

**THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL SCREEN AGENCY:  
JUSTIFICATIONS OF WORTH**

**Fabiola Alvarez**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews**



**2014**

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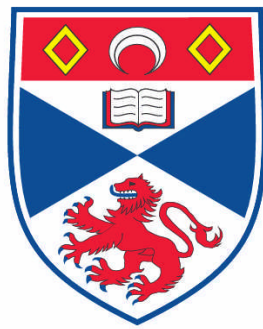
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**2014**

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## Abstract

This thesis examines the role of the former national screen agency in Scotland, which was in charge of distributing public funds for screen activity between 1997 and 2010. It examines how external factors such as cultural policy and internal factors such as individual approaches to film funding, affected the agency's perception and remit. The study draws on the institutional logics perspective (Thornton et al., 2012) to frame the interplay of two competing imperatives, one commercial, one creative, affecting the creative industries in Scotland and Scottish Screen's activities more specifically. However, it goes beyond this duality by examining more nuanced factors which significantly affected the organisation's trajectory and remit. Taking into account the predominant logic(s) throughout Scottish Screen's history and focusing on organisational responses during moments of transition or conflict, I use the analytical framework developed by Boltanski and Thévenot in *On Justification* (2006) to examine criticisms, justifications, and attempts at compromising expressed through official and non-official channels. The thesis outlines how opinions and decisions stemming from disparate views of what is "worthy" affected the agency's activity and funding decisions, as well as the dialogue with its stakeholders. The conclusions extracted from my findings inform existing literature on responses to plurality and challenge some claims made by institutional logic scholars: the first conclusion is that lack of conflict between logics does not necessarily translate into lack organisational conflict, as the latter often derives from different orders of worth which override the commercial-creative logic divide and are incompatible amongst themselves. The second conclusion, related to the first one, is that stability may be enhanced (at least temporarily) in a professional environment dominated by a plurality of logics as long as there is compatibility amongst the orders of worth set forth in pursuit of organisational goals. A third conclusion is related to the examination of some contributions to the orders of worth perspective and the study of plurality and instability in organisational practices, notably Boltanski and Chiapello's (2007) depiction of a seventh world of worth called the 'projective city' (underpinned by the higher value of activity aimed at creating or maintaining ever-changing networks), and David Stark's (2009) study of plurality and ambiguity management in organisations. My findings suggest that organisational models based on pervasive, horizontal networks capable of transgressing traditional hierarchical structures were never fully deployed in Scottish Screen - traces of these practices are identified, but, overall, actors defended more organisational scripts.

## Keywords

orders of worth; institutional logics; French pragmatist sociology; plurality



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## **Introduction**

2010 marked the end of an independent film agency in Scotland, Scottish Screen, following its merger with the Scottish Arts Council. As such, it seemed an appropriate time to analyse the perceived role and relevance of this non departmental public body charged with promoting the screen sector in Scotland. The opportunity to carry out this project came about when the organisation under study, Scottish Screen, sponsored an ESRC-funded studentship in partnership with the University of St Andrews to create research that would help understand the role and policies of a national development agency for the screen industries in Scotland. Scottish Screen described itself as a national film body aimed to inspire audiences, support new and existing talent and businesses, educate young people, and promote the country as a creative place to make great films, award-winning television and world renowned digital entertainment. Its work was conducted on both strategic and project-specific levels and had an outlook at once national, concerned with the development of the industry as a whole, and supportive of specific projects through investment. Its role was thus key to the growth of specific industry creative skills, investment, and audiences. Within any national film body, however, there are bound to be tensions and complexities in managing expectations of supporting a screen industry (as a creative industry) and a cultural remit of supporting national artistic and cultural content.

Working closely with the agency and its stakeholders, the original goal of the studentship was to examine how these twin imperatives played out and to provide a comparative analysis of the roles and policies of other national film bodies. The comparative part of the study, however, had to be abandoned for practical reasons. After an initial assessment of the necessary amount of data examination, time and resources, it became clear that it would not be possible to include a detailed study of other national film bodies' decision-making process and policy remits, without which the intended comparative analysis would lack rigour and depth. The focus was thus put exclusively on the role and perceived efficacy of the Scottish national film agency itself by examining the perception of its function amongst internal and external stakeholders throughout its history bearing in mind social, political, and economic circumstances. The amalgamation of Scottish Screen into Creative Scotland (a creative industries organisation with a wider remit) meant the end of an independent screen agency in Scotland, which made it all the more

appropriate to carry out an analysis of the agency's trajectory from beginning to end in order to reveal the rationale behind its establishment, how this rationale was or was reflected in daily practices, and the key external and internal factors that affected the management of tensions between conflicting imperatives throughout its existence as an independent body.

Drawing upon three data sources (organisational documents, interviews, and film funding applications) this case study examines negotiations carried out within the confines of the organisation and aims to provide an understanding of how different perspectives, which account for individuals' professional backgrounds and experience, influenced decision-making. "Were there perceived tensions between the commercial and artistic demands on the role of the former Scottish national film agency and, if so, how were these handled?" "What was Scottish Screen's response to such demands as reflected in agents' accounts and allocation of funds to film projects?". These initial research problems dealing with organisational response to potentially contending external demands required that I address two main elements: intraorganisational aspects such as structures and fund allocation decision, and the external environment in which the agency came into being and in which it was embedded throughout its trajectory. I initially addressed my research problems by drawing on the institutional logics perspective, a theory and method of analysis developed by new institutionalism scholars for understanding the influences of societal-level culture on the cognition and behaviour of individual and organisational actors (DiMaggio, 1997; Thornton et al., 2012). This theoretical stance seemed appropriate to address my initial research questions in an organisational setting linked to filmmaking, where creative and financial issues have to co-exist and yet often prescribe different behaviours. However, it eventually became clear that research that had studied logic plurality, while making a contribution to explaining organisational variance within and across organisational fields, had rarely examined how organisations internally manage such plurality (Battilana and Dorado, 2010). And those studies which do address this issue (Glynn, 2008; Zilber, 2002), do so mainly from the standpoint of determining if one particular logic gains dominance over another over a given period of time. By contrast, my aim is to examine issues of compatibility and conflict in organisational responses which may or may not stem from conflicting logics.

The appropriate theoretical and analytical perspective to frame this type of nuanced line of enquiry is provided by Boltanski and Thévenot's theory of justification. In their treatise *On Justification: Economies of Worth* (2006; first published in French in 1987 and re-edited in a

revised version in 1991), the authors suggest that justifications fall into six logics or orders of worth corresponding to six polities or higher common principles (derived from canonical works of political philosophy) that co-exist in contemporary social settings. Boltanski and Thévenot show how these justifications often conflict, particularly within professional organisations because of their pluralistic nature, as people compete to legitimise their views.

The institutional logics perspective was still helpful in identifying contending imperatives, but Boltanski and Thévenot's framework proved more useful as a tool to analyse some nuances contained in organisational agents accounts and organisational documents which seemed to contradict claims that organisational conflict is assuaged if a logic gains dominance over another (Glynn, 2008; Zilber, 2002). I then redirected the focus of my research toward actors' justifications, criticisms, and compromises during on-going negotiation processes and my research questions were rephrased as follows:

How did decision makers handle the various and often conflicting demands made on a national screen agency charged with distributing public funds?

How did organisational agents justify or criticise decisions in oral and written accounts?

And as the research progressed and Boltanski and Thévenot's orders of worth became my main theoretical and analytical framework, the above questions merged into, "What orders of worth prevailed in Scottish Screen's remit and practices throughout its 13-year-old history?" However, since I wished to further explore the possibility that compatibility and conflict in organisations might be dissociated from the co-existing of conflicting logics, I took into account the dominant logic(s) throughout Scottish Screen's trajectory in my analysis. As a result, the conclusions extracted from my findings inform existing literature on responses to plurality and challenge some claims made by institutional logic scholars: the first conclusion is that lack of conflict between logics does not necessarily translate into lack organisational conflict, as the latter often derives from different orders of worth which override the commercial-creative logic divide and are incompatible amongst themselves. The second conclusion, related to the first one, is that stability may be enhanced (at least temporarily) in a professional environment dominated by a plurality of logics as long as there is compatibility amongst the orders of worth set forth in pursuit of organisational goals. A third conclusion is related to the examination of some contributions to the orders of worth perspective and the study of plurality and instability in

organisational practices, notably Boltanski and Chiapello's (2007) depiction of a seventh world of worth called the 'projective city' (underpinned by the higher value of activity aimed at creating or maintaining ever-changing networks), and David Stark's (2009) study of plurality and ambiguity management in organisations. My findings suggest that the projective city, with its pervasive, horizontal networks capable of transgressing hierarchical structures, were never fully deployed in Scottish Screen - only traces of this world are found in some discourses by members of staff of the later years, but they are systematically superseded by the defence of industrial values. Similarly, the notion of "heterarchy" model depicted by Stark, which also involves a break with familiar, structured organisational routines, did not bloom in this organisation whose practices and structures ranged from the traditional models grounded in domestic worth of the early years to the highly structured ones of the industrial world towards the end.

The rest of the thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 1 provides a historical outline of screen activity in Scotland prior to the creation of Scottish Screen, as well as the socio-political context that led to its establishment. Chapter 2 reviews the main theories guiding my research. The institutional logics perspective is examined in terms of its contribution as a theoretical starting point and its limitations for investigating my research questions, after which I give a detailed account of Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) theory of justification and its suitability for my study. Chapter 3 is dedicated the methods employed to investigate my research questions. It provides an account of the main characteristics of the constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology guiding my methodology choices, a description of my chosen research strategy (a qualitative research study). It also outlines ethical concerns and procedures before providing details of my data collection and analysis methods. In chapters 4, 5, and 6 present my findings divided in three different periods marked by major changes in management at Scottish Screen. In chapter 7 I revisit the findings outlined in chapters 4, 5, and 6 by linking them to the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 3 and I discuss of some "residual" findings, i.e., findings not easily ascribable to any of the six worlds described by Boltanski and Thevenot (2006). I then explain how bridging French pragmatist sociology and the institutional logics perspective has contributed to facilitating the investigation of my research questions. In the eighth and final chapter of the thesis I outline my conclusions and my contribution to extant work, as well as the limitations of my study and possible avenues for future research.

## **. Chapter 1. Case Study Context**

Conceived under the UK Conservative government, Scottish Screen began operations at the same time that the New Labour victory in the 1997 general election brought a new, more independent political status to Scotland. Scottish Screen saw the industrial imperatives underpinning its establishment be heavily challenged by actors reluctant to abandon strong cultural aspects that had thus far predominated screen activity in Scotland, a situation that often led to disparate views regarding the most appropriate administrative procedures and resource allocation.

In order to offer good insight into the particular situation in which Scottish Screen came into being and carried out operations between 1997 and 2010, I give in this chapter a detailed account of the socio-political context surrounding the agency's establishment and trajectory. The first section deals with the Scottish devolutions process and how it led to a national cultural strategy which tried to place the creative industries at the heart of the Scottish economy in the late 1990s, about the same time that Scottish Screen started functioning. This is followed by a chronological overview of early screen activity in Scotland from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. The last section offers a historical outline of Scottish Screen and the most significant events underpinning its inception and 13-year lifespan.

### **Scottish Devolution: First Steps in Mapping the Creative Industries Policy**

The devolution process can be traced back to 1707, when the 1707 Treaty of Union established the creation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain by bringing together the Kingdom of England (including Wales) and the Kingdom of Scotland. The settlement, unpopular among the Scottish people (Bowie, 2008), was signed in the midst of social unrest and ever since its signing there have been several initiatives claiming back a Scottish Parliament, be it through devolution (a Parliament within the United Kingdom, finally achieved in 1997) or complete independence.

The discovery of oil off the coast of Aberdeen in 1970 meant a significant boost for Scotland's economy and further support in the 1974 elections (won by the Labour Party) for the Scottish National Party (SNP), which highlighted the financial potential of this discovery in its

political discourse. This nationalist revival forced the other major parties into reconsidering their position towards the possibility of a Scottish home rule (Bogdanor, 1999). The Labour party created a paper on devolution in 1975, but the results of the 1979 referendum to decide whether there was sufficient backing for a Scottish Assembly showed an insufficient level of support. Calls for a greater independence dwindled even more after the victory of the Conservative party in the general elections that same year. During the eleven years of Conservative rule under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, dominated by policies of privatisation and reduction of trade union power, the Scottish political stance became increasingly divorced from that of the United Kingdom, as proved by the record-breaking low Scottish support to the Conservative party in the 1990 elections – won, nevertheless, by the Conservatives again under John Major. Even if the Major government (1990-1997) was not as unpopular in Scotland as that of his predecessor, it would not be until the overwhelming victory of New Labour in 1997 with Tony Blair bringing a different agenda and promising a radical break from the previous eighteen years of conservative rule, that Scottish politics became better integrated with those of the United Kingdom. This was undoubtedly helped by one of the first measures taken by the Labour government: a white paper on devolution of a Scottish government, followed by a referendum in September 1997 whose positive results led to the Scotland Act of 1998 and this, in turn, set the terms for the creation of a Scottish Parliament in 1999. The Scottish Executive was established as the equivalent of the UK cabinet, in charge of administering devolved matters, including tourism, sport and cultural heritage. Westminster retained control over reserved matters, which included defence, social security, national security, foreign policy and broadcasting. Thus, while culture was a devolved issue, the most popular channel for the distribution of cultural content, broadcasting, was not. Some consequences arising from this settlement are outlined in the following sections, which deal with the creative industries and cultural policymaking in a devolved nation.

### **The Creative Industries and Cultural Policy in Scotland**

Reflecting on the meaning of “creative industries” and “cultural policy” is useful in identifying causes behind the events described in the historical outline of Scottish Screen further below. In the examination of both concepts, devolution will be taken as the starting point for three reasons: its undeniable general impact in the political reality of the country; the fact that culture was one



of the devolved issues and one of the first the Scottish Executive acted upon; and, the close chronological proximity of the devolution process and the establishment of Scottish Screen.

The New Labour UK government described the creative industries as “those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (DCMS, 1998). The creative industries were linked all through the 1990s to employment creation, economic regeneration, social inclusion, and urban development. The latter area resulted in Scotland in significant investment in Glasgow, including screen initiatives such as Film City Glasgow Limited or the Glasgow Film Location Service, which would later become Scottish Screen Locations, one of the four bodies amalgamated to form Scottish Screen. This union of the creative industries and economic development projects meant a merger of formerly subsidised cultural sectors with private initiatives that was continued and reinforced under the Blair government (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Still, finding an accurate definition for “creative industries” was not easy. A series of documents by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), from which the above definition has been extracted, tried to blur conventional boundaries between art and commerce and include a number of sectors such as tourism and museums as important in contributing towards the development of the creative industries, while failing to explain clearly why some areas and not others had been identified as creative. This prompted a series of attempts by scholars to try and identify what set the creative industries apart, and particularly relevant to this study is Stuart Cunningham’s (2004) observation that the creative industries are of a hybrid nature, at once cultural and service-based. That combination of culture and commerce made them ideal to be used in policymaking pursuing a national cultural agenda, and a national cultural agenda was inevitably prominent in a recently devolved nation. But as mentioned above, there was an issue under the terms of the Scotland Act that would prove problematic for the Scottish Executive when trying to carry out a creative industries policy in line with the synergy between sectors emphasised by the DCMS proposition: broadcasting, one of the most popular carriers of cultural content, was not amongst the devolved matters.

The inevitable tensions created by this circumstance did not stop the New Labour devolved administration from launching a far-reaching national cultural strategy, which began with the initiative *Celebrating Scotland* (Scottish Executive, 1999). The document highlighted the central role of culture in shaping a sense of community and urged the people of Scotland to take part

through written responses and public meetings all over the country. The consultancy company Bonnar Keenlyside was charged with organising the responses to the proposal in a report (2000), which made clear that the respondents were aware of the fact that while film and television were explicitly mentioned in the initial policy document as part and parcel of Scottish culture, not having broadcasting as a devolved matter would make it difficult for the Scottish Parliament to influence legislation in this area. The initiative was formally set up with the publication in 2000 of the first policy document, *Creating Our Future... Minding Our Past* (Scottish Executive, 2000: 14). While the document made the creative industries a core priority by arguing that they made a contribution of about £5 billion to the national economy and employed over 100,000 people, it failed to explicitly mention film and television. This significant omission illustrates the limitations imposed by the devolution settlement in formally acknowledging the full contribution of the screen industries (including film) to Scottish culture.

Three annual reports were issued by the Scottish Executive to track the progress of the National Cultural Strategy over the next few years. The third and final annual report (2003) on the Cultural Strategy returned forcefully to the promotion of Scottish identity with an emphasis on the potential of Scotland as a tourist destination to generate economic benefit, and filmmaking was considered mainly in terms of Scotland's possibilities as a filming location (Scottish Executive, 2003: 9). The effort to stress culture as a core theme in the Scottish national agenda was obvious again only a few days after the third annual report was published: in his 2003 St Andrew's Day speech, first Minister Jack McConnell brought attention to the role of culture in relation to creating a more confident, civic, and even healthier community. The speech followed not only the last annual report, but also the publication of the results of a five-year review of the sector, the *Audit of the Screen Industries in Scotland* (David Graham & Associates, 2003), which concluded that the expansion of indigenous production and screen infrastructure in Scotland was being hindered by the lack of a Scottish-based network commissioning department. This observation so directly related to screen production made it only more notable that McDonnell did not mention the screen industry and its role in national culture. The Scottish Executive responded to the First Minister's speech by announcing that it would establish a Cultural Commission to examine the institutional infrastructure of the creative industries and the concept of "national" in order to find the most appropriate way to designate it (Scottish Executive, 2004: 18). The Commission was explicitly charged with investigating broadcasting, despite it being a

reserved matter. The report on the Cultural Commission, entitled *Our Next Major Enterprise*, was published in June 2005 and, although it focused on the arts, an appendix made explicit reference to broadcasting and the screen industry. It even suggested the pursuit of “an element of devolution in broadcasting” (p. 326) and advised the Scottish Executive to continue to press for the establishment of further commissioning based in Scotland. However, the Executive’s response document to the Cultural Commission process, *Scotland’s Culture* (Scottish Executive, 2006: 43) significantly disregarded the Commission’s suggestions in relation to the screen industries. There was hardly any mention to film and television and, despite having charged the commission with investigating broadcasting, the Executive conclusion was that, as a reserved matter, it was the responsibility of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. It is hardly surprising that efforts to correct the tensions caused by the absence of film in Scotland’s cultural policy would continue, considering that, as will become apparent in the following section, the medium has been since its earliest manifestations in the country, the perfect embodiment of the creative industries as those that combine individual creativity with financial revenue, customer service and employment creation.

### **Scottish Film Culture in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries – from Local Topicals to Feature Films**

Moving pictures were shown for the first time in Scotland in 1896 in the Empire Palace Theatre, Edinburgh, and the Skating Palace in Glasgow. The *Departure of the Columba from Rothesay Pier* (1896), arguably the first Scottish film, was shown at the Skating Palace in the same year and it is said to have “stirred the patriotism of the audience” (The *Bailie*, 27<sup>th</sup> May 1896). Later in the year, in an early attempt at combining film culture with profitable entertainment business, an itinerant showman, George Green, brought films as one of his fairground amusements and screened them during the Christmas Carnival at Vinegar Hill Show Ground, east of Glasgow Cross (McBain, 1986a). This idea was quickly picked up by early cinema exhibitors, who filmed and screened local scenes to attract audiences. The screenings of these “local topicals” (McBain 1986b, p. 46) would be heavily publicised and they toured the country in the late 1890s. The next step was the making of short promotional films commissioned by private companies. “Local topicals” became increasingly popular and 1914 saw the establishment of the first small production companies. These were followed by some bigger ones set up during the 1920s and 1930s to produce commissioned promotional films, the more successful of which were Scottish

Film Productions in Glasgow and Campbell Harper films in Edinburgh (McBain, 1986b).

Two other companies, Zest Films and Elder Delrimple Films, specialised in instructional and educational content and Scottish film culture became increasingly consolidated at the organisational level with the creation of film societies, guilds and libraries: the Films Society of Glasgow was founded in 1929; 1930 saw the establishment of the Edinburgh Film Guild and the Scottish Educational Cinema Society, set up to produce, analyse, and present educational films. The Glasgow Co-operative Film Library was created in 1931, and Britain's first amateur film festival took place in 1933 also in Glasgow. The festival branched off the Meteor Film Producing Society, and became a symbol of cutting edge amateur film making with prize-winners such as Norman McLaren, Stuart McAllistair and Eddie McConnell, who quickly moved into professional production. Other film societies set up in the 1930s were the Federation of Scottish Filmmakers Society (1934), the Scottish Educational Film Association (1935), and the Scottish Federation of Film Societies (1936). It is clear that up to the mid- 1930s Scottish film culture was characterised by an almost exclusively non-fictional film production specialising in promotional or educational documentaries and supported by a strong network of societies, festivals and libraries.

### ***The Films of Scotland Committees***

The organisation of film activity, partly managed by the State, became increasingly centralised and the first Films of Scotland Committee was created in 1938 with the approval of the Scottish Film Council, as an attempt to set up a centrally organised Scottish film movement. The Committee was appointed for a three year period by the Scottish Development Council in consultation with the Secretary of State for Scotland, Walter Elliot, and the Permanent Under Secretary of State, Sir Horace Hamilton. The most complete documentation on its establishment and purpose is a script for a BBC radio programme in which Scottish documentary maker John Grierson, who acted as the Committee's production adviser, declared that "here is a prospect of all sorts of people being specially interested in Scotland and a chance to focus their interest in the life and achievement of our country. What medium can do it better than film?" Indeed, the titles and content of the Committee's first seven films revolved around fostering national interests: *Wealth of a Nation* (1938), about Scottish industry and town planning; *The Face of Scotland* (1938), a history of Scotland and the Scottish character; *They Made the Land* (1938), a history of

Scottish agriculture; *The Children's Story* (1938), on Scottish education; *Sea Food* (1938); *Scotland for Fitness* (1938); and *Sport in Scotland* (1938). These films were made mainly for the 1939 Glasgow Empire Exhibition but in the same radio programme Grierson expressed his intention to try to get those pictures seen all over the country so that the Scots might learn more about “what was happening under the surface of national life,” and even to send them abroad. He also stated that the Committee had ambitions beyond these seven films, but funds were limited, most of them coming from other government QUANGOS, and they only managed to produce one more film before the war broke out. However, in between committees (the second one began operating in 1955) Scottish film culture continued to develop through the establishment of several bodies such as the Scottish Film Library, and the post-war years saw a revival of Scottish film with the first Edinburgh International Film Festival in 1947. On the downside, any form of government financed filmmaking ended in 1952.

The Second Films of Scotland Committee (1955) was set up by the Secretary of State and its director was the film critic of *The Scotsman*, Forsyth Hardy. Grierson, along with some other former members of the first Committee, accepted an invitation to join and they all acted in a voluntary capacity. The body's overall remit is not too different from that of Scottish Screen over 42 years later and it was laid out as follows in an early memorandum (Films of Scotland, 1955):

- a) To promote, stimulate and encourage the production of Scottish films of national interest.
- b) To administer funds for the production and promotion of such films.
- c) To act as an Advisory Centre for the production and circulation of films of/or concerning Scotland.
- d) To commission the production of films for any form of circulation and to make arrangements for their display in public.

Apart from an initial donation of £10,000 from the Minister of State at the Scottish Office, the Committee film production was funded by attracting sponsors from local authorities, industry, and national organisations. By 1960, twenty films had been completed, but they were produced within a double constraint: the interests of the sponsors and the Committee's own aim to foster interest in Scotland both nationally and internationally. Not surprisingly, there would often be a straightforward link between the sponsoring body and the content of the documentary they sponsored. A 1959 article entitled “Films for Industry” and distributed by the Committee, stated that one of the main functions of the Committee was “to provide a service to industrialists who have a story of achievement to tell or have goods to sell in the world market. [...] An

opportunity is being lost by industry in Scotland. It is being lost because Scottish industrialists are not making adequate use of the knowledgeable and experienced body available to assist them in employing the film to the best advantage. The Committee offers an assurance that a project will be carefully supervised from the conception of the basic idea through all the stages of production to the completion of the film."

The Films of Scotland Committee was devolved in April 1982. The films were transferred to the Scottish Council of Educational Technology who continued to distribute them until 1995.

### **Scottish Screen (1997-2010)**

Scottish Screen was created in 1997 as a unitary agency to promote screen culture and the film and television industry in Scotland. It was registered as a Charity and also a company limited by guarantee with the status of Executive Non-Departmental Public Body. As such, the agency's decisions were independent and it employed its own staff, which initially consisted of 34 full-time and two part-time employees, all of whom had worked in some of the four bodies it amalgamated: the Scottish Film Council, Scottish Screen Locations, Scottish Broadcast & Film Training Ltd, and the Scottish Film Production Fund. Before focusing on the establishment of a film unitary agency following the recommendations made in the extensive report *Scotland on Screen* (detailed further below), and determining to what extent such recommendations were actually adopted by the agency in its day to day activities, an overview of the history and activities of the four predecessor bodies is useful in understanding how Scottish Screen came into being:

The Scottish Film Council was created in 1934 with the approval of the recently formed British Film Institute to give Scottish film's culture institutional consolidation. Up until then Scottish film culture had been almost exclusively non-fictional, specialising in promotional and educational documentaries. In a joint effort with the Scottish Arts Council and Goldencrest Films Ltd, the Scottish Film Council created in 1982 the Scottish Broadcast & Film Training Trust with the purpose of promoting professional film training in Scotland. The terms of the Trust provided for its financial resources to be principally devoted to assistance to students undertaking courses in professional film making, in-service training activities for established professional film-makers working in Scotland, and administration of the Scottish Film Production Training

Scheme.

A period of research by the Scottish Film Council examining film commissions in North America supplemented a study commissioned by the Scottish Development Agency and resulted in the establishment of Scottish Screen Locations in 1990. Scottish Screen Location's remit was to market Scotland as a location for film and television production, to market Scotland as a production base, and to provide liaison services for any filmmaker seeking assistance in connection with filming in Scotland. It was funded mainly by a voluntary levy paid by local authorities but also obtained income from facilities houses and public sector agencies involved in economic development.

The body officially responsible for the promotion of film in Scotland – the Scottish Film Council – had no element in its government grant to cover production, and during the years 1975 to 1981 the Scottish Film Council did what it could to divert part of its small budget to this purpose. In March 1982, the Scottish Film Council's arguments finally bore fruit, when the Scottish Education Department announced that its 1982/83 grant would include a sum specifically ear-marked for film production. By June 1982, the Scottish Film Council and the Scottish Art Council had formally agreed to establish a new independent body, the Scottish Film Production Fund, and to contribute between them £80,000 as the initial level of the Fund. In May 1995, the Director of the Fund, Eddie Dick, wrote a proposal for a new company to co-ordinate existing film investing and to raise new sources of finance. Less than two years later Scottish Screen was established, and the six weeks between its establishment and its official launch at Cannes Film Festival in May 1997 saw Labour's election victory.

Apart from national identity issues arising from the fact that the agency was created under the Conservative administration and started functioning under Labour, Scottish Screen also inherited a number of problems by amalgamating four predecessor bodies. The merger had the advantage of avoiding the inevitable gaps caused by several bodies providing screen services, but it caused problems derived from the combination of different remits.

### ***The Hydra Report***

Before getting into the company's first years and the teething problems that marked that period, it is important to look at what was happening in the Scottish film industry in the years immediately prior to the establishment of Scottish Screen. The recommendations made to the

Scottish Executive in the report *Scotland on Screen: the Development of the Film and Television Industry in Scotland* were key in materialising the idea of a unified film agency in Scotland that would bring together the various public and semi-public bodies involved in the sector. An article in *The Scottish Herald* on 16 April 1996 referred to the study as the “long-awaited Hydra Report” and mentioned that the Secretary of State for Scotland, Michael Forsyth, could have been convinced not only of the need for a single umbrella organisation to oversee the Scottish film industry, but also for a major studio and post-production facilities to attract filmmakers to the country. The same article stated that the Secretary of State had become aware of the economic importance of a thriving film industry after a series of films set in Scotland that enjoyed significant commercial success, such as *Rob Roy* (1995), *Loch Ness* (1996), and Oscar-winning *Braveheart* (1995), and how the Scottish Office was “keen to maintain the momentum.” The study, requested by Mr Forsyth, was carried out by Hydra Associates, a consultancy firm specialised in providing advice to media and entertainment companies, and commissioned by Scottish Enterprise and Highlands and Islands Enterprise, two NPDBs created in 1991 by the Scottish Executive to encourage business investment, development, and innovation across the country.

In an effort to identify constraints to the development of the Scottish film industry and make recommendations for action by the public sector, Hydra collected data around the globe on the film market, undertook case studies in countries where there were considered to be similarities to Scotland (Australia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, New Zealand, Norway, Spain), made qualitative and quantitative analyses of the Scottish market that included interviews with key figures of the film and television sector, and organised two focused groups, one Scottish and one International. The Scottish group concentrated on the constraints experienced by Scottish film and TV producers and was formed by members of the Steering Group (Scottish Enterprise, Highlands and Islands Enterprise and the Scottish Office), independent producers, and representatives from the following film bodies: Scottish Film Council, Scottish Film Production Fund, Scottish Broadcast and Film Training, Scottish Screen Locations, BBC Scotland, and Scottish Television Enterprises. The International group was, with the exception of the Steering Group and some independent film and TV producers, composed of senior executives from outside Scotland who had experience dealing with many of the identified constraints and were therefore expected to be able to propose and compare courses of action: a London-based UK



broadcaster (Channel 4), a producer from another European, English language country (Ireland), a representative from another European region with experience of training and developing needs in the sector (the North Rhine Westfalia Film Fund in Germany), a representative from the world of film production studios and facilities, a senior executive from a major Hollywood Studio (MGM), and an international sales agent (CiBy Sales). The role of this group was to propose and compare courses of action to overcome constraints on the Scottish film industry. Those in charge of the study also considered that the presence of representatives from overseas would give their Scottish counterparts a chance to present the country's possibilities to potential future partners.

Although the need to promote indigenous Scottish culture through film would eventually be one of the core functions commended to the unitary film agency, there are hardly any references to cultural factors in this report which, as stated in the introduction, "analysed the industry from the perspective of its commercial and industrial potential." After giving a detailed account of the data gathered during the first part of the study on the global market for film, it goes on to focusing on the Scottish film industry, factors affecting its growth (e.g., distribution models, role of the Scottish television industry in feature film production, finance, skill, and infrastructure), and recommendations to the Scottish Executive. The most important of those recommendations was the creation of a unified screen agency that should pursue a series of actions - sometimes collaborating with other bodies - in order to reach Scotland's film industry's full potential, which the analyst thought was being hindered by the following constraints: the fragmentation of the public bodies involved in the sector; lack of capital; insufficient resources committed to training; the problem of metrocentricity (an over-emphasis on the interests of London as a UK's primary centre for screen industries); too narrow a focus on marketing the media industries; and insufficient facilities for film production and post-production. The recommendations proposed to overcome such constraints represent, according to the report, "a shift in emphasis from the traditional 'cultural' approach to development of the film and television sectors" (p. 9).

Even though the Hydra Report was highly influential in establishing the agency, Scottish Screen would not follow all of its recommendations and tried to combine its commercial imperatives with boosting work that "would play an important role at the heart of a revitalised national culture" (Petrie, 2000). The agency's resistance to let go of cultural factors as central to its remit is easier to understand when considered within the relevant historical frame: although Scottish Screen was conceived of before Scottish devolution, its publicly funded national body

status called for actions in line with Scotland's new political status shortly after the agency began operating. This circumstance is at the heart of an often problematic commercial cultural/duality which, as outlined in the next section, was a constant source of tension during Scottish Screen's active years.

### ***The Role of the National Screen Agency: Balancing Cultural and Commercial Imperatives***

In line with the recommendations made in the report examined above, *Scotland on Screen*, Scottish Screen was created to satisfy a predominantly commercial remit that would respond to the proposed shift towards the commercial possibilities of the film industry. Thus, culture was not at the heart of the new agency's original objectives, which revolved around developing a financially strong indigenous industry, promoting Scotland as a location shoot and optimising foreign investment in the country. These commercial imperatives could not be ignored, as they had been a core principle behind the establishment of the body, but they clashed with two important factors that pulled Scottish Screen towards more culture-oriented goals: the first one is that the new agency had effectively took over the role of the four film bodies it amalgamated, all of which, but particularly the Scottish Film Council, had an explicit cultural focus. The second factor was the change of government that took place immediately after it was established. Under Labour, and in the context on the new Scottish cultural policy brought about by devolution, Scottish Screen was part of a political agenda that wanted to put culture at its centre as the motor of the national economy. However, explicit demands that the agency should strike a balance between cultural and industrial demands became part of the corporate plan and so Scottish Screen had, at least in theory, a hybrid function acting as both an enterprise agency and a cultural body. Its public body status inevitably raised calls for it to serve a remit in line with Scotland's new political status. As Petrie (2000) pointed out, it was expected that Scottish Screen would foster work which had an important role in a revitalised national culture. On the other hand, it was charged with supporting the kind of productions that would help to boost the national economy and have positive knock-on effects on tourism. The following extract from the Management Statement of 1997 set out the functions required of Scottish Screen:

“The Board (of Scottish Screen) is established to encourage the development of the screen arts (which include television and new media related to film and television) in Scotland and has the following functions:

- I. to develop and implement a strategy for the growth of the screen (film, television and related media) industry in Scotland;
- II. to promote Scotland as a location for film-making;
- III. to stimulate and promote interest in and access to film in Scotland;
- IV. to preserve and make available Scotland’s film and television heritage; and
- V. to advise the Scottish Ministers on any matters relating to the screen arts.”

Scottish Screen was also required to take general account of the wider policy context of the Scottish Executive, in particular the National Cultural Strategy and the economic strategy. The National Cultural Strategy, published in August 2000, set out four strategic objectives: Promote creativity, the arts, and other cultural activity; Celebrate Scotland’s cultural heritage in its full diversity; Realise culture’s potential contribution to education, promoting inclusion and enhancing people’s quality of life; and, Assure an effective national support framework for culture.

Apart from these general statements of function, the Executive gave Scottish Screen no specific objectives or instructions and it was for the organisation’s Board itself to determine the balance of priorities in its approach to fulfilling its remit within the resources made available to it. Scottish Screen determined its own strategic priorities in relation to this policy context, basing its planning and delivery on what it described as its ‘7 pillars’ that appeared in its Annual Report of 1999/2000: 1) Develop World Class Production Businesses In Scotland, 2) Attract Major Productions To Scotland, 3) Champion A Culture Of Investment In The Screen Industries, 4) Nurture And Develop Talent And Audiences, 5) Preserve And Present Scottish Screen Production, 6) Encourage And Support An International Outlook, and 7) Drive Screen Policy From School To Statute.

### ***Resistance to a Commercial Remit***

Scottish Screen role as a business-focussed organisation was prominent in early policy documents. One of them, echoing the recommendations made in the Hydra report, stated that

“Scottish Screen is more properly part of the Industry Department in the Scottish Enterprise rather than Education and Culture with the Scottish Arts Council” (Scottish Screen, 1996). In practice, however, the body would soon become a hybrid organisation responding to commercial and cultural demands: some initiatives in this early period – such as the failed studio project outlined below – reflect efforts to make an industrial logic prevail, but, in contrast, project internal assessments outlined in early minutes and investment files show that Scottish culture was a key factor in decision-making.

The first Chief Executive Director was assisted by the senior management team and a Board of Directors made up of academics, filmmakers, broadcast managers and financiers appointed by the Scottish Ministers, who were also Trustees for the purposes of charity law. Aware of the funding problems experienced by the predecessor bodies, the board of Scottish Screen made great emphasis on the importance of transparency and accountability in relation to all activities carried out by the organisation in support of the screen industry, which were financed by income generated by the agency’s own activities and annual grant-in-aid from the Scottish Executive of £2.5 – an amount that almost doubled in 2000 when Scottish Screen replaced the Scottish Arts Council as the distributor of Lottery funding for film.

One of the salient goals in line with a market-focus that the agency pursued in its early years was the creation of a national film studio to complement the services provided by some small studios already existing in Scotland. The calls for bigger and better equipped facilities that would be able to manage big productions were prompted by the success of some feature films based in Scotland and changes in film funding schemes in the UK: the Arts Council of England announced plans to create a joint strategy by providing funds matched by other film financiers in order to run four commercial film franchises from 1997 to 2003. It was hoped that these initiatives would significantly boost film production and demand for facilities, locations, and talent in the UK. However, when private investors showed a lack of interest in becoming involved, the scheme’s financial viability proved to be a serious issue, made only worse by the very public confrontation between those championing different possible sites and concerns that the European funding Scottish Screen had been counting on might not be available either. Despite Scottish Screen’s first CEO’s efforts and the publicity attached to the studio plan through public support of well-known Scottish film personalities such as Iain Smith or Sean Connery, the

initial enthusiasm faded amid serious doubts about the feasibility of the project, which was definitely shelved in 2001.

### ***Distribution of Lottery Funds for Screen Projects***

The most significant change in this period was Scottish Screen becoming the distributor of Lottery funds for film projects. In accordance with the direction under section 26 (1) of the National Lottery Act 1993, the agency had to make money-allocating decisions taking into account “the need to foster within Scotland the development of a sustainable film industry as a part of a healthy film culture in the UK.” The Act also identified the strategic goals of “attracting more private finance into film, improving the quality of Scottish films, and raising their profile in the marketplace.” As an added difficulty, the controversy over lottery money that had started when the Scottish Film Production Fund became a distributor in 1995 continued after the establishment of Scottish Screen. A large number of industry professionals demanded that there should have been more consultations with producers before any decision was reached about how lottery cash was distributed and accused Scottish Screen of “functioning on the basis of out-dated structures inherited by the old bodies.” The first CEO resigned in 2001 from his post amongst accusations from members of the industry of favouring a small group of filmmakers already known to the Scottish Screen board.

In the same year, following a request by Ministers in 2001 to review all NDPB in UK, an extensive study commissioned by the Executive concluded that, although there was evidence of achievement in some respects, the organisation had fallen short of expectations in a number or key areas that were part of its remit, many of its activities and programmes lacked specific objectives or evaluation measures, and their impacts were uncertain. A number of Scottish Screen clients, partners and stakeholders were interviewed about these issues and, in spite of some recognition that support could be handled by other bodies, the overall view was that a national screen agency was necessary in order to demonstrate the high cultural profile and commercial potential of film production, sell indigenous films in international markets, and attract productions to Scotland. Some independent producers admitted that support provided by Scottish Screen was crucial in getting their projects off the ground and there was a sense that the agency was beginning to put its early difficulties behind it and should be given the opportunity to mature and develop. Some criticisms emerged on issues related to governance and strategy,

including references to communication and response quality and concerns about the CEO's position embodying conflicting roles at operation and strategic level. However, the majority view was that a national screen agency was necessary, since filmmaking involves a range of arts, crafts, and technical skills that require coordination and need to be supported by a complex industrial infrastructure. Additionally, a national screen agency was seen as a symbol of the high cultural profile of Scottish film and the Government's support of the industry and, as such, gave a strong status signal in marketing contexts that could help attract film activity to Scotland.

The study was unable to form a definitive view of Scottish Screen, but it made initial suggestions for improvement at the organisation level (e.g., implementation of systems for reviewing and reporting performance) and in relation to the broader context of the creative industries (e.g., the need to readdress and clarify the role of the organisation and its links to the Scottish Executive's policy).

Under the lead of a new Chief Executive, Scottish Screen tried to overcome the shortcomings identified in the review by committing to the development of viable productions which worked across platforms and could contribute to the development of the industry. As for allocation of lottery funding for film, the organisation was asked to manage this with reference to a well-defined strategy and set of criteria, to establish the transparency of the process, and to identify and use opportunities to celebrate more widely the success of lottery-funded projects.

Arguments were put forward that in order to ensure that Scottish Screen was able to focus on supporting the development of the industry, certain functions and activities could be removed or relocated. For example, it was questioned whether the archive, which was already geographically separate from the rest of Scottish Screen's operations and functioned with a certain degree of managerial independence. Further, as early as 2002, the continuing status of Scottish Screen as an NDPB was questioned by the Executive and some alternatives were considered as the means of delivery of support for the screen industries and culture in Scotland, the most radical of which involved the creation of a new organisation combining Scottish Screen and the Scottish Arts Council. This suggestion was welcomed by Scottish Screen, the role of the future agency was clarified and negotiated through a series of consultations and reviews between the agency and the Executive and became a regular topic on Scottish Screen board meetings from that point forward.

### ***The Announcement of Creative Scotland***

In 2005, the Cultural Commission report *Our Next Major Enterprise* (Cultural Commission, 2005: 233) recommended that Scottish Screen's role and remit be revised. It was noted that the cultural sector in Scotland was dominated by QUANGOS and proposed that a single body be established to reduce bureaucracy. Following the second CEO's resignation and after a few months with a senior staff member as acting CEO, the third and last of Scottish Screen Chief Executives was appointed on 18 April 2005. The two years that followed were marked by the agency's restructuring and the announcement of the establishment of a new public body which would eventually bring together Scottish Screen and the Scottish Arts Council.

The agency's new structure resulted in six operational areas: Archive; Education; Enterprise and Skills; Inward Investment and Communication; Market Development and Talent and Creativity; and Central Operations, which incorporated Finance, Human Resources, IT, Investment Administration, Business Affairs and General Administration and Office Management. The new CEO talked optimistically about "a new Scottish Screen: one that knows what it does, why it does it, where it does it, and how it does it" (Scottish Screen, 2005: 5), but this enthusiasm would soon be dampened by the official announcement of the establishment of Creative Scotland in *Scotland's Culture* in 2006. That same year 45 filmmakers signed a letter sent to *The Herald* expressing their disapproval of film being within the remit of broader cultural policy and stating that the loss of a unitary screen agency would damage the Scottish film industry (Miller, 2006). They subsequently complained about the lack of consultation with industry members prior to founding Creative Scotland and argued that more money should be spent on film production and less on establishing new bureaucracies (Griffin and Young, 2006), but at this stage Creative Scotland was already in the process of becoming a reality.

In order to help the Chair in handling the transition, the joint board of Scottish Screen and the Arts Council was created and started being effective on the 1<sup>st</sup> February 2007. A review of Governance was carried out at part of the process for the appointment of the Joint Board, partly in order to identify key organisational risk during and after the transition period to the new Board. The Chief Executive/Accountable Officer and Board had ultimate responsibility for the control of all identified organisational risks. To ensure effective daily control, each identified risk was allocated to one or more members of the senior management team, based on their appropriate skills/knowledge within the area concerned. This scheme, characterised by a

reinforced internal and external reporting system, continued until June 2010, when Scottish Screen stopped functioning as a separate film agency and became incorporated into Creative Scotland.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter offers a detailed account of the socio-political context in which Scottish Screen came into being and was embedded throughout its 13-year life span, from 1997 and 2010. The Scottish devolution process is outlined because of its impact on the development of a national cultural strategy which tried to place the creative industries at the heart of the Scottish economy in the late 1990s, about the same time that Scottish Screen started functioning. This is followed by a chronological overview of early screen activity in Scotland from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. The last section offers a historical outline of Scottish Screen and the most significant events underpinning its inception and trajectory, events to which I repeatedly make reference in subsequent chapters of the thesis, particularly in Chapter 3 (Methodology) and Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 in which I discuss my findings.



## Chapter 2. Literature Review

This chapter is dedicated to the theoretical perspectives framing my research, with particular attention to Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) theory of justification. Part theoretical framework, part analytical tool, this is the main perspective guiding the examination of my data. However, since the questions that got this research underway were prompted by an interest in organisational response to complexity stemming from potentially contending logics (Greenwood et al. 2011), the institutional logics perspective is also examined, both in terms of its contribution as a theoretical starting point and its limitations for investigating my research questions. I then explain the reasons for bringing in Boltanski and Thévenot's orders of worth (a point on which I expand further in Chapter 7 in light of my findings) and I offer a detailed depiction of the framework which articulates them and through which they are enacted.

### **Institutional Logics in Organisational Studies**

The phrase "institutional logics" was introduced by Alford and Friedland in 1985 to describe "the contradictory practices and beliefs inherent in the institutions of modern western societies" (Thornton and Ocasio 2008, p. 99). As Greenwood et al. (2011, p.320) point out, the impact that such contradictory and complex practices have on organisations has been implicit in institutional scholarship since "Meyer and Rowan's (1977) observation that organizations confront sociocultural as well as commercial expectations – and that these may be incompatible". This observation is in line with those made by Selznick in the mid-twentieth century following his empirical study of organisations. Selznick's (1948) theories, along with Parsons' (1956), highlighted the role of institutions in integrating organisations with other organisations and infusing them with value through universalistic rules. In other words, they suggest that cognitive elements and material practices are both integral components of the institutions through which people constantly negotiate their position in organisational settings. This duality has been picked up by numerous theorists, including organisational researchers, since the publication of Berger and Luckmann's *The Social Construction of Reality* in 1967. However, a tendency to separate sociocultural elements from practices – and therefore means from ends – in organisational activity remained dominant until the turn of the century, when a number of scholars (e.g. Lounsbury, 2002; Scott, Ruef, Mendel, and Caronna, 2000; Thornton, 2002) emphasised the

social embeddedness of technical factors and promoted the use of the *institutional logics* perspective as a means to challenge the idea of institutional and technical forces as separate. Since then, the institutional logics perspective has been frequently used in organisational studies both as a metatheory and a method of analysis (Thornton et al. 2012). Several definitions of the term “institutional logics” have been proposed, some with a larger emphasis on the normative and structural aspects of institutions and others with a stronger focus on their cognitive and symbolic elements (Friedland and Alford, 1991).

In 1985 Alford and Friedland identified capitalism, bureaucracy and democracy as the three main contending institutional orders in Western society, each with its own set of beliefs and practices, which affect individuals’ engagement in social action and political struggles. They used the term institutional logics to describe such practices and beliefs. In their 1991 essay, the authors extended the core institutions of society to five – the capitalist market, the bureaucratic state, families, democracy, and religion – and expanded on the concept of institutional logics through an examination of the interrelationships between individuals, organisations and society. Institutions are seen as patterns of activity anchored in material practices and symbolic systems through which individuals and organisations reproduce their material lives and attach meaning to their experiences. According to Friedland and Alford (1991), the organising principles of each institutional order – the market, the bureaucratic state, family, democracy, and religion – are dictated by a central logic that furnishes social actors with a sense of identity and vocabularies of motives. Thornton and Ocasio (1999, p.804) incorporated elements from Friedland and Alford’s (1991) perspective in their definition of institutional logics: “the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality”. Paul DiMaggio’s (1997) notion of institutional logics as a theory and method of analysis for understanding the influences of societal-level culture on the cognition and behaviour of individual and organisational actors brings attention to the link between intra and inter-institutional domains.

### ***Responses to Change and Duality***

An advantage of the logics perspective, signalled by Lounsbury (2007), is its potential to bring together the institutional and rationalist approaches. By including in the analysis technical

mechanisms as culturally constructed and embedded in fragmented institutional environments, researchers can develop new approaches to sources of resistance and change (Oliver, 1991). This concern with change and resistance was one of the elements which initially drew me to the logics perspective, since my preliminary review of organisational documents related to Scottish Screen seemed to indicate that change and resistance featured prominently in the agency's history. In terms of external change, Scottish Screen came into being in the midst of significant sociopolitical changes in Scotland brought about by the devolution process (see Introduction and Case Study Context chapter). As for internal change, the organisation was the result of a merger and its personnel was initially comprised of former members of staff of the predecessor bodies, who were confronted with the structural changes the amalgamation implied. In addition, a proposed change from cultural to financial objectives featured prominently in the report which recommended the merger (Hydra Associates 1996, p.115). Given the different demands and expectations on Scottish Screen, it seemed appropriate to examine its responses (including potential resistance) from an institutional logics perspective.

Another factor drawing me to the institutional logics perspective was its emphasis on duality. Scottish Screen was embedded in the creative industries sector. Creative industries enterprises, in their attempts to capitalise on creativity, must strike a delicate balance to meet imperatives stemming from different logics. The interplay of two contending logics within one organisation has been the object of study of some scholars using the logics perspective (e.g. Zilber, 2002; Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Hallet, 2010). I outline some of this empirical research in the following section.

### ***Institutional Logics - Empirical Research***

In order to be sure that the institutional logics approach was indeed the most appropriate frame for my own research, reading about its origins and theoretical foundations was complemented with a review of empirical studies which had used it. What first transpired from this literature review was that much empirical research framed by the logics perspective focuses on competition between logics across occupational and professional fields, as opposed to intraorganisational settings. One example is Thornton's (2002) study of the higher education publishing industry, which identifies two institutional logics (editorial and market) and explains strategic and structural changes according to conformity with the prevailing logic. Thornton

points to a number of specifically economic factors that prompted the decline of an editorial logic in favour of a market logic – such as the injection of new sources of capital in the industry and the development of investment banking practices – and brings attention to the link between interpretations of economic factors and higher order institutional logics that “structure the cognition of actors in organisations” (Thornton 2002, p.82).

The same year, 2002, saw the publication of Kitchener’s analysis of the academic health centre mergers in the US which, combining concepts from institutional theory, political science, and social movement theory, describes how, as part of their political interests, powerful agents promoted mergers to replace the existing logic of professionalism with a logic of managerialism. American academic health centres (AHCs) are highly pluralistic domains that include different combinations of medical schools, affiliated teaching hospitals, universities, and other health professions’ training organisations. Kitchener found in Friedland and Alford’s concept of institutional logics “a convincing explanation of the antecedents of adaptive change among AHCs” (p. 401), as it led his analysis to the higher order political transformations of Western societies in the 1970s and early 1980s, a period that saw the establishment of a doctrine based on market efficiency as a justification for public investment and the emergence of ideologies of individualism geared towards the reduction of state expenditure. An interesting finding of Kitchener’s study is that, according to some interviewees, a big part of the merger decisions in the field of AHCs was made on the basis of providing an account of legitimacy to other field participants, rather than on strictly rational explanations limited to financial gain.

Rao et al. (2003) used the advent of French *nouvelle cuisine* in order to examine the abandonment of a traditional logic and the adoption of a new one fostering individual identity. Although some chefs stayed within the orthodoxy of classical cuisine, *nouvelle cuisine* gained followers over time while classical cuisine steadily eroded, which in Rao et al.’s article is identified as a sign that the conversion was part of a wider social movement rather than a passing fad.

Another piece of work related to the interplay of logics within the field of the health care system, this time in Canada, was Reay and Hinings’s (2005). Unlike Kitchener’s study of the AHCs in the US outlined above, this study did not deal with the sources of change, but with how a field is re-established following the implementation of a radical structural change. The dominant logic of the field revolved around physicians, who advised the government on resource

allocation and were closely involved in the management of hospitals and other health care centres. This logic of medical professionalism remained stable until 1994, when the government implemented some reforms they had announced a year earlier as part of a series of cost-cutting initiatives and transferred control over all health care providers – with the exception of physicians – to 17 regional health authorities (RHAs). RHAs board members were elected on the basis of their previous experience in the business sector and physicians were not allowed to become board members, which changed their status to that of members of the health system instead of its leaders. Such a bold challenge to a well-established logic of professionalism offered an excellent setting to study how actors use their power to implement or resist change.

The world of finance was the setting of further logics-based research at field level carried out in the next two pieces of work. In their 2007 paper *Vive la Résistance*, Marquis and Lounsbury turn their attention to the resistance of banking professionals to the acquisition of local banks by national banks in the U.S. Drawing upon existing literature focusing on the mechanisms that professional bankers employed to found community-oriented banks, the authors develop a set of hypotheses and put them to the test using data from 1994 to 2002. Marquis and Lounsbury highlight the importance of firms as settings for resistance to change analyse tensions between national and community logics. The conclusions of their study are in line with Oliver's suggestion that resistance to institutional change cannot be fully understood as a rational strategic response, but must be considered as potentially shaped by broader institutional logics.

Lounsbury's 2007 paper *A Tale of Two Cities* examines practice diffusion in the field of mutual funds amidst competing trustee and performance logics rooted in two different geographical settings: Boston and New York. The trustee logic has its roots in the financial culture of Boston, populated by networks of close social relations and small firms where money management decisions are made by senior officers who often had created the fund. This was the dominant logic in the industry until the 1950s, which saw the emergence of a new logic of competition spurred by money management firms situated mainly in New York. Lounsbury's findings seem to support other researchers' proposition that the diffusion of new practices can be shaped by multiple forms of rationality (Townley, 2002; Weick and Putnam, 2006).

Greenwood et al (2010) moved away from North America as the predominant geographic context for field-level research on logics and chose Spain as a setting to investigate the impact of a regional state logic and a family logic on the different responses of organisations to an

overarching market logic. The authors aim to make three main contributions with this paper: first, to show that non-market logics (those of the family and of the state) can influence organisation responses; second, to bring attention to the importance of the role of communities and the heterogeneity of pressures emanating from them; and third, to highlight the importance of research context in order to understand the relationship between organisations and institutions. Responding to Scott's (2005) concern over most of institutional research having been conducted in the US, Greenwood et al. turned their attention to the institutional complexity of a European country whose history reflects a long-term tension between two competing state logics (one highly centralist and the other based on regional diversity) and a strong influence of the Catholic church with its emphasis on family values. The first centralist logic, embodied in the lengthy Franco's dictatorship regime (1939-1975), posited that there should be only one source of power and authority: the nation-state, but the cultural diversity of Spain – backed by the existence of four regional languages in addition to Spanish – prompted constant demands for regional autonomy. As these demands were gradually met after Franco's death, a second, culture-based logic emerged. The influence of both logics on Spanish manufacturing firms is reflected in their varying willingness to take advantage of legislation that allowed reduction of labour force as a measure to meet market exigencies, a variation that stems, according to the authors, from two nonmarket institutions: the state and the family. These conclusions, arrived at through the analysis of a large data set drawn from a survey that studied Spanish manufacturing firms between 1994 and 2000, warned against the risks of treating organisational fields or industries as isolated from other higher order institutions – an approach that tends to present an incomplete picture.

The above are some examples of how the logics perspective can be used to analyse organisational response to institutional complexity “refracted through field-level structures and processes” (Greenwood et al. 2011, p.319). In all these pieces of research, focus is placed on comparing responses to institutional plurality coming from organisations in the same field. While it was useful in underscoring the importance of context, this field-focused, multi-organisation approach seemed to be quite far away from my own research problems, which dealt with how one single organisation responded to tensions in demands and expectations. I then turned my attention to a second, smaller set of empirical studies on contending logics focused on the intra-

organisation level and which in most cases had one single organisation as the object of their study:

Zilber (2002) depicts in her examination of a rape crisis centre a process of institutionalisation as an interaction between actors, actions, and meanings underlined by tensions between feminist and therapeutic logics. Orot, the centre whose activities she examined, was the first of its kind in Israel and was created as a feminist, non-profit and volunteer organisation at a time when therapeutic notions rooted in the Western world were already professionalised in Israeli society. Although Orot, as a non-governmental centre, had no affiliation to any helping profession and no obligation to report to any state agencies responsible for the regulation and evaluation of professional agencies, it did not escape the influence of the therapeutic profession, well established and highly regarded in Israeli society. The centre's history is presented within the paradigm of two institutional forces that controlled different aspects of its activities: feminism and a therapeutic worldview. At the time of Zilber's study, both institutional forces were evident in the centre. The feminist logic was apparent in goals and managerial practices, while the therapeutic logic shaped power structures and how the organisation presented itself to the world. The competition of these two logics over the agency's operations and resources eventually led to the deinstitutionalisation of feminism.

Battilana and Dorado's (2010) study of two microfinance organisations created to provide loans to the poor in Bolivia explores the viability of hybrid organisations that combine different institutional logics by creating a common organisational identity. The two sites of their research, BancoSol and Los Andes, had similar organisational structures with headquarters in the capital and local offices in regional centres. As pioneers of commercial microfinance, both organisations had to handle the combination of a banking logic based on maximising profit and a development logic based on poverty alleviation. In the absence of a script to manage a hybrid nature dictated by the coexistence of two opposed logics, the banks had to create their own organisational identity, which they did mainly through hiring practices. Los Andes adopted an apprenticeship approach that focused on training new hires, while BancoSol used an integration approach consisting on mixing organisational agents who carried different logics. Battilana and Dorado examined these different approaches through a comparative inductive study and concluded that, while the apprenticeship approach may reduce the influence of the institutional environment on

an organisation, the integration approach is more effective in developing an organisational identity that can successfully combine contending logics.

Hallet (2010) carried out a two-year ethnography of an Midwest City elementary school where classroom practices are coupled with a logic of accountability. The latter had gained prominence in Midwest City in the 1990s where new testing standards were implemented in an effort to improve low test scores. Rigid benchmarks for student promotion were implemented and the mayor introduced the business model of accountability in the school by appointing a CEO with a background in finance instead of education. Up until that point, teachers had developed their own routines, which resulted in a great deal of variety in teaching methods, but the newly appointed CEO felt that a more unified focused instruction was needed to improve classroom management and, in order to ensure that the new measures anchored on a logic of accountability were implemented, classes would often be surveyed to the detriment of teacher autonomy. Over time, this situation would result in unrest within the school that teachers qualified as “turmoil.” Hallett’s study, lends support to Meyer and Rowan’s (1977) claim that a tight coupling between organisational structures (conceived as myth and ceremony) and daily working practices is likely to cause conflict inside organisations.

As mentioned above, it was the focus on duality reflected in these case studies outlined in the previous section which drew me to the institutional logics perspective as I became acquainted with the circumstances underpinning Scottish Screen’s inception. However, as my field work progressed, these same issues of resistance and duality made me doubt about the suitability of the logics perspective as the most appropriate to examine some of my research problems. Preliminary conversations with former staff members and a review of organisational documents indicated that during Scottish Screen’s early years there was a moderation of the intended commercial remit behind the agency’s establishment. However, that resistance to fully embrace a commercial logic common to all senior staff members did not translate into lack of organisational conflict in terms of views and decision-making. The logics perspective did not account for a nuanced analysis of this “unilogic” conflict within organisations and so it presented limitations to examine research problems related to contention which may, or may not, stem from the plurality of logics.

A recent review of the logic perspective carried out by Greenwood et al. (2011) concludes that given the insights drawn from logics-based empirical research ranging from the 1990s until



the present decade, research into responses to institutional complexity needs to be “more explicit about both the degree *and* the sources of incompatibility” (p.333). Understanding sources of incompatibility within organisations (as opposed to across organisational fields) by examining contention related to decision-making at Scottish Screen is a key goal of my research study.

During my data gathering process, very often when organisational actors defended their own opinions and decisions (or when they criticised those of others) they invoked disparate concepts of what was just or coherent. These disparate views were often the cause of contention or resistance throughout the agency’s history, but such contention or resistance would sometimes unravel in situations or groups guided by one single logic. This observation prompted questions about compatibility, such as “How do people reach agreement in organisations?”, “How does one person or group justify their position so that it is accepted by others?”, “On what basis do people reconcile disparate views?”

Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot examine sources of agreement and disagreement not confined to any particular sphere or logic in *On Justification: Economies of Worth* (2006; first published in French in 1987 and re-edited in a revised version in 1991). They suggest that justifications which can be invoked by anyone in order to criticise or reach agreement rest on six worlds of reference corresponding to six polities or higher common principles which co-exist in contemporary social settings. These forms of generality (which I outline below) are “not attached to collectivities but to situations” (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p.16) and actors involved in a situation can, and often do, shift from one form of measure of worth to another (p.16) in the course of critiques and justifications. This emphasis on agents’ plasticity allows for an analysis of compatibility and conflict not limited to the contention of logics, and it is particularly well suited to follow interactions in professional organisations where, because of their pluralistic nature, people often compete to legitimatise their views. In the following section I outline the construction process and main features of Boltanski and Thévenot’s framework, as well as its application to empirical research.

### **Boltanski and Thévenot’s Theory of Justification**

The programme of a *pragmatic sociology of critique* was developed in the 1980s by a group of French sociologists, the Groupe of Sociologie Pragmatique et Morale, at the École des Hautes

Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. These scholars, some of whom had up to that point worked in the framework of the critical sociology developed by Pierre Bourdieu in the 1970s, attempted to address the question of critique from an angle that would allow them to strengthen the grip on empirical sociology (Boltanski 2011, p.23). Among this group are Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot, who in *On Justification: Economies of Worth* developed a system of evaluation which highlights the importance of making explicit the positions from which critiques are issued: in order to understand how organisational arrangements persist, researchers must analyse social settings through the representations given by the agents involved. Scholars of the empirical sociology of critique see social actors as active and critical individuals who

“produce evidence in support of their complaints or construct arguments to justify themselves in the face of the critiques to which they were themselves subjected. Envisaged thus, the social world does not appear to be the site of domination endured passively and unconsciously, but instead as a space shot through by a multiplicity of disputes, critiques, disagreements and attempts to re-establish locally agreements that are always fragile.” (Boltanski 2011, p.27).

This approach to social domination, less reliant on dispositional properties and with a much greater focus on individual agency, is the main element setting the pragmatic sociology of critique apart from Bourdieu’s critical sociology. However, as Boltanski (2011) notes, this approach to empirical research risked lacking coherence unless it was accompanied by a readjusted theoretical paradigm, and the theoretical work he developed along with Laurent Thévenot to frame the activity of actors during disputes placed great emphasis on the concept of justice. In *On Justification* (2006), Boltanski and Thévenot identify and describe a framework used by social actors to critique or to justify their behaviour in the face of critique: when trying to make their point of view prevail, actors invoke principles of equivalence that allow them to assess the relative value of the beings engaged in the dispute, or, to use the authors’ vocabulary, their *worth*.

Boltanski and Thévenot’s field research led to the identification of six principles of worth operating in different kinds of everyday life social interactions. By undertaking theoretical work in synergy with empirical research, the authors formalised these principles with reference to

classical constructions of political philosophy (Boltanski 2011, p.27) and each of them is based on a form of common good referred to as a *polity* (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p.15). These various principles of worth rest on a common structure which permits the reduction of tensions between two recurrent constraints in everyday situations: the constraint of equality (all men are equal in principle by virtue of belonging to a common humanity) and the constraint of order (which surfaces in situations where humans find themselves in hierarchical or asymmetrical positions). Reducing the tension between these two basic constraints which pervade most human interactions requires adding some constraints to the framework. Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) added four axioms to the *principle of a common humanity* and the *principle of differentiation*: *common dignity*, the *ordering of worth*, the *investment formula*, and the *common good* (pp. 74-79). These six constraints shed light on the constitutive elements of the a polity but also on the problems it confronts, the main one being that it tries to combine two antagonistic imperatives: the imperative of common humanity positing an identity shared by all people and the imperative of an order that governs this humanity.

The first axiom, the principle of a *common humanity*, entails a form of basic equivalence among all persons and rejects (on the basis of their inability to legitimately justify themselves) political constructs that include subhumans or slaves (Boltanski and Thévenot, pp.74, 80). The second axiom, the *principle of differentiation* (p.74) assumes at least two possible states of worth for the members of a polity and the necessity to establish under what conditions the members of the polity can access those various states. In order to coordinate and justify actions, an *order* of ranks among states is necessary (p.75), but this ranking causes tensions with respect to the principle of common humanity to the point that, when actors are denied their right to access all the states, there exists a risk of the order coming apart. In order to explain why all members of the different polities are not in the highest state of worth despite having access to it by virtue of their common humanity, the fifth axiom, an *investment formula* (p.76) comes into play. The investment formula posits that the benefits of a higher state are subjected to a cost or a sacrifice that is necessary to access that state. This sacrifice might diminish or eliminate the tension between a common humanity and a ranking of states, but it does not ensure a solid and generally accepted agreement, as people in the lower state tend to challenge the cost that the access to the higher states entails. Thus, the investment formula might lack solidity unless it is supported by the sixth axiom: the principle of the *common good* (p.76). This supplementary and overarching

principle brings the various states together by positing that happiness, which increases as people advance towards the higher states, benefits the polity as a whole. The common good is thus opposed to the individual good, which has to be sacrificed to some extent in order to reach a higher state of worth. Only by adding this supporting axiom to the rank ordering of states can one speak of a true order of worth.

Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) choice of the canonical texts which would bring to light the core of the higher common principles is based on a set of clearly defined criteria. They chose the earliest text (or one of the earliest) containing a systematic exposition of the polity. What they mean by 'systematic' is that the exposition can be compared to that of a grammar: a formulation applicable to everybody in every situation. Unlike critical texts seeking to deconstruct a political order by denouncing the false worth on which it rests, the canonical texts used by Boltanski and Thévenot base worth on a principle of economy by which access to the state of worthiness is balanced against sacrifice for the common good (p.72).

The texts are explicitly political, as they articulate the principles of justice governing a polity and present a harmonious order with its corresponding economy of worth. In order to illustrate this point, the authors explain why they choose St. Augustine's work to construct inspired worth as opposed to other mystics whose experiences of inspiration, unlike St. Augustine's, are not linked to the construction of a polity (p.72). Since they seek to establish a natural order in which situations are stabilised by recourse to a higher common principle, the texts must have a practical component. Instead of describing a utopian state, they are written for the use of those in power: they are at once practical guides and treatises on political and moral philosophy directed at the establishment of the common good (p.73).

Lastly, the authors gave priority to works that are widely known and have been utilised to establish widely accepted equivalences. Rousseau's *Social Contract*, for instance, is used to justify juridical constructs under the French Revolution. This final criterion, which takes us to the notion of *situated judgement* outlined in the next section, is necessary to clarify the link between the canonical texts' general depiction of worth and the arguments in which people engage when they *situate* themselves with respect to one form or worth in everyday situations (p.74).

### ***Situated Judgement***

Since political philosophies remain at the level of principles, they shed no light on the conditions

under which an actual agreement is reached; they do not explain how states of worth are assessed or attributed to particular persons. Once they established the constraints under which the principles of justice are built, Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) examine the conditions under which those principles are applied by focusing on the shift from legitimate argumentation to actions coordinated in practice. Their decision to address in the first place the assessment of persons and an order of states among which people can be distributed is in line with their project's underlying goal to extend from political philosophies to the social sciences (p.127).

In *On Justification*, Boltanski and Thévenot argue that the requirement of a common dignity (see axiom 3 above) makes it impossible to definitively attribute a state of worth to persons on the basis of personal characteristics. The basic property of the polity model decrees that all members have the capacity to accede to all states, which introduces a degree of uncertainty in the assessment of worth and makes this assessment the focus of contention whenever a dispute arises. In order to examine how judgements and justifications are tested and to present a theory that accounts for specific circumstances, the authors turn their attention to cases that involve the combination of humans and objects in a given action (p.131). Ruling out private arrangements on the grounds that they avoid recourse to a principle of justice and thus do not really resolve the issue, they focus on trials in which the people involved, in order to reach an agreement, have to both acknowledge and rise above the contingencies to evaluate the relevance of the beings involved in relation to a single general principle of equivalence. But coherence goes beyond rhetoric and does not rely on language alone. A test of worth must not be confused with a theoretical debate. Worth is “the way in which one expresses, embodies, understands, or represents other people” (Boltanski and Thévenot 1006, p.132), and a test of worth engages people in a world of objects without which the dispute lacks the material means to be resolved by testing. It is the presence of things that allows people to move from the particular to the general by comparing the singular situation in which they are engaged with other situations.

A challenge to a situation that calls for a test emerges when discord between the worth of the persons and objects involved become apparent in the form of *deficiency* (Boltanski andThevenot 2006, p.134). For instance, in the industrial world, guided by the higher principle of efficiency, a machine breaking down or an employee being late are examples of deficiency. In the domestic world, where primary importance is given to manners and habits anchored tradition and personal relations, a deficiency can appear in the form of somebody attending a traditional wedding

wearing blue jeans. A contentious process then develops around the exposure of a lack of worth, around some lack of justness in an arrangement. Both people and objects can fail: people fail when they do not rise to the occasion, when they fall short of carrying out the sacrifice required by their presupposed state of worthiness. Objects may also fail when they do not fulfil the role required of them in a given situation (i.e. the above mentioned machine that fails to fulfil its purpose).

A contention prompted by the failure of persons and/or objects leads to a decision: sometimes the worth of the beings found deficient is diminished and they are excluded from the situation. However, if the observation of their deficiency is not considered conclusive, beings may be given another opportunity to prove themselves. A very common line of argument that often leads to an observation of deficiency being deemed inconclusive is the claim that the contingencies involved in the situation are purely accidental (for instance, an illness). This argument leads to a new test that, since it accounts for the accidental contingencies, is considered purer than the previous one (pp. 135-136). The function of every test, then, is to purge ambiguities, resolve disagreements and purify the situation by establishing a new just distribution of the persons and objects to which worth has been ascribed. However, the purity of any situation is maintained only as long as participants in the test are able to remain in a single world and keep recourse to alternative worlds of worth at bay, and it is important to note that no situation, no matter how pure, can permanently eliminate the existence of potential contingencies gravitating around an established order. In other words, any given situation can eventually break down and prompt the participants to carry out a new test. Thus, since contingencies, or what Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) call “the noise of the world” (p.135) are what keep the world in motion, they can be absorbed and silenced by a test only temporarily. This endless chain of disruption means that each particular world, which when taken in itself is complete and self-sufficient, allows for the possibilities of other worlds. An Eden-like universe reduced to a common world free of contingencies would be a universe of definite worths in which tests would be unnecessary.

### ***Analysing and Reporting within a Common Framework***

In *On Justification* (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006), a comparison between a test of worth and a court trial is offered to help clarify the way in which a higher common principle, in order to be implemented, must involve both persons and objects in their state of worthiness (p.139). This

comparison stresses the importance of the relation between the establishing facts involving humans and recording those facts in a coherent report in which beings are qualified and their relationships with one another are established. In a report, like in a court trial, things and facts can be manipulated during a test and their involvement in the situation may be questioned in a reconstitution of the facts. In short, they are at once objective and capable of being developed in a narrative.

Even though, as stated earlier, the outcome of a test cannot be established by recourse to rhetoric and language alone, reporting activities attached to tests mean that the latter are subjected to the same grammar-like rules that allow and constrain the elaboration of a coherent argument. The order of a given world can be described in reports (with the limitations that reporting implies) via several categories that define subjects (the list of subjects), objects (the list of objects and arrangements), qualifiers (state of worthiness), and relations (natural relations among beings). Boltanski and Thévenot (2006, pp.140-144) use these categories to construct the following analytical framework, which differentiates between circumstantial actions and actions that bring beings into mutual engagement on the basis on a higher common principle.

*Higher common principle.* The higher common principle of a polity is a convention that generalises a form of association and thus makes it possible to establish equivalence among beings. Via this convention, the importance of beings is qualified and their value can be determined beyond contingencies. In terms of the higher common principle we can – within one single world – contrast the importance of two beings: we can say, for example, that in the market world, object A has more value, matters more, than object B.

*State of worthiness.* The definition of the several states of worth is highly dependent on how the state or worthiness is characterised. The state of deficiency can be defined either negatively, as lacking the quality of worthiness, or by the observation that the unworthy are reduced to enjoying only self-satisfaction. Worthy beings, on the contrary, by virtue of their high level of generality, serve as gatekeepers of the higher common principle and as reference points by which importance is evaluated. The deficient might feel tempted to cast doubt upon the superiority of the worthy, but this temptation is tempered by the inevitable anxiety the unworthy experience about contributing to the collapse of the principle from which they derive their own share of worth.

*Human dignity.* In the system of legitimate orders of worth identified in *On*

*Justification.* people share in a humanity expressed in a common capacity to rise to occasion for the sake of the common good. The specific characteristics of human dignity in each polity must be anchored in a specific human aptitude, and thus in each polity there is a focus on some particular faculty (memory, habit, emotion, etc.) that persons can transform into a capability that allows them to reach agreements with others.

*List of subjects.* A list of subjects can be established for each world in terms of their state of worth: unworthy beings or worthy beings.

*List of objects and arrangements.* When objects or their arrangement are combined with subjects in coherent situation, they help to assess the worth of the persons involved, and the greater the possibility of implementing mechanisms of worth in one particular world, the easier it is to establish people's worth.

*Investment formula.* As per the third axiom underlying the polity model outlined earlier, an investment formula is necessary for a polity's equilibrium. This formula constitutes an economy of worth by linking access to the state of worthiness to a sacrifice, so that the benefits enjoyed by the worthy are balanced by a degree of renunciation of self-satisfaction.

*Relation of worth.* The relation of worth specifies how the state of worthiness contributes to the common good by absorbing the state of deficiency; in other words, it spells out the relation of order among states of worth. For example, delegation, membership or representation constitute relations of worth in the civic world, anchored in the higher common principle of inclusion. People granted with the power of representation are worthy because they encompass others who, in turn, acquire worth by breaking out of their isolation and becoming part of a group.

*Natural relations among beings.* These relations, expressed in reports by the use of verbs, must be in accord with the worth of the beings they link, on the basis of the relations of equivalence established by the polity. Using again the same example of the civil world which illustrates the concept of *relations of worth* in the previous paragraph, some of the verbs that express the principal mode of relation in the civic world are *unify*, *assemble*, *mobilised*, or *include*.

*Harmonious figures of the natural order.* The relation of equivalence can only be revealed by a distribution of states of worth that is harmony with the investment formula.



In each world, it is possible to identify “reality” itself as the dominant figure of the common principle. For example, in the world of fame, dominated by the opinions of others, one can argue that an opinion also a reality.

*Model tests.* A model is a peak moment in a situation entailing a consistent arrangement of beings belonging to the same world. For instance, a traditional wedding is a test of domestic worth (grounded in the principle of tradition).

*Mode of expression of judgement.* The judgement ratifying a test is expressed in different ways in the different worlds. The form in which the higher principle is manifested in each world, dictates the form in which the judgement is expressed.

*Form of evidence.* Evidence must be presented in a form appropriate to the world in question.

*State of deficiency and decline of the polity.* States of deficiency, characterised by self-satisfaction, are often more difficult to qualify than states of worthiness, either because on the brink of chaos qualification is no longer possible, or because a designation of deficiency reveals a different type of worth that, having been denounced, has also been diminished.

Coming to a justifiable agreement entails not only devising a framework – such as the one depicted above – which will guide and constrain the agreement-reaching process, but also presupposes that people have the necessary capacities to function within those constraints. Boltanski and Thévenot’s (2006) project accounts for people’s awareness of their own behaviour and the possibilities to justify it. Thus the authors respect a distinguishing feature of human beings: moral sense (p.144). This attribute, when taken in the context of the order characteristic of a particular polity, entails the combination of two axioms underlying the polity: the requirement of a common humanity and the requirement of a general principle of order governing possible associations. But when the polity is extended into one of the worlds outlined in the next section, people must, in order to judge justly, be able to adjust to each situation they engage in by bringing into play the relevant principle of justice.

### ***The Six Worlds of Worth***

Using the framework presented above, Boltanski and Thévenot studied the implementation of the higher common principles in everyday situations. As their source texts, they used contemporary

manuals intended for instructional and which describe typical scenarios. In order to counteract the idea that each order of worth has its own separate space, one of the conditions imposed in the source texts was that all six manuals must be applicable to a common space: the professional organisation. The other condition was that each text had to depict the relevant polity “in the purest way possible” (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p.151). Using only terms and formulations that appear in each of the selected manuals, the authors constructed six representative samples in which each of the polities are realised. The samples are constructed following a single model based on the categories presented above (higher common principle, subjects, objects, etc), which allows a systematic comparison of and shifts between the different worlds.

In the following paragraphs I present an overview of the each world and its higher common principle. This overview is complemented with Table 1, which contains a list of categories used to describe the application of the higher common principles in everyday situations.

*The Inspired World.* Inspiration, a spontaneous inner state, is the higher common principle in the inspired world. Visionaries and artists are some of the beings that inhabit this world which relishes the imaginary and the unexpected. People in this world are moved by the desire to create and the necessary sacrifice to acquire worth is escaping from habits and accepting risks.

*The Domestic World.* Engenderment according to tradition is the higher common principle in the domestic world, where worth is acquired through personal relationships, but not only those unfolding within families. Rather, worth in the domestic world is “a function of the position one occupies in chains of personal dependence” (p. 165). Respect of tradition and hierarchy are the central values of this world in which beings achieve superiority through the judgement of a superior.

*The World of Fame.* In the world of fame, worth comes exclusively from the opinion of others, which is the higher common principle. “Persons are relevant inasmuch as they form a public whose opinion prevails” (p. 179). People in a state of worthiness in the world of fame are driven by self-love and a desire to be recognised and respected. When thinking in terms of organisations, it is this craving for respect that “the staff... likes to be made aware of the role it plays. In the same way, questioned by someone from outside his own company..., the participant wants to be able to explain what his own role is, and to be respected everywhere, since part of the reputation of the company for which he works

reflects back on him.” (p. 179).

*The Civic World.* The main feature of the civic world is that “it attaches primordial importance to beings that are not persons” (p. 185) and its higher common principle is the pre-eminence of the collective. Human rights, participation, legislation, the State, and democratic institutions are celebrated because of their role in fostering social cohesion. The goal of all arrangements in the civic world is to stabilize the collective and protect it against individual interests.

*The Market World.* The market world, underlined by the higher common principle of competition, is not a mere sphere of economic relations. Boltanski and Thévenot argue that “economic actions are based on at least two main forms of coordination, one by the marketplace, the other by an industrial order, and that each has its own way of setting up a reality test” (p. 194). In the market world, where the desire of individuals to possess objects motivates actions and affects prices, the search for wealth, interest, ambition, and freedoms are considered positive values in that they stimulate innovation.

*The Industrial World.* Efficiency is the higher common principle in the industrial world. The ordering of beings is based on their efficiency “their performance, their productivity, and their capacity to ensure normal operations and to respond usefully to needs” (p. 204). However, the authors warn against the assumption that this world is delimited by the boundaries of industry alone. It is the world of all beings giving priority to notions of efficiency, organisation, and progress. It is the world of engineers and specialists whose objective is optimised performance and for whom notions of expertise, usefulness and evaluation are central. In the industrial world, beings show their worthiness by “their capacity to integrate themselves into the machinery, the cogwheels of an organisation, along with their predictability, their reliability, and it guarantees realistic projects in the future” (p. 205).

**TABLE 1**  
**The Six Worlds of Worth**

	<b>Inspired World</b>	<b>Domestic World</b>	<b>World of Fame</b>	<b>Civic World</b>	<b>Market World</b>	<b>Industrial World</b>
<b>Higher common principle</b>	Inspiration	Tradition	The reality of public opinion	The pre-eminence of collectives	Competition	Efficiency, performance

<b>State of worthiness</b>	Inexpressible and ethereal	Hierarchical superiority, wise, discreet	Reputed, recognized, visible	Rule governed, official	Desirable, salable	Efficient, functional, reliable
<b>Dignity</b>	The anxiety of creation	The poise of habit	The desire to be recognised	Aspiration to civil rights, participation	Interest, desire	Work
<b>Subjects</b>	Visionaries, artists	Superiors and inferiors	Stars, journalists, PR agents	Public collectivities, office, federation, member	Competitors, client, businessman	Professionals, experts, specialists
<b>Objects</b>	Mind, body, unconscious	Etiquette, good manners, rank	Brand, message, press, interview, campaign	Legal forms, measure, policy, statement	Wealth, luxury	Means, resource, task, direction
<b>Investment</b>	Escape from habit, risk	Rejection of selfishness, consideration	Giving up privacy and secrets, reveal	Renunciation of the particular, solidarity	Opportunism, attention to others	Progress, dynamic
<b>Relation of worth</b>	The universal value of uniqueness	Respect and responsibility	Being recognised and identifying	Relation of delegation	Possess	Control
<b>Relationships</b>	Create, discover, quest	Reproduce, recommend, thank, respect	Persuade, influence, convince, attract, promote	Unify, mobilize, assemble, debate	Interest, buy, sell, negotiate	Function, put to work, organise, control, standardise
<b>Figures</b>	Imaginary, Unconscious	Household, customs, conventions	Audience, target, positioning	The democratic republic	Business	Organisation, system
<b>Test</b>	Vagabondage of the mind	Family ceremonies, conversation, nomination	Presentation of the event	Demonstration for a just cause	Market	Trial, launching
<b>Judgement</b>	The stroke of genius	Knowing how to bestow trust	The judgement of public opinion	The verdict of the vote	Price	Effective
<b>Evidence</b>	The certainty of intuition	The exemplary anecdote	The evidence of success, known	The legal text	Money	Measure
<b>The fall</b>	The	Lack of	Indifference	Division	Enslavement	Instrumental

temptation to come down to earth	inhibition	and banality	to money	action
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Disagreements can be more easily solved within the same common world, where people share the same worth. But agreements are more difficult to reach when people invoke different orders of worth to justify themselves. The common worlds address typical criticisms to one another. For example, the domestic world criticises the poor quality of standardised products in the industrial world, and the latter denounces local privileges in the former. Situations in which a form of injustice is voiced call for a test that can lead to a clash or a compromise, as explained in the following section.

### ***Worlds in Conflict: Tests and Compromises***

In order to establish how relations among the six worlds of worth unfold and what happens when people and things belonging to different worlds converge in a test, it is necessary to observe situations of discord and a potential return to agreement that Boltanski and Thévenot call compromise (p.277). Controversy is more easily resolved when it arises within the limits of one single order of worth inhabited by social beings who share a common logic. However, permanently attaching the various worlds and their corresponding worth to different persons would go against the principles on which the polity is based. Moreover, the authors claim that one of the key observations in their undertaking is that humans can inhabit different worlds and, in order to function in society, they must be able to adjust on a regular basis to situations stemming from different forms of generality (p.234). It is the existence of a varying degree of uncertainty about people's actions that accounts for the fact that tests arising in situations which include people and things belonging to different worlds are not fatally doomed to remain unresolved.

While the coexistence of elements of a different nature is possible in a test – and it is on this possibility of taking recourse to other worlds that critique often relies – incongruous setups can create a great deal of anxiety or discomfort among participants. In order to avoid incongruity and the clashes that might follow, it is important for actors to set up situations that hold together, that

is, scenes that when confronted with a test are coherent in one world. But in some instances participants might decide to suspend a clash without recourse to a test. In other words, they might opt for a compromise reaching for a common good that transcends different forms of worth (Boltanski 2006, p.278). When this happens, the situation remains composite but a dispute is avoided. However, since the social beings brought together into the compromise continue to belong to their different worlds, some compromises may not be logically justifiable. One way of strengthening fragile compromises is by using composite objects or concepts made of elements that belong to different worlds of worth and providing them with a new identity and function. This makes the compromise (now resting on a seemingly indivisible object or concept) more resistant to accusations of incongruity. If successful, compromises seem to show that it is possible to reconcile judgements based on objects stemming from different worlds in pursuit of some purpose that transcends them. Boltanski and Thévenot (2006, p. 279) offer the phrase “worker’s rights) as an example of a compromise whose two components (industrial [worker] and civic [rights]) have successfully blended and sometimes are even hard to dissociate.

### ***Empirical Research***

In parallel with getting acquainted with the framework developed by Boltanski and Thévenot, I reviewed empirical work that had used it in order to gauge its suitability for my own research. The framework has been used mostly in Europe in research studies of organisational settings as diverse as committees in charge of allocating public goods (Lafaye, 1990), health centres (Dodier, 1993), banks (de Blic, 2000), the media (Lemieux, 2000), energy providers (Patriotta, Gond, and Schultz, 2011), and auditing firms (Ramirez, 2013). All of these works have in common a qualitative approach to methodology and a strong reliance on in-depth interviews and organisational documents as data sources. Individuals’ accounts and the issue of justification are key elements in these studies which have used Boltanski and Thévenot’s (2006) framework to analyse organisational response to institutional plurality.

Lafaye (1990) analysed everyday tensions within a middle-sized local council and, using the analytical framework outlined in *On Justification*, attempted to show the influential role of the question on justice in staff decisions and actions. Lafaye’s undertook an ethnographic survey of the council’s various departments and analysed specific examples taken from their everyday activities to explain how people confronted with criticism justified their actions and how they

coped with restraints resulting from those actions.

Dodier (1993) also drew on data from an ethnographic survey, this time about the medical profession, to show that physicians' judgements, the different ways in which they build their opinions and make decisions, entail different conceptions of what is an individual. Dodier brings to the fore both the cognitive and moral dimensions of the medical profession through the physicians' responses to questions about the patients' singularity, the nature of their complaints, and the scope of their decision-making autonomy. His research sheds some light on issues of judgement and its potential arbitrariness depending on the nature of each individual case.

De Blic (2000) investigated the reasons behind the French public's relative passivity in the face of the Credit Lyonnais scandal (often described in France as the financial scandal of the century), which involved, among others, French MPs, Swiss judges, and big Hollywood studios. The official announcement of the bank's massive losses in 1994 was followed by numerous articles, official reports, and even a novel. However, this abundant production of written material about the establishment's trajectory and the eventual crisis, failed to prompt a widely expected strong public reaction. This weak response, De Blic explains, was partly caused by constraints faced by the informers due to the government's strong focus on the purely financial aspects of the crisis in order to deflect its political component and prevent an emotional involvement of the general public.

After compiling data from different media companies for several years, Lemieux (2000) used a great variety of specific cases to depict a series of complaints directed at journalists by the public or by other professionals of the fields. The analysis of these critiques and the reasons that prompted them allowed Lemieux to identify the tacit rules (often transgressed) underpinning journalists' judgements and actions. Lemieux stresses that it is not his intention to offer a new critical discourse about the media, but to explore the resources that individuals from outside the field have at their disposal to critique the improprieties of the journalistic profession. He seeks to answer questions about the ease with which journalists can sometimes resort to relativism in the face of criticism and explicitly states his intention to give those who wish to critique the media necessary tools to do so more effectively through an exposure of journalistic practices, representations and values.

Patriotta, Gond and Schultz (2011) create a framework which links the notions of justification, institutional work and sensemaking and they use it to analyse controversy about

safety following a nuclear accident. Following their case study findings, the authors conclude that different stakeholders mobilize different orders of worth in their communication activities. These orders of worth are present in rationalised myths through which agents interpret events and justify their positions with regards to the controversy surrounding the accident.

Ramirez (2013) examines the operations of a monitoring unit set by the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales in order to comply with European company legislation. The study draws on the framework developed by Boltanski and Thévenot (2006), and particularly on their concept of *test*, to analyse reforms that were perceived as challenging new situations by chartered accountants.

The above works focus on different aspects of Boltanski and Thévenot's theory of justification depending on the phenomenon under study. Lafaye's work, for example, has a strong focus on critiques of domestic worth (based on tradition and personal relationships) as an impediment for dynamic and efficient decision making. De Blic's research, on the other hand, draws on the notion of civic worth (concerned with collective good) to explore the public reaction to a great financial scandal. Ramirez's study, rather than focusing on one particular order of worth, places great emphasis on the concepts of *tests* and *objects* as presented by Boltanski and Thévenot and their importance in making things visible during monitoring processes. Regardless of whatever aspects of Boltanski and Thévenot's theory of justification these works draw upon, they all show a similar approach to data analysis. Extensive quotes extracted from individuals' discourses and analysed in order to identify the mobilisation of competing orders of worth to criticise, justify or put an end to a contention. The actors depicted in these pieces – unlike those featuring in the critical sociology of domination literature – are active, critical, and “produce evidence in support of their complaints or construct arguments to justify themselves in the face of the critiques to which they are themselves subjected. (Boltanski 2011, p.27). Similarly, my own research uses oral and written discourses related to the remit and actions of the former Scottish national screen agency to identify the orders of worth to which actors resort during critiques, disputes and attempts to maintain organisational stability when confronted with close monitoring and criticism.

## **Conclusion**

I have outlined the two theoretical perspectives which I bring to bear upon my data in order to



analyse the management of cultural and industrial demands on a national film agency as reflected in reports and agent's individual accounts. Coexisting or alternating dominant logics, with the constraints they might entail (Friedland and Alford, 1991), are the backdrop against which I analyse how actors draw upon different worlds of worth during negotiations. Moving away from perspectives that ascribe orders of worth to particular social spheres (Walzer, 1983) Boltanski and Thévenot suggest that actors can, in any situation, invoke different worlds of worth in order to criticise, justify or reach an agreement. My research examines this proposition within a single space (that of a national film agency) and among a particular set of persons (the agency's employees and stakeholders). Examining agent's decisions and justifications through the orders of worth lens while taking into account the institutional logics from which demands made on the agency stemmed provides a comprehensive framework for analysing organisational response to institutional plurality. Contrary to most research which has used the logics perspective, my focus is not on the organisational field, but on how the question of pluralism is managed within the organisation.

## Chapter 3. Methodology

This chapter is concerned with the methods employed to investigate my research questions, which I restate below. I outline the main characteristics of the constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology guiding my methodology choices. This is followed by a description of my chosen research strategy - a qualitative research study - and its suitability for my project. I then dedicate a section to ethical concerns and procedures before providing details of my data collection and analysis methods.

### Research questions

I approached the study with questions about possible conflicting demands on Scottish Screen, whose main task was to distribute public funds to promote screen activity in Scotland. These questions were:

Are there perceived tensions between the commercial and artistic demands on the role of a national film agency and, if so, how are these handled?

What was the Scottish national film agency's response to such demands as reflected in agents' accounts and allocation of funds to film projects?

As noted in the introduction, the formulation of these initial questions was followed by a thorough review of institutional logics literature and the analytical framework developed by Boltanski and Thévenot in *On Justification*. This literature review was done in parallel with a preliminary examination of available data and conversations with some of the agency's members of staff and stakeholders. While the institutional logics perspective was helpful in terms of identifying contending imperatives within the agency, it proved less useful as a tool to analyse some of the nuances contained in organisational agents accounts (and to a lesser extent in organisational documents) which seemed to contradict the suggestion that organisational conflict is assuaged when a logic gains dominance over another (Glynn, 2008; Zilber, 2002) or by hiring personnel who carry the same logic (Battilana and Dorado, 2010). To the contrary, accounts and decisions by members of staff who all favoured a predominance of cultural and creative elements

in their approach to film financing and shared a common resistance to the commercial imperatives underpinning the creation of Scottish Screen frequently contained conflicting elements. These elements often came up in the form of justifications and criticisms of other people's decisions or justifications. In terms of analytical framework choice, this translated into a stronger focus on Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) concept of *economies of worth*, which, as explained in the Literature Review chapter, provided me with a tool to examine organisational conflict and responses which often overrode the cultural/commercial logic divide. From that point onwards, my research project was strongly linked to actors' justifications, criticisms, and compromises during on-going negotiation processes, thus veering away from merely establishing outcomes of "battles" between duelling logics and seeking instead to facilitate an understanding of how those actors manage demands stemming from institutional pluralism. Accordingly, my research questions were rephrased as follows:

How did decision makers handle the various and often conflicting demands made on a national screen agency charged with distributing public funds?

How did organisational agents justify or criticise decisions in oral and written accounts?

And as the study progressed and I refined my theoretical framework, these questions were put at the service of the central one:

'What orders of worth prevailed in Scottish Screen's remit and practices throughout its 13-year-old history?

Some of the words and phrases in my research questions "perceived", "reflected on accounts" indicate that study does not aspire to get at some 'objective truth.' Instead, it seeks to explore the above research problems while accounting for the interplay of multiple voices and for the impact of context on the situation under study. When analysing organisational practices based on actors' articulated perceptions and experiences, researchers face some initial key questions concerning the ontological and epistemological status of those practices, and whether the structures that sustain them are objectively real or whether they are built through interaction. Since the researcher's standpoint on this issue will be a foundation that ensures coherence and consistency throughout the research process, in the following sections I outline the philosophical insights that drive and constrain my research before detailing my research strategy and specific data

collection and analysis methods.

### **Ontological Considerations**

Ontologies are “theories, beliefs, and assumptions about the nature and relations of existence. They are commonly referred to as ‘theories of being’” (Pascale 2011: 28). Ontological questions are concerned with the nature of reality, and the central question of ontology is whether social phenomena should be considered external, objective entities beyond our influence and independent of social actors – a position commonly known as *objectivism* – or whether they should be considered social constructions resulting from the actions and perceptions of social actors – this is the view held by *constructivism* (Bryman and Bell, 2007). The answer to this question will greatly impact the research process and the methods employed in it.

Constructivism is the ontology guiding my methodology and research methods. In contrast to objectivism, constructivism asserts that actors have a role in fashioning social entities. The latter, instead of being considered external realities that act on people, are viewed as emergent realities constantly being constructed and reconstructed (Becker, 1982). Becker, along with other constructivists (e.g. Strauss et al, 1973) admits that this position must not be taken to the extreme and admits that social entities have a reality preceding people’s actions and shaping their perspectives, but this reality is in a constant process of revision and change (p.521). Furthermore, the categories that people create in this process of construction and reconstruction are also social products, i.e., they do not have independent essences. Their meaning is negotiated and constructed during interaction and, as such, constructivism places much importance on language (Bryman and Bell 2007, p.23).

As far as organisations are concerned, and in line with what has been outlined above, constructivism argues that organisational order is negotiated and worked at, instead of taking the stance that it is pre-existing and independent of actors (Strauss et al. 1973, p.308). Social actors look at rules not so much as strictly imposed, but as general understandings, and at social order as an outcome of agreed upon patterns of action. Constructivism acknowledges the formal properties of organisation and their constraining effects on agents (Strauss et al. 1973), but there is a stress on the active role of individuals in the construction of organisational reality, which can be neglected by paying too much attention to organisations’ formal attributes. As my research questions suggest, organisational actors’ accounts, written and spoken, through official and

unofficial channels, are key to this research project. A significant amount of my data is made of such accounts. Participants in this study were invited to comment on statements and decisions they made as employees of the former national screen agency, since their views are fundamental in a study framed by a constructivist ontology which assumes no objective social reality. An epistemological stance coherent with this approach to research is outlined in the following section.

### **Epistemological Considerations**

The central debate of epistemology deals with how things are known in a discipline. An important question in this debate is whether or not the procedures and principles that apply to the study of the natural sciences can be used in the study of the social world (Bryman and Bell 2007, p.16). Since my research is focused on how situations are enacted and reported on by social agents and how decisions move from argumentation to action in organisational setting, I am distancing myself from approaches which consider the social sciences as an opening to an external objective world. In line with this study constructivist ontology and its emphasis on the dialectical relationship between social constructs and social actors, my epistemological choice is interpretivism, a position that puts human interactions and humans' experience of the world at the core of social research (Laing, 1967).

The importance granted to uniquely human characteristics sets interpretivism apart from epistemological stances which assert that social research methods can and should be labelled after those employed in the natural sciences. Such views are mainly linked to the epistemological position known as *positivism*. Bryman and Bell (2007), in their description of positivism, which addresses both the broad sense of the term and its application to the social sciences, bring attention to the fact that, despite the core elements of positivism varying between authors, all definitions of positivism imply a series of principles that distinguish it from other epistemological approaches: only phenomena experienced through our senses can produce knowledge; it favours experimentation and testing to prove or disprove hypotheses (deductivism), which in turn generate new theory by gathering facts to generate "laws" or principles (inductivism). Under this approach, research can and should be value free, i.e. objective. There is a difference between objective (scientific) and subjective (normative)

statements and only the former are considered to be the domain of scientists.

Another epistemological position which asserts the value of applying to social research the methods used in the natural sciences is *realism*. In contrast to positivists, realists accept theoretical propositions that might not be possible to confirm directly by the senses (Bhaskar, 1989), but realism shares with positivism the belief that there exists a reality external to the researcher that the latter can access by applying to social research the methods used in the natural sciences.

The principles held by both positivism and realism conflict with the constructionist ontology of my study, which is closer to another epistemological position more suited to management research: *interpretivism*. This term encompasses the views of those who do not consider the scientific model suitable for research in the social sciences, since the beings that inhabit the social world (people and institutions) are radically different from those studied by the natural sciences. This position argues that the examination of the social world requires a different research approach which will have at its centre the unique characteristics of humans and their interactions. Bryman and Bell (2007) cite as the main intellectual influences on advocates of interpretivism: *hermeneutics*, which in the social sciences deals with the theory of interpretation of human behaviour; Weber's (1864-1920) notion of *Verstehen*, which roughly translates as 'meaningful understanding'; *phenomenology*, which tries to answer questions about how humans make sense of the world and how philosophers or social scientists should leave out their own perceptions of the world and instead try to interpret the world through individuals' point of view; and *symbolic interactionism*, according to which humans act on the basis of the meaning they ascribe to things, and such meaning arises from social interaction (Blumer, 1969).

Lacking a single definition of social constructivism that would encompass all the works that fall under the social constructionist label, Gergen (1985) has identified four key assumptions that constitute the base of social constructionist work: a critical stance toward our taken-for-granted knowledge; historical cultural specificity; knowledge as sustained by social processes; and the strong link between knowledge and action. These four broad social constructionist principles constitute an adequate epistemological foundation for my research, which places great focus on language, context, and situated action. This social constructivist approach denies human knowledge as a direct perception of reality given that all forms of knowledge are influenced by historical and cultural specificity, and it considers the world and the people in it as the product of

social processes (Berger and Luckmann 1969; Burr, 2003). However, as Berger and Luckmann (1966) explain in his treatise *The Social Construction of Reality*, a major contribution to social constructivism (Burr, 2003), the constructs that result from these social processes come to be perceived as objective by social agents through a process of transmission and “are now experienced as possessing a reality of their own, a reality that confronts the individual as an external and coercive fact” (Berger and Luckmann, p.76). As part of the dialectic relationship that people have with humanly-produced institutional constructs which paradoxically they perceive as externally objective, there is a need to legitimise and justify their existence (Berger and Luckmann, p.79). It is this fundamental feature of social constructivism that makes it a suitable paradigm for my research project, whose main point of interest is the justifications that organisational actors bring to bear in support of their views, decisions, and critiques.

### **Research Design: Qualitative Case Study**

The importance accorded to historical and situational factors in the analysis of oral and written agent’s accounts in this thesis dictates to a great extent the most adequate research design to use: a case study framed by a qualitative research approach (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994).

Qualitative research is appropriate for my study because it uses an interpretive approach and uses social actors’ meanings to understand the phenomena it studies (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994: 2). In contrast to quantitative research, which codes, counts and relies heavily on statistical and mathematical knowledge in order to test general propositions using the hypothetical-deductive model, qualitative work takes an inductive approach to its subject matter, is highly descriptive and has a strong humanistic component. Its focus on processes, agent’s accounts, and situational details is consistent with my constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology, outlined above.

A choice of research design to frame data collection and analysis with a qualitative approach must aim at furthering the understanding of behaviour and its meaning in specific social contexts. Whichever research design we choose must be clear enough to the reader, and it must also be valid to investigate the research question(s). Among the various models frequently used by qualitative researchers, a case study design is particularly suited to my project, which entails the detailed analysis of a single organisation - one of the uses most commonly associated with case studies (Bryman and Bell, 2007: 62).

As Yin (2003) explains, a case study “is an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context” (p. 13). In other words, a case study strategy is suitable if the researcher wishes to account for contextual conditions. Yin (2003) warns about the fact that sometimes phenomenon and context are not clearly distinguishable and suggests reliance on multiple sources of data and previously developed theoretical propositions as a way of overcoming this obstacle (p. 14).

This study draws on three main sources of data (detailed further below) and, although I did not undertake the study with the intention of generating or testing theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Eisenhardt, 1989), my sampling was theoretically guided by the thesis proposed by Boltanski and Thévenot in *On Justification* (2006), outlined in the Literature Review chapter.

The fact that the agency stopped existing independently to become part of a new public body with a wider remit means that Scotland is the only country in Western Europe without a public agency dedicated solely to the screen industries, somehow making this a “deviant case” - a concept that has been proposed by some authors as a criterion to choose objects of analysis in case studies (e.g. Mason, 1996; Silverman, 1997). There were, however, some concerns raised in the case study literature about the most commonly identified shortcomings associated with this type of research inquiry and how these might affect my own study. According to Yin (2003), lack of rigour is the most pressing concern about case study research (p.10). In order to avoid this potential shortcoming, my data sample construction is guided by my theoretical framework and I use a systematic and coherent analytical system outlined further below.

A systematic analytical framework helps to avoid a second common concern over case studies pointed out by Yin: lack of evidence for generalisation (p.10). Yin is not alone in thinking that case studies can be generalisable, as long as the goal of the study is an analytical rather than a statistical generalisation; Haunschild and Eikoff (2009) also defend the generalisability of case study results by referring back to Yin’s (2003) assertion that case studies can go beyond answering *what* questions and actually deal with generalisable *hows* and *whys*, especially if the data are drawn from several sources.

Robert E. Stake (1995) also raises the generalisability issue (p. 439) and claims that “most academic researchers are supportive of the study of cases only if there is a clear expectation of generalisability to other cases.” Stake labels the latter type of case studies as “instrumental” and the former as “intrinsic” (p. 437). Intrinsic cases studies do not aim at abstraction or theory



building, nor are they seen as representative of other cases, and therefore their aim is not generalisation. In instrumental cases, on the contrary, generalisation cannot be avoided: the case itself is not the primary interest; it is examined mainly to provide insight into an issue. Stake identifies a third type of case study, the “collective”, which investigates a particular phenomenon through the study of several cases. The latter type of case study is not relevant for my research, which focuses on one single agency. As for the other two, my study does not fit neatly into either category: it is intrinsic in that the organisation and its activities are examined in depth and in that it does not aim at generating theory. However, the case plays a supportive role to help me use in a particular context a specific theoretical proposition and analytical framework. I thus classify my study as a holistic case (Lincoln and Guba, 2008) which examines the organisation’s unique history, context, and complexities, and aims to provide a rich description (Kidder, 1982) framed by a specific and coherent theoretical orientation and analytical framework.

Finally, it is important to bring attention to the fact that the case study is often referred to as a research method, when it is actually a research strategy that provides a framework to data collection and analysis but specifies little in terms of actual techniques. In other words, once the case is selected, it is still necessary to decide on the most appropriate methods to collect data. However, before starting the actual process of data collection, one more thing needed attention: ethical considerations.

## **Ethics**

In research, ethics relate to the moral and political values that affect the researcher’s decisions, standards, and behaviour (Weber, 1968). Those values inevitably determine the way the study is conducted and the choices the researcher makes, especially when interacting with human subjects (e.g., interviews and participant observation). A considerably large part of my empirical data came from documents and texts that were publicly accessible. Other documents, however, could not be reached unless someone within the organisation – a main contact in charge of facilitating and monitoring my access to the agency’s private documents – gave permission. And another data set came from interviews, a collection method that, as well as involving certain procedures such as obtaining informed consent forms from participants, poses dilemmas in terms of, for instance, how much information about the research should be revealed to interviewees in order to avoid introducing an unnecessary bias in their answers. Mason (1996) gives some useful

advice on how to tackle these issues by suggesting that researchers should reflect on the purpose on their study, what people will be affected by it, and what implications can have for those people the way in which the research topic has been framed. Let us consider each of these three points in turn:

The *purpose* of my case study is twofold. As explained in the introduction to this chapter, my research speaks to two audiences: academia and the organisation itself – even if the agency no longer exists independently, its activities are still being carried out within the broader remit of Creative Scotland, and as co-funders of the study they expect findings that will throw light on the outcomes of past decisions and somehow inform future organisational practice.

As for the *people affected* by my study, this includes mainly key personnel in the organisation and applicants who tried to obtain funding from it in support of their film projects. Bearing in mind that the Scottish filmmaking community is a very small world (something that I knew beforehand but became even clearer during the research process), ensuring anonymity was a prominent concern, therefore no participants' names or film project titles that are part of my data set are mentioned in this thesis. People's names and project titles are only mentioned when they appear in the context of publicly accessible sources, such as annual reports or press articles.

The third point, the *implications arising from the way the research topic has been framed* was an important factor in the way I formulated my research problems and interview questions. Justification of organisational decisions (particularly in the face of conflict) as articulated in written and oral accounts is central to my research. However, I bore in mind Gans's (1962) warning that participants "will try to hide actions and attitudes they consider undesirable" (p. 44). Without subscribing to Gans's (1962) view that "the researcher must be dishonest to get honest data" (p. 44), I was aware that constantly bringing to the fore words such as "justification," "conflict" or "criticism" might give interviewees the wrong impression that I was probing into problematic issues for the sake of stirring up confrontational views. Thus, even if those terms were mentioned in an initial description of my research I gave to all my interviewees (something I deemed necessary in order to be honest), I made a conscious decision not to insist on them during the interviews. I also made sure to mention that understanding how compromises (a word which tends to have more positive connotations in negotiation processes) were reached and maintained in the agency was one of my central research problems. In other words, when given information to participants, I remained truthful to the nature of my case study while trying

to ensure that the wording of my questions (both research and interview questions) would not steer their answers in any particular direction.

My views on the above three points make my ethical stance a “universalist” one (Bryman and Bell, 2007: 209), i.e., infractions of ethical precepts are damaging to social research and should never be indulged in. While accepting that some research projects involving deception might have had a significant impact, I would not abide by views that justify ethical transgression in research; aside from the very important fact that it would clash with my individual moral standards, my research would have gained nothing from catching interviewees “off guard” or revealing what they may be trying to hide. Quite to the contrary, I was interested in investigating how they *deliberately* construct arguments in favour of their decisions and viewpoints or against those of others – what they choose to reveal and/or leave out is an important part of that construction.

The universalist ethical principle of no transgression spans my various data sources and methods. It is reflected in the form submitted to the University of St Andrews Teaching and Research Ethical Committee (full outline of its procedures available at [www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec](http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec)) from which I had to get approval prior to data collection.

Ethical implications concerning access to data varied according to my three different sources described above: *secondary data*, *selected film project applications*, and *interviews*. However, in all three cases my role as a researcher was immediately explained to all people involved and the nature of the project briefly explained even before any formal request for participation were handed out.

Public and organisational documents (archival material, consultancy reports, briefing papers, press articles, annual reports, etc.) constituted the most straightforward data source in terms of ethical issues and access. As mentioned, part of the material was publicly accessible. The rest was held at Scottish Screen’s premises or at the Scottish Screen archive, to which I was given access from the earliest stages of the research without any impediments.

Access to *selected film project applications* proved slightly more complicated than initially envisaged. Only hard-copies were available, they were scattered around different sites, and contained confidential information, so it was necessary to double-check that the confidentiality agreement I had signed at the beginning of the project was enough to ensure that the organisation would not be breaking its own confidentiality rules by granting me access to the files. Once that

was confirmed, there were some other obstacles delaying the process which I outline further below.

Regarding interviews, all participants were sent some documentation explaining further what the research was about, what was my role in it, what they were agreeing to do, what would happen to the data obtained from them, and how confidentiality would be ensured, as well as stating their right to withdraw their consent at any time without having to provide a reason. They were informed that all data obtained from interviews would be anonymised and used for scholarly purposes. Likewise, anonymity would be ensured in the write-up and publication of the final study as well as in any future publications, and names and job titles would be eliminated. In case of it being essential to give a sense of context to the script, interviewees would be given a pseudonym and any details would be obscured for use in verbal and written records and reports. As for the data collected in terms of interviews, it was kept safe from unauthorized access, accidental loss or destruction, and stored in an anonymised format on a computer system.

All participants were asked to consider a series of key points before signing their consent, and they were also given the option to ask questions about the study as well as to omit questions that they did not wish to answer. Emphasis was made on the fact that participation in this research was completely voluntary, participants' consent was required before they could take part in it, and if they decided at a later date that the data obtained from them should be destroyed, their request would be honoured in writing.

All of the above was set out in two separate documents: an information sheet that participants were asked to read, and a consent form that they were asked to read and sign prior to their participation. Once these practical issues related to ethical approval were dealt with, the actual data collection could begin.

## **Research Methods and Field Work**

I began organising my study around a series of research questions which, as is common in case studies, deal with a contextually situated issue (Stake, 1995): the response of the Scottish national screen agency to potentially conflicting demands in the midst of significant socio-political changes in the country. I started with a broader theme and then formulated more specific questions following literature review, reflection and preliminary conversations with potential participants. The choice of questions to be investigated and the circumstances that would impact

the investigation oriented my study towards a specific empirical work plan. To understand how this plan took shape, it will be useful to summarise here the origins and evolution of the project, outlined in the Introduction:

The study is part of a portfolio of projects sponsored by the Scottish Economic and Social Research Council in partnership with the University of St Andrews and it was initially conceived as a comparative case study between Scottish Screen and other national screen agencies in selected countries. This idea, however, had to be abandoned following an assessment of the necessary time and resources that a rigorous international comparative study would entail. The research focus shifted to an investigation about the perceived role of Scottish Screen and how the agency responded to the often conflicting demands it faced over the years from stakeholders and the Government.

The 2010 merger of Scottish Screen with the Scottish Arts Council to form Creative Scotland when I was only a few months into my research project had, along with the research focus change outlined above, an important impact on my empirical research plan. Although no longer existing effectively as an independent body, the former Scottish Screen office in Glasgow where I had access to some of my secondary data was kept in place and most of the staff continued to work there as part of the new agency resulting from the merger, Creative Scotland. There were some personnel changes but, as I explain further below, they did not affect my access to documentation or interview participants. However, I had to rethink the use of some methods I had initially considered, such as direct or participant observation, and design a plan which would be coherent with the new situation, the resources at my disposal, and the recommendations found in literature about case study and qualitative research.

The amount and variety of data sources available allowed me to use a multimethod approach, which is inherent to qualitative research strategy and case studies (Flick, 1998, Stake, 1995, Silverman, 1993; Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Eisenhardt (1989) highlights the importance of combining several methods and data sources in her article about case studies, although her piece has a specific focus on theory-building cases. Yin (2003) discourages using a single source of evidence for conducting case studies and emphasises the advantage of using several sources of evidence in case study data collection, an approach that allows the researcher “to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal, and behavioural issues” (p. 98). He cites six main sources from which data can be extracted for case studies (p.

83): documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation, and physical artefacts. While the last three do not apply to my research (physical artefacts were not present or relevant; as for direct or participant observation, the organisation under study stopped existing as a separate body shortly before I started my data collection, so observing its daily activities in real time was not a possibility), the other three – documents, archival records, and interviews – constitute my three data sources. None of the sources has complete precedence over the others; rather, they are complementary and, in fact, archival materials and documents overlap, given that sometimes the same type of document can be classified as one or the other depending on whether it was stored in Scottish Screen archive or somewhere else.

Drawing upon these three data sources my study examines negotiations carried out within the confines of the organisation and aims to provide an understanding of how different perspectives, which account for individuals' professional backgrounds and experience, influenced decision-making.

Let us now look in more detail at the three data sources and the methods employed to elicit useful information from them.

### ***Examination of documents***

At the beginning of the study, I was assigned a main contact at Scottish Screen who would facilitate and supervise my access to company documentation that was not publicly available. This person would also act as a link between me and the agency's personnel I wanted to talk to. Since the organisation was going through a transitional process that would culminate in a merger with another public body, some employees, including the person serving as my first point of contact, left before my data collection process was over. A second contact was immediately assigned and the gathering data process could continue. This second contact was, like the previous one, a senior member of staff deeply familiarised with all aspects of the agency and he had been briefed about my research by my first contact. In addition, we had several extensive talks about my progress thus far and our respective roles and responsibilities concerning data access. It was agreed that he would be my first point of contact whenever I required access to new data. He showed particular concern about confidentiality regarding project funding applications, a point on which I expand further below in the section dedicated to that specific data source.

The data at my disposal included private and public documents (some of them stored at the

agency's archive), including evaluations issued by the government, press cuttings, consultancy reports, briefing papers, guidelines for funding applicants, and annual reports. None of these documents had been generated for the purposes of research - as opposed, for example, to the interviews I conducted at a later stage -, so the first step consisted in deciding which ones should be part of my data set and why. There was an initial assessment of the documentation to ensure it met some general quality criteria along the lines of those proposed by John Scott (1990), who suggests that the documents must come from verifiable sources, free from distortion, representative of their kind, and clear and comprehensible.

However, there were other issues beyond these broad 'quality checks': the total time period examined starts in 1996, approximately one year before the official establishment of the agency so as to include important data sources related to the rationale behind it, and ends in 2010, which marked the end of the organisation's independent status following the merger with the Scottish Art Council to form Creative Scotland, a new development body with a broader remit including the promotion of the arts, culture, and creative industries in Scotland. The considerably long time period under study and the large amount of available documentation made it necessary to extract a manageable sample that would help me to work within my chosen analytical and theoretical frameworks and which, at the same time, would comply with the more general requirement of paying attention to situated action (i.e., context) that a qualitative case study demands. Therefore, documents were chosen in terms of their importance as accounts of, or related to, particularly significant events in the organisation's trajectory. Drawing upon the historical outline of the agency which I drafted early as I went through public and private documents, I identified three key periods in the organisation marked by change of management preceded by major public reviews issued by the Scottish Government, and selected documents belonging to each period.

Before outlining these periods, two things must be noted. First, there are no clear-cut, only approximate dates marking their beginning and end, as important structural reforms and changes of senior personnel tend to imply a transitional phase. Second, the documents have been selected as to form a succession that is not merely chronological, but involves a "dialogue" between the agency and its stakeholders; within every period, each document contains a demand or a response to the document which follows or precedes it. As I outline in the paragraphs below the dialogue culminated, in the first two periods, with the resignation of the Chief Executive, and in the third one with the merger of Scottish Screen and the Scottish Arts Council. These key makers

in the agency's trajectory constitute the foundation to organise the empirical chapters of the thesis. Let us now take each period in turn:

1996-2001: The first period starts with the recommendation of the establishment of a unitary screen agency in Scotland and ends with the resignation of its first CEO amidst controversy related to funds distribution. The first document examined here is the report *Scotland On Screen*, also known as the *Hydra Report*, (1996), an extensive report of about 190 pages commissioned by the UK Conservative Government making a strong case for the establishment of a Scottish film agency with a distinct financial focus.

The second document is Scottish Screen's first Management Statement (1997), which points to the first signs of Scottish Screen's resistance to the strong commercial remit suggested by the Hydra Report. In order to add contextual information, some parts of the 2000 Scottish National Cultural Strategy are also examined, as this document issued by the Scottish Government gives the agency some general statements of function and offers an overview of the political climate in which it was operating at the time.

The last document in this period is the first Annual Review of the agency issued by the Scottish Executive in 2002 following the 2001 review of Scottish Screen requested by Ministers and amid which Scottish Screen's first CEO, John Archer, resigned from his post. This report of over 60 pages which outlines perceived achievements and shortcomings offers an overall negative appraisal of the agency's first years and suggests future lines of action.

2002-2005: This period starts with a new Chief Executive who had the immediate task of responding to the recommendations made in the above mentioned governmental review. The document that best reflects that response through official channels is Scottish Screen 2003/4 Operational Plan, which as shown in the second empirical chapter reflects a willingness to meet the demands made by the government in terms of efficiency, clarity and transparency. Statements directly linked to these issues made in the annual report which Scottish Screen issued the following year are also examined and contrasted with data extracted from interviews and funding application files.

Similarly to the previous period, this phase of Scottish Screen closes with the resignation of the Chief Executive in the midst of a new review of the agency's performance commissioned by the Scottish Government as part of a wider review of the Creative Industries in Scotland. Recommendations following the review are contained in the 2005 Scottish Cultural Commission



report, which concluded the agency's remit should be revised. The sections of this document which are specifically related to Scottish Screen are part of the examined data, as they constitute the point of transition to the third and final period in terms of the ongoing dialogue between Scottish Screen and the Government.

2005-2010: The most salient documents belonging to this period, whose beginning is again marked by a new CEO after the resignation of his predecessor, are some sections of the 2005 Cultural Commission and the responses issued by Scottish Screen in the form of annual reports. Since Screen's new management acted in a much more definite manner upon demands of industrial efficiency and transparency made by the Government, some sections of the agency's guidelines and fund applications forms which reflect this change are also examined here.

Finally, the official announcement of the organisation's merger with the Scottish Arts council is also included in this period whose end is also the end of Scottish Screen as an independent screen agency.

### *Analysis of selected funding applications for screen projects*

This is in fact a subgroup of the organisational documents set, but I consider them a group apart because of the criteria on which they have been chosen: given that funding applications are lengthy processes (some of them spanning over several years, especially in the case of feature length films) it was difficult to link them to specific events or moments in the agency's trajectory, unlike other organisational documents.

They were also different in terms of access. As mentioned in the Ethics section, I only had access to a limited number of applications because of logistic and confidentiality issues. My main contact at Scottish Screen changed when I was beginning to examine project funding applications. I was at this point reminded about the confidentiality agreement between myself and the organisation and that I should not mention applicants' names or take the applications files, available only in hard copy, out of the premises. It was agreed that I would be given a list of all projects financed by Scottish Screen so that I could put together a list of titles and send it to a member of staff with whom my contact put me in touch. This person would then get hold of the requested files and leave them at my disposal for a few weeks in the Scottish Screen Glasgow office. I got in touch with the relevant employee who, although originally keen to collaborate, failed to gather the files I had requested and eventually stopped responding to my emails. I

repeatedly tried to re-establish contact over the course of several weeks, but I did not get an answer. Not wanting to exert excessive pressure that could compromise my good relationship with the organisation, I stopped emailing this person and decided to inform my main contact, who ended up assigning the task to another employee. Things were promptly arranged this time, but I was informed that not all of the files I had requested were available and that they were by this point very difficult or impossible to locate, so I had to adapt my list to the available choices making sure to select titles which spanned the whole of Scottish Screen's life and contained the views of various officers.

The selection of the six applications examined was based on two criteria: one, the sum of them should cover the whole of the organisation's life span so as to reflect possible changes in assessment criteria caused by structural changes within the agency and/or external factors; and two, they should include the views and recommendations of as many different assessors as possible, both internal (i.e. members of the agency's staff) and, when applicable, external panels who up until 2005 evaluated applications along with Scottish Screen officers. Conflicts between these two groups of assessors are an important element of the second and third empirical chapters.

These funding application files vary in length depending on the complexity of the project – in some cases they span several years – but all of them contain narratives about issues which are key to my research, for example, reasons behind why a project should be backed, suggested changes to script, recommendations about marketing strategies, potential target audience, and, in some cases, statements by applicants in support of their submission which tackle the same issues from the applicant's point of view. Since allocating public money for the development of a strong indigenous film industry in Scotland was at the core of the agency's remit, the decisions reflected in these funding application files reflect the interplay of different orders of worth in actual practice, as opposed to some of the organisational documents mentioned in the previous section, which often reflect intended action which, as reflected in the empirical chapters, did not always materialise.

### ***Interviews***

In this study I used semi-structured interviews, since in qualitative research interviewing there is no need for the level of standardisation that we find in quantitative studies (Bryman and Bell, 2007: 474). Interviews are one of the most frequently used forms of qualitative research methods

(Atkinson & Silverman, 1997; Bryman and Bell, 2007; Mason, 2010; Silverman, 1993).

However, the fact that unstructured or semi-structured interviews frequently feature in qualitative studies does not mean that we should not question the reasons for using them. A good argument in favour of this type of interviewing is that it allows the researcher to bring to the fore relevant context and produce situated knowledge (Mason, 2010: 62). As mentioned earlier, attention to context, as well as to individual agents' accounts, is in line with the constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology underpinning this case study.

As for the choice between unstructured and semi-structured interviews, a totally unstructured interview, more similar to a conversation (Burgess, 1984) was not well suited to this study, since there were a series of concepts and topics related to my theoretical and analytical frameworks that I wanted to cover. Semi-structured interviewing was chosen because it allowed me to tailor the question list to the each participant, while keeping focus on my research problems and consistency across all the interviews.

When putting together the question list, the possible influence on decision making at Scottish Screen of contending institutional forces was one of the research issues I had in mind. Asking interviewees about their awareness of Scottish cultural policy and how, if at all, it influenced their work was part of the interview protocol, which included the following general questions:

*“What were the main issues Scottish Screen was facing when you came to the job?”*

*“Did you have any specific plans to address these issues?”*

*“Did your views change during your tenure at Scottish Screen?”*

*“There seemed to be, mainly because of the political climate, a perceived tension between cultural and industrial demands made on the agency? Would you say this perception is accurate?”*

*“Do you think those tensions are ever resolvable?”*

Also included were questions adapted to the respondent's role and background. For instance, some interviewees that after leaving their post at Scottish Screen applied for funds for their own screen projects were asked about their views on the application experience from the applicant's point of view. Similarly, participants who during their tenure at Scottish Screen served different roles with different levels of responsibility were able to answer some of the questions from the different perspectives that those roles gave them. Some questions were adapted to those

participants who, as previously noted, did never become part of Scottish Screen staff, but as former employees of one of the four predecessor bodies had a significant role during the transitional months and contributed to shape the agency's early structure and practices.

Since one of the main goals of the interviews was to identify references to different orders of worth by participants in the form of justifications, critiques, or attempts at compromising, all questions about participants' roles, opinions, decisions, etc, were always as neutral as possible and did not try to steer their answers in any particular direction. For example, a question like "Is there anything you wished you had done differently?", which does not refer to any particular event, allowed interviewees to expand on whatever aspect of their performance came to mind, and care was taken not to interrupt their answers or encourage them to insist on any particular point.

Overall, questions were aimed, on the one hand, at gauging the respondent's level of awareness of external factors that might have affected the agency's operations, and on the other hand at getting them to talk about how they addressed decision making processes, and, where relevant, on what basis they allocated money to certain screen projects and rejected others and how they tackled the conflict and critiques that sometimes resulted from this. While making sure that these general topics were covered, participants had the chance to introduce and expand on issues they considered relevant, which in some cases added useful material to my dataset. For example, one participant who did not hold a Chief Executive post gave valuable insights into his major role in changing the organisation's guidelines for applicants, a measure that up until that point I had thought was limited to the CEO's role.

In order to make the interviews' contribution as rich as possible, I made sure when putting together the participant list that all interviewees held or had held senior posts and that their collective time at Scottish Screen or at some of its predecessor bodies covered the same time period as the examined documents: from 1996, the year the creation of the agency was recommended in the influential report *Scotland on Screen* (Hydra, 1996) until the merger of Scottish Screen and the Scottish Arts Council in 2010.

The fact that Scottish Screen was a small agency (with an average of twenty-five full-time members of staff during its life) reduced the initial list to ten interviewees, out of which eight agreed to participate. As mentioned, in some cases participants could talk from a funding applicant perspective as well, since, either before or after working for the agency or any of its

predecessor bodies, they were involved in filmmaking projects and applied to Scottish Screen for funds. However, all interviewees were selected for their common role as senior members of staff, not as clients or stakeholders.

The list of participants included people who had professional connections with Scottish Screen at the time my research started or who had had such connections in the past. The list also included people who had had key roles in some of the four predecessor bodies and the transitional months, even if some of them did not become part of Scottish Screen staff. Two of the three Chief Executives of Scottish Screen participated in my study. The third one stopped responding to emails after having initially showed willingness to participate. This absence was partially made up for by gathering publicly available statements he made during his tenure through official organisational documents and interviews granted to other scholars and journalists. Given that my research problems dealt with justifications and criticisms related to structural and funding decisions, it was essential to choose participants who, along with the CEOs, had had a key role in such decisions throughout the agency's history. This narrowed down the list to ten potential participants, eight of which ended up taking part in the study. This number, although reduced, represents about a third of Scottish Screen's full time staff members and includes a very high percentage of senior members.

The interviews, which had an average duration of 75 minutes each, were conducted in various cafes in Glasgow and Edinburgh or at Creative Scotland premises in Edinburgh. All agreed to be recorded and answered all my questions. Given the reduced number of interviews, I personally transcribed the recordings and stored the audio files and transcriptions on a computer system which only I had access to. This concluded my data collection process.

Once all my empirical material was gathered applying the strategy and methods described in this section, the next step was to carry out a data analysis that would lead to a coherent and comprehensible exposition of results.

## **Data analysis**

I analysed the data extracted from the three sources mentioned above through a process of triangulation which includes cross- comparison and respondent validation. This choice was made after envisaging other alternatives, a selection process which I outline in the following paragraphs.

While it is positive to have the flexibility and “tolerance of ambiguity” that multiple methods allow for in case studies (Stake, 1995: 442), confronting the data generated by various sources and finding the right analytical approach can be daunting, not least because of the scarcity of well-established and widely accepted rules for the analysis of qualitative data (Bryman and Bell, 2007: 581). This can be a cause for concern about the validity of findings. However, as Guba and Lincoln (1994) point out, the term ‘validity’ comes, along with ‘reliability’, from the quantitative research tradition and implies an assumption of a single and apprehensible version of social reality which is at odds with this qualitative case study. Guba and Lincoln thus suggest alternative evaluative criteria for qualitative research based on confirmability, transferability, dependability, and credibility. *Confirmability* deals with researchers being able to show that they have tried their best to stop personal or theoretical inclinations to affect their research findings. While adhering to a persona belief that total objectivity is extremely difficult if not impossible, I have tried to minimise bias by creating a well balanced theoretical sample composed of data extracted from a diverse yet coherent set of data sources. *Dependability* is about ensuring that records of the research process are kept and available to peers, who can then act as auditors. Although auditing is not a favoured measure in qualitative research (Bryman and Bell, 2007: 414), the dependability issue is covered in my study: keeping records is a requirement specified by the University of St Andrews, and a PhD research project has to comply with formal assessment of theoretical inferences, methodology, and data analysis. *Transferability*: the emphasis of qualitative research emphasis on context raises questions about the transferability of a case’s finding to another context. This is why, following Guba and Lincoln’s (1994) and Geertz’ (1973a) advice, this study offers a rich description of the organisation and its activities which will make it easier for others to judge the findings’ transferability level. *Credibility*: this criterion implies submitting research findings to the members of the social unit under study to get confirmation that their social milieu has been properly understood. This technique, known as respondent validation, has been used in an indirect way in this study by means of the interviews mentioned above, one of whose aims was to contrast my views on certain information found in written documents with the views of the organisational agents themselves. Another technique recommended by Lincoln and Guba in support of credibility is triangulation, i.e., using more than one method of source data in the study of social phenomena - something that, as we have seen, is a key feature of this project’s research design.

Several authors highlight the importance of triangulation, which Yin (2003) defines as “the development of converging lines of enquiry” (p. 98) to achieve some degree of generalizability, avoid misinterpretations, and clarify meaning (Flick, 1998). Stake (1995) considers the use of triangulation a form of compensation for “ill-structured” reporting and reading in case studies, which are usually conducted within a constructionist ontology (p. 442). And Yin states that “any finding or conclusion in a case study is likely to be much more convincing and accurate if it is based on several different sources of information, following a corroboratory mode” (2003: 98). What this means is that triangulating the data goes beyond analysing each source of evidence separately and comparing the findings; it means, as per Yin’s (2003) definition above, making the various line of enquiry converge so that the facts of the case study are supported by multiple sources of evidence. A similar idea is proposed by Flick (1998, p. 231) when he states that, in the absence of a positivist belief that reality can be captured, triangulation, through the use of several data sources and methodological practices, helps the researcher to understand representations and adds richness to research.

Triangulation, however, is not without its critics. Silverman (2000), for instance, considers triangulation a “fallible path to validity” (p. 177) and, in order to keep anecdotalism at bay, he proposes other methods, most of which do not suit this research study for different reasons: the *refutability principle*, the first alternative to triangulation proposed by Silverman, requires that the researcher refute their initial assumptions, something I could not do, given that this is an inductive research study and I approached it without any hypothesis or firm theoretical propositions of my own. The second alternative, the *constant comparative method*, would have posed practical problems, as it involves either comparison with another case (as mentioned above, the idea of a comparative analysis was abandoned in the early stages of this study for unavoidable practical reasons), or “inspecting and comparing all the data fragments of a single case” (Glasser and Strauss, 1967 cited in Silverman, 2000: 179), which would involve more time than was available. Also excessively time consuming would be the third alternative, *comprehensive data treatment*, which involves incorporating all available data. As a fourth alternative to triangulation, Silverman suggests *deviant-case analysis*, which is the only one that resonates with this project: as I have mentioned earlier, the disappearance of Scottish Screen as an independent body (already officially in the cards when this research process started) left Scotland in the unique position of being the only country in Europe without a public body

devoted exclusively to the promotion of the screen industries. The last method proposed by Silverman, *using appropriate tabulations*, has excessively quantitative overtones to suit a qualitative research study such as this one.

Relying on the theoretical propositions that led to my case study and shaped my empirical research design (Yin, 2003: 111), I have analysed the data extracted from three different sources using a single analytical framework – the one proposed Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) in *On Justification* – and then linked all findings through a process of triangulation involving cross-comparison and respondent validation. In order to identify the above mentioned categories and orders of worth in all of the transcripts that make up my data sample, I used a coding process consisting of several phases which roughly correspond to the levels proposed by Coffey and Atkinson (1996):

The first phase, the most basic, started during the data collection process: an initial reading through documents and interview transcripts to start gaining insight into the relation between my theoretical framework and my data. In line with Boltanski and Thévenot's proposition that an array that holds together when people try to make their views prevail are "subject to requirements resembling those of a grammar" (1996, p. 140), the first step in the examination of my data consisted in identifying references to different orders of worth by singling out specific words or phrases belonging to particular orders of worth (see Table 1.) In order to illustrate this process, let's take the example of the world of fame in general and then apply the list of categories to a statement extracted from an interview transcript in which this order of worth prevails. As seen in Table 1, the higher common principle in the world of fame is the reality of public opinion, so people impose an order on beings and measure worth (state of worthiness) by taking only the opinion of others into account. In this world, worthy beings are the ones that distinguish themselves and are recognised. Examples of subjects are: celebrities and their followers, opinion leaders, public relations agents, journalists, etc. Worth derives from opinion, so other factors, such as professions do not count in the process of establishing worth: a dancer and a biochemist, as long as they are public figures, are equivalent from the standpoint of fame. Objects in this world are brands, campaigns, messages, brochures, interviews, etc. The relation of worth is one of identification. Persons may identify with other persons or with objects or arrangements that have been successful in becoming well known. This relation of identification is reflected in levels of influence. The most worthy establish a relation of influence by



persuading, mobilising, gaining followers.

Let us now identify the presence of these categories in the following excerpts from one interview which represent statements made mostly from the standpoint of fame to explain that what the interviewee saw as some of the agency's shortcomings were the result of its failure to get a firmer grip in the world of fame. The categories are italicised and then listed:

“One of the issues Scottish Screen faced throughout its life was that it had different people on the Board representing different interests: you had someone representing film, someone representing education, someone representing training, someone representing broadcasting... And there was no overarching coherent vision for the whole thing. Now, the chair when I was there was James Lee, and he kind of held it together through *force of personality*. When he left, it sort of began to crumble, it began to fall apart at the seams. You know, for all her virtues, Ray McFarlane was not a *charismatic figure* in the same way that James Lee had been. And so all those little kind of battles became much more profound.

I think we were reactive. That's how I'd describe it. I think what happened is, a *story* would break and we would respond to it. And actually what we didn't do in any kind of proactive way was *make friends with the journalists, get the press on our side*, such that when the story was about to break they would think, “Let's get the Scottish Screen *view* at the same time as the same time as the attack.” I think we could have done more in that kind of regard.

**Table 2**

**Example of identification of categories belonging to the world of fame**

<b>Higher common principle:</b> the reality of public opinion
<b>Subjects:</b> “journalists”, “press”
<b>Objects:</b> “story”, “Scottish Screen's view” (as in its message)
<b>State of worthiness:</b> Recognised, reputed; “James Lee was a charismatic figure”.
<b>Relationships:</b> “Make friends with the journalists”, “Get the press on our side”.

The identification of these categories is only a first step in the analytical process undertaken to investigate the research questions. After coding the transcripts by assigning a colour to each order of worth, it was easy to see at a glance what order(s) or worth prevailed in each transcript. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the participant's values are anchored in those particular orders of worth, as people often invoke orders of worth when issuing a critique or suggesting a compromise. So all transcripts were read and coded again to answer the three following questions: *What is the predominant order of worth invoked to justify proposed or adopted measures?; To what order(s) of worth are critiques addressed?; What compromises between orders of worth are mentioned as successes or desirable possibilities?*

These issues take us to the second analytical phase, or level, which implies a greater awareness of what is said in order to identify justifications, critiques and compromises between different orders of worth. As an example, below is an excerpt from one of the examined organisational documents, the 2005 Cultural Commission, which has a strong focus on the world of fame by proposing that the role of the Edinburgh Film Festival should be enhanced so that the Scottish Screen film industry can further benefit from it:

“...the role of the Edinburgh International Film Festival needs to be better understood, both within the film industry and within the creative industries in Scotland. Funding should be better aligned with its international comparators and the event and its activities should be built into an integral element of film in Scotland, having a year round presence.”

The third and final phase of the analytical process, whose results are outlined in the findings chapters, links the findings of the previous two phases to broader issues posed by my main research questions: the influence of contending institutional forces on organisational structures and function, agents' articulation of such influence (or lack thereof) and justification of decision-making processes, and the possibility of reinforcing existing compromises or reaching new ones in an organisational activity belonging to the creative industries, a field where the coexistence of diverse orders of worth is particularly common.

## **Conclusion**

After re-stating my research questions, I provided in this chapter an outline of the ontological and epistemological considerations that led to framing the study within a social constructivist paradigm. My constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology, along with the focus of my research on context and process dictates to a great extent the most adequate research strategy and design to use (Yin, 2003): a case study framed by a qualitative research approach, to which I dedicate a section in the chapter to explain why it is coherent with my research problems and philosophical stance. I then moved on to ethical issues that impacted my study before moving on to data collection: a multimethod approach involving three main data sources related to the agency under study. Lastly, I outline the analytical techniques used to examine my dataset: data are coded and analysed using a single analytical framework and subsequently linked through a process of triangulation involving cross- comparison and respondent validation. The obtained results are outlined in the three separate empirical chapters that follow.

## Chapter 4. Establishing Scottish Screen

This chapter examines Scottish Screen's early remit and strategy as reflected in organisational documents, personnel's accounts and justifications for funds allocation. The period under study goes from 1996 until 2001 and revisits the transitional phase (1996-1997) from four separate bodies into a unified agency in order to identify the predominant orders of worth in Scottish Screen's inception as well as in its early years of operations.

My analysis takes account of external demands made on the agency and the logics underpinning such demands. Against this contextual background, I examine the organisation's responses using the analytical framework which Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) developed in their theory of justification. This framework allows me examine the sources and management of conflict within the agency following some major changes, such as the merger of four organisations into one and the attempt to introduce a commercial turn in an organisational environment dominated by a cultural logic.

The chapter is organised as follows: I begin by examining the recommendation made in a government-commissioned report which was highly influential in creating a unified screen agency in Scotland with a distinct industrial/commercial remit. This is followed by an account of how such recommendations were deployed or resisted in actual practice in which I focus on money allocation and some contentious episodes over public funds distribution. Before concluding, I examine the mobilisation of different orders of worth in communication between Scottish Screen and the Scottish Government through official channels, such as management statements and public reviews.

### A 'One-Stop' Screen Agency with an Industrial Remit

As explained in the Introduction and Case Study Context chapter, the merger of four separate organisations into a unified screen agency in Scotland was recommended in the report *Scotland on Screen* (Hydra Associates, 1996). Certain parts of the document's content have been outlined in the Case Study Context in order to give a complete picture of the socio-political circumstances surrounding the inception of Scottish Screen. Here I revisit some elements of the report in terms of the predominant orders of worth guiding its recommendations.

### ***Recommendations in the Hydra Report***

Along with the idea of bringing together all activities related to screen production and distribution under one roof (p.113), the Hydra Report also recommended that an “acknowledged change in emphasis from a cultural to an industrial/commercial approach to all aspects of its work” (p.115) should be at the heart of the new agency. This proposed change could be attained, according to the analysts, through strategies anchored in what Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) call the industrial world, guided by the higher principle of efficiency and, to a lesser extent, the market world and the world of fame, driven, respectively, by the higher principles of competition and the pre-eminence of public opinion.

The focus of my analysis of *Scotland on Screen*, an extensive report of over 190 pages, are the sections that deal specifically with the Scottish screen sector (as opposed to the global screen sector) and in particular the parts dedicated to recommendations for two reasons: first, these recommendations were key in materialising the idea of a “one-door agency...to cater for the needs of all public and private bodies alike” (p. 113). And second, the rest of the report consists mostly of a series of statistics and are predominantly quantitative. These kind of data, however, taken as a unit constitute a category in line with the industrial order of worth dominating the report: flow charts, indicators, plans, grids and budgets, all present here, are typical objects of the industrial world, where a problem (in this case, the lack of financial revenue generated by the screen sector in Scotland) is subjected to a method of “economic *evaluation* that makes it possible to *quantify* the various *hypotheses* for improvement” (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006, p. 208). Objects in the industrial world are mobilised to achieve measurable productivity, and the overall industrial character that quantified data organised in tables and grids confer to the report is coherent with its emphasis on the proposed agency’s remit as the main driver of a change from a cultural to an industrial/commercial approach in the Scottish screen sector (Hydra Associates 1996, p.115).

Equally anchored in the industrial order of worth is the report’s index (p. 1), which makes no references to the creative half of the “creative industries” composite, with the inevitable exception of the word “film”. The index contains mostly objects belonging to the industrial world, guided by the higher common principle of efficiency achieved through measurements and standardisation (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006, p. 206), for example: *industry trends, market size, timescale, costs, benefits, demand, supply, finance, financing models, growth*. The

predominance of elements related to industrial efficiency and the absence of those related to creative or cultural aspects of filmmaking is consonant with the fact that the report was commissioned, at the request of the Secretary of State for Scotland Michael Forsyth, by Scottish Enterprise and Highlands and Islands Enterprise, two NPDBs created in 1991 by the Scottish Executive to encourage business investment, development, and innovation across the country – aims belonging to the industrial order, in which “efficient production based on functional investment finds its justification” (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 203)

This approach grounded in organisational efficiency permeates all six recommendations of the report: a unified Scottish Screen Agency; improved access to finance; training and human resource development; marketing Scotland’s media product; establishing adequate production facilities; and developing the industry in the Highlands and Islands. As a summary of the best way to implement these recommendations, the report offers a basic organisational chart model (summarised in a diagram, in industry-world fashion) whereby “each division has well-defined areas of responsibility, operating within an overall policy framework determined by the Board on the advice of the Chief Executive.” This sentence is entirely composed of elements and arrangements aimed at achieving the state of worthiness (efficiency) in the industrial world: compartmentalisation of work [*each division, areas of responsibility*]; standardisation of practices [*overall policy framework*], and specialists [*determined by the Board on the advice of the Chief Executive*].

Also representative of the industrial world are references to future members of the Board and the Chief Executive. Members of the Board, the report suggests “should be drawn from such business sectors as the financial community, the television companies and film distributors” (p. 115), a specification which leaves out members of the creative community. Even more significant as a representation of the business-led remit that the report suggested for the new agency is the following statement regarding the Chief Executive: “In our view, it is not essential for this person to be drawn from the film and television sector” (p.115). In a recommendation which combines the worth of fame (reputation) with the overall industrial drive of the document, the analysts suggest instead that “It is more important to find a widely respected individual, with a proven track record in business, who is a clear, strategic thinker and proven manager” (p. 115).

Another example of the recommendations’ industrial drive is the suggestion that commitment to training and human resources is vital if the new agency was to “have a genuine industrial

focus” (p. 120). Furthermore, the report recommends the creation of a new training organisation, a Screen Business School, in which “subjects covered should include all of the business aspects of film and programme making from development through to financing, deal negotiations, legal issues, distribution and marketing” (p. 121). The very name of the suggested training organisation, a “Screen Business School” underscores financial potential as the aspect of screen activity which the new agency should focus according to the report, as opposed to creative aspects such as scriptwriting, acting or directing.

Some recommendations, like the establishment of adequate production and post-production facilities (which never came to fruition) are industrial in their very nature, as they revolve around the physical construction of a fully-equipped film production studio in Scotland, so it is only to be expected that the language employed should belong to the industrial world: *business, facilities, finance, pro-forma business plan*, etc. However, even the Scottish-themed films that “inspired” the Secretary of State for Scotland at the time, Michael Forsyth, to propose the one-door film agency venture in the first place, such as *Braveheart* or *Rob Roy* (Scottish Herald, 16 April 1996), are dragged into the industrial and market worlds by the suggestion to convert them in “theme-parks” complemented with other “revenue-earning leisure business” as part of the proposed film studio (p. 124). Scottish cultural heritage, including locations, is also given a heavy commercial spin by being referred to as “Scotland’s media product”, which needs “improved marketing” (p. 122). The world of fame has a modest presence in the report in the form of *Festivals*, but these are also envisaged for their potential to enhance industrial efficiency through their formalisation under a “trade forum banner” (p. 121).

In addition to its main recommendations, the report dedicates a section to advising the Scottish Government on tax incentive programmes to promote film production and once more brings attention to the importance of well-defined procedures by mentioning that these programmes should be “carefully structured” (p.128). Another element regarding the recommended tax incentive programmes indicating that the report “speaks” from an industrial world where the operations of professional organisations are favoured over individual initiatives is the suggestion that tax-related advantages should “not be made available to individual tax payers (who are rarely interested in anything other than tax avoidance) but to corporates”.

### ***From Recommendations to Situated Action***

The recommendations made in the report *Scotland on Screen* are, like politics, confined to the world of theory and possibilities. The analysts describe what they think the new agency “should” be and do, which as the findings in this chapter show, did not always coincide with what the organisation did, or what some film sector professionals thought it should be doing. In fact, as early as October 1997, only a few months after Scottish Screen’s launch, in a document produced by the Scottish branch of the Producers Alliance for Cinema and Television (PACT) Scottish Screen was urged to “get back to Hydra”, so strong was the perception by industry professionals that its recommendations were not being taken on board by the agency.

The fact that most of the elements invoked in the report belong to the industrial world echoes Boltanski and Thévenot’s (2006, p. 41) proposition that the easiest way to construct a situation that holds together is to include in it beings which share the same nature, that is, which belong to the same world of worth, and to exclude from it beings of different natures. However, this kind of homogeneity is hard to sustain in an organisational setting, and two major factors would immediately get in the way of Scottish Screen’s intended industrial remit. The first one was that the organisation was conceived under the Conservative government, but it started functioning under a new administration with a different political agenda after the New Labour Party won the 1997 election, and so the commercial logic driving the recommendations in the Hydra Report would be challenged by some organisational agents and stakeholders in the midst of significant political changes that called for a cultural strategy in line with Scotland’s new status as a devolved nation.

The second major factor that challenged the commercial remit recommended by *Scotland On Screen* was that all of the 36 original members of Scottish Screen staff came from the four predecessor bodies it amalgamated (Hibberd, 2008), whose remits were mostly driven by a cultural logic (see Case Study Context chapter). The fusion of roles, more problematic in practice than in theory, turned into a lengthy, complicated process. In the first Scottish Screen annual review (1997-1998), chairman James Lee said that integrating four different organisations “while taking on additional roles with no additional resources, is nothing short of a Herculean task” (p. 2), a task that, according to some key members of Scottish Screen, was never fully achieved. As one of the organisation’s CEOs indicated:



I was very conscious when I took over at Scottish Screen that all the bits and pieces were not working together well. And I was very keen to try and get them all talking. It was very hard, actually, much harder than I'd anticipated, because people have their own agendas, you know.

Similarly, another CEO pointed out that

I walked in the door on day one and you could see actually from the website and having done research beforehand, you could still see the predecessor bodies in effect. People were employees of Scottish Screen, but you could see the people – or their functions – who were Scottish Film Council, who were Scottish Film & Broadcast Training, Scottish Screen Locations, Scottish Film Production Fund, and very little seemed to have been done to really try and break down those internal divides.

The different “agendas” present at Scottish Screen stem from what Boltanski and Thévenot call different forms of generality (2006, p. 8), each with their own set of conceptual tools for establishing equivalences and coordinating organisational activity according to a predominant higher common principle. Indeed, as will be shown, not only members of staff, but also stakeholders and the UK and Scottish Governments often had disparate views about whether the predominant form of generality underpinning the organisation's remit and strategy should be based on tradition and trust (domestic worth), standardization and efficiency (industrial worth), recognition and reputation (worth of fame), transparency and equality of opportunities (civic worth), financial revenue (market worth), or creative brilliance (inspired worth). Inevitably, in most situations that implied significant readjustments, critiques, or justifications, several or all of these forms of generality are relevant to some degree, but organisational agents tend to minimise complexity by relying mostly on one of them and reducing the others to instances of particularity (Boltanski and Thévenot's 2006. p. 127).

Of all the four predecessor bodies, the Scottish Film Production Fund (SFPPF) is the one which bears the closest resemblance with Scottish Screen when it comes to conflict arising from a mixed remit, as it came into being to make up for the fact that body officially responsible for the promotion of film in Scotland – the Scottish Film Council – had no element in its

government grant to cover production. A former senior manager at the SFPF seemed to understand from very early on the importance of making things tangible through the use of objects when it comes to justifying decisions and stabilising situations in complex organisational settings, particularly in one involving creative goods. This participant explains how he attempted to use objects to make legitimate the functioning of the Production Fund after it was transformed by Lottery money becoming available – an injection of cash that brought new possibilities for film development in Scotland but also meant that the organisation became more closely scrutinised:

What we agreed... – I can't remember what the amounts were – We agreed on a kind of "hours to be notified" system. Initially it was just me and my secretary who were working on the Lottery side, but I was able to identify a lot of hours where I was working on the Lottery – not just in terms of specific investments, but also talking to people about how to make investments. So that meant that the hours to be notified... (*makes a gesture to indicate that the hours accumulated*). So the fees started to come into the Production Fund and I had to work on two things. To a certain extent, I had to add supplementary things so that I could hire more people. And of course if I hired more people, I would be able to increase the hours to be notified because those people would be working on the Lottery. So it became a kind of solar energy mechanism, which was quite legitimate. What I was able to do, for example, was to hire someone to look after short films production specifically and she took on all that work and they became hours to be notified to do with the Lottery investment and it meant that I was able to hire someone on the development side. It didn't grow like topsy, but it did expand the work and meant that we were able to cope with the expanded opportunities. The Arts Council got a bit pissed off, but when I produced the timesheets, like a lawyer, they said, "Okay".

This example illustrates the importance of industrial objects in organisational arrangements, particularly in the face of public scrutiny. The interviewer relied on the hours to be notified system as a tangible arrangement with which to back some of his expenses and management decisions [*"when I produced the timesheets, like a lawyer, they said, 'Okay'"*].

This same participant describes himself as the "chief architect of Scottish Screen", since it

was he who in 1995 wrote a proposal for a new company to co-ordinate existing film investment and to raise new sources of finance. Less than two years later Scottish Screen was established and six weeks later it was officially launched at Cannes Film Festival in May 1997. But in the meantime, the Production Fund had to deal with some delicate situations concerning use of funds. It was criticised for being predominantly concerned with film as culture and for disregarding industry led initiatives (Lockerbie, 1990: 172). In 1997, member of the board Bill Forsyth, one of the most successful Scottish film directors at the time (*That Sinking Feeling* 1980, *Gregory's Girl* 1981, *Local Hero* 1985), stepped down and made a series of allegations against the Fund, accusing it of cronyism and lack of objectivity (McCracken 2008) after funds were awarded to board member Allan Schiach's film *Regeneration* (MacKinnon, 1997). It was not unusual for members of the board to apply for and receive funding from the SFPF (Lockerbie, 1990), a practice which is highly objectionable from a civic stance, as it goes against the civic values of inclusion and transparency. It is in fact an example of what Boltanski and Thévenot (2006, p. 186) call "the fall" in the civic polity: the temptation that subjects (in this case the bureaucrats handling public money for film development projects) can feel towards what is perceived in the civic world as self-serving individualism. In order to avoid this tendency, moral beings are stabilised in the civic world by means of objects favouring transparency and collective representation, such as codes and legislations (p. 188). It is to these objects that a senior manager at the Scottish Film Production Fund resorts to in order to justify panel members using funds for their own projects. He says that "there was no formal breach of anything", as the practice was not legally forbidden.

Another key figure during the transitional years who held a senior position at the Scottish Film Council offers views that throw some light on the predominant orders of worth in some of the predecessor bodies and how these impacted on Scottish Screen. This participant's predominant reliance on the domestic values of personal relationships and hierarchy based on tradition is reflected in his tendency, when interviewed, to narrate "anecdotes in which exemplary behavior on the part of the appreciated person is identified and offered as a model" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 176). For instance, he gives a long explanation (of which I offer an excerpt below) in which he brings attention to the importance of domestic worth by mentioning that, despite one of the films he decided to support being a commercial failure, the director (Bill Forsyth) was "deeply grateful". Expressing gratitude is one of the actions - what

Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) call *Natural Relationships Among Beings* (p. 143) - that represents a well-ordered world according to domestic worth (p. 173):

Bill Forsyth wanted to make the sequel to *Gregory's Girl*, which was a film which was called *Gregory's Two Girls*, where the central character comes back to where he was before and there'd be a lot of iffiness at Scottish Screen about proposing it. So when the proposal came to the Arts Council committee and they looked at me, I went with the view that even if Scottish Screen hadn't been that keen, I was quite convinced that because of Bill and his reputation, this was worth putting money into (...) Of course you could argue that Scottish Screen was right and I was wrong because *Gregory's Two Girls*, it didn't exactly bomb, but it certainly didn't do too well and I doubt if the Lottery ever got its money back (...) Bill was deeply grateful, but honestly, I thought it was a really sharp case.

Most of this interviewer's statements, like the ones below, show a predilection for including elements of the domestic world (such as good relationships on an individual basis between the agency's officers and civil servants) and for allowing a certain flexibility for creativity and risk, the latter elements being values typically invoked within the confines of the world of inspiration. Such elements, however, are difficult to reconcile with the civic aspect inherent to organisations in charge of managing public money. Especially difficult to harmonise are the higher principles of civic and domestic worth, as the former rests on the pre-eminence of collectives (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006, p. 185) and the latter on particularity according to tradition and personal relationships (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006, p. 165). The fragility of such a compromise is apparent in some of the participant's accounts where he starts by invoking civic elements in his arguments but then turns to domestic worth to explain why some things were done, or how they should have been done. For instance, while being very aware of the changing political climate and cultural policy surrounding Scottish Screen's establishment and its early years, he does not believe that its creation was linked to any broad political mood, and attributes it instead to the enthusiasm of particular individuals:

It starts basically with climate, but it is about the particular perceptions of individuals who are within the political establishment, because every now and again there will be someone who's enthusiastic about film. I could name people in the current Scottish government who are enthusiastic about film and who acknowledge the value of film. So I don't think it's just purely broad climate. It's the predilections and perceptions of individuals.

This emphasis on individuals and relationships permeates most of his arguments about what function Scottish Screen should have served. When talking about "relations between Scottish Screen officers and the civil servant who is allocated", that is, the civil servant ultimately responsible for releasing public money for screen activities, he again emphasises the importance of forging good relationships with civil servants on a personal basis:

I was the accounting officer for the Scottish Film Council, which was accountable to Government, and the relationship between the accounting officer and the civil servant who is allocated... Luckily I had very good relationships with these people, but you have to work at it, and the last thing you want is to be at odds, you don't want to be watching things like the Leveson Enquiry. That business of the relationship between authority and the institutions and where the civil service, where the public services come within that layer is absolutely crucial.

Another example of the unevenness of the relatively low weight this interviewee places on civic values is his concept of the relation of such values to artistic freedom. He thinks the latter should prevail in the film sector and talks about the danger of public funding policies becoming an obstacle to creative expression:

"There's always going to be a tension there and that's fine, but you can complain about the funder wanting to direct, sometimes wanting to contain the ambitions of the filmmaker. And again this is about who owns things, it's always that way. But you do sometimes see this as being... It can be pretty destructive. And if I was going to do my sell box on the subject of Creative Scotland [the public body Scottish Screen became a

part of in 2010], it would be that I see it becoming more and more *dirigiste*. It's as if its rules are becoming narrower and narrower. If you apply for something at Creative Scotland, you'll find that the tick boxes at the beginning are to do with outreach, inclusion, what community it ought to serve, all those kinds of things... Not, is it going to be any good?"

The idea of basing funding decisions on the ethereal concept of things "being any good" stems from the world of inspiration, where what is worthy "cannot be measured, especially in its industrial forms" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 159). Critiques about "rules becoming narrower and narrower" and "tick boxes" are made in here in relation to Creative Scotland, but they are relevant to an examination of Scottish Screen, since these measures are an extension of the reinforced industrial and civic policies implemented at a later stage at Scottish Screen (these policies are examined in the third empirical chapter). The participant considers such measures "defensive" and an obstacle to creative talent:

"It is a defensive measure in case 'we give money to something that goes wrong'. But of course it is absolutely essential to give money to things that may go wrong. You have to allow the creative dimension of film making to take its risk."

This statement is again firmly anchored in the inspired world, where accepting risks and abandoning norms is precisely the investment or sacrifice subjects must be willing to make in order to become worthy (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006, p. 161). On the subject of risk, he adds:

I hope the pendulum will swing back towards artistic freedom, which is much easier to argue if you are a painter and are arguing for funding that amounts to hundreds of thousands than if you are a film maker and your budget amounts to many millions. They get nervous about spending millions on a risk.

One way in which he thinks the inspired element of artistic freedom might be allowed to flourish is by strengthening bonds between government representatives, the film community and organisational officers. This suggestion implies a compromise between domestic values that

grant importance to personal relations and the civic component of inclusion inherent to the distribution of public funds. This compromise, according to this individual, is fundamental to keep what he considers an inevitable tension between commercial and cultural imperatives from spiralling into conflict:

Of course the tension between the creative and the commercial is always going to be there, but it can be very healthy. Nothing's ever going to change that, but if you don't have an identifiable agency with a good relationship with its funders – the government – and a good relationship with its constituency, or as good a relationship as you can get, then I just... I refused to be pessimistic by nature... The key is to get the structures right.

In sum, the remits of the Scottish Broadcast and Film Training (to back good industrial practices) and Scottish Screen Locations (to promote film shoots in Scotland) were both under the scope of what Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) call the industrial world, whose functionality “expressed in an organisation ... is based on the efficiency of beings, their performance, their productivity, and their capacity to ensure normal operations and to respond usefully to needs” (p. 204). However, the Scottish Film Council and the Scottish Film Production Fund, having as part of their remit making decisions about specific projects, suffered from conflicts between different orders of worth, just as Scottish Screen would years later. The presence of contending orders of worth in decisions related to specific funding applications are examined in the next section.

### **Lack of Industrial Worth in Early Funding Application Processes**

As well as in individuals' accounts and organisational documents, the pre-eminence of elements belonging to different worlds of worth in the organisation's decision-making process is also reflected in the types of films it funded during its early years and in how money allocation decisions were justified and documented. In contrast to the industrial rigor recommended by the Hydra report, it is possible to find applications that lack relevant documentation backing statements about co-funding being in place (shortcomings that applicants try to make up for by resorting to, for instance, the potential cultural value of the film). Let us take the example of a film project about the construction of the new Scottish Parliament. A production company applied to Scottish Screen for a 35% of additional costs they had incurred on due to

“unforeseeable tragedies and delays that had extended the timeline for completion of Scotland’s new Parliament, and thus for our film project by 2 years” (p. 4 of the application file). The total amount requested was £95,000, an additional amount of funding which, in the words of the applicant, was “essential to complete a film that documents a key event in Scotland’s history.” The last sentence, grounded in the civic world by appealing to the project’s importance for Scotland as a collective is representative of the extremely succinct arguments put forward by the applicant in support of his application. While the reasons behind the delay are clearly stated (time overruns and changes to the building project due to the death of both the architect and Scotland’s First Minister) and the applicant brings attention, from the industrial world, to the fact that the delays were “not the result of any incompetence at the production company” (p. 2), the document does not contain any arguments trying to persuade Scottish Screen to release funds on the grounds of potential commercial success.

Arguments driven by a commercial logic are equally absent in another application belonging to this early period. The production company requested £123,000 from Scottish Screen in support of a £515,682 budget documentary film about a well known Scottish percussionist. The applicant admitted that the project was “very difficult to finance apart from public sources”; in the section dedicated to details about partnership funding there is only one phrase, “largely in place” without further elaboration; and the list of documents attached reads “none”. In terms of orders of worth, this application is weakly equipped when it comes to industrial elements: the application offers little evidence that the production company is in a position to gather the necessary co-funding to finish and market the project. In other words, there are no elements supporting the industrial higher common principle of commercial efficiency that underpinned the rationale behind the creation of the agency. Instead, the application focuses on aspects driven by a cultural logic by drawing on elements (*italicised in the examples below*) belonging to:

The world of fame (public recognition and prestige):

“Evelyn Glennie [the film’s subject] is a figure of *world renown*” (p. 6);

“Thomas Reidelsheimer [the film director] has just won the *Grand Prix* at the Montreal *Festival des Films sur Arts* (p. 7);



“we confidently expect the film to be shown at the Edinburgh *festival* and at other *festivals* throughout the UK” (p. 8)

The inspired world (creative genius; inspiration):

“Evelyn Glennie is one of Scotland’s *musical talents*” (p. 6)

“we believe the *artistic quality* of this film to be secure” (p. 7);

“the proposal originated from a *conversation* between the key members of the *creative team* – Evelyn Glennie and Thomas Riedelsheimer. We therefore consider the creative team to be supremely appropriate” (p. 8);

“(the lottery funding) will enable the producers to concentrate on *high artistic quality* and not rely solely on commercial sources of money that are less quality driven” (p. 8).

“(other funding sources) simply don’t exist in the UK for a film of this *high artistic and cultural documentary content*” (p. 8);

and the civic world (the pre-eminence of collectives; accessibility):

“Because of its more *accessible subject matter*, we expect even *larger audiences* to benefit from this film than they did from Thomas Riedelsheimer’s previous arts documentary” (p. 6)

“Evelyn Glennie is, of course, profoundly deaf and we expect the film will be an enormous *encouragement to people with every kind of physical disability*, Scottish Screen are in possession of our company’s *equal opportunities policy*” (p. 8).

Let us now take in turn each of these three orders of worth underlying the application:

Stating that the subject matter of the film is a person of “world renown” automatically grants worth to the project in the world of fame, as in this world fame establishes worth; worthy beings are those that “are visible, famous, recognized” (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 180).

A second element used to enhance the project’s worthiness in the fame ordering is the mention of “festivals” in relation to both the director and the film itself. The director having won an award at a prestigious arts festival means, in the world of fame, that he is someone worthy of

attention by virtue of having gained approval at a peak public display moment. In the world of fame, as opposed to, for example, the world of inspiration, only worth attributed by public opinion counts and is real. Festivals and award ceremonies, therefore, are the kind of demonstration of public opinion judgement which reduces “the tension between the worth one attributes to oneself (ideal) and the worth that is attributed to one by others (real)” (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 184). The applicant also says that they are confident the film will be shown at several festivals throughout the UK. Festival showing immediately grants to the film the worthiness attached to public display in the world of fame, and opens up the possibility of favourable public judgement in the form of awards, which would enhance the film’s worth further.

As stated above, there exists a tension between worth in the world of fame, granted by others, and worth in the world of inspiration, where public opinion is disregarded. The value of inspiration is highlighted in the application by mentioning the film protagonist’s musical talent or the artistic quality of the film – values that from the standpoint of other worlds of worth, such as fame or industry, can be deemed as subjective and therefore not worthy. However, in filmmaking, because of its dual creative/commercial nature, it is common to link inspired elements to values inscribed in other orders of worth.

Also from the standpoint of inspiration, bringing attention to the fact that the project originated from a conversation between key members of the creative team is particularly significant. The alchemy of spontaneous encounters where people allow creativity to flow freely constitutes a natural relationship in the world of fame (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 162). Highlighting that it was this unplanned alchemy between creative forces that gave rise to the project, as opposed for instance to the industrial-like development techniques used by some big film studios, makes the project worthy in the inspired ordering.

The third predominant order of worth present in the application is civic, which attaches primordial importance to collectives. In this world, beings accede to the higher states of worth by representing or being part of a collective which embodies a general will or interest (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 187). There is this application excerpt an appeal to this form of worth represented by two different elements. The first one is the “greater accessibility of the subject matter” as opposed to the director’s previous film. An inaccessible, difficult subject matter that makes a film “unique” or “strange” makes the work worthy in the inspired world, but it is in

conflict with the civic principle of inclusion, reflected here in the sentence “Because of its more accessible subject matter, we expect even larger audiences to benefit from this film than they did from Thomas Riedelsheimer’s previous arts documentary”.

The second element aimed at granting civic worth to both the project and Scottish Screen is mentioning that the fact that the protagonist of the documentary is deaf should be an encouragement to people with physical disabilities. This statement highlights how individuals facing challenges can be empowered by breaking down their isolation and becoming part of a collective, in this case the collective made up of people with disabilities. Along with creative team behind a project that promotes this kind of civic awareness, Scottish Screen itself acquires civic worth by backing the project within the framework of its “equal opportunities policy”. In the civic world, tangible regulatory arrangements such as equal opportunities policies are typical tools that help “stabilize and equip the collective person to objectify them as to give them body, permanence, and presence”. (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 185).

The arguments (or lack thereof) put forward in both applications point to a perception on the part of the applicants of a cultural logic driving - or meant to drive - the agency during this period, which does not match the commercial remit proposed by *Scotland on Screen* and some of the later documents issued by the Government which are discussed below. Both projects, like most applications assessed in those early years, have a subject matter distinctly Scottish and applicants appealed mostly to the creative quality of the project (an element of the inspired world) or to issues of national history and identity (rooted in some cases in the domestic world guided by the higher principle of tradition, and in other cases in the civic world guided by the pre-eminence of collectives).

### **Orders of Worth Underlying Disputes over Public Funds**

One of the first issues that stirred conflict in relation to the role and responsibilities of the new “one-stop” screen agency (and closely related to money allocation decisions) was the distribution of Lottery funds for film, touched upon in some of the sections above and outlined in the introductory chapter of the thesis. When in 1996 the Lottery became available for film funding in Scotland, the Scottish Film Production Fund (one of the four bodies that would become part of Scottish Screen in 1997) started acting as main advisor to the Scottish Arts Council for channelling financial support for filmmaking. Once Scottish Screen became fully established, its

management argued that, as the NDPB for the screen industries, the agency should have full responsibility for Lottery film funding. Since the idea was heavily resisted by the SAC, this would not happen until May 2000. During the lengthy process, one particular episode illustrates Boltanski and Thévenot's claim that arguments grounded in a single order of worth, where associations are consistently based on one single principle (2006, p. 146) are more likely to succeed in the course of disputes: Scottish Screen's request gained support when the rationale behind the SAC's funding decisions was questioned following the latter's refusal to support the production of *Cinderella*, a project that would have meant a £3 million investment in Scotland and had been unanimously supported by the Scottish Screen production panel (Hibberd, 2008). Following the episode, a representative of PACT Scotland wrote a letter to the Minister for Culture, Arts and the Media, asking for the power to allocate Lottery film money to be transferred from the SAC to Scottish Screen. In the letter, where PACT stated that the Scottish Arts Council continued "to fail to adequately understand the culture and business of film-making", the attempt to persuade the Government that funding allocation procedures be modified rests on the civic order of worth and its higher principle of inclusivity. The letter, held at the Scottish Screen Archive, reads that there was "overwhelming consensus" among the film production sector that the funding be moved to Scottish Screen, and reinforced the statement by closing with a reminder that the proposal had "the full backing of the Scottish Screen independent production", thus bringing attention to the importance of giving priority to collectives over individual wills. This was echoed by further public criticism directed at the SAC's decision not to back *Cinderella*, which was described as an "exercise in muscle-flexing by the SAC in an attempt to assert its independence" (The Scotsman, 1997). The term "independence" is used here to issue a critique from the civic world, where attribution of worth is based on representation, and worthy beings (individuals or organisations) are those who express the aspirations of the masses (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006, p. 191). More critiques stemming from the civic world were directed at the SAC at a meeting in the House of Commons in December that same year (Hibberd, 2008), where the organisation was labelled as secretive and elitist, attributes that characterise "the fall" in the civic world: the civic polity "comes apart when it yields to the *particular*" (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006, p. 193). About a month later an enquiry was launched by the Scottish Executive into Lottery funds distribution by the SAC, and in October 1998 the Chair of the SAC Lottery Committee announced the SAC's decision to transfer the

power to Scottish Screen.

The Lottery issue saw two groups forming one of the parties in the dispute – the party composed of Scottish Screen and the industry professionals – come together against the other party (the SAC) by rising above their differences regarding the logic, commercial or cultural, that should guide film funding and by anchoring their arguments in one single world of worth (civic). The homogeneity of their position in terms of orders of worth made their case stronger, less vulnerable to counter attacks, and their goal of having control of Lottery funding transferred to Scottish Screen was finally achieved and became effective in May 2000.

However, differences between these two groups that joined forces in the dispute with the SAC would come to the fore on other levels. Some of the same industry professionals that backed Scottish Screen in their quest to take control over Lottery funds had joined together as early as May 1997 to form Scottish Stand, a lobby group protesting that Scottish Screen was failing to adequately consult with industry practitioners. Although the group did not survive for long, its interaction with Scottish Screen is interesting in terms of the orders of worth it mobilised in their attempts to impact on Scottish Screen's money allocation practices. The diversity of orders or worth invoked by Scottish Stand in such attempts is reflected in the lack of a common frame of reference that actors could collectively resort to in support of their arguments. The group dissolved only about half a year later and, when asked about his opinion on why the initiative was so short-lived, a former senior manager at the Scottish Film Production Fund stated that the reason they disbanded so soon was that "there wasn't a coherent strategy, what had brought them together was disgruntlement". The participant did not elaborate on this statement, but a summary report of a meeting held by Stand on July 1997 does indeed point to the same lack of focus that they were accusing Scottish Screen of. In terms of orders of worth, this translates into the impossibility of singling out one, or even two, predominant common worlds in the four-page summary report, which opens as follows:

At the workshop the forum was asked to examine five questions with view to recording the democratic response all of strata present of Scottish Film Industry. An introductory question: 'If the Scottish Film Industry could be represented by a colour, what would it be and why?' Initially intended as an "ice-breaker" this yielded towards what was to be a common theme running through many responses to the workshop questions. From these

responses came an overriding impression of a workforce with an abiding sense of frustration that their voice is not being heard and that the means by which decisions are made affecting people's lives are outdated and out of touch with the film industry as it now is. The colour predominantly indicated was black, with interpretations of being both absorbent and non-reflective. There was assent within Scottish Screen of being by-standers in their own industry. On a more positive note, the spontaneous response by such a large group of the Scottish Film Industry to assemble and lobby for their cause was perceived to be a bright light at the end of the tunnel. (Scottish Screen, Meeting Summary Report, July 1997, p. 1)

There is in this introductory paragraph an evident desire to bring attention to the importance of the civic principle of the pre-eminence of collectives by the use of elements belonging to the civic world such as *forum*, *large group*, *assemble*, *lobby* [subjects]; *strata* [objects]; *democratic response* [state of worthiness], *voice not being heard* [state of unworthiness, the fall]. The report then moves on to the perceived shortcomings of existing funding schemes offered by Scottish Screen, which according to them operated "in ways that suit the funding bodies best but not the recipients of the awards" (p. 1). In support of this critique they invoke a mix of elements belonging to the industrial world such as *budgets*, *funds*, *strategy*, or *advancement* and the inspired world, such as *creative use* (of funds) (pp. 1-2) to criticise an approach grounded in the domestic world, where it is acceptable and even desirable to accord favours to particular individuals one appreciates (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006, p. 171). The report criticises Scottish Screen for some measures grounded in domestic worth by saying that accessibility is "so confined as to lead to elitism".

The various critiques are directed to what is considered "the fall" in different orders of worth: domestic (elitism), civic (lack of inclusion), inspired (lack of creativity), and industrial (lack of "coordinated strategy", need for a "coordinated funding policy", "no coherent policy") (p. 2). In addition to the plurality of orders of worth invoked and criticised, what makes it impossible to ground the report's message in a particular order of worth or a compromise involving several orderings, is the statement "Scottish film should not have any particular definable qualities". The idea of a Scottish film not having any definable qualities might be welcome by creative talent because of the creative freedom it allows for. For a screen public funder, however, not having

definable qualities which can be put in a relation of equivalence to tangible objects makes it difficult to establish criteria against which to assess applications.

Scottish Stand's trajectory, although short-lived, is illustrative of the rise and fall in the civic world. The group came together in the first place to break the isolation of individual film professionals and, by forming a collective, to get empowered in their attempt to impact Scottish Screen's operations. This is how beings become worthy in the civic world: by representing or becoming part of a collective. However, maintaining the collective requires a well defined common principle that includes and transcends its individual members. Without this, which is what an interviewee could be referring to by lack of "coherent strategy", the collective runs the risk of disintegrating as a unit and to become instead "no more than a sum of individuals moved by their individual interests". Indeed, Scottish Stand disbanded after only a few months and the diversity of opinions it had encompassed would be from then on voice on an individual basis, mostly through the press (Hibberd, 2008).

In terms of points of agreement expressed by interviewees belonging to this early period, as well at the Lottery funding issue discussed above, it is worth mentioning that they all saw the establishment of Scottish Screen as a positive development. One participant highlighted the logistical advantages of putting "physically under one roof" four separate entities", but his account does not reflect awareness of a significant change of remit associated to the creation of a unitary agency. This coincides with some statements made by later organisational agents who claimed that, although Scottish Screen was in theory one single body, before the 2005 restructuration, it was still possible to see four separate entities at work within it.

Another point of agreement that transpires from individuals' accounts is the critique of the idea of a narrowly defined mission that should underpin all activities of the agency. Senior personal in this early period often expressed the idea that Scottish Screen's remit should be flexible, in line with the pluralistic nature of screen activity, and adapt to the nature of each important decision instead of being put "in an iron cast framework which is meant to address all situations", as one interviewee puts it, when he refers to stricter funding application methods and requirements put in place later on (examined in the third empirical chapter).

In the statements made by interviewees who were involved with Scottish Screen in its early years there are calls for fluidity, a perceived need to "deal with the world as you find it", but not all calls are grounded in the same world of worth. Some of these calls come from the inspired

world: assessment should be more based on “Is this going to be any good?”. Others come from the civic or domestic world, as reflected in the use of categories related to collectives or tradition, such as “employing Scottish people” or “something that is seen as traditionally Scottish”. What most of them have in common is a call for flexibility, which may cause decisions makers to “make mistakes, but you will also stumble upon things which you might otherwise have passed over because of the rules.” Again, this last statement is grounded in the inspired world, where spontaneity is considered a virtue of the worthy (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 159).

### **Orders or Worth Mobilised in Communication through Official Channels**

Agents’ accounts during interviews reveal what they think, retrospectively and individually, about what the agency’s purpose was or should have been and offer a glimpse of the predominant orders of worth (civic, inspired and domestic) that were invoked to justify their various views and decisions, which are linked together by a shift away from the strongly commercial remit suggested by *Scotland on Screen*. But during its active years, Scottish Screen was, as a NDPB, accountable to the UK and Scottish Governments, so it had to reflect upon its function, actions and goals and make collective statements about them through official channels, sometimes in response to reviews issued by the Scottish Government.

Three documents are particularly pertinent for what they reflect of Scottish Screen’s approach to its remit and initiatives in this early period: the organisation’s first Management Statement (1997), the National Cultural Strategy (2000), and the first review of the agency by the Scottish Executive issued in 2001. The organisation’s first Management Statement is an early attempt by the agency to present to the government, in an official document, its own perception of its purpose and how it intends to pursue its objectives. The document offers important information as to how different orders of worth impacted on the agency’s official communications and how this impact compares to that reflected in organisational agents’ accounts, outlined above.

The National Cultural Strategy, issued by the Scottish Executive three years later is not directed specifically to Scottish Screen, but, in the wider framework of the Scottish creative industries, it gives the agency some very general additional statements of function. It is the vagueness of these statements of function which makes the document significant, as it implies that Scottish Screen’s management had a significant amount of freedom in terms of developing its own structure and initiatives, whatever order of worth they might inscribe this in.



The first official review of the agency by the Scottish Executive issued in 2002 evaluates in detail the agency's perceived performance from 1997. Since the conclusions in the review are partly drawn from a study that included surveys about Scottish Screen at national level, they include insights by industry professionals and the Scottish public at large, which brings into play a variety of orders of worth among which industrial and civic prevail, as shown further below. Let us now take each of these three documents in turn.

The examination of Scottish Screen first Management Statement shows the agency's willingness to combine a commercial remit with boosting work that "would play an important role at the heart of a revitalised national culture" (Petrie 2000, p. 226). The language in the document reflects a resistance to let go of a cultural element in the agency's remit, and elements belonging to the inspired (*art, talent*), domestic (*heritage*), and civic worlds (*local support services*) appear alongside elements of the industrial world which featured so prominently in *Scotland on Screen*'s recommendations. There seems to be an awareness that the commercial demands that drove the establishment of the agency could not be ignored in public documents, as shown by some statements that, however vague, attempt to reconcile commercial and cultural demands. One example is the following excerpt, which outlines some very general functions of the agency by appealing to its potential to both strengthen the industry and preserve Scottish heritage. Overriding this overall commercial-cultural duality, elements belonging to multiple orders of worth (signalled in brackets) are present:

"The Board (of Scottish Screen) is established to encourage the development of the screen arts (which include television and new media related to film and television) in Scotland and has the following functions:

*"to develop and implement a strategy* [industrial worth] *for the growth* [industrial] *of the screen (film, television and related media) industry in Scotland;*

*to promote* [market] *Scotland as a location for film-making;*

*to stimulate and promote interest* [market] *in and access* [civic] *to film in Scotland;*

*to preserve and make available* [civic] *Scotland's film and television heritage* [domestic];

*and*

*to advise* [industrial] *the Scottish Ministers on any matters relating to the screen arts."*

(p.10, emphases added)

The Management Statement was updated in 1999, after devolution, to include a set of more detailed objectives? aimed again at reconciling commercial and cultural imperatives. The acknowledged need to fuel the industry is combined with an emphasis on “locality”, which highlights the civic element of collectives embodied by the Scottish nation:

“to encourage and support the development and production of locally based films for cinema and television release,  
to work actively with the Enterprise Network, local authorities and other bodies to secure the infrastructure to meet the current and future business needs of the screen industry in Scotland,  
to promote the awareness of and the use of Scottish locations for filming and photography,  
to assist in the promotion of Scottish talent and local support services and in the effective marketing of Scottish-produced film and television products”. (pp. 10-11)

In the above statement civic elements that represent the Scottish nation (locally based films, local authorities, Scottish locations, Scottish-produced film) are preceded in each sentence by elements belonging to the industrial world, where worth is granted by organisational efficiency. Elements like *development*, *production*, *infrastructure*, and *business needs* are in line with the principles of standardisation, functionality and stability in which the industrial form of generality is grounded. Even an element like *business needs*, which typically belongs in the market world of worth guided by the principle of competition, is used here to mobilise industrial worth by being part of a sentence that highlights the value of stability over time: *to secure the infrastructure to meet the current and future business needs of the screen industry*. In the market world, opportunism is the investment formula that grants access to desired goods and value is not attached to future prospects. By contrast, in the industrial world, the worth of beings (subjects and objects) often translates into their capacity to predict and organise future action (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 207). It is this typically industrial capacity for prediction that the above Management Statement appeals to by making references to the agency’s “future business needs”.

The following year, The National Cultural Strategy (2000) gave Scottish Screen – as one of

the Scottish creative industries – four main, very general, statements of function involving several orders of worth, to be discussed in more detail below:

“Promote creativity, the arts, and other cultural activity [industrial, inspired];  
Celebrate Scotland’s cultural heritage in its full diversity [civic, domestic]  
Realise culture’s potential contribution to education, promoting inclusion and enhancing people’s quality of life [civic]  
Assure an effective national support framework for culture [industrial, inspired]” (p. 1)

The first function links inspiration (arts, creativity) with industrial values by talking of “promoting” creativity. Within the limits of the inspired world, creativity is spontaneous and unpredictable and therefore it cannot be subjected to an industrial operation such as “promoting”, which implies planning, calculation, and predicting future performance. The sentence “to promote creativity” suggests the possibility of a compromise between inspired and industrial elements.

“Scottish cultural heritage” can be inscribed in two orders of worth: civic, by including the Scottish people, and domestic, by trying to preserve traditions from one generation to the next. A further appeal to civic values is contained in the third statement of function, as it is strongly focused on collectives (inclusion and enhancing people’s quality of life). The last statement of function suggests the possibility of reconciling industrial and inspired values by stabilising and standardising creative activity (*effective national support framework for culture*). The suggested use of an “effective framework” implies intended stability and standardisations, feature which grant worth in the industrial world.

As mentioned earlier, 2000 was also the year that Scottish Screen took over the role of Lottery funds distributor after a long battle with the Scottish Arts Council. Along with a significantly higher amount of annual money to manage, came a reinforcement of commercial imperatives. In accordance with the direction under section 26 (1) of the National Lottery Act 1993, the agency would now have to allocate money taking into account “the need to foster within Scotland the development of a sustainable film industry.” Once again, commercial demands were made on the agency in a political context where a culture-fostering national policy had been gaining strength since the beginning of the devolution process. An added difficulty in

this situation was the controversy over lottery money discussed above. Members of the film industry, as well as demanding that there should be more consultations with producers before any decision was reached about how Lottery cash was distributed, accused Scottish Screen's first CEO of favouring a small group of filmmakers already known to the agency's board (Hibberd, 2008). This critique is addressed to the domestic world, where personal relationships are extremely important in granting worth. In the domestic world the higher common principle is manifested in demonstrations of trust by a superior, and beings "are worthy owing to the relationship that connects them to worthier beings by whom they are *appreciated* and *valued*" (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006, p. 165, emphases not added). Scottish Screen's first CEO resigned from his post in 2001 in the midst of controversy prompted mostly for unprecedented award of £620,000 to Peter Mullan's film *The Magdalene Sisters*.

The turbulence underlying Scottish Screen early years prompted a ministerial request to review the role and performance of Scottish Screen in the wider frame of a UK-level revision of all NDPBs. The result is the last major organisational document that forms the dataset related to the agency's early period: the 2001/2 Review by the Scottish Executive. The study, which included interviews with Scottish Screen clients, partners, and stakeholders concluded that, although there was evidence of achievement in some respects, the organisation had fallen short of expectations in a number of key areas that were part of its remit, some of its activities and programmes lacked specific objectives or evaluation measures, and their impacts were uncertain (p. 16).

Some criticisms emerged also in relation to governance and strategy, including references to communication and response quality, and concerns about the CEO's position embodying conflicting roles at operation and strategic level. Despite these comments, the view of the majority was that a national screen agency was necessary, and this view was supported mainly from two worlds of worth: industrial and inspired. From an industrial worth stance, the argument put forward was that, given its complex nature, filmmaking requires coordination and needs to be supported by a sound industrial infrastructure. From a different perspective, grounded in the inspired world, a national screen agency was seen as a symbol of the high cultural profile of Scottish film (p. 24, 25).

The review did not form a definitive view of Scottish Screen, but made some recommendations (p. 7, 8) supported mostly by elements belonging to the industrial world

(strategies, greater coherence, scheme development, support for film production, collaboration with other agencies) and, to a lesser degree, the civic world (transparency, review).

Also anchored in the industrial world are the conclusions drawn by an independent study commissioned by the Scottish Executive and also included in the review. They come in the form of critiques highlighting the lack or the inadequacy of industrial elements within the agency, labelled as an organisation with “underdeveloped systems” on several levels, mainly in terms of reporting, and in which “review of effectiveness is overshadowed by planning, which is itself under-quantified” (p. 26). In view of the issues raised, the study suggested alternatives to manage the Screen industries in Scotland, one of which would eventually become a reality some years later in the form of Creative Scotland, which resulted from the merger of Scottish Screen and the Scottish Arts Council.

## **Conclusion**

The problems inherited by amalgamating several predecessor bodies with their own structures and agendas were not the only obstacle for clearly establishing the purpose and strategy of the new Scottish national screen agency, Scottish Screen. Contending views about the new agency’s purpose arose from the fact that the organisation was conceived under the Conservative administration but started functioning under Labour in the middle of significant socio-political changes in Scotland. This circumstance, along with internal divides and unrest amongst film industry professionals with regards to the agency’s management of the resources at its disposal contributed to the first years of Scottish Screen operations being riddled with conflict and disagreements on what its remit was and what strategies it should implement.

While the government insisted on the agency’s paying more attention to some of the business-led imperatives it was meant to fulfil, antagonistic views developed within the organisation despite a common resistance to a predominantly commercial remit. Conflict derived mostly from the incompatibility between the domestic higher principle of tradition and personal relationships underpinning some practices and the civic principle of inclusion invoked by some organisational actors.

In 2001, the organisation's first CEO resigned from his post as a new, second, CEO took over the reins. The impact this change of management had on the agency and the new interplay of orders of worth it implied is examined in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 5. First Steps Away from Domestic Worth**

The previous chapter examined the prevalence of various orders of worth in Scottish Screen's early remit and strategy as reflected in organisational documents, personnel's accounts and assessments of film funding applications. In this chapter I look at how remit and strategy were reconsidered by both members of staff and the Scottish Executive following the resignation of the agency's first CEO and the orders of worth underlying the agency's activity under new management. The second Chief Executive, former Head of Production at Scottish Screen, took over from his predecessor in 2002 and his tenure lasted until 2005. He brought to the agency a new vision mostly driven by values stemming from what Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) called the world of fame, in which image and public opinion are the arbiters of worth. This chapter also examines the interplay of orders of worth revealed through the reactions of Scottish Screen's staff, film professionals and civil servants to the new management's strategy during this era.

The chapter starts with an outline of the new CEO's plans for Scottish Screen, which bring to the fore the importance he placed in the agency's image and its relationship with the press. I then examine in turn the two main initiatives undertaken during his tenure: moving from short films and risky investments to low budget feature-length films, and enhancing the agency's reputation. Statements of function are contrasted with actual practices by looking at some specific investment decisions. The impact on the agency of a significant presence of fame worth elements is examined mostly through interviews with its CEO and other key members of staff.

### **First Change of CEO: Reconsidering Scottish Screen's Remit and Strategy**

When a second CEO took the reins of Scottish Screen in August 2001, following his predecessor's departure one year ahead of schedule, defining and communicating the agency's purpose remained one of Scottish Screen's big challenges. On taking on the role, the new Chief Executive declared he would strive to make sure that the agency's work was better understood and spoke about the immediate need to work on the agency's response to that year's Executive review of public support for the screen industries (MacGregor, 2001), outlined in the previous chapter.

The new CEO had been Scottish Screen's Head of Production and, previously, he had worked

at the London Film and Video Development Agency, the British Film Institute, and the Scottish Film Council, one of Scottish Screen predecessor bodies. His professional background, in both the public and private sectors, made him think he was in a favourable situation for tackling some immediate challenges, such as redefining the agency's remit and bridging the gaps between its different departments:

“Getting everybody to talk to each other, to understand each other, was quite hard. Now, in a way I came from quite a privileged position because I'd worked in education, I'd worked in training, I'd worked in production... So I had a little foot in all these camps, and others didn't. So the main thing that I was trying to do was get a kind of unified organization.”

The importance of defining agency's role as a one-stop public organisation dedicated to the screen sector was shared by other prominent members of Scottish Screen of that era. A former Head of Script and Project Development who joined the agency about a year before the change of CEO, and left shortly afterwards, witnessed and participated in some of the measures undertaken to meet the challenges of this period. He agrees that lack of clarity about the agency's role was a problem dogging the organisation's development and reputation. He tied this broad theme to the more specific issue of how to decide what individual projects the agency should support:

“I think there is generally speaking – and I've seen this with both officers, executives, and with panel members – a real determination to try and balance the portfolio within the parameters of what the organisation is there to do.”

“What the organisation is there to do” was a point of contention with the Government and the filmmaking community since the very start, as shown in the previous chapter. The fact that Scottish Screen was a public body meant that those in charge of making decisions were under pressure to satisfy the civic values of outreach and inclusion over other elements:

“There is, I think, always a sense to a lesser or a greater degree of an obligation to do the best for the public, directly as potential audience scores or indirectly, because it's public money that you're spending. So if you put all the money on to higher risk projects it might be an interesting strategy, but it's a difficult strategy to justify, so there's always a



element of ‘If we support one or two solid-looking projects, we can afford one or two smaller investment in lower risk projects and overall we have the portfolio kind of worked out.’”

This quote reflects that complexity of managing creative activity with public money. Assessors might be drawn to the individualism, be it in the inspired sense by being driven to personal taste (even if this means supporting “higher risks projects), be it in the domestic sense by backing projects of people with whom they have a good relationship and whose reputation they trust instead of trying to foster new talent. The individualistic element of both these practices creates tensions with the civic duty of doing what is “best for the public”. Reconciling the conflicting elements involved in supporting a creative activity with public money had proved challenging for the previous management team, and the resignation of Scottish Screen’s first CEO coincided with the Scottish Executive review of 2001/2, which urged Scottish Screen leaders to review the organisation’s remit and to tackle problems related to daily operations and performance:

“The management statement which, at present, governs the relationship between Scottish Screen and the Executive should be revised to identify more clearly the Executive's priorities and to provide the basis for performance indicators.

Scottish Screen should be invited to set out underlying strategies in relation to the Screen Archive, the regional film theatres and the development of digital media access centres. These strategies should identify the added value of them being managed alongside support for the production community.” (Scottish Screen: A Review by the Scottish Executive 2002b, p. 7)

Mention of elements such as “performance indicators”, “strategies” and “added value” echoes the industrial recommendations of the Hydra report and reminds Scottish Screen management that during the agency’s early years these were not sufficiently taken into account. This view is reinforced by the conclusions drawn by an independent study commissioned by the Scottish Executive and also included in the review. The study is even more explicit when it comes to suggesting the implementation of systems whose performance can be measured and quantified:

“Issues relating to measuring and reporting effectiveness, the differing perceptions of the role of Scottish Screen, and the need for clearer links into the Executive's policy all

appear to require to be addressed, regardless of the possibility of any structural change/re-allocation of screen industry responsibilities following the wider review in the context of the creative industries as a whole.” (Scottish Screen: A Review by the Scottish Executive 2002b, p. 26)

Scottish Screen’s second CEO thought that these public reviews were detrimental to the agency and exacerbated the difficulties involved in the creation of a unified body:

I don’t think we ever fully succeeded in creating a unified body. It wasn’t helped by the fact that we were... As I said, the Scottish Executive didn’t really have a clear view of what it wanted us to do, so we were constantly under scrutiny. A part of the political process going on there was that, I don’t know, a particular producer or a particular community group would lobby their own MP, their own member of the Scottish Parliament, who would then instigate a review: ‘Why are we not doing more work for community video?’ ‘Why are we not doing more work in the Northern Isles?’ And so on and so forth. So we were constantly under review, because there was no buffer between Scottish Screen and all these kind of pressure groups, because the Scottish Executive didn’t provide that.”

Concern about being “under constant scrutiny” inscribes this critique in the world of fame, where public image establishes worth. A senior member of staff expressed in an interview his dissatisfaction towards representatives of the civic world, the government, for their failure to help establish a compromise between civic and fame principles that could have helped restored the agency’s reputation. The critique is in line with Boltanski and Thévenot’s statement about compromises between fame and civic elements. The authors, borrowing from Latour (1988), bring attention to the issue of “sanctioning” in the world of fame as an operation that “allows one being to increase its power by making an ally of another being” (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 321). The participant thinks that if the Scottish Executive had provided “a buffer” between Scottish Screen and certain pressure groups, Scottish Screen would have benefitted from the credit granted by official sanctioning (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 320). Instead, the participant thinks, civil servants were more concerned about pursuing civic causes of inclusion and outreach (e.g. video community work, work in the Northern Isles).

This individual thought that the problem might have been exacerbated by lack of interest or knowledge in the creative industries amongst Scottish civil servants:

“I think the Scottish Executive – and this is not excusing any kind of failures or problems at Scottish Screen – didn’t know what it was doing. And to be perfectly blunt, it is the same here at Creative Scotland. It took six years to establish it because no one really knew what it was they were trying to create. We had about, while I was there, five or six different ministers. You know, they came, they saw, and they went. And none of them actually, with the exception of Frank McAveety, none of them were interested in the brief. And it’s the same throughout the UK. The cultural brief is seen as kind of backwater, something you only get if you’re very low in the food chain.”

This critique directed to the Scottish Government is mostly inscribed in the industrial world, as it highlights the problems caused by lack of expertise and efficiency (“the Scottish Executive didn’t know what it was doing”), and by ill-defined projects which will not allow an efficient deployment of industrial objects and arrangements (“It took six years to establish [Creative Scotland] because no one really know what it was they were trying to create”).

Another prominent member of Scottish Screen staff during this period expressed views similar to the ones examined above in terms of lack of clarity about the agency’s role when she joined in 2001. In addition, she believed that some filmmakers that applied for funds had unrealistic expectations or an erroneous concept of Scottish Screen remit and scope of action:

“I think there was a lack of understanding about what the role of the organisation was and what those people’s expectations were, I guess. I think some people probably felt that it was the same people that were being supported over and over again by the organisation. They were trying to break in, but if you cannot get support it’s quite difficult and I suppose the money that the organisation had had come from the Arts Council, and the way you access financial support particularly was quite bureaucratic and that would put quite a lot of people off.”

In the above statement, the participant mentions two problematic issues related to funds allocation. The first one is the perceived feeling that “it was the same people being supported over and over again”. Those who had and voiced this perception were making a critique directed

at practices driven by domestic worth. In the domestic polity “every bond between beings is conceived as generating a familial bond: each man is a father to his subordinates and a son to his superiors” (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 91). However, as Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) explain, the familiar analogy does not necessarily refer to blood ties, but to bonds inscribed in hierarchies where beings are worthy “owing to the relation that connects them to worthier beings that by whom they are appreciated and valued” (p. 165). Organisational practices grounded in the domestic ordering, where personal relations are paramount, tend to be labelled as “favouritism” or “cronyism” by beings whose concept of worth stems from the industrial value of efficiency or the civic value of inclusion (see first empirical chapter of this thesis).

The second point of contention this interviewee mentions is the bureaucratic procedures involved in the applications process, which evolved and changed throughout the agency’s history but did always involved some degree of paper work and form-filling. Whether such procedures are deemed important by organisational members due to its contribution to industrial efficiency (officers can manage and follow up applications with this kind of bureaucratic support) or to civic equity (for example, by putting in place eligibility criteria which are as inclusive as possible), this critique is inscribed in the world of inspiration. The inspired value of spontaneity is in conflict with both industrial routines and the instruments used to enact them, as it does with the heavily instrumented practices of the civic world (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 239). Form filling and bureaucratic formalities are some of those instruments used to create stability and institutionalisation in the industrial and civic worlds respectively, and such procedures created tensions with some members of the filmmaking community who, in line with the inspired principle of spontaneity were in favour of a less rigid approach, as reflected in the statements examined above.

However, rigour in terms of remit and practices was precisely what the 2001 governmental review had urged the agency to enhance. Previous investment decisions based on a more relaxed, individualistic approach to specific projects had seriously damaged Scottish Screen’s reputation (see previous chapter), and the new Chief Executive set out to improve the situation. Two main initiatives were undertaken: changing funds distribution policies by focusing on low budget feature films, and trying to enhance the agency’s public image. I will take each in course to indicate the conflicting orders of worth each presented and how these conflicts were resolved.

## **New Funds Distribution Policies**

Trying to achieve a more equitable distribution of funds for film projects is an initiative underpinned by the civic value of inclusion and it is in contrast with some past practices that had led to criticism and controversy in Scottish Screen's earlier years. A particularly problematic example of such practices was the unprecedented investment of £620,000 on *The Magdalene Sisters*, written and directed by famous Scottish actor Peter Mullan (*Shallow Grave* 1994, *Braveheart* 1995, *Trainspotting* 1996), a decision which sparked the controversy that culminated with the resignation of Scottish Screen's first Chief Executive. Being aware of how Scottish Screen's reputation had been tarnished by problems deriving from this kind of risky investments driven by the domestic value of trust based on personal relations and tradition, the new CEO set out to strengthen the civic element of inclusion by splitting the agency's limited assets for film production through a greater number of smaller investments aimed at giving new filmmakers the opportunity to break into the feature-length movie arena. In a 2002 interview, he explained:

"These are the type of low budget films with which we are probably going to become most involved in the future since, given the limited production resources available to us – £2.5 million – we are unlikely to become very involved in big budget features except, perhaps, at the development stage". (*Vertigo Magazine*, 2002)

Scottish Screen's management team during this middle period decided that investing in low budget feature films was a good way to promote filmmaking activity in Scotland. This, however, still left unanswered questions about what projects to support, an issue which during this era was not only the responsibility of Scottish Screen staff, but it was also, and mostly, in the hands of external assessors. The next section looks at the function and perception of external panels in film-funding application processes.

Up until the 2005 management change Scottish Screen staff had to handle funding decisions along with a panel of external assessors comprised "of individuals with experience of both the Scottish and world-wide screen industries" (Scottish Screen Annual Report 2005/6, p. 2) with power of veto. Opinions about the advantages and disadvantages of this joint decision process vary amongst staff members. Some of what they say about this issue brings to the fore the same orders of worth underpinning their views about other aspects of the organisation's activities. A participant whose statements show an overall conviction that a public agency should keep a firm

grip on civic values, believes that there were some positive aspects to having external assessors' participate in money allocation decisions:

“There is again a permanent debate to be had about the virtues of officers' decisions versus panels. It goes very simply that panels ensure a kind of breath of experience, taste, knowledge, wisdom, they ensure a certain degree of probity because they are seen to neutralise the dangers of individual officers being captured by their friends of making friends in the industry and then favouring them, so in theory that kind of counters that favouritism. Although as we saw, famously with the Scottish Screen Production Fund and indeed with Scottish Screen, panels are in turn often accused of cronyism.”

This individual acknowledges that the domestic element of favouritism can apply to panels as well as to individual officers, but he insists, from a civic stance that shows concern about democratic fairness on decision-making processes, on the advantages of external panels collaborating with internal officers. However, as reflected in the statement below, the fact that personal relationships are important in decision-making processes involving external panels (who in addition had the final say in case of disagreement with an officer) means that such processes were dominated by domestic worth:

“It was an inheritance from the generic arts funding model, which was used in the Arts Council of England and the Scottish Arts Council, and it's currently subject to a fairly passionate debate within the arts community, where the model is having a panel of independent peers who play a more or less advisory or executive role in making decisions that are then implemented by officers. Often, panels are rarely in a position to read in depth and familiarise themselves with projects to the same degree as the officers advising the panel. So, again, it's about relationships and if there's a good relationship between the officer reporting or advising that panel, often the panel will go with the officer's judgement, and it's usually only those cases which are contentious for a whole variety of possible reasons, where the panel may then exercise its will more authoritatively. And sometimes they will reject recommendations of officers, and that can be because there's a consensus in the panel, or maybe because one or two members of the panel will articulate a reason why something shouldn't be supported and the rest of the panel will, as it were, agree with that.”

In the process described in the above quote, there are two elements that privilege domestic over industrial worth: the impact of personal relationships, and the external panel being able to “exercise its will more authoritatively” drawing on tradition rather than on a professional hierarchy inscribed within the agency. These elements are reminiscent of the predominance of domestic elements in the beginnings of the Scottish film sector, inherited by the Scottish Screen predecessor bodies and which the recommendations in the Hydra Report tried to steer the agency away from (see previous chapter). The risk that external panels’ authority posed to industrial efficiency and civic fairness in money allocation decisions is reflected in this statement by another senior member of Scottish Screen’s staff:

“There were definitely people on that panel that had friends in the industry that had made applications and they were being lobbied to vote for them or to provide them with support. And it was quite a big group of people, so obviously the more people you knew the more chance of the lobbying happening. It was just a bit of a strange decision-making process. There was never, or certainly when I joined, there was never any discussion about strategically whether these investments were worthwhile. It was basically a dozen people discussing whether they liked or didn’t like the script, whether they liked or didn’t like the director attached, or... So it had nothing to do with how you help companies build their business by supporting projects that have either commercial or artistic value. It was very much based on people’s likes and dislikes, and it was quite a disparate group of people so generally the decisions were made on the basis of the discussion about... You know, sometimes it would be that one person had a stronger opinion than another, or one person would be louder than another, or a bit more bullish... So decisions were made on personalities and their likes and dislikes, as opposed to ‘Is this the best thing for developing the industry in Scotland?’, which is a big change that [Scottish Screen’s third CEO] made I think, which was a really important one, there was much more objectivity.”

The statement is grounded in the industrial world, as it highlights the importance of elements aimed at long-term efficiency (strategy, business-building and company support). It contains an explicit critique to both domestic elements (personal relations) and inspired values (likes and dislikes) interfering with doing “the best thing for developing the industry in Scotland.” The critique is reinforced by contrasting these individualistic elements with an approval of measures

based on objectivity implemented within the organisation by the next CEO, which are examined in the next chapter. Meanwhile, the then management team made its own attempts at introducing a system resting on greater objectivity. A former staff member's views on the objectivity issue highlight the importance of objects (sometimes in the form of identifiable arrangements rather than physical objects) that make things visible or quantifiable in organisational settings, particularly in the course of contentious exchanges (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 12):

“Again, one of these wicked problems is that in any institution that is on one level or another charged with making aesthetic decisions, you can't objectify that process. There's going to be an element of taste or perception that is irreducible. And, whether that's an individual or a panel, there's always going to be a kind of 'how can you explain a decision to justify it to an applicant'? And at different times, the rhetoric and to a large extent the reality of the decision-making process is trying to identify as objective measures of the strengths or weaknesses of a project as possible.”

Since what is inexpressible represents the state of worthiness in the inspired ordering (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 158), “irreducible elements of taste or perception” are not problematic in situations which unfold within the limits of the inspired world. However, they come into conflict with the industrial values and routines involved in formal funding application processes. The ethereal world of inspiration, where industrial practices are criticised as obstacles that stifle creation, is not equipped with objects capable of constructing a coherent, stable evaluation method on which to justify funding decisions to applicants. In order to avoid the risk of being criticised for lacking objectivity (a critique that as we see in the previous chapter some had issued mostly from the civic stance of inclusion) objects and values of the industrial can be brought into the assessment process. In this regard, Scottish Screen's second CEO claims to have tried to strengthen the application points system (see previous chapter) that was already operational in Scottish Screen when he moved from Head of Production to Chief Executive:

“We did introduce in quite a limited way a cultural points system, whereby if the director came from Scotland, if the writer came from Scotland, if the shoot was in Scotland and so on, you'd get so many points. That kind of takes it higher up the agenda in terms of funding. I tried to take that process a lot further and actually almost have a lockdown system, whereby if you get so many points you almost automatically get funding as a



Scottish film. Curiously – because I thought this would be beneficial to Scottish film producers – when I took that particular proposal to PACT [the Producers Alliance for Cinema and Television] in Scotland, the Scottish film production community was not in favour of it. And to this day I don't quite understand why.”

The “lockdown system” did not materialise and so there is no written record of what it consisted of. However, the idea of taking the eligibility points system “a lot further” suggest a rigidity that could be resisted by filmmakers as a potential obstacle to the inspired element of their work. On the other hand, a system for clearly establishing a film as Scottish, and therefore eligible for funding, could have added transparency to the process. This in turn would have the potential to avoid instances of favourable treatment to particular individuals (a practice anchored in domestic worth) that the agency had been criticised for in the past by the film community as shown in the previous chapter.

This resistance by the film community to get the points system revised could be a factor explaining why, at this point in the history of Scottish Screen, the industrial rigour that characterised later assessments files was absent during this period. For example, in compliance with the new application system implemented by the agency's last CEO after a revision carried out in 2005/6, it was necessary for assessment officers to generate detailed assessments of every successful application explaining why it qualified to receive funding from Scottish Screen. As shown in the next chapter, these reasons had to correspond to a series of specific criteria listed in the application form, a matrix-like system which allowed for systematic assessment in line with industrial values. By contrast, up to early 2006, it is possible to find cases in which no individual assessment is generated for a specific project, and they become eligible for funding by virtue of belonging to some scheme, such as the short film scheme Tartan Shorts (axed by the next CEO). This measure implies a lesser involvement of industrial worth as far as Scottish Screen was concerned, as its members of staff had less control in the assessment process, left to personnel extraneous to the agency:

“This project is part of the Tartan Shorts short scheme, and therefore is not necessary for an Officer assessment to be generated as it has been agreed that the project has been assessed at numerous levels by recognised industry personnel in order to reach the final shortlist and award ratification stage.” (Lead Officer's Assessment Form, p. 2)

Also in conflict with industrial objectivity and rigour, the reasons behind the decision remain vague. Elements such as “numerous levels” or “recognised industry personnel” are not specified, in contrast to the high level of detail in assessments after 2006.

Some significant investments were made in feature films despite the acknowledgement that they might pose a financial risk. For instance, an investment of £300,000 was approved for a feature film despite the following issues being listed in the assessment:

“Not likely to be a huge commercial success. Budget presents risks for financiers. First Feature film by Morag Mackinnon. Awaiting news of Film Four and Zentropa’s support. Finance plan is at early stages. SS would require a letter of permission from Lars Von Trier allowing Sigma to use the concept he created as part of the Advance Party Scheme. SS requires further information on how the project will be cashflowed.” (Lead Officers Assessment Form, p. 1)

These issues, which are obstacles in terms of the industrial and market principles of efficient operations and profitability, are countered by the assessor in question by introducing elements of the world of fame. Below is the whole statement, where elements that grant worth in the world of fame are used to counter practically every single potential obstacle of an industrial or market nature:

“Developed under the Advance Party scheme set up by Sigma and Zentropa to produce low budget digital films (first of which was *Red Road*). Universal themes. Not likely to be a huge commercial success. Likely to appeal to an art house audience. Strong contender for winning awards. Could benefit from festival distribution. Budget presents risks for financiers. First Feature film by (...), but she is an award-winning short film director. Producer has growing track record. Awaiting news of Film Four and Zentropa’s support . Support confirmed by Glasgow Film Office. SS’s support will allow team to shoot a film likely to struggle to get support from other sources. Potential festival prizes will enhance its profile and the profile of a talented emerging Scottish director. Film qualifies as British film (Films Act 1985). Budget is reasonable. Finance plan is at early stages. SS would require a letter of permission from Lars Von Trier allowing Sigma to use the concept he created as part of the Advance Party Scheme. SS requires further

information on how the project will be cashflowed. Shows slice of Scottish life in unique and original way.” (Lead Officers Assessment Form, p. 1)

Mentioning a well-known, award-winning film like *Red Road* appeals to the world of fame in order to give stature to the Advance Party scheme under which this low budget film was made. The high probability of the film not being “a huge commercial success”, which lowers its market worth, is countered by enhancing its inspired value (“likely to appeal to an art-house audience) and fame-related elements: strong contender for awards, festivals distribution. Also inscribed in the world of fame is the decision to highlight the reputation of some people involved and organisations involved (such as the acclaimed Danish director Lars Von Trier and his production company Zentropa ) in contrast to other elements that weaken the industrial and market value of the film (e.g., the admission that it poses risks to financiers and that it will struggle to get finance from other sources).

The fact that the elements inscribed in the world of fame tipped the balance in favour of backing the project despite the obvious financial risks is in line with the predominance of this order of worth at Scottish Screen during the early and mid 2000s. In addition to their impact on film funding decisions, elements of the world of fame were also used in an attempt to enhance the agency’s public perception as outlined in the next section.

### **The Worth of Fame: Scottish Screen’s Public Image**

Moving towards a more equitable approach to funds distribution by spreading resources among low budget projects was part of Scottish Screen’s management response to the 2001 governmental review, as well as to the public critiques aired by some members of the filmmaking community that had tainted the agency’s reputation. In an effort to raise the organisation’s profile in Scotland and abroad, the new management resorted to practices inscribed in the world of fame, such as making the most of festival attendance:

“One of the things I’d like to say about my time at Scottish Screen is that we did – you know I talked about a rather patchy political outlook – but one of the things we tried and do is when anything worked really well, like *The Magdalene Sisters* winning at the

Venice Film Festival or something like that, we did try and milk it for all it was worth, as one would!”

Festivals offer the possibility of a compromise between fame and industrial elements by combining public exposure with business operations. However, the above allusion to festivals does not contain any specific references to industry-led activities. Rather, the participant suggests that festivals are objects (arrangements) capable of granting worth in their own right when he says that “Scotland feels a bit ‘we’re not quite worthy’ despite the fact that it has one of the best festivals in the world”. This is in line with the principle that orders states of worthiness in the world of fame, where festivals are tests, peak moments during which “images become salient” (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 183).

Also in line with the primordial importance of public image in the world of fame, the same participant highlights the importance of leaders being charismatic. Reflecting back on the lack of unity that in his opinion the agency suffered when he started his tenure, he says:

“One of the issues Scottish Screen faced throughout its life was that it had different people on the Board representing different interests: you had someone representing film, someone representing education, someone representing training, someone representing broadcasting... And there was no overarching coherent vision for the whole thing. Now, the chair when I was there was James Lee, and he kind of held it together through force of personality.”

Stating that an individual held the agency together “through force of personality” without specifying any particular measures he might have undertaken or backed illustrates the particular form of worth on which the world of fame rests. In the world of fame worthy beings are the ones that distinguish themselves by means of their attention-getting and persuasive character and the reactions these qualities elicit in public opinion determine success to a large extent (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 179). In the same way that this participant considers “charisma” and “personality” as elements capable of holding together a structurally faulty organisation, he refers to the absence of such elements as a factor behind organisational failure when commenting on the new Chair of the Board that replaced James Lee:

“When he [James Lee] left, it sort of began to crumble, it began to fall apart at the seams. You know, for all her virtues Ray McFarlane was not a charismatic figure in the same way that James Lee had been. And so all those little kind of battles became much more profound.”

Statements made by James Lee himself during those years show the same confidence in the worth of fame as useful in keeping the organisation together by making investments which, despite not being worthwhile financially, could have enhanced the “Scottish brand” and influence public opinion. For example, when talking about the project to build a fully-equipped film studio in Scotland some years earlier – an unrealised project that extended into the first years of the second CEO’s tenure – Lee alludes to its symbolic, “intangible” potential to impact how Scotland was perceived as a film making centre, even if he could not prove the studio project’s worth from a financial perspective:

“Strictly speaking, as a pure business proposition, it [a Scottish film studio] doesn’t make sense. If we went to a banker we couldn’t raise the money because no-one would do it. The rentals wouldn’t justify building it. But I want to do it for very intangible reasons. If there’s a centre of gravity, around which people can coalesce, I think we’ll create a lot of positive momentum.”

Lee’s view of the value that a studio could have had for Scotland and the Scottish film community points to a compromise between fame and market elements: making Scotland more appealing to the film community (“a centre of gravity around which people can coalesce”) by manipulating the atmosphere (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 183), or in Lee’s own words, by creating “a lot of positive momentum”, could have made the country would become more desirable, that is more marketable, in terms of its production facilities, locations and exhibition.

Another area that reflects the importance that Scottish Screen’s new management placed on the worth of fame was the relationship between the agency and the press. In the world of fame, the press embodies both subjects, in the form of journalists capable of acting as opinion leaders, and objects, such as messages, newspapers, campaigns or interviews. Scottish Screen’s second CEO thinks that attention to the impact of fame worth was essential to the development of the agency and he regrets not having made more of an effort in that respect:

“I think we were reactive. That’s how I’d describe it. I think what happened is, a story would break and we would respond to it. And actually what we didn’t do in any kind of proactive way was make friends with the journalists, get the press on our side, such that when the story was about to break they would think, ‘Let’s get the Scottish Screen view at the same time as the same time as the attack.’ I think we could have done more in that kind of regard.”

This idea of investing more in enhancing the relationship with the press in order to get “Scottish Screen view at the same time as the attack” suggests the use of industrial operations inscribed in the world of fame in order to protect or enhance the agency’s image. Making “friends with the journalists” implies the capacity of company experts (company experts being typical subjects in the industrial world) and industrial objects such as tools and techniques to work out a compromise “for controlling opinion” (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 324). In his association of industrial and fame elements, this participant grants priority to the latter when he claims that, in his opinion, it was a mistake to neglect measures focused on protecting Scottish Screen’s image over pressing industrial concerns for efficiency:

“I think Scottish Screen as an organisation, and myself as Chief Executive, should have realised in a more profound way that it was engaged in a political process and we all could have done, and I could have done more, in terms of talking to politicians, journalists, commentariat, if you like, of Scotland to protect our position and to protect our back. And I think we were so concerned with the nuts and bolts of what we were doing, we let that slip a bit.”

There are those who, to the contrary, thought that the new CEO was in fact too concerned with the world of public opinion and not concerned enough about other aspects affecting the agency. A former senior manager at the Scottish Film Production Fund, who by this time had already left Scottish Screen, believes that in an organisation managing public money and affected by external political factors, energies must be strongly focused on the civic principle of outreach and domestic elements related to national culture:

“I think that one of the things the agency lacked, both at Chief Executive level and on the board, was an intellectual engagement with the problems that they were serving. They

had a functionalist engagement, but what that tended to mean, in my view, is that they were unable to structure the function within a philosophy. That's how I would see it. And during [the second CEO]'s time, he was completely distracted by scandal and, eventually I think, by disinterest in what he'd find himself involved with."

This participant inscribes his critique in the civic world by alluding to the further reaching political engagement that in his opinion Scottish Screen should have embraced as a national agency in charge of allocating public funds. He considers the organisation should have gone beyond a purely industrial functionalist approach and extended its practices to the wider arena of national cultural policy by structuring its function "within a philosophy". This approach values initiatives based on collective participation over the "charismatic authority of an inspired leader" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 108), the latter being something which other senior manager, by contrast, deemed important as reflected in his remarks about James Lee above.

The quote contains another critique in the sentence "he was completely distracted by scandal". The denunciation stems from the practical wisdom of prudence, which grants worth in the domestic ordering. The practical wisdom of prudence values discretion and condemns attention-seeking those who make a spectacle of themselves risk harming themselves and those around them by revealing too much private information (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 243). In his critique, the interviewee transports the value of prudence from the domestic household to the professional organisation. The denunciation, however, does not contain a critique directed to the values of the world of fame itself. The critique is directed to a particular person, it implies that the person in question has not carried out the necessary sacrifice to occupy his position in the agency ("he was distracted by scandal and, eventually I think, by disinterest in what he'd find himself involved with").

Other key members of staff who granted a high value to civic worth were less critical of initiatives driven by fame values. A senior member of staff who worked at Scottish Screen since its creation until the 2010 merger the second CEO's view about the importance of public recognition being a key factor to the success of the national screen agency. She backs her view on the subject with the particular case of investment in short films. Up to the mid 2000s Scottish Screen invested in numerous short film projects mostly through the scheme Tartan Shorts, inherited from the Scottish Film Production Fund. While acknowledging its limited value from a

purely financial perspective, this interviewee considers investment in short films a good strategy in terms of bringing through new talent and making it known to the world:

“There was a lot of short films that were produced for outwith the television, not produced for television but for theatrical release and they weren’t getting shown because the cinemas weren’t showing shorts. They would get festival screenings around the world, but... in the defence of these schemes, they were calling cards for non filmmakers in that the shorts were still going to festivals, so it was being seen as a way of filmmakers just demonstrating what they were capable of, and as I said it worked for the likes of Peter Mullan or Lynne Ramsay, so they worked as calling cards.”

Backing the production of short films knowing that most of them will not get shown either on TV or in cinema theatres is a practice that could be inscribed in the inspired world, as it is promoting creativity for creativity’s sake, without business-led specific goals either in the short or long term that could place the investment in the market or industrial world. Festivals, however, add an element of public exposure element and mean the possibility of a compromise between creativity and the world of fame. Scottish Screen’s Chief Executive acknowledges that this arrangement had some value in fostering creativity, but the he believes it eventually started taken too big a part of the agency’s resources and stopped serving what he considers its true purpose, i.e., being a first step on the road to feature filmmaking:

“There was a way in which, when I was there, we were overwhelmed with short film schemes. We had so many short film schemes! And I think it was a sensible decision to reduce the number of schemes because there’s only so much new talent you can keep bringing through. One of the things with the low budget feature film idea was to give people an opportunity to make a feature film, to actually show they could do it. Because no matter how much people say that short films, like short stories, are an art form in their own right, they’re not – they’re a stepping stone to making a feature film, and I know only a few people in Scotland who’ve actually done it.”

Another senior manager backed this view:



“Maybe there was an argument there: if you didn’t have the talent, you weren’t going to cut it. You know, it’s too easy to carry on making more and more short films and therefore it wasn’t working as a structure.”

The last two statements present the short film scheme as a compromise between the industrial world (filmmakers need money and resources at their disposal), the world of fame (shorts are bound to get festival screenings) and the inspired world (only those who have talent will cut it). As stated above, the second Chief Executive believed that this particular arrangement stopped making sense eventually (in fact it was axed by Scottish Screen’s third and last CEO), but he refers to a similar combination of inspired and industrial elements as the vehicle that allowed the move to more investment on feature length films:

“I think it was to do with a few champions inside the organization – it wasn’t an institutional commitment, but a few champions inside the organization that really got the urge to make feature films, so having made six short films at about £50,000 each, we decided with Scottish Television to make two feature films at about £200,000 each. So we made two films, *Blinded* and *Afterlife* for about £200,000. And it was quite a successful scheme, but then I think there was a change of personnel at Scottish Television and it sort of fell by the wayside. Also, I would have been the champion of it while I was there, and when I left I think no one else was particularly interested.”

Saying that investment in low budget feature films was not “an institutional commitment”, but it was done thanks to the passion of “a few champions inside the organisation” points to the same lack of coherence between official statements of function and actual practices that prompted critiques from the government in the 2002 review:

“The internal aims of the organisation and the external objectives set for it in the Executive management directives display some mis-match and the 'fit' varies from one goal to another. There is an immediate need to clarify and define Executive objectives, targets, and priorities with the organisation and provide clear guidance about the policy framework within which they are expected to deliver.” (Scottish Screen: A Review by the Scottish Executive 2002b, p. 13)

The industrial criteria that dominates the above excerpt (defined objectives, targets, clear guidance, policy framework) are difficult to meet and present formally to the government when practices are driven by the inspired “urge to make feature films” without there being an institutional commitment. This misalignment between industry-led demands and organisational practices inscribed in the world of inspiration and fame resulted in a warning in the 2005 Scottish Cultural Commission that “serious concerns were expressed from many quarters that Scottish Screen’s role and remit requires reconsideration” (p. 200). Scottish Screen’s second CEO resigned that same year. His successor’s revision and reform of the agency’s structure and policies are examined in the next chapter.

## **Conclusion**

Having taken the reins after his predecessor stepped down in the midst of controversy related to funding practices, Scottish Screen’s second CEO set out to enhance the organisation’s reputation and change its strategy by focusing on two elements: public image and funding policies. He tried to dedicate more funds to low budget feature films, hoping that these would not only boost the industry, but also ensure Scottish Screen’s presence in prestigious film Festivals in Scotland and abroad. Some of his contemporaries at Scottish Screen, however, believe that he was too concerned with issues of public opinion. Expressed in terms of orders of worth, there was a perception that he granted excessive importance to fame elements and that he neglected other aspects which were key to keep the agency’s operations in good order and the filmmaking community satisfied.

The agency’s communications with the Government through official channels in this period show a greater shift toward industrial worth than do actual organisational practices, particularly funding allocation procedures. These discrepancies between statements and actions was noticed by the Government, and similarly to what happened in the previous period, the review which closes this era urges the agency’s management to strengthen industrial elements that guarantee efficiency and transparency.

## Chapter 6. A Civic-Industrial Compromise

The previous chapter looks at some changes in Scottish Screen's policies introduced by its second CEO, who stepped down after a three-year tenure. Some of the reforms he brought to the agency were a response to the Governmental review of 2002, which had identified a lack of alignment between Scottish Screen's statements and practices during its early years. During this period, there was a change in funds allocation to screen projects aimed to achieve more equitable distribution of resources. Another significant change was a strengthened focus on improving the agency's public image by making it more visible at high profile film events. This latter strategy resulted, according to some members of staff and stakeholders, in a neglect of other areas of operations. The resignation the second Chief Executive coincided with a new governmental review which recommended that the agency's remit and strategy be, once again, reconsidered.

This chapter looks at the changes implemented by Scottish Screen's new management under the lead of a third Chief Executive and how these changes are framed by a civic-industrial compromise that brought further stability to the agency during its last five years. After outlining the reassessment of the agency's remit following recommendations made in the 2005 Cultural Commission final report, I examine some specific measures, such as the disbandment of internal panels and changes in the application process, aimed at a clean break with past practices inscribed in domestic worth which had caused controversy and damaged Scottish Screen's reputation.

### **The 2005 Cultural Commission: A New Call for Reinforced Industrial Measures**

The Cultural Commission, established in 2004 by former Minister for Tourism, Culture and Sport Frank McAveety, was a study of Scottish culture aimed at finding the best way to strengthen the institutional framework for its support. It was not a specific review of Scottish Screen, but of the Scottish creative industries. The feedback on Scottish Screen, if succinct, is revelatory in terms of orders of worth, as it places the same emphasis on elements related to collective benefit (civic worth) and organisational efficiency (industrial worth) which had been strength within Scottish Screen since the early 2000s. The Commission's final report *Our Next Major Enterprise* (2005) includes a review of Scottish Screen performance in the wider

framework of the creative industries in Scotland. The document emphasizes the difficulties of reconciling cultural and commercial demands in a way that goes beyond merely acknowledging that they are inherent to the creative industries. The report brings attention to the difficulty of coordinating the different ways of thinking, acting, and speaking of individuals involved in various aspects of the creative industries, such as civil servants and creative talent:

“There was also a feeling that current public sector support was too conservative for a sector premised on creativity. This was seen to reflect an inconsistency between the uncertainty of the creative industries sector, where work could be plentiful at one moment but sparse in the next, and traditional civil service culture where people are employed on a fixed and stable wage and likely to be more risk averse in personality.” (2005 Scottish Commission, p. 194)

Aversion to risk, considered an unworthy attitude that leads to the fall in the inspired world (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 164), is indeed invoked by some members of Scottish Screen staff as an obstacle to the agency’s operations, as shown in the first empirical chapter. For instance, some key personnel involved in the transitional years from four separate bodies to one unitary agency had expressed views about the need for the public screen agency to take risks by investing on projects of artistic quality. This willingness to go with aesthetic preference as opposed to the predictability of “safe investments” (based on certain measurables by means of industrial methods) represents the state of worthiness in the inspired world. By contrast, in the second empirical chapter we see that other staff members that came onboard later, as well as film professionals and the Scottish government, thought that risky operations, such as investing a high percentage of available funds in a single film project, are the kind of practices that should be avoided if Scottish Screen was going to successfully fulfil its role as a distributor of public funds. The focus on equitable money allocation (grounded in the civic principle of inclusion) and more standardised practices (inscribed in the industrial principle of efficiency) which had started after the first change of management increased significantly from 2005 onwards after the Scottish Cultural Commission concluded that, following consultation with the sector, “serious concerns were expressed from many quarters that Scottish Screen’s role and remit requires reconsideration”.

It was around this time that Scottish Screen's third and last Chief Executive came onboard, and under his lead the agency would undergo some important structural and operational changes in pursuit of a closer alignment between stated remit and actual practices. These reforms are in line with the 2005 Cultural Commission's reminder that, despite the particularities of the sector, the creative industries "are primarily premised on a business model" (p. 194). The business model of efficiency corresponds to the ordering of the industrial world, which is "based on the efficiency of beings, their performance, their productivity, and their capacity to ensure normal operations and to respond usefully to needs" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 204). The new CEO's statement in Scottish Screen's 2005 annual report echoes these characteristics of the industrial ordering:

"I will be reporting on the emergence of a new Scottish Screen: one that knows what it does, why it does it, where it does it, and how it does it. Above all, a Scottish Screen that has a clear sense of purpose, a clear sense of identity and the confidence to lead."  
(Scottish Screen 2004/2005 Annual Report, page 5)

The industrial drive of this statement is accentuated by the fact that it is preceded by the question "By the time I come to write this report for the 2005/06 Annual Report what will I be able to say?" (p. 5), since the industrial form of coordination, as Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) explain, "extends the present into a future, opening up the possibility of prediction" and "supports an equivalence between present situations and situations to come" (p. 205). The third CEO restores the prevalence of the industrial principle of performance outlined in the Hydra report by predicting future results ("what will I be able to say?") and by highlighting the importance of clearly defining the organisation's remit ("a Scottish Screen that has a clear sense of purpose").

The new Chief Executive identified problems related to lack of coherence and purpose as the main challenges the agency was facing when he took on his role. Similarly to other staff members throughout the agency's history, he partly attributed these issues to internal divides caused by the fact that the merger of the four predecessor bodies that came together to form Scottish Screen had not been effective in practical terms:

“I walked in the door on day one and you could see actually from the website and having done research beforehand, you could still see the predecessor bodies in effect. People were employees of Scottish Screen, but you see the people – or their functions – who were Scottish Film Council, who were Scottish Film & Broadcast Training, Scottish Screen Locations, Scottish Film Production Fund, and very little in that eight years seemed to have been done to really try and break down those internal divides.”

“Internal divides” are obstacles to the optimal performance of any organisation, they express a state of unworthiness in the industrial world, a non optimal, contentious situation (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 205) inherited from the clash of domestic and industrial elements that dominated the agency’s early years. The same reluctance to embrace an industrial approach in filmmaking activity and move away from domestic practices dominated by traditional and cultural elements that had made industry professionals say to Scottish Screen “go back to Hydra” in 1997 was still present in 2005 according to a senior manager. Scottish Screen’s last Chief Executive thinks that moving away from culture-driven initiatives was made more difficult by the fact that funds allocated to Scottish Screen were managed by the Scottish Education Department, a department primarily concerned with culture over industrial efficiency:

“What happened was that the only money they got in 97 and continued to have was cultural money, and at that point it was coming through the cultural division within the Scottish Executive, which was a subset of the Education Department. And it was trying to pick up a fight with the Enterprise Department in Scottish Enterprise going, ‘But we’re responsible for the economic development’, and they going, ‘No, you’re not’.”

In addition to grant-aid-money, Scottish Screen had been responsible for distributing Lottery funds for film since 2000. The same senior manager referred to Lottery money distribution as having its own constraints because certain requirements had not changed despite Scottish Screen having taken over this function from the Scottish Arts Council (one of the predecessor bodies with a strong cultural remit): in compliance with the direction under section 26 (1) of the National Lottery Act 1993, applicants were still required to demonstrate that their projects would benefit the public good:

“There was grant-in-aid money, which was about £3 million, and there was the lottery money which at that point was about £3 million, but the lottery money was from the good cause pot and it was for the film community, and quite a narrow definition of the film community said it was for cultural film production. And what actually happened is that there were a relatively small number of film productions in Scotland who were able to tap into that cash.”

The civic element the “good cause pot” clashes with the industrial principle of productivity by narrowing down investment options and initiatives. However, a senior manager claims that it was possible to overcome this obstacle to industrial development by “adapting and bending that money”, something that up until that point he did not think had been attempted in actual practice:

“It became very unchallenged because you go, ‘Well, we still have this responsibility to develop the business’ (...) And you’re searching through the website, you’re searching through the documentation, but the documentation said ‘We’re doing all these things to develop the economy’ and you realise that actually they’re not.”

But external factors, such as stipulations of what Lottery money should be for, are not the only barriers to industrial performance, as the same participant explains:

“And then equally they didn’t have the talent in house to do all those things, they had an executive team that were interested in the cultural aspects of film.”

In line with the industrial rationale of favouring progress and development over tradition, Scottish Screen’s new management set out to change the agency’s priorities:

“We then started using, flexing the lottery money for slightly different purposes beyond just production, in terms of developing talent development schemes, skills development activity, and some business development loans we used lottery money for, and to try and kick start the development of the economic aspects of the sector.”

This statement reflects a new priority to reconcile the collective-conscious imperative of fair allocation of public money with the industrial high principle of efficiency. Although there is an

explicit mention of “economic aspects”, these are not inscribed in this case in the market principle of competition and its imperative to immediately satisfy subjective consumer demands (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 156). Instead, the economic aspect of the agency’s activities is framed by the constraints of the industrial world (by alluding to typically industrial elements such as “schemes”, “skills” “kick start the sector”) and its temporal characteristic, as shown by an emphasis on “development”, a concept that implies continuity and places importance in the achievement of results beyond the present moment. (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, pp. 203-8).

### **Organisational Statements in Practice: Reconciling Industrial and Civic Worth**

Once some necessary changes were identified and the need for a more industrial approach was established, it was time to implement them. In line with the industrial principle of temporal articulation mentioned above, which by using instruments such as plans, reviews, reports, analysis, calculations, etc., allows one in the industrial world to “move ahead or make a retrospective return to the past” (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 208), the Management Commentary in the agency’s annual report the following year, makes reference to the intentions expressed in the previous report and how these intentions had been acted upon:

“During 2005/6 the new Chief Executive instigated a full organisational review of all activities within Scottish Screen to ensure they reflected the needs of the sector.”  
(Scottish Screen Annual Report 2005/6, p. 5)

This imperative to reflect the needs of the sector can come in conflict with the fact that “the challenge for any public funder is recognising that there’s going to be an awful lot of people that you’re going to say no to”, as a senior manager explains. One means of accommodating this, he thinks, is through an appeal to objects specified in the industrial order of worth: “One of the ways that you are able to say no is if you’ve got very clear procedures, guidelines, protocols and everything else.” Mentioning elements that are typically used to coordinate activity in the industrial world, such as “procedures”, “guidelines” or “protocols”, brings attention to the important role that objects have for establishing equivalences and attributing worth, so that justification can rest on these equivalences rather than on reason or rhetoric alone. But in addition to enhancing the agency’s performance by reinforcing industrial measures, the new management, aware of previous difficulties and criticisms the agency had endured, did not lose



sight of the civic element inherent to any organisation managing public money. They talked about the importance of keeping the dialogue with the sector open and creating an effective, rather than defensive, evaluation system:

“When I started at Scottish Screen it was very clear that because they had been under so much – certainly media – pressure and certain sectors of the industry pressure for several years, they had created a structure, a decision-making structure that almost stopped them being able to do the obvious thing. It was done in some ways as a response to all the criticism. And what I tried to bring in, and in part succeeded I think, is a) to have that conversation with the sector and go, ‘Look, it’s never going to be straightforward, but if we’re always in opposition to each other then it’s going to be impossible for both sides.’ And b) internally, going, ‘Our job process is to make sure that we’re spending public money as effectively as possible and the measurement for that is both how it costs us to actually process it and what we’re then spending it on and how we prioritise’.”

Keeping the conversation with the sector open responds to the civic imperative of inclusion, as does the awareness of having to spend public money as effectively as possible. Basing decisions on cost-effectiveness and the need to prioritise are, on the other hand, elements of the industrial world. These comments highlight the benefits that a strategy based on industrial elements but with a strong civic component in its remit brought to the agency.

### **Review of the Lottery Support System**

As explained in the previous chapter, the availability for film financing in Scotland increased significantly after the National Lottery started distributing funds for film through the Scottish Arts Council in 1996. Applications assessment was in the hands of one of the predecessor bodies, the Scottish Film Production Fund, until Scottish Screen was established. From 1997 onwards it was Scottish Screen’s responsibility to assess film funding applications for Lottery awards and pass its recommendation on to the Arts Council. Scottish Screen argued from the outset that, as the national screen agency, they should be fully responsible for deciding on Lottery Awards through their own Lottery Film Committee, instead of acting as an advisor to the Arts Council. But the Arts Council opposed this initiative, which would not become effective until 2000 after years of

confrontation.

By the time Scottish Screen's last CEO joined the agency, the organisation had been distributing Lottery funds for about five years, and one of the first measures implemented by the new management in pursuit of a more solid civic-industrial compromise was the review of the Lottery support system. The shift implied, like most measures taken during this period, an increase of industrial elements, reflected in a statement made in the 2005/6 annual report which, along with the civic value of transparency, emphasises the importance of bringing to the process further efficiency, consistency, and standardisation, all of them elements that grant worth to procedures in the industrial world:

“A key part of the organisational review was to widen the planned Lottery system review to include not only the recently implemented Lottery processes but also to review the areas supported and to revise the systems, to enable the best practices adopted in the Lottery application and decision making processes to be employed across the entire organisation, thus creating a standardised means of access for organisations and individuals coming to Scottish Screen for financial support, and ensuring consistency and transparency in our application, evaluation and decision making processes.” (Scottish Screen Annual Report 2005/6, p. 5)

Following the review and in an attempt to enable “best practices” in the Lottery application process, one of the measures implemented was axing of the so-called “additionality test”. As a senior manager recalls:

“At the time I came in there were nine different assessment criteria that the organisation assessed things on, including one that struck me as barking mad: the additionality test. So for lottery funds, we were supposed to prove that this activity would not happen otherwise without the lottery support.”

This criterion, which the same participant referred to as the “good cause”, embodies the civic value of inclusion in that it was designed to help applicants that could not get their projects off the ground without Lottery help. It also has an inspired component in that the creative content, the idea, has precedence over commercial issues. But Scottish Screen's new management took a different approach which again, tries to align the industrial and market values of efficiency and financial with inspiration and inclusion:

“That’s stupid – you’re effectively saying, ‘If you can guarantee this will not reach an audience, you automatically can demonstrate its additionality value for lottery funds and therefore you should get the money’. And you’re going, ‘Silly!’ So we got rid of that.”

Within the limits of inspired worth alone, which disregards external signs of approval, reaching an audience would not be a factor in the attribution of worth to a project. From a civic-industrial stand, however, the project is not considered worthy if it does not contribute to collective good through the double benefit of reaching audiences and contributing to the development of the Scottish film industry.

The revision of selection criteria which resulted in eliminating the additionality test reduced the list to four which in the CEO’s words were “sufficiently broad”. Table 3 below contains the new selection criteria, included in the investment guidelines for applicants:

**Table 3. Scottish Screen selection criteria for applicants after 2005**

<b>1. Cultural Impact</b>	<b>2. Creative Impact</b>	<b>3. Business Case/Ability to Deliver</b>	<b>4. Market/Audience Interest</b>
How will your project/activity promote Scotland’s screen culture to a national and international audience?	<p>How will Scottish Screen’s investment address one or more of the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Allow Scottish talent to develop?</li> <li>• Create work recognised as creatively excellent?</li> <li>• Create work recognised as original and innovative?</li> </ul>	<p>How does the previous experience of the individuals involved demonstrate their ability to deliver the project?</p> <p>What impact will Scottish Screen’s investment have on your business and/or on the screen sector in Scotland?</p> <p>What investment has your project/activity already attracted?</p>	<p>Has your project already attracted market or commercial interest?</p> <p>How will your project be exploited and/or marketed to an audience or financiers in the future?</p> <p>What cultural, creative and commercial impact will this project have on markets and audiences?</p>

The new selection criteria, although designed to satisfy the industrial imperative of efficiency, are quite inclusive in terms of orders of worth. While number 3 and 4 are industry and market oriented by invoking elements such as expertise, impact on business, market interest or financiers, the first two requirements include domestic, civic and inspired elements: both domestic and civic worth are made present by highlighting the importance of promoting Scotland's traditions and people to audiences. "Talent" belongs in the realm of inspired creativity, but in the context of allowing Scottish talent to develop through an investment, as it expressed here, it partakes at the same time from the domestic value of tradition and the civic value of inclusion embodied by "Scottishness" and from the industrial element of development through financial investment. This plurality corresponds to what a senior manager said about the assessment criteria being sufficiently broad...

"...that it didn't say you had to tick all four boxes, it just said, 'We will take a view, having assessed the individual project against those four criteria', which then meant that, yes, a project might be more commercial but if it was still good for Scotland to be backing and the agency responsible for backing it was Scottish Screen, us, therefore is a yes."

The civic element of inclusion was kept and even enhanced by extending the areas of Lottery support to include a wider range of areas: content development, content production, short film production, exhibition, distribution, festivals, audience development, capacity building, production pilot fund for TV series, future fund, market led development, talent bursary initiative, slate development initiative, and company development. Similarly to the selection criteria outlined above and taking account of the heterogeneity of the screen sector, this list includes elements of several orderings, sometimes combined, such as in the inspired-civic composite "talent bursary initiative", which marries a civic measure aimed at including those in need of financial support (bursaries) to creative talent.

Some areas on the list are inscribed in a fame test where worth is gained by exposure to public opinion (festivals and exhibition), while others imply a market-industrial compromise by directing efficient industrial organisation with a temporal articulation ("development") to the satisfaction of consumers' desires (audience development, market led development). This element of continuity gives the list a predominantly industrial character. Terms such as

“development”, “production”, “capacity building”, “company development” or “future fund” belong to the industrial order of efficiency and imply a temporal relation between cause and effect by which “the proper functioning of beings extends the present into a future, opening up the possibility of prediction” (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 205).

Finally, both the outline of new selection criteria and areas of support are framed by the industrial-civic composite aimed at reconciling collective altruism and industrial efficiency which overall characterises the reforms implemented in this era. The 2005/6 annual report stresses that the new processes will be continued to be “reviewed for effectiveness” and are “streamlined and rigorous” (p. 6), attributes that grant worth in the industrial ordering. Simultaneously, attention is brought to civic values by clarifying that despite this industrial diligence, processes are “also simplified to ensure that the decision making process is transparent and consistent” (p. 6). This clarification highlights the importance of collective justice in public money allocation and it is in contrast with individualistic practices driven by domestic elements such as tradition and personal relations that the agency had been criticised for in the past (see first and second empirical chapters of this thesis).

The next section is dedicated to the dissolution of external panels in film funding application processes, a measure which grants priority to organisational efficiency over practices anchored in tradition and hierarchy achieved through seniority. In terms of orders of worth, this translates into favouring the higher common principle of the industrial world over the higher common principle of the domestic world, and so the decision implies a new and important break with domestic worth-based practices which had been present in the agency’s early years.

### **The Disbandment of External Assessment Panels: Minimising Domestic Worth Impact**

Up to 2005/06, decisions on lottery awards between £25,000 and £500,000 were taken by Scottish Screen’s Lottery Panel advisors, made up of individuals with experience of both the Scottish and world-wide film industry. In line with the new management’s determination to inscribe Scottish Screen’s activities in a predominantly industrial order, the official announcement of the disbandment of external advisors was included in the 2005/6 agency’s annual report as the result of an extensive reviewing exercise aimed at enhancing organisational efficiency:

“As part of the organisational review undertaken during 2005/06, a wider review of Lottery processes was undertaken. The wider review was not only to review the recently implemented system for effectiveness in line with its defined objectives, but also to review the areas supported and the current system with the view to expanding the best practices adopted in the Lottery application and decision making processes across the entire organisation. The result of this extensive exercise was the disbandment of the Lottery external advisors panel and in light of this we would like to extend sincere thanks to all members, both recent and past for their invaluable contribution.” (Scottish Screen Annual Report 2005/2006, p.3)

The vocabulary used in the above statement is indicative of the preference given to industrial effectiveness over tradition (stemming from domestic worth) that underlies the decision to disbanding external panels: panel members are thanked by their “past contributions” but these are second to effectiveness and the attainment of objectives which drive the agency’s new approach.

Some practices external panels also clashed with the civic elements of transparency, for example the fact that panel members had been allowed to bring forward their own projects for funding as long as they declared an interest, absented themselves from meetings where the application was assessed, and did not work on the project for the duration of their contract if the application was successful (Scottish Screen Annual Report 2005/6, p. 3). This practice, reminiscent of members of the Scottish Film Production Fund board members being able to apply for funds for their own projects was regarded as inappropriate by some Scottish Screen’s staff members, who thought the domestic “who you know” factor underpinning it contradicted the industrial and civic values of efficiency and collective justice. A senior member of staff at Scottish Screen said when referring to such practices:

“There were a couple of instances when there were folk on these panels who had projects coming forward and then they left the room when it was being discussed. And then, you know, twenty minutes later they come back in and a colleague says, ‘Well, sorry, you’re not getting it’, or ‘You are’, which nowadays, with all the huge amount of legislation on transparency, it seems quite bizarre. You know, they’re discussing putting huge amounts

of public money into something and say, ‘Do you mind stepping out of the room while we decide whether your project’s crap or not?’”

The critique above is made from the civic world by invoking values such as legislation and transparency: legal forms and the transcripts to which they give rise are the objects by which persons are stabilised in the civic world so that they resist the temptation towards particularisms, and renunciation of the particular is in fact the form of investment by which beings acquired civic worth, where natural relations are underpinned by transparency and democratic representation (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 187-192).

Critiques to the domestic worth-based individualism involved in the use of external panels for project assessment were also made from an industrial stance as well as civic, as in this statement by a Development Executive at Scottish Screen:

“There were definitely people on that panel that had friends in the industry that had made applications and they were being lobbied to vote for them or to provide them with support. And it was quite a big group of people, so obviously the more people you knew the more chance of the lobbying happening.”

While providing support and according preferential treatment to one’s friends or subordinates is not only acceptable but represents a state of worthiness in the domestic ordering (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 171), this type of practice causes tensions with the industrial order, where hierarchical relations are not inscribed in personal relations or tradition, but in organisational efficiency. It is from this industrial stance that the participant condemns decision making processes based on personal bonds and individualism:

“It was just a bit of a strange decision-making process. There was never, or certainly when I joined, there was never any discussion about strategically whether these investments were worthwhile. It was basically a dozen people discussing whether they liked or didn’t like the script, whether they liked or didn’t like the director attached, or... So it had nothing to do with how you help companies build their business by supporting projects that have either commercial or artistic value. It was very much based on people’s

likes and dislikes, and it was quite a disparate group of people so generally the decisions were made on the basis of the discussion about... You know, sometimes it would be that one person had a stronger opinion than another, or one person would be louder than another, or a bit more bullish... So decisions were made on personalities and their likes and dislikes, as opposed to “Is this the best thing for developing the industry in Scotland?”, which is a big change that [Scottish Screen’s third CEO] made I think, which was a really important one, there was much more objectivity.”

Disagreeing with decisions being made “on personalities and likes and dislikes” is a critique directed at inspired elements having too much weight in decisions made by the public screen funder. Attributes that characterise the worthy in the inspired world, such as charisma (personalities) or the willingness to let aesthetic values lead one’s decisions (likes and dislikes) are not considered the right decision-making criteria from the civic-industry compromise framing the quote. This civic-industrial appeal, in line with the 2005/6 reforms implemented by the new management, is made by highlighting the organisation’s duty to benefit “Scotland” through developing its screen industry. This position comes in conflict with the individualism of the inspired world, since both in the civic and the industrial worlds, individualism represents a state of unworthiness: in the civic world, the polity “comes apart when it yields to the particular” and overlooks collective interests (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 193), and in the industrial ordering arrangements are unworthy when they are subjective and do not optimise efficiency (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 205).

Another focus of tension caused by external assessment involved a clash between industrial and domestic elements, since the fact that external assessors had the final say in investment decisions disempowered Scottish Screen’s staff: the natural subjects of the industrial world are experts, specialists around whose competencies and qualifications hierarchies are formed. Hierarchies in the domestic world, however, are based on authority granted by tradition or personal relations and do not necessarily entail professional expertise (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 165). By disbanding external panels, Scottish Screen’s new management restored authority to organisational members, a measure which eliminated the tension between domestic and industrial decision making power, as a senior manager recalls:



“Previously, it made it very awkward about the role of the officers. Sometimes there’d be very senior people sitting round the table whose view could be discounted by someone who would pop up every six months as an external assessor.”

The measure was unequivocally welcome by those senior officers, such as the one who made the statement below, whose views on the subject appeal to the same industrial imperative according to which decision making should be based mostly on intra-organisational expertise:

“Basically, rather than being external people making the decisions, staff internally would make recommendations at a meeting which involved some external members and some members of the board, and unless that recommendation by an internal member of staff was deemed to be unsafe if you like, then the recommendation would be accepted because it was accepted and agreed that you as a person on the ground knows who the people are, knows what the strategy is, knows whether a project is likely to happen or not... It’s just that your knowledge of the project and the process would be greater than somebody who comes in once every three months and sits on a board for half a day. So the shift was allowing the people that worked there to actually lead on the decision making process and be accountable and responsible for the decisions that were made.”

The abundance of industrial elements this member of staff uses to back her preference for intra-organisational assessment – both subjects such as “person on the ground”, “internal member of staff”, “(person) accountable”, “(person) responsible”, and objects such as “meeting”, “board”, “recommendation”, “strategy”, “project” – contrasts with the sparseness and vagueness of her depiction of external assessors as “somebody who comes in every once every three months”. Further, mentioning the lack of continuity in the external assessor’s contribution (“once every three months”) as opposed to “a person on the ground” highlights the importance of the temporal-spatial articulation that expresses and encompasses industrial efficiency.

Another senior member of staff elaborates on reasons directly related to industrial efficiency behind the decision to disband external panels:

“I was not against external assessment, I was just going, ‘It needs to feed into the process.’ And also save money, because what we were doing was flying people from London on a quarterly basis to sit round the table to have this discussion that I felt was inappropriate in the first place. Also, as we shifted to a rolling programme, it meant we didn’t need to have people always coming to the table. It meant it was just a much smoother process in general.”

This concern with smooth processes inscribed in the industrial world and used as one of the justifications to dissolve external panels was extended to other areas of the funding application process, such as the actual application forms and accompanying documentation, which are examined in the next section.

### **An Internal Assessment Process Framed by Industrial Rigour**

In order to make the application process as functional as possible for both applicants and funders, in addition to eliminating the additionality test and external assessment, application procedures and guidelines structure were reviewed and modified. A new Development Executive who in his previous role had dealt with Scottish Screen as an applicant, was brought in to provide specialist input. He says about his collaboration with the agency:

“Because of my experience being on the outside and having been a client or a stakeholder of the organisation previously, they did ask me to basically start reviewing all our processes and systems and our guidelines to see if there was any way I could make them easier. I think one of the big differences with me is that I can explain it from the producer’s point of view, whereas I don’t think many of the people within the organisation had ever been in that position, so they didn’t have that perspective.”

Requesting the insights of an expert is an example of a natural relation in the industrial world, an action “required by the regular function of beings of an industrial nature” (Boltanski and Thévenot), and this new employee was asked to suggest measures that would eliminate or smooth previous obstacles in the application process, such as eliminating the additionality test and reducing the assessment criteria, as outlined above. Making the process “easier” did not mean reducing industrial rigour. To the contrary, applicants during this period had to be

particularly diligent in terms of filling up forms and attaching all the requested documents. As a senior manager recalls:

“Part of making it easier for people to apply is that they have to give us the information that allows us to assess. If they don’t, they’re not playing the game properly.”

Members of staff’s statements in this regard are backed by what film funding applications show. Applicants were required to submit in support of their application detailed information about their business case and ability to deliver the project, as well as proven track record and investment from other funders. Table 4 below, extracted from the 2007 Investment Guidelines (p. 31), is offered as an example of the industrial rigour underpinning the selection process. A significant number of specific objects inscribed in the industrial world (plans, budgets, forms, schedules, memorandums...) is listed on the left column and each object is linked to a particular funding strand by using a table format that is also typical of the industrial world, populated by graphs, tables, charts, and tick boxes (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 206). The table was preceded by the warning that failure to submit all the required documentation would result in the application being automatically rejected.

**Table 4 (extracted from Scottish Screen’s 2007 Investment Guidelines, p. 31)**

Investment Opportunities	Talent & Creativity									Market Development			
Documents to be Provided	<u>Digital Access</u>	<u>New Talent Development</u>	<u>Short Film Production</u>	<u>Content Development</u>	<u>Pilot Fund</u>	<u>Future Fund</u>	<u>Markets &amp; festivals</u>	<u>Express Film Fund</u>	<u>Content production</u>	<u>Audience Development</u>	<u>Festivals</u>	<u>Distribution</u>	<u>Exhibition</u>
<i>Completed and signed application form</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Project outline, treatment or script</i>			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓				✓
<i>Business plan or Education Service Plan</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

<i>Most recent Management Accounts and last Audited Accounts, if available</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Project/Activity history</i>			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓				
<i>Total Budget</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Detailed budget highlighting Scottish spend</i>	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓	✓				✓
<i>Investment plan and current relevant letters of intent, deal memos and/or legally binding contracts from other investors or partners (see note below)</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Detailed Investors Cashflow schedule</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Schedule</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Casting plan and letters of intent from confirmed cast</i>			✓		✓			✓	✓				
<i>Distribution plan and letters of intent from recognised distributors, sales agents (including sales estimates within last 3 months) and broadcasters</i>					✓			✓	✓				
<i>Marketing plan</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
<i>CVs of key personnel</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
<i>All relevant underlying rights documentation (clearly indexed)</i>			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓				✓
<i>Memorandum and Articles of Association</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Some of the requirements listed above, such having attracted investment from other funders, meant a major change with respect to the approach taken in previous years, which had been to back projects that struggled to get funding from other sources to comply with the additionality test. Also, in contrast with past practices, attracting interest from other investors was not enough; now it was necessary to submit tangible proof in the form of signed agreements. As a Development Executive at Scottish Screen explains, releasing money was done more cautiously after the reforms introduced by the new management:

“You don’t release the money until the documents are signed and sealed. You can commit the money, but releasing it is a different thing. Scottish Screen didn’t release money like they had, occasionally, on trust.”

Trust is a manifestation of the higher common principle of the domestic world (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 176), but it creates tensions with the imperatives which underlie operations in an organisation seeking to inscribe its processes in the industrial order. A senior manager backs the view above with a statement that illustrates the new management’s keenness to make a clean break with some practices stemming from the domestic world, where favouring personal acquaintances or fostering a hierarchal order based on tradition is a natural relation in the distribution of worth:

“What we did say is that if people didn’t supply us with the base information it was an automatic no, we would send it straight back to them. And again, in the past we’d been overly flexible because we knew the producer or we knew whoever, and we didn’t want to end up in the Scotsman or the Glasgow Herald.”

This comment also brings into play the world of fame by alluding to the problematic relationship that Scottish Screen had had with the national press in the past. While, in an effort to enhance the public image of the agency, the previous Chief Executive had focused considerable energy on measures grounded in the world of fame where worth and success depend on public opinion (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 179), from 2005 onwards more effort was put towards achieving civic equity through industrial rigour even when elements belonging to the world of

fame, such as festivals, were concerned. New measures were put in place whereby Scottish Screen would only release money toward festival attending if this was justifiable in industrial terms:

“We became much clearer about, ‘Yes, we want people to be at Cannes, not just so we can say Scotland’s great and wave a wee flag, but to make those connections.’ It wasn’t just a cheerleading event, it was an opportunity to bring key people together and also to arrange other events, and dinners, and lunches and things to happen to manufacture those connections.”

Festivals, which in the world of fame constitute peak moments where objects and subjects become particularly visible by being placed under the gaze of others and where natural relations of the world of fame unfold, such as informing and persuading (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, pp. 182-3) were now put at the service of industrial efficiency. Being a visual representative of Scotland or Scottish Screen was no longer enough to justify someone’s presence at a festival and people using Scottish Screen’s money to attend these events would be required to justify the expense by providing the agency with clearly stated industry-led objectives backed with tangible evidence: the investment guidelines section dedicated to festivals clarifies that priority would be given to applicants “attending festivals or markets with a strong industry focus” and those able to “provide evidence of confirmed meetings” with industry personnel (2007 Scottish Screen Investment Guidelines, p. 16). In addition to the industrial elements of “industry focus” or “industry personnel” and to highlighting the importance of tangible objects by requesting “evidence of confirmed meetings”, the guidelines offer yet another example of the temporal articulation of industrial arrangements, the link between past and present performance, by stating that applicants “who have not delivered outstanding deliverables on a pre-existing application will not be eligible to apply for new funds” (2007 Scottish Screen Investment Guidelines, p. 17).

### **Orders of Worth Backing Funding Applications**

The same increase in industrial diligence is found in applications for film development or production activities after 2006. The production team of a 2009 feature film applied for £150,000 in 2008 after having attracted £200,000 by co-funders. The story’s delicate subject matter posed some risks in terms of its commercial potential, a shortcoming in terms of market or industrial

worth that the assessors tried to counter by emphasising that the theatre play it was based on was “highly regarded” (Express Film Fund Application 2008, p. 1). Bringing in public or critical acclaim of the play the film is based on in order to back the application is an operation partly anchored in the world of fame by the weight it grants to public opinion. However, invoking past good performance (*the play was highly regarded in the 90s*) extends the operation into the industrial world by suggesting that this past success enhances the possibilities of the film being successful as well. Linking past, present and future performance in a way that suggests the possibility of prediction is inscribed in the industrial world and not in the world of fame: in the world of fame subjects are worthy only while they are visible and past public recognition is irrelevant if it has not been sustained (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 185).

Also in line with the reinforcement industrial procedures in the assessment system, a detailed expense breakdown is included in the application and all four selection criteria sections of the assessment form (Cultural Impact, Creative Impact, Business Development, and Market Readiness) contain industrial elements.

The Cultural Impact and Creative Impact sections inevitably contain elements of an inspired nature, for example, the assessor mentioning that the subject matter is “approached with honesty and passion” or that the characters have an “authentic feel” (Express Film Fund Application 2008, p. 2). However, attributes such as “authentic” or “truthful” which represent the state of worthiness in the inspired realm but cannot be measured by industrial standards appear combined with industry-led justifications backed by more tangible elements that grant worth in the industrial ordering, such as details of the production and creative team track record:

“The applicant indicates that the experienced line producer will be at the producing helm and that David Hayman, who has enjoyed a lengthy career in theatre and film, will undertake executive producing responsibilities (no doubt to be shared with representatives of the various funding bodies). All key roles as outlined just above are Scottish, or Scottish based. The applicant company is also Scottish based, with a strong track record in both theatre and television. Their theatre work has innovated in the use of workshopping devices and the intention is to now apply such techniques for the service of film development.” (Express Film Fund Application 2008, p. 4)

Referring to past performative excellence of the team involved responds to the industrial imperative of temporal articulation, as does the intention of applying new techniques to “the service of film development”, even if such activities belong to the creative realm. At the same time, stating that key members of the team and the production company are Scottish satisfies the civic imperative of fostering the overall Scottish economy that Scottish Screen had to comply with as a distributor of public money.

The next two sections, business development and project/market readiness, as their name suggests, deal with more industry/market-oriented aspects. As well as detailing the amounts of money received from co-funders, they bring in specific objects and arrangements in support of the application, such as the team’s effective management of the project’s “low budget” (p. 2) and the BBC’s commitment to the project “being very encouraging, both from a financial and editorial point of view” (p. 2). In line with industrial diligence, the applicant is required to revise the production schedule, which is “outdated” as a precondition for investment (p. 3).

There is in the assessment an explicit acknowledgement of certain risks, such as this being the director’s first feature film (p. 2) and the film subject matter (prostitution) being “difficult material” (p. 1). But these risks linked to creative freedom and which grant worth in the inspired world are countered but the industrial measures just mentioned, which makes this application a good example of the relative flexibility that was referred to (see above) about the new criteria being “broad enough” and allowing for a more holistic approach to project assessment whereby elements of less rigorously organised worlds of worth, such as inspired or domestic, have weight in the decision making process as long as some industrial procedures (e.g. meeting the eligibility criteria, filling out properly all the forms and submitting all the necessary documentation) are diligently followed.

The same approach was taken to projects applying for much smaller amounts. For example, a 2007 funding application for supplementary funding for another 2008 film contains much more detail than applications for supplementary funding in previous years did, and similarly to the film examined above, the assessor includes industrial objects and elements related to the temporal articulation of the industrial world in all four selection criteria sections in support of the application.

The film is based on true stories of refugees in Scotland and tells the story of a Palestinian



refugee about to be deported from the UK. The application was assessed through Scottish Screen's New Talent Development strand and involved collaboration of actual asylum seekers in all aspects of production. Training asylum seekers as well as "disabled, black and ethnic minorities in the screen industry" (Supplementary Funding Application 2007, p. 1) adds civic worth to the project, and the industrial risk of involving people without experience in the production process is countered by highlighting the extensive experience and track record of other members of the team, as detailed further below.

Again, in the Cultural Impact and Creative Impact sections, some justifications rely on inspired elements, such as defining the final edit of the film and the composer involved in the music track as "excellent". However, this qualification which could be criticised as subjective from an industrial stance, is supported by mentioning the composer's extensive experience and by making technical specifications about how Scottish Screen money will contribute to the improving the quality of the film's sound, which was to be enhanced "to a cinema level rather than a simple stereo sound" (Supplementary Funding Application 2007, p. 2) The potential of the project as a market research tool, which contains the inspired element of experimentation and therefore a risk factor from an industrial stance, is balanced out with elements that grant worth in the industrial world such as technological research and advancement:

"The website will be utilising new technology and the public appetite to download films. This is still at an early stage and will be a good model to investigate the market."  
(Supplementary Funding Application 2007, p. 1)

As in the previous film application examined above, the business development and project/market readiness provide details of the amount requested from Scottish Screen and from co-funders, as well as a detailed expense break down. Industrial objects that serve as future performance indicators are brought in to support market readiness: a guaranteed TV broadcast and the identification of global market through downloads via the internet. (p. 3)

Echoing a participant's quote above about money not being released until everything was signed and sealed, despite the recommendation being a yes to the requested financial support, the applicant is required to correct a discrepancy of £1000 between costs and budget, and to resupply an accurate breakdown in costs of the music, studio and musicians before funds are released by Scottish Screen. (p. 3)

This risk-minimising approach was kept all throughout the rest of the agency's history and subsequent annual reports do not show deviations in terms of strategy, goals or investment procedures. The definite parting with the idea of the public national screen agency being the first funder to back first timers or projects without market potential was maintained until the merger of the agency with the Arts Council, although towards the end some measures were moderated, as a senior Development Executive explains:

“Whereas before we were expecting at least 50% of finance already attached before they could come in. We've now moved that to between 20 and 30 %. I think that's relaxing it, but certainly the idea of us coming in being first money in anything is gone, and for me it remains gone.”

Willingness to “relax” some requirements while still demanding proof of the project's viability entails an attempt to strike a fairer balance between applicant eligibility and industrial reliability, a measure that again reflects the civic-industrial compromise which characterised Scottish Screen final years.

## **Conclusion**

It is in the final period of the agency, following the reforms and strengthened reporting system introduced by new management, that we see the highest level of consistency between orders of worth underpinning policy documents, agents' accounts, and investment decisions.

This alignment, which rests on a civic-industrial compromise was not free from critics which considered it too rigid for an agency in charge of managing creative goods. However, the harsh level of conflict that had previously tarnished the organisation's reputation and the criticism about lack of clarity and consistency that Scottish Screen had suffered in previous years in terms of its objectives and remit quietened down to an extent. Internally, statements made by prominent members of staff who worked during or before this final period show an overall agreement that the reforms implemented in 2005/06 stabilised and had a positive effect on the agency in regards to its internal functioning. Whether this was the best approach in terms of helping individual filmmaking projects in Scotland get off the ground is a different subject, and one that cannot be fully explored as, by the time these stabilising measures were implemented,

talks of the establishment of Creative Scotland, which would amalgamate Scottish Screen and the Arts Council, had become a reality and the merger was officially announced in 2006.

## Chapter 7. Discussion of Findings

The three previous chapters present my findings in terms of the interplay of orders of worth (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006) during Scottish Screen history. The organisation's trajectory is divided in three periods whose end is marked by governmental reviews and major management changes. The findings show that decisions in Scottish Screen were grounded in different orders of worth, sometimes in the form of compromises, in each one of those three periods. This fluctuation of orders of worth did not always mean a fluctuation of dominant institutional logics in the agency's external and/or external environment. However, as explained below, it did correspond to different degrees of alignment between governmental demands, organisational statements of function and actual organisational practices.

This chapter is organized as follows: the first section situates the agency in the context of the Scottish Creative industries in order to clarify the predominant orders of worth which are bound to dominate a priori any enterprise of this pluralistic sector whose very denomination, "creative industries" involves an inspired-industrial compromise. I start by outlining the nature of this composite because it will be linked to the discussion of findings throughout the chapter. I then restate my research questions and provide a summary of the findings contained in the empirical chapters in order to bring back focus on the case study context and the specific problems driving my research. The next section presents my findings through the orders of worth lens against the backdrop of contending demands stemming from dominant logics, which allows me to show that the disparity of orders of worth present in Scottish Screen does not correspond with or stem from contending logics. The final part of the chapter is dedicated to the discussion of "residual" findings, i.e., findings which cannot be neatly ascribed to any of the six worlds described by Boltanski and Thevenot (2006) in *On Justification*. In order to organise and present these findings, I bring in here the notion of the 'projective city', a seventh order of worth proposed by Boltanski and Chiapello (2007) in the *New Spirit of Capitalism*, as well as some relevant insights by David Stark (2009) in relation to multiple forms of evaluation.

### Orders of Worth in the Creative Industries Composite

The Case Study Context chapter situates Scottish Screen within the Scottish creative industries, a sector which was key in the (at the time) new government's cultural strategy because of their

potential contribution to the national economy (Scottish Executive, 2001). The New Labour UK government described the creative industries as “those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (DCMS, 1998). This definition implies the combination of conflicting concepts of worth proposed by Boltanski and Thévenot (2006 p. 159, emphasis added): creative outpourings belong to the inspired world, where “what is worthy cannot be controlled or – even more importantly – cannot be measured, especially *in industrial form*”. The idea of using creativity as a wealth generating tool has no place in the inspired world, which “eludes measure and a form of equivalence that privileges particularity” (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 159) and where worth cannot be attributed on the grounds of “industrial measures, reason, determination or the certainties of technology” (p.160).

The stable routines of the industrial world and its hierarchies are criticised from an inspired stance as inhibitors of creativity, which makes a compromise between inspired and industrial values difficult to sustain. In addition, the fact that the creative industries in Scotland have been linked not only to employment creation through industrial development but also to social inclusion (Hibberd, 2008) brings to the fore a third predominant order of worth in this composite: civic worth, associated with the notion of the collective.

Organisational activity in the creative industries sector needs a degree of compromise between at least these three orders worth (inspired, industrial and civic) in order to achieve effective management (industrial) of creative goods (inspired) in pursue of society’s benefit (civic). A good balance between values inscribed in these three orderings is particularly relevant to an activity like filmmaking, which in addition to inspired components stemming from individual creativity involves complex production processes. These processes require the heavily instrumented arrangements of the industrial and civic worlds (in the form of schedules, teams, machines, hierarchies, contracts, legislation, etc) in order to turn creativity into goods that society as a whole can benefit from, a function at the core of the national screen agency’s mission. In the next section, after restating my research questions, I summarise the findings detailed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, which throw light on what other orders of worth prevailed in Scottish Screen throughout its history and how they related to the inspired-industrial-civic combination underlying the creative industries composite.

## Research Questions and Summary of Findings

The main research question of this thesis is: *‘What orders of worth prevailed in Scottish Screen’s remit and practices throughout its 13-year-old history?’* This central question was arrived at through the initial investigation of some broader questions when I started examining the impact of potentially conflicting demands on the organisation, such as: *Are there perceived tensions between the commercial and artistic demands made on a national film agency, and, if so, how are these handled? What was the Scottish national film agency’s response to such demands as reflected in agents’ accounts and allocation of funds to film projects?* These initial questions, focused on cultural/commercial demands, were framed by the institutional logics theoretical perspective, institutional logics being belief systems and taken for granted social prescriptions that provide guidelines for practical action (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton, 2004). In parallel with a literature review of institutional logics, I reviewed organisational documents and talked to Scottish Screen’s staff members and stakeholder in order to investigate how the plurality of logics affected and was managed internally by organisational actors. Focusing on intraorganisational operations brought into play an important aspect of organisational activity: how individuals justify their actions to others by appealing to principles they hope will command respect. In *On Justification: Economies of Worth* (2006), Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot examine this phenomenon and suggest that justifications fall into six orders of worth corresponding to six polities or higher common principles that co-exist in contemporary social settings. The authors show how these justifications often conflict - particularly within professional organisations because of their pluralistic nature - as people compete to legitimise their views. If conflict is generally unavoidable in organisations because of their pluralistic nature, it is particularly frequent in the creative industries, which, as their very denomination suggests, combine two a priori conflicting orders of worth by trying to manage inspired outpourings through industrial procedures. As my study progressed and I reflected on the above issues, my original research questions grouped into a central one: *‘What orders of worth prevailed in Scottish Screen’s remit and practices throughout its 13-year-old history?’* The question has been investigated through an in-depth analysis of the activities of Scottish Screen focused on actors’ justifications, criticisms, and compromises during on-going negotiation processes with its stakeholders.

Instead of merely establishing outcomes of “battles” between duelling logics, I have

examined how organisational actors manage demands stemming from institutional pluralism and I have presented my findings in terms of how different orders of worth, individually or combined, fluctuated throughout the organisation's history.

The findings outlined in Chapter 4, Establishing Scottish Screen, show that Scottish Screen's early years were particularly problematic in terms of defining the agency's purpose and implementing relevant strategies. There were two main external factors underlying this situation: one was the change of government in Scotland shortly after the agency was established (New Labour defeated the Conservative party in the 1997) and the socio-political changes this entailed (namely, the start of the Scottish devolution process). The second factor was the fact that the agency came into being by amalgamating four predecessor bodies whose own structures and agendas did not always fit easily in the new unitary agency.

In terms of individual agent's accounts and investments there is, during this period, a struggle between orders of worth based on individualism (inspired and, particularly, domestic) and the more collective-oriented industrial and civic. There is much greater uniformity in the documents issued by the Government, whose elements belong mostly to the industrial world and the inevitable presence of civic values that a public agency like Scottish Screen represents.

The plurality of forms of generality (or orders of worth) guiding agent's decisions and views during this period, as opposed to the predominant industrial value of organisational efficiency demanded of the organisations, resulted in the agency's being criticised for lacking a coherent strategy (Scottish Executive, 2002). However, this disparity of orders of worth does not correspond with or stem from contending logics. Senior members of staff during this period were guided by a common cultural logic and shared a willingness to resist, or at least moderate, the commercial imperatives behind the organisation's establishment. Sources of contention came rather from the incompatibility between the predominant worlds of worth which different actors tried to deploy in their pursuit to keep alive the creative/cultural drives that had always characterised the Scottish screen sector. In particular, the higher common principle of transparency and inclusion which coordinates action in the civic world is hard to reconcile with arrangements anchored in domestic worth where personal relationships and tradition take precedence. Accordingly, practices which granted priority to individuality and precedent over inclusion and transparency were important sources of conflict.

Table 5 below sums up the different orders of worth and dominant logics present during the early years of Scottish Screen’s life as reflected in organisational documents, interviews, and film funding applications:

**Table 5**  
**Predominant logics and compromises between orders of worth guiding Scottish Screen’s purpose during transition and early years (1996-2001)**

<b>Data Source</b>	<b>Predominant logic(s)</b>	<b>Predominant order(s) of worth</b>
Documents issued by Government	Commercial/Cultural	Industrial, civic
Documents issues by Scottish Screen	Cultural	Inspired, domestic, civic
Interviews	Cultural	Inspired, domestic, civic
Funding application Assessments	Cultural	Inspired, domestic, civic

These findings show that the inspired, domestic, and civic forms of generality can co-exist within the limits of a situation guided by a cultural logic (such as Scottish Screen’s collective resistance to the commercial imperatives proposed by the Hydra report) despite being incompatible amongst themselves. The respective higher principles in which these three orders of worth are grounded (inspiration, tradition and inclusion) can be reconciled within the logic that guides a collective desire coming from organisational agents to preserve creativity (inspired worth) rooted in Scottish tradition (domestic worth) with the support of public money (civic worth). However, some practices presented in Chapter 4, such as allocating a high percentage of available funds to one particular project on the grounds of, for instance, its creative quality (inspired worth) clash with the civic principle of inclusion according to which the limited resources Scottish Screen had at its disposal should be more equitably distributed amongst all applicants.

Some decisions and practices related to funds allocations sparked criticism by the Scottish film community, which, from a civic standpoint, demanded more inclusion and transparency. At the same time, the Scottish Executive issued at the end of this period a review reminding Scottish Screen of the business imperatives it was supposed to meet. Given the various worlds or worth involved, it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to settle disagreements and achieve a “pure situation” free from “ambiguities” and “within the confines of one single world



of worth” (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006, p. 138). The solution, as it is often the case in organisations, would have to come in the form of a sustainable compromise.

During Scottish Screen’s second period, whose beginning and end are marked by a change of CEO, official documents issued by the Government kept showing a call for the agency to anchor its remit and strategy in the industrial and civic worlds. The new management team tried to repair the agency’s damaged reputation by fostering production of low budget feature films and by enhancing the organisation’s public image, initiatives which meant a greater prevalence of civic and fame values. The agency’s communications with the Government through official channels also included elements of the industrial and domestic world, which are less present in the funding decisions of films and agents’ accounts of their motivations. These discrepancies between statements and actions were noticed by the Government and, again, the era closes with the CEO’s resignation and an official appeal to the agency’s management to strengthen industrial elements that guarantee efficiency and transparency. Table 6 shows the predominant orders of worth and institutional logics in this second period.

**Table 6**  
**Predominant logics and order of worth during middle period (2002-2005)**

<b>Data Source</b>	<b>Predominant Logic</b>	<b>Predominant Order of Worth</b>
Documents issued by Government	Cultural/Commercial	Civic, industrial
Documents issued by Scottish Screen	Cultural/Commercial	Civic, domestic, Industrial
Interviews	Cultural/Commercial	Inspired, industrial, fame
Funding applications Assessments	Cultural	Inspired, fame

Comparing dominant logics and orders of worth to those contained in Table 5, the same logic duality is present in the demands made on the agency by the Government. Also similarly to the previous period, the predominant logic in the agency’s responses to such demands is a cultural one. This is particularly apparent in assessments of film project applications, still strongly guided

by culture-related criteria. There is however, slight change in official organisational documents and interviews which, although still insisting on the cultural aspects of screen activity (such as promoting essentially Scottish films and nurturing emergent talent), show a greater concern with the business aspects of the sector. This subtle opening towards commercial imperatives includes arrangements anchored in a variety of orders of worth (civic, industrial, domestic, fame), which were sometimes brought together in compromises. Some of those compromises succeeded in keeping conflict at bay, for instance, the civic-industrial compromise underpinning new funds distribution policies focused on low-budget feature films. Other practices, such as the second CEO's focus on the agency's public image (fame worth), or making investments "on trust" without all the necessary documentation being in place (domestic worth) sparked criticism within and outwith the agency.

We see again in this second period that conflict arose in situation involving incompatible principles deriving from different orders of worth (such as the individualistic values of domestic worth and the collective pre-eminence of civic worth) regardless of whether agents were responding to cultural or commercial demands.

The final period of the agency, following the reforms and strengthened reporting system introduced by its last CEO, shows the highest level of consistency between orders of worth underpinning policy documents, agents' accounts, and investment decisions, as shown in Table 7.

**Table 7**  
**Predominant logics and orders of worth guiding Scottish Screen purpose after the 2005/6 reforms**

<b>Data Source</b>	<b>Predominant Logic</b>	<b>Predominant Order of Worth</b>
Documents issued by Government	Cultural/Commercial	Domestic, industrial, civic
Documents issued by Scottish Screen	Cultural/Commercial	Industrial, civic
Interviews	Cultural/Commercial	Industrial, civic
Funding application Assessments	Cultural/Commercial	Industrial, civic

This approach, resting on a balanced compromise between industrial and civic elements, may not have completely exhausted the issue of whether Scottish Screen's mission should primarily focus on economic development or on nurturing creativity and Scottish talent (Hibberd, 2008), but it seemed to keep at bay the high level of conflict that had previously tarnished the organisation's reputation . It also quietened down external harsh criticism about a lack of clarity and consistency that Scottish Screen had suffered in previous years in terms of its objectives and remit. Internally, accounts by senior members of staff who worked during or before this final period show that the reforms implemented in 2005/06 stabilised and had a positive effect on the agency. The explicit willingness to respond to dual demands (commercial and cultural) which had started in the previous period is now stronger, as shown in the alignment in terms of logics between documents issued by the government (demands on the agency) and those issued by Scottish Screen (responses). The fact that the period which showed a greater degree of stability is also the period which most fully embraced logic duality suggests that logic plurality alone is not necessarily a source of internal conflict. And by the same token, organisational actors adhering to one single logic (as they did in the first period) does not necessarily keep important conflict at bay.

The following sections contained a more detailed account of the fluctuations of orders of worth, including clashes and compromises between them, against the backdrop of the prevalent institutional logic (cultural or commercial) in different periods of Scottish Screen's history.

### **Predominant Logics and Orders of Worth in Scottish Screen's Remit and Strategy: Clashes and Compromises**

The report Scotland on Screen (Hydra Associates, 1996), examined in the Case Study Context and first empirical chapter, recommended the amalgamation of various screen bodies into a one-stop screen agency with a predominantly commercial remit. All recommendations in the report, as outlined in Chapter 4 are aimed at substituting the cultural logic underpinning the predecessor bodies' activities with a commercial logic focused on improving access to finance for screen

producers, training, marketing operations, investment in production facilities, and developing the industry in all regions of Scotland. The new agency's personnel, however, was originally comprised of people who had worked in some of those predecessor bodies and they showed when they were interviewed that their views were still significantly driven in cultural imperatives despite the merger. In practice, this cultural driven approach was reflected in an overall resistance to accept the commercial remit recommended by the report *Scotland on Screen* (Hydra Associates, 1996). Resistance by the agency's personnel to fully embrace initiatives dictated by a commercial logic happened in parallel to the above mentioned change of government shortly after Scottish Screen's establishment. The devolution process initiated under the New Labour government meant a revival of Scottish national identity in the late 1990s and early 2000s which brought about new socio-economic policies with culture at their core (Hibberd, 2008). In contrast to the cultural shift of socio-political developments surrounding the agency's early years, public demands made on Scottish Screen through documents issued by the Government, notably the 2001/2 review examined in Chapter 4, continued to have a strong emphasis on commercial imperatives. These imperatives unmet, Scottish Screen was criticised for lacking clear purpose and strategy and it was asked by the government to reconsider its role.

As shown in Table 5 above, during this first period the predominant orders of worth in terms of strategy and investment decisions were inspired, domestic, and civic. These orders of worth, which also feature significantly in agents' accounts during interviews, rest on values compatible with a cultural logic (such as creative talent and tradition) and are in opposition to the distinctly commercial logic behind the agency's establishment. In other words, organisational activity during this time was mostly guided by a cultural logic that resisted commercial demands. This overall misalignment between stakeholders' demands and organisational response, which reflects a confrontation between an external commercial and internal cultural logic, was at the core of the negative governmental reviews the agency received in terms of its performance:

“Issues relating to measuring and reporting effectiveness, the differing perceptions of the role of Scottish Screen, and the need for clearer links into the Executive's policy all appear to require to be addressed.” (Scottish Screen: A Review by the Scottish Executive 2002b, p. 26)

However, among the people and arrangements embodying one single cultural logic within Scottish Screen, there were several orders of worth at play, mainly inspired, domestic, and civic, as shown in Table 5. This plurality echoes Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) statement that one must "give up the idea of associating worlds [of worth] with groups" (p. 216), especially in complex settings such as professional organisations, whose plurality include arrangements stemming from the various worlds. The fact that people can navigate different orders of worth and sometimes find justifiable compromises between them shows that orders of worth cannot be ascribed to persons in a definitive manner; they come to the fore in situations.

What was Scottish Screen's "situation" in the early years considered from the perspective offered Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) analytical framework and bearing in mind institutional logics affecting external demands made on the agency? In 1997 Scottish Screen was a newly established organisation in the creative industries sector resulting from the merger of four bodies predominantly underpinned by a cultural logic. This new organisation was charged with the distribution of public funds to promote a cultural activity and it was recommended that it take a business approach to its operations (Hydra Associates, 1996). In this context, and within a common reluctance by key personnel to fully embrace the almost exclusively commercial recommendations of the Hydra report, some justifications and actions were guided by civic worth, while others derived from the inspired or domestic ordering. My research found no instances of initiatives resting on inspired or civic worth sparking criticism even when such initiatives did not foster commercial goals. Some examples are the funding decisions examined in Chapter 4, which highlight inspired elements such as the artistic value of the projects in question, or invoke civic values of outreach and inclusion to justify the investment. Further, interviews with key organisational agents and statements by film professionals during this period reflect an overall view that inspired values should play an important role in the type of creative content Scottish Screen promoted through public funding, but also in the agency's practices and remit: inspired values such as flexibility, freedom, risk-taking, and abandoning norms, when necessary, in pursuit of creative brilliance were defended as necessary to keep a healthy balance between the commercial-cultural logic dualism inherent to an agency managing creative goods.

By contrast, decisions grounded in the domestic world caused strong reactions among film professionals and they echoed reactions to similar practices carried out some years earlier by one of the predecessor bodies, the Scottish Film Production Fund. This instance of history repeating

itself represents domestic worth being carried over from the old organisation into the new one by organisational agents was noticed by senior members of staff who joined Scottish Screen at a later stage. As reflected in chapters 5 and 6, several senior managers thought that it was still possible to see the old four predecessor bodies working separately within the new agency.

The harshest criticism directed at practices inscribed in the domestic world concerned investment decisions. Members of the Scottish film community considered that allocation of funds influenced by personal relations between officers and applicants was against the civic values of outreach and fair resources distribution that Scottish Screen ought to serve as a public organisation. The same criticism was elicited by members of the Scottish Screen board being allowed to apply for funds for their own projects. Early organisational officers, particularly those who had key roles during the transitional period from four separate bodies to one unitary agency, expressed views that countered such critiques by generally labelling them as disgruntlement from applicants who had had their projects rejected, and insisted on the importance of good relationships between officers and applicants on an individual basis. The attempt by dissatisfied film professionals to gain strength by acting as an organised lobbying group called Scottish Stand (an initiative inscribed in the civic world where collective beings are worthier than individuals) was short-lived. The group disbanded after some months and its members went back to expressing its opinions individually, mostly through the press. As a group, Scottish Stand had used the civic world as a platform for voicing their critiques and for trying to devalue other orders of worth, mostly domestic, which do not place inclusion and transparency at their core. Scottish Stand failed to equip themselves with objects that could have stabilise their enterprise, which made them vulnerable to critiques from other worlds, such as industrial (“what brought them together was disgruntlement...there was no coherent strategy”, one interviewee said). The collective will from which the initiative derived was not provided with the right instruments to express itself, such as clearly defined collective programmes and procedures, (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006. p.188), which resulted in disintegration. This episode, along with others outlined in Chapter 4, brings attention to the importance of bringing objects (including arrangements) in support of initiatives in organisational contexts.

In sum, findings related to this early period reveal that compromises involving inspired and civic elements (both part of the creative industries composite) were generally accepted by all parties involved in the situation, whereas domestic elements tended to be denounced. The third

order of worth inherent to the creative industries, industrial worth, although present in some statements of function outlined in Chapter 4 is significantly absent from organisational initiatives and agents' accounts during this early period. The presence of industrial elements "on paper" shows awareness by staff members of the importance of industrial measures (be it because of an intuitive recognition of the value industrial methods have for regulating organisational activity, or because of the explicit demands made by the government). But such awareness is in contradiction with the relative lack of weight that initiatives anchored in industrial rigour had in practice. As mentioned earlier, this misalignment was at the core of a strong public call for the agency to review its remit and strategy which, in parallel to a change of CEO, marked the end of Scottish Screen's early period.

Findings in Chapter 5 reveal that Scottish Screen's new management initiatives, under the lead of its second Chief Executive, brought into play another order of worth which had not been significantly present in any of the data sources related to Scottish Screen's early years: the worth of fame, where beings accede to higher states by being well known and where worth is granted through public opinion. In parallel, the civic value of inclusion was reinforced by a new investment policy that moved towards a more equitable spreading of resources focused on low budget feature films. In terms of predominant logics during this middle period, funding application processes show the same slant toward cultural values that dominated in previous years, whereas interviews and official documents issued by Scottish Screen in response to official demands reflect a commercial/cultural duality. Cultural elements are still very much present in an overall desire to highlight aspects of Scottish life and culture through filmmaking, and creative excellence is still placed ahead of commercial potential in funding selection processes. At the same time, accounts of key personnel and official documents issued during this period show a commercial-logic focus on measures aimed at boosting the country's economy through the development of the Scottish film industry, as opposed to financing just a few projects of well-established directors or producers.

In terms of orders of worth, against this backdrop of commercial-cultural duality the civic-industrial compromise implied in the new low budget film approach to funding outlined in Chapter 5 did not cause conflict or strong critical reactions from either the government or the filmmaking community. Trying to get as many people as possible to benefit from the public

resources distributed by the organisation seemed to be a step in the right direction towards redefining Scottish Screen's remit and strategy. In slight contradiction to the seeming overall fitness of this civic-industrial arrangement was the new CEO's claim that his attempt to establish a more rigorous system in order to streamline the funding selection process was not well received by the Scottish filmmaking community. This resistance suggests film professionals' weariness of rigid procedures firmly anchored in the industrial world which might not allow for the inspired, more flexible elements inherent to any creative activity to play their part in negotiations with funders. In general, however, initiatives simultaneously grounded in the values of efficiency (industrial worth) and inclusion (civic worth) showed compatibility with the agency's gradual move toward a civic-industrial composite.

This compromise between industrial efficiency and collective fairness avoided decision making processes underpinned by the predominant domestic worth of previous years. It was also incompatible to some degree with the above mentioned initiatives based on the worth of fame intended to enhance the agency's public image: Scottish Screen's second Chief Executive thought that the organisation was so busy with the routine of daily operations that not enough energy was invested in initiatives derived from the worth of fame such as establishing good relationships with the press or making the most of festival attendance in terms of public exposure. However, other agents more concerned with civic fairness or industrial efficiency denounced an excessive preoccupation with public image on the part of Scottish Screen's second CEO as being detrimental to the agency's functioning and reputation. Finding a good balance between civic and fame elements is important in settings related to the activity of filmmaking, which produces goods for public consumption. However, in the context of a public agency, the fame-civic compromise is sustainable only as long as it is at the service of the common good at large. The perception by some organisational agents that self-serving purposes were being pursued over collective benefits called this compromise into question by stating it was in fact driven by individual attention seeking, a situation that represents the fall in the civic world. In other words, it was considered that certain senior managers were not making the necessary sacrifice to deserve a high state of worthiness from the standpoint of civic worth.

The other compromise dominating this period, civic-industrial (deployed through a more equitable distribution of resources), was not denounced in the same way as the civic-fame one above. That is, there was no criticism calling into question the authenticity of the goal it



purportedly pursued: doing the best for the Scottish filmmaking industry and consequently society at large (civic worth) in the most efficient possible way (industrial worth). However, a lack of balance between industrial and civic elements in its composition was noticed by the Executive. This was reflected again in a governmental report which called for the strengthening of industrial rigour and methods. As detailed in Chapter 6, the report demanded that Scottish Screen set its operations more firmly in the industrial world by focusing on two values that grant worth in the industrial ordering: the first one is quantification (in the form of elements such as *performance indicators* or *added value*, which are natural objects of the industrial world), and the second one is a temporal articulation that implies the possibility of anticipating future performance (in the form of *plans* or *strategies*). Finding the right balance between civic and industrial elements that would allow for simultaneously meeting the commercial demands made on the agency and the fair selection methods desired by applicants was the overall unmet challenge of this period, whose end was marked again by a review by the Scottish Executive and a change in senior management.

The findings outlined in Chapter 6 throw light on the fluctuation of orders of worth and predominant logics during Scottish Screen final five years after a new change of Chief Executive. In terms of logics, documents issued by the government do not show significant changes and the same cultural-commercial duality that characterized policies related to the creative industries since the beginning of the devolution process is still present during this time. However, funding application files, interviews, and intraorganisational documents reflect a greater concern with the business aspect of filmmaking and the potential of Scottish Screen to help boost the Scottish economy. As Table 7 shows, this awareness is for the first time evenly reflected in interviews, investment decisions, and official documents. Misalignments between statements of function in annual reports and actual decisions that had happened in the past, in particularly in the early years, are no longer present. How is this greater coherence between demands and responses, and theory and practice, reflected in terms of orders of worth?

As mentioned above, the civic-industrial compromise initiated under the second CEO had lacked a strong enough industrial component to satisfy the demand of a greater business-oriented approach which the 2005 Executive review had made of the agency (echoing similar demands made by a previous review in 2002). The new management responded to the Executive's call by reviewing procedures in depth and implementing changes which, without losing sight of the civic

principle of collective well-being, were more firmly anchored in the industrial values of efficiency and compartmentalisation (particularly illustrative examples are offered in the section of Chapter 6 dedicated to new assessment processes). This revised civic-industrial compromise which enhanced Scottish Screen's stability during its final years included also the elimination of some old practices (such as the disbandment of external assessment panels, discussed in Chapter 6) which as well as reinforcing the civic-industrial compromise meant a more definite break – a break initiated by the previous management's decision to distribute funds in a more equitable manner – with practices based on domestic worth that had damaged the agency's reputation.

Another factor contributing to this greater equilibrium and alignment between governmental demands and organisational practices during this period was the fact that the 2005 Cultural Commission, to whose demands the agency responded, included an in-depth examination of the creative industries in Scotland. The vocabulary and content of some of its conclusions show a greater awareness of the complexities of a sector that manages creative goods through industrial procedures (a situation which, in terms of orders of worth, involves a delicate and unlikely compromise between inspired and industrial orders of worth). The Cultural Commission insists on the importance of having clearly defined procedures in place in line with industrial values. However, in contrast to previous official documents making demands or recommendations on the agency (and particularly the Hydra Report with its almost exclusive emphasis on commercial imperatives), the Cultural Commission's final report, as outlined in Chapter 6, acknowledges the value of elements stemming from worth outside of the industrial ordering, such as creativity (inspired worth) and national identity (domestic worth). While the main drive behind the Hydra Report's recommendations had been that such values should be at the service of commercial goals focused on immediate financial revenue, the 2005 Cultural Commission recommends instead that industrial methods be used to meet the civic imperative of contributing to the well-being of Scottish society by developing long-term sustainable industrial growth centred on creativity. This type of compromise, which allows for creative quality to have a prominent place in decision making processes, was met with less resistance even by those particularly concerned with industrial efficiency and civic transparency, as the findings extracted from interviews in Chapter 6 show.

This greater degree of stability found after both parts, Scottish Screen and the Government, moved towards a compromise including all orders or worth inherent to the creative industries

(inspired, civic and industrial) supports Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) statement that "no organization can survive, however industrial it may be, if it does not tolerate situations of different natures" (p. 18). The Hydra report, for instance, reflects an attempt at setting up a "situation that would hold together" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 228) by keeping the new national screen agency's remit within the limits of commercial imperatives. But this attempt to set plurality aside came into conflict with civic and inspired elements which are intrinsic to the creative industries. These tensions in the agency's early years translated into lack of coherence between statements and actions, open criticism from stakeholders, public confrontations between the agency and the film community, and a damaged reputation.

Efforts to correct this situation following the first change of Chief Executive reflected greater awareness of the inspired-industrial-civic compromise that the creative sector has to navigate in order to efficiently manage creative goods for the benefit of society. Initiatives including elements inscribed in all of those three worlds of worth did not stir significant conflict. By contrast, initiatives aimed at extending the composite into a fourth world of worth, the world of fame (see Chapter 5), caused mixed reactions. Critics of this type of initiative denounced what they perceived as hidden individual interests behind such initiatives, which confirms the suggestion that compromises between civic and fame worth in organisational setting are sustainable only as long as the compromise rests on arrangements, things or people that put public exposure at the service of the common good (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 319). This kind of compromise is suited to filmmaking, an activity populated by fame elements such as celebrity, festivals or awards. In fact, none of the critiques directed to the world of fame in Chapter 6 questions the validity of the potential benefits that fame-related elements could have for Scottish Screen and therefore they do not criticise the validity of fame worth in itself. Rather, critiques directed at arrangements derived from fame worth come in the form of unveiling individual attention seeking at the expense of the common good, a denunciation which hinders the possibility of a compromise between fame and civic worth.

The possibility to put fame elements at the service of collective good was realised after the reforms implemented by the Scottish Screen's third and last CEO, as explained in Chapter 6. The agency implemented stricter requirements for candidates soliciting money to fund activities related to the world of fame, such as festival attendance. They were asked to justify from a civic stance (what would be the ultimate benefit of such attendance?) and by industrial methods

(rigorous paperwork procedures) the benefits of investing in fame initiatives.

This, and other initiatives which contributed to putting industrial methods at the service of collective benefit, did not lose sight of the fact that Scottish Screen was the public funder of a creative activity. The funding applications examined in Chapter 6 show a certain degree of flexibility and risk-taking by allowing elements inscribed in the inspired world to be part of the justifications in favour of supporting certain projects. However, these same assessments take a strict approach to industrial measures in terms of the documentation and information submitted by applicants and the initial requirements which applications had to meet in order to be processed.

This mixed approach attained a more effective integration of the inspired, civic and industrial elements that sustain the creative industries composite. However, it was not free of criticism that considered it too strict for managing activities related to filmmaking whose pluralistic nature involves the coordination of multiple professions, is bound to run into unforeseeable issues, and calls for a degree of flexibility that most interviewees repeatedly alluded to. The capacity to efficiently participate in various and diverse projects – which involves deep commitment to each of them while being open to new ones – requires skills and values that are sometimes hard to ascribe to one of the six worlds depicted by Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) in *On Justification*. Indeed, during the course of interviews, several Scottish Screen senior executives (especially those who worked in the agency during its last 5 to 6 years) emphasised the importance of maximising the resources at the organisation's disposal “by being “diligent” and “spending money as effectively as possible”. However, some of these statements grounded in the industrial world's higher common principle of efficiency would be often followed or preceded by claims about the importance of being flexible and open to change, claims which are hard to accommodate in the industrial world where planning and adherence to plans are paramount.

This paradoxical mix of deep commitment and openness to change characterizes worthy beings in the ‘projective city’, a seventh world of worth depicted by Boltanski and Chiapello in *The New Spirit of Capitalism* (2007 [1999]). In the next section I outline and link to my findings this seventh world of worth as well as to David Stark's [2009] insights on organisational responses to plurality. Both approaches question the suitability of stable, hierarchical management models to handle the complexity of the modern world dominated by networking relations - of which the highly connectionist activity of filmmaking is an example - and I use

them to frame data presenting a certain ‘residue’ not immediately attributable to any of the six worlds outlined in the Literature Review chapter which have underpinned the analysis and discussion of my findings so far.

### **A Seventh World of Worth: The Projective City**

In *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, Boltanski and Chiapello (2007) depict a new economy of worth which resulted from a pressing need for a new form of representation of the economic world after numerous aspects of economic activity throughout the 1980s were called into question and altered (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007, p.213; see also Du Gay and Morgan 2013). The authors dwell on managerial works from the 1990s to portray a seventh world of worth where these alterations are deployed: the *projective city*.

The general thesis of *The New Spirit of Capitalism* is that modern capitalism is at the origin of two crises: one is financial, defined by social exclusion and an overall decline of everyday life conditions; the other one is a crisis of the critique of capitalism. Historically, this critique is composed of two branches: artistic and social. The artistic critique denounces capitalism as an instrument of oppression which stifles creativity, freedom and autonomy, and renders the society embedded in it inauthentic. Social critique draws from socialism and Marxism to denounce a capitalism which generates poverty and inequality among workers, as well as opportunism and egoism in social life (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007, prologue xxxvi ). The strength of capitalism lies in knowing how to take advantage of the critiques directed against it and integrate them in its foundations. Thus throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the authors argue, capitalism has been able to absorb critiques and respond to calls to integrate elements which grant greater autonomy in professional and economic activity. But this enhanced autonomy of modern economic times has come at the price of greater self-discipline, reinforced digital surveillance and, more importantly, significant deterioration of employment security. This new world, populated with autonomous mobile, flexible, international and creative workers, is organised around the *network*, which, aided by the development of computer science, surmounts geographical and cultural barriers and allows for the possibility of long distance collaboration, very often in real time (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007, p. 104).

This integration of ‘freedom’ and flexibility in economic activity that has quieted down the artistic critique of capitalism is deployed in the projective city, which I outline in the following

paragraphs using the grammar developed by Boltanski and Thévenot in *On Justification* (2006). Before I outline this seventh world of worth, it is important to mention a relevant linguistic issue of which I became aware by comparing the original French versions of *On Justification* and the *New Spirit of Capitalism* with their respective English translations. My academic and professional background as a linguist alerted me, when reading extracts from both works in French after having read them in English, to some terminological inconsistencies that merited investigation, since the two books are closely connected, one builds on the other, and they use the same analytical framework (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007). I then decided to carry out a comparative revision of the translation of the analytical framework's key terminology in both books and found out that there were indeed some issues worth pointing out to the English reader.

The book where Boltanski and Chiapello outline the projective city, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, was originally published in French in 1999, and first translated into English in 2005. Boltanski and Thévenot's *On Justification*, the work on which *The New Spirit of Capitalism* builds (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007, preface to the English edition xxii) was first published in France eight years earlier, in 1991. However, it was not published in English until 2006 (that is, a year after the first English edition of *The New Spirit of Capitalism*) and it was translated by a different person, which might account for numerous inconsistencies between the two books regarding the translation of key concepts of the framework developed by Boltanski and Thévenot – one of the most important instances being the French word *cit  * having been translated as *city* in the *New Spirit of Capitalism* (2007, 2005) as opposed to *polity* and *world (of worth)* in *On Justification* (2006). Other examples are *higher common principle* (in *On Justification*) versus *common superior principle* (in *The New Spirit of Capitalism*); the *unworthy* (*On Justification*) versus the *little person* (*The New Spirit of Capitalism*); or *the market world* (*On Justification*) versus the *commercial city* (*The New Spirit of Capitalism*), to name just a few. For the sake of consistency with previous chapters of this thesis and also in order to avoid confusion, I mostly use the language employed in *On Justification* to construct an outline of the projective as described by Boltanski and Chiapello (2007, pp. 107-128). But since quoting and referring to both works involves occasional oscillations between the two different sets of terminology, I have gathered in Table 8 both English versions of some key terms.

**Table 8**  
**English translations (as they appear in *On Justification* [2006] and *The New Spirit of Capitalism* [2007, 2005] of fundamental terms of the framework developed by Boltanski and Thévenot in *De la Justification* (1991)**

<b>De la justification</b>	<b>On Justification</b>	<b>The New Spirit of Capitalism</b>
<i>Cité</i>	Polity	City
<i>Les mondes communs</i>	Common worlds	Cities
<i>Principe supérieur commun</i>	Higher common principle	Common superior principle
<i>Répertoire des sujets</i>	List of subjects	Repertoire of subjects
<i>Répertoire des objets</i>	List of objects	Repertoire of objects
<i>État de grand</i>	State or worthiness	Condition of great man
<i>Dignité des personnes</i>	Human dignity	Dignity of persons
<i>Formule d'investissement</i>	Investment formula	Formula of investment
<i>Rapport de grandeur</i>	Relation of worth	Status relation
<i>Relations (naturelles entre les êtres)</i>	Natural relations among beings	Natural relations between beings
<i>Figures (harmonieuses de l'ordre naturel)</i>	Harmonious figures of the natural order	Harmonious figures of natural order
<i>Épreuve modèle</i>	Model test	Model test
<i>Jugement</i>	Mode of expression of judgment	Expression of judgement
<i>Évidence</i>	Form of evidence	Forms of self-evidence
<i>Déchéance</i>	Decline of the polity / The fall	Decline of the city

The <higher common principle> according to which worth is distributed and ordered in the projective city is *activity*. But, as opposed to activity in the industrial city, which is valued only when linked to the achievement of stability and measurable productivity, the worthy activity in the projective city is *mediating activity*, aimed at forming and expanding more or less remote networks, links and associations which are likely to generate *projects*.

The desire to connect represents the <human dignity> which a priori allows all men and women in this polity to accede to higher states of worth. The universal need for connection means that anyone can be part of the network. The <subjects> that populate this connectionist world of worth are networkers, mediators, project managers and, more generally, anyone capable of constituting a link in a network and contributing to its functioning and expansion. Subjects who embody in a particularly exemplary way the human potential to relate are those capable of putting in contact very disparate people at the service of a project. The means at their disposal for this purpose are an important part of the repertoire of <objects> in the connective city. New technologies which facilitate links overcoming distance are particularly important in a world whose main operation is establishing connections, but some mechanisms typical of the industrial

world (franchises, subcontracting, external units) have been reinvented and out at the service of the network firm.

The <state of worthiness> in this connective world is defined by the degree of flexibility shown by those who populate the network. Worthy people in the projective city are flexible, adaptable and autonomous, unconstrained by rigid contracts or regulations. However, if they engage in a project, they commit to it fully and with enthusiasm, and they trust those with whom the project brings them into contact. This does not stop them from being available to engage in other commitments and always ready for change. In fact, given the finite nature of projects, this capacity for mobility is an essential attribute to become worthy in the projective city. Great (worthy) persons in this world are employable – and capable of providing employment – by virtue of their versatility, a versatility which does not stem from obedience to a superior but by a tendency to autonomy and to become and remain their own leaders. They chose when to attach themselves to new projects, take risks, and make new connections. They must know how to choose the best connections and be skilful locators of sources of information. But in contrast to the calculating strategist of the industrial world, leaders in the projective city are spontaneous, always prepared to engage in new situations that they consider advantageous and to make the most of their uniqueness.

It follows from the above that adaptability is the <investment formula> or the sacrifice one must make to acquire worth in the projective city. Access to greatness involves sacrificing whatever hampers availability to attach oneself to new projects. Worthy beings in the projective city are rootless, forever mobile, they sacrifice all that hampers their availability to attach themselves to new projects. Stability and single commitments which last a lifetime – from a vocational profession to marriage – are to be avoided. Effort is invested in given up what one knows for uncertain alternatives and in being open to new connections.

The redistribution of connections and the information obtained from them establishes the <relation of worth> in the projective city. The worthy increase the employability of the unworthy by better integrating them in networks. They do so by redistributing information at their disposal, instead of keeping them to themselves. Communicating and trusting are thus the <natural relations among beings> in the projective city.

The networks in which great beings are key mediators and in which they integrate the unworthy in exchange for the trust the latter place in them are the most representative



<harmonious figures of the natural order> in this world. While in the past, networks would arouse suspicion in firms, they are now the ideal medium to carry out projects. The end of a project and the beginning of another is the <model test> in the projective city. The ability of beings to be constantly engaged in projects, and thus remain integrated in the network, determines their worth. Being called on to participate is the <expression of judgment> which shows people's appreciation based on past performance. By contrast, those whose performance is negatively appraised are avoided or ignored, kept out of the network.

The <decline of the polity> in the projective world is marked by privileges and corruption which keep the network from expanding. The projective city falls when the redistribution of information stops, when the network closes in on itself and benefits just some networkers who keep information to themselves instead of putting it at the service of the public good.

**TABLE 9**  
**The Projective City**

<b>Higher common principle</b>	Mediating activity
<b>Subjects</b>	Mediator, project head, innovator
<b>Objects</b>	Instruments of connection, new technologies, alliances, agreements
<b>State or worthiness</b>	Involved, autonomous, flexible, tolerant
<b>Dignity</b>	The need to connect
<b>Investment</b>	Adaptability
<b>Relation of worth</b>	Redistribution of connections and information
<b>Relationships</b>	Connecting, communicating, co-ordinating, adjusting to others, trusting
<b>Figures</b>	The network
<b>Test</b>	The end of a project and the beginning of another
<b>Judgement</b>	Being called on to participate
<b>Evidence</b>	Inserting, avoiding
<b>The Fall</b>	Corruption, privileges, closure of the network

In the following section I revisit some of my data and link my findings to the features of the projective city (summed up in Table 9 above) and to some related aspects of David Stark's (2009) work with a view to better understand how plurality was managed in Scottish Screen. Lastly, before moving on to Conclusions, the discussion of my findings returns to the relevance of institutional logics and the usefulness of adding to it the insights provided by French pragmatist sociology.

### *Traces of the projective world in Scottish Screen*

As mentioned above, the general principle of equivalence by which worth is measured in the projective city (i.e. activity geared towards connecting people through networks that operate in a constantly changing world) is at odds with the kind of activity which grants worth in the industrial world, where worthy subjects are those who hold stable positions and the worthiest of the worthy are those who can create and maintain stability. Scottish Screen embodied in many aspects the industrial world of fixed structures: their employees worked together under one roof, there was always some kind of hierarchical form of management in place led by a CEO accountable to Government, and its distribution of public funds was organised through (increasingly) structured procedures which applicants had no choice but to comply with. By contrast, filmmaking and other screen activities that the agency was in charge of facilitating involve a high degree of flexible networking and temporary, open-ended agreements. Some Scottish Screen employees, namely those working at the agency during the later years, thought that it was important to incorporate and reinforce these connectionist aspects in their work. Some of those employees displayed characteristics of the worthy beings described above (great persons in the projective city always try to retain autonomy and be their own leaders) by stating that they saw the possibility of breaking the status quo and bringing changes to the agency as a fundamental part of their role. As a development executive explains:

“I said, ‘Well, unless they get good people in, that’s never going to change. So either you can complain about it, or you can go and bring somebody in with a lot of experience in terms of the practical side of filmmaking and try to change people’s attitudes towards it.’”

With respect to the importance of retaining autonomy at work as a marker of worthy beings in the projective city, another development executive displayed even stronger views by saying explicitly that he would have never worked at Scottish Screen if he had not been allowed to introduce certain changes in the organisation that he deemed necessary. Echoing Boltanski and Chiapello’s (2007, p 112) observation that worth in the projective derives from being autonomous and proactive rather than from obedience to hierarchical superiors, this employee - who was never at the very top in the vertical hierarchical structure of Scottish Screen - prides

himself in claiming that not only did he help to reshape the way the organisation interacted with the filmmaking community, but this was the very precondition upon which he accepted to work for the agency:

“I said, ‘Go out and talk to them, talk about what projects they're working on, what's the timeline for this, when they think they'll be approaching Scottish Screen. Who are they talking to already? Do they have another broadcaster lined up, or another company lined-up?’ And so I basically said that the only way I would take this job was if I was allowed to work that way. And they accepted, they said, ‘That's fine’. Because of my experience being on the outside and having been a client or a stakeholder of the organisation previously, they did ask me to basically start reviewing all our processes and systems and our guidelines to see if there was any way I could make them easier.”

This quote combines a desire to perform the kind of activity aimed at efficiency which grants worth in the industrial worth (... *“start reviewing all our processes and systems and our guidelines to see if there was any way I could make them easier”*) with that which grants worth in the projective city, where activity aims to become part of a network that can only be created and maintained through encounters (*I said, “Go out and talk to them”*), so that one can initiate projects or participate in projects initiated by others (*“Talk about what projects they're working Who are they talking to already?”*) (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007, p. 110). Since projects can only be initiated by breaking rigidity and isolation and by being open to other beings whose influence may help generate a project, worthy beings in the projective city are great locators and selectors of information sources (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007, p. 2013). The same development executive brings attention to this quality in a statement about money allocation decisions:

“I just thought, ‘There’s a better way of managing that. I know a better way of having more information to make it an easier decision to make, because if it comes in and it’s already got backing from the kind of commercial side of film, you kind of go, “Well, if they’re backing it, why wouldn’t we?” So it makes it a much easier assessment process because there are more elements there. You can go, ‘There’s a strong commercial interest, they’ve got other finance from here, it’s got sales estimates that are reliable, so...””

Again, the connectionist aspect of his work is complemented with worth from other worlds in the last sentence: “You can go, ‘There’s a strong commercial interest [market], they’ve got other finance from here; it’s got sales estimates that are reliable [industrial]”. In the projective city, a preoccupation with industrial values such as predictability and measurable data can diminish the worth of beings as it may hinder their capacity to be flexible, diminish “their capacity of local action” and make them appear not as spontaneous, but as “strategists, whose manoeuvres are openly conspicuous, and frighten people” (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007, p. 113).

A different development executive working at the agency during the same period highlights the importance of strategy as well:

“There was never, certainly when I joined, there was never any discussion about strategically whether these investments were worthwhile. It was basically a dozen people discussing whether they liked or didn’t like the script, whether they liked or didn’t like the director attached, or... So it had nothing to do with how you help companies build their business by supporting projects that have either commercial or artistic value.”

His statement, which has been used earlier in the chapter to illustrate a critique to both domestic elements (personal relations) and inspired values (likes and dislikes) from an industrial standpoint, can in turn be criticized from the projective city as too “strategist” and rigid. And the same could be said, from the standpoint the projective city, about several quotes by one CEO, some of which had also been used earlier as examples of reinforced industrial values during the later years of Scottish Screen. Let’s take the following one about the value of funding applicants’ trips to film festivals:

“One of the things that we clarify when we support people going to markets and other festivals, was on the basis of ‘How does this link into developing your business’, which again people... Some people said, ‘But you’ve always paid for me to go to Cannes, I just want my money to go to Cannes. And now you’re asking me to fill in a form justifying what projects I’m taking and who I’m supposed to be meeting, and then asking me for reports at the back end of it about who I did meet. That’s ridiculous!’ And we’d go, ‘Well, no.’”

The quote is in line with the overall views of this CEO who throughout his tenure strengthened industrial procedures aimed at enhancing efficiency, and efficiency in the industrial world is countable and measurable. From this perspective, it is unsurprising that he would want funded trips to festivals to be justified by the applicant linking the trip to *specific* projects or aims. By contrast, in the projective city a film festival is an instance of the <harmonious figure of the natural order> par excellence: the network. In this world of worth, the network has value in itself as the natural arena in which networks can originate or expand. Further, they are the stages on which tests are carried out. As mentioned, the <model test> in the projective city is the end of a project and the beginning of another, as it is in this transition where the status of beings is revealed. Those whose appraisal is positive are able to maintain or create new links, they succeed in engaging themselves in a new project having enhanced their reputation by successful participation in previous ones (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007, p. 125). In this respect, a film festival is valued in itself in the connectionist world as the ideal network where proximity among producers, actors, directors, etc. can reinforce exiting links and create new ones which will lead to new projects. But given that every project is a new, uncertain venture, *trusting* those with whom connections are formed is one of the <natural relations among beings> in the projective city. Trust is also paramount in the traditional values of the domestic world, and, as shown in Chapter 4, its importance was highlighted by several interviewees who worked at Scottish Screen in the early years, during which some of the domestic values inherited from the four bodies which amalgamated into the new agency were still very much present. As for the value of making itself known, which film festivals facilitate, it considered important in itself mostly in the middle period, in which the worth of fame dominated. In the last period however, despite some prominent members of staff acknowledging the value of networking, trust is not considered a key element on which deals should be made (“Scottish Screen didn’t release money like they had, occasionally, on trust”, says a development executive), and exposure to the network is not valued unless a specified aim is attached to it. While a CEO acknowledges the potential value of film festivals when he says...

“Rather than necessarily saying you had to have skills, we said you had to have connections – you had to be connected to sales agents, distributors... And so what we did

through Edinburgh Film Festival and through supporting people attending markets – be it Rotterdam, Berlin, Cannes or whatever”

...he adds that it is essential for applicants to have a specific aim (industrial world) and attending festivals just in the hope to form connections which might lead to projects (an activity valued in the projective city) is not something that Scottish Screen should fund:

“We’d always been unclear about why we were supporting people going to those festivals, and with this we became much clearer about, ‘Yes, we want people to be at Cannes, not just so we can say Scotland’s great and wave a wee flag, but to make those connections.’”

As mentioned in Chapter 6, this determination to finance networking activities only if they were attached in advance to a particular activity is also reflected in the reviewed investment guidelines, which under the last CEO explicitly stated that priority would be granted to candidates “attending festivals or markets with a strong industry focus” and those who could “provide evidence of confirmed meetings” with industry personnel (2007 Scottish Screen Investment Guidelines, p. 16). This type of initiative, valuable in the industrial world, does not exemplify greatness (or worth) in the projective city where, again, activity aimed to expand the network is the higher common principle, and, consequently, any measure hindering this aim contributes to the fall of the polity (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007, p. 120). In a world where acquiring worth involves giving up mistrust or rigidity, overprotective methods are targets of critique. Accordingly, the Scottish Screen development executive whose views are most in tune with the projective city says:

“I think it was probably just about the time the organisation was changing with a new CEO. They seemed to take a kind of stricter approach to contracts and investments affairs. They went to kind of over protect... They had to make sure they had everything covered, every eventuality. And the policy was, ‘You have to treat everybody the same, you can't choose to treat one particular project, one particular applicant differently’”.

Uniformity and standardization grant worth to procedures in the industrial world, but they go against greatness in the projective city, where worthy beings acknowledge the uniqueness of each project and are capable of adjusting accordingly (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007, p. 112). Treating in the same manner and demanding the same amount of information from “somebody applying for £15,000 worth of market investment support as somebody asking for £300,000 worth of production finance” is not, in the words of this development executive, “the best way to go.” But even the most “connectionist” of Scottish Screen’s members of staff, such as this participant, tend to keep a firm grip in the industrial world – in detriment of the flexibility advocated by the projective city – when it comes to releasing money: on the controversial issue of whether Scottish Screen, as the public national funder, should be the first to put money forward in support of selected Scottish film projects in order to encourage other investors, he advocates caution over trust by declaring himself in favour of forcing applicants to secure a significant percentage of funds from other sources before coming to Scottish Screen. “Certainly”, he says, “the idea of us being first money in anything is gone, and for me it remains gone”.

Taken as a whole, the above views expressed by those senior executives at Scottish Screen who brought into their discourse concepts closely related to the projective city (connections, flexibility, trust) show a clash between the connectionist world of filmmaking with the much more fixed universe of civil service. All of these participants acknowledge that it is important to be proactive and flexible in order to meet different projects’ needs, but not more so than minimising financial risk. Similarly, they admit that in film and screen activity connections are paramount and that it should be part of Scottish Screen’s role to facilitate encounters by financing attendance to festivals and markets, but not without knowing first what it is exactly that applicants will be getting from them. In other words, it is possible to find in these discourses traces of what is worthy in the projective city, but justifications or critiques are never entirely grounded in it. It is more a case of actors “attributing value to the common good of a different polity” (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, 219) without being completely immersed in it. This ability displayed by actors to simultaneously engage in different forms of valuation shows that in Scottish Screen, like in most organisations, situations often involved more than one logic of practice (Friedland, 2009).

### ***Resisting the horizontal pervasiveness of the projective city***

The traces of the projective city found in Scottish Screen are important in that, unlike the six worlds of worth depicted in *On Justification* (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006), this seventh polity contains a distribution of worth more “horizontal” which in some aspects defies the vertical hierarchies of the other worlds: the network transgresses boundaries, including those of the firm and subordination in organisational structures (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007, p.141). An illustrative example within the findings of this research is the development executive who manages to impose his own conditions about a more proactive approach to accepting/rejecting funding applications. This kind of initiative would be bound to encounter resistance within the limits of the industrial world where structures, including hierarchical ones, are to be maintained for the sake of facilitating efficiency, and even more so in the domestic world, where questioning a hierarchical superior’s decisions undermines the very principle of tradition through seniority which sustains the domestic order of worth. The initiative shown by this development executive and the relative flexibility with which it was received by his superiors show a degree of openness towards the values of the projective city. But it must be noted that, as all other initiatives in Scottish Screen which show traces of the non-hierarchical flexibility and mobility of the projective world, this operation is still anchored in indisputably industrial measures (e.g. all eligible applicants have to follow the same standard procedures, which, in addition, were increasingly reinforced over the years), measures which no member of staff tries to undermine in a definite way. Rather, as the quotes in the previous section show, critiques directed at the industrial world are very mild, almost veiled, and they tend to be preceded or followed by statements that grant primacy to industrial values over projective ones. Notwithstanding, these situations in which traces of the projective city appear (however dim these traces might be) involve the coexistence of vertical (hierarchies) and horizontal (networks) organisational models, which in turn suggests that different forms of valuation are transposable by actors *across* organisations and fields. This realisation simultaneously challenges approaches which make individual agency primary, and deterministic views which give primacy to the constraining powers of society over the individual (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Questioning both these extreme positions is important in the context of this research, which aims to help elucidate the microfoundations of macrostructure, and vice versa.

Equally important for the issues examined in this thesis, realising the power that agents have



to choose among different forms of valuation also raises questions about what is “worthy”, about what counts, an uncertainty which, according to some scholars, organisational agents can turn to their advantage. Such is the view of David Stark (2009) when he affirms that “contending frameworks of value can themselves be a valuable organizational resource” (p. 6). Turning what are valuable assets in one world of worth into targets of critique directed from another to justify structural reforms is an example of uncertainty about what is valuable being exploited by entrepreneurs, a view which resonates with much of Scottish Screen’s story – the different value assigned by different people to funding festival attendance or to having external evaluation panels (and the reforms that followed, outlined in chapters 5 and 6 respectively) are just two instances of competition between disparate forms of performance criteria. The collision, competition, alternation or coexistence of these various performance criteria in Scottish Screen suggests that no standpoint or order of worth should be taken “as the natural order of things” (Stark 2009, p. 18). My findings have indeed led me to conclude that it is not always obvious what order of worth predominates in a given situation, and that keeping open several evaluation criteria is something that organisational actors can sometimes exploit to their advantage. Where I must disagree with Stark is in his view that there is little room for entrepreneurship in Boltanski and Thévenot’s (2006) economies of worth as the authors, he claims, do not pay enough attention to the fact that “orders of worth cannot eliminate uncertainty” (Stark 2009, p. 15). Quite to the contrary, Boltanski and Thévenot state in *On Justification* (as early as in the preface) their conviction that “no organisation can survive, however industrial it may be, if it does not tolerate situations of different natures”. In fact, this crucial point underlines the whole development of their framework, sometimes implicitly (for instance, the prominent place they grant to composite arrangements and figures of compromise [277-322]), sometimes explicitly, as in the section dedicated to the “art of living in different worlds” [p. 148] or by bringing attention to the fact that any situation, no matter how pure, always bears traces of other orders of worth which “bring uncertainty to bear on worlds” (p. 135). The findings discussed in this thesis back this statement and contradict Stark’s suggestion about economies of worth being too reductionist. Rather, in Boltanski and Thévenot’s own words:

“A universe reduced to a common world would be a universe of definite worths in which a test, always conclusive (and thus finally useless), could absorb the commotion and silence it (...) The breach in paradise that allows commotion to come rushing in is the

temptation of the particular and the resultant fall that opens up the possibility of a universe containing a multiplicity of common worlds.” (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 135-6)

It is in fact this pluralistic aspect of the economies of worth as a theoretical and analytical tool that has allowed me to widen my examination of organisational practices at Scottish Screen. What started as the study of two contending logics fighting for dominance – in line with numerous research pieces using institutional logics as their theoretical framework – turned into a much more nuanced analysis which, without discarding the new institutionalism’s assumption that institutional logics reflect themselves in organisations’ structures and practices (Cloutier and Langley 2013), examined issues of agency and plurality which overrode the originally assumed logic duality. As Friedland (2009) reminds us, Boltanski and Thévenot’s orders of worth and the practices through which they are enacted are transposable across institutional domains, and my empirical research brings together North American new institutionalism and French pragmatist sociology in order to better understand how institutions affect organisational practices and vice versa, a point upon which I expand in the next section.

### **Bridging institutional logics and French pragmatist sociology in my case study**

In the general introduction to the thesis in the Literature Review chapter (Chapter 3), I explain that the institutional logics perspective was the theoretical framework I originally chose to carry out my case study about the practices and perceived role of the former Scottish national screen agency. As I advanced through my research, however, it became clear that, while this approach could help me understand the influence of external, contextual factors on the agency, it was not enough (on its own) to examine more nuanced issues enacted through intra-organisational operations which, while being reflective of disparate views, did not always stem from disparate logics.

French pragmatist sociology, initially brought into my research as a tentative tool to make up for some of the “blinds spots” (Cloutier and Langley, 2013) of institutional logics in terms of framing and articulating micro level processes, became the main component of my theoretical and analytical framework in the form of Boltanski and Thévenot’s orders of worth. The orders of worth’s emphasis on agents’ plasticity allowed for a fined-grained analysis of compatibility and

conflict not limited to the contention of logics in Scottish Screen and, as hoped, it proved well suited to examine interactions in a pluralistic organisational environment where people often competed to make their views prevail. However, since I wanted to keep a firm grip on institutional forces and their potential constraining effect on the organisation and the individuals working in it, the institutional logics perspective remained an important pillar of my theoretical paradigm.

The suitability of blending these two approaches remains uncertain due to insufficient empirical work, but there is a growing interest in it and recent contributions which encourage this coupling have appeared in the last few years (see Cloutier and Langley, 2013). Back in the early stages of my research, however, the potential advantages of this synthetic framework were mostly based on informed speculation grounded in the exhaustive literature review of both perspectives, outlined in Chapter 2. So, before turning to how suitable this approach was for my own research, let us reflect on what made me choose it in the first place. In other words, why did I think that institutional logics and orders of worth could gain from one another if used together in the study of organisational responses to institutional complexity?

Institutional logics and orders of worth come from different places, both intellectually and geographically. The institutional logics perspective has its origins in US neo-institutionalism and it emerged as an attempt to make up for the latter's lack of a theory of individual interest and agency, which in turn rendered it unable to theorise institutional change, an "astonishing deficit" (Friedland 2012, p. 584 citing Thornton et al. 2012, p. 29). As Thornton et al. (2012, p. 94) point out, institutional logics operate at the societal level, but they can only be enacted and studied at the individual and organisational level. Hence, the main proponents of institutional logics seek to develop an approach that allows for the constraining effects of the exterior world on the individual, but for this individual, "culture is not internalised as in the Parsonian (1951) view; instead it is externalised in institutional practices and vocabularies that shape not only habitual action, but also strategic decisions" (Friedland 2012, p. 584 citing Thornton et al. 2012, p. 106).

For their part, Boltanski and Thévenot's (1991, 2006) orders of worth, developed by the authors in the sociological treatise *On Justification*, appeared as a critique of Bourdieu's critical sociology, which, according to Boltanski and Thévenot underestimated the critical capacity of actors (and their capacity to accordingly) by conferring too much weight to their internalized dispositional properties (Jagd, 2011). As Silber (2003) explains, this dichotomy partially

accounts for the fact that Bourdieu's critical sociology is often regarded as a sociology of culture, whereas Boltanski and Thévenot's pragmatist sociology is regarded as a sociology of action.

At first glance, institutional logics and orders of worth seem to have a lot in common and not much that sets them apart: both seek to distance themselves from approaches that grant primacy to internalized cultural values; both emphasise the importance that individual actors and organisations have in creating and maintaining institutions; and both start with an assumption of pluralism (Cloutier and Langley 2013) based on the observation that actors use multiple (yet limited) valuation principles to justify and legitimise their behaviour. So, what is the use of bridging these two approaches instead of relying on just one or the other? The answer is in their differences, which go beyond geographical distance, and are mostly based on: a) the degree of agency that each approach grants to individuals (or, in other words, how competent actors really are) and, b) how transposable across institutional domains these plural forms of valuations are. In terms of actors' competency, institutional logics see it as a result of individual institutional history while taking into account the impact of the situational setting; agency and structure, although both present, remain separate and the constraining power of the latter over the former occupies the central space (Pernkopf-Konhäuser, 2014). By contrast, the central space in the orders of worth framework is occupied by the competent actor, whose critical capabilities transcend the logics dominating the environment in which they operate and are driven by moral values tied to the common good. Although the number of settings through which these justificatory values can be articulated is limited, they are, unlike institutional logics, permutable among institutional spheres and cannot be ascribed to particular groups or milieus (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006: 216). Instead, these "conventions of equivalence and the material, embodied practices through which they are enacted, are intentionally conceptualized so as to be transposable across institutional domains" (Friedland 2009, p. 909). This means that, as reflected in my findings, the dominance of a single logic in a situation does not translate into actors using a single principle of valuation; and an increase in the number of evaluative principles does not necessarily translate into an increased number of institutional logics at play. In other words, there does not seem to be a direct correlation between institutional logics and evaluative principles in situations where organisational actors must respond to plural demands. This is not to say that institutions do no matter or that institutional logics do not influence organisations. The vast body of empirical work which has used the institutional logics perspective, part of which has been

outlined in Chapter 3, gives ample evidence of its contribution to a better understanding of the influence of institutions on organisations. Its limitations stem from the institutional logics' lack of an adequate framework to examine micro-level processes and their interplay with external institutional demands, a limitation which may be overcome by borrowing the framework developed by Boltanski and Thévenot, thus bringing together institutional logics and French pragmatist sociology:

Focusing on micro-level processes using a toolkit approach to help explain how organizational actors produce justificatory accounts and negotiate what locally is considered to be legitimate or not (Barley, 2008) offers an interesting and underexplored way forward for institutional research. Pursuing such an objective requires a useful analytical framework that specifies the mechanisms and the resources that actors can use to make the case for legitimacy in a given situation or context.

Such a framework, which needs to take the form of a toolkit, already exists (Silber, 2003) but stems from a body of literature that has yet to gain traction among English-speaking management scholars (...) French Pragmatist Sociology, represented here by Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot's (1991, 2006) typology of various "economies of worth," might help enhance our overall understanding of institutional logics and their role in shaping institutionalization processes. (Cloutier and Langley 2013, p. 364)

This quote resonates with and encapsulates – a posteriori – the theoretical and empirical approach I took in my examination of Scottish Screen through the orders of worth lens while bearing in mind the dominant logic(s) in the agency's institutional environment.

Lastly, in light of the scholarly contributions outlined above which raise questions about the suitability of stable organisational scripts to handle organisational plurality in a rapidly changing world (Stark 2009), it is important to highlight that even though Boltanski and Thévenot's framework focuses on stability, it is sufficiently flexible to examine situations of institutional change (as well as stability) through the uncertainty that results from several worlds coming into contact. As Friedland (2009) tell us, actors can ground their decisions in a given world while conceding value to the common good of another. The most obvious example of this instance in my research is the partial opening of some influential members of staff at Scottish Screen

towards values of the projective city (e.g., a proactive attitude to networking, a certain degree of flexibility) without ever completely abandoning the industrial values (efficiency, stability, risk aversion) that increasingly pervaded the agencies structures and activities.

In sum, bridging the logics perspective and the orders of worth framework to examine the perceived role and efficacy of Scottish Screen has facilitated the analysis and discussion of empirical data which can help us better understand how micro-dynamics influence logics – which in turn can further “our understanding of institutional logics and how logics influence institutionalization and deinstitutionalization” (Cloutier and Langley, 2013).

## Chapter 8. Conclusions, Contribution, Limitations and Avenues for Future Research

### *Conclusions*

Scottish Screen's original remit was predominantly, almost exclusively, dominated by a commercial logic. Recommendations behind its establishment attempted a radical shift away from the cultural drive of the four bodies the new amalgamated agency. In contrast to this clearly defined statement of commercial goals, the UK and Scottish governments did not give Scottish Screen specific guidelines as to how to meet such goals. This left senior management with a significant amount of freedom to develop organisational scripts and initiatives within the legislation applying to all non-departmental public bodies in Scotland.

The commercial imperatives behind the establishment of Scottish Screen were resisted by early staff members, who insisted on the importance of putting cultural values at the core of the organisation's activities. My initial research questions were driven by the possibility that tensions between two duelling logics - a cultural logic that guided the agency's mission to support national talent and a commercial logic guiding its mission to help the national economy - could be at the core of this resistance. Research framed by the institutional logics perspective has suggested that organisational conflict can be assuaged by hiring candidates who are carriers of the same institutional logic (e.g. Battilana and Dorado, 2010), a suggestion contradicted by my initial findings: the fact that all original staff members of Scottish Screen had worked for the four predecessor bodies, which were guided by cultural imperatives, did not set conflict aside within Scottish Screen. Later findings would contradict even more categorically the suggestion that adhering to one single logic in intraorganisational decision making processes reduces conflict. As mentioned in the findings summary section above, Scottish Screen's final years, during which management decisions were the most strongly aimed at responding to demands dictated by *both* cultural and commercial imperatives, is the period which shows the highest degree of organisational stability.

As I advanced through my empirical data it became evident that the institutional logics perspective was useful to identify the nature of demands made on the agency, but less so in terms of examining the organisation's responses to such demands. The complexity of such responses suggested that actors anchored their views and decisions in multiple forms of generality that

went beyond the financial/cultural duality identified in organisational settings by institutional logics scholars (Greenwood et al., 2011, quoting Meyer and Rowan 1977). Some of these scholars (e.g. Greenwood et al., 2011) bring attention to the need for research related to institutional complexity to be more attentive to multiple sources and degree of compatibility. Adding Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) theory of justification to a logics perspective results in a comprehensive conceptual framework which is more explicit about multiple forms of generality and the tensions that result from their juxtaposition.

The fact that decisions by different members were guided by different orders of worth might explain why in the early years of Scottish Screen there were high levels of discrepancy regarding its remit and policies despite an overall resistance to commercial imperatives. And, as mentioned earlier, it was towards the end of its trajectory that Scottish Screen achieved the highest level of stability despite structural reforms and funds allocation policies aimed at responding to demands stemming from commercial imperatives as well as cultural. My findings suggest that conflict was assuaged through a successful civic-industrial-inspired composite. The three higher common principles brought together in the composite (inclusion, efficiency, creativity) result in an arrangement which is consonant with the overall remit of a public agency belonging to the creative industries sector and leaves out domestic worth, whose strong reliance on personal relations and tradition clashes with the imperatives of inclusion and efficiency.

Sustainable situations and initiatives in the creative industries sector, a composite where particularly incompatible worlds of worth (such as inspired and civil) will inevitably have to be partially reconciled requires arrangements whose ultimate goal will not contradict the compromise sustaining the composite. Initiatives grounded in worlds of worth where individualistic values grant a state of worthiness, such as in the inspired or domestic ordering, must be subordinated to the industrial-civic combination that keeps the creative industries concept from splitting into two separate (and potentially conflicting) orders of worth and makes it instead an acceptable composite (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p 277).

The findings outlined in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 show that initiatives involving several orders of worth which contributed to strengthen an inspired-industrial-civic compromise in which efficient management (industrial worth) of creative goods (inspired worth) was aimed at achieving collective benefit (civic worth) attained the highest degree of organisational stability and alignment between stakeholders' demands and organisational practices at Scottish Screen. But if



this composite managed to decrease the high levels of conflict resulting from highly incompatible principles of evaluation which collided in the early years of the agency (for example, domestic and civic) it opens the door to criticism – even at a time when the merger of Scottish Screen with the Scottish Arts Council was effectively underway – about the organisation being too rigid and protectionist in a the highly connectionist and pluralistic world of filmmaking which requires flexibility. These critiques were contained in some of the data analysed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, which in Chapter 7 are reframed by the grammar of a seventh world of worth, the projective city, (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2007). This world in which the worthiest beings are those who favour flexibility over structure, being proactive over being reactive, and openness over risk minimisation did not find itself fully deployed in Scottish Screen. However, traces of it are visible and they open the way to new forms of valuation. These findings confirm Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006, pp. 18, 135-6) own view about the inherent instability and plurality of organisations, as well as those of other scholars concerned with multiple principles of evaluation such as Friedland's (2009) and Stark's (2009).

Stark claims that in the face of complex, ambiguous situations, stability is not only unachievable but perhaps also undesirable, as “dissonance” triggers reflexivity and innovation, and actors have the capacity to turn it to their advantage (p. 18). Indeed, the findings discussed in Chapter 7 of this thesis contain examples of situations where critiques of certain principles of evaluation (or orders of worth, in Boltanski and Thévenot's terminology) were used at different points in time in Scottish Screen as tools to instigate structural changes. My findings also show that during the last five years there was a progressive reinforcement of industrial values (reflected in more rigid structures and procedures accompanied by risk-aversion in money allocation) which did not allow for an intentional plurality “by design” (Friedland 2009, p. 909 citing Stark 2008); rather, as we have seen in Chapter 7, major decisions were aimed to reduce plurality and keep principles of evaluation within the confines of an industrial-civic compromise. The main conclusions drawn from my findings' analysis, discussed at length in Chapter 5, 6, and 7 can be summarised as follows:

The first conclusion is that lack of conflict between logics does not necessarily translate into lack of organisational conflict, as the latter often derives from different orders of worth which override the logic divide and are incompatible amongst themselves. By the same token, stability

is possible (at least temporarily) in a professional environment dominated by a plurality of logics if the orders of worth mobilised in pursuit of organisational goals are compatible.

With regards to the coexistence of orders of worth in the same situation or environment – no matter what institutional logic(s) predominate(s) – findings derived from the examination of organisational documents and particular episodes of the Scottish Screen history (such as the Lottery funding transfer and the attempt by industry professionals to impact as a collective on the agency's operations, both examined in Chapter 4) suggest that anchoring one's arguments predominantly in one world of worth makes such arguments more effective in the course of disputes. However, inscribing organisational practices in a predominant world of worth does not mean blocking out all the other worlds in an attempt to create a sort of "single-worth Eden". Such attempts at homogeneity, as shown for instance in the analysis of the Hydra report, are unlikely to succeed when applied to real situations given the inherent plurality of organisational settings. As soon as agents started coordinating actions in actual practice and in a particular context, conflicting views stemming from different orders of worth came to the fore. This is particularly likely to happen in enterprises such as those embedded in the creative industries sector, enterprises that "can be called complex in that their operation obeys imperatives stemming from different forms of generality; their confrontation produces tensions and leads to more or less precarious compromises" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 9).

The pervasiveness of plurality during much of Scottish Screen's history and difficulties ascribing some findings to one of the six worlds of worth depicted *On Justification* have been framed by recent contributions to Boltanski and Thévenot's work, namely Boltanski and Chiapello's (2007) portrait of a seventh world of worth called the 'projective city' and David Stark's (2009) work on organisational actors' management of plurality or ambiguity. This approach has led to the conclusion that the projective city, characterised by activity aimed at creating or maintaining networks on the basis of flexibility, openness, and trust was never fully deployed in Scottish Screen - only traces of this world are found in some discourses by members of staff of the later years, but they are systematically superseded by the defence of industrial values. Accordingly, the "heterarchical" model (Stark 2009) is not a prominent one in Scotland Screen's activities. The plurality by design depicted by Stark (2009), those organisational practices where actors intentionally break "from successful, familiar routines to search into de unknown" (pp. 3-4) did not thrive in this organisation whose practices and structures ranged

from the traditional models grounded in domestic worth of the early years to the highly structured ones of the industrial world towards the end.

Again, my analysis of organisational responses to plurality was carried out taking into account the existing institutional logics in the different periods and situations under study, and some conclusions have been drawn in terms of agent's responses to external demands as reflected in predominant orders of worth : organisational agents' capacity for resistance was sometimes reflected in their ability to inhabit several worlds of worth and anchor their justifications in one or another, or bring several orders of worth together in the form of a compromise depending on the situation at hand. As shown in tables 5, 6 and 7 above, combining, criticising or navigating between several orders of worth was sometimes done when trying to meet imperatives dictated by a single logic and other times in response to logic duality. Levels of stability or contention fluctuated according to the compatibility of the orders of worth which actors mobilised in their responses and decisions, but my findings do not suggest that the predominance of one logic over another favours organisational stability.

### ***Contribution***

My findings contribute to current efforts to understand sources and degrees of incompatibility in organisational responses to demands informed by different institutional logics (Greenwood and al. 2013), and it seeks to arrive at such understanding by examining collectively external logics and intraorganisational processes using one single analytical framework: the grammar developed by Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) in *On Justification* (Cloutier and Langley, 2013).

Institutional logic scholars acknowledge the relative lack of research focused on individual organisations (Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Greenwood et al., 2011), as opposed to the systematic attention paid to the shifts and influence of logics across organisational fields. The latter approach, as illustrated by some empirical studies outlined in Chapter 2 of this thesis, places issues of pluralism at the interplay between institutional orders and a given organisational field said to be dominated by a single institutional logic. From this stance, the coexistence of more than one logic (usually two) in a field is envisaged as a transitory period of conflict which must be resolved by the ultimate dominance of one logic over the other(s) (Kitchener, 2002; Lounsbury, 2007; Rao et al., 2003; Reay and Hinings, 2005; Thornton, 2002). Some other studies within the institutional logics perspective which focus on the interplay of logics within a

single organisation (Battilana and Dorado, 2012; Hallet, 2010; Zilber, 2002) show the same prevalent consensus that a plurality of logics constitutes a transitory period of struggle in which one will ultimately prevail.

My research draws on valuable insights from the institutional logics perspective in order to frame the prevalent logics in the creative industries, the field in which the organisation I have studied is embedded. However, it challenges the notion of organisational fields as battle fields for contending logics and posits that (1) several logics can inhabit a field for a long time, as is the case of the creative industries, and (2), organisations embedded in a field inhabited by a plurality of logics can achieve a higher degree of stability by implementing measures which respond to plural demands than they can if they focus on the imperatives dictated by one logic only. This opens questions about alternative sources of conflict and incompatibility, which can be better understood by paying close attention to individuals' ability to navigate pluralism and drawing on different forms of generality to support their responses depending on the situation at hand. This is precisely the vision which Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) have developed following empirical observation of the argumentative resources (grouped in a limited number of 'orders of worth') that actors set forth when they engage in public justifications or critiques. My study suggests that focusing on individuals' critical capacity (without ascribing their arguments to any sphere or logic in a fixed manner), and at the same time accounting for the institutional logics populating the environment in which such individuals operate, can contribute to a more nuanced analysis of pluralism. By considering collectively external forces and intra-organisational processes using one single framework which specifies the mechanisms utilised by actors in support of their arguments in a given situation, we get revelatory accounts of how these actors "negotiate what is locally considered to be legitimate or not" (Cloutier and Langley 2013, p. 364 citing Barley, 2008). The lack of such framework within the institutional logics analytical resources was, according to Cloutier and Langley (2013, p.376), at the root of some of this perspective's shortcomings or "blind spots" raised by scholars in recent years. Since the framework is not to be found within the institutional logics current conceptualisations those who, like me, wish to study the role of individual agency in shaping logics and vice-versa, can find a useful tool in the orders of worth grammar. As Cloutier and Langley point out (p. 364), French pragmatist sociology – in which the work of Boltanski and Thévenot is inscribed – is close to ethnomethodology and symbolic interactionism in that they emphasise the role that actors have in shaping institutions,

as well as being constrained by them (Barley, 2008). The advantage that French pragmatist sociology offers over ethnomethodology or symbolic interactionism is that it makes institutional structures explicit in the form of orders of worth equipped with its own grammar, which makes it easier to empirically examine intraorganisational process underpinning institutional change (Cloutier and Langley, 2013).

Lastly, since Scottish Screen was in charge of managing creative goods and was thus partly inscribed in the inspired world where passions run high, it seems appropriate to mention the point raised by Friedland (2012) in its critique of the 2012 Thornton et al.'s book *The Institutional Logics Perspective: A new approach to Culture, Structure, and Process*. Friedland reminds us that moments of institutional change can shake our world and are bound to elicit high passions. In this regard, he argues, the institutional logics perspective relies too much on the cognitive domain with its own vocabularies and schemata – and not enough on emotional registers, on “structures of experience to which emotions are integral” (Friedland 2012, p. 12). I would counter this point by saying that, rather than vocabularies in specific domains related to emotions, what the institutional logics perspective lack, as Cloutier and Langley (2013) point out, is an overall grammar which encapsulates human activity grounded in any situation or emotional register (with the exception of pathological cases). And here is where the orders of worth framework, which rests on principles, objects and arrangements transposable to any sphere of human activity, can help researchers tease out the microdynamics underpinning processes of institutional change, no matter if those microdynamics are carried out and articulated in the cold world of industry or the passionate world of artistic creation.

### ***Limitations and Avenues for Future Research***

The first limitation of this case study comes from the very fact that it is a *case study* and the inevitable issues about generalisability inherent to this type of research (discussed at length in Chapter 3). To this it must be added that I have investigated my research questions using a hybrid framework which combines theoretical and analytical perspectives coming from very different traditions: North American institutional logics and French pragmatist sociology. As any PhD student knows, choosing one's theoretical and analytical parameters is a key part of the research process, the foundation upon which everything else rests. In this regard, using a novel framework implies not having a solid body of literature with which to back one's theoretical and

analytical choices. In this regard, I realise in hindsight that while my academic and professional background in languages and cinema was perhaps fitting for a research study dealing with the creative industries in a foreign country, my insufficient knowledge of management theory caused me to misjudge the difficulties entailed by bringing together in my study two disparate traditions – quite aptly, it brought to the fore issues of justification during the reading and data collection process (numerous conversations with my supervisors were about how to best make these approaches fit or even, could I make them fit at all?); during the writing process (entire sections of the thesis are dedicated to justify my choice of framework); and even during the oral examination (it was, inevitably, one of the subjects brought up by the examiners). And so it was reassuring, when I was already in the middle to final stages of my project, to come across work by well-established scholars who had taken an approach similar to my own and seen the same possibilities I had seen in the rapprochement of institutional logics and French pragmatist sociology for furthering our understanding of organisational plurality and institutional change. This is not to say I did not trust the potential of my choice, made after an exhaustive literature review of the two disciplines I brought together and after gauging its fitness for my data. However, reading the work of other people who are much more experienced and knowledgeable in the field of management was not only satisfying, but also helpful in *justifying* my choice (and thus legitimise it, to use management terminology). Notwithstanding, the novelty of this approach constitutes from my point of view an inevitable limitation that can only be overcome by more empirical research which will keep putting to the test the validity of this framework to understand process of institutionalisation and how they are influenced by intra organisational responses to institutional logics. Collaboration between French and English speaking scholars would respond to the doubts about the fitness of using French pragmatist sociology methods in organisational environment outside of France. Similarly, introducing the logics perspective in Europe beyond the English speaking world would also help establish the validity of the framework across borders.

Thinking more specifically of limitations related to the Scottish Screen case, it would be interesting to see what results my theoretical/analytical approach throws if applied to a setting where organisational actors have a more reduced capacity to implement reforms than they had at Scottish Screen where, as mentioned, they were given only general statements of function by the Scottish Government. Or put in a different way, what could we find out by examining the

juxtaposition of logics constraints and individual agency in an environment where actors have a far more restricted capacity to write their own organisational scripts? The question applies to a number of organisational settings significantly different to the one I have examined. For example, what knowledge can be gained by using this approach to examine private, as opposed to public, organisations that are not under continuous public scrutiny?

Another limitation comes from the scope of the framework developed by Boltanski and Thévenot and practical issues related to reporting within it. In Chapters 2 and 3 I present a comprehensive overview of its most important features and how these can help consistent analysis of actors' argumentative resources. The use of a large number of what they call "categories" (subjects, objects, relation of worth, figures, tests, state of worthiness, etc.) is undoubtedly useful during the analytical process (see Chapter 3), but they do not systematically come up in all actors utterances, so, depending on the material gathered during the data collection process, some categories and features will feature more prominently than others in the presentation of findings. In fact, empirical studies framed by Boltanski and Thévenot theory of justification show a clear prevalence of one or two features or categories. Ramirez (2013), for example, highlights the importance of "objects" to make things visible in his examination of auditing practices, whereas the notion of "compromise" is central to my own case study. Further research in a variety of fields and organisational settings could throw light on the issue of what particular aspects of the framework supporting Boltanski and Thévenot's theory of justification are consistently useful in advancing knowledge about individual organisations' responses to plural demands.

In terms of new contributions to the orders of worth perspective, notably those of Boltanski and Chiapello (2007) and Stark (2009), this is perhaps the limitation that makes the strongest call for further empirical research, not only because of the fact that this body of work is relatively recent, but also because as far as my findings are concerned, the presence of the horizontal organisational schemas embodied by the projective city (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2007) and Stark's "heterarchy" is very limited in Scottish Screen. More traditional, vertical organisational schemes predominated in the agency until its very last days, despite the fact that its lifetime coincides with the booming of the projective city in western countries and it was linked to the inherently connectionist world of screen activity in the middle of the digital revolution. This resistance to less rigid ways of dealing with ambiguity in a rapidly changing world and its

potential role in Scottish Screen's demise could make for an interesting piece of research.

With respect to these new theoretical approaches which examine the potential of ambiguity (as opposed to stability) as a generator of valuable organisational resources, I must insist on the suitability of the orders of worth framework – and particularly so when bridged with the institutional logics perspective – as a tool as valuable to examine processes of institutional change as it is to examine stability thanks to the possibilities opened by the friction caused by different worlds constantly coming into contact. The fact that only very dim traces of horizontal, ambiguous or unstable organisational scripts can be found in Scottish Screen's trajectory is not reflective of the analytical framework's unsuitability to articulate them. Quite to the contrary, it was my chosen framework that helped me to elucidate agency's weight in the overall decision to keep more traditional scripts in place through the analysis of different organisational actors' responses to external demands. In sum, a rapprochement between institutional logics and French pragmatist sociology has allowed me to include individuals, organisations, and context in this case study aimed to better understand processes of stability and change.



## ANNEX 1. TABLES

**Table 1**  
**The Six Worlds of Worth**

	<b>Inspired World</b>	<b>Domestic World</b>	<b>World of Fame</b>	<b>Civic World</b>	<b>Market World</b>	<b>Industrial World</b>
<b>Higher common principle</b>	Inspiration	Tradition	The reality of public opinion	The pre-eminence of collectives	Competition	Efficiency, performance
<b>State of worthiness</b>	Inexpressible and ethereal	Hierarchical superiority, wise, discreet	Reputed, recognized, visible	Rule governed, official	Desirable, salable	Efficient, functional, reliable
<b>Dignity</b>	The anxiety of creation	The poise of habit	The desire to be recognised	Aspiration to civil rights, participation	Interest, desire	Work
<b>Subjects</b>	Visionaries, artists	Superiors and inferiors	Stars, journalists, PR agents	Public collectivities, office, federation, member	Competitors, client, businessman	Professionals, experts, specialists
<b>Objects</b>	Mind, body, unconscious	Etiquette, good manners, rank	Brand, message, press, interview, campaign	Legal forms, measure, policy, statement	Wealth, luxury	Means, resource, task, direction
<b>Investment</b>	Escape from habit, risk	Rejection of selfishness, consideration	Giving up privacy and secrets, reveal	Renunciation of the particular, solidarity	Opportunism, attention to others	Progress, dynamic
<b>Relation of worth</b>	The universal value of uniqueness	Respect and responsibility	Being recognised and identifying	Relation of delegation	Possess	Control
<b>Relationships</b>	Create, discover, quest	Reproduce, recommend, thank, respect	Persuade, influence, convince, attract, promote	Unify, mobilize, assemble, debate	Interest, buy, sell, negotiate	Function, put to work, organise, control, standardise
<b>Figures</b>	Imaginary, Unconscious	Household, customs, conventions	Audience, target, positioning	The democratic republic	Business	Organisation, system

<b>Test</b>	Vagabondage of the mind	Family ceremonies, conversation, nomination	Presentation of the event	Demonstration for a just cause	Market	Trial, launching
<b>Judgement</b>	The stroke of genius	Knowing how to bestow trust	The judgement of public opinion	The verdict of the vote	Price	Effective
<b>Evidence</b>	The certainty of intuition	The exemplary anecdote	The evidence of success, known	The legal text	Money	Measure
<b>The fall</b>	The temptation to come down to earth	Lack of inhibition	Indifference and banality	Division	Enslavement to money	Instrumental action

**Table 2**

**Example of identification of categories belonging to the world of fame**

**Higher common principle:** the reality of public opinion  
**Subjects:** “journalists”, “press”  
**Objects:** “story”, “Scottish Screen’s view” (as in its message)  
**State of worthiness:** Recognised, reputed; “James Lee was a charismatic figure”.  
**Relationships:** “Make friends with the journalists”, “Get the press on our side”.

**Table 3. Scottish Screen selection criteria for applicants after 2005**

<b>1. Cultural Impact</b>	<b>2. Creative Impact</b>	<b>3. Business Case/Ability to Deliver</b>	<b>4. Market/Audience Interest</b>
How will your project/activity promote Scotland's screen culture to a national and international audience?	<p>How will Scottish Screen's investment address one or more of the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Allow Scottish talent to develop?</li> <li>• Create work recognised as creatively excellent?</li> <li>• Create work recognised as original and innovative?</li> </ul>	<p>How does the previous experience of the individuals involved demonstrate their ability to deliver the project?</p> <p>What impact will Scottish Screen's investment have on your business and/or on the screen sector in Scotland?</p> <p>What investment has your project/activity already attracted?</p>	<p>Has your project already attracted market or commercial interest?</p> <p>How will your project be exploited and/or marketed to an audience or financiers in the future?</p> <p>What cultural, creative and commercial impact will this project have on markets and audiences?</p>

Table 4 (extracted from Scottish Screen's 2007 Investment Guidelines, p. 31)

Investment Opportunities	Talent & Creativity									Market Development			
Documents to be Provided	<u>Digital Access</u>	<u>New Talent Development</u>	<u>Short Film Production</u>	<u>Content Development</u>	<u>Pilot Fund</u>	<u>Future Fund</u>	<u>Markets &amp; festivals</u>	<u>Express Film Fund</u>	<u>Content production</u>	<u>Audience Development</u>	<u>Festivals</u>	<u>Distribution</u>	<u>Exhibition</u>
<i>Completed and signed application form</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Project outline, treatment or script</i>			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓				✓
<i>Business plan or Education Service Plan</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Most recent Management Accounts and last Audited Accounts, if available</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Project/Activity history</i>			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓				
<i>Total Budget</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Detailed budget highlighting Scottish spend</i>	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓	✓				✓
<i>Investment plan and current relevant letters of intent, deal memos and/or legally binding contracts from other investors or partners (see note below)</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Detailed Investors Cashflow schedule</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Schedule</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>CASTING plan and letters of intent from confirmed cast</i>			✓		✓			✓	✓				

<i>Distribution plan and letters of intent from recognised distributors, sales agents (including sales estimates within last 3 months) and broadcasters</i>					✓			✓	✓				
<i>Marketing plan</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
<i>CVs of key personnel</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
<i>All relevant underlying rights documentation (clearly indexed)</i>			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓				✓
<i>Memorandum and Articles of Association</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

**Table 5**  
**Predominant logics and compromises between orders of worth guiding Scottish Screen's purpose during transition and early years (1996-2001)**

<b>Data Source</b>	<b>Predominant logic(s)</b>	<b>Predominant order(s) of worth</b>
Documents issued by Government	Commercial/Cultural	Industrial, civic
Documents issues by Scottish Screen	Cultural	Inspired, domestic, civic
Interviews	Cultural	Inspired, domestic, civic
Funding application Assessments	Cultural	Inspired, domestic, civic

**Table 6**  
**Predominant logics and order of worth during middle period (2002-2005)**

<b>Data Source</b>	<b>Predominant Logic</b>	<b>Predominant Order of Worth</b>
Documents issued by Government	Cultural/Commercial	Civic, industrial
Documents issued by Scottish Screen	Cultural/Commercial	Civic, domestic, Industrial
Interviews	Cultural/Commercial	Inspired, industrial, fame
Funding applications Assessments	Cultural	Inspired, fame

**Table 7**  
**Predominant logics and orders of worth guiding Scottish Screen purpose after the 2005/6 reforms**

<b>Data Source</b>	<b>Predominant Logic</b>	<b>Predominant Order of Worth</b>
Documents issued by Government	Cultural/Commercial	Domestic, industrial, civil
Documents issued by Scottish Screen	Cultural/Commercial	Industrial, civic
Interviews	Cultural/Commercial	Industrial, civic
Funding application Assessments	Cultural/Commercial	Industrial, civic

**Table 8**  
**English translations (as they appear in *On Justification* [2006] and *The New Spirit of Capitalism* [2007, 2005] of fundamental terms of the framework developed by Boltanski and Thévenot in *De la Justification* (1991)**

<b>De la justification</b>	<b>On Justification</b>	<b>The New Spirit of Capitalism</b>
<i>Cité</i>	Polity	City
<i>Les mondes communs</i>	Common worlds	Cities
<i>Principe supérieur commun</i>	Higher common principle	Common superior principle
<i>Répertoire des sujets</i>	List of subjects	Repertoire of subjects
<i>Répertoire des objets</i>	List of objects	Repertoire of objects
<i>État de grand</i>	State or worthiness	Condition of great man
<i>Dignité des personnes</i>	Human dignity	Dignity of persons
<i>Formule d'investissement</i>	Investment formula	Formula of investment
<i>Rapport de grandeur</i>	Relation of worth	Status relation
<i>Relations (naturelles entre les êtres)</i>	Natural relations among beings	Natural relations between beings
<i>Figures (harmonieuses de l'ordre naturel)</i>	Harmonious figures of the natural order	Harmonious figures of natural order
<i>Épreuve modèle</i>	Model test	Model test
<i>Jugement</i>	Mode of expression of judgment	Expression of judgement
<i>Évidence</i>	Form of evidence	Forms of self-evidence
<i>Déchéance</i>	Decline of the polity / The fall	Decline of the city

**Table 9**  
**The Projective City**

<b>Higher common principle</b>	Mediating activity
<b>Subjects</b>	Mediator, project head, innovator
<b>Objects</b>	Instruments of connection, new technologies, alliances, agreements
<b>State or worthiness</b>	Involved, autonomous, flexible, tolerant
<b>Dignity</b>	The need to connect
<b>Investment</b>	Adaptability
<b>Relation of worth</b>	Redistribution of connections and information
<b>Relationships</b>	Connecting, communicating, co-ordinating, adjusting to others, trusting
<b>Figures</b>	The network
<b>Test</b>	The end of a project and the beginning of another
<b>Judgement</b>	Being called on to participate
<b>Evidence</b>	Inserting, avoiding
<b>The Fall</b>	Corruption, privileges, closure of the network

## **Annex 2. List of Interview Questions**

- 1) What were the main issues SS was facing when you came to the job?
- 2) Were you aware of these issues before you started or was it only once you started?
- 3) Did you have any specific plans to address these issues?
- 4) Did your views change during your tenure at SS?
- 5) X or Y event happened during your tenure. Can you talk me through it and tell me about your involvement in it?
- 6) Since you left, what do you see as being your main achievements?
- 7) Do you have any regrets about things you did or didn't do?
- 8) There was, mainly because of the political climate, a perceived tension between cultural and industrial demands made on the agency? Would you say this perception is accurate?
- 9) Were you aware of these tensions during your period at SS?
- 10) If so, in what way did they affect your work?
- 11) Do you think those tensions are ever resolvable?

\* This list contains only the foundational, basic questions which were asked to all participants. In addition, each individual participant responded to questions more closely related to their particular role and, in line with the nature of semi-structured interviewing, participants' answers prompted further questions.



### **Annex 3. Filmography**

*Ae Fond Kiss.* (2004) Directed by KEN LOACH. UK; Belgium; Germany; Italy; Spain: Sixteen Films [film: 35mm].

*Bent.* (1998) Directed by SEAN MATHIAS. UK: Channel Four Films [film: 35mm].

*Braveheart.* (1995) Directed by MEL GIBSON. USA: Icon Productions [film: 35mm].

*Gregory's Girl.* (1981) Directed by BILL FORSYTH. UK: Lake Films [film: 35mm].

*Gregory's Two Girls.* (1999) Directed by BILL FORSYTH. UK; Germany: Channel Four Films [film: 35mm].

*Local Hero.* (1983) Directed by BILL FORSYTH. UK: Goldcrest Films International [film: 35mm]

*The Magdalene Sisters.* (2003) Directed by PETER MULLAN. UK; Ireland: PFP Films [film: 35mm].

*My Name Is Joe.* (1998) Directed by KEN LOACH. Spain; Italy; France; UK; Germany: Parallax Pictures [film: 35mm]

*Red Road.* (2006) Directed by ANDREA ARNOLD. UK; Denmark: Sigma Films [film: 35mm].

*Regeneration.* (1997) Directed by GILLIES MACKINNON. UK; Canada: Rafford Films [film: 35mm].

*Rob Roy.* (1995) Directed by MICHAEL CATON-JONES. USA: Talisman Productions [film: 35mm].

*Trainspotting.* (1996) Directed by DANNY BOYLE. UK: Figment Films [film: 35mm].

*The Wicker Man.* (1973) Directed by ROBIN HARDY. UK: British Lion [film: 35mm].

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