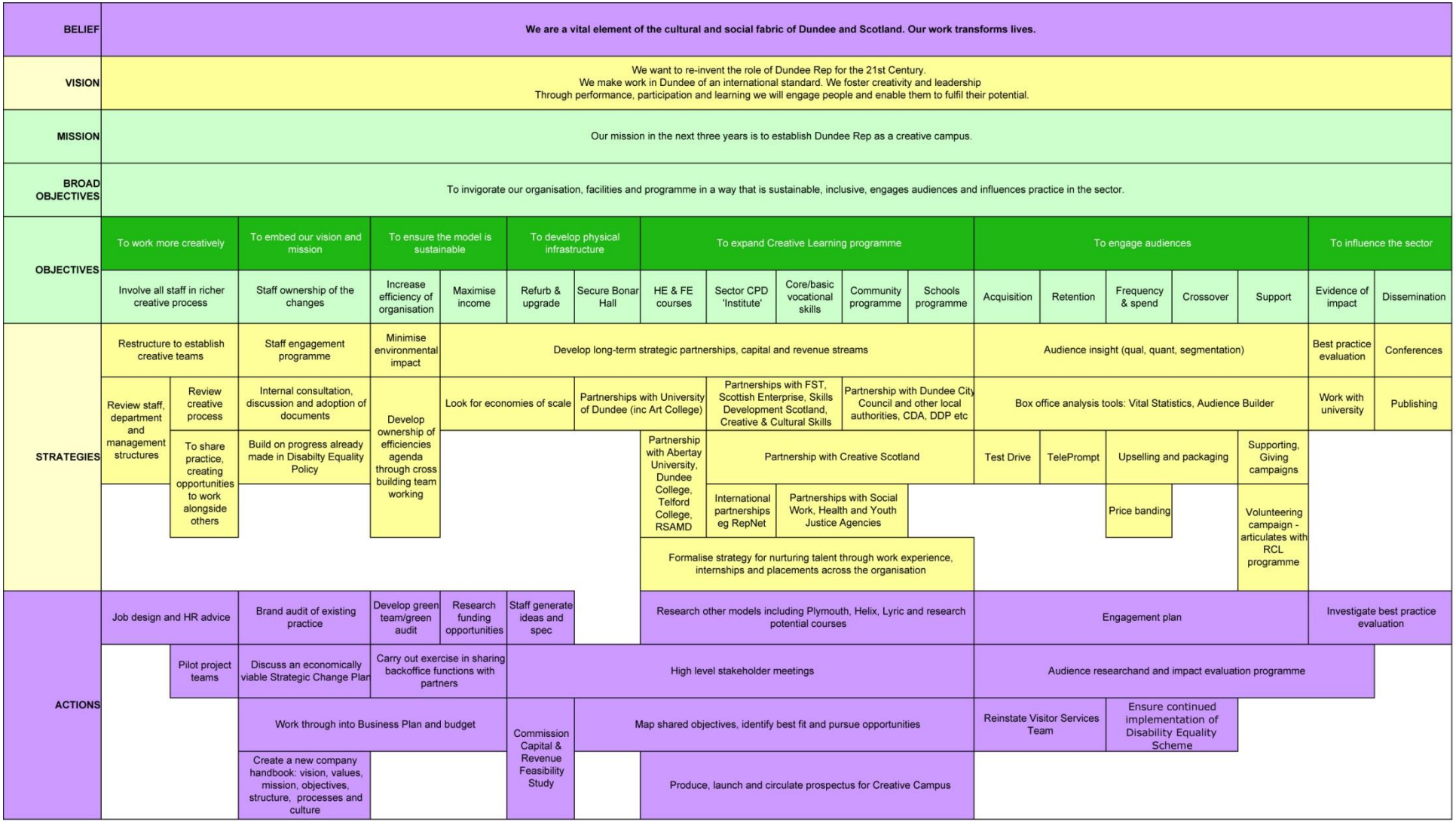
- Valuable opportunities for citizens of Dundee to develop a range of skills and competencies
- Diversification of progression routes for a range of people with training and development needs across a wide range of platforms (from community to professional artists)

After this, the report presents a 'Strategy Tree'; a "simple one page document [which] clearly illustrates the cascade from belief and vision to mission and objectives to strategies and actions" (p10). The 'strategy tree' defines the belief, vision, mission, objectives, strategies and actions that will enable the organization to achieve their key goal of "a more creative, more collaborative [theatre] as a more sustainable [theatre]" (p2). The 'objectives' of this 'strategy tree' are:

- To work more creatively
- To embed our vision and mission
- To ensure the model is sustainable
- To develop physical infrastructure
- To expand Creative Learning programme
- To engage audiences
- To influence the sector

After the strategy tree (which is presented overleaf in Figure 21) the strategy document concludes with an appendix which details the staff suggestions made during the 'Big Bang' Workshop sessions and the responses to those suggestions from the senior management team of the theatre.

FIGURE 21 - STRATEGY TREE



Legitimacy-as-Belonging

The Creative Campus strategy represents a plan for the future of the organisation, and there is a need to make this plan intelligible, appropriate and sensible to the organisation's audiences. Without the support of key organisational constituencies, such as Creative Scotland and the University of Dundee, the theatre will be unable to realise the vision of the Creative Campus. The remainder of this chapter will illustrate how the plans of the organisation are *framed* in terms of prevalent values in the industry, and argue that this framing is an attempt to legitimate the organisation and its plans. I term these prevalent values 'rational myths', a concept which originates in Meyer and Rowan's (1977) oft-cited theoretical work on the relationship between institutional rules and organisational action. Meyer and Rowan argue that "Institutional rules function as myths which organizations incorporate, gaining legitimacy, resources, stability, and enhanced survival prospects" (1977: 340). In the context of this study, rational myths are therefore institutional rules which Dundee Rep's manager appeal to, in order to secure legitimacy-as-belonging. This does not mean that appealing to a rational myth has no substantive benefits for Dundee Rep, but that (from a belonging perspective) these myths are used to frame organisational plans in ways that make them appear institutionally appropriate.

The framing of the report as an attempt to produce legitimacy-as-belonging is evidenced in three ways. First, I describe five rational myths which the Creative Campus report appeals to in order to secure legitimacy-as-belonging for Dundee Rep (these are: 'Creativity'; 'impact'; 'geographic collaborations'; 'local community'; and the notion of Dundee as a 'city of culture'). Secondly, the legitimacy of the methods (the process) used to produce the report is outlined. These sections cover both *what* is being legitimated and *how* it is being legitimated through the Creative Campus report. The final section looks to explore how the Creative Campus report is distributed to stakeholders, in order to prevent the theatre from accusations of over-expansion at a time of contraction in the industry as a whole.

The analysis is structured around the epistemological principles of legitimacy-as-belonging which were developed in Chapter Two. In line with a notion of legitimacy as a purposeful two step activity, I consider how the framing of the strategy can be explained as a purposeful attempt to legitimate the theatre. In line with the theoretical notions that there are public and private dimensions of knowledge and that, because of the ability to 'privatise' knowledge, a political economy of truths prevails in the organisational environment, I will outline how the strategy report incorporates prevalent rational myths; and how, in so doing, it obscures some aspects of the theatre whilst drawing attention to others. In line with the associated principle of an independent legitimate order, I will argue that the Creative Campus draws upon industry

best practice in the structure, process and content of the strategy in order to appeal to an externally defined notion of organisational legitimacy. Finally, in accordance with an objectified understanding of legitimacy, I consider how the strategy report (as the central tool of legitimation) is disseminated and used in specific ways and in relation to specific organisational audiences to ensure that the theatre does not incur negative outcomes from being seen to promote its own legitimacy.

THE CONTENT OF THE CREATIVE CAMPUS STRATEGY

The 'Creativity' Rational Myth

"Our Mission: In the next three years we will establish Dundee Rep as a creative campus."

"We see a more creative and engaged Dundee Rep as a more sustainable Dundee Rep"

(Towards a Creative Campus, 2011: 2)

The centrality of the term *creative* to the Creative Campus report cannot be underestimated. Not only is the report titled 'Towards a Creative Campus', but the terms *creative and creativity* appear 60 times across the 29 page document. The significance of this term is rooted in its use *instead of* the more traditional terms 'art' and 'artistic' to describe the aspirations of a cultural organisation such as Dundee Rep. Over the past five years, there has been an increasing use of the term 'creative' rather than 'artistic', across Scotland. This is symptomatic of the growth in the term 'creative industries' to bundle cultural (for example, art, theatre and dance) and commercial-artistic (for example, advertising) industries. Although for some the term 'creative industries' is an objective label for an area of economic and cultural production, for others the concept of the Creative Industries was born as a political tactic, as Townley and Beech (2009: 4) state, "some see the term 'creative industries' as the outcome of political manouvering, as government departments vie for ballast in arguments against the treasury". Furthermore, it has been argued that the term 'creative industries' was coined to "sustain the unjustified claim of the cultural sector as a key economic growth sector within the global economy" (Garnham 2005: 15). This places increased pressure on the sector to conform to an economic logic. Therefore, those who imbue the term with political significance can regard 'creative industries', and the term 'creative' more generally, as alien to the historical logic of cultural production (cf Bourdieu, 1996).

The national political importance of 'creative industries' has resulted in an adoption of the term in Scotland. In 2010, the Scottish national arts funding body (Scottish Arts Council) was re-launched as 'Creative Scotland'. As the definitions of the previous and current bodies taken from

their respective websites shows, these organisations have a different vision regarding their constituents ("the arts", and "arts, screen and creative industries") and their roles. In particular, Creative Scotland sees their role as 'investment', whereas the role of Scottish Arts Council in the provision of economic resources was always termed as 'funding'. This particular aspect of the change to creative Scotland has been particularly emphasised in the media. As The Herald View argues "The notion of creating a form of internal market in which Creative Scotland invested in the hope of a return was always misconceived. Many worthwhile projects can greatly enrich their audiences while never turning a penny of profit" (Herald View 2012). As has been extensively debated by those in the sector, the term 'investment' tends to be taken as implying that there will be some form of measurable 'return'. This indicates an economic logic which is generally regarded to run counter to the artistic logic of cultural production.

> *"The Scottish Arts Council is the lead body for the funding, development and advocacy of the arts in Scotland"* (Scottish Arts Council Webpage, accessed 02/07/2013)

> *"Creative Scotland is the national leader for Scotland's arts, screen and creative industries… We invest in talented people and exciting ideas. We develop the creative industries and champion everything that's good about Scottish creativity"*

> (Creative Scotland Webpage, accessed on 02/07/2013)

Furthermore, on a local level, the group set up by members of Dundee City Council to drive forward local cultural strategy in Dundee was been branded 'Creative Dundee'. Since Dundee City Council and Creative Scotland are two of Dundee Rep's most important constituencies, the pervasiveness of the 'creativity' rational myth in the theatre's institutional environment is well established.

The use of the term 'creative', rather than 'artistic', in the Creative Campus report is not purely an issue of labelling, but has implications for the relative importance of different organisational activities. Where previous organisational strategies posited parity between the different groups of the organisation (these being primarily the theatre, the dance theatre and the creative learning department), the 'Creative Campus' strategy places inclusive notions related to creativity and learning at the very centre of all organisational activities. The reports states that "we believe we will be redefining our role as a theatre. In essence, we want to become a creative hub" (p7). Although the Scottish professional theatre industry is admittedly a relatively small and very diverse group of organisations, the way in which the strategy privileges creativity rather than art, and the associated importance of the creative learning department to the

theatre as a whole is a relatively novel proposition. Although a number of theatres run very well subscribed, high quality outreach programmes of various kinds- very few if any are both as diverse and as well integrated into the building as a whole.

Broadly, notions of *creativity* and *art* mean very different things to a sector confronted with a definition of 'creativity' as something both contemporary and rather closely linked to new ways of working and economic benefit, perhaps partly accelerated by the earlier discussed remit of "Creative Scotland". In contrast, the notion of art represents something more traditional and closely linked into canonical notions of the role of the theatre. While many theatres in the industry place *art* at the centre of their strategies (whether those strategies are explicit or not), few if any seem to privilege a broader and more inclusive notion of *creativity*. The association of Dundee Rep's strategy with the rational myth of creativity can be considered both strategic and also a relatively new development for Scottish theatres.

The 'Impact' Rational Myth

*"… funders want you to show how you're engaging with the community and what **impact** you're having on the community."*

[Quote 4, Board member D, 4, emphasis added]

One of the objectives identified in the Creative Campus report is to "Influence the sector", the activities to support this objective being primarily oriented around determining and disseminating information regarding impact and best practice. This notion of 'influence' is accompanied by a focus earlier in the document (p5) on "What makes us IMPACTFUL" as one of the three key driving aspirations of the theatre's brand model. Embracing a broad definition of impact (as changing perceptions and enriching people's lives through theatre and dance), the Creative Campus report shows how the theatre explicitly considers both its core offer (impact) and how it communicates that offer more broadly (influence).

The notion of 'impact' features strongly in both the Creative Scotland Corporate Plan and in the Creative Dundee Cultural Strategy (these being the main strategy documents of each body). The Creative Scotland Corporate Plan includes a section entitled "Measuring Outcomes: The impact of our work" which states that "Creative Scotland will work closely with others… to undertake systematic research around the impact of the cultural sector and the outcomes of our work" (Creative Scotland 2011: 53). Although Creative Scotland do not seek to pin down a definitive set of markers of 'impact' they state their intention to engage in 'trend' tracking, 'monitoring' of investments, 'evaluation' of programmes and 'reporting' against government targets to develop

key ‘indicators’ of impact alongside foundation funded organisations (such as the theatre). The focus throughout this section of the report is on the measurement of success and on the communication of these measurements, rather than on possible broader ‘impacts’ of theatre, such as to enrich the cultural life of Scotland or to provide a talented skills base for other cultural industries (such as television, which draws upon the theatre labour market in Scotland).

Where ‘impact’ in the Creative Scotland Corporate Plan is largely limited to one section, the term is frequently used throughout the Creative Dundee Cultural Strategy. The Creative Dundee report reflects twice on the ‘impact’ that Dundee Rep (specifically) has had on the City, in terms of “artistic quality and the ability to deliver integrated programmes of performance and outreach work” (p11) and being an “excellent standard-bearer for the artistic life of the City” (p12). It also directly refers to the Creative Campus plan, arguing that this development “would have a far reaching impact on the City’s cultural infrastructure, and is an exciting and logical consequence of the company’s development” (p12). Further, impact emerges from the Cultural Strategy as a key ‘outcome’ of Creative Dundee’s consultation; the term appears consistently throughout the document as being the desired outcome of the measurement/evaluation of cultural activities. Both the Creative Scotland and the Creative Dundee reports discuss ‘impact’ as a type of measure (or as an expression of cultural ‘performance’) which is key to demonstrating the benefits not only of cultural organisations themselves, but of the funding they receive and, by extension, of the funding bodies themselves.

Impact is therefore a term commonly used by the theatre’s two most powerful stakeholders and the ‘impact’ rational myth refers to the belief that the activities of organisations in the creative industries should have ‘impact’ on their environments. What is however clear from the discussion of the Creative Scotland Corporate Plan and the Creative Dundee Cultural Strategy is that ‘impact’ itself is not particularly well defined. More broadly, the importance of ‘impact’ to determining the worth of cultural organisations has exploded over the past twenty years, with the growth of cultural economics promoting an increase in the economic impact of cultural operations (Towse 2011). Although closely related to measurement and evaluation, the nature of impact appears to be less important than the ability to label an output ‘impactful’. However, the rational myth of impact is uniformly characterised by the assumption that organisations will only be rewarded (by funders) if they can demonstrate (in an appropriate manner) the worthiness of an offer they are making to a defined community (whether that be a local community or an artistic community or an audience group). Those organisations which have a

good offer but which fail to communicate the benefits of that offer to the correct stakeholders are unlikely to be supported.

This focus on *demonstration of worth by organisations* rather than *evaluation of worth by funders* shows the importance of strategic engagement and of stakeholder communication for organisational longevity. Thus, through explicitly foregrounding the importance of 'impact' the Creative Campus strategy appeals to this second rational myth.

The 'Collaboration' Rational Myth

"the public sector, in which you can probably just about include the Rep and they certainly include Dundee University, [are] being pushed towards ***collaborations*** *and partnerships and things like that,* ***it's the buzz thing at the moment****."*

[Quote 5, Local councillor, 6, emphasis added]

In the creative industries nationally there has been an increased emphasis placed on inter-organisational collaboration, and in particular on geographically-based cross-industry collaboration. Cultural organisations are encouraged to partner with other organisations on a geographic rather than an industrial basis to create 'clusters' of different types of organisations cooperating on a local scale (rather than encouraging theatres to cooperate with other theatres irrespective of geographic proximity). This seems to be reflective both of the imperative to make resources 'work harder' in times of recession through the sharing between organisations, but also of the focus on 'Place' stimulated by Creative Scotland's commitment to investing in "Places and their contribution to a creative Scotland" as part of its 2011-14 Corporate Plan. This objective is reflected in their aim of seeing "Scotland's individual places and communities proudly celebrating and sharing their unique strengths, identities and contributions to a creative nation" (2011: 20).

The emphasis placed by the national funding body on collaboration has been very well integrated into the strategic priorities of many organisational departments at the theatre, such as marketing. As one of the marketing managers commented to me, Creative Scotland have "got a big focus on geography and localities, providing things for themselves and companies working together. So that's what we were going to look at doing, more benchmarking, more training… More of a collaborative working policy" (Quote 6, p5). In addition to this, there is a clear emphasis in the Creative Campus strategy document on the importance of ensuring collaborations at the organisational level, as shown in Excerpt 4 overleaf. Taken from an introductory statement on the second page of the document, the excerpt clearly grounds

collaboration at the heart of organisational ambitions, thus appealing to the logic favoured by the sector as a whole and their most powerful stakeholder in particular.

> *"This document describes the journey we have taken so far and our direction of travel towards a future which we see as increasingly collaborative"* [Excerpt 4, Towards a creative campus, 2011, 2]

The notion of collaboration is at the very centre of the Creative Campus strategy, involving as it does the extensive collaborations with partner agencies (from the Prison Service to the local University) to deliver the extended program of services. As Excerpt 4 shows, this weight placed on collaboration in the nature of the strategy is reflected both in the use of the term to introduce the document and in the inclusion of a full page section (p9) on "The benefits of partnership".

The 'Local Value' Rational Myth

"In the past it's been to do with productions that we produce ourselves, but I think that's going to change and they're [Dundee City Council] thinking ***'what is the value of the Rep to Dundee'*** *and 'what is the value of the creative learning to the Rep and to Dundee'. And that's why we want to be a centre of creative learning."*

[Quote 9, Manager I, 2009, emphasis added]

One of the rational myths which those within the theatre tend to refer to as being very important to the legitimacy of the organisation as a whole, and to the Creative Campus strategy in particular relates to evolving notions of how and where the organisation should be creating 'value'. As quote 9 highlights, managers express the belief that the basis on which they are valued has moved away from traditional frames of reference, such as the quality of artistic productions. Instead, they feel that they are increasingly evaluated, particularly by Dundee City Council, in terms of the value of the theatre to the local community.

The growth in importance of the 'local value' rational myth is symptomatic of a perceived challenge to the legitimacy of the theatre industry specifically, and the cultural industries more generally, linked to the broad debate over whether the arts should be publicly funded (BBC News 2011). Although public funding for the arts in Scotland has been relatively well protected nationally (relative to the rest of the UK, which has seen significant cuts, as outlined in Chapter One), it is a concern which is shared by local politicians, whose own legitimacy depends on their efficient allocation of public money. As quote 11 from a local authority manager shows, the funders of the theatre face their own legitimacy challenges relative to funding theatre.

"… [before the funding] reports are taken to committee they are publically debated by the elected members before they determine the next year's allocation of funding. I don't think the [theatre] are necessarily as aware of the scrutiny that is going on, they probably just see it as part of their core funding" [Quote 11, Local Authority Manager, 2009, 2]

The *visibility* of the money invested into arts organisations from the public purse has been central to the development of the 'local value' rational myth. The money must be *seen* to be spent on worthwhile causes, which is generally more easily achieved through outreach work (which is more easily perceived as valuable to stakeholders) than through high quality artistic productions (the value of which is less easily demonstrated). This is highlighted by a quote from the general manager given below.

> *"Funding is going to become more and more restrictive and the use of public money is going to want to be seen- theatre can take advantage of it by offering opportunities for people rather than just coming along for an evening's entertainment. We are creating opportunities where people can learn from us, and take it away and create again- which is making the best use of public money."*
>
> [Quote 7, Manager I, 2009, 2]

The legitimacy challenges faced by the industry as a whole are readily recognised by managers and employees of the theatre. As one production manager commented to me during an interview, "One of the difficult issues we face is people are going "why should we pay tax for theatre". But they don't realise that the arts funding in Scotland is, I think, something like 0.5% of the overall budget. So that's like half a penny for every pound of tax you pay. It's not that much of a waste of money really." [Quote 10, Production Manager, 5]. Managers appeal to the local value rational myth in the Creative Campus report by specifying the dimensions of benefit the new strategy poses to the local area, Dundee city:

> *"Benefits to the City would include: Helping develop Dundee as a learning city; Provide opportunities for citizens of Dundee to develop skills and competences; Increased range of performances and events for Dundee audiences"*
>
> [Excerpt 6, Towards a Creative Campus, 2011: 9]

However, addressing the 'local value' rational myth cannot be achieved by purely stating the intentions of Dundee Rep to provide benefits to the local area. In order to make these claims,

they must engage in organisational activities which have a highly visible benefit to the local area. The accounts that managers give of the Creative Campus plan show that a diversification of the offer of the organisation, and an increase in the visibility of that wider offer, is key to addressing this rational myth. Diversification into outreach work, and development of tools to measure the local value of that work, are key. All professional theatres in Scotland perform some outreach function with some, in particular Dundee Rep and the Citizens Theatre, having acquired a national reputation for their work in areas such as childrens' theatre and dramatherapy (respectively).

The Creative Campus report specifically outlines both the diversification and the measurement activities which produce and measure the 'local value' of the theatre. In so doing, it directly appeals to the 'local value' rational myth. Broadly, the entire document seeks to redirect the activities of the theatre, to broaden the offering in the formation of the 'Creative Campus'. Specifically, activities such as commissioning research, working with partner institutions are highlighted as organisational priorities on the page of the Creative Campus report shown overleaf in Figure 22.

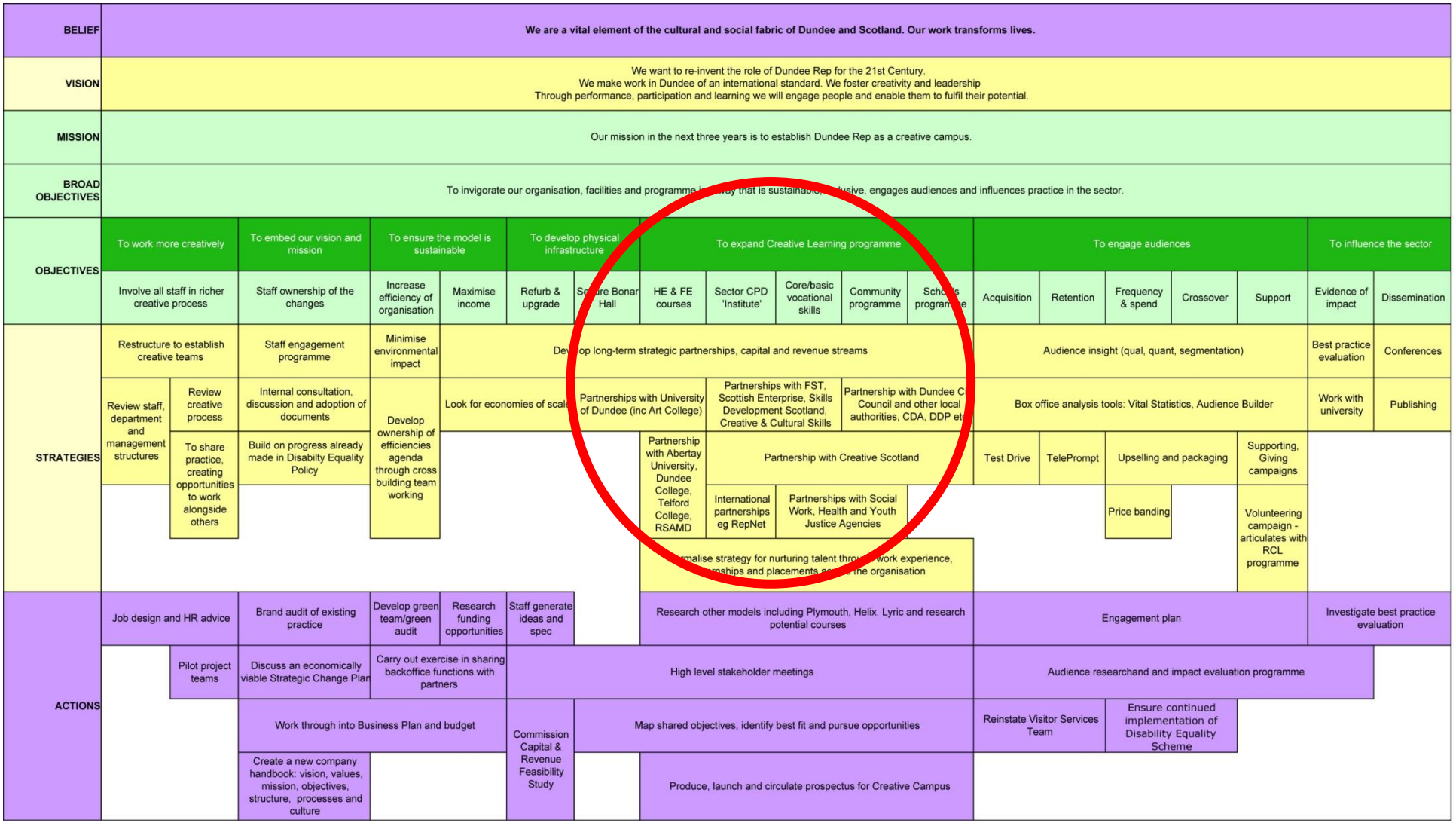


FIGURE 22 - STRATEGY TREE

The 'City of Culture' Rational Myth

The 'city of culture' rational myth has been very important historically to the legitimacy of the organisation and continues to be emphasised by the theatre as a means of legitimising the Creative Campus strategy. The integration of the aspirational political discourse of Dundee as a city of culture with the organisational strategy of the theatre is not new. Some stakeholders who sit at the nexus of both activities (city planning and organisational strategy) talk of the two projects as being extensively linked. The following example of such a belief was recited by a local authority manager who also sits on the board of directors for the theatre:

> *"Originally I was involved in the designation of the cultural sector, the REP-DCA triangle and the environmental work that we're trying to do in the work. At that time, there was talk of the creative campus and all sorts of studies over the years looking at permeability."*

[Quote 10, Local Authority Manager S, 2011, 11]

Dundee's Leisure, Culture and Communities body, which strategically distributes funding and support to grow provision in its specified areas, has been led for many years by a cultural geographer who has sought to strategically improve the cultural provision and uptake thereof in the city through establishing a cultural quarter. The theatre's geographic location, amongst other factors, makes it central to this notion of a cultural quarter, and Dundee Rep is locally regarded as having a considerable role to play in developing the cultural infrastructure of the city as the quote below from the Creative Dundee Cultural Strategy demonstrates:

> *"Creative Dundee will ensure the reputation of the City as a centre of creativity is enhanced and promoted internationally by investing in its cultural and creative talent and its key cultural infrastructure such as Dundee Rep, DCA, Duncan of Jordanstone and its architectural, industrial and maritime heritage."*

[Creative Dundee- City Cultural Strategy, 2009: 33]

The 'city of culture' rational myth is linked to the idea myth of 'local value' but is more expressly addressed towards cultural ends. Dundee City Council and their associates have an extensive interest in promoting the city as a cultural centre, and specifically in achieving UK City of Culture status[2]. The council arguably see the cultural strategy not only as a means to enhance the level and variety of culture in the city, but also as a method of generating certain additional

[2] A title awarded to a city by the UK government every four years from 2013 onwards.

benefits; improving the quality of life of the citizens, making Dundee a more attractive destination to visit, live and work, and (through less direct channels) tackling some of the long running social issues in Dundee (such as teenage pregnancy and youth unemployment)[3]. As the quote above illustrates, Creative Dundee (the group charged with spearheading the city cultural strategy) sees the theatre as having a key role to play in this development. As the theatre relies upon the city for audiences, employees, support and funding, it would be expected that they prioritise the notions of local development in their own strategic planning process.

There are extensive references made in support of the notion of cultural city in the Creative Campus strategy. This is emblematic of the theatre managers' efforts to align the interests of the city and the theatre in the report, to (re)assert the theatre's pragmatic and normative benefits to the city and in so doing protect its legitimacy. Dundee Rep's mission statement, as expressed in the Creative Campus report, argues that their core belief is that "Our work transforms lives: We are a vital element of the cultural and social fabric of Dundee and Scotland" [Excerpt 8, Towards a creative campus, 2011: 4]. Further to this, the document makes it clear that the plans for organisational development (into the 'Creative Campus') are a component part of a larger effort to realise opportunities at the local and national level. As the document states, "It is a once in a generation opportunity to re-invent the role of a theatre in the 21st century and we look forward to the challenges and opportunities which the current climate will present as we seek to realize our vision for Dundee and for Scotland" [Excerpt 7, Towards a Creative Campus, 2011: 8]. Thus the strategy itself is framed as part of the larger political discourse which focusses on the value of culture to society in general and specifically to Dundee as a city of culture. The managers, through asserting the aspirations of Dundee Rep to contribute to the cultural infrastructure of the city, are framing their organisational strategy in the terms of the 'city of culture' rational myth.

In conclusion, the Creative Campus report legitimates the activities of Dundee Rep partly through association with rational myths that exist externally to the theatre and are likely to be shared by important stakeholders such as current and potential funders of the organisation. It responds to the calls for impact in the sector, is built around the 'buzz word' of collaboration and relates the activities of the Rep to wider local issues such as Dundee as a 'city of culture'. While the document highlights certain aspects of the theatre's activity (such as outreach), it neglects to emphasise some aspects of the organisation which come through strongly in interviews with staff, such as the international profile of the dance theatre or the critical success of the main house. There is a political economy of knowledge to which the document appeals

[3] This information was garnered throughout discussions with a Local Authority manager,

through references to several rational myths of how theatre 'should be done' in a contemporary setting. While some organisational activities and plans are reframed and openly presented to stakeholders (such as the value of the theatre to the local community), others are muted (such as the centrality of art to the work of the theatre). These decisions are not arbitrary but are politically motivated. Dundee Rep's managers actively seek to control the political economy of truths which exist in the public sphere regarding their organisation, to maintain its legitimacy.

THE PRODUCTION OF THE CREATIVE CAMPUS STRATEGY

One of the key characteristics of legitimacy-as-belonging is the existence of an independent order, that is, the notion that there is, external to the organisation, an accepted idea of what constitutes appropriate and inappropriate organisational action (and characteristics, plans etc.). In this section, I demonstrate how the production and distribution of the Creative Campus report appeals to a legitimate order, in the form of industry 'best practice'. In the case of the theatre industry, this 'best practice' is particularly interesting because it is couched in an administrative, rather than an artistic, logic. Furthermore, through illustrating the managers' awareness of what Ashforth and Gibbs have termed 'the double edge of organisational legitimation'—the possibility that the very act of legitimating may result, if perceived incorrectly, in the organisation losing legitimacy—that the managers of Dundee Rep treat legitimacy in an objectified fashion.

I demonstrate these points in four stages: First, I show that the theatre is commonly regarded as a model organisation, and the Creative Campus as a model for the industry; second, I illustrate how the Creative Campus strategy avoids portraying the theatre in this way; third; I discuss the audience for which the Creative Campus strategy is produced; fourth, I illustrate how the production of the Creative Campus report is a performance of administrative 'best practice'.

Dundee Rep as a Model Organisation

"It's as if Creative Scotland seems to be holding us up as a model to the rest of the theatres in Scotland."

[Board Member P, 2]

The Creative Campus plans may be considered especially pioneering because of their focus on 'creativity' rather than 'art', and the focus placed on outreach, than on the core business of producing plays. However, these are not activities which are new to Dundee Rep. The theatre engages in a range of Creative Learning activities which is unprecedented in the industry, both

in terms of participant numbers and collaborations with bodies in other sectors (such as education, health and social justice). The Creative Campus simply codifies these activities, and reframes them in terms of prevailing rational myths to gain support for organisational expansion. As a result of the extent of their outreach activities, but also because they simultaneously maintain a high level of performance in other areas (particularly in terms of winning awards), the theatre is regarded by certain important constituencies as being a model for the industry.

However, this is not just a view held by important constituencies such as Creative Scotland. The accounts given by Dundee Rep employees suggest that they see the strategy, and the development of the theatre in general, as breaking with industry standards, making Dundee Rep somewhat of a 'pioneer'. Further, some of the developments of theatre have already been 'admired' and replicated by others in the industry.

> *"I think more theatres are moving in that direction in terms of using the building as a wider resource. I think certainly we were one of the* ***pioneers*** *so to speak, and we're certainly leading in that field."*
>
> (Quote 12, Creative Learning manager Je, 2, emphasis added)

This conviction that others in the field are following the lead of the theatre in placing more emphasis on outreach activities such as Creative Learning is expressed most strongly by those within the Creative Learning department of the organisation. Through their attendance at conferences around the country, and their networks with other agencies (such as in education and health), these employees are well placed to be informed about the development of other theatres in areas which they have 'pioneered'. On several occasions, they reported hearing of their activities being identified by others in their network as being examples of 'best practice' in several areas. These repeated instances strengthen the argument that the theatre is seen to be acting as a 'model' for the industry, as expressed below:

> *"It's quite unique. Not so much now because I've noticed that people are taking the [Creative Learning] model and evolving it in a different way. It's taking parts of it, if you like, and sort of saying this is a good model to work for, which is very good. Obviously, if people are looking at it and saying this is a good model of excellence***,** *let's go with it, obviously it's only beneficial for the people who live in the area."*
>
> [Quote 13, Creative Learning employee M, 2]

However, the managers and members of the theatre's board of directors express concern over being regarded as a 'model' or a 'pioneer'. This concern can be illustrated by expanding on the quote given at the head of this subsection:

> *"It's as if Creative Scotland seems to be holding us up as a model to the rest of the theatres in Scotland. It's not something which we shout about, because we're ever mindful that as soon as someone puts you up on a pedestal, there's somebody that will . . . [knock you off]. But it is a good feeling to be appreciated. That's part of the spur to keep you going."*
>
> [Quote 14, Board Member P, 2]

The board member highlights what other scholars have termed the 'double edge' of organisational legitimation (Ashforth and Gibbs 1990). Being considered a 'pioneer' of or a 'model' for the industry places the theatre both in a position of legitimacy and in a position of potential threat to their legitimacy. The 'pioneer' label, in particular, emphasises that the theatre is doing something *different* to the rest of the industry. Traditionally, legitimacy has been argued to be the preserve of organisations which conform to their institutional environments (DiMaggio and Powell 1983)[4]. Furthermore, it has been noted in many situations (cf Hudson and Wong-Ming 2001) that innovations are deemed *a* priori illegitimate by institutional environments. Thus, while the board member argues that the theatre is seen by many as a pioneer, he might be reluctant to express this argument to many in the industry. Regardless of whether or not the theatre has actually broken with convention, to express the belief that it is pioneering may be sufficient to undermine its existing legitimacy. Or, to put it in his terms, "as soon as someone puts you up on a pedestal, there's somebody that will [be ready to knock you off]".

If legitimacy is considered as a competitive resource, as it is within an epistemology of belonging, it becomes clear that the theatre being placed on a pedestal is likely to question the legitimacy of those competitors who have not chosen to adopt a similar model. As the theatre has chosen a strategy which seeks to 'reframe the role of the theatre in the 21st century', they may be seen to be challenging the existing institutional definition of what the appropriate role of a theatre is. In this situation, all those theatres which conform with existing definitions would

[4] More recently, it has been argued that organisations can gain legitimacy through actions which break with institutional conventions (Elsbach and Sutton 1992), however this places the organisation in a position of extreme uncertainty, and is considered a highly unusual organisational strategy only used by interest groups (such as environmental activist groups) with relatively low levels of legitimacy.

stand to, at least defend, or perhaps even to gain, legitimacy through displacing the notion of the focal theatre as a 'model organisation'. Although there may not be a single 'best model' for theatre to be created or disputed, there is one major central funding body to appeal to, and theatres compete for the same limited funds.

Avoiding the 'Double-edge' of Being Considered a 'Model'

Despite the fact that the activities detailed in the Creative Campus strategy represent a clear sign that the organisation has proactively embarked on a very specific and largely novel direction for the industry, the strategy document itself avoids classifying these activities as 'pioneering'. The Creative Campus report uses two tactics to avoid portraying Dundee Rep as a model organisation: First, framing the 'redefining' of the theatre as a response to external pressures; secondly, it reframes some of organisational activities as 'services' provided to third parties;

In Excerpt 8 the Creative Campus report, the plan to expand the theatre is described as 'redefinitional':

> *"The common thread here is expansion. Not just into physical space, but an expansion of our ambition, of our creative practice, of our brief and of our role… In doing so we believe we will be* ***redefining*** *our role as a theatre. In essence, we want to become a creative hub."*
>
> (Excerpt 8 - Towards a creative campus, 2011: 7, emphasis added)

The characterisation of the strategy as 'redefinitional' represents an acceptance (rather than a denial or an obscuring of the truth). Forms of acceptance which reframe the activity under scrutiny in a more favourable light are often highlighted as successful legitimation methods in studies which treat legitimacy as a belonging (Lamin and Zaheer 2012, Elsbach 1994). The way that the managers of the theatre reframe this acceptance in a more favourable light is to normalise this expansion, through setting the strategy in the context of a broader evolution of the theatre and of its role in the local environment it serves. Thus, in Excerpts 9 and 10 the strategy is framed not as a proactive break with accepted norms, but as a response to a changing institutional environment.

> *"Bonar Hall represents much more than a second space. This development will be a tipping point for our organization; it will initiate a transformative process that will enable us to* ***respond*** *to the themes which have emerged throughout our planning process as well as the broader context and challenges we are facing in the world."*

(Excerpt 9 - Towards a creative campus, 2011: 8, emphasis added)

> *"To fulfil this mission we will:* ***respond*** *to the imperative to connect ever more creatively with the social, cultural and economic fabric of the city and lever investment and buy-in from a broader range of partners than is currently the case"*

(Excerpt 10, Towards a creative campus, 2011: 7, emphasis in original)

Each of these two excerpts seeks to frame the 'redefinitional' strategy as a *response*. Excerpt 9 primarily locates the strategy as a response to emergent changes in the organisational context, whereas Excerpt 10 expands the range of the response. In this latter justification, an *imperative* to redefine the theatre is stated to already exist in the institutional landscape of the theatre - the strategy is framed as being necessary, as a required step in addressing the need to connect in different ways with different groups of external stakeholders.

In framing the strategy of the theatre as a response, the strategy document (and the theatre's managers as the authors of this document) pre-empts certain challenges to organisational legitimacy. If legitimacy is at least partially determined by the institutional conformity of the organisation in question (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, Deephouse 1996), then a move away from the 'industry standard' may result in challenges to legitimacy from those theatres which still conform to that standard.. Previous research has shown that in dealing with threats to legitimacy, those verbal accounts which acknowledge the deviation and account for it using an explanation based on institutional characteristics are the most successful in defence (Elsbach 1994). By drawing specific attention to institutional characteristics which frame the Creative Campus strategy as an adaption to meet changing demands (rather than a rupture with industry practice), the managers aim to legitimate the plans of the organisation. The Creative Campus report encourages the reader to believe the theatre is still "in line" the industry, and accounts for the unusual nature of the strategy through emphasising change in the organisational environment.

Dundee Rep's managers primarily explain the Creative Campus plans in terms of an expansion to meet 'training deficiencies' in the industry.

> *"… we see ourselves as, for the arts and for theatre, there is a need for training opportunities or creating new jobs as well and passing people skills in a working environment of live theatre- which is not necessarily there. So that is an opportunity for us and we're doing it already, bringing people in to learn those skills in this environment."*

[Quote 16, General Manager I, 2009, 2]

In Quote 16 the belief that the theatre has a role to play in addressing training deficiencies within the theatre industry is beginning to be expressed by senior management. The framing of the theatre's activities in terms of addressing a need; a reactive rather than proactive legitimation attempt, suggests that the theatre managers seek to portray these activities as *cognitively legitimate* (Suchman 1995). Suchman argues that legitimacy may be pragmatic, normative or cognitive. Cognitive legitimacy represents the most secure form of legitimacy; it is the unquestioned (unconscious) assumption that an organisation is legitimate. Representing organisational expansion as a rational response to training deficiencies in the organisational environment makes the Creative Campus strategy seem natural and inevitable. Through this appeal to cognitive legitimacy, Dundee Rep's managers are asking constituents to believe that the actions of the organisation do not require interrogating as to their appropriateness because they are a rational and expected response to an environmental demand.

The second tactic which Dundee Rep's managers use, more broadly than the Creative Campus report, to distract from the 'pioneer' label and to protect their legitimacy is by reframing certain organisational activities as 'services' provided to third parties, primarily local authority bodies.

> *"I don't know how many years we're going to be suffering cuts in the public purse. I think we're going to have to try and find some form of replacement funding. We'll never get to complete independence, never. But again I think whilst we're still providing the local authority with services, they'll still be buying the services. So that's still a good income for us."*

[Quote 17, Board Member P, 4]

This framing of certain organisational activities of certain parts of the theatre as "services" places the theatre in the role of "service provider" as well as "cultural provider". Within the Creative Campus report itself, activities are not labelled services. However, the activities which are being referred to by the Board Member, those activities which may be termed 'services' are the activities of Creative Learning, such as outreach, dramatherapy and theatre in schools. These are the activities which form the core of the expansion in the Creative Campus report.

A distinct shift is being made here in the appeals for legitimacy. In the previous quotes organisational activities are framed as being appropriate *within the field of cultural production.* However, in this case the board member is anticipating a situation of funding cuts which will

result in cuts across the field of cultural production. By framing certain activities as services, the board member is placing them within the field of local authority provision; and his economic rationale represents a claim for *pragmatic legitimacy* (Suchman 1995). Rather than framing the theatre's activities as normatively or cognitively appropriate, he frames these 'services' as being important to the local authority for pragmatic reasons. This reinforces the overall argument of this section, that both for the local authority manager talking about support for the theatre and the board member here talking about 'services', the way in which the theatre's activities are framed, is more important from a legitimacy-as-belonging perspective than the intrinsic character of those activities.

In conclusion, Dundee Rep is commonly considered by both employees and constituencies to be a 'model' for the theatre industry, and the Creative Campus report seeks to subdue this impression of the organisation, in order to protect the theatre from the 'double-edge' of legitimation. According to the legitimacy literature, breaking from industry standards results in challenges to the legitimacy of an organisation, as legitimacy can be seen to be (at least partially) based on conformity with institutional standards (DiMaggioand Powell 1983). The framing of Dundee Rep's strategy therefore protects the organisation from accusations of illegitimacy. Although the strategy seen as 'pioneering', there has been a purposeful attempt to generate *cognitive legitimacy* for the strategy by framing the activities and the strategy itself as a natural reaction of the organisation to training deficiencies in the sector. More broadly, senior theatre figures have also sought to generate *pragmatic legitimacy* for certain theatre activities by reframing them as 'services' provided to third parties.

Who is the Creative Campus Strategy Written For?

Communication is at the heart of legitimation-as-belonging (Elsbach 1994), and the reporting of strategy is an important way in which Dundee Rep communicates with its key stakeholders. In a field characterised by diverse organisational aims and activities, formal strategy represents a central method used to inform funders with limited time and resources of the intentions of the organisation. As strategies are often submitted to or reviewed by funding bodies and other key stakeholders as part of formal processes of organisational evaluation, their form and content is more closely scrutinised than a strategy created for managerial reference, and an organisational strategy may often function as the primary source of information regarding a funded theatre. The importance of strategy is demonstrated through a Local Authority manager talking about the funding of the theatre:

"... the quality of reporting is critical to the ease with which officers, even if they really like the organisation, can get politicians to vote the money."

[Quote 18, Local Authority manager S, 2009, 4]

High quality formal reporting is clearly stated to be 'critical' to ensuring the legitimacy of the organisation. There is a distinction highlighted between local authority officers (who know the organisations applying for funding very well) and local politicians (who are responsible for allocating the funds but who may not be as well informed). In a situation where the power to grant or withhold funding is divorced from intimate knowledge of the entities being decided upon, the role of the strategy document as an unambiguous and easily understood vehicle for legitimating the actions of the organisation is crucial. As the artistic value of much of the organisation's output is difficult to assess objectively, the strategy document is key to unambiguously communicating the theatre's aims, and giving organisational constituents, such as politicians, a firm standard against which to judge the *organisational* effectiveness of the theatre. In the opinion of a local authority official, the managers of Dundee Rep have engaged in this system of reporting and funding successfully:

"What the Rep has done is play its various stakeholder audiences quite cannily, and that's a key skill if you look at the chairman or chief officer of an arts organisation- that ability to play the funder, to give the funder what they need to hear, to give them credit for the funding they are given and to communicate with them- it's not just about being a good producer of plays, it's also about being able to be in the system and make the system work for you."

[Quote 20, ibid, 9]

The local authority manager argues that (in order to be successful) the theatre has had to work the 'system' of the local authority, through the process of reporting. Strategy is therefore very important, to securing both the funding of the theatre and to ensuring that it is regarded as legitimate by important organisational constituencies.

From a belonging perspective, communication is a key element of legitimation, but not unbridled communication. The managers of Dundee Rep take a very strategic approach to the distribution of the Creative Campus strategy. Firstly, the strategy is not widely distributed. It does not exist on the internet in any form and when the researcher requested to see the strategy, the general manager lent her his own paper copy. This does not appear to be unusual

in the industry, as a brief search for the strategic reports of other theatres showed. None of the other major theatres had their strategic reports available online, a typical example of the information available online being this mission statement on the website of the Citizens Theatre in Glasgow:

> Since 1943 we have created work built on the same 3 beliefs:
>
> **GREAT THEATRE ENRICHES LIVES**
> **DRAMA ENABLES SOCIAL CHANGE**
> **EVERYONE CAN PLAY A PART**

[available online at http://citz.co.uk/support_us/, accessed 21/10/12]

It would appear that the report is not only unavailable online, but has only been circulated to specific stakeholder audiences. According to the management team and interviews with stakeholders, only theatre employees, a partner educational institution, the Board of Directors and Creative Scotland had access. Quote 21 illustrates that the local authority, which constitutes one of the two central stakeholders of the Rep were not in general aware of the strategy as of one month after its completion.

> *"I don't think they're [local politicians] aware of it. [Local politician G] will be because he's in the board. [Local politician R] would be because he's in the board. But I suspect the vast majority of their colleagues are unaware of it… I have a hunch because it's not really going to require any Dundee politician's approval. If they were doing something which required something that City Council would be responsible for, I'm sure they'd be in there now… So why would you speak to the City Council because you don't need anything from them, until you're ready to tell them what's going to happen, you speak to someone and get that sorted."*

[Quote 21, Local Authority Manager S, 2011, 16-17]

It would appear from this account that the theatre releases the document strategically. This quote is interesting as it details a very strategic release of key information, not based on the general importance of a particular stakeholder (as the Local Council are a very important stakeholder) but based upon the extent and time at which they need to leverage support for a project from specific audiences. In a preceding section the role of the report in masking a 'pioneering' narrative and promoting a reactionary account of the Creative Campus strategy was discussed. In this example the theatre managers are again strategically controlling information,

however in this case the officially authored series of events (the strategy report) is selectively issued. The explanations given by the general manager for this selective issuing are remarkably similar to those earlier given by the board member regarding the danger of being knocked off a pedestal:

> *"So it's a very, very softly, softly approach. It's not a big wow, we've got this great new space, now we're doing this, this, this, on top of what we're doing already, which is this, this, this."*
>
> [Quote 22, Manager I, 7]

> *"we're not going in with this all singing, all dancing, this is what we're doing now."*
>
> [Quote 23, Manager I, 7-8]

Not only are the organisational leaders (as recounted earlier in this chapter) aware that a 'pioneering' narrative might be resisted by the rest of the industry and might damage their legitimacy, but they are also aware that the strategy (even when framed as reactionary) might be seen negatively by the industry. Thus they are careful in managing the appearance of the strategy, in order that it is seen as a positive development (or more accurately, an incremental development, rather than a revolutionary change in organisational structure) for the industry. This is particularly important given the specific economic context within which the strategy is written and released. The strategy must not be seen as a vast expansion for one organisation in the industry being enabled through public money at the same time as every other theatre in Scotland faces a standstill or reduction in their funding levels (The Telegraph 2012). Through a tentative approach, the theatre's managers are protecting not only the legitimacy which belongs to the project and the organisation, but also the legitimacy which belongs to the body which is funding the expansion. Once again then the theatre can be seen to be strategically reacting to the need to produce legitimacy through the production of the report, and also being aware of the likelihood that the legitimation effort itself may result in a loss of legitimacy if it is perceived as over-ambitious by certain audiences, and therefore strategically co-ordinating the release of information surrounding the strategy to control for this potential outcome.

This illustrates the strategic approach taken to the management of legitimacy by organisational leaders, and it also highlights how this is achieved through working the distinction between public and private knowledge. The managers of the theatre seek to control the strategic information available regarding their organisation in the public sphere in order to avoid

stakeholders generating expectations regarding the organisation that might later be violated (leading to a loss of legitimacy). Were the organisation to widely announce the detail of their strategic plan, it is likely that stakeholder audiences such as organisational partners would generate expectations based on that document which, if not realised, might jeopardise the legitimacy of the organisation. Thus the theatres managers are involved in a complex system of impression management in the course of securing legitimacy-as-belonging.

Throughout my argument, the acquisition/loss of 'funding' and the acquisition/loss of 'legitimacy' have been discussed as closely related. It may be useful to briefly clarify the extent to which the two might be considered co-extensive in the context of Dundee Rep. Funding and legitimacy must be seen as closely linked. For example, Dundee City Council use the 'foundation funding' accreditation of Creative Scotland as a marker of artistic excellence. However, funding and legitimacy are not synonymous, as it is possible that a legitimate theatre may lose funding (because of cuts) or that a theatre which is perceived as less legitimate generally may be funded (because different judgement criteria are applied by different stakeholders). However, in a situation where the industry is characterised by a single powerful stakeholder (Creative Scotland) the two are closely correlated.

The Creative Campus Strategy as 'Best Practice'

Another way in which the Creative Campus report secures legitimacy for the theatre's plans is by demonstrating administrative 'best practice'. The managers who authored this report emulated best practice by basing the structure of the report on similar reports produced by important constituencies, by using corporatized models and language, and by using a highly formalised strategizing process.

First, the structure of the document closely corresponds to strategy document produced by important organisational constituents. Both the broad layout of the document and the use of certain 'models' are interesting in this regard. With regard to the structure of the report, Mission/Vision/Objectives is also the structure used in the Creative Scotland Corporate Plan (2011). This either indicates that these documents were authored by the same consultant (of which there is no evidence) or that the document is designed to correspond to the same outline. Such a purposeful replication of the strategic plan format used by a powerful stakeholder would constitute an example of strategic isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). If this indeed is an example of strategic isomorphism it may be seen as an attempt to make the strategy more comprehensible (as it corresponds to an accepted and usual structure) and/or to directly appeal to normative ideas of what a *good* strategy should look like. In relation to the latter, we can also

see the use of certain 'models' within the strategy which are typical of a consultant-produced document, such as the 'strategy tree' (Figure 21, on page 121) and 'brand model' (Figure 20, on page 117).

The language used in the report further suggests a demonstration of best practice. For example on page eight the authors state their intention to "lever investment and buy-in from a broader range of partners than is currently the case". Terms such as "lever", "investment", "buy-in" and "partners" are not traditionally common in the vocabulary of a non-profit theatre. Furthermore, on page twelve the authors state that they used a model entitled "The 7 Pillars of a Successful 21st Century Arts Organization". This model states that these seven pillars are "vision-led", "brand-driven", "interdisciplinary", "outcome-oriented", "insight-guided", "interactively-engaged" and "personalised". This objective, corporatised terminology makes no mention of art. It is expressed in purely abstract terms which relate more closely to an 'administrative', or even commercial, logic that the 'cultural' logic more traditionally associated with the non-profit theatre industry. This is in a context where administrative competence is seen to be increasingly important to the relevant funding bodies. Creative Scotland is perceived by artists to have greater demands than its predecessor (Scottish Arts Council) with respect to the production of reports and the length of funding applications. An open letter was recently sent by 100 leading artists to Creative Scotland protesting their "corporate ethos", "overcomplicated forms" and use of "obfuscating jargon" (BBC News 2012). The resulting disquiet of this letter was sufficiently severe as to lead to the resignation of Creative Scotland CEO, Andrew Dixon.

The rigorous and carefully planned process and structure of the report sent important signals to key stakeholders. As organisations who are themselves publicly funded, the theatre's key stakeholders (the funding bodies Creative Scotland and Dundee City Council) need to be highly accountable to the general public. In the case of Creative Scotland, the vast majority of their income is directly invested into cultural organisations. This means that the accountability demands placed on Creative Scotland are partially passed down to its funded organisations. Thus cultural organisations are expected to exert a certain level of administrative competence in applying for and justifying their grant income. Through undertaking such a rigorous process and generating a report which mirrors those of its funding bodies, the theatre is demonstrating administrative best practice. Through demonstrating this best practice they insure against challenges to their own legitimacy, and protect the legitimacy of the bodies who are committing to fund the ambitious strategy.

In conclusion, the Creative Campus report frames the expansion of Dundee Rep as reactive. This expansion is not, the report asserts, the result of any kind of pioneering attitude, but rather a response to evolving needs in the organisation's environment. In the accounts of Creative Learning employees regarding this same development (given on pages 146-7), a more agentic and heroic role for the theatre is assumed. Both of these accounts are true in some senses, but the divergence between the pioneering spoken narrative and the responsive narrative of the report illustrates the purpose of each explanation. Firstly, what does it tell us about the reactive narrative of the strategy report? Given that several employees expressed to me the belief that the strategy of the theatre (and the broader divergence of organisational activities) was emblematic of a 'pioneering' role in the industry that was acting as a 'model' for other theatres, it is self-evident that the narrative in the report is not the sole true account of the approach of the theatre to these activities. Rather, the theatre has chosen to *represent* their development in a certain way; they have chosen to emphasise the narrative which places the stimulus for change outside of the organisation. They are exploiting their privileged position of knowledge regarding organisational activities to use the Creative Campus report as a legitimation device. The report authors have selected a particular narrative structure for the report which frames the content of the strategy in such a way as to make it more palatable to the organisation's audiences. The report is not a simple statement of the intentions of the organisation, but a specifically crafted document designed to *legitimate* those actions to external audiences.

I have argued in this section that the Creative Campus strategy seeks to demonstrate alignment with field logics, but also how widely accepted definitions of the theatre as 'pioneering' are not featured in the strategy document. In relation to this latter point, previous studies have highlighted that it is possible for organisations to gain legitimacy through actions that break with accepted practice/norms (Elsbach, 1992), but that it involves careful impression management. In light of this research, and of the prevailing institutional environment when the report was authored, the portrayal of the theatre within the report as aligned with field logics (and therefore not 'pioneering', but rather 'responsive') is an important aspect of managing the legitimacy-as-belonging of the theatre. If the theatre were to talk about itself as a 'model organisation' it would likely incur the 'double edge of organisational legitimation', regardless of whether others in the field also regard them as a 'model organisation' (Ashforth and Gibbs, 1990). The organisation also seeks to deflect potential criticism through adopting a 'best practice' approach to the development of the Creative Campus strategy.

The framing of the Creative Campus strategy can be seen as a purposeful attempt to legitimate an expansion in the role of the theatre. The report itself seeks to frame the expansion which is

detailed in the strategy as a natural evolution, rather than a proactive break with industry convention. In the context of proposing a strategy of expansion at a time of general contraction in the industry, this can be seen as an attempt to avoid the strategy of the theatre being seen as institutionally inappropriate. Stakeholder accounts gathered in 2009 show that notions of 'taking' key stakeholders along through engaging and convincing them were already being recognised, and this notion of clear, convincing communication is realised in the Creative Campus document. Furthermore, the tendency to frame an expansion of organisational role in terms of an evolution in industry conditions was identified in the discussion of how the theatre planned to take up the 'opportunity' of filling a 'gap' in training. Finally, the Creative Campus report and the process through which it was created are examples of purposeful attempts to legitimate the actions of the organisation through framing those actions in a comprehensible and legitimate ('best practice') way. The structure of the document and the models used are indicative of an attempt to fulfil normative expectations of a *good* strategy document and the effort put into creating the document indicates its importance to the organisation. Although the theatre incurred significant time and opportunity costs from undertaking such a rigorous approach to strategizing, this process has important symbolic benefits for the organisation. In an insitutitonal field increasingly characterised by a spread of administrative logics, the highly structured Creative Campus strategy demonstrates the ability of the theatre to align themselves with this prevailing logic, which is particularly emphasised by their primary funder (Creative Scotland). As much as the process of creating the Creative Campus was substantively useful in gathering ideas from across the organisation and codifying them into a vision for the future of the organisation, it was also a performance of the administrative competency of the theatre and its managers.

In terms of developing a characterisation of legitimacy-as-belonging, this section of the thesis offers some insights into how the theatre managers relate to legitimacy. It is particularly obvious through a consideration of the extent to which the Creative Campus strategy seeks to mute the 'pioneering' narrative of organisational development and the performative aspects of the strategizing process that legitimacy management is a purposeful activity for the managers of Dundee Rep. The inconsistencies between the way the organisation is presented by (internal and external) stakeholders in interviews and the way the organisation is presented in the formal report suggests that the management of legitimacy might be something which happens separately from everyday organisational action. The framing of the Creative Campus strategy to ensure its legitimacy emerges as an activity conducted after the fact. Furthermore, the respective accounts offered by employees and by theatre managers illustrate that the

management of legitimacy through the framing of the Creative Campus strategy is an activity undertaken purely by managers and Board members.

LEGITIMACY-AS-BELONGING – CONCLUSION

There are two primary reasons for outlining the traditional approach to legitimacy (as belonging) as well as the novel approaches (becoming and integrated). Firstly, due to the basic assumption that legitimacy is only important in its absence, studies of legitimacy have typically chosen instances of legitimacy challenge as their primary source of data. The setting of this study is longitudinal, and as such features situations when legitimacy was under immediate challenge and when it was relatively stable (stable meaning when the organisation faces no substantial external challenges to its legitimacy, but faces the same legitimacy struggles as the rest of the professional theatre industry). So although the epistemological *perspective* in this chapter is not novel to the legitimacy literature, the *characteristics* of the data are. Secondly, as is clear from the theory section, Gilbert Ryle did not see *knowing that* and *knowing how* (the theoretical bases of the two epistemologies here discussed) as being diametrically oppositional and incompatible. Rather he argued that the two were co-existent, each representing only a partial view of knowledge and knowing. In order to develop a holistic, integrative framework in the discussion chapter, the thesis establishes both positions.

The framing of the Creative Campus strategy (by which I mean the strategic process leading to the physical report, the report itself, and the subsequent implementation of that report) can be understood through an epistemology of belonging as a purposeful attempt to secure legitimacy for an organisational expansion. Regardless of the core strategic aims of the report, the development of the plan, the plan itself and the distribution thereof were constructed with considerable reference to managing and protecting organisational legitimacy. The claims made for legitimacy are based upon appeals both to political narratives and to accepted notions of best practice. The report is constructed not as a disinterested account of where the theatre has evolved and where it wishes to proceed; it highlights certain activities and obscures others to optimise the reception of the strategy by key stakeholder audiences. This is clear from comparing the accounts of the strategy in the 'Towards a Creative Campus' document and the accounts given by employees and key stakeholders of the development of the Creative Campus.

The Creative Campus report, as an objectification or codification of the aims and plans of the organisation, is strategically shared with certain stakeholder audiences to gain legitimacy for organisational aspirations while controlling for the perceptions of others in the industry who are facing cuts to public funding. Through limiting the distribution of the strategy, the theatre is

not only protecting its own legitimacy, but also that of the funder who is making this organisational expansion possible. This is necessary because, at least in the perception of the General Manager, legitimacy in the theatre industry functions as a competitive resource. The possibility of the theatre breaking with institutional conventions was regarded by the organisational leaders as being a cause for concern as it could result in the organisation being knocked off a 'pedestal'. Ordinarily, organisations are considered legitimate when they conform with institutional standards and, by 'redefining the role of a theatre in the 21st century', Dundee Rep may challenge the definitions of appropriateness in its sector. Because legitimacy is understood to exist as a competitive resource, Dundee Rep might be challenged by those who would seek to lose out through this development in institutional definitions of appropriateness.

In the empirical literature on legitimacy, it is overwhelmingly the case that organisations in periods of tenuous legitimacy are chosen for study. After all, it is argued, legitimacy is only important in its absence. As Epstein and Votaw state, "if there is one thing on which everything else hangs, it is the dynamics of legitimacy. If you lose legitimacy, you have lost everything. You are an absolute dead duck, no matter how much threat you have" (1978: 71). The Rep, although reacting to anticipated legitimacy challenges, is more legitimate that the organisations chosen in most empirical studies, as evidenced through its excellent relationships throughout the industry, its excellent history of critics reviews and it continued funding at both the local and national levels. Given that there are few unusual external legitimacy challenges facing the organisation, the primary emphasis may be seen to be focussed on *building* and *maintaining (*rather than *defending)* legitimacy. However, moving towards realising the vision of the Creative Campus, the theatre is embarking upon a period of strategic change. Through the lens of belonging, this strategy becomes the key focus of the legitimation efforts of the theatre. In order to maintain current and to seek to build further legitimacy, Dundee Rep's managers have embarked upon a formalised process of *framing* the strategy in such a way as to make it seem appropriate to their stakeholders. Through this lens, and in this particular situation, legitimation-as-belonging is the process of **framing organisational strategy** (structured into organisational priorities) to make it seem appropriate to external stakeholders such as funders and potential partners. This legitimation is illustrated overleaf in Figure 23.

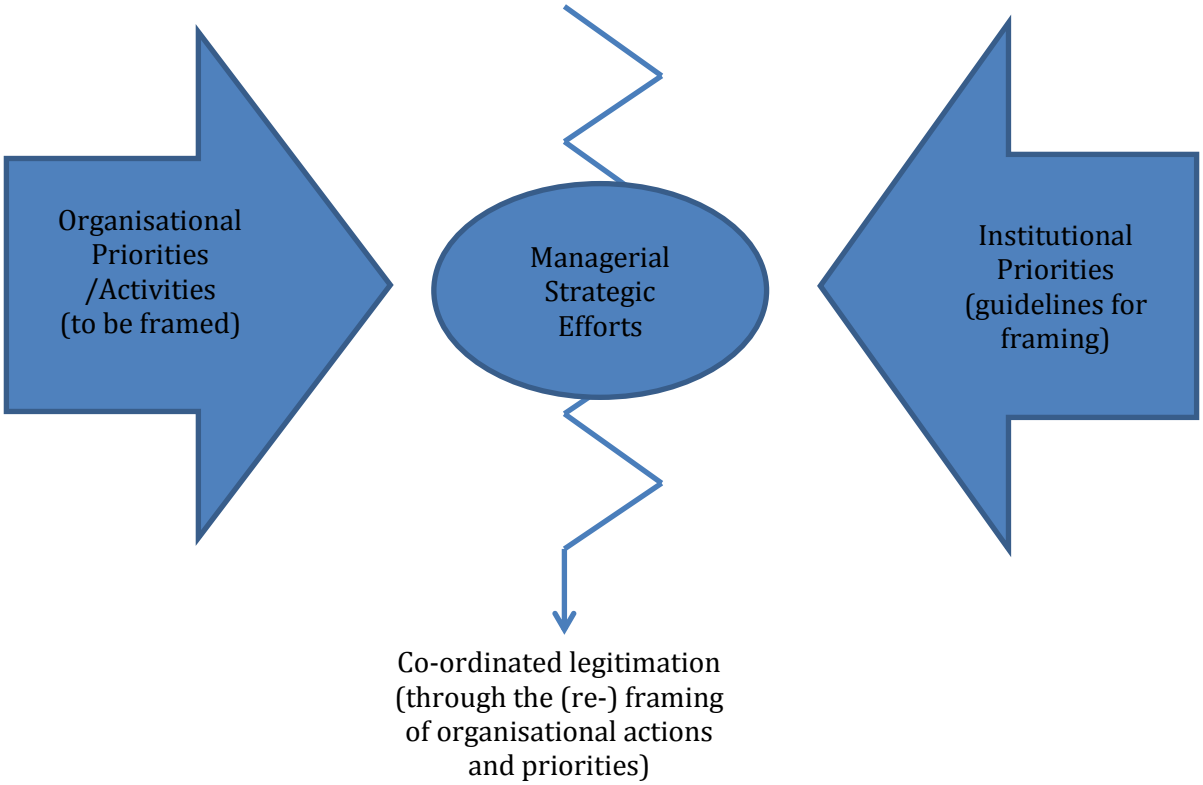


FIGURE 23 - LEGITIMATION-AS-BELONGING

Legitimation-as-belonging is the activity by which managers strategically reframe organisational activities and priorities relative to prevailing institutional priorities, which are often expressed through the demands of powerful stakeholders.

Laid out overleaf in Figure 24 is the elaborated legitimacy-as-belonging model, which shows how the theoretical concept of *knowing that* is both manifested in the literature and functions as an explanatory tool for understanding the framing of the Creative Campus strategy as purposeful legitimation. First, from a belonging perspective, the pursuit of legitimacy by Dundee Rep's managers can be seen to be guided by the notion of an accepted legitimate order. The efforts of managers to frame the strategy, through the structure and content of the report, are guided by notions of what constitutes best practice and by the prevalent rational myths of the institutional environment. These notions originate from outside the organisation and are not seen as being constructed or altered by the managers. Second, from a belonging perspective, activity is a double process. This means that every instance of legitimation is explicitly pre-planned, and the focus of the analysis is on the legitimation strategies of managers. The framing of the Creative Campus report (in terms both of its appeal to political narratives and its

portrayal of the theatre as a model organisation employing best practice) is a purposeful and highly strategic attempt to gain legitimacy for Dundee Rep's organisational aspirations. Third, from a belonging perspective the distinction between public and private forms of knowledge is emphasised. The legitimating actions of the theatre managers depend upon their ability to strategically control the flow of publicly available information regarding the organisation. By highlighting some activities of the organisation (such as Creative Learning) whilst essentially muting others (such as national touring), the report appeals to the prevailing notions of institutional appropriateness.

FIGURE 24 - LEGITIMACY-AS-BELONGING

Adopting a legitimacy-as-belonging perspective results in the *framing* of the Creative Campus strategy being the central activity involved in the production of legitimacy as Dundee Rep. Legitimation, from this perspective, is something which is undertaken *after* the decision to pursue the Creative Campus strategy and which ensures that this strategy is perceived as appropriate by key organisational audiences (particularly Creative Scotland and Dundee City Council). After strategic decisions are made within the theatre, legitimation is the managerially-led activity used to symbolically manage the perception of these activities by organisational audiences. This symbolic management occurs through the managers highlighting some organisational priorities (such as 'creativity'), whilst obscuring others (such as 'art'), and forging explicit links between organisational strategy and important political narratives (in the accepted 'legitimate order' of the institutional environment).

CHAPTER FIVE - LEGITIMACY-AS-BECOMING

In the late summer of 2009 I asked for an interview with the Artistic Director. It was when I tried in this interview to unpick the particularities of how the city had affected the development of the theatre that it first started to become clear that the ideas I had inherited from the literature regarding how organisations strategically align themselves with their environments to gain legitimacy weren't reflected in the experiences and activities of my participants. I had previously noticed that the theatre employees didn't always easily identify with the notion of 'legitimacy', therefore in this and other conversations I was asking about the relationship between the theatre and its environment in the hope of reaching the same issue through a more productive avenue of discussion. When I asked him to what extent the nature of the theatre was a product of its location he told me:

> *"… it's like a garden that has grown in a particular way, you need to follow the roots of certain things back, even I've been here 6 years but some of the things predate me and you're not quite sure why something is the way it is until you work out that it's got its roots back here [gestures]. But it also means –if you carry on the garden metaphor- that's there's real strength and there is real organic integrity in a lot of what happens…"*

I sat in the office and tried to rework my interview schedule into something that would facilitate him in telling me how legitimacy and narrative were interwoven at the Rep in his own terms.

(Field notes, January 2010)

BECOMING THE CREATIVE CAMPUS

From a legitimacy-as-belonging perspective, the theatre is 'legitimated' through careful framing of the Creative Campus strategy. However, as the quote on the previous page begins to tease out, legitimacy for the theatre is not just about framing organisational actions and priorities. As my fieldwork advanced I began to appreciate that participants across the organisation, such as the Artistic Director quoted previously, understood being *legitimate* as less about instrumentally seeking to appeal to constituencies and more about organisational history, tradition and artistic integrity. Rather than just being about how the strategy is *presented* to stakeholders, the definition of legitimacy which emerged from my fieldwork concerns how organisational priorities originally come to be formed, and how they fluctuate in importance as employees across the theatre respond to external pressures and opportunities. It is about the *substance* of the Creative Campus strategy, not its framing.

Through the presentation of ethnographic accounts of everyday work which culminate in the organisational priorities highlighted in the Creative Campus strategy report, this chapter shows the importance of legitimacy to activities long preceding the formalised legitimation of the report framing process. Three accounts are presented which specifically illustrate how the *substance* of the Creative Campus strategy originated. These accounts show how organisational priorities evolve, and how some values (and associated activities) come to be seen as increasingly legitimate in the context of organisational resource allocation.

The first priority of the Creative Campus report which is explored from a becoming perspective in this chapter is 'Creative Learning'. This is expressed as the objectives "to expand Creative Learning programme" and "to work more creatively" in the Creative Campus report. Creative Learning is a department of the theatre that with over twenty thousand participants every year and runs several streams of projects and activities for people of all ages and abilities with drama and dance-based activities. The department works in partnership with local and national charities, the local educational authority and direct with schools, colleges and universities, hospitals and other community-based organisations to deliver their programs. This places them in a good position to advocate between other departments of the theatre and the community, and Creative Learning employees frequently act as co-ordinators on wider projects, such as recruiting and managing 'Community Ambassadors' from across the city, and arranging meetings between theatre directors and community centre operators.

'Creative Learning' also however refers to an emerging organisational philosophy at Dundee Rep based on cross-department collaboration, embracing new ways of working and continually

seeking to improve the accessibility of the theatre's activities. These three tenets are interdependent, as collaborating with other departments requires embracing new ways of working and often incorporates a consideration of accessibility issues. In the context of the report, the 'creative learning' priority refers to both the growth of the Creative Learning department, and the increasing adoption of a 'Creative Learning' philosophy by employees across the theatre.

The second priority of the Creative Campus strategy/report explored in this chapter is 'Local Touring'. The core activity of any theatre can be divided into producing theatre (choosing, casting, rehearsing and directing plays of any kind) and staging theatre (programming theatre (or other) productions onto the stage). Professional producing theatres such as Dundee Rep tend to be involved in three types of theatrical production and staging: Producing and stage their own productions; staging the productions of other companies; and touring their productions to stages in other venues. Theatres typically tour their productions to other theatres, or to auditoriums which are suitable for installing and moving the set. However, they might also seek to stage site-specific work (productions staged in the location in which they are 'set') and to tour productions to auditoriums which are not specifically designed for theatre in the local area (local touring). Theatres engage in local touring to try and reach out to possible audiences in the local area who are unwilling or unable to visit the theatre building. Some theatres have a strong reputation for local touring, whilst others (particularly those in large urban centres such as Edinburgh and Glasgow) do not need to engage in proactive touring to reach out to audiences in their local areas. As such, 'local touring' relates directly to the Creative Campus objectives "to engage audiences" and "to work more creatively".

The venues that local touring productions typically visit range from community centres to school halls. Dundee Rep has a history of touring high quality work into the community. As such, the touring teams ensure that the community centres typically used to stage the work are transformed into appropriate theatre venues. In some venues, which have skylights or full length windows, achieving the 'blackout' required for proper lighting can be quite a challenge. A further challenge in local touring is that the theatre does not have the distribution channels of a host theatre to market the touring production. A host theatre has access to mailing lists, local advertising avenues and links with organisations in the community, which are not available when touring to a community centre. As such, the theatre must tap into existing mechanisms of publicity in the area and cultivate the distribution networks needed to build audiences for the touring work. Despite these difficulties, local touring has become a priority for Dundee Rep. The tour discussed in the narrative to follow was the first of a series of annual tours around Dundee

which are aimed at exposing more members of the Dundee community to the work of the theatre. This work not only improves accessibility (through bringing productions closer to homes and reducing ticket prices by up to two thirds) but has the potential to build audiences. Local touring is also a highly visible method of demonstrating an organisation-wide commitment to outreach, and embedding outreach values into core organisational activities.

The third organisational priority espoused in the Creative Campus strategy/report which is explored from a becoming perspective is 'Professional Equality', which is an emerging value at the organisational and industrial levels. As a value, 'Professional Equality' means the organisation taking a proactive stance in identifying the barriers that prevent professional performers of all abilities from working for the organisation. Although the equality agenda exists more broadly than the performing arts sector, the significance of this value for working takes on a specific meaning in this context. For Dundee Rep, professional equality means ensuring that theatre professionals have equal opportunity to work for the organisation, regardless of any physical disabilities. For the champions of professional equality at the theatre, it also means emphasising the value of including performers of different physical abilities for productions. A problem in the industry is the lack of disabled performers making the transition from amateur to professional, because of lack of encouragement and a lack of opportunities. This means that the pool of performers that any company has to draw on is commonly unrepresentative of the population at large. Furthermore, companies have been known to cast able-bodied performers in roles which would be better suited to, for example, wheelchair-bound performers.

Whether caused by oversights in casting or a lack of accessibility in rehearsal spaces, professional equality is currently underemphasised as an organisational value in the industry at large. However, over the past four years, Dundee Rep has increasingly adopted professional equality as an organisational value. They have done so by ensuring that the barriers to performers of all abilities have been removed (such as a lack of wheelchair access to rehearsal spaces) and through seeking to proactively use performers of all abilities in the productions. The 'Professional Equality' value is reflected in a variety of 'strategies' in the Creative Campus report, such as 'build on progress already made in disability equality policy'.

'If anyone was to blame, then that was the community' – Creative Learning as a Legitimate Organisational Priority

"Come any time" she said, "let me know when you are free and I'm sure there'll be a group that you'll be able to come along to- you don't mind leaving the theatre do you?" I reply "no, not at all"

and subsequently find myself standing in the office on a Wednesday just after lunch. Actually, I'm doing just as much obstructing as standing; the office is a hive of activity and I don't know where to put myself that's out of the way. Everyone who works in the department has a desk, but few of them are able to keep their work within such confines. File folders, pamphlets and computer equipment jostle for space with a cacophony of props, dress-up items and pieces of sports equipment waiting for their next outing. The walls are papered with notes from participants, photos of groups performing and embracing employees, and timetables, both their own and the timetables of other organisations they have to co-ordinate with. The department is buzzing with activity, the girls are continually asking each other for information about particular groups and sharing stories, and the phone rings at least every two minutes, usually more often than that. It's clear that the outreach department are swiftly outgrowing the office space available to them. Jen comes jogging in through the door, apologising for being a little late, throws her keys and notes into a bag, greets everyone in the office and jogs out again, with me in tow.

We're heading to a day centre on the other side of the city centre. Although it's late autumn and bitterly cold, we're walking. Jen and the others don't drive when it's practical to walk, and we're meeting another group leader on the way over. Jen and her co-worker come to the centre once a week to run a theatre class for a group of adults with learning disabilities who come to the centre daily. The group are excited about an upcoming performance of the play they have been working on that will form part of their Christmas party and to which their friends and relatives have been invited. The class goes fairly smoothly, it is clear that Jen and her colleague have a great understanding about how to run a session to keep everyone involved and good-spirited, especially when some of the group have severe comprehension difficulties, and are also liable to wander off if not completely engaged in the activity at hand.

The outreach department, which Jen works in, runs and supports many of these groups, not just for adults with learning difficulties but for nearly all social groups. To have developed not only the competence that Jen demonstrated in this and other workshops I attended with her, but also the scale of involvement indicated above is a considerable undertaking for any organisation. I recall my, perhaps naïve, surprise that a theatre should be committed to such diverse operations. Indeed, the programmes have not always been so widespread, and the department not so encouraged as they are now. As Jen pointed out to me, there was a time when the department was relatively poorly regarded by the rest of the organisation:

> *When the department started, when it was the community department, way back in then in the '80s, they were very much seen as '**the community'** and it was called '**the community**'.*

*. . if anyone was to get the blame then that would be '**the community**' (Jen, 2011, 5, emphasis her own)*

Over the past decade or so, however, Creative Learning has grown in importance as a department of the theatre. This hasn't been an incidental increase, but according to the accounts of those working in the theatre has been driven by certain key players who strongly believe in the value of this type of activity to the theatre and to the community. The chief executive joined the theatre as an artistic director 8 years ago from a professional childrens' theatre, and brought his enthusiasm and support for high quality work for young people. Through his enthusiasm and a committed effort from outreach employees, the department has grown to accommodate over twenty thousand participants each year. Part of this expansion has involved integration with the rest of the theatre, as June (another Creative Learning employee) commented to me: "Creative Learning is much more integrated into the building [than it used to be]. So a lot of the projects now, the ensemble shows or any of the projects that we do, have a much more educational element or training and there's always some link to our department now, whereas before it was a separate kind of project" [1].

More than that however, 'Creative Learning' has become a philosophy for many of the employees with regard to their attitude towards continuous learning from inside and outside the organisation, and the openness which necessarily accompanies this attitude. Through the efforts of departmental employees to link up with other activities across the theatre, the traditional 'silo' culture of working at the theatre has been eroded. A culture of working across departments has emerged which supports the proliferation of interdisciplinary projects and aids the theatre in addressing the combined goals of high quality artistic and community based work. As Charlotte, from the dance theatre, told me: "Actually, if you love what you're doing, it's not an effort and you want to share with people, and that's all creative learning is really. It's about going 'come and have a try', rather than feeling threatened or that that's another thing that you have to do or whatever. But actually this is the way we work." [9-10].*

(* where individual departments would focus very deeply and solely on their own remit)

From a position of being the department that everyone 'blamed' to an activity and belief which binds together the organisation in specific projects, Creative Learning has become a key part of 'who we are' and 'what we do' at the theatre, which has been crystallised in its consolidation within the 'Creative Campus' strategy. The author of the report, the chief executive summarised

this development when I spoke with him about the key moments in the development of the organisation over the past decade:

> *"When I came here, it was a community company, it was a right mess, it didn't really have any sort of strategic direction… it's a continued evolution, because the whole skills and training agenda, the Bonar Hall, the creative campus idea is rooted in those decisions that were made way back. It's still in form of the same principles I think, which is about the organisation being an open organisation, porous if you like, focused on learning and development internally and externally." (p5)*

Creative Learning as an idea is at the heart of the Creative Campus strategy. As the point two (Figure 25) of their planned vision states:


Our Vision:

We will foster creativity, leadership and **inclusivity:** we want to re-invent the role of Dundee Rep in the 21st Century.

We will enable people to develop their **full potential**: engaging people through performances, through participation and through learning are equally valid.

We are 'world-class local': we make work in Dundee of an international standard.

FIGURE 25 - CREATIVE LEARNING IN THE CREATIVE CAMPUS STRATEGY (PAGE 4)

As Chapter Four outlined, the development of outreach activities is important to the legitimacy of the theatre, because they have a positive impact on the local community and are consequently valued by local authority funders. However, the account of Creative Learning as a department and as an organisational philosophy demonstrates that the Creative Learning, as an organisational priority, has not grown as a result of legitimacy pressure. Rather, Creative Learning has grown as a result of employees' and managers' efforts to meet the demands of the local area and to retain artistic integrity, and, as Creative Learning has grown in importance as an organisational priority, organisational legitimacy has become linked into this priority. Creative Learning is seen by employees as being central to the legitimacy of the organisation because it is the idea and the mechanism through which the art they create is connected (in a meaningful way) to the community they serve. As an organisational philosophy, Creative Learning allows them to perceive the creation of high quality art and engagement with the local community as two ideologically and practically aligned efforts, rather than organisational activities which are at odds with one another.

However, as is clear from Jen's story, this has not always been the case. Creative Learning was not always a core value of the organisation- and it was definitely not always a source of legitimacy for the theatre (from the employees' perspective). The low priority allocated to this

value was embodied, in an organisational sense, by the "community department", who were seen as someone to "blame" when things went wrong. It is perhaps not unusual in a field with such a strong and historic adherence to artistic logic (cf Eikhof and Haunschild 2007) to see resistance to an activity which also espouses other goals (such as a logic of social value). However, in the contemporaneous ethnographic scene which opens the account, the situation is far changed. Over time, and through the efforts of organisational leaders and Creative Learning department employees, such resistance appears to have been largely overcome in the theatre, and Creative Learning has become an organisational priority.

Creative Learning as an organisational priority and a department had for the legitimacy of the organisation because it allows Dundee Rep to integrate resource-based pressures from its local environment, and the institutional demands of the industry. It embodies a concerted effort to engage with local community needs melded with an institutional commitment to high quality art. It is a philosophy through which employees find ways to run synergistic programs incorporating both high quality plays and socially desirable outreach. As such it addresses both the local resource-based demands (such as demand to work with adults with learning disabilities) that are symbolised through the legitimacy requirements of the local authority and the industry-wide institutional demands (such as the demand to produce plays with high artistic values) symbolised through the legitimacy requirements of Creative Scotland.

What the account of the development of Creative Learning illustrates is that the resource and institutional frameworks, which are used to value the organisation, are also embodied in the views and priorities of employees in different departments and with different professional allegiances. Those working in the 'main house' have more direct and regular exposure to artistic demands whereas those in Creative Learning respond to local area external demands on a daily basis. The primary role of the ideology of Creative Learning is, in this case, gelling together the disparate operations and employees of the firm into a joint mission. Or, in the case of the excerpt in Figure 25, a joint 'Vision'. Creative Learning, as an organisational priority, acts as the mechanism through which the historically divergent artistic and pro-social aims can be integrated, and in so doing it enables the theatre to simultaneously appeal to two distinct institutional systems, and to become legitimate, without decoupling the activities of different organisational departments.

The axiomatic principles of Ryle's *knowing how*, which underpin legitimacy-as-becoming are: All activity is inherently intelligent, therefore legitimation is an evolving activity (and not necessarily strategic); understanding is a competence, therefore the evaluation of

organisational legitimacy is contingent on the evaluators' competence in organisational activities, or familiarity with the rationale behind those activities; and knowledge is dispositional, therefore legitimacy is not seen as an organisational state, but rather as a pattern of evaluations which are highly context dependent and subject to continual revision. The account of Creative Learning particularly highlights how legitimacy-as-becoming manifests as dispositional knowledge, which is created through the intelligent action of organisational members (members referring to both employees and managers). Creative Learning emerges as an organisational priority as the employees and managers of Dundee Rep seek to manage their competing resource and institutional demands. Over time, the success of Creative Learning as an organisational philosophy in enabling synergies between the outreach and artistic activities becomes recognised outside of the theatre, and Dundee Rep gains a reputation for blending artistic and pro-social aims. As a result of this recognition, there is a shift in why the theatre is seen as legitimate. The theatre *becomes* legitimate because of Creative Learning.

However, the logic of appropriateness which drove the employees and managers of Dundee Rep to grow Creative Learning was not external to the organisation. Nor was there any strategic intent implied in this action; at no point did a manager set out to grow Creative Learning in order to gain legitimacy. The production of legitimacy in this case was not a separate activity from the intelligent activity which characterises everyday work at Dundee Rep. In line with Ryle's notion of *knowing how*, the legitimation of Dundee Rep was inherent in the intelligent actions of the theatre's employees and managers as they sought to determine the appropriate role for their organisation, and to decide which activities and organisational philosophy would enable them to meet the demand of their resource and institutional environments. Legitimation-as-becoming is not something solely achieved *post facto* through activities such as issuing strategic reports, but is more accurately perceived as an on-going dimension of all organisational actions, one of which is reporting (as in the case of writing the Creative Campus report). Legitimation, through a lens of becoming, is a dynamic activity of balancing institutional and resource based demands, which occurs in the context of most organisational activities.

‘Getting Theatre to More People’ - Local Touring as a Legitimate Organisational Priority

We’ve just been across the road to an Asda to grab a baguette for lunch. The area is relatively unwelcoming – we were told by a stagehand before we left the theatre that this was the most dangerous area of the city – so we’re all fairly glad that we don’t have to go far to get lunch. This area isn’t one accustomed to receiving critically acclaimed performance art, the community centre where we’re setting up for the evening’s performance is the main source of entertainment other than a cinema multiplex. This is the first time the theatre has toured here, and it has presented a number of ‘logistical difficulties’; from the skylights which need to be blacked out to the kids banging on the windows during performance time. But many of the residents are very grateful to see that the theatre is making the effort to come to them, ‘it’s great to be able to just come to the centre and see a proper play, you know’. Their local councillor is also pretty pleased and, for the benefits that they think it will have in getting theatre to more people in the city, and maybe attracting new audiences too, it is relatively inexpensive to tour a small play like this around community.

As we head back into the main hall of the community centre, where we’re setting up the set and the seating for the evening’s performance, the conversation shifts from everyday chat to reflecting on how the tour we are running is viewed by the people back in the theatre. As the stage manager (Susan) and the electrician (Eddie) finish their lunch in quick time so they will be able to get the hall completely transformed into a theatre before any of the actors arrive, they reflect on recent events. Susan confides in both Eddie and myself that the last production meeting for this show was held when she, Eddie, and the set builder were out setting up at a venue. This news is received with some derision by Eddie, who comments on the sensibility of holding a meeting about touring a production without three of the five key members of the touring team.

Later in that day, the lighting designer (Liz) arrives to begin her portion of the set-up and adds her view of why the touring show has received so little attention and resource from the main house.

> *Susan: “I’ll be doing the sound when we move [the production] back to the theatre, they can’t afford to put anyone else on the show”*
>
> *Eddie: “It’s going to get interesting, where the priorities lie with the money”*
>
> *Liz: “Nowadays they’re focussing the spending on scenery over people. They’ve created big expectations about their sets by winning all those awards so that now they have to keep getting bigger to avoid disappointing everybody”*

There was a tone of regret rather than anger over this discussion. The theatre had historically held a reputation for commitment to community work, and this production was seen as a pioneer in taking a production with good artistic values out into the community. Many of the people who were specifically involved with the touring production felt pride and took enjoyment from seeing the lines of local people queuing outside their community centre to see a 'proper play'. Indeed, the production had been proposed as a return to the strong legacy of community engagement embedded in massive city-wide theatre projects of the 1980s. The regret from the team came from the realisation that the, relatively recent, awards that the theatre had won and the budget constraints throughout the season meant that the value placed on their production within the theatre seemed to have waned significantly.

The local touring of plays is a growing activity of Dundee Rep; since this play toured around community centres, the theatre have toured two other professional productions around the city. Well received by local residents and the local funding body, Dundee City Council, this type of touring has evolved into a legitimate priority of Dundee Rep, but the reasons for this evolution are not limited to its positive reception by stakeholders. In order to remain legitimate, the theatre must not only meet certain artistic standards (exerted through the institutional environment) but must also be seen to be embedded in and interacting with the local community (in the resource environment). The community tour is an attempt by the organisation to bring together these two demands through touring a play with high artistic values around local community centres. As the play has high artistic values it meets the standards of the theatre and enhances the repertoire, and as they tour it to local community venues, at reduced ticket prices, it fulfils their desire (created by local demand) to reach out into the local area.

This account highlights how emergent notions of organisational legitimacy shape organisational activities and priorities. The touring group believe that this production is a key activity in the attempts of the theatre to 'reconnect' with its community roots. They see this 'pioneering' activity as central to the theatre's position as a contemporary, regionally relevant theatre. Consequently, they imbued their work with a sense of pride and purpose and felt that this should be reciprocated by the organisational hierarchy. They felt that their project was both an organisational priority, key to establishing the legitimacy of the theatre as a high quality local cultural provider. However, the priorities seen as being central to the legitimacy of the theatre were shifting. Following a new partnership between a director and an external designer, the theatre won several prestigious awards over two seasons for set design. As the theatre became consecrated through a series of highly visible 'tournaments of value' (Moeran 2010, Jones,

Anand, and Alvarez 2005) the 'generalised perception' of organisational legitimacy, shifts. Within the theatre, local touring was perceived to decrease in priority and spending on sets to increase in priority, as the production of sets became more important to the theatre's legitimacy.

The perceived drop in priority of the touring production was received poorly by the touring team. With a limited production budget and a large touring show already in technical rehearsals, the budget for the local tour was already squeezed, both in terms of money to spend on props and transport and in terms of man hours from other employees. The shift in the priorities seen as being key to the legitimacy of the theatre came into conflict with the touring team members' beliefs that their activity was an organisational priority. As the substance of organisational legitimacy became rebalanced, the associated organisational priorities were rebalanced. This highlights what the *dispositional* nature of legitimacy; from a becoming perspective, legitimacy is not an organisational state, but a pattern of activities and evaluations affect and effect the priorities of Dundee Rep.

The account of local touring illustrates an emergent and responsive relationship between legitimacy as an emergent generalised perception (that is, legitimacy-as-becoming) and organisational activities, mediated by the notion of organisational 'priorities'. The touring production is a more or less explicit attempt to meet both the local demands and the institutional requirements that are levered upon the organisation. Therefore, legitimation is inherent in the decisions and actions of the touring team. However, legitimacy-as-becoming is emergent, and becomes reshaped by the acquisition of awards for set design. Dundee Rep and its employees are continually responding to evolving notions of legitimacy; legitimating is not something which occurs as a framing of core organisational activity, but is an *ever present dimension* of that activity. After receiving awards, the theatre folded emergent notions of legitimacy into a reshaped set of organisational priorities. Organisational activities and priorities are actively shaped by legitimacy-as-becoming.

'A Leading Force Nationally' -
Professional Equality as a Legitimate Organisational Priority

> *"... there is this beautiful quote by Anita Roddick who founded The Body Shop, where she says - 'if you think you're too small to make a difference, you've obviously never tried to go to sleep with a mosquito in your room'. So my idea is that I'm just a mosquito that just continues to buzz in people's ears and there's a kind of relentlessness to that in terms of just keep coming back."*
>
> *Charlotte [2]*

Charlotte's enthusiasm washes over me as we sit opposite each other in the café. She is nearing the end of her term working in a (very broadly defined) outreach role with the dance theatre and has created quite a stir in the industry with her 'buzzing'. She is an established professional dance artist who has worked worldwide and is seen by many as being a pioneer for dancers with disabilities. Over two years ago Charlotte solidified her position as a passionate advocate when she came to work with the theatre on producing work which challenged the idea of what a 'normal' body is, and therefore what is 'normal' in dance. In addition to producing new work, Charlotte has been working with other cultural institutions across the country to improve access for disabled dancers, and has started a workshop which runs every weekend in the theatre for disabled dancers of all abilities throughout the city. She also blogs and attends cultural summits. Through this diverse range of activities, Charlotte aims to achieve the overall broad aim of her role, to stimulate change in the attitudes prevalent in the dance world towards disabled dancers.

When Charlotte arrived at the dance theatre, her role did not exist; it is in fact the first of its kind in the UK. Stimulated by the opportunities created by including professional dancers of all abilities in the repertoire, and disappointed by the training and progression opportunities for disabled dancers, the Artistic Director and Charlotte decided to apply for money from the national arts funding body to establish the role. They were successful in receiving funds for the post, and were also successful in applying for an extension to the post. This is because Charlotte has not only achieved a number of practical achievements in terms of getting disabled dance integrated into the activities and repertoire of the dance theatre, but has also had an impact nationally. Through industry networks, presentations and performances to diverse audiences and a large scale 'Pathways to the Profession' symposium held in early 2012, she has had an impact on the attitudes of many key players across the sector and in Higher/Further Education regarding the inclusion of disabled people in professional dance. Talking to such a wide variety of audiences about a very broad issue has required Charlotte to take on a number of roles:

"I feel like I've been able to bring things like bring the performer, the teacher, the trainer, bring the devil, like absolutely, start those conversations that no one wants to have, bring the confidence to have those conversations." [4]

Through her role at the dance theatre, Charlotte has been able to drive forward change in the industry, through championing causes that were previously unrepresented. The success of her role has been documented by a formal report produced to evaluate outcomes and authored by an independent expert, Jo Verrent, who states:

"I believe that there is a political impact from the post within the dance sector- disability dance in Scotland is seen to be a leading force nationally… It is also supporting a rippling change, coming through [dance theatre] and out into [the theatre], subtly influencing both formal and informal processes" [Jo Verrent, 24]

The influence of the role at the national level is also verified through Charlotte's own account of the spread, because she is a central figure in the national dance scene. Through her attendance at numerous industry gatherings she has seen the terms and activities she has pioneered being picked up and taken forward in other areas. For example:

"I went to a thing called the creative case, which is the Arts Council England's next initiative about equality. They were talking in their presentation about agents for change. So it's out there. It's happening." [2]

This dispersion of 'agents for change' around the UK is referenced by representatives that Charlotte meets in the industry, and she tells me how she was recently approached by one individual who remarked that she had "created currency" around the role, which was spreading around the country. Charlotte seems to also have had success in bringing issues of equality into the mainstream arts discourse in Scotland. As of September 2012, Creative Scotland have partnered with the Flo Culture agency "to develop a programme of change designed to put equalities at the heart of selected cultural and creative organisations who will then act as leaders, advocates and developers for the sector" [Flo Culture webpage, accessed 16/10/12]. Furthermore, according to the Flo Culture webpage, the theatre is slated as one of the six key organisations involved in the programme, and is the only professional performing arts company to be included.

Finally, the issue of professional equality was consecrated by former Creative Scotland Chief Executive Andrew Dixon, who stated, in the programme for the 2012 'Pathways to the Profession Symposium' run by the Dance Agent for Change, that the symposium would "highlight how our

creative sector can contribute to making a significant change in equality of opportunity for disabled people. It will challenge us all to do more to increase the opportunities available to disabled people in arts education and across professional practice".

Building on progress already made in Disability Equality Policy" is one of the strategies outlined in the Creative Campus 'strategy tree' as being key to fulfilling the objective of embedding the Creative Campus. This ethnographic account illustrates how the professional equality agenda at the heart of this policy developed as an organisational priority, and also how Charlotte develops the legitimacy of professional equality as an institutional value. While Charlotte's end goal is to participate in building a dance industry (and performing arts industry more broadly) where professional disabled artists are given the same opportunities as their able-bodied counterparts, she recognises that this involves making "professional equality" a legitimate value on a similar level to "art" across the field. Thus legitimation is an inherent dimension of her activity in the narrative, she seeks to change ideas of how legitimate "ensuring professional equality" is as a value, by demonstrating how legitimate it is through her own practice. Legitimacy, through a lens of becoming, is not something which is defined externally to and imposed upon Charlotte's activities, but something which she actively seeks to reconstruct, partially by drawing on broad discourses of equality and partially through relating specific instances or stories of inequality.

The preceding two accounts focussed on how reflexive the theatre is with regard to incorporating legitimacy demands (in the form of institutional priorities, such as artistic quality) into activities; illustrating that legitimation is an on-going dimension of organisational activity. This account emphasises the theatre as an active co-constructor of institutional norms, by illustrating how professional equality evolves from the material experiences of an employee to being an institutional value consecrated by the national funding body at a cross-industry symposium. What is primarily at stake in this account is not the legitimacy of the theatre, but the legitimacy of an institutional value which is championed by an employee of the theatre. Charlotte, through her material experiences of discrimination as a disabled dancer, sets out to expose and challenge the prevalent issues for professional disabled dance artists across the industry. Through a series of activities inside and outside the organisation (culminating in a symposium) Charlotte succeeded in having professional equality emphasised as an institutional value.

The legitimacy of 'professional equality' impacts upon the legitimacy of Dundee Rep in two ways. The consecration of professional equality escalated this value from an internal priority that Dundee Rep needed to relate to institutional priorities, to an institutional priority which

they would firstly, likely be evaluated against and, secondly, which they no longer had the same level of control over. This illustrates that specific legitimacy demands, and the normative framework of the industry in general, are not something which happen externally to and are imposed upon the organisation. Rather, the organisation co-constructs the legitimacy requirements, in this case a commitment to professional equality, which they are later evaluated against.

The final aspect of Gilbert Ryle's concept of *knowing how* which structures the epistemology of becoming is the principle that understanding is a competence. The account of the legitimation of professional equality illustrates quite clearly how the evaluation of the legitimacy of an activity or organisation may hinge of the competence of the evaluator. In the course of having professional equality recognised as an institutional priority, Charlotte occupies several roles; "the performer, the teacher, the trainer… the devil". She uses these roles to demonstrate through her activities why disabled dancers are a legitimate artistic inclusion in a contemporary dance troupe and mainstream repertoire. Given that equality is an ideological issue (Baker, Lynch, Cantillon, and Walsh 2004), Charlotte could presumably have made the case for professional equality by simply highlighting inequalities and arguing for them to be addressed. However, Charlotte recognises that one of her strongest tools in convincing people across the industry of her point is to perform and to train; she recognises that the ability to understand why professional equality is a legitimate priority is a competence, which must be built through experience.

Experience is very important to the legitimation we see Charlotte undertaking. In her quest to see professional equality legitimated as a key institutional value, Charlotte relies heavily on concrete experiences and dialogues. Rather than providing abstract arguments as to why the arts should be open to all, she seeks to convince doubting stakeholders of the veracity of her arguments through demonstrating that (a) professional disabled dancers are worthy of and suitable for inclusion in mainstream dance troupes and (b) that there are tangible barriers preventing this situation from being realised. To achieve the former she "brings the performer" and takes work featuring herself (a disabled dancer) alongside the dance theatre troupe around the country and further afield (for instance on the dance theatre's tour to Asia). To achieve the latter she directly engages with disabled dancers at all levels of their professional careers to gather their experiences of being discriminated against and seeks to confront those with power with her stories of discrimination in order to change the situation. Through performing, teaching and confronting, as illustrated overleaf in Figure 26, Charlotte builds the competence

of others, enabling them to appreciate her argument for the legitimacy of professional equality as an institutional priority.

NOTES CIRCULATED BY SDT FROM MEETING - 9th May

Creative Thinking Network Meeting – Monday 9th May 2011 – Glasgow

The World's Best Cross Art (Deaf & Disabled) Inclusive Festival

AAS & Disability

- Dance
- Music
- Visual Arts
- Crafts
- Storytelling
- Creative Development! All ages
- Easy Starters

DO
- Link websites (for inside people + outside people)
- Consolidate our learning from 'Moving On'
- Get bigger
- Think about leadership/delegation (to make bigger no.5 manageable)
- Create a platform for sharing (FST)
- Share skills/competences – skills match
- Skills –online discussion – website with keys words, indexing + linked to member sites
- Knowing what others are doing
- Be clear about an inclusive vision

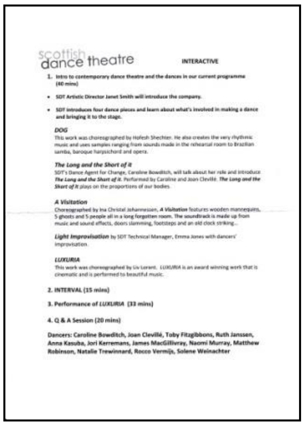
Want to DO
- Research on festival Plan

Don't DO
- Get bogged down in the details
- Be separatist
- Do what others are doing

NOW
- Evaluate our current position in the arts
- Collaborate with another network
- Remain a 'collective voice'- that can cope with disagreements
- Solidarity
- More inclusive network
- Share skills (arrange skill swaps)
- KEEP GOING!
- A clear vision statement
- Identify the 3 main areas that we want to focus on
- Access & participants
- Training
- Professional arts

SOON
- Working with educational providers to be accessible to disabled artists
- Bridge the gap into 'mainstream' theatre for disabled artists & audiences
- A Scottish agency
- Engage more people in the doing and the access of the arts
- Self sustaining group of people
- Open the eyes of the others in the arts – those who aren't aware of accessibility

1



scottish dance theatre INTERACTIVE

1. Intro to contemporary dance theatre and the dances in our current programme (40 mins)

- SDT Artistic Director Janet Smith will introduce the company.
- SDT introduces four dance pieces and learn about what's involved in making a dance and bringing it to the stage.

DOG
This work was choreographed by Hofesh Shechter. He also creates the very rhythmic music and uses samples ranging from sounds made in the rehearsal room to Brazilian samba, baroque harpsichord and opera.

The Long and the Short of it
SDT's Dance Agent for Change, Caroline Bowditch, will talk about her role and introduce ***The Long and the Short of it***. Performed by Caroline and Joan Clevillé. ***The Long and the Short of it*** plays on the proportions of our bodies.

A Visitation
Choreographed by Ina Christel Johannessen, ***A Visitation*** features wooden mannequins, 5 ghosts and 5 people all in a long forgotten room. The soundtrack is made up from music and sound effects, doors slamming, footsteps and an old clock striking...

Light Improvisation by SDT Technical Manager, Emma Jones with dancers' improvisation.

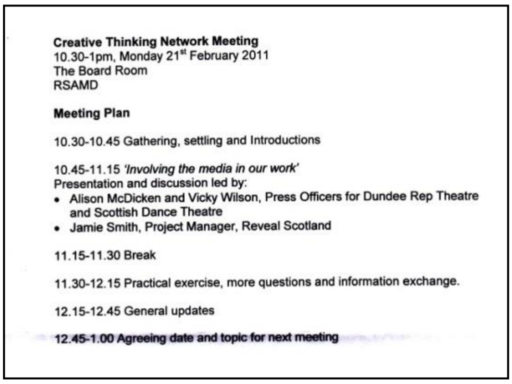
LUXURIA
This work was choreographed by Liv Lorent. LUXURIA is an award winning work that is cinematic and is performed to beautiful music.

2. INTERVAL (15 mins)

3. Performance of *LUXURIA* (33 mins)

4. Q & A Session (20 mins)

Dancers: Caroline Bowditch, Joan Clevillé, Toby Fitzgibbons, Ruth Janssen, Anna Kasuba, Jori Kerremans, James MacGillivray, Naomi Murray, Matthew Robinson, Natalie Trewinnard, Rocco Vermijs, Solene Weinachter



Creative Thinking Network Meeting
10.30-1pm, Monday 21st February 2011
The Board Room
RSAMD

Meeting Plan

10.30-10.45 Gathering, settling and Introductions

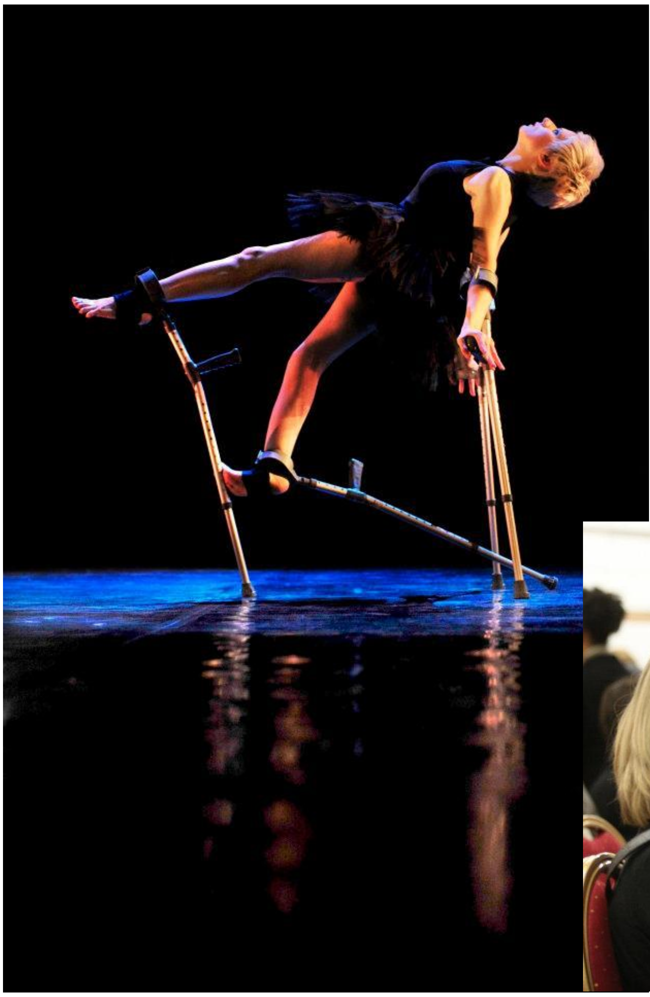
10.45-11.15 *'Involving the media in our work'*
Presentation and discussion led by:
- Alison McDicken and Vicky Wilson, Press Officers for Dundee Rep Theatre and Scottish Dance Theatre
- Jamie Smith, Project Manager, Reveal Scotland

11.15-11.30 Break

11.30-12.15 Practical exercise, more questions and information exchange.

12.15-12.45 General updates

12.45-1.00 Agreeing date and topic for next meeting



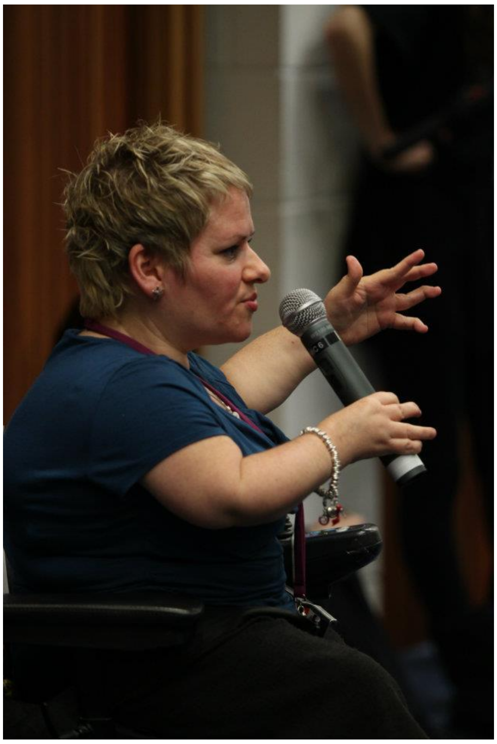


FIGURE 26 - MATERIALS AND PICTURES FROM ETHOGRAPHIC INTERACTION WITH THE DANCER AGENT FOR CHANGE (PHOTO CREDIT: NICOLE GUARINO)

Evolving Organisational Priorities and Legitimacy-as-Becoming

By taking three key priorities of Dundee Rep which are espoused in the Creative Campus report, this chapter has so far shown that legitimacy is not only produced by framing organisational priorities in institutionally appropriate ways. From a becoming perspective, legitimacy is not secured by the *post facto* justification of organisational activities to important stakeholders, but is implicated in the very substance of organisational priorities. Legitimacy is produced as Dundee Rep's employees interacting with stakeholders in the multiple institutional environments that Dundee Rep works across. They balance the priorities of the organisation with the requirements of their role and weave notions of legitimacy into their intelligent practice. Where an activity or a particular way of working enables the organisation to meet multiple demands more effectively, such as Creative Learning, then that activity or way of working becomes woven into the organisation's priorities. However, when institutional pressures focus the dispositional character of legitimacy-as-becoming on a different organisational activity or competence, such as set design, organisational priorities are rebalanced, and the theatre becomes legitimate for other reasons.

THE CULTIVATION OF LEGITIMACY-AS-BECOMING

The purpose of this section is to establish *how* legitimacy-as-becoming emerges from the material experiences of employees to constitute "generalised perceptions" (Suchman 1995). In other words, this section seeks to describe the mechanisms through which legitimacy-as-becoming is exposed, performed, disputed and re-created in the institutional environment of the theatre.

In the previous section I alluded to a variety of mechanisms through which changes in the institutional landscape of the theatre are woven into organisational values, and vice versa. In this section, I will focus on these mechanisms which allow employees across Dundee Rep to cultivate legitimacy-as-becoming. Through this perspective, 'legitimacy' is not an abstract form of knowledge which is learnt by, and stored in, the minds of industry players, but rather a shared understanding which underlies and is informed by a set of material practices and performances occurring at the intersection of the organisation and the institution. Where the belonging approach saw the management of legitimacy as a managerially defined tactical

activity, it is necessary to look at how legitimacy might be cultivated[5] from the perspective of becoming.

In addressing this issue, the section will present and discuss four ethnographic accounts of the management of legitimacy-as-becoming at Dundee Rep. The first account details how the theatre manages the press, an important stakeholder in the production of generalised perceptions regarding the appropriateness of the organisation. The second account details the ways in which the theatre secures legitimacy by inviting stakeholders into the organisation and incorporating them into planning. The third and fourth accounts discuss the role of collaborative networks in ensuring the legitimacy of the theatre and its contemporaries in the Scottish theatre industry.

[5] I use the term 'cultivated' rather than 'managed' because the term 'managed' implies a process undertaken by managers, which is not necessarily the case for legitimacy-as-becoming.

"It's Not Rocket Science" - Managing Legitimacy through Press and Critics' Reports

"What is your PhD about?"

"Well it's about legitimacy in the theatre industry- how theatres are judged, how they are evaluated. So I suppose in that sense I'm really interested in critics"

"I don't think the critic is very important to the legitimacy of a theatre"

" Really?"

"Do you think the role of the critic is more important than that of the audience?"

I feel a little put on the spot. It seems like a trick question- the critic has so much more power than an audience member , surely.

"Yes, I do"

"You're wrong. The audience has all the power. You should read Wesley Shrum's book."

Feeling suitably cowed, I smile, assure him I'll read the book and back off. He is Robert Dawson Smith, one of the most respected theatre critics in the UK, who frequently writes for publications such as the Times, used to be the Arts Editor at The Scotsman and now works as an Editor for STV (Scottish Television). As I walk away my friend (who knows him personally) tells me not to worry, that he's always a little intimidating to those who haven't met him before. The point about the audience and the critic stays with me for at least a few weeks, and after reading Shrum's book I finally sympathise with Dawson Smith's point. The critic might have a lot more exposure, but what really matters most of the time in theatre is "bums on seats" and the opinion of a seasoned, highly experienced critic regarding the quality of a show is usually less important than the point that they write about it at all.

This point is later confirmed to me during one of the days I spend working in the Marketing department. I am sat across from Amy, the Press Officer, as she is going about her daily work. She spends time each day collecting physical press cuttings which discuss any department of the theatre, and much of the rest of her time (when she's not working with others in the department) involves liaising with journalists and critics in the local and national media. It is Amy's job to generate press around organisational activities and achievements. Part of this relates to shows

and awards, but she also spends time trying to drum up interest into things like special promotions at the restaurant or, as today, Creative Learning projects involving local schoolchildren. Two things surprise me about this, firstly I didn't realise the extent to which press features were actively cultivated by the theatre and, secondly, the relationships between the press and Amy are very close. She needs to know all of the players, understand the kinds of news they are receptive to, and have built up strong relationships in order to her job well. As she neatly and modestly surmises to me:

> *"it's not rocket science to work out what journalist you think might be interested in chatting to certain actors, or directors, writers and I suppose that just comes with experience" [Amy, 2]*

Amy does her job very well, and the Rep receives a great deal of coverage in the local press in particular. When I ask her for copies of recent press articles, she hands me a pile of binders stuffed with press clippings. The immediate thing that I notice when I start reading through the clippings is that they are overwhelmingly positive. The feature pieces tend to run over a page in the local news and often sound as if they've been written by someone inside the theatre they are so affirmative. The critics' reports also tend to be very positive. While this is testimony to the consistently high quality of the theatre's productions, reviews in general tend to be more positive than negative. Critics usually employ a standard "star" rating system, with the expert able to score a production from 1 (for awful) to 5 (for brilliant). Most of the theatre's productions get 4 stars. It is unusual, flipping through the folder, to find the occasional 5 or even more occasional 3 star review. Whether due to the consistency of the reviews, or due to the point made by Dawson Smith (that the presence of a review is more important than the character of it, and both less important than the audience reception), the ***length*** *of reviews and features seems to be the most important factor to Amy:*

> *"I can kind of measure against the size of the pieces that we get in the newspapers and compare that to adverts- because we know how much it is to put an advert in the newspaper, so I can actually, in what we call column inches, I can roughly work out what the press cost, the cost against the press. I don't do that to justify myself to other people but it's quite nice to do for yourself- I always say it is nice if you can say to someone 'oh well we've got £21000 of press for Sleeping Beauty' or whatever the show is" [Amy, 2]*

This importance of length is highlighted by the fact that 'column inches' is a headline figure which is customarily presented to the Board as part of the periodic reporting which the head of the department delivers.

Press in general, and critics' reports in particular, are a public statement on the organisation. At a brief glance, it may be assumed that the press exists somewhat separate to the organisation, the journalist as an (impartial) commentator on organisational activities and their value. However, in the case of Dundee Rep this does not appear to be true. Journalists and critics are actively courted by the organisation. The theatre appreciates that the newspapers need to fill column inches with items of interest to their readership, just as the theatre requires exposure to the same group. Thus they seek to actively provide the press with opportunities to appease both of their needs.

The evaluative role of the press-as-commentator seems to be less emphasised than might have been expected. Both the comments of the eminent critic and Amy's emphasising of "column inches" rather than the qualitative dimension of press suggest that the quality evaluations made by the critic, and the press more generally produced regarding the organisation, are generally less important than might be expected. Further, the courting process undertaken by press officers such as Amy, and her careful selection and presentation of organisational activities for press features, suggests that those pieces may be clearly seen to have limited impartiality. As a whole, the role of press seems to be less of a mediator in the social judgement of the theatre and more of a publicist regarding the activities of the organisation. As Dawson Smith argued, the critic is arguably less important than "bums on seats".

What then is the relevance of journalists (or the press) and critics to the legitimacy of the theatre? Despite the considerable power they could wield over the legitimacy of the organisation due to their wide readership and position of authority (to some degree these qualities are shared, and to some degree distinct), as a mechanism for impartially evaluating the legitimacy of the theatre, this role of the press is limited. However, the press plays a different and important role in constructing legitimacy-as-becoming at Dundee Rep. Rather than an evaluator, the press is to a certain extent a loudspeaker for the organisation, providing a channel for reaching a wide audience with specially selected pieces of 'organisational news'. Each week the press officer selects a few examples of interesting stories, whether it's a special menu at the restaurant, a new schools project or a play, and matches these stories to journalists. Through selecting a story, choosing the characters who will represent the organisation and choosing the journalist and publication of the piece, Amy plays an important role in determining what and how organisational activities become 'news'. Her approach of measuring and calculating "column inches" demonstrates that the press she generates through these activities is considered by her and the organisation as being measurable advertising bought and paid for

by the organisation. Thus, in an explicitly public forum, press acts as a particular representation of the organisation created for a specific outcome- in this case for advertising.

However, press reporting is not a straightforward mechanism through which the legitimacy of the organisation is assessed and projected. The article or critics' report which appears in a press publication represents the culmination of a complex system of negotiations. Within the organisation, Amy balances various demands. She always needs to generate press, but she must also consider the extent to which different parts of the organisation have already been featured in the recent past, the activities of the organisation which require publicity, the availability of press-friendly staff to provide interviews or photos and the need to maintain good relationships with press outlets. On the other side of the negotiating table, the press outlet always needs to generate content, but must also take into account what features will be popular with readers, the extent to which they have recently covered the activities of the theatre and the good relationship they must maintain with the theatre as both a source of news and a source of advertising revenue. As each party makes decisions about press based on their own concerns and, because of their independence, on their expectations of the other party, this system is highly complex.

The role of the press in determining the legitimacy of the organisation is considerable. Although the reporting may be more or less impartial, in each case what matters is that the press represents an important route to the theatre's current and possible publics. These publics not only have an important role in determining the legitimacy of the theatre, but are also the publics to which the theatre's funding bodies and the industry as a whole may be considered accountable. The readers of the local and national newspapers are the taxpayers who fund both Creative Scotland and Dundee City Council. Therefore, even if Dawson Smith and the marketing team are correct in emphasising the size over the valence of reporting, the outcome of the complex system of negotiations between the press manager and the journalists plays a key role in determining organisational legitimacy.

From a becoming perspective, it can be seen that the press is embroiled in a relationship of dependencies with the organisations which depend on it for their legitimacy. In this situation therefore, legitimacy is not something which may be bought or possessed by the management of the organisation (as would be suggested by a belonging perspective), but something which emerges from the activities of employees such as Amy, who work across organisational boundaries. Amy's activities are not primarily aimed at legitimating, and she would never use the term 'legitimacy' to discuss what her role involves, nevertheless her daily relationship

management with journalists is a key dimension of how the theatre manages its legitimacy-as-becoming.

"Sensible and Pragmatic" - Managing Legitimacy through Inviting-in Stakeholders

Barbara and Alice (from Marketing and Creative Learning) have interrupted rehearsals to speak to the directors about a visit by the 'Community Ambassadors'. The visit that the directors are currently discussing is part of the special access awarded to the ambassadors in return for them advertising this touring production in their communities. It allows the Ambassadors the chance to 'sit in' a rehearsal and speak with the directors about their production. Marketing have been organising this new scheme, and it seems to be working very well:

> *"… they're just so pleased to be invited into the theatre and to be treated like a member of staff really- because they get to see behind the scenes, they get to come to read throughs, we invite them to press night, they really feel like they're being treated well and like they're special, and they are. We get a lot back from them because of that." [4]*

The Ambassadors scheme is only one of the ways in which the theatre sets about bringing members of the community into the organisation. There is a widespread attitude throughout the theatre that everyone who takes part in activities is a member of the theatre.

However, there are two different perspectives on the rationale and best methods of bringing people in, depending on who in the organisation I speak to. At the board level, much of this distribution in decision making and bringing people in is referred to as 'breaking down barriers (to participation)'. When they talk about 'breaking down barriers' they are referring to the fact that many people who might want to see theatre may not attend plays for reasons such as price, or preconceptions about theatre. The 'breaking down barriers' argument is quite rhetorical, and I also encountered it often when attending industry seminars and speaking to local council members:

> *"I think there are people who don't go to the theatre, who would enjoy going if the theatre and others in the Dundee context could convince people to come in the door… We also have*

to accept that it's not for everybody. Some people are not ever going to be totally interested in dance or drama... But we have to try and get everybody with any interest in it, to feel that at the very least there's not that many barriers that prevent them from going." [Roger (Local Council Member), 4]

"... [Dundee Rep] do a good job of interacting with the community and breaking down barriers to participation" [Roger, 5]

But for employees the reasons for inviting people in seem to be different- the employees feel proud of their theatre, and they want to welcome people in to share that pride. There is a legacy of community engagement across the organisation which they draw upon in making the building a welcoming environment for everyone who comes through the door. For the employees, this isn't done for a secondary purpose, but rather for its own sake:

"It's an alien environment for some of these children and they also bring their families. Some of these families haven't been in the theatre and it's a big thing for them. So to make them feel comfortable is important... I think the theatre is unique in the fact that it has so much interaction from the community into the building." [Meredith, 5]

Whether it applies to people in the community bringing in their children for a dance workshop, or to inviting stakeholders into the hierarchy (such as by giving councillors seats on the board), the engagement is seen as being vital. The basis of this lies in the belief that giving stakeholders greater access to the organisation will result in positive outcomes for both. This key point was emphasised by the Chief Executive of the theatre in one of our discussions:

"[We need to] connect with as many different institutions of the city as possible. I think that you could say that's a defensive strategy or you could just say it's sensible and pragmatic. But I think the more people in the city who value our contribution to the life of the city, the more secure our position is... I've made a kind of pretty much conscious decision to be out there as possible, to connect up with as many people as possible, so that people can't just go "The theatre, I don't go to the theatre". They at least know what we do and what we're here for" [John, 8]

The Community Ambassadors scheme is an example of how inviting stakeholders into Dundee Rep has both practical and normative benefits for managing the legitimacy of the organisation. Practically, the Community Ambassadors act as functional emissaries in the local areas to which the theatre is touring, utilising their local knowledge and contacts to advertise the production in ways that the theatre would be unable to achieve. Normatively, from both the belonging and becoming perspectives, the Community Ambassadors enhance the legitimacy of the organisation. From the perspective of legitimacy-as-belonging, the ambassadors bring valuable information on how people in local communities view the theatre, and they are also a useful artefact of a symbolic and substantive alignment with community engagement narratives which might be important to powerful stakeholders.

From the perspective of legitimacy-as-becoming, the ambassadors are important not because of the resources they bring to the organisation and its existing legitimacy, but because of the opportunities they present to incorporate external views into the development of organisational activities in ways that will enhance the theatre's legitimacy. The Community Ambassadors are invited into rehearsals, given special access to the production team and are closely involved with the planning and negotiation regarding performance and advertising arrangements in their own areas. As they become increasingly involved in planning, and therefore implicated in organisational activities, the ambassadors are well placed to advocate on behalf of the organisation to their communities. This advocating is not the work of an external party, but of a stakeholder who has been invited into the production process, and has directly experienced and been involved with determining the organisational activity they are advocating. They are therefore well versed not only in the practical reasons why certain decisions have been taken, but in the core legitimacy of the touring project. They develop a competence in the working of the organisation, which allows them to understand how the theatre functions and to advocate more effectively on its behalf in their local communities.

Legitimation-as-becoming implicates the entire organisation and its audiences in the process of generating definitions of organisational legitimacy. In the literature, legitimacy is largely seen as something controlled by management and awarded by powerful external stakeholders, whereas in the case of the theatre legitimacy is something co-created and determined by a much wider group of stakeholders. While the distributed character of Dundee Rep's legitimacy-as-becoming is partly due to the structures of accountability in the publicly funded field of culture, the

importance of wider stakeholders to the construction of legitimacy has been increasingly recognised in organisation studies as a whole (Mitchell, Agle, and Wood 1997). The general rationale for 'inviting in' stakeholders exhibited across the organisation is based on the belief that stakeholders will better understand and participate in the decisions made, which will result both in better decisions, and in a clearer (and better) perception of the accountability and actions of the theatre. If the stakeholders both directly experience, and are implicated in, the decisions and actions of the organisation, they are more likely to consider it legitimate. As such, inviting in stakeholders is an important way that legitimacy-as-becoming can be managed in organisations.

"Too Much Theatre" - Managing Legitimacy through Strategic Collaborative Networks

I'm at a conference, and we're coming to the end of a plenary session in the main hall- the final speaker has wrapped up and the host has come onto the microphone:

> *"There's refreshments through in the other hall if the majority of you would like to make your way through. For those of you here with foundation organisations, if you'd like to stay behind to have a short meeting then that would be great. It isn't a closed meeting, if anyone else wishes to stay on they may, but I assure you it will be boring and won't take long, please move through to the next room"*

Although I'd quite like to stay and hear what they are talking about, I get the impression that the caveat near the end was more for impressions sake, and I'd be notable in my presence amongst such a small group. There are less than ten foundation performing arts organisations, and the managers all know each other very well. I wait to see whether many people will stay, but as almost everyone files out I follow suit into the atrium and the doors close behind us.

Large non-profit cultural organisations in Scotland may be publicly funded in one of two ways, they might have secured stable, large scale funding from the national arts body or they might be funded by central government. The former are known as' foundation' companies (as the funding stream they receive is 'foundation funding') and the latter are the 'national' companies (such as Scottish National Ballet and the National Theatre of Scotland). The relationships between foundation companies tend to be fairly well maintained, especially those in the central belt who have the happy instance of living and working within the same two, well-connected cities. Allowing for the reticence created by the perceived competition between the theatres for patrons, networks tend to exist at multiple levels of the organisation. As well as functional networks, co-ordination exists at the strategic level across most of these organisations.

Relatively recently, the foundation companies banded together to defend the legitimacy of the sector as a whole when there began to be (unattributed) rumblings from certain individuals within the national funding body that there was "too much theatre" in Scotland. The direct relationships that exist between the national companies and the government create somewhat more uncertainty for the foundation companies, who are far more distanced from the original source of their funding. This can cause them to feel (relatively) somewhat like 'sitting ducks'. In this situation, which the Chief Executive introduced me to, the network between foundation companies was necessary in order to assert the core importance of theatre in Scotland generally, relative to the large governmental expenditure on the national arts companies.

> *"… we've got a meeting on Friday with the 6 foundation theatres and we've just prepared a paper which compares the investment in and outputs of the 6 foundation companies, compared to the 5 national performing companies, which is interesting. To summarise, I think the investment in the 5 national companies for 3 years is about 24 million. I have to look at the figures. £24 million, 4000 education events for about half a million people, actually that's '09-10. In the same year, the 6 foundation companies delivered 2,247 performances, 3,800 educational events to about 478,000 people for £7 million. There's also arguments why opera, ballet, classical music is more expensive. But if we were in a situation where there's "too much theatre" and some of the foundation theatres are going to be vulnerable down the line, I think we're thinking as a sector that we need to make the case about our value for money, our impact on people's lives more powerfully and articulately than we currently do." [John, 9]*

Banding together offers the companies a chance to agglomerate statistics and to make a collective argument for their continued funding on shared grounds of, in this case, "value for money" and "impact". These networks also facilitate collaboration in other areas of the organisation, whether that be marketing networks, or artistic collaborations to co-produce plays, as the theatre has recently expanded its collaborative portfolio to work with many other theatres for economic, artistic and strategic reasons.

The theatre managers recognise that many of the possible challenges to organisational legitimacy are common to similar organisations across the country. Providing a theatre is sufficiently well run, many of the challenges to its legitimacy revolve around whether theatre as an art-form is 'value for money' or, more accurately in the case of foundation companies, why professional theatre should be publicly-funded. These are not arguments which are likely to faced by a single theatre, but by the industry as a whole. Thus, to unite in order to share and

produce arguments and 'evidence' in order to justify public expenditure on theatre is highly pragmatic from the perspective of 'legitimacy management'. This is why the foundation companies band together in networks such as that witnessed in the informal meeting at the symposium. The important point to be made here is that these networks are not seeking to appeal to existing institutional standards in order to *procure* legitimacy for their organisations, they are actively seeking to anticipate and create *debate* (backed up by 'evidence') about the normative guidelines within which they are judged. They are *collectively constructing and contesting* the bases of their own legitimacy-as-becoming.

Networks do not just exist between foundation organisations; the theatre is involved in multiple different networks which may be organised around artistic (e.g. with Oran Mor theatre in Glasgow), funding (e.g. with other foundation theatres), cause (e.g. with other arts organisations interested in promoting professional disabled dancers) or geographic rationales. An example of the last would be the evolving set of networks which bring together various groups from culture, politics, the public sector, education and science in Dundee. Such networks are actively cultivated by the theatre, for a variety of reasons. On the surface level it makes pragmatic sense for organisations of a similar kind in a similar locale to collaborate; whether to avoid clashes with major productions/exhibitions, to co-ordinate around attracting visitors or to share resources. Underneath this however, there are distinct advantages to advocating for the organisation across the many forums of the city. The more people and organisations which comprehend and appreciate the work of the theatre (particularly its outreach functions) the more secure its general positive commendation may be; as, in the case of legitimacy-as-becoming, understanding is a competence. Such a generally positive commendation would make challenges to the legitimacy of the organisation less likely to succeed. This fact has not gone unnoticed to the senior management of the theatre:

> *"I've also been very active and conscious about engaging as much as possible with as many different types of organisations and people in the city on a strategic level, out with the cultural factor, because obviously we're going to talk to the DCA, the V&A, and the Whitehall, the Heritage Trust and the Sensation and Dundee Town Centre, and that's all good. That wouldn't necessarily be the case in every city, but we do talk to those people.*
>
> *But I'm also conscious that we need to talk to the universities, to the schools and local authority and Dundee College to the health sector. That isn't just creative learning. That's at a number of different levels. Gordon is very good at talking to businesspeople. We had the chamber of commerce yesterday. We did an address to them, we toured around the*

theatre. So just connect with as many different institutions of the city as possible. I think that you could say that's a defensive strategy or you could just say it's sensible and pragmatic." [John, 7-8]

However, in addition to the pragmatic benefits of these networks in terms of securing the legitimacy-as-becoming of the participants, such networks are also often very active in (re)creating the institutional structures which dictate the legitimacy of their participants. This I will seek to illustrate through reference to a second network, that being the Creative Thinking Network.

Managing Legitimacy with a "Shoestring Budget" - The Creative Thinking Network

"If everyone could get into a small group and just write down what they want to get out of this network- we'll give you ten minutes"

I gaze around the room and make eye contact with the few people I know. We break out into a large airy atrium with an A1 piece of paper and several coloured markers, as the invited 'participant observer' I decide to take the role of scribe. Although I have attended several Creative Thinking Network meetings before, I feel slightly displaced in this particular session. At the behest of the network leader I have brought in a colleague from the University to run a scenario planning session to help the group better define what their aims and collective mission should be. Therefore I feel a little out of place as I am partially trying to help facilitate the session, whilst also taking part as a participant. However, I am used to feeling a little out of place in this kind of meeting- as it is usual that everyone at the meeting already knows everyone else. The disabled performing arts scene in Scotland is diverse but not particularly large, and the structure of the industry means that many professionals may work across areas and/or art forms. It is likely that most of the people in the room will have worked together on some project or another.

Despite knowing each other very well and having very closely aligned interests, I sometimes hear it remarked at such meetings that there isn't always a great deal of information sharing across the sector in general. Unlike some other areas, they are not muffled by competition (theatres are sometimes nervous about benchmarking statistics with 'competitors'); the paucity of exchanging knowledge and tips seems to result from a general lack of time, resources and a reason to come together. The organisations in this sector are often run on a shoe-string budget, with any available funds being channelled directly into frontline services (rather than staff development or management functions). And without any structured set of meetings which they can refer to as a reason for being out of the office, the time needed to share information would not be found.

The Creative Thinking Network is a group of disabled dance (with some theatre) professionals and representatives from charities and organisations which work with disabled performance artists from around Scotland brought together by the Dance Agent for Change, Charlotte. Originally the purpose of the group was to provide some strategic advice for, and dissemination of outcomes from, Charlotte's role. However, over time the group has morphed into widespread areas and has now evolved from its original purpose to being an entity which has a broader role as something of a steering group for certain areas of the disabled performance art scene nationwide. This is a group of people who are largely driven by mission, and despite the low levels of resource they often have at their disposal to co-ordinate, are very familiar with one another and their respective organisations. So when Charlotte asks us to "write down what [we] want to get out of this network" the results are fairly similar.

"To share information"

"To spread good ideas"

"To let each other know what we're doing so that we can link up"

"To enable us to share information about dealing with funders and getting to participants"

This appeal for sharing information outlined by the members of the Creative Thinking Network hints towards the roles of informal functional networks more generally in the theatre industry. Functional networks (those networks which exist below the strategic CEO level) serve an important function in allowing individuals in isolated roles to develop a picture of common practice and movements in the sector as a whole. They are often largely informal and transient; formed at times of need to the participants and dissolved once their purpose has been served. These networks give practitioners the opportunity to step back from the day-to-day running of projects and reflect on how their work compares to others, and on how they could collaborate with one another. For the Creative Thinking Network, this means allowing people spread over large areas and different remits to come together and share insights over how to drive forward inclusion in dance and the arts.

So networks act as useful mechanisms for the spread of information across the sector. They enable professionals from different areas and specialisms to exchange information about funding sources, ways of organising and delivering services to different groups of participants. In the case of more developed networks, members can also set about combining their resources

to develop collaborative research projects and joint initiatives. But how are these networks and their workings of interest to legitimacy-as-becoming?

The information which is shared by these networks is not simply relevant to discussions of resources, but also to notions of institutional correctness. When the participants of the Creative Thinking Network ask to share information about accessing funding and participants they are not simply asking for impartial information on how these ends can be achieved. Rather they are asking for advice on the appropriateness of applying to certain funds under certain organisational remits, and about securing their legitimacy to other agencies who work with disabled performers. The networks provide a means of determining and sharing information over the legitimate activities and roles of organisations working, in this case, with disabled performers. The previous section of this chapter demonstrated that, from a becoming perspective, the key individuals involved in legitimation are not managers, but employees across the organisation. Functional networks such as the Creative Thinking Network are vital in ensuring that these employees have a sufficient understanding of institutional definitions of appropriateness to perform this role well. From a becoming perspective, the notions of what constitutes legitimate roles for organisations are not fixed, rather they are subject to change and evolution; as I earlier argued, they become. Informal networks, formed and disbanded according to need, serve a key function in ensuring that experience and knowing regarding fluid institutional norms are shared across practitioners.

LEGITIMACY AS BECOMING- DISCUSSION

Adopting an epistemology of becoming aids a broader conceptualisation of legitimacy than that traditionally encountered in the literature. However, as recent empirical studies have shown, a conception of legitimacy as fluid and contingent are emerging. These studies have illustrated that legitimacy is internally produced through the continual identity work of organisational members (Brown and Toyoki, 2013), and that internal and external legitimacy are bound together in an ongoing process of emergence, validation , diffusion and consensus (Drori and Honig, 2013). The case of legitimacy-as-becoming at Dundee Rep corresponds with and extends the current focus in the literature on the production of legitimacy as a fluid, emergent process.

Through a series of ethnographic accounts of the author's research with the theatre, the nature of legitimacy-as-becoming at the theatre has been elaborated. Through a perspective of becoming, legitimacy is produced through the everyday integration of resource and institutional demands as part of work (activity and planning) occurring across the organisation. In demonstrating, this, the first section of this chapter illustrated how the *substance* of the Creative Campus, rather than its framing, was key to ensuring the legitimacy of the organisation. The

second section of the chapter illustrated how legitimacy is 'cultivated' through an epistemology of becoming. What emerged from this analysis was distinctly different to the type of legitimacy management identified in Chapter Four.

Adopting an epistemology of belonging facilitates a focus on the role of legitimation as *framing* the Creative Campus strategy. In a sense this suggests a decoupling of legitimacy management from core organisational activities; it treats the core activities outlined in the strategy as given, and concentrates on the attempts of managers to ensure the strategy is perceived as legitimate. The management of legitimacy-as-belonging in the case of the Creative Campus strategy occurs in the *after-the-fact* symbolic management of how the strategy is received by organisational audiences, both in the design of the strategy process and the document and in the targeted release of that document to specific organisational audiences. The importance and management of legitimacy is identified, through that perspective, as being *extrinsic* to core organisational activity; legitimation is accomplished for the purpose of achieving a level of acceptance from funders and other stakeholders (through symbolic means) which will enable the organisation to carry on *as usual*.

This rings untrue, even from this brief extrapolation. In such a small and closely knit industry, with a small number of very powerful stakeholders who are tightly networked, it seems unlikely that such a purely symbolic approach to legitimacy management would be sustainable. Furthermore, from an organisational point-of-view, when the report authors are also the executive officers, artistic directors and general managers of the organisation, it seems unlikely that legitimation should be so divorced from core organisational activities. If legitimacy is indeed "a generalised perception that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions" (Suchman 1995: 574), then it seems pertinent to assume that the internal stakeholders (i.e. employees) of the organisation will also be involved in a process of evaluating the actions of the theatre. As the internal stakeholders are those responsible for producing organisational action, it is likely that their evaluation of organisational legitimacy will result in a level of reflexivity regarding their practice. In this case, the *substance* (rather than just the *framing*) of organisational strategy becomes a pertinent topic of focus for a study of organisational legitimacy.

In conclusion, this chapter has sought to demonstrate that the production of legitimacy-as-becoming can be considered an intrinsic dimension of many organisational activities (whether strategizing, networking or reporting) and that this legitimacy is an on-going concern for employees of the theatre. The becoming perspective argues that legitimacy is not necessarily an

externally defined standard which is appealed to by organisations, as with legitimacy-as-belonging, but rather it is something which is emergent, something which 'becomes'. However, to speak broadly of legitimacy as 'becoming' mystifies what is in fact a series of activities, processes and relations bound together in the material experiences and decisions of those working for and associated with the theatre. In order to concretely demonstrate how legitimacy 'becomes' at the theatre, I outlined a series of accounts which emphasise how legitimacy-as-becoming is *cultivated* at Dundee Rep. These accounts illustrate the links between individual values (such as anger at discrimination against disabled performers), organisational priorities (such as professional equality) and institutional priorities (such as the establishment of professional pathways for all performance artists, regardless of their (dis)abilities). These accounts of how legitimacy-as-becoming at Dundee Rep are not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to substantiate the definition of legitimacy as an emergent understanding which is based not upon the primacy of managers but on continuous reflective and relational, behaviour and decision-making at all levels of the organisation. It is intended to show that legitimacy can indeed be seen as something which 'becomes' in a concrete manner.

CHAPTER SIX – A DUALISTIC MODEL OF LEGITIMACY: INTEGRATING BELONGING AND BECOMING

Chief Executive Officer:

"The heart of it, the kernel of it is that it's really important for a contemporary democracy to have artistic expression as part of its everyday life, everyday function. It's really important that there are stories accessible to the people of a city like Dundee, their own stories and other people's stories… Art is important for lots of reasons, to do with community, to do with the imagination of the people of the city, to do with the need to reflect on and back identity, the idea of people coming together and sharing powerful moments together. There's all sorts of reasons why art in a city is hugely important and perhaps especially high quality art. But on top of that, there's dozens, if not scores, of 'legitimacies' I would say which has to do with [the theatre's] identities to the outside world, the economic benefits of having a place like this, flow through a place, the social benefits of some of the learning type work. I could go on.

Me:

So there are these intrinsic benefits underlying it- but that's not what you sell the theatre on?

You sell it on that when you need to sell it on that.

That becomes one of a series of options?

Yeah. If that isn't there, that intrinsic central belief isn't there, then they [the 'legitimacies'] don't become meaningful. They're actually just a shell. So the heart of the organisation, the heart of the institution, if that's not kind of beating in the right way, then I think the other things become hollow or empty. That's what I would say- that there needs to be an artistic motivation at the heart of what we do, first and foremost. But that isn't necessarily what you tell the parent of a person who comes to drama therapy, or the child who has come to see Cinderella. It depends on who you're talking to. But if that isn't there, I think you've got problems.

(Ethnographic interview transcript, December 2011)

This quote taken from a discussion with the Chief Executive of the theatre shows how legitimacy-as-becoming and legitimacy-as-belonging exist as distinct forms of legitimation within the theatre. He refers to two different belief systems: an intrinsic belief in the value of art to a contemporary democracy (and the place of the theatre in relation to this belief) and the belief system which revolves around the various 'legitimacies' which the theatre presents to different audiences. Legitimacy-as-becoming appears as a central feature of the organisation itself, it is expressed as being 'the heart of the institution'. It is a highly reflexive belief system, a source of 'motivation' and it also has an important role in reflecting 'on and back' the identity of the city. It is closely tied into the identity of the theatre and its employees, and their positioning within the art world, and within 'contemporary society' as a whole. This is a legitimacy which is not only constructed, but which actively constructs the social world around it- it treats legitimacy (and the system within which it is produced) as being in a process of *becoming*.

Legitimacy-as-belonging refers to a belief system which is based upon the bartering of ideas, in the Chief Executive's words, legitimacy is something which you might seek to 'sell' the organisation on. Legitimacy-as-belonging is not a homogenous notion, he speaks of 'scores' of legitimacies which may be called upon to justify the organisation to different audiences. This belief system is also linked to identity, but it locates its definition of identity externally to the organisation; organisation is not 'who we are' but rather 'how others see us'. This legitimacy is externally determined, but can be manipulated through the strategic use of a set of justifying rhetorics ('legitimacies'). This system of beliefs treats legitimacy as a *belonging*.

This chapter considers how the management of legitimacy-as-becoming and of legitimacy-as-belonging may be considered distinct yet co-existent mechanisms within the normative system. Before introducing the integrated model, the chapter will recap the character of legitimacy-as-belonging and as-becoming at Dundee Rep.

SUMMARISING BELONGING AND BECOMING

From a belonging perspective, legitimacy is considered to be a competitive resource won through targeted, managerially-led organisational activity. In the case of the theatre, legitimacy is not seen as something which could be taken for granted, but rather something that the management of theatre had to specifically seek to capture by a process of legitimation. Legitimation, while broadly defined as the production of legitimacy, is characterised through an epistemology of belonging as being a purposeful attempt to 'capture', 'secure' and 'defend' legitimacy. Chapter Four focussed on legitimation as the framing of the Creative Campus strategy. The Creative Campus strategy, as a highly formalised process and report, was

identified as being heavily concerned with the legitimation of the theatre and its ambitions, to powerful organisational stakeholders. The legitimacy of the theatre was reliant upon the continued efforts of the theatre to adequately appeal to and address certain "rational myths" in various institutional environments. Such rational myths define, for example, the 'creativity', 'impact' and 'collaboration' required of contemporary professional theatres. The limited amount of funding available to support the work of professional theatres somewhat strengthens the notion of organisational legitimacy as a competitive resource. As the Director of Culture at Dundee City Council articulated, "it's one cake and it's cut in a certain way- to give money to anyone new involves reducing the amount available for the others". When so much of the 'generalised perception' which constitutes legitimacy is based upon the opinions and resources of a small number of powerful stakeholders who, through their funding, are responsible for the continued survival of the theatre and its competitors, a definition of legitimacy as a competitive resource is appealing.

In the case of legitimacy-as-belonging, legitimation is a purposeful attempt to frame core organisational activities in a way which makes them (appear) commensurate with external definitions of appropriateness favoured by important stakeholders who have the power to 'confer' or 'withhold' funding and so have great sway over Dundee Rep's legitimacy. In the case of the theatre, we see this framing as being accomplished through the highly formalised and symbolic process of developing the Creative Campus Strategy. From this perspective, organisational priorities (the substance of the Creative Campus Strategy) are treated as given, and the strategy process and resulting document are treated as a concerted effort by the theatre's management to maintain and defend the legitimacy of the theatre. The strategy maintains the legitimacy of the theatre by demonstrating the continued commitment of the theatre to pursuing goals which are commensurate with those of its powerful stakeholders (Creative Scotland and Dundee City Council). It demonstrates the theatre's alignment with the goals of these bodies and showcases its ability to embrace an administrative, rather than artistic, logic. It also maintains the theatre's legitimacy by explaining this continued commitment and outlining specifically how this is to be achieved through reference to organisational capabilities (such as excellence in outreach) and aspirations (such as to act as a creative hub for all sorts of theatre practitioners). The Creative Campus strategy defends the legitimacy of the theatre by pre-supposing certain challenges which may be made to the legitimacy of the theatre and responding to them pre-emptively. Pre-emptive methods of legitimation have been identified in previous studies and characterised as 'anticipatory impression management' (Elsbach, Sutton, and Principe 1998). An example of this in the data would be the strategy anticipating resistance to an ambitious plan at a time of general

contraction in the industry, and addressing this through portraying the development of the theatre as "organic" and a "response" to growing external demand. Figure 28 illustrates how the management of legitimacy, from a belonging perspective involves the managers of the organisation strategically (re-) framing organisational priorities and activities to correspond to prevailing institutional priorities.

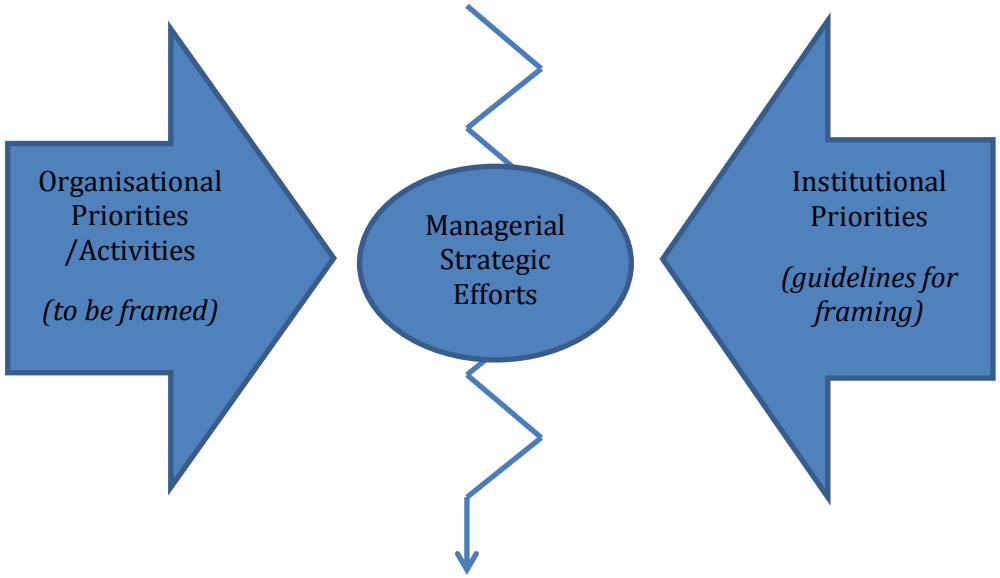


FIGURE 27 - LEGITIMATION-AS-BELONGING

On the other hand, regarding legitimacy as a process of becoming has several distinct theoretical implications. Legitimacy is intrinsically unfinished, continually evolving and negotiated between the organisation and its institutional environment. Legitimation is regarded as the emergence and negotiation of institutional frameworks with and through the normative landscape of the theatre, and therefore it is an activity undertaken at all levels of the organisation. Just as all organisational stakeholders (internal or external) are regarded as being 'evaluators' of organisational legitimacy, through the lens of becoming they are also identified as co-constructors of that legitimacy.

In illustrating this perspective, Chapter Five adopts the same central focus as the chapter on belonging; the Creative Campus strategy. Using the length of the study as a methodological tool (which is generally not the case in legitimacy studies due to the tendency to study legitimacy only in the particular time and place setting when it is challenged), Chapter Five re-examined the conclusion that the Creative Campus strategy was a tool of political legitimation, by identifying three key organisational priorities codified within the Creative Campus report and analysing how these priorities originated. The analysis demonstrates that organisational priorities evolve in tandem with legitimacy-as-becoming; they are formed as employees negotiate the institutional and resource demands placed on their work and seek to convince others of the appropriateness of organisational activities. The organisation *becomes* legitimate as it achieves balance between organisational priorities and the demands of its institutional and resource environments, as illustrated below.

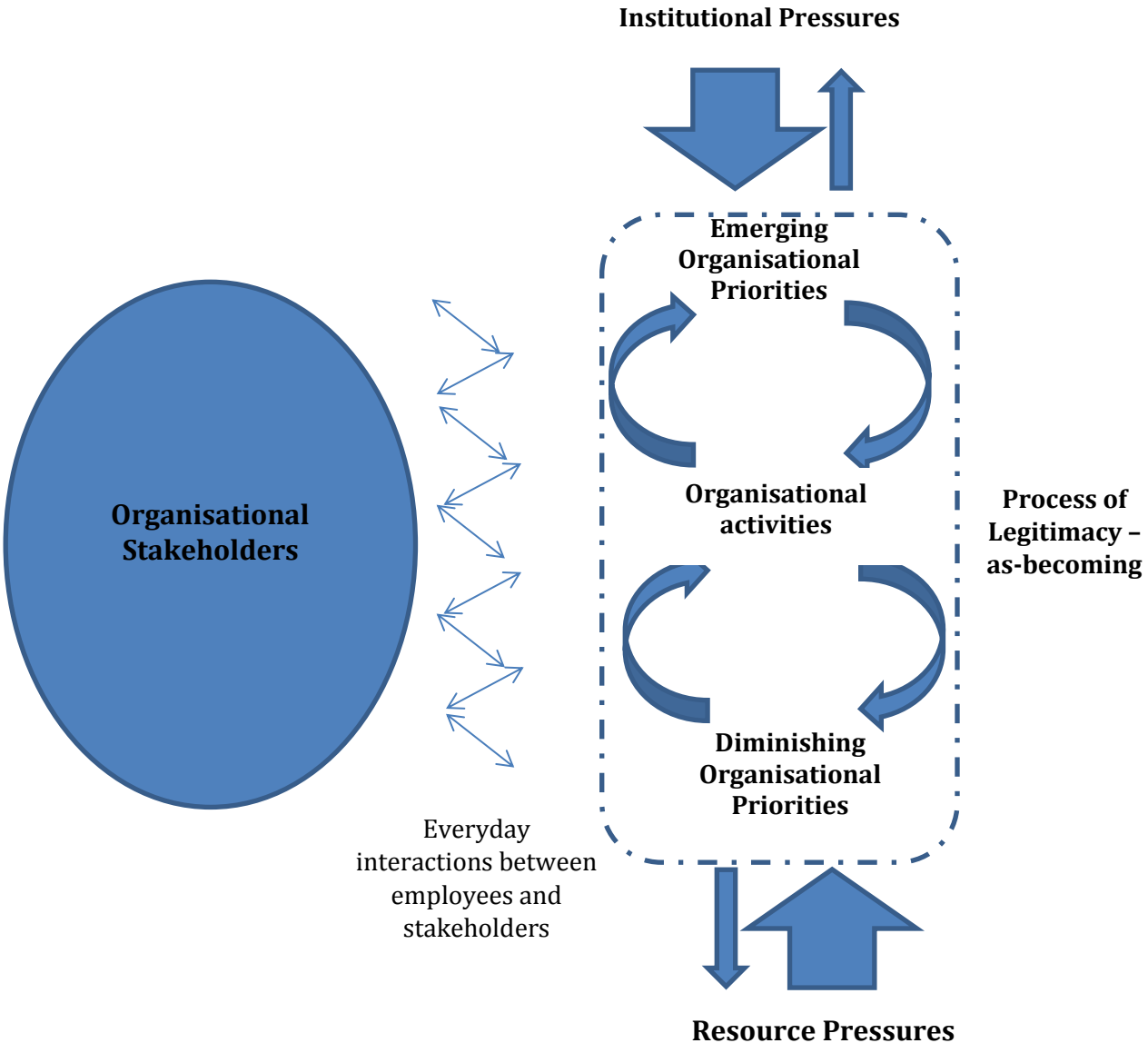


FIGURE 28 - LEGITIMACY AS BECOMING

The second section of Chapter Five broadens out to consider the ways in which legitimacy is cultivated from a becoming perspective. In the first example of how legitimacy-as-becoming is managed, Amy (the theatre's Press Officer) seeks to generate press for the organisation by exploiting a complex system of dependencies not only in terms of the publicity the theatre requires, but also in terms of the needs of the press organisations with which she collaborates. In the further examples, collaborative inter-organisational networks are seen to have an important role in enabling the theatre and its collaborators to understand and collectively engage with the normative structures governing their emerging legitimacy.

Legitimation, in the case of legitimacy-as-becoming, is therefore the emergence of normative consensus concerning what is correct and appropriate for the theatre, in terms of organisational priorities, structures, and actions. In this sense, legitimation-as-becoming might be seen to be closely linked to March and Olsen's concept of a *logic of* appropriateness, whereby "human action is… driven by rules of appropriate or exemplary behavior, organized into institutions" (2004: 1). Legitimation is how legitimacy *becomes*, not how it is *possessed*. Furthermore, legitimation is not a distinct activity, but rather legitimation is an inherent dimension of all organisational decision-making and action. Organisational activity, from this perspective, is something which is inherently informed by an ongoing consideration of institutional definitions of appropriateness and of the legitimacy of the organisation itself. Furthermore, legitimation is not the preserve of management, but is a dimension of the activity undertaken every day by all employees. This finding supports the emerging conception of legitimation as a process informed by employee identity work (Brown and Toyoki, 2013) and evolving response to cultural, institutional and resource-based concerns (Drori and Honig, 2013). In the case of the theatre, legitimation-as-becoming was identified in the preceding chapter as being the process through which the theatre was at all levels sewn into the institutional and resource frameworks which surround and penetrate the organisation.

THEORETICALLY INTEGRATING BELONGING AND BECOMING

As was shown throughout Chapters Four and Five, the epistemologies of belonging and becoming are each valid ways of theoretically regarding and practically managing legitimacy. Those theorists who regard legitimacy as a competitive resource (for example, Ashforth and Gibbs 1990) adopt a position which broadly correlates with a consideration of legitimacy-as-belonging. Similarly, there was evidence in the data of some participants adopting a more possessive attitude towards legitimacy (such as when the authors of the strategy were aware of the possibility of encountering the 'double-edge' of legitimation) while other examples showed

legitimacy being considered something which unfolds (e.g. in the quote given by the Artistic Director given at the outset of this chapter where he speaks of the organic, evolving role of the theatre).

The two definitions of legitimation generated are not conflicting, rather they refer to two distinct mechanisms or activities through which legitimacy as a form of knowledge or knowing is related to the lived experience of legitimacy and the actions of organisational participants. Legitimation-as-becoming is an ongoing dimension of organisational activity, an implicit mechanism through which participants continually re-evaluate the normative character of organisational activities and decisions. It is the process by which employees of Dundee Rep manage to balance competing resource and institutional demands on a daily basis. On the other hand, legitimation-as-belonging is a well-defined organisational activity, undertaken by managers in particular and specifically designed to maintain or defend the legitimacy of the organisation during times of normative or political challenge. It is the process by which the theatre's managers carefully construct a unified response to an anticipated legitimacy threat regarding their ambitious organisational plans. However, while each of these perspectives explains a particular dimension of organisational legitimacy, both need to be accounted for in a complete model of the functioning of organisational legitimacy.

The belonging and becoming perspectives are complementary in building a holistic model of organisational legitimacy. There is a theoretical basis for integration, based upon the underlying framework of *knowing how* and *knowing that* used to structure these two epistemological positions. Gilbert Ryle argues that all relationships between knowledge and action are based on the principles of *knowing how.* However, he recognises a more strategic relationship between knowledge and action, *knowing that,* which is enacted in certain situations. We always know *how*, but sometimes we can also *know that.* In recognising legitimacy as a form of knowledge, and legitimation as a form of action, this thesis is able to construct the epistemologies of belonging and becoming on the same theoretical basis, as shown in Figure 30. According to this framework, legitimacy is always becoming, but can sometimes be treated as a belonging by organisations and their managers. This statement raises three questions. First, what influences whether a relation of becoming or belonging is enacted by organisations and their managers? Second, how do legitimation-as-becoming and

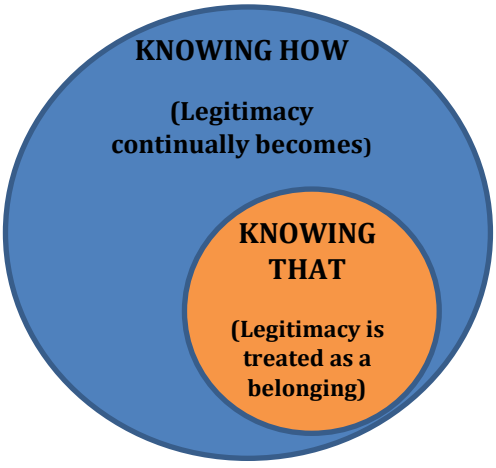


FIGURE 29 - KNOWING THAT AND KNOWING HOW

legitimation-as-belonging fit together in maintaining the normative positioning of the organisation? Third, how do these two activities fit together in the case of Dundee Rep? I will address each of these points (the first two as contributions, the third as an illustration of the model) in turn in the sections to follow.

CONTRIBUTION ONE - MANAGING LEGITIMACY IN TIMES OF STABILITY AND CHANGE

The first question raised by the dualistic epistemological model is what spurs an organisation to enact a belonging approach to the management of legitimacy. It is my contention that legitimation-as-becoming is the primary legitimation activity of the theatre and of similar organisations in a relatively strong position in a stable normative environment. This contention is in line with the recent turn towards more processual approaches to legitimacy (Brown and Toyoki, 2013; Drori and Honig, 2013). Legitimation-as-becoming is the primary legitimation activity of the theatre because it occurs continuously and it is undertaken by all members of the organisation. In times of organisational stability, legitimation-as-becoming enables the organisation to continually react to institutional and resource demands, as expressed through the opinions and actions of the stakeholders which employees of the theatre interact with on a daily basis.

Chapter Five argues that legitimation-as-becoming is not a distinct activity, but is an inherent part of all organisational activity (excluding purely habitual or routine activities). Using the strategic activities detailed in the Creative Campus strategy as a basis, Chapter Five illustrated how 'Creative Learning', 'Local Touring' and 'Professional Equality' have evolved into organisational priorities, in relation to resource needs and demands exerted by the institutional environment. These activities are intrinsically involved in legitimating the organisation; they emerge as legitimate organisational priorities because they enable Dundee Rep to address multiple legitimacy demands exerted by the organisational constituencies identified in Chapter One. As employees experienced the positive reception of activities aimed at outreach and promoting equality, these activities emerge as organisational priorities, ensuring that the normative character of the organisation is in line with that of its institutional environment. Legitimacy-as-becoming therefore suggests that in periods of normative stability, legitimacy is managed through employees incorporating normative considerations into everyday organisational activities and decisions.

While the legitimacy literature has traditionally not focussed on how organisations seek to continually examine the normative basis of their legitimacy, studies in related literatures have

theorised that normative interpretation is an inherent dimension of seemingly pragmatic activities. Daft and Weick (1994: 89), in their model of organisations as interpretation systems, argue that organisations are concerned with a game of 20 questions in their quest to discover "what consumers want that other organizations do not provide". In the case of non-profit cultural organisations which receive public funding, such as Dundee Rep, the "answer" to the game of 20 questions is notably different; they must attempt to determine "how to provide value to a defined community, and how to demonstrate that value". Answering this question involves a series of pragmatic assessments (normal text) with normative dimensions (text in italics):

What value are we producing? *In what way is our output valuable according to particular institutional priorities?*

What community are we serving? *Why are we a legitimate producer of value to this community?*

How should we measure our value? *What institutional criteria should we be using to calculate benefits?*

Who do we need to demonstrate value to? *Who is an arbiter of legitimacy and value for our organisation?*

Daft and Weick argue that interpretation is a central feature of organisations, and as was demonstrated in Chapter Five, organisations may also be seen as constructors of the meaning systems they seek to interpret. Where traditional approaches to legitimacy somewhat disregard the interpretation aspect of legitimation, focussing instead on the purposeful manipulation of meaning (e.g. Oliver 1991), considering legitimacy from a perspective of becoming enables a consideration of how interpretation and co-construction of meaning are dual processes involved in legitimation-as-becoming. It is this interpretation and co-construction which allows organisations such as Dundee Rep to meet the emerging institutional and resource demands of multiple stakeholders in periods of relative stability.

However, organisations are also liable to undergo periods of time when the legitimacy of their current or planned activities is explicitly challenged by stakeholders, and this is when a belonging approach to the management of legitimacy is enacted. Legitimation-as-belonging is a specific organisational activity, undertaken almost exclusively by managers and designed to respond to specific (anticipated/perceived/actual) challenges to the legitimacy of the

organisation or its activities. This is the type of legitimation which is most often identified in empirical studies of legitimation, due to their tendency to study organisations facing explicit challenges to their legitimacy. In the context of the theatre, the highly formalised framing of the Creative Campus strategy (process and document) is an example of legitimation-as-belonging. This is an example of belonging-based legitimation because the process has largely symbolic benefits for the organisation in demonstrating their administrative competence and formal alignment with institutional priorities. Although, as was highlighted Chapter Five, many of the priorities enshrined in the Creative Campus strategy originated from normative considerations across the organisation, the formal strategizing process was highly centralised. Finally, the Creative Campus strategy can be broadly seen as an attempt to respond to an anticipated challenge to the legitimacy of the theatre concerning their expansion at a time of general contraction in the industry.

The strategy seeks to pre-emptively address such a challenge in two ways. Firstly, it frames the development of the Creative Campus not as an ambitious organisational development, but as a necessary and natural 'response' to evolutions in their environment. Secondly, the circulation of the strategy (and of the general expansion plans) was strictly limited on a 'need to know' basis. The University with whom the theatre intended to partner, the board members and the national funding body had full access to the document as their co-operation was required in order to operationalize and fund the plan. However, other important stakeholders such as the local authority were not sent the strategy document as their support was not strictly necessary. Furthermore, the intra-organisational culture of ambiguity around the strategy is evident in the interview data, which shows that few staff below the managerial level were acquainted with anything more than the broad thrust of the plan.

In conclusion, legitimation-as-belonging and legitimation-as-becoming are co-extensive and are both vital to the ability of Dundee Rep to maintain its legitimacy. Legitimation-as-becoming allows employees to ameliorate the tension between resource and institutional demands on an on-going basis, enabling the organisation to balance multiple, conflicting demands in a relatively stable normative environment. Legitimation-as-belonging allows the organisation to respond in a coherent and unified manner to perceived legitimacy threats in periods of change. Legitimation-as-becoming constructs organisational legitimacy as an inherent dimension of work activities, and legitimation-as-belonging enables managers to co-ordinate these constructions into legitimate priorities, which are then ordered by relation to their importance in securing organisational legitimacy. The legitimate order is then used as the basis of targeted legitimation efforts by which the organisation asserts its legitimacy to defined constituencies.

By continuing to harness on-going legitimation-as-becoming in relatively stable normative environments, and strategically employing legitimation-as-belonging when under challenge, Dundee Rep is able to maintain its legitimacy.

CONTRIBUTION TWO - HARNESSING PRACTICAL MASTERY WITH FORMALISATION

The second question raised by the proposed dualistic model of legitimacy is, how do legitimation-as-becoming and legitimation-as-belonging fit together in maintaining the normative positioning of the organisation? As previously stated, legitimation-as-becoming is the primary legitimation activity occurring in organisations which are not facing immediate legitimacy challenge. Situations of explicit challenge to legitimacy may trigger organisations to enact a relation analogous to Ryle's *knowing that* between their perception of their legitimacy and the set of actions they embark upon to address this perception. In the data presented earlier, the theatre responds to an anticipated threat to their legitimacy through initiating a highly formalised process which reframes their actions and demonstrates their administrative competence. Other organisations may also respond to threats by embarking upon specific manager-led processes through which they regard their legitimacy as a resource to be protected through a specific set of symbolic/substantive actions. This certainly seems to be the reaction suggested by previous studies of legitimation following a legitimacy challenge (e.g. Ashforth & Gibbs, 1990). Legitimation-as-belonging is the specific organisational response to a perceived normative threat, which is characterised by a shift in the epistemological relationship between legitimacy and organisational action from *knowing how* (practical mastery) to *knowing that* (instrumentalised reflexivity).

Legitimacy exists as dispersed organisational knowledge. It is my contention that legitimation-as-belonging performs a 'formalisation function' in the context of normative knowledge; that it constitutes an effort to make the legitimacy demands of the organisation explicit, and therefore amenable to centralised management. Tsoukas and Vladimirou (2001) argue that the (unarticulated) 'practical mastery' which underpins most organisational activity must be accompanied by a 'quasi-theoretical' understanding of the processes being undertaken. This, they argue, is something which must be actively pursued by managers using the tool of *knowledge management*- "the dynamic process of turning an unreflective practice into a reflective one by elucidating the rules guiding the activities of the practice, by helping give a particular shape to collective understandings and by facilitating the emergence of heuristic knowledge" (Tsoukas and Vladimirou 2001: 973).

As previously discussed, legitimation-as-becoming is the on-going process through which normative structures are co-constructed at the organisational and institutional level. In this context, the role of legitimation-as-belonging is to expose the normative underpinnings of organisational actions and stakeholder evaluations in order that they may be strategically aligned. The practical mastery of legitimation-as-becoming is supplanted in times of legitimacy challenge through a formalisation process by which a quasi-theoretical notion of legitimacy-as-belonging is formed. There are three reasons why legitimation-as-belonging plays an important counterpart to becoming in facilitating the construction of organisational legitimacy. First, it offers an opportunity for employees and managers to collectively expose and reflect on the normative basis by which the organisation is evaluated. Second, it allows management to refine several key routes of legitimation which they can then pursue in order to reshape the legitimacy of the organisation. Finally, it galvanises the workforce around a collective vision of the organisation and its place in the normative environment.

Firstly, I will outline a consideration of why legitimation-as-belonging is required to act as a reflexive tool. On a daily basis, in the normative dimension of their activities, organisational members may be responding to any and all of the following: their own imperatives, their perception of organisational legitimacy, and to the audiences they are working with in processes of legitimation-as-becoming. Thus the organisation (as an agglomeration of individual organisational members engaging in processes of legitimation) is continually negotiating not one but a series of diverse legitimating relationships across the variety of normative environments within which it functions. Employees of the theatre will for instance be engaged in a variety of legitimating mechanisms with the stakeholders they work with daily; from the theatre, education, social justice, healthcare and local political spheres.

This diversity and decentralisation allows the organisation to simultaneously appeal to a wide variety of spheres of legitimacy, but has the potential to diminish the cohesiveness and homogeneity of organisational legitimacy as a whole. Tsoukas and Vladimirou argue that shared knowledge is key to effective organised activity: “rules do not apply themselves; members of a community-of-practice, situated in specific contexts, apply them… Members of a community must share an interpretation as to what a rule means before they apply it.” (2001: 980). If the organisation possesses no cohesive notion of the basis for their collective legitimacy then their legitimation efforts will be diverse and possibly conflicting. Legitimation-as-belonging serves the purpose of reflexively generating these shared notions of purpose and a collective awareness of institutional positioning. In situations where legitimacy is challenged, legitimation-as-belonging, acts as a centralised formalisation activity, formally assigning

categories to legitimacy challenges and different groups of stakeholders such that the legitimacy of the organisation as a whole may be explicitly discussed and aligned through the co-ordinated legitimation efforts of managers. Therefore, legitimation-as-becoming aligns the organisation with its environment, while legitimation-as-belonging consolidates to allow for a manager-led response to legitimacy threats.

ILLUSTRATING INTEGRATION - THE CREATIVE CAMPUS STRATEGY

This section will consider the role of the Creative Campus strategy in accumulating and formalising the pre-existing legitimacy developments in areas such as creative learning, professional equality and community engagement. These projects had developed both pragmatically and normatively through processes of legitimation-as-becoming, but they represented relatively distinct strands of organisational activity, each with a respective group of employees and stakeholders involved. The Creative Campus, through a heavily structured process of formalisation brought these activities together under the banner of "organisational priorities"; at once illustrating the relative importance of these projects (through giving each the same structure of superordinate "objectives" and subordinate "strategies") and binding them together under the headline "Creative Campus strategy".

Earlier I argued that legitimation-as-belonging offers organisational benefits in three ways. First, it offers an opportunity to expose and reflect on the normative basis by which the organisation is evaluated. The Creative Campus strategy process involved a series of day-long workshops in which the employees were given time to reflect on what kind of organisation they wanted the theatre to be, on "what Dundee Rep would look like in the 21st century" (p5). Second, through this period of reflexivity the strategizing process allows management to refine several key routes of legitimation which they can then pursue in order to reshape the legitimacy of the organisation. In this case, the Creative Campus strategy not only enabled the management of the theatre to identify the key "organisational priorities" by which the theatre may be evaluated (such as community engagement), but also allowed them to reassess the stakeholders who were important to ensuring legitimacy for the project as it unfolded. It is evident from the way the document was released that the theatre had carefully evaluated the 'routes to legitimacy' and selected only those stakeholders who were particularly influential to the unfolding legitimacy of the project to release the document to.

Finally, I argued that legitimation-as-belonging delivers organisational benefits as it galvanises the workforce around a collective vision of the organisation and its place in the normative

environment. Although it would be fair to note that, from the evidence earlier presented, the Creative Campus strategy as a whole was not incredibly familiar to many employees, there is evidence that the strategy was effective in providing a collective vision for the organisation which employees could draw upon for shared understandings. In particular, the Creative Campus strategy served to formally concretise the work that had been achieved in integrating Creative Learning as an organisational 'philosophy' across the building. When talking about the strategy, many employees related not the intricacies of the project as a whole, but the benefits of the unified Creative Campus strategy to their particular department. Thus the strategy concretised the collective vision of the Creative Campus through formally linking the strategy to the work of individual departments and, in some cases, employees. This was achieved primarily through the formal consultation process. To illustrate the attitudes prevalent regarding the Creative Campus, below are two comments taken from discussions with a member of the Creative Learning department and the production department regarding the strategy:

> *"I think it's really exciting in terms of the Rep becoming the creative campus or the creative hub. I think personally it really excites me, the possibilities and opportunities that it opens up are fantastic and really unique in Scotland as well, which is another thing I'm like 'right, that's cool'. In terms of artistically, I think there's lots of opportunities there as well in terms of developing a youth theatre, looking at stuff for emerging artists and young artists coming up and support them, but create work with them and think about sort of working across the departments. I think there's . . . what was it James said? The synergy between the more strategic work and the artistic work is where you get really exciting sparks." [Jane, 13]*

> *"I think it could be of benefit to the production department. As I understand it, the creative campus idea probably, which is training provided for people within the theatre... In that respect, I think it could alleviate the pressures and at the same time help to make the day-to-day job more interesting. It changes the whole thing. It becomes less of a day-to-day thing. To actually educate people into how you feel theatre should be done is quite an interesting thing." [Nigel, 5]*

Jane, from the Creative Learning department, discusses the exciting opportunities that the strategy offers from her perspective- particularly around working with other departments to support emerging artists. Nigel, from the Production department, also discusses a set of benefits which are more centred around an improvement to the characteristics of the 'job'. The similarity I would like to highlight between these two statements given by two employees

working in distinct areas of the organisation relates to the dimension of the work of the theatre which they prioritise. Both Jane and Neil are discussing their work as part of the Creative Campus incorporating both their central roles as theatre professionals and a teaching or development role related to providing opportunities for emerging theatre artists. This is in essence the 'Creative Learning philosophy' formalised through the Creative Campus strategy. Through a process of formalisation, the strategy has succeeded in galvanising much of the workforce around this philosophy. This is a philosophy which can be (and has been) appropriated and accepted by departments across the theatre.

The importance of Creative Learning and of the Creative Campus to the managerial conception of the legitimacy (as belonging) of the theatre can be justified through relating some of the statements made by the senior management of the theatre. For instance, in 2009 (shortly before commissioning the strategy development process) one senior manager surmises the mood of the theatre at the time, which centred around a diversification of core mission (from core art to 'creative learning'):

> *"Our funding situation is changing therefore we can't pigeonhole ourselves into theatre, we just produce theatre- we've got expand that and we see our way of expanding that and retaining our funding is to ensure that we are able to give people opportunities to come and work with us." [1]*

Then in 2011, following the completion of the strategic process, the Chair of the Board of Directors explains the benefits of the Creative Campus strategy (and the Creative Learning philosophy) to maintaining relationships with several distinct stakeholder groups.

> *"We're committed to moving forward with the creative campus. That's huge for us, in as much as that it ticks so many boxes in terms of where we want to go and how we develop our relationship with the* ***universities****… the development of the M.Litt course in conjunction with the University, the University are so committed to it and so are we, as much as that it increases our relationship… I think it will give us great opportunity to reinforce our relationship with [the]* ***City Council****, with greater involvement of community shows… I'm hoping will be able to develop technical apprentices, which would give us a relationship with* ***industry****. For instance, development of a sound lab, lighting lab and things like that."* [8, emphasis added].

These stakeholder groups represent, for the senior managers of the theatre, the 'key routes to legitimation'. The strategy therefore identifies the importance of a Creative Learning philosophy in aligning the theatre with these stakeholders, exploits these 'key routes' through the centralised dissemination of the Creative Campus strategy and galvanises theatre employees under the inclusive banner of 'Creative Learning'. In so doing, it brings together the various 'legitimacies' which exist across the organisation and, through a process of formalisation, structures them into a coherent narrative of organisational legitimacy, which can then be transmitted to key organisational audiences (both internally and externally). What the strategy achieves through the formalisation process of 'big bang' workshops and strategy documents is not a complete entrenchment of all areas of the strategy across the workforce, but rather a galvanisation across the workforce around the notion of a 'Creative Campus'. This galvanisation generates a collective vision for the organisation around values of support (for emerging artists), community (both local and artistic) and interdepartmental working, rather than around other common notions (such as artistic pride) which may be less synergistic with the routes to legitimacy identified by managers.

As such, legitimation-as-belonging can be seen to have played an important role in exposing, re-evaluating and galvanising collective understanding of legitimacy at the theatre. Where legitimation-as-becoming concerns the negotiation of on-going legitimacy relationships across the organisation, legitimation-as-belonging serves as a complementary process which enables the entrenchment of collective definitions of legitimacy across the organisation. I have argued that legitimation-as-belonging achieves this end through three interlinking processes: the exposing of underlying normative systems, the identification by management of key routes to legitimation and, the galvanising of the workforce around collective notions of legitimacy. In the case of the theatre, the Creative Campus strategy can be seen to have acted as a process of legitimation-as-belonging. Through the 'big bang' workshops, consultation and documentation, the strategy has been concerned not only with determining organisational action but of determining, formalising and re-asserting the normative positioning of the theatre in its institutional sphere.

IMPLICATIONS

Linking Individual and Organisational Notions of Legitimacy

Many studies of legitimacy avoid the difficulties of speaking meaningfully about the relationship between individual and collective notions of legitimacy by assuming managerial supremacy. For studies adopting an epistemology of belonging, legitimation (the management of legitimacy) is

something undertaken in a purposeful way by managers. When managers are assumed to be acting (as one) for the organisation, then individual and collective notions of legitimacy at the organisational level are assumed to be synonymous. However, as Chapter Five shows, legitimation-as-becoming is an activity undertaken by a much broader swathe of the organisational population. In the case of legitimacy-as-becoming at the theatre, not only managers but employees, board members and external stakeholders such as the press and community ambassadors participate in the ongoing legitimation of the theatre. Thus, when considering how an integrated view of legitimacy functions, the relation between individual and collective notions of legitimacy must be directly considered.

However, legitimacy is always a tricky concept through which to merge individual and collective notions, for the definition of legitimacyis itself intrinsically collective, being defined as:

"a generalised perception that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions"

(Suchman 1995: 574).

Legitimacy is a generalised concept, meaning that all of the impressions of individual stakeholders are implicated in legitimacy in some way, but to different degrees. Given the complexity of the contemporary organisational environment (particularly in terms of the range of stakeholders who may be seen to influence the legitimacy of an organisation), legitimacy is not something which can be accurately specified in a practical sense, and must be generalised in a theoretical sense. Furthermore, due to the role that legitimacy plays in linking action into institutional structures, Chapter Five illustrated that it makes limited sense to differentiate between the "evaluators" (cf Bitektine 2011) and the "managers" (Ashforth and Gibbs 1990) of legitimacy since all organisational stakeholders will act as both evaluator and manager of legitimacy. Legitimacy only exists at the collective level as a generalised perception, and at the individual level each stakeholder (whether internal or external to the organisation) is both an evaluator and a contributor to organisational legitimacy. But how, does this general theoretical nature of legitimacy as diverse yet singular, created by those who evaluate it, link into the proposed epistemological model of legitimacy?

What the earlier chapters demonstrated and this chapter has cemented is the notion that legitimacy generally *becomes*, and that the 'production' of legitimacy as a *belonging* is a specific tactical activity undertaken by managers. The unified definition of legitimacy favoured in the 'belonging' literature is unlikely to be a practical reality in any time other than perhaps

immediately following a successful, centralised legitimation-as-belonging process. In the case of the theatre, even immediately following a legitimation-as-belonging process (the Creative Campus strategy), organisational legitimacy showed few signs of being homogenous. To the extent that the theatre's stakeholders did directly address issues of legitimacy, their notions of why the theatre was legitimate ranged from its artistic capabilities to its outreach activities, with much diversity in between. Therefore, the legitimacy of the theatre, in a practical sense, is highly differentiated; both in terms of the internal stakeholders who seek to construct and simultaneously evaluate impressions of their organisation's legitimacy, and in terms of the external stakeholders who act upon their evaluative impressions of the organisation's legitimacy. However, although the legitimacy of the theatre may be seen to be inherently diverse at the practical level there are certain factors which mediate the 'homogeneity' of individual impressions of legitimacy. In some cases understandings of legitimacy may become more widely shared by organisational employees (and wider stakeholders). In particular, the proposed model of legitimacy explains in more detail how notions of legitimacy become more homogenous through the process of legitimation-as-belonging.

One of the key roles of legitimation-as-belonging, I earlier argued, was to generate and mobilise collective understandings of legitimacy at the organisational level. Through formalisation processes by which latent and diverse impressions of organisational legitimacy are exposed, new explicit collective definitions of legitimacy are formed. In the case of the theatre, the Creative Campus strategy served to explicitly relate different organisational activities and priorities in a formalised process and report to generate collective understandings of the role of the theatre in the 21st century (which is the basis of its legitimacy). Legitimation-as-belonging may achieve this through privileging certain narratives (or even constructing new narratives) concerning the legitimacy of the organisation. This can be clearly seen in the case of the Creative Campus strategy, which privileges a narrative of Creative Learning as a central priority of the organisation over other narratives of legitimacy, such as artistic achievement. In addition to the role this strategy plays in privileging certain pre-existing narratives (such as creative learning) and binding other activities into this narrative, it also (through these narratives) facilitates a more inclusive, shared understanding of the theatre's legitimacy. Through mechanisms like the brand diagram illustrated in Figure 20 on page 117, definitions of organisational legitimacy are selected and made explicit such that employees might have a common resource to draw upon in considering the normative significance of the organisation and of their role and actions relative to the organisation.

However, the role of managers in facilitating the homogeneity of notions of legitimacy may be more nuanced than is suggested above. To the extent that generating shared notions of legitimacy constitutes collective learning behaviour, there is existing theory which argues that managers (as individuals in positions of high relative power) may have a particular strength in facilitating this 'legitimation'. Bunderson and Reagan, in their meta-review of how power and status differences affect organisational learning conclude that "higher-ranking actors who use their power and status in more "socialized" ways can play critical roles in stimulating collective learning behavior" (2011: 1182). They draw out the particular meaning of "socialised" as below:

> *"... the socialized use of power can actually leverage social hierarchy for the benefit of collective learning. Thus, high-ranking actors with collective goals and objectives can help lower-ranking others feel safe contributing to the learning process and, moreover, can help them feel that they must be engaged in that process. They can identify, draw out, and legitimize contributions from lower-ranking members. They can help lower-ranking actors focus on collective improvement goals. And they are less likely to engage in the strategic or political use of knowledge. In short, the socialized use of power—particularly by high-ranking actors—appears to be an indispensable requirement for learning in settings where power and status differences exist." (p1189)*

However, managers are not necessarily the organisational members with the greatest power in organisations which work across professions, such as the theatre. Artistic directors or high profile actors may wield more power over certain organisational activities. Nor may these powerful stakeholders primarily consider themselves members of the organisation (for example, an actor may consider themselves a professional actor, rather than an organisational employee). While legitimation-as-belonging may be the key arena for the power wielded by managers to assist in establishing shared definitions of legitimacy, legitimation-as-becoming seems to involve a more diverse group of organisational protagonists.

In the case of the theatre, professional equality is consecrated through the legitimation-as-belonging process of the Creative Campus strategy through the efforts of managers, however this priority emerged and came to be collectively accepted by a specific group of employees through the efforts of a different organisational protagonist- the Dance Agent for Change. Although a relatively peripheral member upon her joining the organisation (being in an externally funded post and having a specific, inter-organisational remit), the Dance Agent for Change brought with her a professional reputation which gave her a relatively large amount of power. Through "socialized" methods—such as incorporating her work into the activities of

others, incorporating the abilities of others into her work and engaging extensively with wide ranging audiences—she managed to establish "professional equality" as an organisational priority. Therefore, the power of 'legitimating actors', and the socialised ways in which they exercise that power, can be central to understanding how certain (sub-)organisational priorities come to be central to organisational legitimacy. Interestingly Bunderson and Reagan's findings could equally apply at the inter-organisational level, meaning more powerful organisations could play an important role in establishing collective notions of institutional legitimacy. This is out-with the scope of the present study, but would be an interesting avenue for future research.

To conclude this section, there is an inherent tension in *theorising* individual and collective definitions of legitimacy. This tension is ameliorated in much of the existing literature through an assumption that the parameters of organisational legitimacy are determined by managers. If the individual assertions of managers set the collective legitimacy agenda of the organisation there is no tension between individualistic and collective notions of legitimacy. However, the preceding chapters illustrated that legitimacy is not necessarily constructed through the authoring of managers, but rather that legitimacy can emerge from a wide variety of organisational activities, and that legitimacy may therefore be rather diverse at the organisational level. The multifarious impressions of legitimacy created by legitimation-as-becoming might, I suggested, become collective impressions through organisational actors (whether managers or other powerful actors) acting to purposefully select, make explicit and validate certain 'narratives' of organisational legitimacy, through processes of legitimation-as-belonging and by exercising their power in a socialised way. The ability of non-managers to establish legitimate organisational priorities is considered to be particularly applicable to organisations such as the theatre, which work across professional boundaries and through contracting professional artists. Such organisations might be particularly susceptible to a power structure which is diverse (i.e. not directly hierarchical with managers at the apex).

The Importance of Recognising all Organisational Constituencies

The second implication of adopting the proposed approach to theorising legitimacy is the ability of the model to account for the existence of different legitimacy judgements made by external stakeholders. As has been previously discussed, legitimacy is most commonly defined as a generalised view concerning the normative or pragmatic appropriateness of an organisation. Although power may be more or less concentrated in a particular institutional environment, giving certain actors more normative authority, legitimacy will always exist as an agglomeration of the perspectives of all actors regarding the legitimacy of the organisation. However, previous studies of legitimacy have tended to focus on legitimacy 'in crisis'. This commonly means that the legitimacy of an organisation is placed under the microscope only when a powerful stakeholder has already expressed a challenge concerning the legitimacy of the organisation. This has been true for organisations being challenged by cause groups (Elsbach and Sutton 1992), governments (Goodstein and Velamuri 2009), securities analysts (Benner and Ranganathan 2012), other parts of the organisation (Erkama and Vaara 2010), the press (Desai 2011, Westphal and Deephouse 2011) and a combination of these constituencies (Elsbach 1994).

Thus, in many of the empirical studies of legitimacy the legitimation efforts are directed at a narrow audience, primarily the powerful stakeholder whose opinion needed to be swayed. Conducting a concerted legitimation effort in situations such as this is well suited to a managerial precedence in planning and executing legitimation-as-belonging. In institutional environments such as that of the theatre, where a few stakeholders (such as funding bodies) wield disproportionate power over the normative order, a similar situation might be assumed to exist. Where there are a small number of powerful, discrete stakeholders, it might be expected that legitimation-as-belonging would be the prevalent approach. However, the case of Dundee Rep shows that the entire audience is important to safeguarding the 'generalised perception' of the theatre, in this particular case due to the structures of accountability within the industry. Thus legitimation-as-becoming is the prevalent approach to managing organisational legitimacy.

As outlined in Chapter One, the structure of accountability within the theatre industry is both complex and recursive. Non-profit professional theatres have a public mission; they seek to provide benefit to communities through core provision of art, and through associated artistic activities. As such they are morally accountable to these communities, to the 'public'. However, the analysed theatre (like most others in the industry) is funded by both the national arts funding agency and the local authority. However, each of these bodies is also accountable to the

general public. Thus, although the theatre is administratively accountable to a small set of powerful stakeholders, these stakeholders in turn must be accountable to the same 'audience'- the local and national publics. Just as the legitimacy of the theatre is affected by its accountability to the public purse, so is the legitimacy of their funders.

The public is ultimately the final arbiter of value and legitimacy for both the theatre and its funders, but the power of the public is not easily harnessed. The public lack the co-ordination of an organisation and largely rely upon the opinions of large institutional actors (such as funding bodies) and actors with wide influence (such as the press and critics) to form a 'generalised perception' of the legitimacy of the theatre. This places the theatre in a vulnerable position.

However, members of the public need only rely upon the relayed opinions of large institutional actors when they are unable to form a direct personal impression of the legitimacy of the organisation. If a sufficiently large public are convinced through direct experience of the theatre that it is legitimate, then organisational legitimacy may be highly secure, for these are also the stakeholders to whom the public funding agencies are held accountable. Legitimacy studies commonly focus on large organisations, for which such direct exposure may be highly improbable; however in the case of the theatre the entire organisational audience are important to legitimation-as-becoming. Further, if direct experience (through interaction between employees and stakeholders) is to be considered a key aspect of legitimation-as-becoming then the employees involved in these interactions (whether actors on the stage, receptionists at the box office or outreach workers at a school) are key to securing organisational legitimacy. Thus the second implication of the dualistic model of legitimacy is that it provides for a broader analysis of the stakeholder groups important to securing organisational legitimacy. It would be interesting to see more studies in the future exploring how the legitimacy dynamics of non-profit and smaller, community organisations are affected by dynamics such as recursive accountability.

Scope and Key Contributions

The key contribution this thesis seeks to make is to the literature on organisational legitimacy. This contribution may be considered in three parts. First, the thesis seeks to reframe the extant literature to illustrate that an epistemology of belonging is prevalent in many theoretical and empirical studies of legitimacy. Second, through adapting Gilbert Ryle's epistemological framework of *knowing that* and *knowing how*, it seeks to show that legitimacy may be considered as both a *belonging* and as a process of *becoming*. Finally, the thesis seeks to show that these two concepts of legitimacy and legitimation (as *belonging* and *becoming*) have

distinct and complementary roles in allowing organisations to simultaneously meet the demands of their institutional and resource environments.

The study utilises a deeply embedded account of legitimacy at a single organisation. This organisation is peculiar in many respects: It is relatively small and non-profit yet has a diverse set of operations; it is largely publicly funded; and it operates within the specific institutional context of publicly funded theatre. This study is not based around the aim of generalizability; rather, the aim of the study is to create a rich and in-depth analysis of a particular organisation, to suggest possible future routes for (less inductive) study. The unusual features of Dundee Rep relative to the extant literature, such as the powerful institutional environment and the character of the challenges being made to organisational legitimacy, illuminate certain novel features of legitimacy. Therefore, the framework generated through, and justified by, the data may not be applicable to all organisational types, but through explicitly acknowledging and discussing the particular features of the organisation I aim to posit specific future avenues for the study of legitimacy.

However, the main benefit of conducting such an in-depth and grounded study does not lie in creating generalizability, but in accessing and relaying the meaning attached to concepts such as legitimacy by participants. This study is based upon an ontology of social constructionism, on the idea that social life is continually (re)constructed and that, therefore, understanding the experiences of participants is key to determining how legitimacy is produced at Dundee Rep. The perceiving, interpreting and representing of participants' meanings is the central scope of the study.

CONCLUSION

This thesis proposes a dualistic epistemological model of legitimacy as belonging and becoming. Recognising that legitimacy constitutes a form of knowledge or knowing, I argue that legitimacy can be understood as a *belonging* of organisations, and as a way in which they *become* woven into, and recreate, their institutional environments. The reason why such a model is required is that much of the existing literature is based upon an implicit epistemology which sees legitimacy as a competitive resource strategically targeted through the legitimation efforts of managers. The position which regards legitimacy as a process of becoming, as an unfinished and emergent understanding distributed across the organisation, is historically underrepresented, although has seen a recent focus in those studies which adopt a processual view of legitimacy (Brown and Toyoki, 2013; Drori and Honig, 2013). However, the thesis does not propose this 'becoming' perspective as the 'correct' way of theorising legitimacy, rather it argues that legitimacy exists both as a belonging and as becoming. Utilising Gilbert Ryle's philosophical framework (1949), which explains how human knowledge and action are related through two

theoretical mechanisms and traditions (*knowing that* and *knowing how),* the proposed epistemological model recognises the role of legitimacy as a belonging and as a process of becoming, and as such recognises a distinct role through each epistemological position for legitimation (how legitimacy is produced).

The data used to produce and justify the practical relevance of this epistemological model of legitimacy is an in-depth ethnographic study (Ybema, Yanow, Wels, and Kamsteeg 2009b) of a Scottish professional theatre working across artistic, education and social work institutional fields, largely funded by public bodies and committed to high quality artistic and outreach work. The ethnography occurred over a fieldwork period of 30 months, and involved methods ranging from the traditional participant ethnography to ethnographic interviews. The advantages of using organisational ethnography are largely due to the ability of the researcher-as-participant to access the meanings attached to organisational phenomena by participants (Mitchell 2007). It was through a close examination of issues of legitimacy in the field that I came to recognise the importance of legitimacy as an emergent process, as well as an organisational resource. Through adopting an ethnographic method, and utilising an abductive (Glaser and Strauss 1967) analysis process, I sought to achieve withness-thinking with my participants. That is, I sought to understand the concept of legitimacy not from a position of thinking 'about' the theatre and its employees, but from a perspective of thinking 'with them' (Shotter 2006). To this end I adopted a diverse set of specific methods within the umbrella of organisational ethnography, with some methods used to prioritise meaning (such as participant observation) whilst other methods were intended to leverage my acquired 'withness thinking' in exploring the concepts at hand more directly (such as ethnographic interviews).

The study illustrates that the legitimacy of the theatre is continually (re)constructed through the incidental, every day experiences of those stakeholders who act as evaluators. Furthermore, whenever an organisational employee makes a work-related decision with recourse to principles of normativity or imbues an activity with a particular normative meaning, they are reconstructing their appreciation of the theatre's role and legitimacy, and of their role and legitimacy, as an employee, relative to that. Whether the instance is a Press Officer selecting organisational activities to promote to journalists through recourse to the perceived 'image' of the organisation, or a receptionist living up to the organisational reputation for delivering a warm reception, legitimacy is constructed through the actions of all organisational members.

However, this is still an important role for the purposeful, strategic manager in determining matters of legitimacy. As is well explored in the pre-existing literature, (e.g. Ashforth and Gibbs

1990) manager-led legitimation-as-belonging is a common feature of organisation legitimacy. When this concept of legitimation is placed in a wider framework which also recognises the emergent, distributed function of legitimation-as-becoming, the particular character of purposeful legitimation is thrown into relief. Legitimation-as-belonging is not an everyday activity, but is a specific manager-led response to a perceived (anticipated) challenge to organisational legitimacy. More specifically, legitimation-as-belonging emerges through the data as a process of formalisation; it is the mechanism by which implicit, emergent and diverse notions of organisational legitimacy-as-becoming can be made explicit, arranged into a 'legitimate order' and projected in a homogenised form throughout the organisation and externally to stakeholder audiences.

Each of the epistemologies depends on the other. Legitimation-as-becoming allows diversified organisations working across different institutional fields or with diverse stakeholder groups, as in the case of the theatre, to actively respond to emergent demands and perceptions in the institutional environment. It allows the organisation to become legitimate through the innumerable interactions between the institutional and organisational normative environments. Legitimation-as-belonging on the other hand acts as a key tool enabling managers to consolidate this diversified normative environment, to assess the relative importance of stakeholder groups and to orchestrate co-ordinated attempts to strategically manipulate perceptions of organisational legitimacy. Both of these processes of legitimation are necessary for an organisation to maintain a responsive and co-ordinated approach to meeting the institutional demands and resource requirements which define organisational legitimacy.

A single site ethnography such as this, couched in a constructionist epistemology, is not intended to produce generalizable results, but to appreciate the grounded, material and experiential meanings attached to the concept of legitimacy by organisational participants. As such, I do not claim that the theoretical models proposed here would be applicable to all other types of organisation. Rather, by producing a rich description of legitimacy in the theatre, I hope to have produced empirically grounded model which suggests future directions for the study of organisational legitimacy. The character of legitimacy-as-becoming supports the most recent turn in the literature towards a more processual view of legitimacy (Drori and Honig, 2013). Dispensing with the idea that all legitimation is purposefully led by managers, it erodes the somewhat false distinction between the 'managerial' (e.g. Ashforth & Gibbs 1990) and 'evaluators' (e.g. Bitektine 2011) perspectives. Adopting an epistemological perspective of legitimacy-as-becoming allows the researcher to that a broader swathe of organisational

stakeholders ('internal' or 'external', 'managerial' or 'peripheral') may be implicated in the construction and evaluation of organisational legitimacy (Brown and Toyoki, 2013).

Furthermore, this research illustrates how the tendency to study legitimacy only when it is challenged has limited the definition of legitimation. As I have argued, legitimation-as-belonging is a purposeful, managerially led activity which is used to confront legitimacy challenges. As legitimacy is usually only considered important in its absence, studies of legitimacy have focussed upon situations where legitimacy is challenged. As a result they have most commonly identified legitimation-as-belonging as being the sole manner in which legitimacy is negotiated by the organisation. However, as this research has shown, in a situation where an organisation not facing direct, critical legitimacy challenges, legitimation takes quite a different form. This finding corresponds to another recent longitudinal study which also identified a processual, bottom-up conception of legitimacy (Drori and Honig, 2013). Where legitimation-as-belonging constitutes a managerial response to legitimacy challenge, on a day to day basis organisational legitimacy is produced through legitimation-as-becoming. This form of legitimation is an inherent dimension of all those activities and interactions which involve normative considerations, and which occur continuously across the organisation. It would be interesting to see whether future studies looking at 'legitimate' organisations identified processes of legitimacy-as-becoming.

Finally, the theoretical model developed in this study addresses provides a partial explanation of how legitimacy becomes an intra-organisational 'generalised perception'. There is, I argued, an inherent tension in the use of theoretical concepts such as legitimacy; legitimacy is collectively defined (Suchman 1995) and yet is produced through individual interactions and judgements (Bitektine 2011). Much of the existing literature ameliorates this tension by considering all legitimation to be managerially-led. However, when legitimacy-as-becoming is brought into the equation, the ability to consider organisational legitimacy as being in any way homogenous or 'manageable' is diminished. As the study shows however, the two forms of legitimation (as belonging and becoming) play important complimentary roles in maintaining a balance between institutional and resource environments. Legitimation-as-becoming, the continual production of legitimacy through interactions and experiences across the organisation, allows the organisation to be actively and immediately responsive to the myriad of institutional demands placed upon it. Legitimation-as-belonging allows the organisation, in times of normative challenge, to expose these myriad institutional demands such that a 'legitimate order' of those demands might be formulated and collective definitions of organisational legitimacy mobilised. This process of formalisation (Viaar et al 2006) not only

allows organisational members to cohere over shared definitions of legitimacy, but provides a platform from which managers might seek to address the legitimacy demands of the 'challenger' (whether that be a specific stakeholder (group) or the institutional environment at large).

The particular characteristics of the organisation studied provide for some interesting reflections on the pre-existing literature, leading to possible future directions for research. This study was conducted in the Scottish professional theatre industry, which is characterised by a strong institutional environment; characterised not only by artistic and economic values (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007), but also by the need to appeal to logics of social benefit and administrative competence. Therefore, a diverse set of, often conflicting, institutional demands are placed upon the focal organisation. One future avenue of study relates to whether legitimation-as-becoming would play an equally important role in organisations with a different institutional environment.

Secondly, many of the most important implications of this study appear to be related to its being set across an extended timescale which featured periods of relative normative stability, and periods when the legitimacy of the theatre was presumed to be challenged (such as when the foundation theatres banded together to defend the assertion that there was 'too much theatre' in Scotland). As has been previously discussed, much of the existing empirical literature studies legitimacy at times of challenge. A further avenue of study would be to continue research into organisations of a different type to Dundee Rep (e.g. non-creative, for profit, larger), in periods of normative stability.

Thirdly, in a field characterised by the power of a single stakeholder (the national funding body), we might expect to see an organisational population characterised by acquiescence and isomorphism. However, the Scottish professional theatre industry in general, and the focal theatre in particular, evidence a diverse approach to securing their legitimacy. Further research would be needed to determine whether this is the result of the systems of recursive accountability (where the powerful stakeholder exerting the legitimacy challenge is accountable to the same public as the focal organisation) present in industries providing a 'public service' and funded by the 'public purse', or whether it is due to some other factor.

Finally, the focal theatre in this case may be characterised by the involvement of creative professionals who work within and across the organisational boundaries. Previous studies of legitimacy have perhaps not particularly focussed on the tension that might be considered likely to be created by having managers trying to legitimate an organisation where many employees

might consider themselves more allied to the normative goals of their profession (e.g. Ruef and Scott (1998) study healthcare, but do not discuss this tension if it did exist in their case). It may be a fact that the extent of legitimation-as-becoming in the theatre (relative to strategic legitimation) is designed to allow for the normative autonomy of theatre professionals, and this would be an interesting avenue for future research.

Finally, I have sought throughout this thesis to interrogate my and others' assumptions regarding how legitimacy is constructed and I hope that the character of this thesis can be summed up by paraphrasing Tim Ingold, who argues in *Being Alive* (2011) that we must all be careful to look in the shadows of prevalent theory to uncover the ways in which seemingly purposeful human activity is built upon a more basic and complex unfolding of meanings and growth.

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APPENDIX A – ETHICAL APPROVAL

University of St Andrews

University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

5 March 2010
Ms Holly Patrick
School of Management

Ethics Reference No: *Please quote this ref on all correspondence*	**MN6209**
Project Title:	**Redirections in Organisational Identity: Exploring the Ensemble**
Researchers Name(s):	**Holly Patrick**
Supervisor(s):	**Professor Barbara Townley**

Thank you for submitting your application which was considered by Management's School Ethics Committee. The following documents were reviewed:

1. Ethical Application Form — 22 February 2010
2. Participant Information Sheet — 22 February 2010
3. Consent Form — 22 February 2010
4. Debriefing Form — 22 February 2010

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for three years. Projects, which have not commenced within two years of original approval, must be re-submitted to your School Ethics Committee.

You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed. If you are unable to complete your research within the 3 three year validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf) are adhered to.

Yours sincerely

Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

cc Professor Barbara Townley
S Deigman Secretary, School Ethics Committee

UTREC Convenor, Mansefield, 3 St Mary's Place, St Andrews, KY16 9UY
Email: utrec@st-andrews.ac.uk Tel: 01334 462866

APPENDIX B – INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Past

- Development of Creative Learning
    - How has Creative Learning grown and changed since you joined Dundee Rep?
        - What have been the key milestones for you?
        - Could you pick out or identify any people who you think have been key in driving CL forward?
    - Why do you think CL has developed in this way?
    - How unique do you think CL is to the sector?
        - If quite, then why do you think it has developed in this way?
- Could you give me one example of a project that you have been involved with launching that was difficult to get going?
    - Are there certain factors that tend to regularly hold you back from achieving certain goals, or from establishing projects that you think would be great?

- Did you always want to do the work that you are doing now?
- What has been your greatest *personal* achievement during your time with Creative Learning?

Present

- What contacts (within or outwith the Rep) do you work with on a day-to-day basis?
    - Do you work with the cultural co-ordinator for Dundee City?
        - Do you feel this role has really improved the prospects for arts organisations looking to link up with schools?
- How do you go about encouraging participant groups to get involved with your projects? (if you need to actively encourage)
    - Do you tend to work direct with the "end users" or do you often work with intermediaries of some sort?

- What sort of feedback do you get from the industry regarding how well *they* think CL is doing?
    - Are there any groups in particular that you have to justify CL to?
    - Do you regularly evaluate projects?
        - If so- Why do you do this? Is this quite a formal process? Who is involved?
- Are your projects, or priorities, sometimes influenced by groups external to Dundee Rep?
    - Creative Scotland?
    - Dundee City Council?
    - Other theatres?
    - Local cause-related charities?
    - Local community organisations?
    - Individuals from the local area?
    - Partner organisations in service delivery?

- What is your biggest priority right at the moment?
- Questions on the nature of work
    - Do you feel an emotional attachment to your work?
    - Do you feel that your home life and work life are quite separate?
    - What are the hardest parts of your job?
    - Are there any parts of your work that you get particular joy from?

Future

- What are your personal ambitions as an artist, a practitioner or a theatre professional?
- Do you actively plan for the future of your role or projects?
    - IF SO:
        - What timescale do you do this on?
        - Who is involved in this process? Do any intermediaries or participants of the project play a significant role in establishing future plans?
        - Would you say that you do this quite formally (do you have a specific set of criteria, or a reporting deadline for priorities or such?) or is it quite informal?
        - How supported do you feel in this planning?
    - IF NOT:
        - Who is responsible for planning for your role or projects?
        - How involved do you feel in the process? Would the process benefit from greater or less staff involvement?
- What are the main strategies of your role, department, or for Dundee Rep (as are relevant to you) going forward?
    - How does your role or projects fit into the Creative Campus strategy?

- How well do you feel the strategy that will direct your work over the next few weeks, months and years is aligned with your personal ambitions?