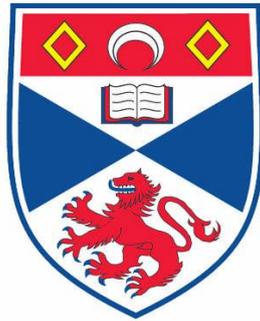


**Negotiations of Legitimacy:  
The Value of Recognition for Glasgow UNESCO City of Music**

**Honor Tuohy**



**2014**

## **Declarations**

### ***Candidate's declarations***

I, Honor Tuohy, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 80,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2009 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in November 2010; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2009 and 2014.

Date 20 March 2014    Signature of candidate

### ***Supervisor's declaration***

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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## Abstract

This thesis examines the emergence of the organization, the Glasgow UNESCO City of Music, following the award of the title UNESCO City of music to Glasgow in 2008 from a Bourdieusian perspective. Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, and particularly capital are used to interrogate the negotiation of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in the field of music in Glasgow. The thesis examines how the members of the organization—viewed their organization's position in the field of music in Glasgow and their attempts to secure its legitimacy in a field with established players. It shows how agents 'work' to negotiate for the positions they want, or need, in order to establish the legitimacy, and thus the position, of an organization through the acquisition and use of capital. Although cultural capital is a core constituent of an organization's original position in the field of music the dominant and influential position of economic capital means that it is the symbolic capital associated with being granted funding rather than cultural capital, which influences and thus legitimate organizations in the cultural field. In its discussion of capital the thesis contributes to the literature on institutional work and organizational legitimacy.

Keywords: symbolic capital, cultural capital, recognition, Bourdieu, field, habitus, Glasgow UNESCO City of Music, Creative City, institutional work, organizational legitimacy, symbolic value

## **Acknowledgements**

Getting to a point in life where it is possible to produce a thesis of 80,000 words is not something I always believed I was capable of. There are many people in my life who I owe thanks to, and who without, I would never have achieved this. I would like to thank: first and foremost, my mother, my father, and my family for their support during the long while of my thesis-writing; my sister Michelle for taking the time to read drafts from the beginning of this process; my supervisor, Barbara, who introduced me to academia and taught me the fundamentals of academic argument; my second supervisor, Nic, who taught me about reflexivity, as well as the useful and challenging role a researcher can play during fieldwork; Louise, who taught me more than she will ever know about work and life; John, who taught me the value of listening and the importance of my opinion; Jane, who always gave me the time to clarify my thoughts and without whom, I might still be wondering about the difference between ontology and epistemology; Mindy, who always answered my questions; and Hannah, for always expressing a strong belief in the value of my work. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to those at Glasgow UNESCO City of Music. Being open to critical observation, be it constructive or not, takes courage and an ability to envision and believe in long-term benefits rather than succumbing to the challenge of short-term consequences. Thank you. It was a privilege to research with you and an opportunity beyond anything I could have hoped for.

*For my mother*

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# Chapter One

## An Introduction to the thesis

The city of Glasgow holds a title that was officially given to them by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). It is held on behalf of the people of Glasgow by the Lord Provost. The title was applied for by those who represent the city – the city council; those holding civic positions, the Lord Provost, for example; ambassadors for the city; those holding positions of authority on the Boards of prestigious musical organizations in Glasgow, i.e., the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, the Royal Concert Halls, Scottish Opera, and the Royal Scottish National Orchestra; and many more as will be shown in this introduction. The application pointed to the vast array of musical events, organizations, and venues in Glasgow. It also suggested how those who represent the people of the city would use the title to spread the influence of music throughout Glasgow and how the representatives intended to manage the title. This title is *Glasgow UNESCO City of Music* and this thesis discusses how those placed in a position to manage the title perceived the title and used it to benefit the city. This chapter will outline how Glasgow became a UNESCO City of Music, from the moment the idea to apply was thought of, until the moment the title was awarded. It will offer a context for the reader giving a map of how Glasgow is structured, i.e., where the main musical venues and organizations are located in the city and how these organizations relate to each other vis-à-vis the people who work for them. The questions being interrogated throughout this thesis will then be laid out – a process requiring a brief dip into Bourdieusian theory. Finally, I will provide a synopsis of the thesis giving an insight into how each chapter relates to the overall argument.

The city of Glasgow was officially granted membership to the UNESCO Creative Cities Network in August 2008. By January of the following year, less than five months later, a Director had been appointed to lead the organization that would manage this title, with both title and organization known as Glasgow UNESCO City of Music (GUCM). Within the next nine months, the charity had set up an office, gained a part-time administrator, and been publicly launched. On the tenth month, I was introduced to the people in the office as the ‘PhD student from St. Andrews’. From my vantage point in the Director’s

office, I observed the initial developments of an emerging organization in the music, cultural, and political scenes in Glasgow. The music scene includes the venues, organizations, and people involved in music in Glasgow. The cultural scene incorporates the music scene but also art, design, literature, and theatre, to name but a few. What is meant by the political scene here is the negotiation that happens between those who work in music (or the arts, more generally) and those who fund the musical organizations and venues. These ongoing negotiations are central to this thesis and to the development of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music. The political nature of working in music in Glasgow is dealt with in depth in the discussion (especially the discussion entitled 'Acquiring Economic Capital'). The UNESCO Creative Cities Network is an international network and GUCM's association with this network, and thus, UNESCO gave it an added political dimension, i.e., UNESCO being the cultural arm of the United Nations (UN) gives a sense of politics and internationality to Glasgow UNESCO City of Music.

Glasgow was granted the title as a reflection of the amount of activity and potential held by the city musically. According to the application dossier given to UNESCO by those representing Glasgow, details of which will be given in this chapter, this activity and potential applied to various genres of music in the city (Glasgow City of Music, Application Dossier, 2008). There is a lack of specification of genres in the application dossier, which perhaps reflects the more formal nature of classical music in Glasgow, and which lends itself easier to documentation, while the more informal nature of the many gigs in pubs around the city, for example, means that sometimes, the only people who know of the gig are those who paid the musicians, the musicians, and the other people in the room at that time. Formal and informal might also be explained as subsidized and non-subsidized organizations. This topic is introduced at this point as it is an important distinction seen between musical organizations and venues in Glasgow, in terms of their being recognized as being publicly fundable or not, or as not being reliant on funds, i.e., being a private organization. Glasgow UNESCO City of Music is a subsidized organization and thus a competing member of the music and arts community in Glasgow. The centralized sources for funding in the arts community means that

subsidized organizations are consistently competing for the same funds. It also confers a distinctly political nature to the work of an organization in the arts community.

The journey taken by the people involved, from the very beginning when a small group of people thought it might be a good idea to apply for a UNESCO Creative City title to the point where it became a full-fledged organization competing for funding, is presented in this research. The prelude to the organization can be seen in the bid process: bringing a formal application to UNESCO in Paris in order to be granted the title of a UNESCO Creative City – in this case, a UNESCO City of Music. The UNESCO Creative Cities Network is described as connecting ‘cities who want to share experiences, ideas and best practices for cultural, social and economic development’ through developing a ‘network of creative cities, working together towards a common mission for cultural diversity and sustainable urban development’ (Unesco.org, 2013a)<sup>1</sup>. To date UNESCO has given 34 cities positions as UNESCO Creative Cities. These cities are anchored by one main cultural theme, with UNESCO offering titles for music, literature, film, crafts and folk art, design, media arts, and gastronomy. Once granted the title for Glasgow’s involvement with music, the management team in charge of establishing the organization for this title laid down the main ideas that GUCM would focus on. These ideas consisted of looking at what GUCM should do for musical education in Glasgow, specifically in the youth sector. They looked at how GUCM might improve international relations for the city with the intention being to benefit tourism in the long-term, and also how GUCM could build collaboration with the other UNESCO Cities of Music in Bologna, Bogota, Seville, and Ghent. These organizational motivations were the result of a collection of people discussing what the possibilities for the organization were and what the perceived expectations for an organization such as GUCM were. The development of these ideas became a central aspect of my observations while researching with GUCM.

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<sup>1</sup> UNESCO, (2013, July 3) ‘The Creative Cities Network’. (*UNESCO Creative Cities Network*), Available: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/creativity/creative-cities-network/> (Accessed: 2013, October 14)

My opportunity to pursue a PhD with Glasgow UNESCO City of Music arose in the summer of 2010. The study of an organization whose focus was centred on the creative art of music was to be part of a larger group of case studies happening simultaneously around Scotland. The Institute for Capitalising on Creativity (ICC) had been granted funding to look at how organizations in the creative sector in Scotland understood and worked with symbolic and material ideas of *value*, or using Bourdieu's term – 'capital' (Bourdieu, 1986). The issue of what constituted value for the field of music in Glasgow and for the funders was central to what the Director of GUCM and others involved with the organization were working with on a daily basis in Glasgow. As a participant observer in Glasgow UNESCO City of Music, the ongoing work incorporated understanding value in such a way that would relate to both the expectations of those who funded the organization, as well as the expectations of those the organization purported to represent, i.e., those involved in music in Glasgow. The work of the organization could be seen in the process of its defining its main purposes and finding a way to achieve this while simultaneously maintaining funds. In order to aid the presentation of the material in this thesis it will be useful to give a brief picture of the world that GUCM exists within in Glasgow. I will also describe how the city of Glasgow became a UNESCO City of Music – differentiating between GUCM, the title, and GUCM, the organization – as this becomes an important part of the process of establishing GUCM (the organization) and will be discussed in detail later in the thesis.

Glasgow is one of the three main cities situated in Scotland. It is towards the West of the country, with the other two cities being Edinburgh, which is to the East, and Aberdeen which is in the North-East. The city itself is steeped in industrial history, especially ship-building. In 1990, Glasgow was a European Capital of Culture. The civic representatives of the people of Glasgow, i.e., the Lord Provost and the cities ambassadors, maintain that the purpose of holding a position such as Capital of Culture was about the development of the international profile of Glasgow and the attraction of investment in the city (Garcia, 2004). Many studies have shown the success of these aims, with Garcia (2004:107) telling us that 'a key legacy is the radical transformation of the city's image from old stereotypes such as razor gangs, unemployment and alcoholism to the celebration of Glasgow as a shopping destination, city of design and architecture, an

attractive placement for business activity and conferences, and a cultural centre in the widest sense...'. A city that warranted the title of a Capital of Culture appeared to symbolise its economic success, through shopping, business, and architecture. Culture was seen to be a catalyst for this movement or process of regeneration, but its ultimate aim was economic stability for Glasgow. The value of a cultural activity or event, if looked at from the legacy of 1990, was the economic advancement it could offer the city. Costa (2008:191-192) concludes 'the recent success of these urban spaces [creative cities] is considered as a result of specific territorialized dynamics or policy actions which were based on the growth of cultural (or other creative) activities which developed quality of life, allowed urban vitalization and promoted competitiveness'. Costa's conclusion reflects the situation presented in Glasgow – that cultural activity is linked to economic success. Would Glasgow UNESCO City of Music provide the same legacy?

In the city centre, the main square – St. George's Square – is surrounded by the main train station, hotels and restaurants, and also by the City Hall, the Civic Chambers. The front of this building faces onto the square and dominates the block behind it. The offices of the Lord Provost, the city's mayor, and the offices of Glasgow City Council are situated here. At the top of Buchanan Street, the main shopping street for the city, before it turns left onto Sauchiehall Street, there is a set of steps. These steps lead to the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall (GRCH). This musical venue houses the main concert hall and some smaller music venues. Its main role is to facilitate classical music concerts; however, it also focuses hugely on traditional music and is home to the annual Celtic Connections winter music festival which takes place every January<sup>2</sup>. Another building that houses more venues belonging to the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall group is the City Halls which is downtown towards the Trongate area. This venue is centrally a concert hall, and home to the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra, but also contains a refurbished Fruitmarket, now called the Old Fruitmarket, and one other smaller venue.<sup>3</sup> The Scottish

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<sup>2</sup> The Celtic Connections Music Festival began in January 1994 and has taken place every year since featuring traditional and folk musicians generally from the 'Celtic' tradition. Musicians

<sup>3</sup> Throughout the time of this research, Glasgow Life took over management of the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall venues, including the City Halls and Old Fruitmarket.

Music Centre is housed inside the City Halls and is positioning itself as ‘a national information point and resource hub’ for music in Scotland (scottishmusiccentre.com/about, 2008). The City Halls houses an Education Department, focused on musical education. Around the corner, the city’s sports and arts council building (Culture and Sport Glasgow - CSG<sup>4</sup>) is placed on Trongate. Culture and Sport Glasgow has arts officers whose role is to co-ordinate the cultural activities funded by the organization, in the city. Some arts officers have specific roles in relation to music in the city. CSG is a central funder for cultural and sports events in Glasgow and as such, responsible for establishing and maintaining the criteria required in order for an organization to gain cultural funding in Glasgow.

Other organizations involved with the development of music in Glasgow are the Royal Scottish National Orchestra (RSNO), based in the West-end of Glasgow, Scottish Opera, and the Royal Scottish Academy for Music and Drama<sup>5</sup> (RSAMD)<sup>6</sup>. The Education Department in City Halls is an important centre for the development of music in Glasgow and it is centred on classical or formalized types of music. All of these music-focused groups and venues are predominantly for classical music. What is happening in classical music in Glasgow is clearly communicated. It is not as clear, however, what is happening in relation to non-classical music. For example, the GUCM Database lists: ‘performing companies and venues’; ‘orchestras’; ‘choirs’; ‘instrumental ensembles’; ‘amateur theatricals’; ‘venues’; ‘promoters’; ‘festivals’; ‘record companies’; ‘music stores’; and ‘artist management companies’. These professional entities are more easily accessed and thus documented, however, in relation to the rock, pop, jazz, traditional and folk

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<sup>4</sup> Throughout the process of data collection, Culture and Sport Glasgow was rebranded with the name Glasgow Life.

<sup>5</sup> The RSAMD is now known as the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (RCS).

<sup>6</sup> Costa outlines a ‘framework which supports the ‘creative city rhetoric’ which is ‘related to the capacity to attract creative skills and develop inventive competencies’. This idea was originally put forth in Richard Florida’s ‘The Rise of the Creative Class’ and states that ‘a city’s capacity to be creative and innovative is definitely related to the ability to train, keep and attract this new social ‘class’ which has the knowledge and skills required in the advanced creativity-intensive sectors, which, in term, create most value and promote further competitiveness in contemporary economies’ (Costa, 2008:192).

music that takes place in Glasgow, the database offers only numbers: '123 Rock and pop bands'; '21 Jazz Bands'; '44 Traditional and folk bands'; '31 Groups belonging to smaller or cross-over categories' (Glasgow UNESCO City of Music Application Dossier, 2008:42-46). What is important to notice here is that there are specific details available in relation to the first list given here – in relation to orchestras and choirs and the others – yet, it is only the amount of rock, pop, jazz, traditional and cross-over bands that the Dossier points out. No other details given. There are local gig guides which tell of regular traditional music gigs and jazz gigs in pubs. The RSAMD (RCS) teach jazz and traditional music. The National Piping Centre offers teaching for the bagpipes and drums and, in the South and West of the city, there are many open-mike nights, rock, jazz, pop, and blues gigs. Although this is happening in Glasgow, it is not central to what is known about music in Glasgow. By contrast, information is known and easy to find as regards classical music and the main venues described above. This is also true in relation to the main festivals in Glasgow, especially Celtic Connections and those co-ordinated by the CSG Departments. The musical part of culture in Glasgow appears, to the tourist or observer, to be centred upon classical music, and traditional music during one month of the year. The classical music community is well-established in Glasgow and is also closely connected to those who manage and direct both the central musical organizations and civic departments mentioned above.

The organizational members central to the continuing development of 'music' in Glasgow are arts council managers and officers; venue managers; the principals and head staff in the main education centres (RSAMD, Glasgow University, and Strathclyde University); the Chief Executives or Directors of the orchestras – (BBCSSO and the RSNO), choirs, and city-based music organizations; the Board members of music organizations, especially those of Scottish Opera, the RSNO, the RSAMD and the Glasgow Royal Concert Halls; the Education Departments of Scottish Opera, the RSAMD, and the Glasgow Royal Concert Halls, (in City Halls); the organizers and co-ordinators of the main city festivals such as Celtic Connections and the West-end Festival. The musicians – the performers, the composers, and music leaders – are a core part of the development of music. In the field of music, many major events are created as a result of negotiations, or simply conversations, that happen between those in the above

positions. There are inter-locking relationships between board members, with someone who is chief executive or director of one organization holding a position as Board members of another organization. For example, the Chief Executive of Culture and Sport Glasgow also holds a position as Board member on the Board of Governors for the RSAMD (RCS) and, during the time of this case study, Board members from GUCM also held prominent positions on the Board of Scottish Opera and the Royal National Scottish Orchestra. This is important to note as it indicates what might be perceived as a tightly knit music community.

The field of music in Glasgow is funded mainly by the holders of public money: The Scottish Arts Council<sup>7</sup>; the Scottish Government; and Culture and Sport Glasgow. Many of the main music organizations are thus being granted money from the same funders and reliant on meeting the same criteria. The players in the field of music in Glasgow, as described above, are players in a general arts community that is subject to the overall political nature of a funding environment.

This is an important contextual background to understanding where GUCM fits in musically, culturally, and politically, in Glasgow. There is a strong documentation and understanding of classical music in Glasgow. However, there is a weak understanding of how non-classical music is being developed and how it may be developed. As GUCM is a title for all the people of Glasgow, there are certain expectations, which will be seen later, as to how the organization plans to develop music throughout the city, rather than the already formalized development of classical music and musical education. One of the central expectations perceived is the role of GUCM in regards to its position in the international UNESCO Creative Cities Network. This is also important as regards how the organization negotiates its development and is an issue which will be introduced in the next section.

## **The UNESCO Creative City Title**

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<sup>7</sup> The Scottish Arts Council is now known as 'Creative Scotland'.

Being based within an international forum such as UNESCO added a political dimension to the UNESCO Creative Cities Network. One of the ideas behind the UNESCO Creative City initiative is its promotion of economic as well as cultural stimulation. Costa (2008:189) points out a coincidence between the 'promotion of urban vitality and competitiveness' and the notion of a 'Creative Europe' coming from not only research institutions but also the 'political launching of a 'Creative Cities Network (UNESCO)'. The idea is that urban development and creativity are linked and eventually case studies will show 'successful relations between artistic creativity, cultural governance, innovative management and urban development' (Costa, 2008:189). The UNESCO network has grown from having around 20 city members in 2009 to having 34 cities in 2013. Glasgow applied for the title in August 2008 which involved preparing a bid to bring to UNESCO in Paris.

Firstly, to give a brief outline before going into detail, once having decided that Glasgow was most likely to achieve UNESCO's designation for 'music', rather than 'design', a core group of people initiated a process that would result in the Lord Provost accepting the title of 'Glasgow UNESCO City of Music' on behalf of the city. On the day it was presented by the Director-General of UNESCO, the Lord Provost said that 'we embrace the award on behalf of our talented musicians and composers whose work has contributed to our great city being given the permanent prestige of being a Glasgow City of Music... I am confident this can only boost our musical ambitions and encourage and nurture future musical talent' (bbc.co.uk, 2008)<sup>8</sup>. The title was understood to be a source of 'permanent prestige' that would 'encourage and nurture future musical talent'. The title reflects the *city's*<sup>9</sup> 'musical ambitions'. And the vast array of people involved in supporting the application illustrates, not only how supported the bid was, but also how beneficial it was believed it would be in having Glasgow become a UNESCO Creative

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<sup>8</sup> BBC, (2008, August 20) 'Glasgow gets city of music honour'. (*BBC News*), Available: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/scotland/glasgow\\_and\\_west/7570915.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/glasgow_and_west/7570915.stm) (Accessed: 2013, October 14)

<sup>9</sup> Rather than referring to the infrastructure of the boundaries of the city of Glasgow, the term 'city' means all the people who make up the city of Glasgow, i.e., the general public of Glasgow.

City. People holding prominent positions, both locally and nationally, supported Glasgow's bid to become a UNESCO City of Music including: the central music education centres, business, the Scottish and English Government, music businesses, the universities, the City Council, media, Consultancy Firms, as well as the UK Prime Minister, Scotland's First Minister, and the Lord Provost of Glasgow (Glasgow City of Music, Application Dossier, 2008). All thought that Glasgow becoming part of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network was worthy of their support.

In June 2008, an 'application dossier' was submitted to the UNESCO Creative Cities Network by 'Glasgow City of Music' which was an entity then managed by three groups: a management group; a steering committee; and a point person<sup>10</sup>. The 'application dossier' is a summary of data gathered for a 'Glasgow City of Music Database' (Glasgow City of Music, Application Dossier, 2008:24). It outlines the geographical and social details about Glasgow at that point in 2008. It describes Glasgow's 'Cultural Infrastructure', discusses its musical history, and, most importantly for the bid for the title, it lists the groups and positions that support music in Glasgow, and how becoming a Glasgow UNESCO City of Music would facilitate musical progression for the city – a progression seen in the development of the organisation's aims and objectives which are seen in detail in the first discussion chapter. A delegation of people from Glasgow brought the application dossier and the bid to Paris. The delegation was made up of the point person as mentioned above, who was a freelance Artistic Director based in Scotland, a trustee of the Edinburgh UNESCO City of Literature Board, a member of Scottish Enterprise, the Chair of the Royal Scottish National Orchestra (RSNO), staff from the RSAMD, the Lord Provost and staff, members of the press, the Chair of the RSNO Council, and the Minister for Culture. After attending receptions, including speeches from the Chair of the RSNO Council and the Minister for Culture, along with formally presenting the bid to UNESCO, and dinner, the 'Glasgow City of Music' delegation achieved their aim, with Glasgow being called a UNESCO City of Music within three months, in August 2008. Before a Director was formally employed and the

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<sup>10</sup> I will describe these groups in full at a later stage.

organization of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music began work, the interim management group, led by the point person who had managed the bid, would: create a limited company; 'register' as a 'charity'; 'negotiate funding'; 'plan budgets', 'plan recruitment for a manager'; 'plan design'; have 'preliminary artistic discussions for launch' of the organization; and 'build links with Seville/Bologna', the two other UNESCO Cities of Music at that time (Interim Management Group Planning Timeline from Internal GUCM Organizational Documents, 2008). Discussions in relation to funding and budgets were on-going. In November 2008, the Lord Provost and interim manager met with governmental staff from Bologna and the Chief from the 'Creative Industries for Development Section' in UNESCO. The UNESCO Chief described the Creative Cities Network as 'an experiment that is gaining in importance within UNESCO' (Internal GUCM Organizational Documents). As these relations were being built, formalities as regards establishing the organization of GUCM progressed with the first Director of GUCM, a 'company limited by guarantee and registered as a charity', being appointed by January 2009. The launch of the organization took place in September of 2009.

The process of establishing the organization is the work that the Director along with one administrator (at first part-time, and eventually full-time) and a Board of Trustees undertook in order to position GUCM in the fields of music, culture, and politics. The title of 'City of Music' awarded by UNESCO became an organization and as such took a recognized, common, organizational form that could immediately be understood by those with whom it interacted. The establishment of GUCM, in the form of a charitable company representing the title, raises the question of whether the organization would be acknowledged by other members of the music field within Glasgow as a legitimate means to develop the idea of Glasgow being a Creative City. Although supporting the gaining and award of the title, how would other music organizations and venues respond to the establishment of GUCM? Would GUCM as an organization be accorded the right or opportunity to speak or act on behalf of the 'city of Glasgow'? What might responses be to any initiatives that it might have? More importantly, how would GUCM try to establish itself in a field where there were already well established musical organizations venues, i.e., an established musical infrastructure?

The last question introduces the main theme of the thesis. The process of becoming known and acknowledged by members of other organizations can be seen as being a type of 'institutional work' (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006) within an already established 'institutional field' that music in Glasgow represents. The 'work' involved is that of being able to make claims on behalf of 'Glasgow' and of 'music', where there are already many organizations which indirectly claim to represent a facet of music in Glasgow. Would, and how would, GUCM be able to manoeuvre itself into a position whereby it was recognized as having a legitimate claim to speak for 'Glasgow City of Music'? Would its processes and values be recognized and acknowledged as having a legitimate role? As this research began, the organization was an independent, charitable company with a Director and a Board of Trustees. How would the organization develop and how would these developments be perceived by other players in the institutional field of music, and the broader cultural field of which music is one element? Also, given the prominence of political support for the bid, would the organization be recognized as being a legitimate 'representative' by members of the political field?

As a newly-formed organization trying to establish its position in the field, the Director is essentially responsible for clarifying what this position is to the other members of the field. This applies to all the fields that the organization is a part of: the field of music, the field of culture, and the field of politics. Not only does the position need to be clear, but it will also require acceptance by the others. How will the staff at GUCM negotiate all the different demands that are placed on it, different expectations, and with this, different ideas of value in order to achieve acceptance, while simultaneously clarifying its role? How will GUCM negotiate a position in the field? This case study examines these questions of establishing legitimacy and a position in the field and discusses how the Director, administrator, and Board of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music worked to achieve the goals of the organization, GUCM, whilst simultaneously negotiating the demands outlined above.

The thesis progresses through examining some of the literature on organizational legitimacy in particular in relation to institutional theory. Through a focus on typologies, institutional legitimacy has developed ideas as regards what an organization looks like to

an observer when it has achieved different levels of legitimacy. For instance, Stryker (1994; Stryker, 2000) suggests the mechanisms that members of organizations may use in order for an organization to become perceived as legitimate by members of other organizations. This research looks at how the perceptions of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music were understood internally, i.e., it asks how the members of GUCM 'worked' to enhance the perceptions of it in such a way as would benefit the development of GUCM as an organization. Although beginning with the literature on organizational legitimacy it was thought useful to augment this with Bourdieu's work. Bourdieu's work can enhance the 'institutional' concept through the incorporation of this 'relational' focus. What is important to Bourdieu is not simply the individual/organization, nor simply the structure of the field, but how they relate to one another. For Bourdieu, a member of the field is consistently affected by the structure of the field, yet the structure of the field is simultaneously affected by the actions of its members (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The importance placed on the relation between the structure of the field and a member or organization of the field enables this research to look at the interconnectedness of the rules of a social field and the actions of the members of the field. Bourdieu further enables the research to show how ideas of what is legitimate within a field are negotiated. Through the observation of interaction between the people working and the positions available for these people (in this case, in the field of music), we learn how the members of one organization began the 'work' of building a legitimate position, such that it becomes perceived as being a viable actor in the field within which it operates. The question this research asks is: How do the members of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music view their organization's position and its sense of legitimacy within its field, and how do they work to negotiate for the positions they want, or need, in order to advance the organization?

The thesis will begin with a review of the ideas that initiated the development of institutional theory (Chapter Two). From within institutional theory, I focus on two strands of the discussion, namely institutional legitimacy and institutional work. I expand upon the discussion of legitimacy, including ideas from Stryker (1994; Stryker, 2000) about how legitimacy can be built and enhanced by members of an organization and a field. From this I then examine the literature on institutional work. The concept of

institutional work stems from the acknowledgement in institutional theory of the need to show a greater awareness of the importance of agency for institutionalism (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), and an individual's capacity to act in such a way that affects an institutional field. The 'work' focuses on the building and maintenance of a field (Lawrence, *et al.*, 2009; Lawrence, *et al.*, 2011). However, institutional work tends to focus primarily on the 'micro' aspects of the field. Incorporating Bourdieu's triad of concepts, which make sense only in relation to each other, will enable the research to move beyond the divisive or dichotomous issue of being either structurally-focused or agency-focused. Bourdieu offers a conceptualization of *field* that is 'structure' according to the current agents' (members of the field) ideas of what symbolizes *capital*. Their accumulated capital relates to their position within the field. Through agents' consistent development of a *habitus*, the field's process is under constant renegotiation, i.e., a change in the way a member of a field works, affects the position of that member, and other members, and thus, ultimately the field itself (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

The method for the collection of data is participant observation. The methods chapter will discuss participant observation and how this affects the analysis of data and eventual conclusions (Chapter Three), and the ethical issues experienced during the process of data collection and data analysis will also be brought to the fore here. The chapter highlights both the advantages and disadvantages of using a method such as participant observation for the discussion of a case-study such as Glasgow UNESCO City of Music.

The discussion of the data shows the importance of Bourdieu's concept of *capital* for this study and how it is used in order to enhance the discussion of legitimacy and institutional work. I begin by looking at the title of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music, how this title and the organization are perceived internally, and how it is understood by those involved as being perceived externally (Chapter Four). Bourdieu's concept of *cultural capital* will be important during this discussion. Cultural capital is a symbolic capital that is fundamental to the field of culture. Both will be discussed in detail in the literature review chapter. Internally, the 'title' of UNESCO Creative City is viewed as belonging to the *city* of Glasgow, and is being managed, in a sense, by the organization on behalf of the *city*. But, as the data show, the issues of 'ownership' – who owns the title; who bears

responsibility for the title; and thus, who is in a position to benefit from the title – is central to this discussion. Another important question is how does the issue of ownership relate to the position of GUCM, the organization, in the field? How do the members of GUCM understand their position and thus, how do they exploit the title in order to maintain and develop this position? Following this, the importance of building *social capital* is highlighted (Chapter Five). Social capital is also symbolic, and is identified by Bourdieu as the relationships a person has with other people. Relationships can benefit all those involved (in the relationship), and a person's work is enhanced rather than hindered by their social capital. The question arising from this theory is: how do the Director and Board of Trustees for GUCM ensure that the current position of GUCM in Glasgow is enhanced through their social networks? Building relations with other members in the fields is the basis of solidarity (Bourdieu, 1986:7) required to be perceived as legitimate, to be accepted or acceptable to the other members of the field. How will the Director's focus on building social capital enhance the organization's standing and how it is recognized in the field? Are there people in the fields<sup>11</sup> who hold a position that requires the Director to focus on meeting or matching their values more than other members? Is there a prioritization of influential relationships in the field and how does this affect the position of the Director and GUCM in Glasgow?

The next step looked at in the process of establishing a position in the fields is the trial of acquiring *economic capital* (Chapter Six). How will the Director negotiate the difficulties of maintaining an organizational position in more than one field simultaneously? How does the need for the organization to maintain position affect its ability to gather funding and what are the issues and struggles that emerge as a result of the necessity to gather funding? How do they impact its position and its ability to be perceived as a legitimate player?

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<sup>11</sup> GUCM is part of and interacts within the field of music and arts, the cultural field, the academic field, the political field, the economic field, and the field of power. These fields will be explained through the discussion and will be referred to as they impinge on GUCM.

In conclusion, through the Bourdieusian concepts of capital, habitus, and field, the research will show how the people involved with GUCM work to ensure that the organization achieves its objectives in Glasgow, Scotland, and internationally. The work involved in doing this in the particular field of music that has been established in Glasgow will be outlined and it will be shown how GUCM negotiated for legitimacy both within and outside of Glasgow (Chapter Seven). The discussions will focus on cultural, social, and economic capital, whilst not forgetting the relational nature of these theories to habitus, and field. Through this focus it is hoped that the present understandings of organizational legitimacy will be enhanced.

# Chapter Two

## Literature Review

The substantive topic for this thesis is the establishment of GUCM as a new organization designed to further the ambitions and aspirations of the award of the title UNESCO City of Music. As a new organization within an established framework of organizations that were heavily involved in the delivery of music in Glasgow, GUCM had to work to establish itself as a player in the field. In this sense it had to work towards being able to claim legitimacy for its role and establish a position in the field vis-a-vis other organizations. It was thus engaged in what institutional theory terms institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). I focus my literature review in institutional theory initially as this perspective highlights the importance of organizations responding to the need to be seen to be legitimate, through their policies and practices, and it is this that guides organizational actions as much, or more so, than the need to be efficient (Meyer & Rowan, 1991; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). I begin by outlining the relevant aspects of institutional theory for this study with specific focus on institutional *work* and institutional *legitimacy*. The binary nature of some of the theories seen in institutionalism, institutional legitimacy, and institutional work are outlined in this literature review. Although these can be seen as simply analytic divisions, the divisions influence the development of the theory and how it may be used to understand the world. The relational nature of Bourdieu's concepts can respond to this analytical division. And, because of this, the chapter concludes by explaining Bourdieu's concepts, how they relate to one another and, most importantly, how they complement the issues currently being discussed in institutional work and institutional legitimacy.

### Institutional Theory

'Institutionalization' is the granting of a 'rule-like status' to 'social processes, obligations, or actualities' (Meyer & Rowan, 1991:42). 'Powerful myths' are adopted 'ceremonially' that enable organizations to be legitimized and survive without proving practical and procedural efficiency in a field (Meyer & Rowan, 1991:41). Institutional theory tells us that emerging organizations that enter a field characterized by uncertainty will suffer from a

'liability of newness' (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). The liability is 'overcome' through incorporating rationalized, collectively understood social constructions that are practised in the field. The emphasis is placed on how rationalized constructions – 'structures, procedures, or ideas based on external definitions of legitimacy' – are adopted by an organization (Lawrence, 1999:162). The study of institutionalism has ranged from old-institutionalism, focusing on the concepts of power and symbols, to new-institutionalism highlighting the importance of cognition and legitimacy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991).

An institutional field is a collection of 'organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life' (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991:65). The field is the environment in which individuals 'deal rationally with uncertainty and constraint' through collectively understood social constructions that reflect 'homogeneity in structure, culture, and output' (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991:64). The institutional field acts as 'the meeting place' for organizations to interact with each other (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008:139) and to acknowledge 'that organizational and field-level factors are interconnected in a reciprocal relationship' (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008:141). There is a substantial change over time as regards the theoretical focus of institutional field theory, from isomorphism, looking at the similarities between organizations and what results this has for the field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), to a more relational focus in looking at how, and why, organizations interact in the manner seen within the field (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008; Scott, 1995).

Scott (1995) defines field as a group of organizations whose members form a community, live by a belief structure common to each, and interact with each other more often than with those outside of the community (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008:131). The next stage in the development of field theory is the focus on 'understanding the cultural and cognitive processes that guided field members' behavior' (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008:133). Friedland and Alford (1991) 'uncover the material practices and symbolic constructions that served as organizing templates for field members' and thus, provide organizations 'with schemas to guide their behaviour' (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008:133). According to Wooten and Hoffman (2008), this theory development shows an 'overarching emphasis on similarity', that the field is 'conceived as predominantly static in its configuration' and

that 'regulative, normative and cognitive influences bred homogeneity in the aggregate' (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008:133). By bringing attention to the development in the literature which shows that fields are 'connected to and embedded within other and conflicting institutional systems' and that 'change and variation comes from within fields' (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008:135; Seo & Creed, 2002), we can see a move from the idea of the institutional field being structured and fixed to becoming understood as changeable and dynamic.

One theoretical direction that the study of institutional theory has led to is that of 'institutional work' looking at the 'activities of contestation and reconceptualization' taken by actors who 'occupy simultaneous... positions in multiple fields' (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006:248). Institutional work looks at 'the intentional actions taken in relation to institutions... much of it nearly invisible and often mundane' (Lawrence, *et al.*, 2009:1). The introductory article to institutional work in 2006 was produced 'in order to develop an inductive, empirically grounded understanding of the terrain that might be mapped using the concept of institutional work' (Lawrence, *et al.*, 2009:3). In their presentation of institutional work, Lawrence, *et al.* (2009:11) reject the linear understanding of change that is often presented and intend to 'account for, and reflect on, discontinuous and non-linear processes that take place'. The 'work' is seen through the organization's choice of response to the environment. The term 'actor' is used interchangeably to mean an individual or an organization in the field (Powell & Colyvas, 2008), thus, the concept of 'actor' implies an entity that possesses agency in the field. The actions taken by an individual are driven by a future objective, yet the action only becomes 'an act' retrospectively (Meyer, 2008a). Kaghan and Lounsbury (2011) highlight the agency of the actor to engage with the world around them but also the knowledge that the actor is surrounded by previously accepted concepts of what the appropriate things to say, do and practice are. The actors can choose to accept or challenge these, but what Kaghan and Lounsbury (2011) point out is that the actor is not able to avoid their presence when choosing to act on the world.

The underlying ability an individual possesses to change the environment or context they are within, however, and the ways perceived by an individual as possible are

'historically and situationally available within the agent's horizon of meaning and from their actor position' (Meyer, 2008b:526). The extent of agency available to an individual, or perceived as available, is something that has a 'legitimated capacity', meaning that ideas of what is acceptable or unacceptable in relation to change in the field is collectively determined by the actors themselves, i.e., it has become part of their collective institutionalized practice (Meyer, 2008a:799). Embedded agency in the field is the central issue motivating the development of the concept of institutional work (Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010). In addition to the work of examining how actors engage in institutional work around 'embedding and routinizing' in pursuit of 'institutional maintenance' (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006:230), embedded agency also raises the issue of the consequences of an actor increasing agency and thus being in a position to effect change on the field. (Seo & Creed, 2002; Currie, *et al.*, 2012). The members of a field who tend to effect change are 'those in peripheral positions... or new entrants' and those whose position mean that they are on the boundary of more than one field (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010:189-190), i.e., those organizations which are not fully accepted in the field yet.

Thus, institutional work focuses on an organization or actor's agency to effect change in a field, although, this work may fail to achieve its desired outcome, and actions undertaken by actors may have unintended consequences such as the disruption of institutions or the creation of an unplanned institution (Lawrence, *et al.*, 2009:100). There is also a call in institutional work for the reintroduction of a 'political critique' into institutional research (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006:247). The political 'work' of actors is seen in the reconstruction of 'rules, property rights and boundaries that define access to material resources' (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006:221). The focus on political work in institutional work reveals a connection between an individual's agency to make institutional change and the contradictions found in the workings of institutions that act as a catalyst for this change (Seo & Creed, 2002:231). Seo and Creed (2002:226) offer a typology of the 'sources of contradictions that can arise over the long term as by-products of the processes of institutionalization'. The first is the presence of an accepted idea that disables rather than enables organizational functioning. The second is when an organization evolves in such a way that inhibits future evolution. The third source of

contradiction is seen when an actor conforms to the ideas of one institution, thereby becoming incompatible with the ideas of another institution. The final contradiction is an organization's attempt to conform to the norms and practices of the other organizations in the field only to realise that those institutional norms and practices do not match with its own organizational interests. The typology of contradictions is based on the assumption that there are previously established 'institutional arrangements... enough to embed their inhabitants' and is an attempt 'to explain how such well-established arrangements are changed' (Seo & Creed, 2002:241). Although the concept of agency is incorporated in the typology, there is an important emphasis on agency in terms of previously established institutional rules and practices. The actor may choose to act in consensus with the rules of a field or challenge them, but the important point is that an actor has the agency to choose.

It is through realizing the points of contradiction within, and between, differing institutional understandings that an actor can perform institutional work in order to change, maintain, or create, new ways of acting and thinking. According to Lawrence, *et al.* (2010:57), the presence or absence of institutional change can be seen in the movement of 'attention away from dramatic actions of the heroic entrepreneur to the small worlds of institutional resistance and maintenance'. They also suggest that 'institutionalization and institutional change are enacted in the everyday getting by of individuals and groups who reproduce their roles, rites, and rituals at the same time that they challenge, modify, and disrupt them' (Lawrence, *et al.*, 2010:57).

The purpose of the lens of institutional work is to point to the 'notion that individuals actively engage in processes of institutional creation, maintenance, disruption, and change', a notion which is 'at odds with current organizational institutionalism in which the individual has largely disappeared' (Lawrence, *et al.*, 2010:53). Boxenbaum and Pedersen (2009:179) refer to institutional work as the 'relatively invisible micro-processes of intentional actions that individuals engage in to further their own interests'. The focus on action and an actor's ability to act, if they so choose, is of utmost importance in institutional work. Institutional work, in this sense, highlights the 'why' and 'how' of actions, rather than 'what' and 'when'. Choosing between conforming to institutional

rules and attempting to effect change is a paramount concern for an emerging organization in a field.

Institutional legitimacy is a process of understanding how an organization becomes acceptable to other actors in a field. One of the central organizational legitimacy theorists, Suchman (1995:585-586), identifies pragmatic, moral, and cognitive types of legitimacy. He acknowledges that the three archetypes are not hierarchical and do 'co-exist' (Suchman, 1995:584). The three types and their subtypes given by Suchman have been a fundamental part of the organizational legitimacy literature from 1995 and, for this reason, it is important to understand the basics of this theory. This understanding will act as a starting point for the discussion of the legitimacy literature and can be taken as also having been the starting point for the theories that follow in this chapter.

Pragmatic legitimacy is the legitimation of an actor by other actors in a field (Suchman, 1995). It is achieved through collective discussion amongst other actors and is a result of the legitimate actor having responded positively to other actors' 'self-interest'. For example, an organization is pragmatically legitimate when its actions are the same as other organizations' actions thus reaffirming an action's value for a field (exchange legitimacy). An organization is also pragmatically legitimate when its actions are seen to reflect other actors' idea of what is best for the field, i.e., 'being responsive to their larger interests' (influence legitimacy). And it is also possible to be pragmatically legitimate when an organization has a 'good character' and is thus anthropomorphized by the observer of the organization (dispositional legitimacy) (Suchman 1995:578-9). Moral legitimacy, rather than being a response to whether actions 'benefit' other actors as seen in the pragmatic type, is about whether an actor's actions can be understood as socially effective - understandings of social effectiveness are unique to a prevalent belief system - by other actors (Suchman, 1995). For instance, an organization could be deemed legitimate as a result of 'what they accomplish' (consequential legitimacy). For example, a governmental party would be judged in this way when observers match what the party achieved while in power to the promises made during an election campaign (Suchman, 1995:580). An organization could also be seen as legitimate through making a 'good faith effort to achieve valued, albeit invisible, ends' through using 'socially accepted

techniques' (procedural legitimacy) (Suchman, 1995:580). This sort of legitimacy can be understood in the example of the process of putting a Chief Executive position out for tender, inviting applications for interview, rather than a person being given the position without a formal interview and panel process. An organization can also become morally legitimate due to having a recognizable structure - such as having an office consisting of administrators, officers, managers, and directors, all following a strict understanding of their position in a hierarchical belief system and the power held by an individual as a result of this position - known as structural legitimacy. There is also a moral legitimacy coming from the 'charisma of organizational leaders' (Suchman, 1995:581). However, this particular type of moral legitimacy is not reliable because the idea of what is understood to be charismatic is changeable (Suchman, 1995).

The third and most elusive type of legitimacy for Suchman (1995) is cognitive legitimacy. This is seen when an organization is taken-for-granted. For Suchman, this legitimacy is the most 'subtle' and the most 'powerful' type. Although legitimacy is built through pragmatic and moral means, the most advantageous attribution is that of being seen as cognitively legitimate. It is the social positioning of an organization as being 'beyond reproach' (Suchman, 1995:583). Both moral and pragmatic legitimacy rely on evaluations by appropriate organizations or people, however, what is understood as 'appropriate' is not defined by Suchman except as something with the potential to be cognitively defined (Suchman, 1995:572), socially constructed (Suchman, 1995:577), and also can be understood as a 'cultural notion' (Suchman, 1995:578). Cognitive legitimacy, however, does not rely on appropriate evaluations, and is therefore the most beneficial type of legitimacy, yet it remains the most difficult for an actor to obtain. An organization that is taken-for-granted in the field is seen in the '*absence* of questioning' (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008:53, emphasis authors' own). However, being legitimate in one field can lead to 'unintended delegitimation' in another (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008:53). The idea of unintended delegitimation is important and will be discussed further in the empirical chapters.

Suchman's original trio of legitimacy types - pragmatic, moral, and cognitive legitimacy - are described as 'claims about cause and effect' (pragmatic), 'invocations of collectively

valued ends' (moral) and 'constitutive suppositions about definitions and meanings' (cognitive) (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008:67). Legitimacy is assumed to be a 'type of social evaluation' in a similar vein to 'status and reputation' (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008:49). There is a distinct sense of external evaluation of an organization seen in Suchman's legitimacy theory. Legitimacy is understood as being granted by outsiders to organizations within a field. It is granted according to a structure of beliefs that insiders in the field are privy to, because beliefs are socially constructed by the actors involved and because they are also socially reinforced by those actors.

Whereas Suchman looks at evaluations of legitimacy based on types, another major theorist of legitimacy, Stryker (1994; Stryker, 2000), focuses on how actors become legitimate, i.e., the 'mechanisms' that enable (or inhibit) the legitimation of an actor in the field. She focuses on three 'mechanisms' which 'reinforce, or conversely undercut each other': a constitutive mechanism, an instrumental mechanism, and a normative mechanism (Stryker, 1994:848). Rather than outlining the mechanisms separately, it would be more beneficial here to discuss Stryker's two main articles as a whole thus providing a more holistic understanding. To begin, Stryker looks at the integration of science into law in order to legitimize legal findings. She finds that incorporating science through a process of 'technocratization' – the incorporation of scientific and technical 'reasoning, experts, and institutional forms', i.e., including ideas of truth (facts) developed in the world of science and the world of technology – results in the justification of the rules and resources of its field, and also results in strengthening the external perception of the legitimacy of its legal findings (Stryker, 1994:852).

Stryker's (1994:857) understanding of legitimacy is related to ideas of 'validity', 'propriety', 'rules being binding', 'cognitive awareness of rules', and 'collective orientation' to rules. The acceptance of an organization as legitimate within an institutional field is a reflection of an organization's members' cognitive orientation to the rules of the game (Stryker, 1994). A member of a field internalizes 'the way things are' in an attempt to be understood as a legitimate entity. Stryker finds that that 'binding character of rules', which are central to the constitutive mechanism of legitimation and also a cognitive orientation to rules, are developed through both normative and

instrumental processes: the internalization of the rules as appropriate being a 'normative' process; the provision of resources and consequences to organizations who apply the rules being an 'instrumental' process; and the knowledge that the cost of not conforming to the rules are higher than the benefits of conforming being another 'instrumental' process (Stryker, 1994:858-859).

The mechanisms 'operate simultaneously in real world contexts' yet are divided in Stryker's analysis for the sake of understanding' (1994:853). Constitutive rules are understood as people's understanding of the way things are. They form the internalized belief structure that enables the negotiation and reinforcement of hierarchical positions, granting some people positions of authority and expecting others to follow their influence. Due to an individual internalizing a hierarchical structure, 'constitutive rules shape actor expectations about whose attempts at influence and which influence strategies are more or less likely to be effective' (Stryker, 2000:180, emphasis in original). A cognitive orientation to rules is a result of becoming 'cognitively oriented' to a particular institutional understanding (Stryker, 2000:194). The presence of, and thus the competition over, varying institutional understandings in a field threatens taken-for-grantedness and cognitive legitimacy. The field's taken-for-granted ideas can inhibit members' recognition of, and thus action upon, other potential rules and understandings. Stryker (2000:210) shows that the connection between legitimating mechanisms and the political, i.e., interactive and conflictive, nature of institutions means that taken-for-grantedness is 'relatively fragile'. She sees the process of internalization of constructs of what is legitimate as a normative mechanism. The constitutive mechanism of legitimation shows a dominating rule set in a field. Competing rule sets can 'create new cognitive possibilities and choices for action' for those in the field, enabling people to be no longer 'restricted to *the* way things are' (Stryker, 1994:902, emphasis in original).

Behavioural consent to a rule may merely be accepting the legitimacy of a rule in order to function in the field: an actor's consent to the legitimacy of regulatory rules thus does not necessarily mean that the actor is in congruence with the particular regulatory rules (Stryker, 1994:856). But if the actor is in congruence with the legitimacy of the system of

regulatory rules in the field, because the actor has internalized the legitimacy of these rules, the actor experiences a cognitive orientation to the rule set. However, it might be argued that an acceptance of a way of being and thinking in order to function successfully in the field implies that all legitimacy processes are cognitively negotiated.

There are weaknesses in the organizational legitimacy discussions especially with regard to the differentiation between 'types' of legitimacy. This is seen clearly, for example, in Aldrich and Fiol's (1994:645-6) identification of two legitimacy types – cognitive legitimacy which is an organization's taken-for-grantedness and socio-political legitimacy which is an organization's conformity to 'recognized principles or accepted rules and standards'. These two types of legitimacy are, however, very similar. Socio-political legitimacy occurs when a member of a field apparently internalizes an organization's actions as acceptable. Cognitive legitimation happens when an organization's validity in the field is beyond doubt. Both situations would result in similar actions and an organization being valid in the field. Both descriptions reflect what has been described as cognitive legitimacy by Aldrich and Fiol (1994) and both also match explanations of socio-political legitimacy.

Furthermore, as a result of Aldrich and Fiol's (1994) conceptualization of legitimacy, Suchman (1995:579) describes the 'positive normative evaluation of the organization and its activities' as 'moral legitimacy'. He adds that moral legitimacy 'rests not on judgements about whether a given activity benefits the evaluator but rather on whether the activity is the 'right thing to do' (Suchman, 1995:579). We have previously established that observers' ideas of what is the 'right thing to do' are as a result of institutionalized rules of the field. The right thing to do is also congruent with an individual's internalized behavioural rule-set. Normative beliefs show us that moral legitimacy is also cognitive legitimacy; cognitive legitimation is seen as the constitutive cognitive orientation to the rules. Hence we understand that in order for a rule to be constitutively cognitively orientated, it must be internalized, and internalized rules become the rules and norms that are used to guide actions. The 'right thing to do' is a cognitive orientation to internalized rules which are developed as a result of external institutional

understandings. Thus, all perceived legitimation of an organization happens at a cognitive level.

Both Suchman (1995) and Stryker (1994; Stryker, 2000) provide useful typologies upon which to base understandings of legitimacy and how ideas of how to be understood as a legitimate entity might be reflected in a field. As important as the discussion in relation to organizational legitimacy is, the typologies offered are missing a certain depth, without which the process of legitimation begins to appear as definitive and linear. Much of the organizational legitimacy theory has been based upon Suchman's (1995) typology and it is important to note that Stryker's (1994; 2000) typology of mechanisms has received less attention. However, it is Stryker's mechanisms that provide more support for the beginnings of understandings of legitimacy in a field due to her thorough acknowledgement of the interactive and political nature of legitimating mechanisms. For example, understanding legitimation as a reflection of the acceptance of the prevalent rules of a field means legitimation might also be a political action. If political action is understood as influencing the ideas of what is important and acceptable by those in power – 'mobilizing material and symbolic resources to influence authoritative decision-making' (Stryker, 2000:179) – then legitimation, i.e., the right thing to do, is also a political action.

To conclude, what the literature shows us, and what is most relevant for this thesis, is that legitimation occurs when organizations develop organizational characteristics that reflect those that are seen as symbolic of the status quo within the field. The literature distinguishes between types of legitimacies (e.g. Suchman, 1995; Kostova & Zaheer, 1999; Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002; Zyglidopoulos, 2003). While processes of legitimation are implicit to a field, each field will also have distinctive processes for enabling and disabling (or perhaps simultaneously enabling and disabling) the legitimation of actors. Along with this, processes of legitimation are in a state of constant renegotiation and change. Processes of legitimation are central to the negotiation of actors' positions in the field, and dominant evaluations of 'a legitimate action' define legitimacy for a specific field at a moment in time. What is understood as 'legitimate' in any field will be seen through how the members interact, which practices dominate and

how these practices are justified. To recognize and be aware of ideas and practices perceived as legitimate in the field is important. But, in order to develop understandings of how an organization, such as Glasgow UNESCO City of Music, becomes legitimate in a field, it is imperative that the processes that enable and reinforce legitimate ideas are understood by an emerging actor in a field. In order for members of a field to question the legitimacy of an organization, actors need to understand the legitimation processes in place. Ideas of legitimacy and of what constitutes a legitimate organization or process are thus an important part of the legitimation discussion.

There are useful connections to be seen between the idea of an organization becoming legitimate, or gaining legitimacy, and the idea that becoming legitimate is institutional 'work'. This connection has not yet been highlighted in the literature. However, it brings together one of the core institutional discussions, i.e., legitimacy, and one of the most important developments of the institutional discussion thus far, i.e., institutional work. Looking at the process of legitimation as institutional 'work' enables the expansion of the legitimacy discussion through looking at the process as experiencing patterns of 'creation, maintenance, disruption, and change' (Lawrence, *et al.*, 2010:53). It also re-examines the issue of the inherent political nature of the process of legitimation, included by Stryker, but not grasped in the core organizational legitimacy typology offered by Suchman. Deephouse and Suchman's 'unintended delegitimation' (2008:53) can also offer advances to the discussion of 'embedded agency' (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010) that have not yet been achieved. The central theories developed in relation to 'institutional work' and 'legitimacy' can be enhanced, and their understandings deepened through bringing these two concepts together.

The literature developing the idea of the institutional field, institutional work and its core issue of legitimacy, gives us a specifically institutional view of the social world. Institutional work serves to bring agency to the fore of institutional research and Stryker's theories in relation to legitimacy act as reminders that both intra-organizational and inter-organizational perceptions of legitimation should be considered along with the political nature inherent in the negotiation of legitimacy. Though these literatures are useful, they are strikingly binary, reinforcing the illusion of a separation

between the institutional rules of the field on one side and individuals or organizations in the field on the other. Although individuals and organizations within a field understand the rules, the rules are perceived as impositions upon individuals and organizations, rather than their objectified constructions. And although it is acknowledged that structure and agency are only analytic divisions, institutional theory generally does not offer conceptual support that reflects the co-existence of institutionalized rules, ideas, and practices with individual's personal values and principles. Bourdieu can provide a conceptual framework and a methodology that openly discusses the relational nature of a field and the agents within it. Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, and habitus, along with ideas such as the negotiation of positions in the field and the reinforcement of patterns of domination and subordination, offer an interpretation that reveals the patterns and processes that effect each individual and organization in the social world of this case study.

## **Bourdieuian Relations**

Bourdieu invites us to see the social worlds we inhabit (and study as researchers) in a fundamentally relational way. His concepts make sense only in relation to each other. Although it is tempting to separate his concepts and use them as they suit the research, what is paramount is that any focus on one particular concept of Bourdieu's retains a sense of its relational characteristics. He tells us that 'to think in terms of field is to think relationally' and a full understanding of the relational aspect of Bourdieu's understandings require an introduction to his main three concepts of field, capital, and habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:96).

Field, capital, and habitus are 'put... to work' within the framework of a social space and the practices of agents seen within that space (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:104). To explain: the term 'agent' is used to enhance the understandings of those in the field 'who are socially constituted as active and acting... by the fact that they possess the necessary properties to be effective, to produce effects' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:107). A 'space' is the collective of positions held by agents. Positions are separate from, and only make sense in relation to, each other. A 'social space' is thus the space in which those occupying positions are gathered hierarchically 'based on the two principles of

differentiation' (Bourdieu, 1998:6). The two principles are economic capital and cultural capital (which will be explained later). Bourdieu's 'practice' is seen as 'the interplay between the structure of the field' and the dispositions possessed by the individuals in the field (Townley: forthcoming). Lizardo (2004: 395) tells us that Bourdieu has introduced a methodology that is 'at once inter-disciplinary, rigorous and comprehensive' and that it enables one to overcome the dichotomous concepts of structure and agency. It is the concept of habitus that encourages the removal of the dichotomy from sociological analysis. The concept of habitus enables us to understand practices by agents in the field. It is both a result of the disposition of an agent based on their history and past experiences, as well as the cause of how they presently interact with other agents in the field. Habitus is simultaneously a result and a cause<sup>12</sup>. Thus, it is structure because it is 'systematically ordered' and structuring because it 'helps to shape one's present and future practices': a cause and an effect (Maton, 2008:51).

'Simply put, habitus focuses on our ways of acting, feeling, thinking and being. It captures how we carry within us our history, how we bring this history into our present circumstances, and how we then make choices to act in certain ways and not others. This is an ongoing and active process – we are engaged in a continuous process of making history, but not under conditions entirely of our own making... Which choices we choose to make... depends on the range of options available at that moment (thanks to our current context), the range of options visible to us, and on our dispositions (habitus), the embodied experiences of our journey.'

(Maton, 2008:52)

The development of habitus begins in childhood, where family and people around the individual provide patterns or lessons in how to interact with the world. For example, a pattern of eating could become part of a person's disposition, meaning that the body will learn to expect certain types of food at certain times of the day. It is, in a sense, an 'unconscious' process, incorporated into the body. This can also be applied to cognitive processes. Bourdieu (1990:137) calls this idea the 'deeply interiorized master-patterns'

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<sup>12</sup> Although this may seem a dualistic description that denies Bourdieu's desire to overcome the division emphasised using dichotomies, it is important to note that it is *simultaneously* a result and a cause and should be understood to incorporate both ideas rather than being two opposing ideas.

that make a 'cultural unconscious'. School plays an important role in habitus, especially the 'cultivated' habitus which is based on the development of certain competencies and how they are employed (Bourdieu, 1990). One student may respond to the formal rules of a school with ease, enjoying the security felt through a system they feel they can understand, however, another student may respond to the same rules with great discomfort, feeling hindered and stifled by their predictability. The first student may internalize an idea of formal rules as meaning safety, whereas the second student may internalize an idea of formal rules meaning agitation. This instance shows us how the previously structured habitus interacting with a structured situation can create a pattern of expectations for future experiences of similar situations. These expectations can motivate the development of specific 'dispositions (capacities, tendencies, abilities to recognize and to act)' (Bourdieu, 1990:139) that will be part of a person's unconscious reactions to the social world. Dispositions 'are an embodiment within each individual of objective regularities, relations and structures that pre-exist the individual' (Bourdieu, 1990:139) and they 'enable us to recognize the possibilities for action and at the same time prevent us from recognizing other possibilities' (Bourdieu, 1977:78).

The pattern of structuring and restructuring continues throughout life and is part of how an agent appears to choose to behave in the social world that they inhabit. The patterns learned as part of habitus mean that an agent will recognize particular ideas as acceptable, relevant, as common practice, and will not recognize other ideas as such. Habitus is a way of seeing the world that is both autonomous (due to the distinctive family life within which people grow up for example) and dependent (due to belonging to a social world that constructs and expects certain behaviours). It is a 'socially constituted system of cognitive and motivating structures' that interacts with 'socially structured' situations 'in which the agents' interests are defined' (Bourdieu, 1977:76)<sup>13</sup>. Interest, as used by Bourdieu (1990:48), is that which retains an agent's attention in the

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<sup>13</sup> Bourdieu tells us that 'the juridical or customary rule', mentioned also by Weber, 'is never more than a *secondary principle* of the determination of practices, intervening when the primary principle, interest, fails' (1977:76).

social world, or in the particular part of the social world within which an agent interacts. For example, if the primary aim for a teacher is to educate children, then that teacher's interest is in building educational strengths and competencies for the child. If the primary aim is instead having a regular income, then that teacher's interest is in building their personal economic strengths. In the latter case, 'building educational strengths' is a catalyst for enabling economic strengths, rather than the 'interest' being on educating in itself. Yet also, in the former case, we can see that economic strength can be a disinterested consequence of building educational strengths. Of the concept of disinterestedness, Bourdieu (1990:48) tells us that 'the investments that certain people make in certain games... appear disinterested when they are perceived by someone whose investments and interests are placed in another field'. Following this, another aspect to the concept of 'interest' is that sometimes it is important to appear 'disinterested' in regard to economic strength, in order to maintain a legitimate position in a specific social world. Returning to the example of a teacher, we could say that it is imperative that the teacher appears to have prioritised building the educational strengths of children, as it might not be acceptable to other agents in the field that they are 'only in it for the money'. Appearing interested in economic strength, rather than disinterested, might result in a teacher losing respect in the field of education, thereby weakening their ability to maintain or advance their position as teacher.

Bourdieu develops the idea of capital in order to symbolise what is the main interest of a social world. Capital in the field is individual and/or collective valued strengths that can be exchanged or used in order to gain other similarly valued strengths that the agent requires for action or development of their position. Agents occupy positions in the social world which are dependent on the capital possessed (and appropriated<sup>14</sup>). Capital is distributed amongst the agents in the field. Agents either aim to keep the structure or distribution of capital unchanged, when an agent benefits from the present structure for

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<sup>14</sup> Bourdieu (1986:5) differentiates between the 'appropriation' of symbolic capital and the 'possession' of symbolic capital, telling us that 'to possess... he only needs economic capital; to appropriate... and use... in accordance with their specific purpose... he must have access to embodied cultural capital, either in person or by proxy'.

example, or aim to challenge the present distribution structure, if they do not benefit. Possessing a strength that is recognized in the social world as valuable enables its owner to gain other strengths or gain profit. This means that a group of agents may relate to each other through the collection of specific capital. That which is valuable, known as capital, is that which is recognized as valuable by agents in the social world. This recognition enables agents to engage meaningfully with the other agents of the social world. Capital is the 'energy' experienced by members of the field 'that drives the development of a field through time' (Moore, 2008:105). The way that the members are positioned in the field reflects the members' individual accumulation of capital.

There are two main types of capital discussed in Bourdieusian literature: cultural capital and social capital. Cultural capital<sup>15</sup> is a result of an agent's own developed abilities and competencies. This takes time and effort, both of which are forms of investment: a central requirement in developing personal cultural capital. This 'embodiment' of competency over time implies that an agent has spent time incorporating knowledge so it becomes part of their habitus. But also, using the term investment implies that there has been 'a personal cost'. There are both 'inherited' and 'acquired properties' in cultural capital. For example, in the field of classical music, to be a music student (or past student) of a conservatoire is a form of internationally renowned cultural capital that represents a musician as competent. To be an 'untrained' musician, for instance, does not enable such a clear, quick, representation of competency. The abilities required to enter, and acquired during the time spent in education in, a conservatoire, mean that the term 'conservatoire' almost guarantees the addition of a specific cultural capital that will benefit a classical musician due to its instant recognition in the field of classical music. If a musician has studied in a conservatoire, it is taken-for-granted that they are competent. Thus, competencies can be acquired (and thus, embodied) through the investment of time and effort and can give the agent a 'distinctive value' that is almost magical (Bourdieu, 1986).

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<sup>15</sup> Bourdieu tells us that 'cultural capital' is a capital that 'we should in fact call *informational capital*' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:119).

There are two other forms of cultural capital in addition to embodied: objectified and institutionalized. Objectified cultural capital is the material versions of culture in the field. This could include, for example, the recording of a piece of music, or a painting: something that can only be produced or owned by the possessor of a legitimate competence. It is valued by people who recognize it as a legitimate product representing cultural capital in the field. Bourdieu refers to cultural capital as being symbolic and thus a 'legitimate competence' (1986:4). Institutionalized capital can be seen in academic qualifications that have a formal social meaning autonomous to the agent possessing it, for instance, the title of 'PhD' or 'Professor' (Bourdieu, 1986).

The purpose of possessing and acquiring capital in the social world is to enable an agent to negotiate within it: as the agents are in different negotiable positions, their ability to gain resources is reflected in these positions. The process of claiming resources in the field works in tandem with the process of competing with other agents in order to gain resources. Bourdieu (1986) refers to this as the 'relationship of... competition' between an agent and the other 'possessors of capital competing for the same goods'. This implies the idea of 'scarcity' which in turn affects the perceived strength of the capital in the field, in other words, the 'efficacy' of the capital (pp.4-5). For example, the more people appropriate PhDs, the less 'efficacy' the holder of the PhD will have when attempting to use the title as cultural capital in a social world. However, the title of 'Professor', because it is appropriated by a smaller number of people, constitutes a more scarce cultural capital and is more efficient as a form of capital as a result. Also, it takes a greater amount of time to become a 'Professor', i.e., to earn the title. This enables the appropriator of the title of 'Professor' to convert this cultural capital into economic capital more quickly than the appropriator of the title 'PhD'. The ability for cultural capital to be quickly converted to economic capital is improved when cultural capital has been implicitly transmitted – as in the case of a musician who has learned how to be a musician from listening and watching both parents perform music for twenty years – because the amount of time it takes to develop cultural capital also causes an agent to lose out in some other aspects of the development of another capital.

Bourdieu stresses the difference between possessing cultural capital and being able to appropriate cultural capital. Possession of objectified cultural capital requires economic capital (i.e., money). To appropriate cultural capital is to understand and appreciate it, i.e., to have embodied it. As Bourdieu (1986:5) writes, in order 'to possess the machines, he only needs economic capital; to appropriate them and use them in accordance with their specific purpose... he must have access to embodied cultural capital'. Cultural capital is present symbolically and materially. It can be used as a 'weapon and a stake in the struggles' in the social world. It is always questionable and negotiable even when it appears to be beyond questioning, i.e., when it's institutionalized (Bourdieu, 1986).

Social capital is seen through the connections, or relationships which allow an individual to access other agents' capitals: economic, cultural and symbolic, and thus resources also. It is built through being a member of a group that recognizes specific representations as symbols of belonging, and it is through acting in a socially acceptable way that members of the group remain as such. Through the connections of being part of a group, an agent gains the benefits of other members' capitals. It is also through the development of such connections – and other external connections that may be a result of membership – that a member's social capital increases. Thus, an agent with social capital potentially has possession of more economic, cultural, and symbolic capital than may be immediately individually accessible. Bourdieu (1986) sees the 'network of connections' in the group as 'the product of an endless effort at institution, of which institution rites... mark the essential moments and which is necessary in order to produce and reproduce lasting, useful relationships that can secure material or symbolic profits' (pp. 7-8). This capital is also dependent on how much other capital an agent possesses. Although social capital is a different form of valorization, it acts as a symbolic capital: an agent's connections are part of a mutually recognized group and, as a member of the group, the agent also has access to collective capital. These credentials are the basis of solidarity along with 'material/symbolic exchanges' (Bourdieu, 1986:7).

Social capital can be reproduced, and its reproduction assumes that an agent continues to socialize and retains their position in the group. Bourdieu refers to the affirmation and reaffirmation of recognition as the 'work' of reproducing social capital. This work needs

the investment of time and effort, and also, economic capital. To do this work effectively, the actor needs to have invested 'a specific competence' as regards to building relationships, making 'connections' and 'using them', whilst also appropriating the disposition needed 'to acquire and maintain this competence' (Bourdieu, 1986:8). This shows us that social capital, and the ability of an actor to develop it, is a skill that can be learnt and needs to be practiced regularly in order to remain beneficial. Members of the group become members of the group only through acting as members of the group should. Being a representative of the group gives an individual the opportunity to introduce new understandings to a group but only if the group accepts these and accepts the representative's authority to introduce them. There is competition 'for the monopoly of legitimate representation of the group', to thus be in a position to exploit the social capital of the full group (Bourdieu, 1986). It is imperative to note that there is an innate struggle to become and remain a legitimate member of the group and the root of this struggle is the production, reproduction, and transformation of economic, cultural, and social capital in order to gain position. Thus, it can be seen that legitimacy is at the centre of the understanding of capital as part of a social world, and the function of gaining symbolic (material and immaterial) capital is a core capacity of an organization looking for legitimacy in a social world.

Before discussing the ideas in relation to the transformation of capital, it is important to mention some points as regards the nature of economic capital. Bourdieu (1990:135) tells us that 'symbolic capital is nothing more than economic or cultural capital which is acknowledged and recognized, when it is acknowledged in accordance with the categories of perception that it imposes'. What is paramount here is the idea that Bourdieu tells us both economic and cultural capital are symbolic as capital when they are understood in relation to the 'categories of perception' that they 'impose'. In order to further explain this, let us look at other observations he has made in relation to capital. He suggests that 'Symbolic capital, that is to say, capital - in whatever form - insofar as it is represented, i.e., apprehended symbolically, in a relationship of knowledge or, more precisely, of misrecognition and recognition, presupposes the intervention of the habitus, as a socially constituted cognitive capacity' (Bourdieu, 1986:12). He tells us that 'social magic can constitute more or less anything as interesting, and establish it as an

object of struggle' (Bourdieu, 1990:88). In relation to the economic field itself, he suggests that 'economic production functions only in so far as it first produces a belief in the value of its products... and it must also produce a belief in the value of the activity of production itself' (Bourdieu, 1990:89).

Some authors (Gulledge & Townley, 2011; Townley, *et al.*, 2009) have differentiated between symbolic, cultural, social, and economic capitals. Gulledge & Townley (2011:326) suggest that 'agents use economic, cultural, social and symbolic forms of capital to define and negotiate power in a field'. Townley, Beech, and McKinlay (2009:944) also suggest that 'Bourdieu identifies different capitals... that an individual uses to augment their position in the field'. Although Bourdieu does differentiate between types of capital, it is important to note that all capital, whether defined as cultural, social, or economic, is symbolic capital, i.e., capital can only function as capital when it is understood as symbolic. For this reason, it is more useful to differentiate between material and immaterial capitals, i.e., those you can hold, for example, money, and those you cannot, for example, the value of building a relationship with somebody you work with.

The transformation of capital is explained through the concept of 'transubstantiation'. This is the process by which economic capital becomes cultural or social capital, or the process by which cultural and social capital becomes economic capital. Bourdieu refers to economic capital as 'material' and the others as 'immaterial' (Bourdieu, 1986:1-2). However, rather than recognizing that immaterial capitals are transubstantiated material capital, there is a 'systematic denial' that occurs which is seen as the misrecognition of the true nature of immaterial capital (Moore, 2008:104). This denial involves misrecognizing the arbitrariness of social connections and acceptance of the idea that hierarchical patterns are based on what is most valued, i.e., what is of interest (Moore, 2008). This brings us closer to the essence of capital, to its symbolic nature, and its central stake in the position of an agent in a social world. A disinterested act by an agent is recognized as a disinterested act only by other players in the field. The act then gives a symbolic profit to the agent and could lead to re-negotiation of the agent's position in the field. Symbolic profit affects their position through the accrual of 'symbolic capital'. It is capital only when recognized as such by other agents. Capital symbolizes capital

when it is ‘perceived according to categories of perception’, ‘principles of vision and division’, ‘systems of classification’, ‘classificatory schemes’, and ‘cognitive schemata’ (Bourdieu, 1998:85). Symbolic capital is something that when ‘perceived by social agents endowed with the categories of perception and appreciation permitting them to perceive, know and recognize it, becomes symbolically efficient, like a veritable magical power’ (Bourdieu, 1998:102).

From the discussion of cultural and social capital, we see that capital is a way of being or behaving or the fact of holding something that is recognized as valuable to others. There are different forms of capital as discussed above, and there is also the idea of representing value to others in the field. Representing value can be understood as holding symbolic capital. It is the idea that an agent can bring something of value to a group. It enables an agent to belong to a group and, when symbolically valued or offering ‘material or symbolic guarantees’, the agent will be granted ‘credit’ by the group (Bourdieu, 1977:181). The idea of symbolic value is a ‘socially constituted cognitive capacity’ unique to a group of agents, meaning that symbolic capital is an idea constructed by a group of people, that reflects their understanding, knowledge, and recognition what is valuable and what is not – ‘in relationships of knowledge i.e., misrecognition and recognition’ (Bourdieu, 1986:12). Both cultural capital and social capital can function as a symbolic capital, when used as a form of credit: symbolic capital is capital recognized through cognitive processes such as perception, systems, and schemes of classification, and ‘cognitive schemata’ (Bourdieu, 1998:85). So we see that it is credit ‘given and valorized’ by the agents in a group (Moore, 2008:115).

However, the idea that symbolic capital is simply another version of economic capital is not acceptable to agents and is thus misrecognized (Townley: forthcoming).

Misrecognition is explained by Bourdieu (1977:16) in relation to “‘the rules’ preserved by the group memory’ which ‘are themselves the product of a small batch of schemes enabling agents to generate an infinity of practices adapted to endlessly changing situations, without those schemes ever being constituted as explicit principles’, i.e., without the rules being recognized, or in other words, with the rules being misrecognized. Thus, the rules are a function of the ‘objectifying process through which

the group teaches itself and conceals from itself its own truth' and the groups' obedience of the rule is 'to be forgotten', along with the knowledge that 'there is more to be gained by obeying... than by disobeying' (Bourdieu, 1977:22). The misrecognition of symbolic capital as transubstantiated economic capital denies the role that symbolic capital plays in reinforcing positions of power and influence. The idea also denies that what is symbolically valued is essentially an arbitrary construct: symbolic capital is valuable only to those who recognize it as valuable, and those that the construct affects. However, this is not to say that agents are unaware of the effects of what they symbolically value on other agents in other groups. Symbolic capital reinforces practices that produce patterns of domination, subordination, i.e., social inequality. Bourdieu (1977:20) tells us that 'perfect conformity to the rule can bring secondary benefits such as the prestige and respect which almost invariably reward an action apparently motivated by nothing other than pure, disinterested respect for the rule'. The practices of agents, as a result of rules that lay out 'the thinkable and the unthinkable' (Bourdieu, 1997:20) happen within different social worlds. It is these social worlds which have developed specific interests or disinterestedness and have also highlighted the importance of one form of a particular capital over another. Bourdieu refers to these social worlds as fields.

A Bourdieusian field is 'a structured space with its own laws of functioning and its own relations of force independent of those of politics and the economy' (Johnson, 1993:6). It is a 'dynamic concept in that a change in agents' positions necessarily entails a change in the field's structure' (Johnson, 1993:6). 'It is the field which is primary and must be the focus of the research operations' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:107). Bourdieu's field can only be understood in relation to his two other concepts of capital and habitus. Its relational character is seen as fundamental. The social space referred to as field is structured according to how it functions and how agents negotiate power within it.

The concept of field according to Bourdieu can be apprehended by first looking at his 'principle of relational understanding'. This principle posits that every social world observed consists of entities which know that being a successful part of that world is achieved through the balance of both relating to the other entities and also being singular (Bourdieu, 1998:31). Thus, entities take a position in relation to the positions of

other entities. Positions are negotiated through what Bourdieu calls a 'structure of differences' which is understood through the 'forms of power or the kinds of capital' an entity is seen to possess at any given time (Bourdieu, 1998:32). It is important to remember that the structure of positions in the social world is not permanent and can, and will, change (Bourdieu, 1998). It is the individuals in the field who negotiate the structure of positions in the field, yet it is simultaneously the positions in the field which influence the individual's position in relation to other individuals' position in the field. Thus, an agent is able to negotiate their position in the field through exploiting their capital. The position of an agent in the field is intertwined with the 'volume and structure of capital' that the agent holds, and, by 'strategies aimed at discrediting the form of capital upon which the force of their opponents rests', an agent may change that which constitutes the way things are done in the field, as well as that which constitutes capital in the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:98-99). This implies that, at certain positions in the field, agents are able to place more value on the type of capital that benefits them the most. The field's boundaries are unique to each field and may only be defined through observation. Bourdieu describes the field as 'a game devoid of inventor and much more fluid and complex than any game that one might ever design' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:105).

An example of a field is the cultural field. The cultural field is constituted from many subfields such as the field of music, the literary field, and the artistic field. It is subordinate to and positioned within the 'field of power'<sup>16</sup> because its dominating capital is immaterial and it does not collectively possess much economic capital. The

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<sup>16</sup> The field of power is described as a 'meta-field'. It is the field that permeates all the other fields, and thus, the 'very shape and division of the field become a central stake' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:18). In *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, we learn that 'it is a space of play and competition in which the social agents and institutions which all possess the determinate quantity of specific capital (economic and cultural capital in particular) sufficient to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields... confront one another in strategies aimed at preserving or transforming this balance of forces' (From note 16, an unpublished lecture, 'The Field of Power,' University of Wisconsin at Madison, April 1989, Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:76).

dominating capitals in the field of power are economic or political capital<sup>17</sup> (Bourdieu, 1993:15). He tells us that:

‘The cultural (literary, artistic, etc.) field exists in a subordinate or dominated position within the field of power, whose principle of legitimacy is based on possession of economic or political capital. It is situated within the field of power because of its possession of a high degree of symbolic forms of capital (e.g. academic capital, cultural capital), but in a dominated position because of its relatively low degree of economic capital (when compared with the dominant fractions of economic capital (when compared with the dominant fractions of the dominant classes)’

(Bourdieu, 1993:15).

Bourdieu (1993:75) goes so far as to explain that even the ‘most ‘anti-economic’ and most visible disinterested behaviours, which in an ‘economic’ universe would be those most ruthlessly condemned, contain a form of economic rationality (even in the restricted sense) and in no way exclude their authors from even the ‘economic’ profits awaiting those who conform to the law of this universe’. Five years later, Bourdieu (1998:16) suggests that ‘when other forms of accumulation [accumulation of material and immaterial capitals] are more or less completely controlled, political capital becomes the primordial principal of differentiation’. This political-social capital is a useful concept for this thesis because it points to the importance of its accumulation in the cultural field for an emerging organization. And through the observation of the accumulation and exchange of capital in social worlds, we can see how agents negotiate attempts to affect the field. It is from the understanding of an organization’s attempt to affect the social world within which it works that this research begins to explicate the actions of GUCM.

Economic capital is recognized as valuable by other agents and acquiring economic capital can affect an agent’s position in relation to other agents’ positions. Losing economic capital can also affect an agent’s position. The fact that an object can only be recognized as cultural capital by somebody embodied with that ability or competence,

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<sup>17</sup>Political capital: Referring to a ‘political type of social capital’, Bourdieu explains political capital as being seen in the ‘patrimonialization of collective resources’ that can guarantee ‘its holder[s] a form of private appropriation of goods and public services’ (Bourdieu, 1998:16). This definition was hypothesized during his discussion into the main ‘principle of differentiation’ in Germany (Bourdieu, 1998:15).

means that those with cultural capital hold a distinct advantage in the cultural field as opposed to those without, or with less, cultural capital. Glasgow UNESCO City of Music is an organization attempting to position itself within the cultural field, and thus other symbolic fields. However, in order for the organization's efforts to be successful, the people representing the organization need to recognize what is currently perceived as symbolic capital in the social worlds and reflect this back to other members of those social worlds. Bourdieu's theories of capital, field, and habitus can aid the discussion of the development of the organization of GUCM. As I explain below, his theories can also contribute to the understanding offered by the institutional and legitimacy theory.

The institutional work done in order to instigate change in the practices and boundaries of a field may be seen in the 'structure of positions' and 'position-takings' in Bourdieu's analysis. One of the issues with which institutional work is concerned is understanding which actors are more likely to engage in institutional work, i.e., what factors might support or hinder that work (independent of its success or failure) and why certain actors engage in institutional work while others in similar contexts do not (Lawrence, *et al.*, 2009:10). Bourdieu can respond to this issue through his concept of habitus offering an understanding of the close connections between the dispositions of agents and their resultant position in the field. Bourdieu's work can also elaborate the concept of 'emancipation' found in institutional work, which is aimed at helping individuals in the field become aware of institutional rules in the field and thus develop the capability to perform institutional work (Lawrence, *et al.*, 2009:17). For as Maton (2008:59) notes, 'the hidden workings of habitus' are as 'a political form of therapy enabling social agents to understand more fully their place in the social world'.

There is also a similarity between Bourdieu's field, within which actors' choice of actions are a result of the structure of social connections, and the institutional field which finds the same idea in relation to choice of actions, except this time the actions are taken by the organization (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008). Also, the institutional understandings seen in the rules of a field take on new meaning when they are viewed through the lens of Bourdieu's 'principles of practice' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:119). These principles show us that even though practices may be carried out by an actor without 'conscious

intention', there is an innate 'economic' understanding that permeates all fields. It is an important point for this thesis. An economic sense of understanding can affect the choices of action taken by actors in a field. What an economic sense is and how it is seen will be further discussed in the empirical chapters. As an emerging organization, Glasgow UNESCO City of Music is understood to be in a position of either conforming to institutions in the field or challenging them to create a space or position for it. Gaining an understanding of Bourdieu's theories enables us to understand how an organization acts in a field and how these actions can affect the position or the legitimacy of that organization.

Through recognizing these connections between institutional work, legitimacy theory, and Bourdieu's relational concepts, it becomes clear that the addition of Bourdieu's work enhances and complements the understanding of legitimacy and institutional work issues. The interplay and interrelationship of an agent's symbolic capital in the field has not received attention in the institutional literature even though it may be the crucial factor for building upon the concepts of institutional work and organizational legitimacy. In this case-study, Bourdieu's concepts are central and the transformation of capital in the field becomes the thesis' *raison d'être*.

# Chapter Three

## Method

Entering the research field to collect data, for a case-study focusing on how the 'Glasgow UNESCO City of Music' organization would develop over a period of time, required a flexible approach. It also demanded space, to allow time to recognize the issues that might arise organically for an emerging entity in the field of music in Scotland.

I took part in organizational life in a participatory way. However, the importance of being a researcher and maintaining an awareness of my role as observer was paramount to all methodological training. The participant-observation method, rooted in its ethnographic origins, is able to respond to the issues arising for GUCM in Glasgow. The data were collected in the iterative-inductive and interpretivist ontological and epistemological tradition. The questions that arose throughout the period of data collection reflect this iterative and inductive practice. How would GUCM become a legitimate member of the field of music in Glasgow? How would other organizations in the fields of music and culture interact with the new organization? Could the organization fulfil its position as representative of the city's specialization and achievements in music? How would the Director manage its inherent position along with the need to find a long-term role in the field of music?

As my main method of data collection was participant-observation, in the remainder of the chapter, I elaborate on observing as a participant, and participating as an observer, showing that participant-observation requires constant flexibility in the field. The authorial position has an inherent privilege in the production of a thesis: through the acknowledgement of this issue rather than its denial, I present the reader with a considered perspective based on knowledge stemming from the field and from theory.

## Methodology

Participant observation involves creating relationships with people in the field through becoming part of the world in which they work. This is done through 'interacting with them and participating in their everyday ceremonials and rituals' while 'learning their code... in order to understand the meaning of their actions' (Gobo, 2011:17). Participant observation is part of the work of an ethnographer. Ethnography originates from within the field of anthropology and was adopted by sociologists in the 1920's (Eberle & Maeder, 2011; Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007). The way of looking at the world, which is promoted by ethnography and thus adopted during participant observation, results in the observation of 'a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular, and inexplicit' and which the researcher 'must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render' (Geertz, 1973:3). Participant observation is described as 'the anthropologists' impulse to engage himself with his informants as persons rather than as objects' (Geertz, 1973:6). Also, it was initially not used as a specialized method in itself and the 'terms ethnography and participant observation' were not used until after the 1940's (Gobo, 2011:19). However, both terms are now suggested as representing the same method in European sociology (Kusenbach, 2005). During the 1950's participant observation became recognized as a method useful for data collection in itself (Gobo, 2011) and was seen as offering a way of becoming more engaged with those in the field which could result in more meaningful data being shared (Prus, 1996:19). The main criticism of participant observation is directed at its ability to produce authentic data, i.e., critics question 'why others should believe the ethnographer' (Eberle & Maeder, 2011:66). Bourdieu responds to this through the concept of a 'critical reflexive methodology' which 'is achieved by subjecting the position of the observer to the same critical analysis as that of the constructed object at hand' (Barnard, 1990:75; Atkinson, 2007). In other words, the researcher observes their own position as critically as they view that of the actors and processes in the field.

The sociology literature describes four main types of participant-observation; these highlight which method is to the fore, participant or observer. These are: 'complete observer, observer as participant, participant as observer, and complete participant'

(Junker, 1952 in Gold, 1958:217; Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994:248). The researcher is described as moving mostly between taking the roles of observer-as-participant and participant-as-observer while venturing into complete observer or complete participant only sparingly (Preissle & Grant, 2004). However, Bourdieu argues that these roles are 'in fact strategies in a field and are to be understood in terms of the state of the field at a particular moment' (Barnard, 1990:79). Thus, taking a role in the field which highlights a particular position, be it observer or participant, is simply what happens when engaging in the world. Atkinson and Hammersley (1994:249; Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007) go so far as to describe participant observation as simply being a reflection of real life 'because we cannot study the social world without being a part of it'. However, participant observation does highlight and privilege the views of the world according to those who live and work in the field (Preissle & Grant, 2004; Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007). One of the important aspects of participant observation is the knowledge that 'field worker and informant... is a field relationship' (Gold, 1958), and thus of a specific nature. This knowledge can both aid and impede the standard of data collected, but, as Geertz describes, 'the determining question for any given example of it... is whether it sorts winks from twitches and real winks from mimicked ones' (Geertz, 1973:5). It is to this issue that the discussion will now turn.

## **Participant Observation**

Being a participant whose core function is to observe is to be in a paradoxical situation. Participation highlights being part of a group, acting as a member of a team, working for the whole rather than for the individual. Observation is an individual activity. When observing with awareness, there is an immediate distinction made between the observer and those being observed. Participating in the daily work of the organization of GUCM consisted of being in the room and part of the meetings, discussions, and also the celebrations of successes and commiseration of failures. Observing the daily work of an organization consists in being in the room and part of the action, except that it has an additional quality to it: distance. In a sense, trying to be a participant observer of an organizational team is like trying to both play in the band and sit in the audience at the same time. While you spend time playing in the band, your mind is also in the audience

reminding you of how this looks from an observer's point of view. While you are sitting in the audience, you are aware of how it feels and what it means to be in the band, playing along with the other members. Being a participant-observer is to know when to become part of the team and do as they do and also to know when to take a step back to observe and reflect, focusing on perspective and interpretation. The Director of GUCM referred to the researcher in her office – following her around to her meetings, and asking her 'why' all the time – as a 'critical friend' and also as being like a 'three-year-old needing to know why, why, why all the time...' The PhD fieldwork period was a time of learning how to participate and observe effectively. Moeran (2009) tells us that an actual 'method' does not necessarily help effectively participate. Whereas method can help for observation and interpretation, participant-observation is the simultaneous participation in, and observation of, the field.

The depth of involvement through this method depends on the organizational support for the research. In my case study of GUCM, the Director fully supported the research and was one of the organizational supervisors for the PhD. The office for the organization was, at the time of research, in the CSG Council Buildings<sup>18</sup>. It was located on the 3rd floor in the Arts Department. It was a wide open plan office with one large area, as one entered, dedicated to a separate section of the CSG departments. As you passed the photocopiers and the shared-kitchen for all on this floor, you walked up some steps. At the top of those steps to the right was a meeting room, and to the left was the office for the Manager of the Arts Department. Outside that office was a desk for the administrator for the office, whilst directly across from this office was the office for the Director of GUCM. Across from these two main offices, there were open-plan desks for the many arts officers and arts department staff who worked on this floor. Further along, in the same big room, there was a third section dedicated to yet another section of the CSG staff. Inside the Director's office there was space for her main desk, some shelving, and three low seats circling a table where many of the GUCM meetings took place. In the

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<sup>18</sup> CSG is Culture and Sports Glasgow, which is now Glasgow Life. The offices have now moved to another part of the city. (January, 2014)

corner there was an extra smaller desk with a computer on it and some office supplies. This desk was my desk. I, the researcher, was positioned in the room and insistently referred to as 'part of the City of Music team' by the members of the City of Music team – the Director and the administrator. From this physical position, I was able to observe and participate, when appropriate, in the daily activities of the Director and administrator. While working at my desk, I could be available at a moment's notice to attend a meeting that was taking place in the office. Sometimes it was less acceptable for me to be part of a meeting, depending on the Director's relationship to those coming, or to the topic under discussion.

Ybema, *et al.* (2009) tell us that participant-observation is a process of acting, perceiving, and making sense of these perceptions. It may seem more useful to organize a data collection process into these different components, focusing on one at a time, first a period of observation, next a period of participation and lastly, before analysis, a period of interpretation. In attempting to focus on one stage at a time, the researcher would be excluding and perhaps denying that what is required at times in the field is a period of participation, rather than observation. Sometimes it would be more beneficial for the researcher to step back and look at what has already happened, thus, interpreting the happenings to a certain extent. Of course, what is generally required is for a researcher to oscillate between each of these stages throughout the data collection period in order to get useful and varied data. This can be seen when a researcher is sitting in a meeting in the field, for example. When introduced to the external participants of the meeting as a researcher 'working with the organization', the researcher is part of the team, and part of the meeting, yet not a required presence at the meeting. In this sense, the researcher is included, yet simultaneously excluded. The researcher may be asked to give an opinion, as a participant, but is also simply sitting in the room taking notes, as an observer. Ybema, Yanow, Wels, and Kamsteeg (2009) tell us that the methods used in this situation not only include observing and participating as the researcher sees fit, but also 'conversing', which includes formally interviewing, and reading organizational documents closely. Also, they include in the methods of a researcher those of 'talking, laughing, working, doing' whilst also 'observing, listening, reading, smelling' (Ybema, *et al.*, 2009:6). Being able to integrate all of these methods in order to effectively research is

something that takes place on the ground, in the field (Moeran, 2009). Being immersed in the organization influenced the direction of the research in many ways. However, the lack of an established, routinized, method for participant-observation makes it difficult to clearly pinpoint what represents successful progression to the point when there would be sufficient data for the thesis. This challenge was something that remained constant throughout my fieldwork with GUCM.

Issues that typically arise during participant observation are related to how I was perceived by the team and by the people the team were working with. It was sometimes unclear what my role was, both to me, the team, and others. For example, a meeting between the Director and a partner for a project took place in the GUCM office. I was invited to join the discussion, which meant, sitting on the low chairs along with the Director and the partner. The partner for the project was met at the main door of the third floor area by the administrator of GUCM. She was brought to the office and introduced to me. I was referred to as 'our research student' and 'member of the team'. I had a notebook and pen in my hand as we three sat down for the meeting. As conversation began, I made small-talk so that I was not just the silent person taking notes. I explained a little about what my research was in vague terms. As the meeting progressed, I became quiet, listening and taking notes. The partner left. The next time I met her, I was introduced to the people she was with as 'Honor, from UNESCO'. However, at other times, I would be working side-by-side with the administrator directly engaged with people working with GUCM. In this role, I was perceived as a part of the team that participated in the work, and represented GUCM in this work. It was not always made clear to people involved in this work that I was a researcher and, fundamentally, my role was to observe and interpret. Sometimes I decided it was necessary for me to let them know, and other times I did not. I address the ethical issues raised by my role later in the chapter. Sometimes during the fieldwork, I had to assume the role of participant rather than observer in order to be of use to GUCM, so that I felt like a member of the team and an engaged participant in the work GUCM was trying to achieve. But other times I felt a need to distinctively remain in the researcher role – observing and taking notes only. Being able to decide which is more appropriate is an issue that I consistently grappled with. It did not become any easier with experience: at

times it even became more difficult, as I became more aware of the potential consequences of performing various roles within different situations.

As the period of fieldwork was a learning experience, during part of the PhD process, my organizational supervisor and I worked towards defining what my purpose in the organization could be. The nature of the case study – looking at the development of this UNESCO Creative City – meant that the ‘problems’ I focused on during observation were to be defined in a process that included the Director of GUCM: coming to understand how the research could be useful for the organization was also part of the work completed throughout this process. Bourdieu (1998:2) tells us that research can reveal the ‘deepest logic of the social world... grasped only if one plunges into the particularity of an empirical reality’, but he also stresses the ‘double reality of intrinsically equivocal, ambiguous, conduct’ and the necessity for ‘denial’ in the field. Being a critical observer of the members of GUCM in the field meant that those details – that are necessarily ambiguous and equivocal and, most importantly, denied, in order for the field to function as it does – become obvious. However, just because they become obvious to an observer does not mean that the members of the organization want to hear them or will benefit from the knowledge.

Participant observation is a method that reflects what is happening in a social world through its focus on immersion in a social world and the simultaneous reflection on that immersion as an observer. An immersion, such as achieved in this case study, can mean that the researcher becomes aware of the nature of the social world she is observing. It is not always useful for an organization to have this nature revealed to them, and sometimes it can inhibit action. The issue of presenting a thesis, based on the observation of an organization, being inherently privileged comes to the fore here. Thus, one of the central struggles dealt with during this research was that of being a participant-observer, attempting to interpret emerging themes from the data in concert with the Director of the organization, whilst simultaneously, first unconsciously and then consciously, understanding that my role as a researcher being useful to the organization could mean that the understanding of this social world, from my perspective, may not be what was wanted, needed, or demanded of me.

## Data Collection

From the moment I was given a desk in the Director's office, I spent my days at the organization either working at the desk, or accompanying the Director to her various meetings and events. The start of my data collection period was a time for writing down everything I saw and heard, and if I had time, I would simultaneously write down on the far right of the page, in square brackets, what I thought was meant by what was being said or what was happening. The general focus of the PhD was on the 'development' of a UNESCO City of Music, with the case study being 'Glasgow UNESCO City of Music'. The question I was asking was how the members of GUCM, i.e., the Director and the Board and oftentimes the administrator, were constructing an organization that could fulfil the many assumptions being made, both internally and externally, about what it should be doing for the city of Glasgow.

Notes taken by a researcher in the field have at certain stages been described as 'without any sustained logic or underlying principle and on the assumption that not every observation will ultimately be useful for a larger/finished project' (Emerson, *et al.*, 2001:353). There are variations in what is understood as field-notes. One understanding is that field-notes are the observations made by the researcher in the field. However, there is sometimes an important distinction made between descriptions of what was seen and the researcher's reaction to what was seen (Emerson, *et al.*, 2001; O'Reilly, 2005). Field-notes are also understood as personal notes, not for public consumption, but instead as tools to aid the researcher's memory. Thus, the form, quantity, and volume of field-notes produced by a researcher are the result of personal decision to be made by the researcher in the field (Emerson, *et al.*, 2001). Sometimes it is not until the initial notes are 'combined... with... memories, the theory... and...wife's critiques' that field-notes become 'real' (Jackson, 1990:14).

As mentioned previously, I took all notes using pen and paper. I noted as much as possible of what I observed as it was said and also noted what I thought was meant, if it was not clear in the first instance, and if I perceived any underlying meanings. My immediate interpretations were noted separately, on the right hand side of the page, contained within brackets. These notes were taken as the words were spoken, or if that

was not possible, I would write them down as soon as possible after the meeting or conversation. The notes took the form of the words and sentences being spoken. For instance, if the Director mentioned that City of Music was 'not what is inside this office, it is what you are doing outside' I would write that down. Then immediately after that I would write down the response to this statement. Sometimes, especially in the case of some statements such as the one above, I would write it in short-hand: 'COM not office, doing outside'. This would happen when I recognized some statements as being repetitions of what the Director had said before. In these cases, being able to write in short-hand meant that I would have spare time to take down extra details – the tone of voice in which people replied, the length of time taken to respond, or even how repetitious statements such as the above were embellished upon or simplified depending on who the Director was interacting with.

As a solo researcher, with limited time in the organization – I was also attending weekly lectures in the university and reviewing management literatures – I sometimes needed to choose which meeting to attend or which event to attempt to access. Moeran (2009:151) tells us that 'each choice necessarily invites, and simultaneously excludes, certain kinds of potential information, which itself then guides, or partially obstructs, you as you blunder on in search of enlightenment about the social work into which you have plunged'. The issues emerging from the data were reflective of data collected during whichever meetings I was in a position to attend. The quality of data collected is reflective of the choices made throughout the fieldwork process, and thus, what is absent from the data are those meetings that I was not in a position to attend or observe, either due to my university lecture schedule, or because people were not comfortable with having me attend. It was quite rare that people would refuse to allow my attendance at a meeting, however, when an individual or organization did refuse, it tended to highlight the danger perceived by some of having a potential critic in attendance. It shows how strategies of inclusion and exclusion can result in the researcher not being aware of all the information, or not being understood and perceived as a useful part of the structure of the cultural field.

The data collected are themselves representative of the political struggles in the field. A researcher is responsible for illuminating the particular political nature of a field and being able to 'take' multiple positions simultaneously, and, as is the case when all positions are heard and noted, will produce data and interpretations that reflect the messy social world seen through fieldwork. It is through embracing the contradictions rather than fighting for the domination of one's own – in this case, the researcher's perspective – that an inclusive, multi-perspective, and reflexive interpretation can be produced which shows an awareness of the difficulties met by those in organizations negotiating their social worlds. Along with a political nature of interaction between members of the field, there are personal relationships that develop as a result of normal human interaction that can be both a help and a hindrance to the process of participant-observation. Also, and perhaps most importantly, being an observer as well as a participant can reveal power struggles that occur in the field on a daily basis (Bourdieu, 1990:41). Much of this is seen in the words used by members of the field which reflect their relations to people and ideas. People who work in the field may take these ideas completely for granted, whereas I, as a researcher, find it essential to question my understanding. Yet, I also fully accept that the members of the field may not agree with my interpretations of what I believe to be some of the motivations and intentions behind their words and actions. In order to deal with this, my note-taking considers all of the possible interpretations, as does my analysis work, thus, enabling me to consider as much varied interpretation of an action or interaction as possible. It is because of this work that I can refer to my thesis as a considered perspective based on knowledge from the field and from theory.

The data were collected over a sixteen month period from November 2009 until February 2011. The data set is comprised of: participant observation data (113 pages handwritten and 185 pages typed); 33 internal organizational documents; 22 financial reports; 245 emails; 57 press articles; and 38 external organizational documents relevant to the organization. The core of the data is thus observational notes and email communications, meaning that it is based on singular interactions between individuals. The strength of these data is in their detail: it not only tells the story of the case of an emerging organization in a specific field, but is reflective of individual perspectives in the

field. I also collected documents related to GUCM at the time: financial reports; Board Meeting Minutes; applications for funding; and all emails that were forwarded to me via the Director or the administrator.

There is a notable transition in my data from the beginning moving to the end, whereby my data change from attempting to be all-encompassing to becoming much more focused. For example, early on in 2010, at the beginning of the data collection period, my data are more general, noting overall what happened rather than the specific details of what happened:

‘Firstly, there was a City of Music update given by [the Director] considering the full COM team was present. D asked, ‘What can we do for you next?’, as [they] had been heavily involved in the production of the COM launch.’

Rather than including the details of the update, the excerpt focuses on the general happenings in the room: that an update happened; and that the other team had helped with the work of producing the GUCM launch in September 2009. Another example of these ‘general’ types of data is:

‘[The Director] really appreciates the fantastic support and says thanks. The documentary film is almost ready. She will be using it at the [x] meeting on Friday. The length of time it’s taking to get going is causing frustration for her.’

In this example, also taken early in 2010, we can again see the general tone of the data. Rather than noting the words that people were using, the data example given above follows the general track of the conversation happening during a meeting.

The next two examples show how my note-taking progressed over time. As the focus became more clear to me – looking at what members of the organization felt GUCM should be doing, and perceptions of these assumptions in the field – my note-taking begins to show my awareness of the importance of the words being used by the Director to describe the organization to other people in the field.

‘City of Music is an award in perpetuity. People don’t know that. The website is ‘part of what we should be doing’ but it is a UNESCO award... it’s your award. Anything that’s good for music in Glasgow is our remit.’

‘City of Music is bespoke. It needs to be honest and neutral. It is a promoter, enable, an agitator... we need to build up a bank of them [videos of people

promoting GUCM]. Every time people are in town we can get one, saying how they see City of Music and we can bring them out when we need them.'

There is more information directly related to the description of the organization according to the Director. Also, in the first example, the placing of the phrase 'part of what we should be doing' in inverted commas is representative of my recognition of it as a possible theme running throughout the data. I would have first written the words and then placed the commas in shortly after to aid my memory when working with the data.

The data collected were also supported by a personal journal which describes the experience from my perspective. The journal or diary is described as serving the purpose of supporting 'the process of transformation of observed interaction to written, public communication' (Jackson, 1990:6-7). Journals can 'provide a key to the information in fieldnotes and records', while simultaneously outlining 'the ethnographer's personal reactions, frustrations, and assessments of life and work in the field' (Sanjek, 1990:108). Although the taking of notes can 'impose a structure on events' as 'you are shaping what you see and hear because it is impossible to record everything', keeping a diary 'helps you retain the viewpoint of the stranger', it 'enables you to stand back, avoid over-involvement or 'going native'', it acts as 'a guard against prejudices and biases you may develop unwittingly' and 'is also where the analysis begins' (O'Reilly, 2005:99-100). Through putting my personal thoughts and reactions down on paper I could pinpoint the areas, relationships, and ideas that were direct responses to what I was learning and experiencing in the field. I was also in a better position to notice my true motivations for my actions and reactions in the field. For example, at one meeting I wrote:

'She is about to go to a meeting with a lady from [an organization] who has a problem that [the Director] is sure she will be able to fix. I am not going to go to this one, as... it doesn't feel appropriate... [would be] like intruding on two friends' conversation.'

In this particular case I could see that I was choosing not to go to a meeting because of what I sensed was appropriate behaviour. I felt that had I attended the meeting, it would have changed the nature of it, i.e., it would be like a stranger sitting at a table with two close friends thus inhibiting the conversation that would be most likely to take place. At some points during the data collection it was more useful for me to not get involved than to be present for everything, regardless of potential consequences. Eventually, through

my experience in the field, I learned that being aware of these potential consequences is a fundamental part of the responsibility of being a researcher. Although it might seem important to attend as many meetings as possible, regardless of how my presence would affect the meeting, I felt it was more important to maintain a level of involvement with the organization that would enable my relationship with the Director to remain positive, i.e., if I annoyed the Director by accompanying her while she had lunch with a friend, then it might mean that at a future point I would end up with less data than was possible, due to her perhaps not wanting me around her while she was working or meeting with specific people. Keeping a diary enabled me to reflect on this as it happened rather than afterwards. It enabled the development of my reflexivity.

## **Data Analysis**

As the author of the thesis, I was confronted with the issue of interpretive bias. A researcher needs to be aware of the position they hold due to the privilege of observation: the data are reflections of what was decided to be representative of issues in the field. Even though the focus of this research was achieved through a collaborative process between me, my first academic supervisor, and my first industry supervisor, the conclusions of this research are fundamentally my responsibility. In this sense, I found it useful to develop a reflexive skill that enabled me to simultaneously observe what was happening, while also being aware of how I personally would interpret that due to my life experiences. For example, as a musician I have developed strong opinions about how public money is and should be spent in the field of music. So, whenever I felt a personal reaction to how public money was being prioritized in the field of music, I could acknowledge that this reaction was as a result of my personal history and thus understand that my immediate interpretation might reflect that, instead of a multitude of other possible interpretations. Another way to express this is to say that an awareness of my habitus enhanced my understanding of my most likely reactions and responses. In this way, it was possible for me to collect data and develop interpretation that was

reflexive from the moment of interaction in the field. Bourdieu's theory and concepts, which are central to this thesis, and the understandings found in the 'institutional work' literature highlight the political<sup>19</sup> way of being that is to be found in a research field.

All data, including notes and documentation – were inputted to the QSR NVivo programme. This process involved uploading typed texts and typing in the handwritten texts. The organizational documents, including Board meeting minutes, had been filed in both hard copy and digital formats which eased the amount of time taken to input these to the QSR NVivo programme. As explained in the data collection discussion, the focus of the thesis was achieved through on-going interpretation of the data as collected. When viewed chronologically the data reflect this. As I went through the data chronologically, there were themes and issues that emerged. As the data had necessarily been interpreted throughout the collection period, there was a progression from data of a more contextual nature from the beginning of the data collection period to more focused data. The data appeared to be looking at the issue of how the members of the organization attempted to construct a legitimate image of the organization and why it was important that they worked in order to do this.

The first differentiation that became clear – and important to clarify – was how the 'organization' of GUCM, as opposed to the 'title' of GUCM, was understood by the members of the organization. As the members' own perceptions of the differences emerged, the research focus turned to the assumptions being made by people involved in the organization. For example, the organization was referred to locally as 'UNESCO',

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<sup>19</sup> From the literature review, I have established that 'political work' from the institutional work literature is the reconstruction of 'rules, property rights and boundaries that define access to material resources' (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006:221). Stryker inspired the idea that if politics is understood as involving influencing the decision taken by those in power then, following the rules of the political field – 'mobilizing material and symbolic resources to influence authoritative decision-making in accord with their perceived interests and values' (Stryker, 2000:179) – can be understood as political action. Thus, when I use the term 'political way of being' above, I am referring to the work involved in influencing decisions and trying to negotiate to have material and symbolic resources awarded to one organization rather than another, in this case, having resources awarded to GUCM.

which seemed to imply that it represented UNESCO, or it worked for UNESCO in some way. The members, however, called the organization 'City of Music', rarely using its full title. Although the title and the organization were inextricably linked, it was becoming clear that the establishment of the organization as an 'independent charity' added a sense of responsibility, that the organization's work should serve the public. It meant that it was important that the organization do something more for the city than simply represent its excellence in music. The 'development' of the organization, it emerged, was connected to the legitimacy of the organization in the cultural field.

In this way, the patterns that emerged reflected different ideas, which were organized in terms of codes, themes, categories, and overall issues. The research in this thesis is focused on the case study of an emerging organization. Immersion in the field enabled me to understand the major issues being dealt with both by the cultural field as a whole and by the Director and Board of GUCM specifically. The next step taken was to see how these issues were being addressed by organizational theory. The most prominent issue, that of legitimation, became apparent in various ways – ideas of the acceptability or appropriateness of the organization in the cultural field; its ambition to find a role in the cultural field which would be helpful, recognizable, but also distinctive, i.e., pushing the boundaries of what might be a legitimate role in the field. Through further patterns of immersion in the field, elicitation from observations and reflections on the theory, the issue of the 'legitimacy' of the organization in the field was focused upon as an issue that was fundamental to the organization's success. The analysis thus focuses on how the individuals involved with the organization attempted to enable the organization's strengths to be used in order to develop its position. Because of the immersive nature of the participant-observer method, I could focus my attention on the actions taken by the members of the cultural field in Glasgow and begin to perceive underlying patterns and practices that the members of the field themselves may or may not have been aware of. As a researcher, I feel it is my responsibility to point to the underlying patterns. However, whether a member of the field chooses to accept my understanding as valid interpretations or not, is something beyond my control. For Bourdieu (1998:3), 'the researcher... seeks to apprehend the structures and mechanisms that are overlooked... thereby perhaps representing a model aspiring to universal validity'.

Using the NVivo programme, I moved methodically and chronologically through all the data. The first idea suggested, became the first code, and as I progressed through the data, any new ideas relevant to the 1st (or 2nd or 3rd and so on) code were highlighted and collated. Eventually, I began to group the codes according to the themes towards which I thought they were building. For example, some of the original codes were those of 'stakeholders', 'demonstrating value', and 'symbols of success'. The common theme between these three was 'communication'. 'Communication' had further commonalities with 'purpose of the organization' and these were placed under the overall category of 'Role of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music'. I developed twenty-two overall 'nodes', i.e., overall categories on NVivo. These expanded into fifty sub-nodes (themes), followed by forty-six original codes. It is important to recognize that meaning making and sense making are processual systems of interpretation, and that interpretation begins at the moment a researcher observes and then puts these observations into writing (Emerson, *et al.*, 2001). In order to participate (as participant-observer), a researcher interprets what it takes to become a participant or part of the team, which is another process of meaning and sense making and, thus, interpretation.

I initially saw the thesis and the empirical material in terms of being about legitimacy and I had begun a preliminary coding of the material with this in mind, as shown above. However, as the analysis progressed, I became aware that due to the complexity of what I was observing in the cultural field in Glasgow, the literature on legitimacy was insufficient for fully explicating all the elements of what was involved in the process. As I outlined in the literature review, Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital, and field, gave more purchase to what I was trying to understand. I thus went about coding the data in relation to these concepts. For instance, I could see how the use of capital could be seen and reflected in how the members of the organization engaged with people in the field of music in Glasgow. For me, the concept of capital reflected how people use their strengths in order to benefit their personal position in their field and also the position of the organization within which they work. Using the codes from the previous example, I could see that 'symbols of success' in the field could be understood as symbols of legitimacy, i.e., ideas used by members of the field to reflect their strength to other members. Representing their strengths as legitimacy is central to Bourdieu's concept of

capital and thus, symbolic capital, is seen in the core codes identified during analysis. This eventually led to the decision to organize the empirical data into the three overall themes: recognizing cultural capital; building social capital; and legitimation through acquiring economic capital.

Performing research requires a constant dedication and commitment to awareness of personal interpretive bias. Throughout the entire process, from data collections to conclusions, it is necessary to be aware of the many interpretations that may be influencing the findings. The researcher's interpretive bias is a result of their personal life experiences that have enabled an internal system that 'makes sense' of what they see. In order to make sense of what is happening, one must ascertain what is meant by the action one observes. Being open to 'alternative routes of interpretation and analysis' through 'challenging' theories and the ideas that 'come to mind' enables the research to offer more depth and more possibilities for making sense of what happens in the data (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000:116). Thus, a researcher, instead of accepting their first, or even second, thoughts as the truth or their truth, incorporates questioning and doubt into their opinion forming. Awareness of interpretive bias is the first step towards practising reflexivity in the field. It is through reflexivity that the researcher can develop an analysis that highlights the multiple perspectives and sense of struggle that emerges during observation in the field. Reflexivity is explained by Alvesson and Deetz (2000:113) as involving the 'self-critical consideration of one's own assumptions and consistent consideration of alternative interpretative lines and the use of different research vocabularies'. The practice of reflexivity is fundamental to this research.

A researcher should also be aware of the inequalities that are present in the relationship between the researcher and the subject(s) of study (Humphreys & Brown, 2002). It is only through awareness of these inequalities – how they occur, and how a researcher can notice them – that the researcher can give the reader the best chance to place the research findings into a context incorporating issues of power. In their work on the potentialities of transformative dialogue, Gergen, McNamee and Barrett (2001:708) define self-reflexivity as 'a questioning of the otherwise coherent persona'. Humphreys and Brown (2002:933) are 'sensitive of the need for critical self-reflexivity, not least to

challenge what have been identified as the deep-seated inequalities in the ethnographic relations between fieldworkers and informants'. It is important that researchers are both aware of established reflexivity practices in the field, or a lack of such practices. They will thus be in a position to explain and define this awareness to the reader so that the reader is able to place the researcher's analysis in context. Researchers are criticized for claiming to have been reflexive in their work, yet their 'writing often begins and ends with the description of the field experience, and say little about how the research advanced the researchers' careers or affected what happened to them consequently; (Cant & Sharma, 1998:256). The practice of reflexivity is advantageous to research: it enables the production of knowledge in a more thorough manner, for example through becoming aware of the limits of observation, rather than denying such issues. The researcher would ideally be consistently aware that what people say is a reflection of a myriad of constructions – their self-perceived identity, their self-perceived position, as well as their ideal identity and position in the field. The language people use is also potentially a reflection of what they believe is the appropriate thing to say, or the safest thing to say in order not to be controversial, for example.

Alvesson and Deetz (2000:28) tell us that 'concepts may be developed with or applied to the organizational members being studied'. The purpose of constructing concepts from the data is 'not just to make the data intelligible but to do so in an analytical way that provides a novel perspective on the phenomena we are concerned with or which promises to tell us much about other phenomena of similar types' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995:209). Hammersley & Atkinson (1995:209-210) stress the importance of not only 'the emergence of analytical ideas, but... in devising ways of developing and testing these', thus demanding 'analytical nerve' and 'tolerating uncertainty and ambiguity in one's interpretations, and resisting the temptation to rush to determinate conclusions'. It is fundamental to the research that the context of the organization, both the context as initially perceived and the underlying patterns and practices mentioned above, are revealed and incorporated in the analysis.

## **Ethical Issues**

Dealing with ethical issues in the field of research was ongoing work throughout the project, from initially reading literature to the final presentation of the findings in a thesis. Due to the changeable nature of my role in the field – participant; participant-as-observer; observer-as-participant; observer (Gold, 1958; Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994) – I found myself deciding which role suited my present position, and would result in the most fruitful data, on an almost daily basis. However, another aspect to this struggle was that of being open about my position in the organization when observing people external to the organization. In order to explain my motivations for being at a meeting, for example, I needed to be able to define my role in a straight-forward manner. The fact that my role was under constant renegotiation made this practice all the more difficult. Guaranteeing people confidentiality is an important aspect of data collection. O'Reilly (2005:65) advises that 'we should consider what people tell us is confidential, in other words between the participant and the researcher and anyone else who was present'. During my own research collection, issues of confidentiality arose when, sometimes my role was defined for me. For instance, the Director would require me to work alongside the administrator on a project or at a meeting, i.e., complete participant or participant-as-observer depending on the distance I felt I could maintain. In the cases of being a complete participant, it is important to note that although it aided my understanding of the organization and its issues, I did not directly take notes as people may not have been informed that I was a researcher and therefore had not given their consent. It was only when I was acting as a researcher and had been acknowledged as such that I continued with detailed data collection.

Although the majority of my interaction in the field was as participant-as-observer, there were some points towards the end of my data collection period, where I felt it necessary to take on the role of 'observer-as-participant'. This was especially the case when I felt it was becoming unclear for those at meetings, or those I was interacting with, whether I worked for the organization, or whether I was external to the organization. Taking a more formal role that highlighted my observation of the organization, enabled clarification of my position as researcher, which gave those at meetings a direct understanding that I was observing the members of the organization, rather than

representing the organization or working for the organization. It was important that those external to the organization were aware of this so that I was not unintentionally acting as an undercover researcher.

Alvesson and Deetz (2000:113) highlight the importance of that fact that 'no data, except possibly those on trivial matters, are viewed as unaffected by the construction of the researcher' and thus empirical work needs to consider the major pitfalls associated with data collection and the interpretation of data. The first pitfall is becoming too closely involved with the members of the organization being observed. The relationships established with the members of the organization are central to this struggle, especially if it is evident that the relationships built are close. However, the depth of this issue depends on how the data received as a result of this is used and also how open the researcher is in dealings with the members of the field. It is suggested that data collected through conversations between a researcher and person with whom they have close relationships 'effectively obstructs the questioning of these frameworks, and vocabularies, preventing new interpretive possibilities from emerging' (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000:115). As long as the researcher maintains 'sufficient distance', the development of a friendship can enable 'crucial engagement and provocative dialogue' that would not otherwise be possible (Beech, *et al.*, 2009: 196-202).

A unique condition for this case-study was that the chief practitioner being observed, i.e., the Director of the organization, was also one of my industrial supervisors for the PhD. The relationship was experienced through becoming a close part of the Director's daily working life – my desk was in her office and I followed her around to some, if not most, of her meetings – and in this sense I learned the rules of the field, how to interact with other members of the field in a useful way, what her main objectives were before she went into a meeting, how I could help the organization, how to recognize my strengths and use them to help my work. My industrial supervisor was my teacher, and sometimes, my mentor. However, even as this was one of the strengths of my PhD experience, it eventually became clear that my supervisor was also my study. In order to make the Director remain observable, even as our relationship developed, it was necessary for me to disengage at different times throughout the data collection in order

to put distance between my observations for a thesis, and my experiences as a researcher. The relationship between the Director and I was one that I found difficult to negotiate, especially at those moments when I wanted a mentor, and knew she could easily fulfil this role for me, but I also knew that my production of a thesis relied on my ability to maintain a distance. Experience has shown me that although ‘the closeness between friends can enhance mutual subjective understanding and the ability of the researcher to build theory based on an ‘insider view’... if the researcher does not maintain sufficient distance, he or she runs the risk of accepting one version of events as the truth and of being unable to critically engage with alternative perspectives’ (Beech, *et al.*, 2009:203).

The second pitfall described by Alvesson and Deetz (2000:117-123) is that of being ‘language sensitive’, which includes ‘the metaphorical and contextual nature of language, that language use typically is functional (oriented to effects) rather than truth-oriented, and that social norms and conventions guide and constrain language use’. In the field observed during the data collection period for this case study, for example, the word ‘paymasters’ would sometimes be used instead of ‘funders’, hinting at the hierarchical nature of the relationship and, most importantly, the subordinate position that the organization felt they held in relation to funders: not only do we see about whom someone is talking, but we also see how they relate to them. Alvesson and Deetz (2000:125) also imply that language is powerful, important and precarious, telling us that ‘it must be made an important area of reflection as well as being an object of study before producing interpretations and conclusions that aim to go ‘beyond’ language’. Taking the same example of describing funders as ‘paymasters’, it is possible to further reflect that organizations felt that they were part of a team or community of organizations trying to deal with funders – if a ‘master’ could be understood as the person in control of the freedom of those he dominates, then, the organization could, by referring to funders as paymasters, be placing itself in a subordinate position to the funders. It could also simply be reflective of their interpretation of the field. Thus, we can see, that the language used in the field can reveal how the members of the organization relate to other people and organizations. In this sense, I felt it was important in this study to look further into the language used by the informants and

attempt to understand why particular words were chosen rather than others and what this potentially showed us about the organization's position in the field and how the members of the organization perceived it. In order to achieve this effectively, i.e., making sure to be inclusive of what the members of the field felt they meant by the words they used, the researcher needs to be in a position of being included, and thus, 'part of the team' whilst simultaneously retaining an emotive distance from the happenings around them.

Using Bourdieu's concepts as a tool for thinking about data is to think about the data in a relational manner rather than, for instance, a categorical manner or an intersubjective manner. His concepts of field, habitus, and capital, enable the data to be analyzed according to its context, the people involved, and the concepts and ideas that the people involved recognize as valuable and worthy. It enables the data to be analyzed according to how people, their ideas, and the context they live in, relate to each other. Bourdieu sees reflexivity as being a social and collective practice, necessary to enable research and analysis to show awareness of innate social and cultural interpretative biases (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Wacquant (1992) observes three main issues that differentiate Bourdieu's understanding of reflexivity from other sociological understandings. I found that simply being aware of these issues as suggested by Bourdieu was helpful to developing the level of reflexivity I felt I could practise. Firstly, it is not the 'individual analyst' that is 'its primary target... but the social and intellectual unconscious embedded in analytic tools and operations', turning the research focus onto the unacknowledged assumptions seen in how issues are framed as 'research issues' (Wacquant, 1992:36). Secondly, Bourdieu describes reflexivity as being a 'collective enterprise rather than the burden of the lone academic', thus assigning a responsibility to the whole field of researchers, not just a researcher alone in the field (Wacquant, 1992:26). Lastly, it is Bourdieu's desire to 'buttress the epistemological security of sociology' through challenging its assumptions, and rather than 'trying to undermine objectivity, Bourdieu's reflexivity aims at increasing the scope and solidity of social scientific knowledge' (Wacquant, 1992:37). Becoming aware of underlying assumptions is fundamental to the practice of reflexivity. In order for reflexivity to be holistically effective in research, Bourdieu tells us here that it needs to be the work of all people involved in the field of

research. Sociological research can achieve greater depth and substance through being rooted in the acknowledgement and awareness of methods of 'making sense' of the world that do not always recognize the social struggle that is a result of multiple perspectives in the field.

Bourdieu tells us that 'a true theory is one which accomplishes and abolishes itself in the scientific work it has helped to produce' but that 'professors have a pressing need for simply oppositions for purposes of teaching' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:159, 181). He tells us that dualisms persist, and suggests the possibility of dissolving 'these very distinctions' through 'honing a set of conceptual and methodological devices' (Wacquant, 1992:3) that would enable the production of an analysis that highlighted the relational nature of the social world. Asking 'why' and 'how' can also help negotiate the contradictions found in the dichotomy of micro-data and macro-theory. Bourdieu enables us to transcend these academic dualisms through the introduction of his theories. His concept of habitus is especially concerned with what he sees as false dichotomies in this respect. He favours empirical research which is completed at many levels simultaneously, both quantitatively and qualitatively. However, for this case study, it would not have been feasible and would have been overly ambitious to attempt a complete analysis of the field, along with its habitus, and capital. Alvesson and Deetz (2000:1) also tell us that 'more micro-oriented forms of critical study have been developed; while these still consider the wider social context, more emphasis is placed on the specific practices that reproduce asymmetry in will formation, decision making and – more broadly – the construction of social reality'. The data are fundamentally from the perspective of the individual in the field: the individual who represents an organization, and a field of focus, in this case, music, or, more generally, culture. The data provide an analysis which shows how an individual in the field perceives the field and other individuals and the organizations they represent. They show us how an individual attempts to use their strengths according to the values and practices in the field, in order to make a difference and benefit the organization or the overall field.

Alvesson and Deetz (2000:131) suggest that the 'recognition of the basic political nature of all social science means that politics is not only an object 'out there', but also

something that the research project is impregnated with and cannot stand outside of. They tell us that 'politics refers to the dominance of certain values and interests, irrespective of whether these are accompanied by consensus or conflict' (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000:131). The main theoretical areas being used in this thesis all incorporate a strong awareness of the political nature of data. One of the fundamental aspects of the newly emerged 'institutional work' is the addition of a political context to its interpretation of data. In addition to the political nature, Bourdieu finds the political field itself to be one of the dominating fields and suggested that analysis of data should always thus have this political dimension included (Townley: forthcoming). And also, the process of legitimation includes a political dimension through its acknowledgement of the negotiation of field-level understandings in order to become legitimate. All elements of the thesis incorporate a political context: the theory, the data, analysis, and the methodology are understood as being produced through practices that are fundamentally political in nature. With the data being produced from the observation of a field which is in constant negotiation, the analysis being associated with methodologies that innately reveal political struggles, and theories that find the political nature of organizational life to be a fundamental assumption, it is inevitable that this thesis is also premised upon and incorporates a strong political context.

We can see also how data can become reflective of the political struggles in the field. The researcher is responsible for illuminating the particular nature of a symbolic field – both throughout the data collection process and the analysis process. It is important that the analysis is understood as existing in a context that includes the political nature of the actions taken by members of the field. It is also imperative for this case study that the data analysis reflects this awareness.

## **Conclusion**

The production of a thesis after data collection in a particular organization inherently privileges the researcher's perspective. The researcher collects the data, analyzes the data, chooses the theory, chooses which data is most relevant to the discussion, and how it challenges the theories. The main focus of the thesis and the direction it takes is led by

the researcher and thus the researcher's perspective on the data will become the most privileged perspective. Down and Hughes (2009:83) tells us that 'generally... the formats in which we tell our stories allow for or demand a strong authorial voice: our own researchers and the meta-voice of scientific analysis and scientific publishing conventions'. However, the 'acknowledgement of ideals such as openness for various representations and interpretations, sensitivity to the complexity of language use, and political awareness, motivate a non-authoritative form of research and writing' (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000:135). As much as the author may present perspectives in the field throughout the data and analysis, the author's perspective will be privileged simply due to the nature of production of a thesis.

Asking the questions 'why' and 'how' of the data helps produce an analysis that reflects the patterns observed in a field that can appear chaotic to the student researcher. Overall, the thesis attempts to remain open to the potentiality of all theory and data to construct reflections of the social world through its analysis. Remaining open to contradictions and paradox in the data and the theory through their negotiation and inclusion, rather than excluding them, will eventually lead to stronger, more useful research that will benefit not only the academic field, but also the managers and organizers in the organizational fields. As Alvesson and Deetz (2000:116) suggest:

'Openness, the consideration of alternative routes of interpretation and analysis, is better accomplished through familiarity with a span of theories and vocabularies. Openness is thus a matter not of avoiding theory, but challenging it, broadening the repertoire of vocabularies and theories that can be mobilized in order to consider more and less self-evident aspects and also by challenging those that come to mind, a particular interpretive bias following from a closed theoretical/cultural/private orientation may be counteracted.'

## Chapter Four

### Recognizing Cultural Capital: Who owns Glasgow UNESCO City of Music?

This chapter examines the role of GUCM in making use of their cultural capital in order to establish its position in the field. It begins with an outline of how the city of Glasgow came to possess the title. The value of a title such as GUCM to the city of Glasgow is discussed, showing the constant struggle to clarify who would benefit from the title such and who *should* benefit from it. The question of who 'owned' the title is a central part of this discussion and how this question is negotiated by those representing the title is reflected in the eventual actions taken by a newly-appointed Director and Board of Trustees. As a result of these discussions, we will see that gaining clarity as to what or a title such as 'Glasgow UNESCO City of Music' is, or who it is for, is not a straight-forward task. We will also see how the 'ownership' of the title is closely linked to the organization's (or its Director's) ability to achieve an influential position in the field of music and the field of culture in Glasgow.

Through observing what is understood as cultural capital in these fields, we can see the first steps of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music's advance towards becoming accepted as legitimate in Glasgow. Cultural capital is a symbolic capital that takes time and effort to develop, embody, and finally become recognizable. It is the product 'not merely of extant network ties, but more deeply, of a person's life history, understood as the experience of and passage through a number of distinct social fields' (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008:25). Cultural capital represents individual ability and competency to other members of the field. To have cultural capital in the cultural field means that not only can an agent recognize other's cultural capital, but they are also in a position to negotiate for more capital. This chapter will outline how the Director of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music utilized the cultural capital associated with the title, and how she began to use this cultural capital in order to attain a legitimate position.

The title of GUCM symbolized cultural capital in the field of music in Glasgow in many ways which will be examined in this chapter. This chapter looks at how the Director and

the Board of Trustees at GUCM came to understandings of how the title symbolized cultural capital for those in the field of music. It looks at why people in the field may have decided to invest their time and effort on GUCM. Bourdieu (1986) tells us about embodied competencies that can give an agent a distinction that is almost magical. This chapter will show us that although the title had cultural capital, the organization, i.e., the Director, the administrator, and the Board of Trustees, sometimes did not. Although the members of the organization had their own embodied cultural capital, developed over years of immersion in the cultural world, this cultural capital did not automatically transfer to the organization itself. Thus, this chapter's focus is on the many characteristics of cultural capital belonging to and associated with the title, the organization, and the members of the organization from the perspectives of the members of the organization. It will acknowledge the struggles and difficulties of an emerging organization in the field of music looking at how the Director and Board negotiated these and moved beyond them.

Communicating the value of a title such as Glasgow UNESCO City of Music to agents in a field involved the members of the organization<sup>20</sup> being able to relate and understand the workings and practices of those involved in the field. For instance, in order to gain investors<sup>21</sup> for the organization, investors of time and also investors of money, those managing GUCM would need to provide 'guarantees' (Bourdieu, 1977:181), i.e., something to ensure that becoming involved with GUCM was worth the effort. 'Credits' gained as a result of investment would be beneficial to GUCM, thus GUCM would need to respond in-kind. Communicating GUCM's value to investors requires understanding its value according to the members of the field. Inter-field ideas of value are both debateable and contestable (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). The value of an organization needs to correspond with field-wide ideas of value in order to provide potential investors with

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<sup>20</sup> Members of the organization: the Director, the administrator, and the Board of Trustees.

<sup>21</sup> Investor is a concept developed from the idea of 'material and symbolic investments' which explains that 'as well as material wealth, *time* must be invested, for the value of symbolic labour cannot be defined without reference to the time devoted to it' (Bourdieu, 1977:180).

guarantees. The negotiation of these field-wide values sees GUCM attempting to become seen as a 'hub' of knowledge and expertise for music and musicians in the city.

### **The Title: Cultural Capital**

The title of GUCM was understood by the members of the field<sup>22</sup> as international recognition of the collective cultural capital in Glasgow, international due to its having been granted by the institution of UNESCO. This section will show how members of the arts community in Glasgow brought the idea of Glasgow becoming a UNESCO Creative City to fruition and how, once awarded the title, the organization of GUCM was established, which begins to show why a title such as this is culturally valuable to a city such as Glasgow.

The Creative Cities Network is a concept introduced by UNESCO whereby cities from all over the world can apply to be awarded international recognition for having made and making a substantial contribution to a specific creativity. In Glasgow's case, the creativity was music: being able to call Glasgow a UNESCO City of Music, was recognition of the contribution of the people and organizations in Glasgow make to music at both a local and international level. The title belongs to the city and is, in a sense, in the care of the Lord Provost. The Lord Provost remains a member of the Board of GUCM in perpetuity, just as the award of UNESCO City of Music belongs to Glasgow in perpetuity. We see that, in this sense, the title is a form of symbolic capital that can be used by its caretakers in the negotiation of further forms of capital. We know that cultural capital is something that can be used in exchange for something else. It is something or some idea that is recognized in the field as being culturally valuable. As will be shown, the title was valued by the field: the field recognized the benefits potentially gained by the city being a UNESCO City of Music.

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<sup>22</sup> Members of the field: refers to all those people/organizations who/which are part of and negotiate within the field under discussion. In this case, the field under discussion is the field of music.

The idea of embarking upon a creative endeavour to become a UNESCO Creative City originated with four people working and involved in the cultural field<sup>23</sup> in Glasgow. In order to see how the idea motivated a field-wide effort to apply for the title, I will describe the process that took place from its conception to the establishment of the organization.

Initially, the application for the award of a UNESCO Creative City was an idea being discussed by four people in Glasgow: the principal of the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland<sup>24</sup> (RCS); the Chair of the Royal Scottish National Orchestra (RSNO); the Chair of the Scottish Cultural Commission; and the Creative Industries manager from Scottish Enterprises, a governmental entity<sup>25</sup>. These four people became known as the Management Group. The meetings at this early point in the development of the idea of Glasgow as a UNESCO Creative City show a steady addition of supporters from the cultural field. Official records of meetings begin in December 2007, and over the course of the following six months, before the bid for the title was taken to Paris, there are six people who form the core negotiating group, mentioned above, i.e., The Management Group, along with two others, the Principal's Executive Secretary from the RCS, and an Artistic Director, who was to become the bid's Director. Outside of this was the 'steering group' which consisted of thirteen noted members in December 2007 and this number had expanded to 29 when a list of members of the 'steering committee' (discussed in the next paragraph) was noted in the bid document (Glasgow City of Music, Application Dossier, 2008:5).

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<sup>23</sup> The cultural field includes all the agents and organization involved in the cultural life of Glasgow. The cultural field incorporates the field of music, yet, allows for the inclusion of people who may be involved in the field of music, but whose main focus could be art, or literature, for example. It is a broader and more incorporative field than the field of music.

<sup>24</sup> The RCS was formerly known as the Royal Scottish Academy of Music (RSAMD). For the sake of clarity, it will be referred to throughout as the RCS rather than the RSAMD, even if at the time being discussed it was actually the RSAMD. The change of title has not any relevance to this study.

<sup>25</sup> The titles and positions referred to above – the principle of the RCS; Chair of the RSNO; Chair of the Scottish Cultural Commission; and the CI manager from Scottish Enterprises – were not the only ones held by these four people. However, their connections to the cultural field in Glasgow are highlighted within these positions.

The steering group members' positions and roles in the cultural field included: Chair of the RSNO; composer; violinist; Chair of Glasgow Life (CSG); Director of West End Festival; Director of Music, RCS; Chair of Scottish Chamber Orchestra; Principal of National Piping Centre; Chair of Scottish Opera; Chair of the National Youth Orchestras of Scotland; Head of Music from Scottish Arts Council (Creative Scotland); Representative from Scottish National Jazz Orchestra; Representative from Scottish traditional music; CEO of RSNO. From the academic field<sup>26</sup>, the steering committee had members from the following positions: Principal of Glasgow Caledonian University, Principal of Strathclyde University; and Principal of Glasgow University. However, the principals from the centres for musical education already mentioned are also part of the academic field: members from RCS and the National Piping Centre. From the cultural field, yet with a notable economic focus, and thus also part of the economic field<sup>27</sup>, those involved in the steering committees included: Chief Executive of DF Music – a music promotion and events management organization; and Director of Glasgow Cultural Enterprises. Those involved who have a specifically economic focus, in terms of their position in a social field, were: Director of Liddell Thomson Consultancy; Chairman of Tayforth Consulting Limited; and Chief Executive of Scottish Media Gap. As can be seen, the support for the title at this point comes not only from the cultural field, but from the academic and the economic field also. The formal support shown is from people in authoritative positions in some of the main organizations in the cultural field – chief executive positions, and chairing positions. The academic field in Glasgow is constituted by three main universities – Glasgow University, Caledonian University, and Strathclyde University. The principals of all three formally supported the GUCM project. The inclusion of members from organizations directly associated with the economic field enable the team organizing the bid to show the addition of economic knowledge to the committee.

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<sup>26</sup> The academic field includes all universities and higher level educational institutions in Glasgow and Scotland.

<sup>27</sup> The economic field refers to all people and organizations who/which are part of a field which prioritises economic understandings. For example, people in the economic field would prioritise financial profit, rather than cultural or musical creation.

We can see the effort to apply for the title was intra- and inter-fields, which shows us that getting the title was believed to create a potential benefit for the city overall, i.e., the title was recognized as culturally valuable in the cultural, academic, and economic fields.

The use of a collective of particular members from the three fields demonstrates the recognition of the value that joining the UNESCO Creative Cities Network has for the city. This steering group, focusing on the application for the award of a Creative City title, was constituted from members of governmental entities, top management and Board members from the more prominent cultural organizations in the city of Glasgow and Scotland. In addition to the positions of the committee members mentioned above, some other positions held included: Manager of the Arts Department in Glasgow Life; Civic Officer (Bailie) for the Council; Controller for BBC Scotland. When the process of who was included as part of the application for the title was being described by the eventual Director of GUCM, it was reported that the Management Group, i.e., the original four, and the steering committee 'worked hard to include everybody'. The manager of the bid's steering group was freelance, brought in for the purpose of preparing a bid to bring to UNESCO in Paris. The manager of the bid was also the person who was in charge of establishing GUCM as a formal organization – after the title had been granted and before the Director had been appointed.

Over the course of six months, the bid for the title was prepared by the steering committee. On the third of June, 2008, a smaller version of the steering group brought the bid to Paris for consideration by UNESCO. This group was accompanied by the then Minister for Europe, External Affairs, and Culture. By the 20th of August, 2008, the city of Glasgow was announced as a UNESCO City of Music and thus as a member of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network. The manager of the bid became the manager of the process of establishing the organization for the title of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music (GUCM). This preparation took place between September 2008 and December 2008. The first Director of GUCM was formally appointed in January 2009, began work as Director in May 2009, and the launch of the organization took place in September of 2009. People in the city from all the mentioned fields so far – cultural, academic, and economic – were initially motivated enough to support the idea to become a UNESCO City of

Music, which we can see through their involvement with the bid. However, only a few of these maintained their support when the title became an organization, an independent charity. At this point in its evolution, there was a small group of people who formed the core team. They were: the Chair of the Board, the Director of the organization, and the administrator of the organization. In October 2009, many people who were part of the bid process – the previous Chair of the RSNO; the Head of the Principal’s Office, RCS; the principal of the RCS; and the Director of the GUCM bid – had stepped out of the management process. However, there were many still working with GUCM in different ways. Due to the GUCM office being inside the same building and on the same floor as the Arts Department team in Glasgow Life, many members of the latter, especially the Arts officer and managers were interacting with the Director and administrator of GUCM on a daily basis,<sup>28</sup> meaning that both teams were familiar with each other’s work and became acquaintances, if not friends. Members of the Board included a former RBS Director who was especially helpful in regard to the budgeting and financial issues negotiated by the Director of GUCM. Another member was a Baroness, who was also the Chair of the RSNO Board, and thus, socially, was connected at many different levels, both culturally and politically, i.e., she was (and is) a member of the House of Lords<sup>29</sup>. The Lord Provost was (and is) an on-going non-negotiable member of the Board, and was the person who accepted the award of the title on behalf of the people of Glasgow. Being part of the Lord Provost’s daily work meant that the title was something the Lord Provost, and thus his office, was responsible for. This helped the organization in many ways which will be seen later. Others who were working or involved with the organization were some of the staff at Glasgow City Marketing Bureau (GCMB) in charge of updating the website (the first website); some of the staff at the Glasgow Royal Concert Halls (GRCH) and City Halls who were personal friends and previous employees of the Director; the Chief Executive of Glasgow Life who was involved in the bid preparation, who sits on the Board for the organization, and who provided the office for

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<sup>28</sup> In fact, the administrator for GUCM was also the administrator for the Head of the Arts Department at Glasgow Life.

<sup>29</sup> This information can be found at: <http://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/lords/> (15<sup>th</sup> November 2013).

the Director of GUCM within the Glasgow Life buildings. It is important to note that even though many of these people were connected to GUCM through their capacities as members of the music field, often it was because of their friendship with the Director or with one or more of the Board members of GUCM that people remained involved. There was something, elusive at this point, about the title of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music that provided the external interest to remain involved.

The initial internal ideas about what the title would be useful for, firstly if awarded and then if established as an independent organization, are seen in the changes made to the 'organizational aims' over the course of the bid for the title and then as established as an independent charity. Before these ideas are discussed, it is important to note that they reflect how the initial management group expected to maintain sufficient field-wide motivation to retain support for the title and organization. For many of those involved, the title represented a sense of, and recognition of, the cultural capital of the people of Glasgow, and from this produced the assumption of its inherent usefulness.

The initial 'ambitions and key targets'<sup>30</sup> for GUCM were organization-specific, i.e., they focused on the role of the organization in relation to the title. For example, the organization should 'empower' established organizations in the field. It should 'increase the number of people experiencing and engaging with live music'. It should build a 'pool of high profile 'Ambassadors' to GCM[GUCM]' and, by the end of the first three years, it should have the position of being a 'well-established, credible and beneficial organization, fully able to plan its next three years strategy, activities, and fundraising' (Internal Organizational Documents). The 'objectives' that were included in the bid document were much more abstract in nature: 'enhance the City's creative potential'; 'stimulate interest in musical education'; 'culturally transform the City'; and 'improve access to music for all ages' (Glasgow City of Music, Application Dossier, 2008:7). These were broad objectives for a big idea. As we can see from the targets and objectives here,

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<sup>30</sup> See Appendix 1.

the people running the organization had many aims and objectives, with varying degrees of specificity.

One of the more specific aims developed later was that the organization would 'develop a website as a highly useful tool, source of information, directory and distribution outlet' and 'create a quarterly E-bulleting update on activities'. In the 'Draft Summary of Activities' (Internal Documents, 2008) planned from GUCM, the organization would 'advance music' by working 'with partners to make free advice' for 'musicians in Glasgow', by having 'regular sessions targeted at younger musicians', led by professionals in the music industry in order to teach them how to become professional, by identifying and facilitating 'opportunities to forge links... with other musicians in fellow UNESCO Creative Cities', and it would 'act as a good partner to musicians... taking an overview, spotting and seizing opportunities'. GUCM would 'advance music by nurturing and managing networks which improve communication with Glasgow's music world and enable it to benefit from more effective communication with the wider world' (Year 1 Outline, Internal Documents, 2008).

The aims mentioned establish GUCM as a sort of 'hub' for the city, both virtually, through the website, and personally, through forging links and acting as a partner to musicians. They offer a vision of GUCM where it would be useful for all involved in music in the city and beyond. In order for the first Director of GUCM to begin this work, the team working on establishing the organization – the 'Interim Management Group (IMG)' – would ensure that the Director 'take[s] control of a fully established company, a registered charity with a secured budget for its first three years' (Internal Documents, 2008).

It was envisaged that the collective cultural capital, i.e., the collection of cultural capital belonging to the people of Glasgow as shown in the bid document, would increase as more people developed personal histories that included music. It was envisaged that the title of GUCM would benefit the 'city' in specific ways – increasing the number of people experiencing music thus culturally transforming the city; enhancing people's creative potential; developing a 'hub' accessible to musicians in order to have a resource that

understood the 'overview' and thus be in a position to spot and seize opportunities. GUCM would be responsible for creating a 'hub' for musicians, distinct in its ability to 'overview' the range of music available in Glasgow. Its hope was that the organization would be an important and useful addition to the cultural field. From this perspective, it becomes easier to understand the motivation for external organizations to remain supportive of the idea of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music: being associated with something that is and would be 'important' and 'useful' would benefit all organizational profiles.

The construction of an organization that would manage the title of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music was understood to potentially enable the development of an awareness of Glasgow's 'excellence in music'. The members of GUCM justified the establishment of the organizational structure, i.e., GUCM the organization, through the idea that Glasgow needed a 'hub' for all the music in the city. Fundamentally, the Director felt that success for GUCM would be 'successfully mixing business with music and making it work for all stakeholders'. 'Business' here refers to all the negotiations, struggles, managerial, and financial parts of the work taken on by the organization, whereas the 'music' is the 'creative' part, i.e., the performance, the composition, or even just an idea for a project. The members of the organization were attempting to position GUCM as an organization that could provide a 'hub' for all people involved in music in Glasgow, with a particular focus on those working in music at a grassroots level. The role of GUCM as a 'hub' was envisioned as enabling the 'strong and prestigious brand' of UNESCO to develop into an 'umbrella' organization that would be the core focal point for all musical entities in Glasgow. For instance, in relation to the musical festivals that took place in Glasgow throughout the year, the Director hoped that GUCM could act as a central information provider so that the festivals could communicate more clearly and come to agreements about suitable time-frames for them to happen, and suitable areas of the city where they should take place. Many festivals take place that are not that widely known about or are similar to other festivals happening in different areas of the city. Through providing a 'hub', GUCM could enable better planning and better promotion of the festivals and thus create a system for festivals in Glasgow. The smaller festivals could lose their disparate nature and in the process gain a support network. GUCM would serve as an umbrella

organization enabling a closer musical community in Glasgow. Being the central point would also mean that GUCM would be consistently increasing its social capital. It would develop a distinctive role for the organization beyond being simply the 'holder' of the title. It was thus an organizational goal to become the 'hub' for people involved in music in Glasgow. The process involved in becoming this, however, was complicated due to the difficulties incurred when attempting to gain economic capital, as will be seen later.

The value of the title for the cultural field is evident from the wide array of support it received during the bid process, including people from positions of authority, such as Chief Executives and Chairs. This accumulated cultural authority resulted in Glasgow being awarded the title of UNESCO City of Music. The field, however, already had organizations developing the role of 'hub', organizations in more influential positions than GUCM. The Scottish Music Centre (SMC) was an organization that had been set up with an image of being a 'centre' for music in Scotland, encompassing Glasgow. The office for the SMC was located inside one of the most prominent music venues in Glasgow – the Glasgow Royal Concert Halls. In addition to this, the Arts Development Team within Culture and Sport Glasgow (CSG, now Glasgow Life) also had Arts Officers with specific focus on music in the city. The officers were each working on separate areas within Glasgow ensuring that its music initiatives and projects were being supported as much as they required. Glasgow Life is the cultural arm of Glasgow City Council and holds a large amount of the funds available for arts organizations and projects within Glasgow. Creative Scotland is also a major funder of arts events, projects, and organizations within all of Scotland, and therefore Glasgow. Creative Scotland had a separate remit and criteria for funding music than Glasgow Life. It is possible that there was very little, if any, space for GUCM to be the 'hub' and 'umbrella' for all music in Glasgow.

The position of the office of GUCM within the city means that the Director and administrator interact with certain organizations more regularly, simply due to their

proximity. An office, given in-kind by the Cultural Department of the City Council, indicates the support by the local council to the UNESCO initiative<sup>31</sup>. The office is around the corner from the City Halls building, which is part of the Glasgow Royal Concert Halls (GRCH). Both of these venues – City Halls and GRCH – are managed by ‘Glasgow Cultural Enterprises’. The Chief Executive of Glasgow Cultural Enterprises thus manages GRCH and City Halls<sup>32</sup>. Within this physical structure, we begin to see how GUCM could pose as a challenge to other organizations in Glasgow. Even though it is formally an independent charity, its office is within a council structure which has a substantial funding capacity for culture in the city and is the possessor of the major musical venues complex in Glasgow. We also begin to see how GUCM could be perceived as being run by or part of the council. This understanding has implications for the GUCM title, and could potentially affect its ability to become ‘important’ and ‘useful’ as a ‘hub’ for music in Glasgow.

From the initial idea of becoming part of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network to the establishment of the organization, the people involved developed a variety of expectations concerning the meaning of a UNESCO Creative City title. The members of the cultural field, along with some from the academic and economic field, had joined together and communicated a conception of Glasgow that enabled UNESCO to respond by granting the award. For those supporting the bid, there was the hope, assumption, and presumption that the title could be a formal representation of the cultural capital to be found in Glasgow. The idea of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music evolved from a broad concept and idea to a materialized organization. The next step for the organization is to

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<sup>31</sup> The Political field as an entity refers to the field of politicians and political life, i.e., the council and the Government in this case. However, political interaction refers to all negotiation in relation to economic capital in the field of music. Economic capital was accessed via the political field as political institutions such as Glasgow Life (Culture and Sport Council); Creative Scotland; and the Scottish Government all held funds that could be awarded to people in the cultural sector. This sector included the cultural field and field of music being discussed in this thesis.

<sup>32</sup> At this point in 2008, the Chief Executive of Glasgow Life is currently in the process of a planned take-over of Glasgow Cultural Enterprises (GCE) by the council. This means that Glasgow Life will be managing both GCE and Glasgow Life, with the office of GUCM also situated within this structure.

focus its efforts on developing a distinctive purpose. But, GUCM was valorized not only by those who saw it as cultural capital, but by those who envisaged it as the creator of economic capital. Before the Director of GUCM could pinpoint a substantial organizational purpose, she would first require an understanding of what a successful organization looked like, that would serve all those investors or supporters involved in its progress so far.

## **Competing Values in the Fields**

Those who value the idea of GUCM show this through investing their time, resources, or money (Bourdieu, 1977:180). GUCM is valorized by those who recognize the idea as cultural capital – something that can benefit them through the potential future transformation of its cultural capital into other forms such as economic capital. The value of the title was being negotiated at both a local level (grassroots level) and an international level<sup>33</sup>. The members of the organization understood GUCM to potentially benefit many different agents in the fields. However, this was complicated due to the competing ideas of how GUCM might be beneficial, and competing ideas about what being beneficial meant. The initial value of the title was reflected in support received from members of cultural, academic, and economic fields. As has been seen, the idea of being a city of music was broad enough to motivate interest from more agents than those of the cultural field. However, those with a stake in the organization, through formal association, would not necessarily agree on its most useful purpose. It was clear that GUCM needed to communicate a clear and precise role that would collectively benefit those agents from different fields (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). This is a difficult task when trying to negotiate competing fields' understandings. This section will discuss the perceived innate cultural value of GUCM and internal negotiations in relation to this value.

One of the cultural strengths that were useful for negotiation of capital is seen in organizational members' profiles. The Director of GUCM held a position as an

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<sup>33</sup> Also, many of the people involved in the process had international profiles.

international player within the arts network. When appointed to the position of Director of GUCM, she was also on the Executive Committee of the International Society for the Performing Arts in New York, a Council Member of the Royal Philharmonic Society, Vice Chair of the British Association of Concert Halls, Governor of the RCS (RSAMD), and a member of the Glasgow International Jazz Festival Board. Such cultural capital was useful in certain cases, for example in regard to the Board, and the Director's continued employment, but it was not always seen as the most relevant when dealing with agents in fields other than those of music and culture. For example, from her background, the Director recognized the importance of certain principles held in the field of music. The idea of 'art for art's sake' is one. Another was that of teamwork, in this case, using the UNESCO banner so that 'two friends with two ideas' can be brought together under the banner and 'suddenly it's possible' to make a project happen. The Director felt the importance of not just doing 'something enormous and costly and prestigious because we have the opportunity to do that'. Her own understanding of what was important in the field of music meant that the organization she represented, in this case GUCM, would be expected to work in order to benefit a specific part of the music field, mainly the classical music community. Her positions on various Boards and Committees reflected the music field's recognition of her competencies and skills. She is a possessor and appropriator of cultural capital. This symbolic capital, recognizable as 'cultural' in this particular field of music, was expected to lead to attracting investors (of time and money) for the organization.

As well as the local arts community in Glasgow, there was an international community, such as that created from being involved in the International Society for the Performing Arts, for example, or communities created when musicians from Glasgow produced performances in collaboration with those from conservatoires in Russia, or America. GUCM provided 'an extra hook for the city', a hook for building international connections, via musicians collaborating on performances, or venues inviting orchestras and choirs to perform, strengthening ties in that way. This can be seen in the profiles of people who became associated with the title from initiation to establishment. The city was said to have gained 'confidence and pride' as a result of being awarded the title, with the city meaning the people of the city, i.e., the general public. The Director of GUCM

saw its main beneficiary as a 'constituency': '600,000 – population of the city' or '1.4 million in the hinterland', a constituency that 'is so big, you don't want to divide it'. The cultural field would benefit as a result of having 'another catalyst in Glasgow for creativity'. The media focused on the notion of 'creative tourism' benefitting from the title. The Director believed that the title could motivate 'ambition' through it being 'useful and creative' in a 'forward-looking' city. As we can see, the title could benefit musicians, those working in music, the city – the general public, and tourism. Even just looking at these four groups of perceived stakeholders for the organization, we can already begin to see the differences in understandings of value found within one city, and how GUCM might benefit them.

Negotiations about the value of the organization between the Director and members of the Board sometimes resulted in consensus and sometimes did not. Some felt that there was a sense of pride in being an organization independent of the City Council and felt it important to maintain this independence. This was difficult due to the office being located within Glasgow Life, the culture and sports arm of the council, and the Chief Executive of Glasgow Life being a member of the Board. However, as the Director explained, GUCM were 'not tied to any other criteria with them'. The Board and Director met quite often for Board meetings because, as she pointed out, 'otherwise there's no communication'. The Board meetings were used to deal mostly with 'strategic issues', with the Director and administrator working 'closely' to maintain the daily demands of the organization. The Director felt that the bid process had 'had an impact and also a financial impact' and now that the organization had been established it was important to remember that the title had 'an advocacy agenda' and it was thus 'crucial to do something useful and not mess around'. The Board agreed. In order to achieve this, the Director 'moved from listening to everyone and their ideas' to the idea of creating 'a big strategic project with some milestones'. The advantage of that was that when people approached the Director she could say 'here's something you could be involved with'. This felt, for the Director and the Chair, 'the right approach to be taking' and something that would give GUCM a distinctive role to play in the cultural field. There was a difference between the promotion the Director felt was needed for those involved in popular music and those in the classical field. Those musicians interested in becoming

involved with 'popular music' have access to 'YouTube' and so, 'you have promotion', or a means to promotion that does not require any intermediate involvement. But the 'classical field... doesn't work like that' and 'they need us', i.e., people such as the Director of GUCM to work in order to enable musicians to gain access to performance opportunities in the field of music.

The Director felt that the organization's 'core values' were about 'what GUCM is about or trying to do,' whereas its 'commercial interests' were about 'what it needs to do' in terms of its survival and continuity. Both these interests came together in regard to the Director's understanding of success for GUCM. 'Success' for the Director would be when people use the organization (and the GUCM website) 'as a channel', thus moving through the organization in its material and virtual manifestations.

Members of the field show their valorization of the title through supportive actions and association. We can see this in financial support of the title – the three universities (Glasgow University, Strathclyde University, and Caledonian University) and BBC Scotland all made donations to the organization. The valorization of GUCM is also evident in how Glasgow Life gave the organization the use of an office and a member of staff from the Arts Department who became the administrative assistant for GUCM. Glasgow City Marketing Bureau created a temporary website while the official website was being designed showing how GCMB or the Chief Executive at least, understand the potential value of becoming associated with GUCM. The Director showed an understanding of the symbolic value of the title when she commented that sometimes she forgot 'how impressive the UNESCO part is'. Sometimes, the role she felt she held was simply 'turning up and smiling and mentioning UNESCO': a reflection of the strength of a simple association with UNESCO itself. The strength of this association was directly linked to the symbolic value of the title and the award recognized by people across fields. Other agents' desire to become and remain associated with GUCM meant that the organization was invested with much of value.

One of the original four people who conceived of the idea of becoming a UNESCO Creative City, was reported by the Chair of the Board as still seeing 'good possibilities'

and still being 'very supportive' of the idea, throughout its first two years as an organization. The Principal of RCS saw GUCM as 'a project that you can get people interested in and get all their energy... it also brings in cross influences from elsewhere and overseas... it brings international trade'. He felt that being a UNESCO Creative City had the power to place Glasgow on 'a larger philosophical area of human existence' and to 'equate the city with being a place that cares about the rest of the world... welcoming and hospitable'. The Director of GUCM could see the value of the title through the organization's formal association created with the office of Lord Provost of the city, and through the role of UNESCO Ambassador by people such as the actor Billy Connolly, conductor Stéphane Denève, singer and musician Alex Kapranos, and composer Craig Armstrong. The title is described as 'a banner and badge', 'an endorsement'. The Director knew that GUCM is understood to be 'a strong brand – marketing is very important' but when the organization is not 'buying or selling anything', it can be difficult to recognize the work the organization should be doing that reflects all of its potential. She felt that it can get 'quite tiresome waiting until the 'Ah yes!' moment comes', saying 'Ah yes!' when the right idea or decision of how to move forward with the work of the organization finally reveals itself, as if by magic.

Even though the field reflected the value of the title through supportive actions and formal associations created with the title, the specific expectations of what people would gain from their support were not clear. The support given was based on expectations that were much more abstract. Even the creators of the idea for a Creative Cities Network did not offer specific advice on how to benefit from the title. The projects that the Director highlighted were those that would eventually benefit the public of Glasgow: a mapping exercise that was going to enable people to log on to the GUCM website and see clearly on a map where the closest guitar teacher was; or where there was local live music happening; an internet radio station that was going to be online and would give new musicians, bands, and songwriters a chance to have their music performed to an audience that they might not have previously reached. The description of these projects would symbolize organizational success at a local level. GUCM was also painted as the 'bearer of high-profile events' in Glasgow, bringing the international world into Scotland and therefore increasing national and international awareness of music in Glasgow. The

Director's focus, when attempting to impress potential funders, was on GUCM's connections with universities, hospitals, the council (Culture and Sport Glasgow, now Glasgow Life) and also the tourist focused organizations, Visit Scotland, and Glasgow City Marketing Bureau (GCMB). The relationships with these members of the field were mostly at the level of having 'established a regular dialogue with...'

The lack of clarity about how to proceed was exacerbated by the lack of steering from the organization at the centre of the network, i.e., UNESCO. Objectives from the bid illustrate what the supporters of the title believe to be internationally acceptable values that corresponded to the criteria UNESCO had set for a city that wanted to become known as a UNESCO Creative City. Glasgow was a city focused on empowering people through culture, increasing the quantity of people experiencing music thus enhancing creative potential, and 'culturally transforming the City': a City that was improving and building upon past achievement all the time (Glasgow City of Music, Application Dossier, 2008). The members of the organization were surprised by the lack of involvement from UNESCO in the development of the idea of Glasgow as a City of Music. As the Chair of the Board once remarked, 'It's a bit haphazard, isn't it? They just give you the award and walk away'. The Director was 'not aware of any advice given by UNESCO during the bid' but knew that 'they do give quite tight guidelines about the detailed information that needs to be submitted... at least one international organization had been asked to comment on the strength of our application'. The strength of the Creative Cities Network is in the connections that a city has and the potential to build links with other Creative Cities. The Director focused on 'our connections with the other cities', with Ghent, who 'are very interested in our model'. Although she was 'keeping in contact with Paris' (Paris, meaning those who worked in the Creative Cities section of UNESCO) and building specific UNESCO connections through attending the 'UK Commission' and the 'UNESCO Scotland Dinner', the natural focus was on developing personal connections between members of the music community in Glasgow and members of the other Creative Cities, especially the more geographically close Edinburgh UNESCO City of Literature, Bradford UNESCO City of Film, and Ghent UNESCO City of Music. UNESCO could take away the title but 'that's not very likely', as the Director pointed out. UNESCO required each Creative City in the Network to report on their

actions and outcomes every two years: 'there are obligations to satisfy criteria... not too difficult, every two years more or less'. Although what the criteria were had not been made clear, what is seen here is what was understood to reflect international values, reflecting ideas of perceived ideals, and thus, for GUCM, international expectations of the organization.

The Director and Board were making assumptions about what the supporters and investors of GUCM expected to receive or achieve through their association with the organization. It was necessary to make assumptions due to the lack of specificity received from the central associations such as UNESCO and those who brought the bid to fruition. The potential value of the organization, i.e., the perceived ideals, were recognized, yet, how this translated into a pragmatic role for GUCM had not achieved consensus between all those invested.

The Director knew that the 'government wants to see us as a centre for excellence' as 'they're interested in the national view... Glasgow is viewed as a jewel in the crown'. The Head of one of the most influential funders of culture in Scotland was 'very supportive of the work of City of Music... keen on UNESCO... interested in high-level things rather than low-level'. At this level of interaction, i.e., international organizations set up by UNESCO, national funders, and national government, there was a supportive response to the idea of GUCM being a 'badge and banner' or 'an endorsement' that could be used to support international negotiations within the cultural community. The title, at this level, was a recognized form of symbolic capital, in this case, especially cultural. So far, what we have seen is that the idea of the title of GUCM attracted both investors of time and investors of money. The manifestation of the title through the organization maintaining investors, and attracting more, however, required that the Director first clarify what the core purpose for the organization of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music is.

Examining the process undertaken in the bid process and establishment of the organization reveals a number of ideas of what an organization 'should' be and how they 'should' be behaving. GUCM was accumulating a multitude of perceived expectations: an organization should be able to gain funding; an organization should be deemed

acceptable and appropriate by enough politicians to enable funding; the councillors should be able to say 'that's a bloody good idea' in relation to projects planned by the organization; the organization should be connected with the universities, hospitals, council, tourism-focused organizations – Glasgow City Marketing Bureau (GCMB) and Visit Scotland. It was also expected that: the organization should be having 'regular dialogue' with their associations and these associations should be being built upon and added to regularly; the organization should be the bearer of high-profile events and should be bringing more of the international world into Scotland; the organization should be developing exclusive relationships that will benefit their ability to have an impact. It was important, according to the Board and Director, that the organization be valued by others, external to the organization, first, by developing GUCM's audience, and then this symbolizing organizational value to the members of other, more influential and powerful, fields. The Board and the Director tried to achieve this aim through: having the general public, especially those involved with music, accept ownership and responsibility of the title; being an organization 'in demand' by others in the music field, and especially the general public; and being an organization which was 'wanted'.

The members of GUCM understood that some relationships within the field were not possible without an underlying appreciation that a relationship or association with GUCM would equally benefit both agents. The Chair of the Board wanted the acceptance of the politicians in Scotland. He thought that this could be done if the Director and Board were able to 'articulate all those things', meaning the organization's projects. He thought that if these were articulated successfully, councillors would respond by pronouncing 'isn't that a bloody good idea'. The Chair of the Board placed particular value on being able to see exactly which projects the organization was working on, was planning and had finished. The focus of the organization, however, remained at the level of communication to members of the field, rather than on the development of specific projects. Relating to and understanding the context of the field would enable the members of GUCM to communicate the value of the title. However, from the time of the award being given to Glasgow to the moment that the Board mentioned developing an 'external ownership' of the title, there had been significant changes in the environment, the most relevant of which, for GUCM, was that public money was under intense

scrutiny. These changes meant that focusing time and effort on the arts was believed to promote peace and well-being for the city of Glasgow. This had been seen when Glasgow was a City of Culture in 1990. That year is repeatedly given credit during civic ceremonies for settling Glasgow on a path that led to a great sense of 'pride' in the city and also a sense of 'self-belief', that they were able to do better. And this is what the members of GUCM were striving to achieve with the organization.

The title is recognized as symbolizing an objectified form of cultural capital for the city of Glasgow, objectified in the sense that there is a concept of 'title' which means that Glasgow has achieved a high level of musical creativity and this is recognized internationally. GUCM is valorized by those who invest their time and money in the idea. It is valorized by those who recognize the idea as cultural capital. However, investors did not valorize GUCM, the organization, for the same reasons. GUCM competes in fields other than the cultural field. And although the dominant symbolic capital, in the field of music being discussed here, is cultural capital, its symbolic value in the cultural field needs to be enhanced through negotiating for other capital. Its value in the international music community has been shown through examples of how GUCM was supported at this level: the Director's own cultural capital; the value recognized simply in 'UNESCO' being part of the title; the organizational aims that respond to what are understood to be the contemporary international values held in the arts community. In order to develop its role or 'core purpose', the Director of GUCM needed to formalize its local purpose: how would the organization benefit the city, i.e., the people of Glasgow, at a local (grassroots) level?

## **The Organization: A Position in the Field**

Keith Bruce, a Scottish journalist, critiqued Glasgow UNESCO City of Music saying:

‘I think it’s important to state that this was never a classical music thing. It’s been, it seems, very classical music orientated in terms of how we’re stating it now... But the whole point in Glasgow City of Music was that it took account of the breadth of music that’s come out of this city. Not just classical music.’

(CultureCast, The Herald, Scotland, 2011)

As shown above, it is agents in certain positions in the cultural field who recognize the cultural capital in the title of GUCM. Many of the agents supporting and working on the bid process, as well as the establishment of the organization, hold top hierarchical positions in the field of classical music. It was perhaps a natural progression that the title would become locally associated with classical music. However, GUCM wanted to play a substantial role and have a core purpose that would benefit all music locally. Creating the perception of ‘being useful’ is one of the central stakes for the cultural field, a stake common to each field. This section will look at the ideas suggested in the field and GUCM about what the organization should be doing and how it would establish and fulfil a useful role in the local arts community. The Scottish media picked up on this issue of having a local benefit and asked one of those involved in the bid process: ‘just exactly what does having this status give you?’. The response, as stated by the reporter, was ‘leverage’. How could the Director of the organization utilize the title at a local level, while maintaining its ability to influence in the classical music world? We will see the potential of the title and discuss the difficulty of creating a balance between maintenance of the organization’s current symbolic capital, which was reflective of their current position in the field, and the enhancement of this position in the field of music and beyond this field in the cultural field more generally.

Establishing the role of the organization for the local field of music was understood to be reliant on first creating a sense of external ownership in the city. The bid document offered ‘a snapshot of current musical activity’ with ‘the job of the City of Music team’ being ‘to enhance and develop all musical opportunities using the impetus and status of the UNESCO award’ (Glasgow City of Music, Application Dossier, 2008). At the beginning, the role of the Director was to introduce the people of Glasgow to the title, and help them understand what it was and what it could do for them. The result of the

Director's work was seen, for example, in: a steady stream of visitors to the Director's office; through mentioning certain people and organizations when in influential situations such as international or civic ceremonies; the public launch of the organization which resulted in reinforcing links to the BBC, having 12,000 GUCM flags waved on television, and bringing 'Proms in the Park' to Glasgow. The Chair wanted the organization to focus on 'tangibility': 'finding a way to show what we've done and are doing'. The assumed effectiveness of the title was seen when the Director of GUCM allowed other organizations to be 'associated with the title' through 'using the GUCM logo'<sup>34</sup>. The Chair of the Board however emphasized the need to focus on maintaining relationships with key organizations, i.e., to be more particular about who the Director listened to and not feeling the necessity to give everyone a say. The key organizations were identified as those organizations which were in more influential positions in the field, and in this sense, would be able to benefit GUCM through simply being associated with them, and would be especially helpful for building GUCM's symbolic capital<sup>35</sup>. However, the Director stressed the paramount importance of strengthening relationships with all organizations in the field of music, responding to a perceived need to be inclusive. The Director understood that previous funding agreements received by the organization were 'based on what GCM [GUCM] said the objectives were', but they were 'struggling to find the best thing to do – because there is so much to do' and because of this 'a lot is dependent on the partnership approach'. An important part of the perceptions of GUCM's role in the field of music was seen as 'being perceived as the people who know about music... getting calls from the government about people coming here'.

To 'know about music' would involve creating 'a cultural record' for the city, something that could be accessed by, and useful to, all. GUCM could 'act as a focus for advice, support and networking across the spectrum'. There was a fundamental issue of

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<sup>34</sup> See Appendix II

<sup>35</sup> This symbolic capital was in the form of social capital and will be discussed in depth in the next chapter.

engaging 'with all the different sectors within the city'. The Director felt that 'having accessibility to the Director is huge and very inviting for bands and band members'. Due to this, she wanted to maintain this practice. She felt that there were 'three strands of GUCM – working with civic authorities to promote Glasgow; make[ing] sure that we know what's going on; and networking the businesses – letting everyone know everyone else'. GUCM could 'pull together what people were already doing – brush it up for festivals' as there were 'lots of things' happening 'at the same time' and it was possible that they could be pulled 'under a GUCM umbrella'. The Director also wanted to 'pull all the creative cities together' as it was 'nice to imagine an informal network and an informal circuit'. She hoped 'for a joint cities commission' with Ghent UNESCO City of Music specifically. She felt that creating a website was 'part of what we should be doing' and that 'anything that's good for music in Glasgow is our remit'.

There was a 'potential downside' suggested as a possibility when the title was being introduced: 'organizations would criticise us for not being able to produce extra funding for them, but in practice, this has not been the case'. Instead, what the Director saw was 'a strong and prestigious brand which can act as an umbrella for all music in the City and the ability to make common cause with the other creative cities in the network'. She did not think that 'City of Music should grow into a big organization – it's not necessary – that's what gives us some fleetness of foot'.

The Director was attempting to respond to what she felt were the external expectations for GUCM. A method of doing this was to benchmark, as 'people like it when you say you're benchmarking'. However, the problem when creating benchmarks 'is the many different identities that are needed for the different stakeholders and... how this leads to us [GUCM] having to work out different ways to explain what we are doing, and going to do, to all of them'. The external recognition of the title as valuable is an important aspect of the development of a core purpose for GUCM. It is seen in the discussions of 'external ownership', understood as a process, which the Director and Chair should both focus on. They knew that 'there is a range of stakeholders' but wondered whether 'we have a meaningful relationship with them?' The main method of communication to the stakeholders generally was through the website and they wondered if 'this website [will]

make them feel a part of it [GUCM]?' As much as they understood that 'it is important to have people involved and engaged', they asked themselves 'how do we relate or have a sense of belonging with 1400 people', i.e., the amount of people signed up to receive the GUCM newsletter. The Director would describe GUCM as being what 'happens out there, not what happens in this office'. This essentially meant that the title belongs to the people of Glasgow, and not to the Board or the Director. They are 'keepers' or 'caretakers' of the title, rather than leaders of it. The title is to serve the people of Glasgow in whatever way was deemed useful. The issue at the core of this, however, is that the title belonged to a city full of people who did not know it was a designated UNESCO Creative City. The process of building up recognition of the title to the point that it is underlined is one that runs parallel to having a defined local purpose.

The method of 'piggybacking' whereby GUCM gave an organization access to the cultural capital appropriated when associated with the title, and in return, GUCM was being seen as useful for the city, enabled the Director to expand not only recognition of the organization, but also the idea of other organizations being part of GUCM. The Director had achieved this in certain ways. For example, an organization in Glasgow was re-labelling their building as a 'Glasgow UNESCO City of Music resource' and thus wanted 'to attach the label of UNESCO City of Music' to their company profile. When GUCM was being useful through enabling organizations to become associated with the title, it was negotiating its cultural capital, thus, using it to claim a stronger stake in the cultural field. Or, in other words, if the title was understood as being useful for other organizations in the field and those organizations wanted to be associated with it, the GUCM could give this 'guarantee' in return for 'credit' thus increasing its access to symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977:181). However, the problem associated with working in this way is the potential for GUCM to become 'a threat to their brand', which was possible if other organizations began to feel dwarfed by the GUCM title. The Director is attempting to build a 'hub' focused on the idea of GUCM being a 'centre for Excellence'. Through building 'a music strategy for the City', she would need to work with the other potential hubs already established in Glasgow: the Arts Department in Glasgow Life; the upcoming 'Glasgow Music' Department in Glasgow Life; and the Scottish Music Centre, for example. It was said that 'Glasgow City of Music is the best fit to act as a strategic

lead' and that 'City of Music would be keen to lead strategic drive for music in the City but would need help on this'.

There is not a consensual vision as to how GUCM would most benefit the cultural field. There is also a struggle between what an organization should be doing and what it may achieve in any given context. The original potential objectives of the organization suggested during the bid process and the establishment process resulted in other organizations giving their time and money to the idea of being part of a UNESCO City of Music. During the first year, however, it was a struggle for the Director to establish the best thing to do because there was so much to do. Mostly GUCM relied on a partnership approach. Developing partnerships with other agents and organizations in the field meant finding 'a reason for interaction' and to 'exploit' that. It was hoped that this process would enable GUCM to eventually form a 'hub' for music in Glasgow. The role of the organization was to 'enhance and join the dots', to give people a 'reason to come and stay in the area longer'. The Director also felt it was important to build connections with the other UNESCO Creative Cities. Because it wanted to be a 'hub' and build connections, the issues now concerning the Director were whether it was 'central enough', whether it was helping to provide 'an income for everybody', and whether it was generally useful.

## **Discussion**

The relevancy, usefulness and achievability of organizations' ideas, aims and objectives are decided through process of evaluation. This process of assessment and judgement relates closely to the need for an organization to constantly ensure that it is legitimate in the eyes of those who potentially influence or even control its continued acceptance in the field. Because of the necessity for positive external perceptions, organizations attempt to communicate or translate their actions to their evaluators (Bitektine, 2011). The 'evaluating audience' is described as those who 'confer legitimacy' on an organization and they can be unique to each field (Bitektine, 2011:154). External perceptions and perspectives lead to the possibility of developing organizational legitimacy in the field. GUCM spent a large portion of time focused on influencing their evaluators' perceptions in an attempt to construct and maintain an organizational image

that responded to field-level requirements. According to the members of GUCM, these requirements included providing something useful for the field, offering something unique to the field, or appearing to enable the field in some way.

GUCM was put in place at the city's request in order to manage a title that had been awarded to the city. UNESCO did not, and still do not, offer an explanation of how the Creative Cities Network it has established can be exploited (in a positive sense) to promote harmony within communities, which the UNESCO mission statement suggests is their purpose (Mission Statement, UNESCO, 2014). An important initial aspect for GUCM was thus to decide its purpose within this broad framework. The organization knew what it was not. It was not a creator or producer of music; not a venue; not a programmer for performances; not an educational centre and thus did not handle the teaching or learning of music. Although being able to recognize what it was not, it was not easy to specify what it was. The vision associated with the role of the title of UNESCO City of Music had not been explained by UNESCO. Attempts at clarification had been made by the initial management group that established the organization, and further efforts were offered by the first Board of Trustees. However, a vision that could encompass the full potential of the title was proving elusive. The organization tried to motivate a sense of 'external ownership' of the title. The Director associated the title with the following ideas: GUCM was 'not what happens in our office, but on stages, in colleges, bars, and streets all over the city'; GUCM was a 'collective opportunity'; GUCM was 'outside of the office' in 'all of Glasgow' and what 'you [musicians] are doing'. The role of Director was thus not 'a vanity project' but was 'supposed to be for the city' – she was 'doing it for them'.

With the desire to implement the development of the concept of 'external ownership', it became clear that the Board did not have a distinct vision for GUCM. They could not say exactly why the title was so important; however, they sensed it intuitively and believed it. Like a 'fish in water', i.e., having an intuitive knowledge of how to survive and exist in water, (Bourdieu, 1992:127), the Director of the organization had a similar sense, and both Director and Board assumed that given the 'correct' information, the people of Glasgow would experience this similar vague understanding of GUCM being important

and useful. The difficulty of the Director's task lay in the enticement of a public to accept 'ownership' and responsibility for being a UNESCO City of Music, when those who were in the position of initiating the clarity of the vision were not completely certain how to communicate its worth.

The members of GUCM recognized that it is evaluations in the field that produce a collective understanding of an organization as having influence. In the field where GUCM wanted an influential position, already influential organizations (or the members of influential organizations) were understood as needed by the other members of the field. The members of the Board of GUCM knew that organizations benefitted from being 'in demand' and seen as 'good' organizations. In relation to the organizational objectives for GUCM, the Board wanted to be 'in demand'. One of the problems for GUCM, however, lay in the title itself. One of the assumptions of the agents working for GUCM was that the title had a symbolic effectiveness. The title was assumed to symbolize an objectified form of cultural capital. For GUCM, their perspective was that this cultural capital was not yet recognized by the other members of the field. Together with the social capital of the members of the organization, the cultural capital of the title was expected to transubstantiate into political capital and with this the expectation that GUCM, first, would be recognized and, second, would be able to function strongly within the field. The value of the title of GUCM was seen, for example, when a well-known composer 'expressed an interest' in becoming an ambassador for GUCM. The sense of the innate value and effectiveness of the title led to the perspective of there being a sense of 'them wanting us' rather than GUCM asking for the field's attention. The Board wanted the field to request the attention of GUCM. This was seen as a prerogative of the title. Within the organization, the importance of the title to the field was assumed. The question was not whether the title had value for the members of the field. The question became how the organization could communicate this value effectively. Instead of the issue being how the organization could use the title to benefit the field, there was an assumption of the title holding a symbolic benefit. Thus, ideally, the members of the field should be asking for the attention of GUCM, rather than GUCM asking for their acceptance.

The previous experiences of the members of the organization of GUCM, including the Board and the Director, had developed dispositions that perceive things and ideas in certain ways, to appreciate some things rather than others, and to do things in one way rather than another. Although the members understood the disposition required to hold an influential position in the field, the assumption of the title as having a symbolic effectiveness through its fund of cultural capital, which other members of the field had not yet recognized, led to an organizational focus on communication rather than development of core purpose. The Director of GUCM was in the unique position of leading an organization that had not a specific predefined role at the time of its establishment. There was a belief that the title was useful for the field, otherwise, the leaders in the arts community would not have had a reason to apply for the title in the first place.

Glasgow was a UNESCO Creative City that specialized in music. However, the whole city did not know that it owned this title and could potentially exploit it for its own advantage. Through becoming a 'centre for excellence', GUCM could thus present the cultural capital internationally recognized through being granted the title. The Director understood that the organization needed to be perceived as useful. She needed the organization to be widely valued and tried to achieve this through helping and enhancing what was already happening in the city, such as 'piggy-backing' on other organizations' activities in order to help them achieve their objectives and aims. She used the influence available to her, i.e., the cultural capital associated with the title and her profile, along with the profile of those agents associated with and supporting the GUCM title. She knew that she could develop the image of GUCM as being known as 'the people who know about music' and creating a 'cultural record' via establishing a website.

The original valorization of the organization by specific members of the field is reflected in the investments of time and money made by people for the development of the idea of GUCM. It was valorized by those who recognize the idea as symbolic of cultural capital. Bourdieu (1986) shows us that organizations are likely to be supportive of GUCM because of its symbolic value. He tells us that this support itself is a form of investment, but, in this case, this is only valuable as long as support is useful. For the members of

GUCM, the question becomes not whether the title has value for the field, as this is assumed, but how the organization can communicate this value effectively to other agents in the field. Thus, the negotiation of cultural capital for GUCM is underscored by social capital. The values held by the members of GUCM are reflective of values of the cultural field. To have the general public feel that they owned the title would be an 'appropriation' of the title by the city, an acknowledgment that they understood the title was granted only as a result of their own embodied cultural capital. If the public 'owned' GUCM through accepting it as the hub in Glasgow, the Director would have given the organization its core purpose. It is to the development of the organization's relationships with other members of the fields that the focus of this thesis shall now turn: building social capital was the next step for GUCM in the process of development of the organization.

## Chapter Five

### **A Dependent Independent Charity: Building Social Capital in the Field**

Social capital is built through creating and maintaining connections with others in the field. A 'network of connections', created through the production and reproduction of 'lasting, useful relationships', is a fundamental method for an emerging organization to enhance its prospects of survival and development (Bourdieu, 1986:7-8). The relationships that members of an organization can count on in their unique network of connections can help 'secure material or symbolic profits' (Bourdieu, 1986:7-8). Thus, an important aspect of the Director's work for GUCM was enabling the organization to become *known* both generally, by the public, and also by members of specific organizations. This chapter examines some of the strategies which were used to develop social capital and build networks with other organizations. Two methods the Director established in order to achieve the organization 'being known' by more people were: allowing wide use of the logo by many organizations in Glasgow; and building relationships with people from specific organizations in Scotland which could benefit the organization financially. Both are examined to illustrate how the resources of other organizations and their capital was used to augment GUCM's capital.

The first method meant, for example, allowing people to add the GUCM logo to their organizational leaflets, brochures, and posters. The more often the logo was seen by people 'in association with', or 'in support of' a 'worthy' organization (worthy in the eyes of the Director of GUCM), the more familiar it would become to people in Glasgow. For instance, during the West-end Festival of 2010, which happens every year during the summer in Glasgow, the Director had given financial sponsorship towards one of the stages. In return for this support, GUCM were able to run a singing event at the stage one afternoon and also to have a large banner hung with the name and logo of the organization. The second method of achieving 'being known' by the public and specific organizations is building specific relationships that could potentially benefit the organization in the future. A relationship could gain extra importance when it emerges that they worked for, or with, a useful organization, especially funding organizations.

Direct, personal connections with members of organizations were a quicker and more efficient means of *becoming known*. Building awareness of the title meant that the organization of GUCM needed to be noticed in the field. When an organization is known and noticed, and seen as important due to its members' associations and has public support from both general and influential organizations, these associations and relationships can be described as 'social capital' (Bourdieu, 1986). Being the recipient of the 'legitimate gaze' (Bourdieu, 1984:327), whereby an influential agent in the field looks upon another with approval, is a reflection of an increase in an organization's symbolic capital generally and associated cultural and social capital specifically, in the case of GUCM. Also, Bourdieu describes the 'multiplier effect' that social capital can have upon the other symbolic capitals held by the agent, and thus, their organization (Bourdieu, 1986:7-8). This 'multiplier effect' is due to having access to the symbolic capitals of the people and organizations with whom one has built a relationship, i.e., being part of a group that recognizes the legitimacy of each participant requires their having something to offer the group and also something to gain from being a member. Social capital is thus paramount to establishing position in a social field.

Establishing position, for the Director of GUCM, meant using her social capital to multiply the organization's economic capital. The Director's first necessity was thus to *safeguard the position* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:101) that the organization already held, a position achieved as a result of the symbolic capital (cultural and social) already appropriated by the members of the organization, i.e., the Board and the Director. *Safeguarding the position* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:101) is achieved through maintaining the organization's image as a worthy and valuable entity. 'Solidarity' from the agents in the field is symbolic of a 'mutual acknowledgement' (Bourdieu, 1986:7). Through increasing mutual acknowledgement, the Director could develop the idea of GUCM as an acceptable, legitimate, creative endeavour. The process of developing a *basis of solidarity* (Bourdieu, 1986:7) in the field is also one of building social capital. In order to build social capital that would benefit the organization, the Director would need to negotiate for closer connection with those who held more influence, i.e., agents in the field with whom she would need to associate for symbolic (and economic) capital. The process of building social capital – the *acquisition of clientele* – 'requires considerable

labour devoted to making and maintain relations' as well as both 'material and symbolic investments', not to mention the quantity of 'time' needed considering that 'giving or squandering time' is understood as 'one of the most precious gifts' (Bourdieu, 1977:180). For example, the Director could build stronger relationships with members of other organizations through offering her time, as long as her giving time was perceived as a gift, a *guarantee* offered to the field in return for *credit*.

The work involved in building social capital would cost the Director of the organization both material and symbolic resources. I will first discuss the attempt to *safeguard the position* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:101) of GUCM in the field, a process that involved developing formal and informal methods of communication, depending on the dominant capital at stake in the discussion. Influencing the perceptions held in the wider music community was important because an emerging organization such as this has not established an image of being fully accepted and legitimate. I will then discuss the connection between the organization's perception of its public profile and its ability to be accepted as a legitimate creative endeavour: the Director was reliant on external perceptions being positive and had to find a way to simultaneously develop an organizational position in the field along with extending its social network. This had to be achieved sooner rather than later, as the process required understanding and working to build relationships with agents who held influence in the field of music. The Director would need to develop relationships such as these before developing the connections with those with less influence.

### **Safeguarding the Position**

In the previous chapter, we learned that the issue for the Director of GUCM was not necessarily whether the organization was valued by the field, but instead, how the organization could communicate its value effectively to other agents in the field. First, the Director came to an understanding of how the organization was being perceived in the wider field of music in Glasgow. The organization was in an emergent position in the field. Although, due to the association of the title with well-established agents – agents holding positions of authority, such as Chief Executive, or Chair of the Board - the

position of the organization was more complex than simply being emergent. These associations meant that the organization was already acceptable to a certain extent, i.e., it was in a better position than an organization without these associations. Improving the position of GUCM was a necessary step to becoming an organization that could benefit a wider, as yet undefined, musical community, which was vaguely understood to include more of the people in the city. Ensuring that the social judgements being made about the organization were positive, in other words, influencing the dominant social judgement in the field, was part of that process of improving the organization's position. Communicating with agents in the field happened at two basic levels: formal communication via speeches or press releases, for example; and informal communication via the organization's website or simply in conversation. Safeguarding the position (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:101) of the organization was an ongoing process that involved simultaneous negotiations with many different strands of stakeholders: original investors, the city that owned the title; the media; and the funders, etc. However, in looking at this, we start to see that there was a particular focus on what GUCM was going to do rather than what it was presently working on.

In some regards, the members of GUCM were perceived as those who 'know about music' and the Director worked towards maintaining this image and also increasing the number of people who believed that the members knew about music in Glasgow. She did this through the development of the website, for example, and through reiterating the organization's potential to become representative of those who 'know' the most about music in Glasgow. A first step towards building the social capital that would enable GUCM to become an organization that knows about music was to develop communications, linking GUCM to the networks already established within the field of music and the cultural field. The Chair of the Board was aware of how GUCM could be perceived as those knowing about music, as being 'very good, but they talk to nobody', i.e., the members needed to do more than just know about music; they also needed to communicate this knowledge. It is understood that 'justifying investment' is an 'ongoing job' and that the Director has the 'task of demonstrating value to a whole range of people'. That task is a 'crucial part of our existence': the organization relies on being

valued by agents in the field. There is an understanding that it is a 'question of talking to people' in order to avoid losing previously established support.

As part of the Creative Cities Network, the organization is also trying to build connections with other cities, especially those cities that are geographically closer. These connections are achieved through creating opportunities to introduce older contacts to new contacts. For example, Ghent UNESCO City of Music (in Belgium) was invited to take part in a music-based conference taking place in Glasgow. In this situation, the Director of GUCM can provide those representing Ghent City of Music (new contacts) firstly with an audience for their ideas, and secondly with a chance to build allegiances and perhaps the opening to begin (or continue) creating work with people in Scotland (old contacts). This places Glasgow UNESCO City of Music in the position of providing resources for the field of music in Glasgow. Through introducing new people and new ideas to agents who could recognize the people and ideas as valuable, the Director is communicating the usefulness of the organization for the field of music. There is another dimension to the understanding of GUCM as being those who know about music: knowing about music is not simply being able to provide information or knowing where to find a piano teacher, it is about knowing how to provide the people involved with music in Glasgow with new ideas and new challenges, i.e., provoking the agents in the field to expand their work, develop new ideas, and in the process of doing this, build their own social (and cultural) capital.

As the title 'belongs to the city', the Director is careful to be inclusive of all people involved in music in Glasgow. She meets with people who want to talk with her about what GUCM can do for them. The Director feels that her 'remit' is 'extraordinarily wide' explaining that '[City of Music] isn't in this office, it's outside – all of Glasgow'. In her previous positions held in the field of music, focusing on classical music, the Director would have had a 'particular view' that focused on classical musicians or musicians who could sell tickets for the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall. But holding the position of full-time Director of GUCM meant that there was a particular focus on being inclusive rather than taking a more exclusive (in the sense of particular focus) position: 'If I was given it within [previous position], I would have had a particular view... which we've been very

careful to avoid – we saw absolutely everybody. We’ve been very clear about that and brought in lots of different sorts... The way we started, we had a completely open-door policy... And out of that, projects have emerged.’ Referring to people involved in music in Glasgow, the Director would say ‘You are City of Music, come talk to us’. Being inclusive is understood as being involved, or willing to become involved, with ‘anything that’s even remotely related to sound... because that’s what we do’.

Being inclusive also means being willing to ‘do that [anything related to sound] actively and we’ll do our damndest to make sure it’s something that happens on a long-term basis’. In the initial stages, the importance for creating a vision and its realization is seen through exploring who is interested in becoming involved in working with GUCM, or interested in using GUCM’s position in the field to benefit their own organization, or their own position in the field. The expertise available to a wider musical community which could be accessed through direct contact with the Director is a point that the Director presents as being beneficial to the people of Glasgow. By focusing on expanding those who could benefit from GUCM, there is also a shift from being an organization associated with its chief investors, i.e., those in prominent positions in the field of music in Glasgow, to becoming an organization associated with working for the pragmatic benefit of all the people in Glasgow. For this grassroots level of interaction, the process of being inclusive is slow: the Director is one person in a city full of people in music who might potentially benefit from her knowledge. Not only is it slow, but the process is difficult to benchmark and formally evaluate. Although the Director may be building social capital that would, in the long-term, mean that GUCM is the organization that ‘knows about music’ at all levels and capacities, this social capital is difficult to recognize, and as such may not be understood as symbolic capital by those who could influence the position of the organization in the field of music. For instance, an influential organization, being based primarily in another social field (the political field rather than the field of music, for example), may not fully grasp the role social capital can play in the field of music. Because it is not recognized, social capital cannot be used as symbolic capital by the organization that has built it, i.e., it only works as social capital if it is recognized as such.

The Director uses different methods of communication dependent upon the position held by those she is communicating or negotiating with. The different levels of communication are reflected in different strategies used, the different language involved, and even different terms of negotiation. For example, the formal method for communicating the position of GUCM is seen in funding applications, or speeches. The informal method is seen in communication to external agents in the field via social media or simply through conversation. Strategies to build relations informally are having 'discussion[s] with...' during the 'commercial breaks' of meetings; keeping 'in close touch' with people; passing on people's names to other agents who may then build a separate relation with two of GUCM's connections. Being mentioned by influential people to other influential people could help improve the organization's position in the field: 'we can pass your name on – it's all circular'. When trying to be favourably seen by people, sometimes the Director and Board thought it better to be vague, rather than too precise about the details of the organization because being vague left the terms of any agreements open to negotiation: 'Speak in broad terms but stand back in specifics'. Through advising the Director to, 'Speak in broad terms' rather than 'specifics', a Board member is showing us that in certain conversations, talking generally about GUCM would be more beneficial to GUCM achieving its aims, than talking specifically. It was an elusive strategy, understood to be appropriate but without being further explicated. Another informal method is to build a rapport with people with whom the organization wants to remain involved, as such relationships can become quite important for an organization: 'The way you met [her] through [her] is the best informal approach.' Contacts are enhanced through phone-calls and emails: 'I phone him...'; 'He's emailed...'; 'Did I get that email?'; 'We keep in close touch with them...'; 'I've had quite a lot of communication from...'

Formally, the language is much different: 'A snapshot of current musical activity...', 'the job of the City of Music team is to enhance and develop... using the impetus and status of the UNESCO award'. The nature of this communication is focused on building a specific representation of the image of the organization, rather than building the rapport between two agents. And although the activities of the members of the organization might be the same as those described in the informal approach, the description of them

and the meaning applied to them is more enhanced and given more importance. The Director would discuss the 'diplomatic links' that the organization held, the 'support in kind' received 'in return for contributing to the development of cultural tourism initiatives', the ability to 'attract major cultural events', and being in a position to 'regularly assist' specific organizations based in Glasgow. Diplomatic links are built as a result of being a 'UNESCO' organization. As a result of being in the position of Director of GUCM, there was an almost automatic membership taken as part of the 'Scotland Committee' for the 'United Kingdom National Commission for UNESCO'. As a result of GUCM's potential 'cultural tourism initiatives', the Glasgow City Marketing Bureau (GCMB) had set up an initial website for GUCM. This had been done by the staff at GCMB and the website was also being handled and updated by them.

It is important to develop both levels of communication, formal and informal, especially with those agents in the field who hold more influential positions than GUCM – those who can affect the perceptions of the organization as being acceptable and useful.

For the purpose of developing an organization that is fundamentally useful for the field of music in Glasgow, through creating a hub, and being inclusive of the wider musical community, the Director 'contacted lots of people and identified where we would be most useful'. Through understanding where agents feel that GUCM could benefit the field, the Director responds to the dominant social judgements about the organization. She points out that the 'key word' for GUCM is 'infiltrate': 'any opportunity to make the point that we are from Glasgow City of Music would be greatly appreciated'. Even though the Director feels 'confident about doing the job but we need help letting people know that we're doing the job', there is a necessity, at another level, to point out that 'GUCM is not just for the sherry circuit – we want to reach out to others who need it'. Again, the Director is pointing out the importance that GUCM is responding to a need she sees at grassroots level rather than simply being an asset for those already influential in the field of music. Social capital is being consistently built, but again, it is at a less obvious level than would be recognized by the influential people in the field of music. The Director knows that they need to understand the value of the organization, and this sooner rather than later in terms of being granted economic capital, as will be shown later.

The agency working on public relations for GUCM are centred on providing answers to some of the organization's recurring questions. For instance, 'What does the intangible GUCM mean to an unsigned band?' (meaning what does an idea such as GUCM represent to an unsigned band in Glasgow) is a theme that pinpoints the central struggle of the organization: doing work that serves the city of Glasgow, but needing to become first an organization in a position to do this work. As the public relations agency notes, the idea that 'a quote of support' from agents in the field is not necessarily represented by 'a splash in the Herald... sometimes it's the number of subscriptions to your newsletter', is an issue that raises the fundamental theme of this chapter. Social capital is only symbolic of capital when it is recognized as such. Having a person subscribe to the organizational newsletter can sometimes be more symbolically useful than having an article about the organization in the local newspaper – what is important is how an observer of the organization values these activities, and which activity will prompt the observer to show support for GUCM. Working on affecting social judgements of GUCM is about providing 'stories without focusing on events', thereby enabling the organization to build the public image of the organization even when the resources to hold events are not available. Communicating a coherent 'story' about GUCM to the field is central to the task of creating positive social judgements: an organization that is understood as able to 'reach out to others who need it' is a useful and acceptable organization. However, communicating a coherent story to both grassroots level members of the field and influential members of the field simultaneously is a struggle that the Director of GUCM is in the midst of at this point.

From the initial intention of building a network of communications, however, the deeper issue is of understanding the primary symbolic capital that GUCM needs to promote, i.e., cultural capital. For instance, we know that the organization needed to firstly be perceived as useful in the field of music. The Director tries to enhance this perception of activity through presenting the organization's future potential outcomes as definitive results of their present organizational process. For example, a representative from the media had 'expressed profound scepticism that it [GUCM] could amount to anything' asking 'what does it do for the city?' because 'what we've got in the city, is what we've got anyway' (Michael Tumelty, CultureCast, The Herald, Scotland, 2011). In order to respond

to these questions, the Director has to present an image of an organization that has a plan. However, because being an independent charity and thus having a limited budget, GUCM has not enough resources to develop plans alone and is thus reliant on developing plans with other organizations. The Director expressed that ‘rather than getting a plan and working to it specifically’, she was ‘frustrated about the way the organization has to wait and just build up networks’ – ‘The length of time it’s taking to get going is causing frustration for me’.

Along with the issue of the amount of time it takes to build relationships and wait until a suitable organization wants to work on a project with GUCM, there was the issue of how to decide which projects were of interest to GUCM, i.e., what the organization itself should ideally work on if resources were not an issue. ‘Another problem is working out GUCM’s plans – to know the main road would be helpful’. But it is the organization’s plans rather than actions are seen in the discussion of projects: ‘At the moment, we are going to be focusing on four or five projects, two of which are already close to happening...’, and although the work was understood as ‘building a legitimacy – we have to be doing things and be seen to be doing things, so that there is a common understanding’. Sometimes, developing projects with potential partners got stuck in the planning phase and did not seem to manifest quickly enough in order to be able to represent progress for the organization. . The Director would try to hurry this process up: ‘...perhaps you could let me know how we can take this forward as we flesh out the event...’ The ‘work’ of GUCM, rather than reflecting specific projects, is seen as ‘establishing the company, building key relationships and putting in place plans for the future’ (Internal Document, 2010). The Director is focused on what is seen as the important aspect of building relations, but in the process of focusing on this, has to find a way to present the organization as useful to the wider field even though the organization may not presently be pragmatically very useful, in terms of achieving concrete results. The Director negotiates the struggle for developing more positive social judgements of the organization by communicating future plans in such a way that these can be understood as definitive results of field-wide support.

Due to its position in the field, GUCM was in a 'waiting' situation – waiting for other organizations to move forward with ideas, or waiting for funding to come through. However, the position of GUCM, through its title and its perception as benefitting dominant agents in the field of music in Glasgow, was somewhat advantaged, and this enabled the Director to begin work on safeguarding the position (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:101) of the organization. What this section has shown us is that the importance that was assigned to being inclusive of the wider field of music, rather than to those who were already associated with the title, meant that a substantial amount of work being done by the Director was difficult to evaluate and benchmark in a recognizable way. In order to aid external agents' valorization of GUCM, the Director incorporated different styles of communication into the organization's daily negotiations, i.e., the Director's interactions with other members of the field(s), showed through the many ways an influential agent might be dealt with – from formal letters and emails, to more informal phone-calls and conversations.

Social judgement was understood as a response to how the organization related to both those in the field, and the values of the field. Dominating social judgement with particular acceptable representations of the organization was a fundamental part of the work of GUCM. Much of the representation communicated to the field, as a result, was with regard to what the organization was going to do, rather than what it was presently doing. The organization was, to a certain extent, caught in the position of needing to represent itself in various formats in order to negotiate with agents in various positions in the field. Safeguarding the established position of the organization in the field, i.e., the position as a result of its symbolic value already recognized by the members of the field, was only one aspect of the work for the organization. 'Solidarity' in the field (Bourdieu, 1986:7) was based on the acceptance by agents of positive representations of the organization: the Director needed to build yet more social capital.

Emerging organizations need to be noticed in the field in order to establish a starting position, before they can embark upon position-taking in the field. And Public relations (PR) are believed to be a professional mechanism to increase the organization's public profile. Yet, acquiring PR was seen as something that could potentially be received for free. There was an interconnection seen between the organization's public profile, as

regards the general audience of the public of Glasgow, and the organization's acceptance by members of the field as a legitimate player. The importance of this connection was recognized, yet underestimated, during the time of GUCM's emergence into the field. There is a process of affirmation and reaffirmation of relationships which Bourdieu calls the 'work' of reproducing social capital. Not only does the work involved require a disposition that reflects the specific field symbols that are seen in affirmation and reaffirmation, but it also involves spending time and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). We are starting to see another interconnection between an organization's acceptance by members of the field as a legitimate player, i.e., building social capital, and the necessity to have economic capital in order to enable that process.

### **Basis of Solidarity**

The organization's communication to agents in the field was paramount to developing a particular public profile. A public profile needs to be building perceptions of GUCM as a legitimate entity in the field. The Director brought her own social and cultural capital to the role which was thought to enhance the position of the title and the organization's capacities. However, because the organization was potentially accountable to a wider spectrum of investors than those involved in its bidding process, the issue arose of what constitutes a beneficial relationship for both the investors and for GUCM. One defined role or purpose was as a 'hub' for musicians and musical knowledge, an idea advanced by the organization's website, and development of contacts through social media, especially Facebook and Twitter accounts. Improving virtual relations was less time-consuming than face-to-face relations. At the centre of building communications were the fundamental ideas of selling GUCM as a 'good story', that 'selling GUCM' was also 'selling Glasgow', and the 'external ownership' of the organization. The social capital inherited through hiring a particular Director along with having particular Board members needed to be enhanced. Thus, the organization is reliant on the external perceptions of agents in the field. Being a 'hub' could enable a stronger and more legitimate position for GUCM in the field of music.

GUCM, as an organization, inherited social capital through previous relationships built up by the Director. As well as the connections built as a result of cultural capital – being a member of many Boards, or having been in top management roles in local arts organizations – the Director had previously created contacts that enabled her to suggest solutions to problems. For example, during the discussion of where to put on an event, the Director might say that we ‘have to find a place to do that... I don’t have space anymore’, and as a result of social capital, she solves the issue through drawing on her contact – ‘but, I know the people who do [have the space]’. An advantage of having social capital is that it enables the Director, in her present situation, to do more, beyond that which her economic capital allows: ‘The good thing about the network is that we know and trust each other. We are friends.’ Previously developed social capital is an additional capacity the Director can incorporate when attempting to develop something: ‘I’ve done some stuff I would never have done, only for this network’, e.g. international projects that could never have come to fruition without her contacts. After about a year of regularly meeting with people who request to speak with the Director, contacts built up in this way began to affect the organization’s ability to connect with the wider field of music, i.e., not only people involved in classical music, but also those working in the section of the field that is non-classically orientated. As the Director said of her approach, ‘To start with, we didn’t prioritise any relationships. We treated everybody the same, which is lucky because people turned up’. She viewed her approach, although more time intensive, as being more beneficial in the long run in terms of understanding more clearly the work already happening, and thus being able to envision a role for the organization that was more widely inclusive, across all investors of GUCM. The accumulation of inherited social capital as a result of previous relationships built by the Director and new relationships built as Director of GUCM enable the Director to draw on the other capital held by these connections, thus strengthening the capacity for GUCM to act.

The wide spectrum of investors that the Director needed to maintain meant that she also had to develop social capital on a wide scale in order to achieve what she understood to be the organization’s full potential. Understandings of what constituted a beneficial relationship with GUCM differed according to the investor. Some investors needed help

finding more economic capital and hoped that associating themselves with GUCM would achieve this. The Director's response to this was, for example, 'We need to help you find £3,500. We don't have it. You can use our logo and UNESCO name if that helps.' The process of maintaining social capital was ongoing and time-consuming involving conversing, meeting, eating, emailing, reporting and phoning: 'I spoke to...'; '...have a meeting with...'; 'was at a dinner...'; 'having lunch with...'; 'I got the email from...'; 'We sent them an interim report...'; 'I had four phone-calls from...'; 'Plug in with...' The Director understood that 'relationships have to be prioritised', that a Director 'can't do anything unless you can keep going'. Other organizations also put effort into the maintenance of their relationship with GUCM: 'Is it possible to develop collaborations with GUCM?' The timing of when a relationship is strengthened, or challenged in order to develop it, is an important part of the work of building social capital. For example, when considering working closer with an organization that could enhance GUCM's position substantially in the field of music, the Director highlights its apparently useful timing for GUCM, saying that 'it is exactly the right time to think about developing a partnership with [you]'. Time becomes an issue for the development of the social capital needed to enhance the organization's image. The value of GUCM as social capital for another organization is seen through being a benefit to them in some sense – through enabling them to access funding, or through giving them time and sharing expertise and knowledge. It requires external organizations to gain value from GUCM in some way, and it also requires GUCM to gain value from external organizations.

### ***Importance of Timing: The Website***

A definitive purpose for the organization was to become a 'hub' of knowledge and expertise. It was thought that through the development of the organization as a hub via its website and other internet programmes, the organization could develop relationships with a greater number of people, without demanding more time from the Director. There had been a 'quick' website set up by Glasgow City Marketing Bureau (GCMB), while there was preparation of the 'new' website. The perspectives held by those with influence within the organization were paramount to how the website would function when eventually designed and launched. For example, for a member of the Board, a

website was successful when ‘substantive, definitive, with everything that’s going on and linked to hotels’, whereas for an employee of the organization, a website is most useful when it serves a wider, more local audience with ‘listings’ and ‘user-generated content... not too wordy’. The Director envisioned the ‘new’ website as one of the organization’s ‘big ideas’. ‘Neutrality’ was important and that the website was innovative ‘without alienating people’, i.e., that the website would not impinge on any other organization’s work in the city; that it didn’t appear to show preference for any musical genre or venue; and that when people logged on to the website they could appreciate the creative form it took rather than being frustrated by it. The negotiation of what form a useful website would take reflects the broader issue involved in GUCM becoming the ‘hub’ for music in Glasgow. It was said that ‘GUCM has an insight into the cultural landscape’, yet the problem, according to the Director, is that ‘it’s diverse and vague’, that it could ‘basically be an umbrella’. Thus, the issue was with regard to the content of the organization prompting the importance of deciding whether GUCM was going to offer investors something new as regards information about music in Glasgow, or whether it would simply take the information already available and bring it together on the website, as an ‘umbrella’ organization might do. Even though the website was ‘a great reference point’, it was also ‘very generic’, i.e., it served its purpose of acknowledging the existence of GUCM, but it was not useful as a tool for interaction and audience development. The website and other social media connections that GUCM were building were fundamental to the external ownership of the title of GUCM. It was assumed that the website would enable GUCM to access wider audiences, and provide the organizational members with a definitive purpose – acting as ‘enablers and facilitators’. Through strengthening relationships with the agents in the field in this sense, the Director hopes that it would establish a stronger position in the field. Thus, the position of GUCM would be legitimated by representations of its usefulness through providing a ‘hub’ for music and giving valuable time to agents.

Due to the time required to build a social network that might enable the organization to fulfil this role of ‘hub’, the organization could not portray its present usefulness to evaluators. ‘Effectiveness’ in the field is understood as ‘attaining given goals’ which can become a ‘source of legitimacy’ (Stryker, 1994:860). However, it is not clear whether

there is a limit to the amount of time available for an emerging organization in a field to become understood as effective. The Director, however, felt that GUCM would become useful, or effective, in the future, once it had established itself as a 'hub'. It is important to remember that the reason the Director was so focused on developing social networks and through them, social capital, was the organization's lack of economic capital. Through developing social networks and becoming the 'hub' of music in Glasgow, the Director could show the importance and usefulness of the organization to the field. This portrayal would then enable funders in the political field to grant the 'legitimate gaze' (Bourdieu, 1984:327) on the organization, meaning that GUCM would be in a stronger position in the field (having increased social and political capital<sup>36</sup>) and would be in a stronger position to transform these capitals into economic capital. Herein lay the epitome of the difficulties faced by the Director of the organization: the time needed to develop a social network that would enable them to enact their role as 'hub'; and the requirement to be granted this time by the members of the field, whilst maintaining its already established symbolic capital – cultural and social capital.

It was also hoped that one benefit of the Director sharing her time with agents in the field would be to 'get something out of nothing'. 'Nothing' means not anything material, i.e., not money nor resources. Time spent building relationships with other agents may not always have this successful outcome, however. Sometimes time spent building relationships would eventually become time that had been wasted. The process, i.e., 'how to get something out of nothing', consisted of the Director exploiting the title in its many conceptual formats – 'endorsement', 'badge', 'banner', and 'brand'. Through offering the title to other agents for their own use in this way, the Director hoped to see some 'strong synergies with potential partners'. 'Potential', for example, could be a 'unique' person that gives GUCM the 'potential to work with the wider world'. Work sometimes was constituted of having built enough connections in order to be able to

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<sup>36</sup> For an explanation of 'political capital', please see Chapter Two: Literature Review, Bourdieusian Relations.

access the resources needed to do something: 'If you're lucky, you know enough people to get what you need to do, done'.

Building relationships specifically with the other UNESCO Creative Cities in Edinburgh and Ghent involved the Director fulfilling her self-described role, in the position of Director of GUCM, 'as ambassador... getting every benefit for Glasgow' and trying to 'encourage things to happen'. Eventually, collaboration as a result of these efforts can be understood as a 'coincidence' of interests, the coincidence being that the interests of two people or organizations converged at the right time.

For instance, GUCM collaborated with Edinburgh UNESCO City of Literature (EUCL) on a project titled 'Let's Get Lyrical'. This month-long festival of events about words in the form of musical lyrics brought the two creativities of music and literature together.

Although this project was initiated by both organizations, it was eventually described as being 'created and run by Edinburgh UNESCO City of Literature in partnership with Glasgow UNESCO City of Music' (Let's get Lyrical Flyer, 2011). The relationship between these two organizations had developed through face-to-face meetings between the Directors, as well as phone-calls and emails between other employees in both organizations and between Directors. The first of these meetings was over a year before the festival itself. Preparation meetings and discussion-groups were held with people involved in music and literature in both Glasgow and Edinburgh. The findings, thoughts, and ideas originating from these meetings were combined by EUCL, which resulted in an outline and plan. This plan was managed by a freelance project co-ordinator, based in Edinburgh. The launch for this festival took place in Edinburgh and became Edinburgh-based with links to Glasgow in its final line-up. GUCM's role in this festival was not equal to Edinburgh's, but the first joint UNESCO Creative Cities project had taken place and this collaboration had been established and maintained to the point of production of a festival.

### ***The Dependent GUCM***

Aside from collaborative relationships, the Director of GUCM was dependent upon the partnership of other organizations in the field for the development of some key themes established by both the interim management group previously, and the Director and the Board, as for example, helping the city develop youth music and enabling tourism in Glasgow. The relationship that would enable the former was with 'Hear Glasgow! Strategic Music Partnership'. To develop youth music, the Director began increasing formal ties with the Strategic Music Partnership (SMP). This organization was formally independent, yet, held strong links with the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall's Education Programme, even before it eventually became actually immersed within this Education Programme. The organizations that dealt with youth music at a formal level were the Education Department based in City Halls under the management of the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall, and also the Arts Development Team from Culture and Sport Glasgow (CSG, now Glasgow Life – the city's sport and arts council). The SMP was funded (and the original idea of a youth music forum was created) by the Scottish Arts Council (SAC, now Creative Scotland). Associations between GUCM and 'Hear Glasgow!' would thus be beneficial not only for the youth music connection but also for the connection with Creative Scotland. During a GUCM board meeting it had been decided that the organization needed to become connected with youth music. GUCM formalized the link with 'Hear Glasgow!' through a 'Memorandum of Understanding' which outlined how both organizations were going to work towards their similar goal of developing youth music. Although this research only covered the beginnings of this partnership, i.e., the beginnings of relationships being built between members of GUCM and 'Hear Glasgow!', what is clear from the perspective of the Director of GUCM is that this partnership was fundamental to GUCM's ability to have an impact on youth music in Glasgow.

Enabling tourism in Glasgow required connections with Glasgow City Marketing Bureau (GCMB) to be maintained and enhanced. GCMB had developed a website for GUCM in the early months of the organization's establishment. The connection with GCMB was different than that with 'Hear Glasgow!' because it was on a mostly informal level – the Directors were colleagues, with a relationship built while the GUCM Director was in a

previous position as Chief Executive of the Glasgow Royal Concert Halls. GCMB had their own responsibility to the development of GUCM due to their involvement in the bid process and also in their role as promoter of musical events for the city council (Glasgow City of Music, Application Dossier, 2008).

Both of these examples show how GUCM was reliant on other organizations for their continued existence in Glasgow, especially with an organization such as GCMB, which played a fundamental role within Glasgow, reflected in its close connection to the work of the City Council. This placed the Director in a position of needing to ensure that the relationship with an organization of this kind would remain useful and would be viewed positively, as a negative relationship could have a detrimental effect and hinder the development of GUCM. GUCM is dependent because they need other organizations to achieve their core aims. Bourdieu's (1986:7) concept of the 'basis of solidarity' is seen here, through the need for 'material and symbolic exchanges' in order to build relationships, in this case, especially with organizations and members of organizations that GUCM had a particular reliance and dependence upon for its position in the field of music in Glasgow.

### ***External ownership of GUCM***

Communicating to agents in the field of music was a priority for GUCM – in order to enable the 'hub' and build connections, i.e., social capital. It was agreed by the Director and the Board that the organization could encourage further social capital, in the form of external ownership, by representing the organization through a 'good story' – the organization should think of it as 'selling Glasgow' as well as being a 'hub' for artistic representation. Being a hub was core to what the Director saw as being the organization's purpose for the wider public in Glasgow. There was a perceived need for an organization to bring together all the information in relation to anything connected to music. There was much happening in Glasgow, but it was not possible for one person to access all the information easily. The website was a method of collating and communicating musical information in an easily accessible form for the public of Glasgow. However, in order to 'sell Glasgow', the organization would be taking what was already part of the city as a centre of music, and reframing it for a national and

international audience. The 'good story' was seen as being needed to increase interest and develop awareness of the title. However, 'selling Glasgow' was already an operation under the formal direction of two organizations – Glasgow City Marketing Bureau (GCMB) and Visit Scotland. GUCM needed to construct a 'good story' quickly and it needed to be unique for it could not do what was already being accomplished by these two other organizations.

The 'good story' was that of GUCM being useful – being a 'hub' for music in Glasgow; and most importantly, not prioritizing one investor over another, i.e., serving all those who worked in music in Glasgow, not just those in the classical music field. Creating this story was the daily work of the Director of GUCM. Communicating it and having people in the field believe it requires a strong network in the field. The work of communicating it is, thus, also the work of building social capital. Communication to agents is necessarily selective. GUCM was under the constant constraint of having too little time to develop its long-term goals of building social capital at the grassroots level. There is a prioritization of building social capital and relationships with those agents who are seen as being the most influential as regards the Director's capacity to enable organizational action, and enhance and negotiate for position in the field.

Communication is understood, in the context of GUCM, to be the centre of building a basis of solidarity (Bourdieu, 1986:7). Building a sense of a group that an agent relies upon for legitimacy can enable the agent to access further symbolic capital. 'Solidarity' is seen in the amount of 'credentials' held by members of the group and is built through both 'material and symbolic exchanges' (Bourdieu, 1986:7). The Director had many previously developed credentials in the local and international field of music. In her role with GUCM, she felt that there was a wider spectrum of investors that required time and effort spent in order to build relations with them. Sometimes the time demanded to achieve this was beyond the capacity of the Director. One method of saving time in the process of building connections was through exploiting the potential of the GUCM website and social media accounts. Successfully building social capital reflects the understanding that the relationship mutually benefits both GUCM and the external organization. The value of building the relationship must be clear. Being accepted as a

'hub' for music in Glasgow would benefit GUCM by becoming understood as useful for both the field of music and the wider public. Being useful to a wide range of people and agents in the field told a 'good story' of GUCM. In order to be able to develop its role as a 'hub' and its ability to 'sell Glasgow', the organization needed to be valued by the agents and the public of Glasgow, i.e., needed to be externally owned. Due to the pressures of time, those responsible for the development of beneficial relationships for the organization needed to establish priorities. This would enable the Director to focus her time more clearly on those agents requiring more of her time, based on the understanding that the organization's underlying aim, at this point, was to survive and perhaps build some symbolic capital and acquire enough economic capital for the next financial year.

### **Prioritizations**

Even though the Director was willing to offer her time in order to maintain and build relationships, the organizational members could not offer a substantial amount of time to everyone they hoped to reach. This issue necessitated the Director prioritizing who she would invest her time with in terms of agents in the field. Her priorities reflected the symbolic capital that GUCM was most lacking, i.e., those holding influential positions in the field of music, who were also those who held the appropriate amount of cultural, social, and economic capital. The Director needed to maintain her own position as head of GUCM before she could ensure the position of the organization in the field. For instance, if the Director no longer maintained the cultural and social capital that had resulted in her being offered the position of Director, then she was in danger of not being seen as an appropriate choice for Director of GUCM. The position of both the organization and the Director rely on maintaining relations with present and potential funders. The Director's personal position in the field also relies on her relation with the Board of Trustees of the organization. There is an issue of simultaneously working on both sets of relations. The field of music in Glasgow is dominated by the 'field of power' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:18) and agents in the field of music need to acquire economic capital. The process of acquiring economic capital involves first developing social capital with those most influential agents who can grant economic capital. The

idea of political capital gains importance in the process of acquiring economic capital within the field of music. Although it is social capital that is being worked on, it is a specific sort of social capital that is developed in the political field, because those with the capacity to grant economic capital to agents in the field of music are positioned within the political field in Scotland. The Director hoped that building social capital and thus political capital would not only enable the organization to maintain its position within the fields of music and politics and, thus, power, but also would provide the organization with the capacity to enhance its position.

Although the Director's role is to enhance the image of the organization in the field, the Director needs to maintain the visibility of her own position first and foremost. The Director's position with the organization was most reliant on being able to maintain and acquire economic capital for the organization. The Board of Trustees places a huge importance on maintaining and enabling the organization's ability to gain funding. The relationships that need to be developed to enable this funding are quite specific, and being able to demonstrate the value of the organization was an important part of developing and maintaining these relationships. The Director felt that 'money is at the core of the work I am doing now... as is the search for it'. For example, there was a discrepancy between how the Director perceived the organization's position and what one of the main sources of funding understood as being the position of the organization. The communication between GUCM and this funding source was not able to clarify this discrepancy. For example, the funding source understood 'GUCM is okay for this financial year'. The Director reported that the funding source had 'sent an email saying that we [GUCM] don't need their money' but 'I said that we do'.

Communication is seen as attempting 'to keep in close touch with all our stakeholders, public and private, to ensure that they know that we value their contribution and put it to good use'. Even though being perceived to value all stakeholders equally is important, it was mentioned by one leading player in the field that the practical demands of surviving in the field of music meant that GUCM needed organizations such as 'DF Concerts and SOMA [Record] to appreciate [GUCM]'. DF Concerts is an organization that specializes in events promotion in Scotland and SOMA is a record label. Both

generate a substantial amount for the economy in Scotland through their work in the field of music, and are thus influential players in the field. Being appreciated by organizations such as these would mean that GUCM would be becoming a more legitimate player in the field of music, which is the main aim for developing social capital. Being important to organizations such as these would require yet another level of communication in addition to those of funders, or grassroots organizations. As the 'Director takes responsibility for working individually with each partner', it was her role to ensure that all investors felt equally involved with GUCM (Internal Documents, 2008).

We see that there were competing requirements that could hinder the organization's ability to become a 'hub' and tell a 'good story'. There were also difficulties involved with directing an organization that required a substantial amount of focus on developing its role as a 'hub' and the same amount of focus on building social capital that would simply maintain its position in the field. One of the important environmental factors affecting organizations in the field of music, according to the Director, was that funding was 'being cut at the moment in a major way'. It was also evident to the Director herself that 'not much directing is being done... just running around on other people's agendas'. In order to negotiate the lack of enough social capital to build political capital, and due to this the reliance on 'other people's agendas', the prioritization of certain investors over others comes to the fore. The Director felt that 'you need to identify who the key stakeholders are'. However, her personal key stakeholders were not the same as those for others in the GUCM organization, i.e., those stakeholders who influenced her own personal position as Director of GUCM. Her key stakeholder was the Chair of the Board: 'Mine is [the Chair]. I work for [the Chair]'. Thus, it was important that the Director not 'cause any trouble' for the Chair. Due to funding cuts, the agents in the field of music 'will be scrambling a bit' and it is vital that the organization increase social capital as 'we'll probably have to live on very little money next year', thereby ensuring that the Director's necessity to run around 'on other people's agendas' would be a feature of her work for the foreseeable future.

Developing the core projects of the organization is essential to maintaining the position of GUCM in the field of music (and also the political field and the field of power).

However, the competing requirements for the Director to fulfil the role understood to be required of her from the Board of Trustees, and the role of developing the organization, were hindered due to the time necessary to achieve all of this. Telling a 'good story', developing the key purpose of the organization as a 'hub' for music in Glasgow, and maintaining the Director's own position in the field, are three roles that required developing specific relationships. The Director felt the need to find a way to do all three simultaneously: building social capital that benefited the specified roles concurrently.

GUCM is in a field that is dominated by the necessity to be perceived as an acceptable organization by those who can provide funding – 'Firstly, we need some public body to give cash'. Building social capital with funders is also a process of building political capital. Making social connections with people who were holders of political capital (i.e., those in the political field who had the authority to grant economic capital) is paramount to this process. Previously, the Director had held positions that enabled her to build social capital in this particular arena and these were reflected in her being called upon for advice (i.e., being asked her opinion by members of the Arts Council), sitting on committees that dealt specifically with enabling the city to benefit from music economically – 'Politically, the answer is sitting on SMEF (Strategic Major Events Forum)' – and being a key member of discussions regarding how to create an organization that would ensure the continuity of the arts in Scotland – 'Meetings have included consultation on the structure and aims of Creative Scotland; a discussion on the Creative Economy at the Scottish Parliament; and a meeting with the fledgling Glasgow Strategic Music Partnership' (Director's Report, 2009). The Director continually worked on the process of building social capital in the political field and understood that this was a type of game that needed to be played in order to enable the organization to develop. For instance, in order to be able to have ideas funded, members of the field of music needed to be able to interact within, and negotiate with people, in the political field. The Director understood this necessity, saying, 'we can play – we're not politicians, but we're political about music'. As has already been mentioned, a lot of her time was spent on the process of building connections and this was especially true of building contacts in the political field. In a report to the Board, the Director described her work for one month as being almost completely about building (and maintaining) social

capital: 'The last month has been one of consolidation, building on contacts and partnership made during the launch celebrations and planning for the future'. We can see the domination of the field of music by the field of politics, and the direct link between gaining political capital and accessing economic capital. Building social capital was central to the development of the organization, due to the understanding that social capital in the political field was a connection to political capital, and being able to develop recognition of the value of GUCM in the political field was vitally important to the maintenance and development of GUCM.

The first step to the development of the organization was the maintenance of the organization's current position in the field. The process of building social capital was also a process of maintaining inherited social capital. Inherited social capital is the capital that the members of the organization, i.e., the Board of Trustees and the Director, have personally built as a result of their previous working experience. There was a substantial amount of work involved in the maintenance of this social capital as has been discussed above. As we know, safeguarding the position (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:101) of the organization required the Director to communicate to agents in the field in many ways: letters, emails, informal phone-calls and conversations. Influencing the social perceptions of the organization was paramount and this required producing acceptable and accepted representations of the organization. The economic position of the organization meant that GUCM was in a 'waiting' position – waiting for 'other people's agendas' to coincide with their objectives. Remaining in a 'waiting' position was an acceptable outcome for GUCM as long as the organization 'waiting did not hinder the agents' perception of GUCM as a useful organization, i.e., the image of the organization that others retained was that it was useful. GUCM had previous social capital due to its association with influential agents of the field during the bid process. The purpose of GUCM was intertwined with its maintenance of previous social capital. The use of GUCM for the field was reflected in social contacts and the potential to be of benefit to them. To a certain extent, GUCM's value was reflected in its position in the field of music simply due to the cultural capital it possessed through its title. Maintaining the value of this cultural capital, however, was paramount and achieved through safeguarding the position (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:101) of the organization: building social capital and

being understood as socially valuable. Maintaining its cultural value and building a social appreciation of its value was how GUCM could safeguard its position (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:101) in the field. This was, however, only an acceptable outcome of building social capital, rather than the outcome which would have been preferred. For those associated formally with GUCM, a preferable outcome of those associates' connections would be if it enabled others to enhance their own symbolic capital, and perhaps that of their organization by default. Enhancing symbolic capital would improve their stake in their field, and thus their position.

The Director's initial role was to enhance the image of the organization, however, in order to do this she also needs to sustain her own position in the field, and her own cultural and social capital. Her own position is also reliant on both maintaining access to economic capital and acquiring new sources of economic capital for the organization. Due to the competing requirements (in terms of time) of enhancing the image of the organization as a 'hub' and as a 'good story', whilst maintaining a personal position, it was important to develop quite specific relationships. It was important that the social capital built benefitted the three areas of focus simultaneously. This process was possible in terms of increasing social capital recognized particularly in the political field, i.e., recognized by those who were in a position to grant funding or economic capital to the organization. The first step, as seen here, in maintaining the organization's present position in the field is working on increasing its symbolic capital, in the form of social capital. Although maintaining social capital was an acceptable outcome, a more preferable outcome would be to actually increase the organization's symbolic capital which would result in a more influential position in the field of music, the political field, and ultimately, the field of power.

Some of the newest relationships built as a result of the awarding of a UNESCO City of Music title to Glasgow were those with the other Creative Cities. In September of 2010, the 'Declaration of Ghent' focused on four Cities of Music (Ghent, Bologna, Seville, and Glasgow) and how they would build a 'privileged partnership'. The 'four fields where collaboration and exchange between them' might be enabled were set out clearly – collaboration in the field of musical education focusing on the conservatoires and

universities; co-productions during the cities' main festivals; sharing expertise in relation to large-scale events; and building on the cities' heritage and tourism (Declaration of Ghent, 2010). The international realm of relationships built by GUCM was focused on building the elite (conservatoire) and expert areas of work happening in the cities. Understanding which stakeholders or investors to prioritize enabled the Director to focus on those who could immediately benefit the position of GUCM. The difficulty of this is that in order to build the social capital necessary to gain the position that GUCM needed, the organization also needed to offer value externally.

## **Discussion**

This chapter shows how the members of the Board and the organization of GUCM tried to enhance and enable their network of connections. It also outlines how the members negotiated various institutional understandings in the field, seen through the necessity for the members to prioritize specific evaluators. Communication is paramount to the process of building social capital for an organization and it was shown how the members of the organization formally and informally communicated with their network of connections.

GUCM worked at communicating symbols of social capital to the different evaluating audiences: not only constantly striving for their audiences to evaluate the organization in a way that would enhance its acceptance in the field, but firstly, striving to be noticed as an organization worthy of attention. The members of GUCM consistently tried to relate to the evaluating audiences which they saw as being most relevant to enable the organization to enhance its position in the field. Relating to their investors (of time and/or money), referred to in the field as 'stakeholders', was paramount to the members of GUCM. The daily work of GUCM – the responsibility of the Director – was to communicate to both other members of the field and the evaluating audiences of the organization. Due to the Director's goal to have GUCM as an organization that served the general public of Glasgow, the main evaluating audience referred to here is the city rather than just the organization's investors of time and money. It was important to the Director that the organization's work would be inclusive of the general public and not

exclusively for the influential members of the field. The Director needed to manage and prioritize the disparate views of GUCM in order to achieve both public awareness and acceptance in the field. She was also continuously evaluating how GUCM was being perceived by the field: the purpose of this being to hopefully influence dominant social judgement of the organization with field-appropriate and field-acceptable images.

Increasing social capital is an important part of the development of an emerging organization and was fundamental for the emerging organization of GUCM in the field of music in Glasgow. Before the development of the role of the organization as a 'hub', or perhaps due to the goal of the organization to create this role, the organization's members needed to expand its social contact in order to include a wider section of the musical community in Glasgow. In the first year of the development of the organization of GUCM, the Director described how she had not been given a plan to work to, but how her time was being spent 'just building up networks'. She explained that GUCM 'cannot make a plan until the networks have been built': building networks is a method 'to get something out of nothing'. The method of enabling the organization to start and complete projects was to build networks of people and organizations that could be called upon to work with, and for, GUCM.

From the literature review, we know that Stryker (1994; Stryker, 2000) describes the mechanisms organizations use in order to construct legitimacy. When the rules of the field are understood as 'the way things are', organizations are seen to internalize the rules through 'behavioural consent to the rules' and an 'attitudinal approval of the rules' (Stryker, 1994:856; Stryker, 2000:192). A third, constitutive mechanism, seen in a cognitive orientation to the rules, can enable the observation of competing sets of rules in the field. People are thus no longer 'restricted to the way things are' (Stryker, 1994:902). These three approaches to the rules perceived in the field are explained as mechanisms used by organizations. The presence of approaches such as these reflect the organizational members' legitimation of the system of rules in the field, and their employment by an emerging organization increases the possibility of an organization being perceived as legitimate by the members of the field. 'Sources of reinforcement' are members of external fields who can provide and support the actions or strategies used by

agents that are not recognized within their field as acceptable or appropriate. In this case, the sources of reinforcement refer to those outside of the field of music, e.g. funders, who could provide support, both materially and symbolically, that would enable GUCM to gain a more influential position within the field.

GUCM used some legitimating mechanisms (Stryker, 2000) to encourage the sources of reinforcement (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008:20) to facilitate GUCM in establishing an influential position in the field. Changes to the external perceptions of an organization are based on understandings which members of the field have of an organization. If an organization becomes more understandable, it is more likely that the organization's position in the field will improve (Bourdieu, 1998). Organizational members' actions in a field are based upon understandings they have of what is appropriate and acceptable in the field. Their behaviour and attitude reflects their acceptance of the 'rules of the game' in the field. GUCM relied on the external perceptions being positive and supportive in order to establish a more influential position in the field of music. The Director sensed this and that it was important that she established 'strong synergies with potential partners' and that the organization was in a position to 'develop other organizations' and peoples' relationships, in order that GUCM could become successful at 'joining up other organizations' and 'building a presence'.

Thus, the communication of organizational action to other members of the field, especially with regards to projects, was more future-oriented than not. The competing requirements of time, and of being granted time, hindered the organization's ability to 'do' rather than 'planning to do'. For example, as a consequence of its approach, GUCM spent a great deal of time 'waiting for other people to do things'. The Director felt that it was 'quite tiresome waiting' but 'now is the time for talking to everybody', as the organization was still only in its early stages of development. In addition, because of the title's international status – it being an award from UNESCO – 'every time a foreigner comes' to the city, the Director of GUCM would be expected to host them. This was 'very time consuming' for the full-time Director and it led to the perception of a lot of time being wasted on events that had no substantial connection to the development of local awareness of the title.

As the organization was not seen to be 'doing stuff', it was difficult to communicate its worth and value to the members of the field. If an organization is not interacting with the members of the field in a recognizable manner, then it will not have anything substantial to communicate and interpret to its evaluators. Funders in the field require potential recipients of funding to fulfil particular criteria. The Director of GUCM knew that the organization needed to 'do things' and be seen to 'do stuff' by the members of the field, but regardless of effort, the members of the organization were 'not getting what they needed in order to get going' on becoming a hub or an umbrella organization. The Director was 'very busy' with 'no time' to do anything beyond expanding social networks and developing relationships with funders. She always felt that projects were 'on hold' and waiting to be developed or completed due to bureaucracy. The Director repeatedly expressed that she felt like GUCM was focused on two things – 'time and money, of which we have neither'.

The members of GUCM understood that the basis of solidarity (Bourdieu, 1986:7) in the field – the arts community in Glasgow – is seen through 'socially instituted' acts of 'material/symbolic exchanges' which 'symbolise mutual acknowledgement' (Bourdieu, 1986:7). A comment frequently heard from people external to the organization with regard to GUCM was: 'I remember UNESCO [GUCM] had the launch event but I haven't heard anything about it since.' This comment would quickly be followed by the question, 'What is UNESCO [GUCM] working on at the moment?' This comment and question would usually be asked by members of other local organizations involved in the arts community. It shows the importance placed by members of the field on understanding (or comprehending) organizations in their field. The last point of reference they had in relation to GUCM's activities was a result of an instance – the launch of the organization – that had happened nearly two years previously. The launch of GUCM took place in 2009. By 2011, the comment above was still being made and the question above still being asked. We can see that people in the field did not know what GUCM was doing. If the basis of solidarity (Bourdieu, 1986:7) is established through 'material and symbolic exchanges', according to these comments and follow-up questions, GUCM had not produced anything material that was symbolizing their usefulness to the arts community. There was a general lack of understanding as to what the organization

offered the field and how the organization was playing its part as a member of the field. Acceptance in the field requires solidarity from the members of the field. GUCM faced challenges in developing this solidarity. This was seen in the dreaded possible evaluation of GUCM as ‘good, but they talk to nobody’, understood by those who said it as representing the perception of the organization as not contributing as a full participant of the field, and as an organization that is ‘good’ but not good enough.

Eventually, being a recipient of the legitimate gaze from influential members of the field potentially enables the recipient to reach a position where they are able grant the legitimate gaze themselves. Building social capital in the field was a process that required both giving legitimacy and being the recipient of legitimacy. For instance, as reliant as people were on the funding organizations, many agents in the field, although officially independent of these organizations, were also central to some of the values being incorporated into funding organizations’ policies. The Director of GUCM was part of these discussions and once noted that the ‘[funder] meeting is going to try to analyse the position of music in Scotland’. She took the stance of ‘Be useful or we will leave’, illustrating that the funding organizations needed the agents in the field’s authority and knowledge, as much as the agents in the field needed the funding agencies’ economic capital.

For the Director, it was an important part of building social capital to ‘make liaisons early enough so people already trust you’. After some reflection, a Board member mentioned that ‘GUCM has more of an online presence than I initially realized and this is a good way to build up relations with our stakeholders’. As much as the Director agreed and was happy to hear this, the importance of building relations face-to-face was not lost as she said that there was ‘a need to have an event at least once a year to bring people together’. In the Chair’s experience, he had ‘encounter[ed] people who are supportive, know a little bit’ about GUCM, but that the organization needed ‘to find some mechanism for locking them in’ as they were from a ‘wide parish’ by which he meant that the organization needed to find a way to keep all the investors and stakeholders, who are based in various fields, engaged and interacting with the organization. It was important that GUCM found a way to build social capital without

being completely reliant on the UNESCO brand itself. Having a sense of independence from the UNESCO brand was considered because the Director felt that ‘part of the risk I mentioned was the risk that the UNESCO brand might get devalued by something happening... we can’t control the use of the brand, but we can make sure that our little bit of it is kept with integrity’.

The social capital possessed by the members of the organization was previously developed in their other roles (and positions) in the field. Becoming part of the development of the new organization, these agents could then attempt to use their social capital on behalf of GUCM. The social capital of the members of GUCM is perceived and talked about by members of the field as forming part of an organizational disposition. Bourdieu tells us that the ‘principle of hierarchization’ in the field is part of the field in that ‘the occupants of... positions seek, individually or collectively, to safeguard or improve their position’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:101). The members of the organization were trying to negotiate a more influential position in the field both collectively, for the organization, and – as a consequence to that process – individually. The actions of the organization, as perceived by the members of the field, would thus reflect on the reputation of the members of GUCM. Part of the responsibility of the Director was to ensure that the image portrayed of the organization reflected positively on the members of the organization. An acceptable outcome of the involvement of the Board with the organization was that their profile, disposition, and reputation remained the same, i.e., it safeguarded their position (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:101). A preferred outcome however, would be that association with the organization enabled them to enhance their symbolic capital and thus their individual positions in the field.

We thus see two levels of position-taking here, both related to and reliant on each other: the individual members’ positions in the field and the organization’s position in the field. The symbolic capital possessed by the members of GUCM and the initial increase in social capital as a result of being part of the Board facilitated the starting position of the organization in the field. The title was an idea that was understood to possess its own cultural and political capital. Members of the organization could also improve their own positions in the field through association with this title. Maintaining an image of the

organization as a worthy and valuable entity within the field was thus fundamental to the continuation of the association between the positions of the members of the organization and the position of the organization.

There is a paradox, however, between the organization's ability to maintain its organizational structure as an independent charity and its dependent relationship with funders. Moore (2008:113) tells us that 'altruism' is a 'systematic denial of the fact that symbolic capitals are transubstantiated types of economic capital'. Creating an image of an altruistic organization within the context that GUCM found itself was possible, however, due to the field-wide understanding that even though all the organizations in the arts community are consistently dealing with the political and economic fields, it is still cultural capital that the field insists matters most to the members. Being without economic capital reinforces the importance of symbolic capital for an organization: but that economic capital and symbolic capital are interchangeable in a field raises an interesting issue that will be the topic of the next chapter. The problem becoming clear here is that GUCM needed to be comprehended primarily by the funders. As funders have specific criteria that an organization needs to meet, GUCM needed to be understood, by the funders, as an organization that reflected the funders' understanding of how an organization should function and how an organization should be useful to the field.

## Chapter Six

### The Legitimation of GUCM: Recognizing the Symbolic Importance of Economic Capital

‘As well as material wealth, *time* must be invested, for the value of symbolic labour cannot be defined without reference to the time devoted to it, *giving or squandering time* being one of the most precious gifts. It is clear that in such conditions symbolic capital can only be accumulated at the expense of the accumulation of economic capital.’

(Bourdieu, 1977:180, emphasis in original)

Throughout the process of establishment of the organization in the field, the Director felt a strong sense of wanting and needing to do things that reflected the organization’s values and aims yet was consistently practically hindered from doing so due to financial constraints. This applied both locally, in Glasgow, resulting in a particular reliance on potential partners – ‘It’s difficult to get projects moving with the partners which need to be involved as City of Music have no money’ – and also internationally, with other UNESCO Cities of Music – ‘It’s difficult to collaborate between four creative cities with no money to do it’. However, simultaneous to this, was the Director’s requirement to fulfil the role of host, on behalf of the UNESCO title, to significant visitors to Glasgow: ‘Every time a foreigner comes to the city, I have to give a presentation which is very time-consuming’. In addition to this, the city, represented by the Lord Provost, the staff in City Hall, and the City Council, had a number of official personnel for this role.

Bourdieu (1990:144) makes the important point that cultural organizations, or those involved in cultural production, belong to the cultural field which occupies ‘a dominated position in the field of power’. The cultural field is located within more dominant fields (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:109; Bourdieu, 1998:113), the political field and the economic field. Due to the dominance of these fields, the dominated field, in this case the cultural field, members feel the need to respond to political and economic logics before they can respond to the disinterested rules and aims of their own field (Bourdieu, 1990). Being approved funding by either the Scottish Government, Creative Scotland, or Glasgow City Council would reflect the recognition of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music as a worthy and accepted member of its field, as well as its being recognized in the political and economic fields. GUCM would fulfil a role and position in the cultural field and be able

to work to maintain and improve this position. Being able to negotiate funding is thus a central reflection of being a valued member of the field and earning and maintaining a position. When a Director fails to successfully negotiate funding, an organization needs to find other ways to retain its legitimate position in the field.

The pursuit of economic capital in the economic field is described by Bourdieu (1990:48) as interested, meaning that the members of the economic field are interested in the main stake of the field, which is economic capital. In the field of music in Glasgow, the action of being granted economic capital from funders is, in itself, symbolic capital. However, cultural organizations necessarily appear disinterested, i.e., they maintain a position of eschewing economic concerns in favour of cultural concerns, as a function of being part of the cultural field. Funding is indicative of an organization being worthy of remaining in existence. Funders hold a highly influential position in relation to a subsidized organization's existence and also an organization's opportunity to evolve. This chapter will focus on how and why the Director of GUCM felt it necessary to dedicate a vast proportion of her time to gaining approval from funders. It will look at why a disinterested field such as the cultural field is forced to focus on gaining economic capital rather than being free to spend time developing its specific and useful purpose for the field of music. The discussion in this chapter, looking at the development of GUCM's economic capital, is guided by the influential ideas and understandings seen in the field of music in Glasgow. The chapter looks at how the Director embodied these rules of the music field while also recognizing and working towards developing an organization that could be accepted within the understandings and rules of the economic field and political field. The dominant fields recognized throughout the course of this study will be discussed, followed by a discussion of the effect of economic and political power on the Director's, and thus the organization's, ability to function. Finally, there is a close study of the negotiation of a single stream of funding and how this impacted on the organization's position.

## **Economic & Political Power**

The title of UNESCO Creative City, because of its link to 'UNESCO' and the 'UN' could be argued to offer a 'degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity, consecration or honour' (Bourdieu, 1993:7), i.e., symbolic capital, to all the people who might be in a position to invoke the title in their work. Generally, people recognize the name of the institution of the United Nations (UN) and also recognize the work it aims to achieve, as something that intends to improve human rights internationally. Although, people may not initially recognize the title of UNESCO, they understand the established importance of it, due to its connection to the UN which is explained in its title – United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization. Being formally connected with the title of GUCM was believed to help organizations achieve whatever it is they want to achieve, the 'magic dust' that could be sprinkled on top of funding applications to enhance an organization's chances of funding. Symbolic power is a 'performative discourse... based on the possession of symbolic capital' (Bourdieu, 1990:138). The Director felt that it was in the area of support that GUCM could really make a difference: 'The smaller guys/people coming up – that's what we can help with'. The title is understood as a symbolic capital, which could, through association, enable 'the smaller guys' to be free to focus on their work, while the holders of the symbolic capital did the work of gaining political and economic capital.

There was a lack of clarity in relation to who it was that felt a sense of ownership of GUCM. We know that the Board and Director of GUCM wanted to focus on developing a sense of 'external ownership', so that the people of Glasgow felt that the title was their title and could be used for their advantage. However, the Board and Director did not specify who the 'people of Glasgow' were, i.e., they did not express clearly who their 'stakeholders' and 'audience' really were. The Director once said that organizations that need funding to run projects firstly 'need a portfolio [of completed projects] before they get funds and they can't get funds until they raise their profile'. It is a paradoxical condition for the survival of public organizations and charities that this large obstacle can lead to the closure of an organization. The title of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music could continue to exist and could be used to brand musical events and programmes without the independent office that it held up until February 2011. GUCM required

acceptance from its audience in order to demonstrate value to the funders, and needed funds in order to represent itself effectively to its audience. It appeared to be this paradoxical cycle of representation that required the organization to communicate two mutually-reliant points – neither of which might exist, nor be true, without the other. The first point is that if GUCM wanted to be seen as legitimate and capable of building symbolic value for its funders, then GUCM would need to be in a position to present its ‘audience’, in funding applications, as having ‘external ownership’. The second point here is that an ‘audience’ needs to see that an organization is ‘being valued by others first’.

It gradually became clear that while the organization spoke of prioritizing a particular genre of stakeholders - an audience for the organization - it simultaneously demonstrated the necessity of prioritizing another - namely, their funders, both real and potential. Clarifying the ‘stakeholders’ and ‘audience’ became a secondary concern to the maintenance of relationships with funders and to remaining ‘legitimate’ from their perspective. The construction of the legitimacy of an organization - in order to be seen as legitimate in the eyes of a funder - involves firstly, understanding what the funder’s values are and secondly, ensuring that the organization’s actions and resources are understood as valuable from the funder’s sense of value, rather than the organization’s own. The Director saw gathering funding as ‘the core of the work she is doing now... as in the search for it’. The importance attached to economic capital is worth only as much as the members of the more dominant economic field apply to it. In this case, the work of gathering funding is deemed centrally important, and fundamentally necessary for survival in the cultural field. But what is important to remember is that symbolic value can be attached to anything: ‘...social magic can constitute more or less anything as interesting, and establish it as an object of struggle...’ Bourdieu (1990:88).

During this period, however, the funders’ values were aligned with some broader societal issues and concerns. In July 2010, there was an article in the Daily Telegraph pronouncing that ‘Scotland’s economy is teetering on brink of a double-dip recession and the number of companies going bust has reached record levels, official figures have revealed’ (Johnson, telegraph.co.uk, 2010). The global recession had affected Scotland’s economy in the past and was threatening to have even more of an effect in the near

future. The values as regards the spending of public money were directly challenged by the recession. As an organization in the cultural field at this time, GUCM needed to be able to present an image of an organization that would reassure the funders of its benefits. A report was put together for the Department for Culture, Media, and Sport (DCMS) along with the Department for Business Innovation and Skills. It was reflective of the state of finances for businesses in the Creative Industries and it stated that 'uncertainty may be a particular issue for CIBs [Creative Industry Businesses] due to uncertainty about the demand for their products... at a time when banks and other finance providers are more risk averse, this uncertainty in funding CIBs may give rise to more acute market failures... and, consequently, lenders may require CIBs to provide more collateral in order to obtain funding... another potential cause of market failure is a misalignment of interests between the owners of CIBs and financial providers... may give rise to problems of moral hazard where owners of CIBs are more motivated by the creative process than by pecuniary gain... finance providers may be more likely to ask for collateral from CIBs to ensure interests are aligned... however, the issue of collateral may be an impediment to obtaining finance' (Fraser, 2011:4). Along with these contextual issues, suggestions had been made that rather than focusing on annual funding for arts organizations, the arts community might benefit more from some long-term investment, i.e., funders working with an organization over a period of time to build an organization, rather than reassessing an organization's meeting of criteria annually. The importance of financing an organization, and the difficulties met during the process of gaining funding, meant that the process, already problematic, became even more of a struggle for the cultural field.

Being able to gain economic capital is thus connected to working with the rules established in a field. Economic capital, however, also symbolizes other ideas within the field. It is something that represents status: 'funding is very competitive, if you're on there it puts you up a status' (Director). But also, the process of gaining funding is one that leaves an organization or leader of an organization vulnerable to criticism. The Director understood that throughout the process of gaining funding for a project, the discussions with potential funders could not become public knowledge: 'This has to be kept confidential as [the leaders of the project] are still approaching people in relation to

money'. The members of the field, the negotiators of capitals, recognize that economic capital symbolizes much more than simply financial security.

The members of GUCM tried to transform in many different ways the symbolic capital held by the organization, recognized in the political field, for economic capital. The Director understood that 'subsidized organizations are thinking about paymasters. Many have three or four different paymasters with different objectives. You are thinking of how you generate cash. What you want to do and what you need to do in order to make money.' Sometimes the strategy for ensuring funding was left up to the Chair of the Board: 'It has to be your decision. If you sense the moment is right... to go on the offensive. When you see all the nice ways are done...' The Board members' discussion show that there were ways to negotiate for the funding they felt entitled to which were not damaging to the relationship between GUCM and their potential funders, however, if those ways did not work it might be necessary to negotiate for the funding in ways that the funders might not appreciate or find appropriate in relation to their assumed authority. The Director and the Board believed that funders needed to recognize the actions of the organization as valuable: '[Board member] suggested a future meeting to report on potential projects that are uniquely UNESCO. This would be useful in giving a clear view of what is important and of what we are trying to do'. The Chair believed that 'we need to ensure that all stakeholders are aware of what we are doing as this also opens up funding opportunities'. It was also thought necessary to include the presentation of organizational targets. As the Director said, 'Set the target clearly so that everyone knows what you're aiming for... nobody goes back once a target has been reached or even passed... and asks whether the target should have been different'.

When these methods did not ensure funding for the organization, the member felt that it might be effective to use their social connections in order to impress upon funders the organization's stance in relation to its symbolic capital. A Board member suggested that she 'could ask a question in [a political forum] about it'. It was becoming clear that agreements with funders were changing alongside the evolving relationship between members of GUCM and members of the funding organizations. For instance, the Director found that one of the funders 'suddenly have money due to a personal meeting

with [funder representative] who was very friendly'. Sometimes a complete change of source of funding seemed necessary, such as when the Director suggested that GUCM may need to look to the 'untouched force of the tourism agencies'. These understandings from the Director, and some of the Board members of GUCM, were based on previous experience with funders and gaining funding from organizations such as the Scottish Government and the local councils. The Director understood that the social environment of a funder, i.e., its present social context, was going to impact on how organizations such as GUCM would be funded, or not, in the future. She said that 'Creative Scotland... it's going to affect everything. The first effect will be seen in funding. It has a middle area that overlaps with the Creative Industries and how they work. There is a governmental emphasis on nationhood - and they're trying to define Scotland through cultural identity. This affects Scotland, Glasgow, and music within Glasgow'. Having previously been involved in decisions as regards organizational funding, she believed that 'People in these positions have to make the decision. It's a very tough thing to do but they had to deal with it and had to develop a method. It's made even harder because of people's assumptions'.

The negotiation of economic and cultural, i.e., symbolic, capital through developing social capital for GUCM was the Director's daily work. Ideally, the organization would have enough political capital, and thus economic capital, to ensure that its work could develop to benefit the city of Glasgow rather than just keeping itself afloat. A key idea being discussed, in the cultural field GUCM was a part of, suggested that through longer-term funding strategies (rather than annual or bi-annual strategies) led by Creative Scotland, a key funder for the cultural field, organizations might be more effective than if they were being reassessed annually. Even though funders may suggest that they are trying to build a funding process that will result in long-term benefits, the process still remains based upon organizations' annual accumulation of symbolic capital and how this corresponds to current political capital, i.e., if the 'criteria' for gaining funding changes annually, then the organizations receiving funding would need to work on applications for funding annually, which makes long-term developments difficult for an organization with only a few staff. The necessity for subsidy in the cultural field means that the amount of symbolic capital held is reflective of an organization's position (or

status) in the field. Being granted economic capital is a fundamental method of gaining symbolic power in the cultural field. GUCM aspired to build a 'permanent residence in perpetuity' in Glasgow, and in Scotland. But until it could gain a position where its access to funding was 'taken-for-granted' as legitimate, the organization's work would mostly involve building social capital to gain economic funding. The Chair recognized this, saying, 'what have we done... what can we do... if that's a good story, compelling, then will we need [main funder] anymore?' In saying this, the Chair recognized that GUCM relied upon funders and was discussing the possibility of becoming an organization that was such an unquestionable part of the culture of Glasgow and Scotland that rather than GUCM needing the funders, the organization could function independently. This would mean that GUCM would have renegotiated the funding process and the authoritative position funders have over the organization. If the symbolic value of GUCM was recognizable, beyond reproach (Suchman, 1995), then GUCM would be free of this funding struggle and would be in an influential position of its own.

## **The Dominant Field**

GUCM had three main funders: Glasgow City Council, the Scottish Government, and Creative Scotland (previously the Scottish Arts Council). The Culture Minister had been involved in the application process for the title: she had accompanied the delegation to Paris to place a bid for the title and had been a central part of the celebrations there, introduced by the Baroness Ramsey, Chair of the RSNO Council, to give a speech on the contemporary state of music in Scotland. The Scottish Government also maintain the funding of the arts community in Scotland through its Arts Council - Creative Scotland.

Most arts organizations in Scotland are reliant on some sort of funding, either for their core functioning, or for the development of projects. Creative Scotland continually produce lists of various criteria required in order to become the recipient of funding.

There are many different ‘programmes’ for funding all of which have separate criteria. Becoming a ‘flexibly-funded’<sup>37</sup> organization is an evolving idea, but essentially means that an organization is more likely to be granted repeated funding annually. With Creative Scotland, the official criteria, at the time of the research, stated that organizations would be assessed in relation to:

- ‘quality of artistic vision and leadership
- the appropriateness of your plans for access to ensure inclusion in all your services, employment and artistic programme
- strength of commitment to continually improving your engagement with the public
- good practice in the governance and management of your organisation, including your financial management’

(Information & Guidelines for Flexible Funding 2011-2013, [scottisharts.org.uk](http://scottisharts.org.uk), 2010, emphasis in original)

It is difficult to guess whether an organization is in a position to achieve these criteria, or not, given the abstract nature of the phrases ‘quality of... vision’, ‘access to ensure inclusion’, ‘improving your engagement’, and ‘good practice’. In general, throughout 2010, it was felt by the Director and the Board that Glasgow UNESCO City of Music was able to fulfil these criteria as it could be described as being a ‘leader’ for music in Glasgow, along with planning to develop access to music throughout Glasgow, developing a website and online media, and also having members of the Board with vast financial experience.

Taking the above criteria, and suggesting how they may relate to the world of the organization of GUCM, we see that the ‘quality of... leadership’ in Glasgow may be seen in the people, the many arts leaders in the field of music in Glasgow, holding influential positions, such as Chief Executive, Director, or Board Member. These leaders are found working within the central organizations - such as the Royal Glasgow Concert Halls, the

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<sup>37</sup> Throughout 2010, the organization was preparing to apply for the ‘flexible funding’ that was becoming available from Creative Scotland and would be granted in 2011 until 2013. The criteria for being awarded flexible funding at this time can be seen at: <http://www.scottisharts.org.uk/resources/publications/EXO/FlexibleFundingGuidelines2011-13.pdf> (22 November 2013)

Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, and Scottish Opera. As previous Chief Executive of the Concert Halls, the Director of GUCM played a significant role in bringing cultural work and thus business into Glasgow. For example, the festival of Celtic Connections was developed over many years through bringing musicians and agents and thus audiences to Glasgow in a month when usually the hotels, and the city, would have been economically quiet. It is people in the chief positions who oversee the organization of this work, along with the current Celtic Connections staff, and through their connections, built up over years of interacting and negotiating at multiple levels of society. When people came to Glasgow and were seen as 'visitors of the city', the Director of GUCM would sometimes be called in order to show them around, introduce them to the main players in the music field, and try to initiate (or develop) work with them that would enhance Glasgow's economic position. The symbolic capital accrued from participating in work such as this for the city is necessary to maintain a position in the field, yet the time spent doing this work is sometimes 'at the expense of the accumulation of economic capital' (Bourdieu, 1977:180). However, during times when applications for funding became due, it was expected that the work and time the Director had spent increasing the cultural capital of the city would result in economic capital for GUCM.

Funding applications were thus a central part of the work for the Director. It is paramount that the organization at least maintain its current level of funding, i.e., approximately £150,000 per annum. Glasgow UNESCO City of Music was an organization that, from the very beginning, had obvious and public support from the Scottish Government. The involvement of a Member of the Scottish Parliament, i.e., an MSP, during the bid for the award of the title was understood by the Director and members of the Board to reflect that the Minister, and thus, the Scottish Government had a sense of responsibility for the title. Along with close links to the representatives of the city of Glasgow, the organization of GUCM also had support from all the major cultural funding centres in Glasgow: Glasgow City Council, as well as the Scottish Government, and the Arts Council (Creative Scotland). The compulsory (economic) *interest* for members of the field, is in money, i.e., being granted public money and, as a result, being recognized as being worthy of public money. For GUCM, being funded by any of the public entities

listed above is symbolic of becoming an organization that is recognisable as worthy in the field of music.

As the field of music functions within the dominant contexts of the economic and political field, the Director needs to consistently be aware of the organization's financial status. From the budgets prepared for the organization's second, third, and fourth years, the organization essentially requires £150,000 funding. The main expenditures of the organization are in the areas of salaries and employers costs, Director's expenses, web design and hosting (organizational website development), along with PR Consultancy and Project Expenses. The Director reaffirms this during discussion: 'GUCM requires a minimum core operational budget of £150,000 per annum' and she expects that it will be raised 'from a variety of sources'. Along with smaller amounts of funding from the universities in Glasgow, and from 'Trusts and Foundations', the three main sources of funding are Glasgow City Council, Creative Scotland (previously the Scottish Arts Council or SAC), and the Scottish Government. These three sources would need to grant £50,000 in order to achieve the core budget required.

## **Economic Field**

Maintaining this funding was of paramount importance to the Director and the Board. At the quarterly, and sometimes every second month, Board meetings, funding was consistently a topic for discussion. Not only funding for the core budget, but project funding also. There was a time of preparation for funding applications, with the Director explaining to the Board that 'we are due to start project funding applications in the next few months'. Other funding possibilities were considered. For example, the Chair of the Board asked the Director to 'pitch to RSAMD re: funding'. The Director 'stated that she can for see [sic] GCM working closely with the RSAMD on potential projects' (Internal Documents). She understood, in relation to getting funding from a civic organization, that 'the sense of infrastructure is motivated by money... I had to understand what their objectives were so that I could point out which ones overlapped with ours'. The 'infrastructure' is a word used to describe how the music in the city is structured, i.e., where it is centralized and how periphery organization works around central organizations such as the Glasgow Royal Concert Halls and the Royal Conservatoire for

Scotland. Sometimes the objectives of an organization and a funder might coincide, which could result in GUCM being part of one of the central components of the specifically Glaswegian musical infrastructure to which the Director referred to above.

Gaining finance, and understanding how to gain finance, was a consistent part of the daily routine of the Director. Through experience, the arts leaders understand that gaining funding is about ‘...learning what you can pick up, for example, from the Olympics and Commonwealth Games...’, through focusing on money from alternative sources, such as the Olympics, and seeing this as an opportunity. The Director’s understanding that ‘everyone thinks money... should think artistic opportunity’ is a reflection of the hidden symbolic importance of economic capital, i.e., although it is the most essential component for an organization to exist within the field of music, the economic capital is explained as a means to help music evolve in Glasgow. Although the conversation was centred on funding and gaining funding, the Director was aware that it was important to maintain the *disinterested* image of GUCM being focused on artistic opportunities that events, such as the Olympics and Commonwealth Games coming to the UK and Glasgow, offer to the cultural field, as opposed to the opportunities for the cultural funding that accompanies these opportunities.

However, there is a paradoxical situation evident here: cultural funding that accompanies major sports events is money that is available for specific sorts of cultural projects. Cultural organizations tend to reorganise their aims and projects in order to have them run parallel to what the criteria for this sort of funding are, i.e., the funding may produce artistic opportunity, but instead of organizations being given an added opportunity for funding their original projects, planned projects need to be tailored to *fit in* to criteria constructed to access these funds instead. Also, cultural funds such as those mentioned above sometimes become central to what is happening in a city, and being approved funding reflects an organization’s participation as a legitimate member of the cultural field. The role that GUCM played in Glasgow was offering to ‘do the scary bit of presenting the idea’ to people who were in a position to grant funding. Here the Director is suggesting that GUCM could be helpful for other organizations or musicians through presenting their ideas to funders, for example. By dealing with this part of the work of

creating a project, GUCM was offering other organizations and musicians extra time to do the work they really wanted to be doing, rather than pursuing funders. Sometimes organizations in the field of music needed to wait until it becomes clear what funds stipulate in their criteria. An idea for a cultural project might be postponed because the organization had done all they 'can do at the moment', and instead have to wait for the details of funding criteria. Although the Director felt that 'you have to take part' in the funding streams that are available at a certain time, it was also clear that timing was essential as regards being granted funding. According to the Director, however, it is a 'good idea to flag it up a long time ahead', as an idea for a project could potentially be a 'huge fundraising idea'. Although the Director was focused daily on funding the organization, she also thought that 'as City of Music, we don't think it works to be making money. If we were, we would be a commercial consultancy or music agency... which is not what we are...' In this sense, GUCM is an organization that needs funding to exist, but does not exist simply in order to increase funds. It is a reflection of the Director's recognition of GUCM as an organization that could enhance musical life in Glasgow, and would be in its most advantageous position to do this only if the organization was not focusing on becoming financially profitable.

Bourdieu discusses that the *habitus* is important for negotiating different social worlds simultaneously. And this is, as we can see above, part of the work of a Director in the field of music. He tells us that it is 'only the complex strategies of a habitus shaped by diverse necessities' – in this case, the necessities of gaining funding, whilst maintaining the *disinterested* image of an organization - that 'can integrate the different necessities into coherent decisions' (Bourdieu, 1990:74). The Director of GUCM needed to integrate the *irreducible necessities* of economics, politics, and culture. Her previous experience as Chief Executive in the Glasgow Concert Halls, and other such experience before that, resulted in her consistent reinforcement of the idea of providing artistic opportunity for musicians and music in Glasgow. Her general participation in the cultural field for a substantial amount of time meant that she had incorporated the importance of funding for an organization – both its practical importance and symbolic importance.

The economic capital required for GUCM meant that the Director was in a constant negotiation with the funders, based in the political field, governed by a political logic. With the cultural and social capital appropriated by the Director and thus GUCM, the Director was attempting to increase what could be called political capital – the ability to be in a position to negotiate for economic capital in the political field. The core funders were the local Council and the Scottish Government. The members of the political field that represented these organizations, and influenced which cultural organizations gained funding, were part of a field that, although dominated by the economic field, functioned according to specific logics. Although these are beyond the scope of this study, what can be seen are the understandings that the Director of GUCM and some members of the Board have of what was expected by the members of the political field in order to be granted funding. Bourdieu also tells us that ‘a specific form of *interest*, a specific *illusio*’ is ‘tacit recognition of the value of the stakes of the game and as practical mastery of its rules’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:117). What Bourdieu means by ‘illusio’ is the same as ‘libido’ – a sense an agent has of the importance of the stakes in the field, a belief that they are worthwhile. In this case, i.e., the cultural field in Glasgow, the stake is gaining funding. Gaining funding is representative of being a legitimate organization that is a useful part of the cultural field. The ritual of gaining funding consists of building ‘funds’ of cultural capital, social capital, and as we now see, political capital. The members of the cultural field try to consistently replenish these funds, but what is essential beyond cultural, social, and political capital is economic capital. Although the discussion is centred on the importance of culture and artistic opportunity, due to the dominance of the economic field, the central stake of an organization in the cultural field is its position according to its current funding, i.e., its economic capital and what this position reflects to the other members of the field.

## **Political Field**

We can see what the ‘political field’ represented to the Director and Board of GUCM. The title of GUCM was an integral part of the ‘cultural legacy’ in national applications. For example, GUCM was seen as a ‘resource to support the 2014 Cultural Programme’. The early drafts of an application for funding being drafted by an organization external to

GUCM stated that ‘part of the Culture legacy of the [Commonwealth] Games would be a stronger UNESCO City of Music through enhanced relationships with Commonwealth musical companies and institutions’ (Internal Document). This sort of statement placed GUCM as being of national importance, and thus, it was believed, a national responsibility. An organization that could enhance relationships with organizations throughout the Commonwealth was useful for Scotland. When discussing international collaborations with Ghent UNESCO City of Music, it was understood by both the Director of GUCM and those at Ghent UNESCO City of Music that there were specific types of collaboration that were ‘something that [a European Funding Body] would immediately find money for’.

However, as much as there were positive associations with GUCM and what the organization could do in certain areas of the political field as shown above, there were continuously issues with the members of the Scottish Government involved in the funding decisions for GUCM. One Board member described the process of applying for funding from a particular funder as a ‘torturous process but we have to stick with it’ and although he believed that there were ‘further choppy waters ahead...’, he understood that GUCM needed to have more practical work finished in order to move the funding process along quicker: ‘the more we get a body of work behind this, the more we can get the ball rolling’. A body of work would be seen in a portfolio of successful projects that the organization was responsible for. He is stressing the importance of being able to present to the funders an image of the practical use of GUCM for the city, and thus Scotland.

Bourdieu describes ‘the existence of mechanisms capable of reproducing the political order, independently of any deliberate intervention’. The existence of these mechanisms ‘makes it possible to recognize as political... only such practices as tacitly exclude control over the reproduction mechanisms from the area of legitimate competition’ (Bourdieu, 1977:189). To explain, the methods in place in the political field ‘tacitly’ reinforce the structure of positions within the field. So, although an agent in the field can be within ‘the area of legitimate competition’, these agents can practise the rules of the political field but cannot negotiate to redefine its rules. This can be seen above in GUCM’s

integral participation in the political field. As an organization it enhances international relations. It can create and construct collaborations that benefit Scotland through gaining international recognition for Scottish music and gaining European funding in order to do this. But despite this, as an organization, it is obliged to go through a 'torturous process' in regards to Scottish Government's role in its financial security. The 'area of legitimate competition' is GUCM's position in the cultural field as a competitor for funding (economic capital). The 'reproduction mechanisms' for this particular political practice, i.e., competing for funding, are reinforced because cultural organizations are reliant on subsidies to exist. This places the Scottish Government (and other funders) in a consistently dominant position over cultural organizations. Public money is legitimately held and distributed by the government. GUCM, as a cultural organization in Scotland, competing for position in the cultural field, remains in the position of being dominated by the funding processes. The funding process itself is a 'mechanism capable of reproducing the political order'.

In this sense, we can understand political capital as being in a position to negotiate for economic capital in the political field, due to the accumulated symbolic capital that is recognized by members of the political field. The Director of GUCM understood that there were specific requirements recognized by the political field that would enable her to gain economic funding for the organization. Due to the changeable nature of the mechanisms, mentioned by Bourdieu (1977), that reinforce political practices - mechanisms that might or might not be comprehensible to members of the cultural field, in this case the funding process - the Director was not able to present one definitive image of GUCM that would correspond with that recognized as legitimate by the political field. The difficulty of presenting one definitive image was not only due to the changeable nature of political mechanisms but also because these mechanisms might not be understandable to a member of the cultural field. The symbolic capital of GUCM and its Director, more specifically, their cultural and social capital, did not correspond to what the funders recognized as sufficient symbolic capital to warrant funding: GUCM had not gained enough political capital.

## Embodiment of Game

Negotiating for economic capital was thus central to the work the Director had to accomplish for GUCM as an organization. The funding system is a completely accepted method of establishing income for many arts organizations in Glasgow. However, there are inherent expectations associated with money that has been granted by an organization that controls the distribution of economic capital, i.e., the funders.

An expectation repeatedly seen during this study was that of 'how to spend money' in the field. Although there were established ideas, these ideas were also under constant negotiation in the field. As established earlier, the Director focused on communicating a certain image of GUCM to the funders – as 'knowing about music', as 'having a plan... working on it', as being 'useful', as a 'hub' for music in Glasgow and as a 'good story'. It was her understanding, and that of the Board members, that when GUCM's image matched the understanding in the political field of a *fundable* organization, then GUCM would have achieved a position that would guarantee economic capital. Being granted economic capital would enable GUCM to do more project-work, to gain the position of a *funded* organization in the field, and also, being granted economic capital would reflect the image of GUCM to the field that it was now a legitimate organization, with enough symbolic capital to ensure its acceptance in the political field. The cultural field would be able to recognize GUCM as a legitimate player because the political field had recognized its symbolic capital matched what was required for political capital and thus economic capital. It is possible that political capital, in this instance, is a reflection of what the dominant players in the cultural field deem legitimate symbolic capital.

Even though the expectations associated with 'how to spend money' in the field are in a constant state of renegotiation, we know that the momentarily dominant ideas in the field are the ideas of those with most influence due to their position (Bourdieu, 1984:255). For example, Visit Scotland funding has official criteria on which it is judged in relation to its being an organization that brings more people into Glasgow, which would result in more spending and thus more money being circulated, i.e., enhancing tourism in Glasgow. Creative Scotland has a distinctively more creative premise to its funding criteria, and also a requirement that it benefits society in various ways. The two

criteria shown here are manifestations of differing understandings of how public money can be used to benefit the people of Scotland. To acquire funding from either organization requires being either a creative and social influence in the cultural field, or being an enabler of tourism. Being able to 'bring more people into Glasgow' benefits Glasgow economically and is fundamentally a criterion based on a financial priority. The latter understanding requires GUCM to become an organization that could relate to a larger public and entice people to come to the city. Its focus is on people outside of Glasgow, not within. It was believed by the Director and the Board that they could present an image of the organization that would meet both these criteria – as creative and socially relevant on one hand and beneficial to tourism on the other. The issue was whether or not the other members of the cultural field would accept GUCM as an organization that achieved these qualities, and also being recognisable as a symbolically valuable organization. The *taken-for-grantedness* (Bourdieu, 1977; Suchman, 1995) of the understandings of what was being defined as symbolic capital, and thus legitimate, in the cultural field at this time is an issue that is significant to the understandings of this case-study.

In order to become known as creative, socially relevant, and beneficial to tourism, GUCM would need to negotiate with and challenge those holding creative and socially relevant positions in the field. The Director of GUCM was familiar with how core beliefs as regards which organizations will be granted funding can change: 'Ten years ago, when chair of the SAC [Scottish Arts Council]... had to decide who got what money... [A National Music Organization] got a fright when they realised that their assumptions in regards to their rights for money were in fact incorrect and that traditional music... was now at an equal status to them.' Not only did the Director need to present an image of GUCM that would reflect acceptable symbolic capital to the funders, she also had to continuously attempt to keep track of how 'legitimate symbolic capital' was being defined. From being in a dominant position as Chief Executive of the Glasgow Royal Concert Halls to a dominated position as Director of an emerging, not-yet-established independent charitable organization, the Director's role lay in ensuring the cultural and political field would recognize GUCM's symbolic capital. The *habitus* of people in dominant positions can inform (and possibly manipulate) the stakes of the game

(Bourdieu, 1990). As a dominated player in the field, as was the Director of GUCM, the stakes of the game are recognizable. What is different between these two positions of dominant and dominated is the ability to manipulate the stakes. 'The homogeneity of habitus is what – within the limits of the group of agents possessing the schemes (of production and interpretation) implied in their production – causes practices and works to be immediately intelligible and foreseeable, and hence taken for granted' (Bourdieu, 1977:80). In order to discuss this issue of the taken-for-grantedness of what is recognized as symbolic capital in the cultural field, I will discuss a specific funding process that the Director was dealing with throughout the time of research.

### ***An Economic Process in the Cultural Field***

From the period of the awarding of Glasgow with the title of UNESCO City of Music in June 2008 until the appointment of the organization's first Director in January 2009, the IMG (Interim Management Group) led a process to establish the title as a charitable trust. The group employed the person who had led the previous bid process to also 'oversee' this process of the legal establishment of GUCM as a charity. The process included confirming £150,000 of funding for the first three years of the organization. A 'Funding Briefing' was prepared by the co-ordinator of the interim process (i.e., the person employed by the IMG to ensure the establishment of the title as an organization, the overseer). It stated that the organization of GUCM 'requires a core budget of £150k/annum'. The co-ordinator had 'confirmed' a 'regular commitment' of £50k from the 'City of Glasgow', but confirmation by the Scottish Arts Council and the Scottish Government was 'pending' as regards their funding of £50k each, which would reach the required amount of £150k. When the first Director was appointed in January 2009 the press release said that 'The City of Glasgow confirmed three year funding of the new company of £50,000 per annum on 12 December. Funding decisions by the Scottish Arts Council and the Scottish Government are expected shortly.' (Press Release, 2009). At this point in January 2009, funding confirmations from the Scottish Government and the Scottish Arts Council were formally still in negotiation, which meant that the organization only had a core budget of £50k. However, it was understood by the IMG that they were waiting for formal confirmation from the Scottish Government: during a

meeting between the co-ordinator of the IMG and the Scottish Government in September of 2008, it was noted that revenue from funding given by the Scottish Government could be accessed from April 2009 (Internal Document).

As the money being requested from these three 'stakeholders' would form the core budget for the charity, i.e., £150k, the organization was reliant on this money for the continuation of the charity in its independent form. Until February of 2011, the organization worked with many organizations in Glasgow. However, even though it took support in-kind from some of the major organizations - its offices were part of Glasgow Life (Culture and Sport wing of the City Council) and its website had been originally hosted and designed by Glasgow City Marketing Bureau (GCMB) - it was independent because its Director did not hold a formal position within the two major organizational positions in the music field in Glasgow. These positions were held by the Glasgow Royal Concert Halls and the cultural section of Glasgow Life. During the course of the initial two years of GUCM, Glasgow Life took over the management of the Glasgow Royal Concert Halls, meaning that three of the biggest venues in Glasgow - the Concert Halls, the City Halls, and the Old Fruitmarket - were being publically managed, as well as the expanding musical education department that had been formed as part of the Concert Halls function. Being independent of the local councils had been an important characteristic to maintain according to the Director of GUCM. However, it was becoming increasingly difficult for the charity to remain independent while simultaneously being reliant on the councils and the government for their core funding.

In August of 2010, the organization and the Board were both carefully watching the actions of the Scottish Government in relation to funding. Discussions with members of the Scottish Government were reported as their being 'non-committal' in regards to future funding, yet were 'very positive about GUCM'. Within a year, it was believed that Scottish Government was prioritising funding for organizations that showed a need for money in order to survive and that Glasgow UNESCO City of Music was deemed to be an organization 'on a cusp'. This meant that GUCM could not continue in its current form, i.e., an independent charity with a full-time Director, and was thus, 'on a cusp' of becoming restructured. By September, GUCM drew the conclusion that Glasgow

UNESCO City of Music was now a low priority for the Scottish Government. The Director and Board were focused on trying to mitigate this perception. They would prefer that the Scottish Government understood Glasgow UNESCO City of Music as being useful and as showing 'big value [for Glasgow and Scotland] for a small amount [of funding]'. Discussions were had about it being 'time to go on the offensive', that the Scottish Government had a responsibility to GUCM due to their original involvement in bringing the bid to Paris. The most effective method of discussing the issue with members of the Scottish Government was to 'speak in broad terms', 'stand back in specifics', 'make sure to say it's a small amount', and that 'the city will value from it as well'. However, it emerged that the Scottish Government had 'no funding reserved for GUCM' and there was not going to be any funding granted for the year 2010/2011. A member of the Board stated that it was 'not possible to exist without support from one of our three principal stakeholders'. The Minister involved in this discussion passed the issue to 'Creative Scotland to work with GUCM to explore' the 'financial situation and to report back'. However, from the point of view of GUCM this was not understood as an acceptable response. One Board member established that, in relation to the Scottish Government funding, 'GUCM is not going to go away. They are turning off the tap.' The Board member felt that the Scottish Government were removing themselves from taking responsibility for the title. However, rather than accepting the funder's decision to do this, the Board member instead was insisting that the members of GUCM were going to continue trying to convince the government of its responsibility. The members of GUCM understood the organization to be a legitimate part of cultural life in Scotland. By removing their funding, the Scottish Government were inadvertently creating an idea that GUCM was not a legitimate entity to be funded, and this idea could affect not only how GUCM was perceived by the members of the field of music but also by other funders. In other words, through the action of not funding GUCM, the Scottish Government could weaken the symbolic value of the organization.

Being granted funding by the Scottish Government was a priority for the organization. Many formal and informal meetings, along with phone-calls and one-on-one conversations, were held in relation to this funding. The result of this work was not successful. By the end of the research period, in February 2011, a new Director<sup>38</sup> for GUCM had been appointed. Although the organization retained its position as an independent charity, its office had been moved and become part of the work of the group of people who work in a supportive capacity to the Artistic Director of the Glasgow Royal Concert Halls, who now also held the role of Director of GUCM. The process of gaining funding from the Scottish Government from February 2011 onwards was part of the work of this new team and Director, along with a changing Board of Trustees.

## **Discussion**

The arts community in Glasgow is mainly funded by funding bodies that are holders of public money, i.e., money granted by the government for the arts. GUCM was an organization that competed for part of the public money made available through the funding institutions. Funders' position within the field is firmly established: organizations that require public money in order to function are particularly influenced by the institutional logics funding bodies can impose. In order to be an altruistic organization, i.e., seen to serve the people of Glasgow, GUCM was legally established as an independent charity. Being an independent charity enabled the organization to work with the main arts institutions in Glasgow without being officially beholden to them. The members of GUCM took pride in the establishment of an organization that was independent from the local councils. They felt that independence from the city council meant that the organization was autonomous. The members of the organization knew that not needing to rely on public funding would further enhance the organization's freedom and independence from the funding criteria (which because of their prevalence

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<sup>38</sup> The new Director for GUCM had previously put together the Bid for becoming a Glasgow UNESCO City of Music and was responsible for setting up the organization as a charitable trust.

could be understood as funding logics) that were dominant in the field. The Chair knew that it was not possible for the organization to exist without funding from all of their 'three principle stakeholders' – all governmental based funding bodies.

Being the possessor of economic capital in the field is one of the major symbols of acceptance in the arts community in Glasgow. The funders are thus a central 'source of reinforcement' (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008:20) and can legitimize organizations in the field by their actions. The relationship that GUCM has with its funders is social capital that is transformable to political capital in the political field. As most of the major funders are members of the political field, the transubstantiation of social capital to political capital is the first step en route to gaining economic capital. At the establishment of GUCM, the symbolic capital it possessed was enough to be granted economic capital in the field from various sources. Within two years, however, the symbolic capital possessed by GUCM no longer enabled this transubstantiation into economic capital.

Vaughan (2008), however, reaffirms Bourdieu's understanding of the 'persistence of practices' and finds practices, although not conducive to success, persist in organizations due to their 'taken-for-granted quality and their reproduction in structures that are, to a great extent, self-sustaining' (Vaughan, 2008:78). Even though GUCM could not hope to serve all of the people that they believed the organization was potentially there to serve, they persisted in portraying this image in relation to the purpose of the title. It had become taken-for-granted that the purpose of GUCM needed to be moralistic and ethical. The practice of communicating this image of the title is consistently seen throughout and is the initial image portrayed to external agents in the field. However, there was a missing link between this image of the organization and its ability to transform its symbolic capital into economic capital. This led to questioning the nature of GUCM's capital, i.e., if the capital held by GUCM could not lead to a successful negotiation for economic capital, perhaps the capital held did not symbolise capital in the field. The dominant players in the field did not negotiate legitimacy for the organization nor enable its development and acceptance. Its main source of symbolic – cultural – capital was still the title itself. This source had not changed. Yet, the

organization – an independent charity – could not transform this cultural capital, as recognized by GUCM's field, as well as the economic and political field, into economic capital. There was the understanding in GUCM that an organization relies heavily on positive and supportive external perceptions, and also on its being perceived as useful and valuable by the 'correct' people, or, at least, by funders and those who influence funders' perceptions and beliefs. Yet as Vaughan (2008) notes, practices that may not be conducive to success persist in organizations. The practice of communicating an ethical and moralistic image of the title, as something that could benefit the people involved in music in Glasgow, is seen consistently and is the initial image portrayed to external agents in the field. However, there was a missing link between their image of the organization and the ability for the organization to turn its symbolic capital into economic capital.

Also, symbolic fields are *disinterested*, i.e., non-economically focused, in nature. The focus that GUCM had to place on the development of economic capital means that it was not behaving according to the *disinterested* expectation of the field. It was making explicit that which it should not – that economic capital is the dominant capital of the field without which an organization will not be able to establish a position. We can see here what Bourdieu has already told us: being known to hold the appropriate values is central to inclusion in the field and the acknowledgement that other value systems dominate is not acceptable (Bourdieu, 1998). Not playing by the rules of the game could eventuate in a player's exclusion from a field or perhaps in a renegotiation of a player's position within the field. What we can see here is GUCM's vulnerable position in the field and the inability of its members to negotiate a change in position without economic capital, and essentially without the 'political type of social capital' (Bourdieu, 1998) which the Director worked to develop for the organization through building relationships with members of the political field directly.

Stryker (2000) tells us about legitimation that occurs through a constitutive mechanism. An organization that has become legitimate through a constitutive mechanism will reflect what Stryker (1994:856) refers to as a 'cognitive orientation to binding rules', i.e., accepting the rules as valid and thus behaving as such in the field. In this case, we can

see another constitutive mechanism in the field of music, that of 'funding'. Organizations in the field of music in Glasgow participate in particular procedures that reflect 'how to gain funding'. The procedure is one that is controlled and thus constructed by the funders and in such a sense, a procedure of gaining funding is imposed upon those who are reliant on it. In this case, the members of GUCM believed that because a Minister of the Scottish Parliament was involved in the original bid for the title for Scotland and Glasgow that the Scottish Government would have a sense of responsibility towards its maintenance. However, the final result was a lack of funding. The Minister's involvement in the award of the title of GUCM to Glasgow and any belief held by the Government that this title was useful for Scotland (and any use the Minister and her department itself gained from Scotland being awarded the title) did not imply, in this instance, that GUCM had an entitlement to public funds. Stryker (2000:180) tells us that constitutive rules 'define the source of authority and govern the distribution and aggregation of key influence-relevant resources...' Becoming a legitimate organization, through accepting the rules of the process of funding as valid, means that the authority over funds remains with the funders. The organization of GUCM was not *simply* entitled to such funding: if it had been, that would have reflected the members' (of GUCM) authority over how funds were distributed and what rules applied to this process. However, it is important to remember that the Government still might have responsibility, time, and money for the *title*, even if the Board of GUCM was correct and the funders did not feel a sense of responsibility towards the organization.

'The constitutive *rules* of any system... create positions, allocating authoritative decision-making to incumbents of some positions and duties to obey to incumbents of others...' (Stryker, 2000:180). The struggle for funding is an example of how positions in the field of music are maintained and renegotiated regularly. The practice of gaining funding in this field, which we see in this example, is complex. From the origination of the organization, there were three core funders for GUCM - the Scottish Government, the Glasgow City Council, and Creative Scotland (Scottish Arts Council). Members of all three organizations were involved in creating and bringing the bid to fruition in the form of the title of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music. The leader of the Interim Management Group was in negotiations with all three to finalise funding agreements. It is unclear

what the specifics were in relation to what was expected of GUCM in return for funding. The procedure for applying for funding includes filling out an application form and fulfilling the official criteria set by the funding body. The authority of the funders vis-à-vis the organization is clear in this sense. However, through denying funding to the Director of GUCM, the Minister is reiterating the authority of her position in relation to the authority of the Director's position, and also the position of that of the Board. What is necessary in order to reverse this decision of funding is a change in the understanding of what the Scottish Government would gain from publicly funding GUCM. The struggle for funding constantly reflects a struggle between who has to obey and who has authority. However, it can also be seen as a struggle for power. Bourdieu offers another method of describing this funding struggle through his concept of the field of power.

The economy of symbolic goods 'rests on the repression or the censorship of economic interests' (Bourdieu, 1998:120). It is 'an economy of imprecision and indeterminacy' and is 'based on a taboo of making things explicit' and 'because of this repression, the strategies and practices characteristic of the economy of symbolic goods are always ambiguous, two-sided, and even apparently contradictory' (Bourdieu, 1998:120). In the case of the field of music in Glasgow, GUCM wanted to be recognized as holding enough symbolic capital in order to remain a funded organization. However, it is through the actions taken as a result of its need to be recognized as a fundable and funded organization, and thus legitimate, that GUCM reinforces the legitimacy of the funding process itself, and also the authority of the funders over organizations in the field of music. The field of power is the most dominant field, dominating the economic, political, and, importantly for this case, the cultural field. Bourdieu tells us:

'By virtue of the fact that symbolic capital is nothing more than economic or cultural capital which is acknowledged and recognized, when it is acknowledged in accordance with the categories of perception that it imposes, the symbolic power relations tend to reproduce and to reinforce the power relations which constitute the structure of the social space' (Bourdieu, 1990: 135). What this tells us is that symbolic capital is simply another way of describing economic or cultural capital, when these latter two capitals are 'recognized' by members of the field. However, that 'recognition' is itself a symbolic power, and thus, when members of the field recognize another agent's or entity's

symbolic capital, not only are the positions of influential members and non-influential members 'reproduced' but they are also 'reinforced'. The process of legitimation for GUCM is one of gaining economic capital through transforming its members' cultural and social, i.e., symbolic capital. In this sense, the funding process is central to the organization's legitimacy in the cultural, political, and economic field, and thus a fundamental method of reproducing and reinforcing *symbolic power relations*.

# Chapter Seven

## Conclusions

### **Symbolic Capital in the Field: Establishing a Position for Glasgow UNESCO City of Music**

This thesis aims to contribute to the literature on institutional work and organizational legitimacy by considering how an emergent organization, Glasgow UNESCO City of Music, attempted to become recognized as a legitimate player in the field of music. It does so by arguing that Bourdieu's work provides a useful set of concepts for understating the processes uncovered during a period of participant observation, from November 2009 until February 2011.

An emerging organization requires the 'legitimate gaze' (Bourdieu, 1984: 327) from a 'source of reinforcement' (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008:20). Any position an emerging organization has is a result of incumbent symbolic and economic capital and requires reinforcement in order to remain as such. Taking positions in the field requires negotiation with the other members in what Bourdieu refers to as the 'space of conflict and competition' (Wacquant, 1992: 18). There is an understanding, not necessarily acknowledged outright, that the most influential members of the field have 'monopoly over the species of effective capital' (Wacquant, 1992: 18). Being in an influential position enables an agent to 'decree the hierarchy and "conversion rates" between all forms of authority' in the field: the 'very shape and divisions of the field become a central stake' (Wacquant, 1992: 18). In order to negotiate the taking of an influential position in a field, the participant first needs to be able to recognize the existence of hierarchical positions. Positions in the field, and what is required of an agent in order to inhabit them, require the 'disposition' that recognizes this. In order for an individual's disposition to enable them to take a position in the field, the disposition must match the required disposition of their particular field. Personal perspectives and perceptions are then influenced by context and environment. Every person has their own unique collection of past context and environmental influences leading to contemporarily unique foci and perspectives. These same influences are what lead to individual perceptions of what is actually happening and also lead to separate understandings of what success is.

As an organization, GUCM needed to establish itself as a legitimate organization within the field. The thesis examines some of the preliminary steps taken by Glasgow UNESCO City of Music (GUCM) as it tries to establish itself in the field, illustrating how the dispositions of those within GUCM interact with the capital of the field and how this influences the success of GUCM's endeavours. This chapter begins by summarizing the findings from the empirical work. It will then outline how Bourdieu contributes to institutional work and organizational legitimacy literature.

## **Contributions from the Data: An Overview of GUCM's Endeavours**

### ***Title & Purpose***

The title of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music (GUCM) was understood as having a potential benefit for the city. The title had been recognized as culturally valuable in the cultural, academic, political, and economic fields. There was something intangible about the title that maintained agents' interest in remaining involved with the organization, for example, the local arts council providing the organization with an office. Being associated with particular organizations had implications for the way the title was perceived. For instance, having an office situated with the arts council building in Glasgow meant the organization of GUCM could be viewed as being run by the council rather than being the independent charity it was. GUCM was valorized by the agents in the field who recognized it as symbolic capital (and its ability to use this symbolic capital to gain economic capital). The award could be used to enhance the collective cultural capital of Glasgow through increasing the general public's personal experience of music and thus enhancing the likelihood of people within the city recognizing the cultural value of music, either through participation or a capacity to enjoy it, or, using Bourdieu's terminology, to appropriate it. However, the people involved in the development of GUCM had previously constructed ideas as to what the organization was for, and how it could best benefit Glasgow. The Director's role was to present an organization that would be perceived as successful by all investors (of time, resources, or money) of GUCM. The Director needed to use the recognized symbolic capital of the title (i.e., cultural capital) and her own cultural strengths (i.e., capital) to negotiate a perception of success for the organization. Although the Director's professional profile and the profile

of those on the board reflected the cultural field's recognition of their competencies and skills, there was not necessarily a similar recognition of this in the political and economic field. Being the possessor or appropriator of cultural capital in one field does not automatically translate to a position of influence in another. The organization had many groups of stakeholders including musicians, people who work in music, the general public (the city), and those who work in tourism. Thus, GUCM had stakeholders who held different understandings of what was valuable and how the title could be useful for them in their lives and work.

The creation of a coherent success story for the organization's stakeholders that showed GUCM's core values was, for the Director, an ideal outcome of its work. For her, this involved developing the organization as a channel for information in relation to music in Glasgow, both personally through the staff, and virtually through the website. The Director incorporated the views of the Board, the public, and the organizational members themselves in order to understand the ideas of what the organization should be and how it should be behaving. There was a close connection between developing an audience and being able to symbolize value to the influential members of the fields. Although the title was an objectified form of cultural capital for the city of Glasgow, the organization needed to enhance its own capital through developing other symbolic capital. The process of bringing the bid to become a UNESCO Creative City had shown the people involved to be closely linked to the classical music field. A central stake for the organization was understood as 'being useful' for the cultural field, or more specifically, the field of music, and the Director could do this through enabling GUCM to become 'those who know about music'. Having the city relate to GUCM in this way would hopefully create a sense of 'external ownership'. The organization would be valued by the general public, generating an audience, and thus increasing its symbolic value through 'being useful' for the cultural field. But there was a struggle to achieving this, seen in the balance between understanding what one should be doing and knowing what one can possibly achieve in a given context. Without resources, the Director relied on developing partnerships with other organizations in order to become a 'hub' for music in Glasgow. For GUCM to be externally owned by the people of Glasgow would require the Director to 'work' to communicate the idea of the title, work that would inhibit the

amount of time available for developing understandings of a core purpose for the title, i.e., becoming a hub for music in Glasgow.

A taboo on making explicit (Bourdieu, 1998:96) that which is understood as useful in the field of music, in order for an organization to gain legitimacy, can be understood as a means by which influential organizations might maintain their influential position.

What is meant by *taboo on making things explicit* (Bourdieu, 1998:96) is that some of the practices and processes of the field remain unclear and unrecognizable to those who are not part of the dominant group in the field. Bourdieu suggests that this taboo is a fundamental part of every field (Bourdieu, 1977:22; Bourdieu, 1998:96). Less influential organizations that prioritize relationships with these dominant organizations reinforce elitism in the field of music. An example of this can be seen when organizations in Glasgow plan their work in a way that matches the ideas of 'good work' promoted by funders. For instance, if funders decided to focus attention on developing the musical skills of children between the ages of five and sixteen, then organizations which want this funding would need to reorganize their work in order to suit this new idea of 'good work'. However, by reorganizing their work in this way, less influential organizations unknowingly reinforce the elite position of the funder. Also, the funder is in a legitimate position to change the understanding of 'good work', and it is this position that places a funder in an elite and powerful position within the field. The *taboo on making things explicit* (Bourdieu, 1998:96), i.e., how funders decide what is or is not 'good work' maintains this position. Influential organizations can justify changes through general consensus with other influential organizations. Less influential organizations are not in a position to change these understandings.

GUCM was not yet an influential organization in the field of music and was thus susceptible to conforming to the ideas of the influential organizations in the cultural field. The main issue seen here that GUCM had to deal with, is that of trying to serve all in the field, rather than focusing on the ideas and understandings in the field that would be recognized as legitimate and symbolically valuable by the dominant agents. The more dominant position held by an agent, the more that agent is able to 'impose' their own understandings and ideas. Without an influential position in the field of music, GUCM

was working to achieve a more acceptable and appropriate, i.e., legitimate, position which would enable it to develop its core purpose and achieve as much of a sense of economic stability as was possible in the field of music in Glasgow.

Symbolic capitals are so deeply interconnected through their processes of development and maintenance, that sometimes social capital appears in the form of cultural capital, and cultural capital appears in the form of social capital. For example, cultural capital is a credential that can be used in the field in exchange for other capital. A credential in the field of GUCM was being known as a 'useful' and 'good' organization. The development of this image required other members of the field to: agree that the organization was good and useful; and reinforce this within GUCM's social networks through discussion. This process is only possible through the use of their social capital. Thus, through the interaction and negotiation that occurs between agents in a field, social capital not only enables, but constructs the idea of an emerging organization being acceptable and appropriate. The more social capital an agent has built up, the more influential an agent can be in the promotion of an emerging organization as acceptable and appropriate for a field. However, in order for an emerging organization to become even worthy of being negotiated with by members of the field, the members firstly need to recognize an organization's cultural capital.

An increase in the amount of symbolic capital held by GUCM would facilitate a more influential position in the field. It was assumed that if GUCM became perceived by the public as the 'most important', 'the ultimate authority', the 'most accurate', and the 'most trusted source of information' then, as well as being in a position to serve all, the descriptions would also reflect the absolute necessity of the organization to the field. What it was for GUCM to 'be useful', however, was not made explicit. In order to become useful, the organization would need to sacrifice trying to 'serve all'. In the field of music, there is a general understanding that an organization needs to be useful to society whilst also not provoking or challenging the 'way things are' too much (Stryker, 2000). Before an organization is legitimated in the field and thus given a position in order to be able to act fully in the field, the influential members of the field need to know that if given access and the ability to participate exclusively, an agent will maintain the *taboo on*

*making things explicit* (Bourdieu, 1998:96). The taboo is preserved in order to reinforce positions of authority. Because of a shortage of time, the Director could not enable GUCM to become a legitimate influential player in the field without sacrificing the fundamental principle that it had chosen to practise – that of serving all the people it could potentially serve. The process of becoming a legitimate member of the field, i.e., an agent, begins with the recognition of an organization as being worthy of discussion. After, there is a period of negotiation of its actual worth throughout the field, which happens as a result of members consulting and discussing with their social associations and connections, i.e., using their social capital. If this process is successful, the organization becomes a legitimate player in the field and the development of the image of the organization as a legitimate player becomes a credential that the members of the organization can now use to negotiate for a more influential position in the field.

### ***Building Social Capital***

The ‘central stake’ in the field of power is the ‘very shape and divisions of the field’ and this requires altering the ‘distribution and relative weight of forms of capital’ (Wacquant, 1992:22). The work of the Director of GUCM was essentially working to ensure that the organization had those ‘forms of capital’ that would mean GUCM was part of the ‘very shape and division of the field’. Her work also included developing the organization’s core projects, fulfilling the role of Director as understood by the Board of Trustees, and thus developing the organization’s position in the field of music itself. This work required the Director to try to spend time developing relationships with other agents and organizations which might benefit these aims all simultaneously. The Director not only had to maintain the objectified cultural value of the title, but she had to do this through increasing the social capital of the organization, thus, having GUCM be understood as an organization that was socially valuable in the music field. Gaining this social capital and thus improving the organization’s position meant that GUCM also had to offer the field of music something they could recognize as valuable and beneficial.

The position of the organization in the field was reflective of the amount of symbolic capital possessed. In order to safeguard the position (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:101) of

the organization, the Director of GUCM worked to present an organization that was worthy and valuable and also, to build up a sense of 'solidarity' with other agents in the field, in order to achieve a 'mutual acknowledgement' of the idea of GUCM as being an acceptable, legitimate, creative endeavour (Bourdieu, 1986:7). Part of the work of building social capital was achieved through the 'gift of giving and squandering time', gaining solidarity through the 'acquisition of clientele' (Bourdieu, 1977:180). The work involved in doing this meant using valuable organizational material and symbolic resources. But the Director needed the public perception of the organization to be positive. Due to a shortage of economic capital, and quite a specific resource of symbolic capital, as regards cultural and social capital, the Director focused on demonstrating the value of GUCM through describing what the organization would do in the future, once it was in a stronger position, rather than what it was doing presently. Presenting the organization's potential actions as symbolic of value was a way the Director negotiated for a positive social judgement of GUCM. Part of her work was to influence social judgement with acceptable representations of the organization, recognisable to the other agents in the field as demonstrative of symbolic value.

The Director's own social capital, previously developed in her position as a member of the arts community locally, in the UK, and internationally, would hopefully enhance the position of the organization and the organization's capability to increase symbolic and other capital. Relationships with other members of the field and, thus, GUCM's association with other organizations, needed to be mutually beneficial. The Director's bank of personal social capital meant that she could leverage the image of the organization to a greater extent than the economic capital of the organization allowed. She could also draw on her connections' own symbolic capitals thus further enabling GUCM's ability to act. Developing relationships in a prioritized way meant that the organization was getting closer to having access to the symbolic capital it required to survive and establish a stronger position in the field. The field of music is dominated by the field of power and the members of the field of music are thus reliant on having enough economic capital to remain in the game. The term 'political capital' is used in order to differentiate between the social capital generally being developed as opposed to the social capital that is developed with funders in the political field, thus giving

someone with political capital a sense of position in the political field. Hopefully this position would result in being granted economic capital. It was political capital that the Director of GUCM was working to develop. The funders in the political field who could grant economic capital were in an influential position in the field of music.

GUCM required 'the legitimate gaze' (Bourdieu, 1984: 327) from a 'source of reinforcement' (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008:20) in order to become an established member of the cultural field. In the cultural field in Glasgow, economic capital was gained through transforming organizational political capital, and political capital was seen to develop partly due to building social capital in the political field. However, what was recognized as social capital in the political field was changing. In order to negotiate a more influential position and be recognized by members of the political field as valuable, GUCM required a member of the organization, i.e., the Director, to possess (or cultivate) a disposition that would be recognized as acceptable by the members of both the symbolic fields (the field of music and arts) and the political field. An acceptable disposition would include the possession of the required social capital in each field. This symbolic capital could then be transformed into political capital and thus economic capital, enabling the organization to establish an influential position in each field through the position of its Director. For GUCM, it was recognized as symbolically valuable enough to maintain its funding pattern with the Glasgow Council and the Cultural Department for the council. However, it did not maintain its full symbolic value in the eyes of its other funders, i.e., the Scottish Government and the Scottish Government's Arts Council, Creative Scotland. Although GUCM had the 'legitimate gaze' from one 'source of reinforcement' within Glasgow, it did not continuously have the 'legitimate gaze' from a national 'source of reinforcement'.

The main issue in relation to the development of relationships with agents in the field is the amount of time that this process took. The struggle with time resulted in the necessity to prioritize the relationships that were seen as more important to build in relation to the development of the organization. Through incorporating the concept of prioritization, it becomes clear that the Director spent more time developing relationships with agents higher in symbolic capital than with those who had less

symbolic capital. It is necessary, for legitimation, that an organization communicates a distinct vision for the organization. The vision, for the future, enables all investors (economically and symbolically, of time and money) to work towards a common goal. Having a distinct vision is important, but not as important or necessary as being able to communicate actions taken in the present that are useful and reflect the presence of a distinct vision. Time spent by the organization attempting to co-ordinate perspectives of the organization so that they could communicate a particular emphasis, and time spent managing disparate views attempting to fulfil the opinions of many evaluators, was not essential for the organization to be legitimated in the field of music. It was essential that the organization was accepted as legitimate by the influential members of the cultural field. It was also essential to be active as a useful organization and to present a clear vision for the organization.

By trying to serve all agents in the field, regardless of status and position, GUCM would not be incorporating the accepted practices of the field. Scott and Lane (2000) tell us that rather than there being separate portrayals of an organization depending on whether one is a member or a stakeholder external to its core functioning, the identity of an organization emerges as a result of the 'joint construction' of the ideas of the stakeholders and managers. They also find that 'even in the most interconnected networks and even under conditions of high centrality, managers do attend to certain stakeholders more than others because of time and cognitive constraints' (Scott & Lane, 2000:54). This is reflected here as regards the necessary focus on building specific relationships: the social capital needed to benefit the maintenance of the Director's own position in the field and thus the maintenance and enhancement of the organization's position.

In the data, we see evidence of the treatment of a possible future as a 'future that is virtually the present'. The title of GUCM was projected as being able to 'make a difference', to 'sell Glasgow' and 'benefit Glasgow'. It could achieve this through 'acting as an umbrella for music in the city', 'providing a hub for music in Glasgow' and being the 'source of all musical information in Glasgow'. This was communicated as being an almost definite future for the organization, as long as the organization was given the

resources they needed to do this. The problem, as understood by the staff at GUCM, was in relation to how funders could not give money to the organization based on future advantages this would have for the city. The problem here is that even though the organization portrayed the idea of a 'protensive' future, i.e., something that is about to happen in the very near future, it remained a 'projected' future, i.e., something that is possible (Bourdieu, 1998:80). The organization might have been potentially able to 'improve' Glasgow, but it was not yet able to pinpoint what that improvement would definitely look like for all involved nor how the organization was going to become 'the umbrella', 'the hub', or the 'source of all musical information'. In institutional work, action is seen as being as a result of an intention (Lawrence, *et al.*, 2009). However, Bourdieu (1998:97-98) denies 'intention' and differentiates the ways agents view the future. One concept he calls 'project' which describes an agent's 'possible' future (Bourdieu, 1998:80). Another concept is 'protension' which tells us of a 'future that is almost present' (Bourdieu, 1998:80). (Protension is seen when a person with a glass of water in front of them suggests that they will drink the glass of water, i.e., a future that is virtually the present.) The organization was trying to legitimate itself through what institutional work refers to as a 'future-oriented intentionality' (Lawrence, *et al.*, 2009:12), but also through the presentation of the future as protension rather than what it actually was, which was project, i.e., the Director was presenting a possible future as a future that was virtually the present.

The representation of the organization's future needed to be acceptable to those agents in the field who evaluate GUCM. The Director envisioned the organization's usefulness in the future, when the organization would be taking action rather than planning action. She would do this through the transformation of the organization's ideas into actuality. The legitimation of the organization within the field of music, however, was reliant upon perceived ideas of how the organization contributed to the field presently rather than retrospectively or potentially. Being able to contribute to the field was a fundamental value in the field of music. The field valued being useful, but being useful was not defined in the same way by all members of the field. In order to influence its position in the field, GUCM needed to focus on being useful according to how the influential players in the field defined it. The legitimacy to be found in the piggybacking of a new venture

with established organizations is seen as a normative process of legitimation (Stryker, 2000:202), i.e., the giving over of resources to the new venture from other organizations is motivated by 'their belief or feeling that the venture is indeed competent, efficient, worthy, appropriate, and/or needed' (Zimmerman and Zeitz, 2002:416). Legitimacy is ultimately seen in the 'relationship between the practices and utterances of the organization' and also in the relationships that are 'approved of, and enforced' by the field in which the organization finds itself (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002:416-422).

Without an established position in the field, the Director needed to focus on increasing the volume of symbolic capital possessed by, and available to, the organization. The field of music in Glasgow is part of the field of culture, and both fields function within the contexts of the economic field and the political field. We know that fields are 'inter-dependent' and the 'relationships of exchange' between these fields are part of a 'mutual process of influence and ongoing co-construction' (Thomson, 2008:71). Thomson (2008:79) also reminds us that the 'four semi-autonomous levels' of field are constituted of the 'field of power, the broad field under consideration, the specific field, and social agents in the field as a field themselves'. The field of power is the most dominant field within which that agents negotiate.

Economic capital and political capital are symbolic of power and influence in all fields. In the field of music, it is cultural capital that is the dominant symbolic capital. Cultural capital is observed to be more important than economic capital. Organizations can be understood to possess economic and political capital, yet, it is the *members* of the organizations that work to negotiate and transform these capitals. The Director and members of the Board were the holders of particular symbolic capitals which transferred to the organization of GUCM through their association with the organization. In the discussion of the importance of being able to communicate useful and appropriate organizational activity to the other members of the field, we begin to see the field of music as being politically and economically motivated. A recognized dominant understanding within the fields of music and culture is 'art for art's sake' (Caves, 2000: 4). However, Bourdieu (2008:59) refers to the *misrecognition* of the 'arbitrariness' of what symbolises capital in a field. Here we see the dominance of cultural capital in a

field, yet, we recognize the fundamental concern to build social capital, transforming that social capital into political capital, and thus, through taking a more influential position in the field, gaining economic capital. What is recognized as symbolic capital in the field requires a collective *misrecognition* of the arbitrariness of what symbolises capital: symbolic capital is only meaningful to those who give it meaning. It is *misrecognition*, rather than a lie, or purposeful deceit. It is linked to the ability of the dominant players in a field remaining dominant. It is also reflected in the *taboo of making things explicit* (Bourdieu, 1998:96), i.e., that which reinforces dominant positions, and, as Bourdieu (1998:121) tells us, 'the dominated perceive the dominant through the categories that the relation of domination has produced and which are thus identical to the interests of the dominant'. GUCM was attempting to legitimate itself in a field where it could not yet reflect the symbolic capital necessary to become accepted as a dominant player. Nor could the organization's symbolic capital be transformed into economic capital.

### ***Acquiring Economic Capital***

The process of becoming a funded organization is a reflection of the process of becoming a valued organization in the field. Economic capital, in the form of funding, in the field of music enables an organization to improve their position. Subsidized arts organizations can be reliant on funding for their core functioning or the development of their projects. The agents in the field are thus, interested in: being granted public money; being recognized as worthy of public money; and becoming an organization recognizable as worthy as reflected through being granted funding. The financial status of GUCM was thus of paramount importance in order to maintain funding, develop a core budget, and fund projects. Having economic capital enabled the replenishing of 'funds' built through cultural and social capital. The title of GUCM was perceived as a potential resource for other organizations' funding applications. It was of national importance, the Culture Minister being a participant of the process of getting the award for Scotland. Its national importance also led some to believe that it was also a national responsibility. Political capital is understood as being positioned as an organization (from a field outside of the political field) capable of negotiating for economic capital in the political field. GUCM was an organization that could improve international relations through developing

collaborative projects that could economically benefit Scotland. In this sense, GUCM participated in the political field, yet was still experiencing difficulty transforming that participation into enough political capital to guarantee economic capital. The accumulation of symbolic capital recognizable to members of the political field is another way of understanding political capital. It was central to the funding process that GUCM build this symbolic capital. Bourdieu tells us of mechanisms 'capable of reproducing the political order' (Bourdieu, 1977:189). The funding process in the field of music was part of a process that reproduces the political order, i.e., each time a member of the field participates in the funding process, the process itself is reinforced and its legitimacy is reaffirmed. However, it is the tacit nature of the process that reinforces it. In this case, the funding process is such a central part of how the field of music functions that to challenge it a member of the field is making explicit that which it should not if it wishes to retain a legitimate position. In order to acquire economic capital through the funding process in the field of music, the Director of GUCM was responsible for presenting an image of the organization that responded to the political field's understanding of symbolic capital, i.e., political capital.

The 'work' of the Director of GUCM was negotiating within the fields for economic capital. Political capital can also be understood as the legitimate symbolic capital of a particular moment. There were certain requirements as to how public money should be spent and meeting these requirements was part of the 'work' of the Director. Her work also included representing the organization as having acceptable symbolic capital and redefining the organization according to contemporary understandings of legitimate symbolic capital. Funding as a political mechanism can be even further understood as a constitutive mechanism – a mechanism that orients organizations according to the rules of the field (Stryker, 1994; Stryker, 2000), i.e., according to their symbolic capital. A manifestation of funding as a mechanism of reinforcing the rules of the field was the agents' (in the field of music) valorization of organizations and agents according to the level of funding granted. For example, an organization which receives its core funding from Creative Scotland will be understood as more symbolically valuable than an organization which has been refused funding from Creative Scotland. Valorization of

organizations in this way reaffirms the understandings that enable the most influential agents in the field to maintain their position.

In the cultural field, there is an understanding that holds cultural strengths as the most valued form of capital, what Bourdieu refers to as *interest*. With cultural strengths of its title being beyond reproach, it was the development of social capital in the political field that was the most pertinent capital for GUCM. Bourdieu refers to this as the *misrecognition* of a code: being a legitimate player in the cultural field requires a disposition encompassing cultural capital, but the establishment of an organization (via its members) requires a disposition rich in social capital (Codd, 1990). The field of music, within the field of culture, is subject to a symbolic political evaluation due to the influence of the political field and the funding (required and) acquired from members of the political field. However, it is the field of power that is the most influential field, ensuring that the 'work' of the Director of GUCM is in a constant struggle for funding that reflects a struggle for position in the field. Another part of the 'work' shows the presence of the field of power as being central to how GUCM could benefit other agents, i.e., enabling other organizations and agents in the field to focus on their own work, while the Director of GUCM dealt with the financial and political side of what was involved. In the analysis of securing economic capital, we find that economic capital represented status in the field, symbolizing much more than simply financial security for GUCM. Economic capital is a method for gaining symbolic power in the cultural field and the value of economic capital is worth only as much as agents individually and collectively choose to grant it. The holders of symbolic capital, i.e., those who did the work of gaining political and economic capital, did so in order to enable the necessarily *disinterested* nature of the members of the field of music to be retained. The symbolic capital of the title and organization of GUCM was recognized by many; appropriated, meaning its cultural value was understood, by some; and possessed, in the sense of being able to use the title in order to eventually financially profit from it, only by a few.

An agent, who values disinterestedness over economic profit, is not necessarily unaware of the importance and dominance of the economic field. A player is a component of a field who chooses to prioritise the ideas and practices that are assigned a symbolic

essential value rather than prioritise the dominant ideas and practices of the field of economy (Bourdieu, 1998:113). Because a player in a field that is disinterested and values the symbolic, but must also participate in the economic field (as it is dominant at the present time), the player is thus a translator of a 'double consciousness'. The player is aware of both sets of value and the dominance of one over the other, yet must deny this in (either) field in order to retain a position of player in the field. According to the belief system of the field, which Bourdieu would refer to as the field's doxa (Bourdieu, 1977), the players, in order to maintain position in the field, must be seen and perceived to have the same values as the field. Being known to hold appropriate values is central to inclusion in the field. Acknowledging that other value and belief systems may actually dominate through a 'double consciousness' is thus not acceptable and would probably eventuate in a player's exclusion or perhaps in a renegotiation of a player's position, in a field.

Bourdieu's 'protension' (1998:80) - as a way of relating to the future that is almost present - shows that it is possible for an agent to be able to relate to the future as an almost definite present when their habitus or preconceived dispositions reflect the game of the field they are acting within. He describes it as a 'pre-perceptive anticipation' and a 'practical induction based on previous experience' (Bourdieu, 1998:80). The agent has the 'game under' their 'skin' and can 'master in a practical way the future of the game' (Bourdieu, 1998:80). An agent becomes a good player, and effective, when they are able to anticipate 'ahead of the game' and have the 'immanent tendencies of the game' in their body. However, what can be seen is that it did not matter how well understood the 'game' was by the Director and Board of GUCM, unless they had the time to focus simultaneously on all the different processes the organization that needed to become established. Bourdieu (1977:180) tells us that 'giving or squandering time' is 'one of the most precious gifts', but for an organization such as GUCM, to give time and to squander time, costs money. Due to a shortage of economic capital, the Director needed to spend time building relationships with funders, but in order to do this it meant she had less time to spend building relationships in the field of music. The issue of time became fundamental to the progress of the organization of GUCM. There was a daily struggle to decide how the organization would most benefit from the Director's time. Because the

Director of GUCM had been an agent in the field of music for a substantial amount of time, the members of the field of music recognized that her habitus reflected the rules of the game and she was thus able to pre-perceptively anticipate the future (present). If an influential player in the field loses position, as was possible in this case due to a shortage of time available to maintain previously developed relationships, the rules of the game, or the game itself can fundamentally change without the player recognizing that, nor understanding how, the rules have changed (Bourdieu, 1992:130). If the context of the field of music changes due to changes in the dominant fields, such as the economic and political fields, then what was previously recognized as symbolic capital may no longer symbolize capital. Thus, a player's ability to gain symbolic capital and thus economic capital becomes vulnerable. The Director of GUCM recognized that the environment and context of the field was changing considerably, yet, could not enable the small, independent charitable organization to gain enough economic capital under her leadership. The legitimacy of the organization was challenged in the new context – the new context being a result of recessionary implementations by the government – and thus the organization's position was even more vulnerable.

The values of the cultural field are reflective of the values of the political field, and the values of the political field are reflective of the values of the economic field. This process shows the values imposed upon less influential fields and is important in this discussion as it means that the values of the political and economic fields permeate the cultural field and the field of music. In the case of an emerging organization in the cultural field, economic capital is the *misrecognized* influential capital in the field, i.e., rather than cultural capital being the most influential capital in the cultural field and the field of music, it is shown instead to be economic capital. The work of the Director establishes the dominance of the issue of economic capital and suggests that the process of acquiring economic capital is through building political (social) capital and cultural capital. The negotiations between members of the fields in regards to these symbolic capitals, i.e., economic, political, and cultural, are shown to be underscored by social capital. This understanding can help to explain the appointment of particular people to particular positions in the field at particular moments. For example, the appointment of the Chief Executive of the Glasgow Royal Concert Halls to the position of Director of

Glasgow UNESCO City of Music can be understood as recognition of her cultural and social capital that could be transferred from one role (as Chief Executive) to another (as Director of GUCM). Although GUCM was a title with cultural capital (representative of Glasgow's accumulated musical prestige and UNESCO's recognition of this), the emerging organization required association with somebody who could add social value, i.e., social capital, and thus economic capital. The inherent cultural capital of the title, could not translate into economic capital, without first being translated via social capital. The connections and associations built up by the Director, however, also needed to transform (or transubstantiate) the cultural and social (political) capital into economic capital to develop the hierarchical position of the organization in the cultural field: a position that not only reflected legitimacy in the cultural field, but also the political field.

### **Contributions to the Literature: Value of Bourdieu's Work**

Emerging organizations need to be accepted by other members of the field they are dealing with. One of the reasons they need to be accepted is because of the need for resources. It is assumed that resources 'will be allocated to those organizations that most faithfully replicate, or successfully challenge the dominant cultural logic' (Gollant & Sillince, 2007:1151). The dominant field members collectively recognize a web of ideas or practices that emerging organizations in the field must negotiate. The organization needs to decide whether it will work with the field's understandings or will attempt to change these practices to suit their objectives and goals. These practices are the present legitimate practices in the field. In every field there are different ideas of what a legitimate practice is, and also, what values are acceptable. These ideas seem permanent but are actually in constant motion and negotiation. These negotiable ideas have the potential to both enable and hinder an emerging organization's position in the field. Members of the organization thus develop methods to negotiate a legitimate status for the organization. This legitimacy can then be used as *capital* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) in order to gain further resources that the organization may need. In this way, being perceived as legitimate is symbolic capital, and legitimation is the practice of becoming legitimate in the field. The outcome of this practice is that an organization may or may not be accepted as a legitimate member of the field. An emerging organization has members within it who 'work' on behalf of the organization. The agents

have a *habitus* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) that is central to how they approach this 'work'. A person's *habitus* is described as being their 'durable principles of judgement and practice generated by an actor's early life experiences and modified (to a greater or a lesser degree) later in life' (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008:4). In this sense, a member of an organization has their own capital that can be used to practice in a field. When the continued existence of an organization is not seen as *taken-for-granted* (Suchman, 1995), the 'work' of the members of the organization is to convince stakeholders and agents external to the organization that the organization is valuable, appropriate, and comprehensible. Some of this is 'maintenance work' – 'an ongoing, politicized activity of response and counter-response', but in the case of GUCM this work was added to, due to the 'work' of legitimation.

### ***Institutional Work***

Bourdieu's work enhances the understanding of institutional work in six different ways. Firstly, through his triad of habitus, field, and capital, he incorporates some of institutional work's main questions. Next, using symbolic capital specifically, he discusses who engages in practices in the field and what the legitimate practices, which adds to the discussion of the institutional work that supports or hinders an agent's progression in the field. His concepts of recognition and symbolic value and the field of power engage and deepen the understanding of issues surrounding the concept of an organization or member of an organization being a part of two or more fields simultaneously. Institutional work looks at *emancipation* which can be directly dealt with through Bourdieu's notion of the (re) structuring structure of habitus. The idea of institutional *work* itself is seen to be enhanced through incorporating the Bourdieusian concepts of symbolic power, disinterestedness, and the idea that there is a taboo on making things explicit. Lastly, there is a concept of intentional *effort* used in institutional work to partly explain the institutional work involved in change. Bourdieu shows us that conscious intentionality need not be apparent. I deal with each of these ways of understanding below.

The first issue is seen in some of the main questions or themes being looked at in institutional work, which are: understanding which actors are more likely to engage in

institutional work; what factors might support or hinder that work (independent of its success or failure); why certain actors engage in institutional work while others in similar contexts do not, and what practices constitute the range of ways in which actors work to create institutions (Lawrence, *et al.*, 2009:10). Bourdieu offers a triad of concepts that incorporate these questions. The central and connecting concept is habitus. It is through *habitus* that we already see why some actors engage in certain institutional work, while others do not. *Habitus* shows us the acquired disposition and the structuring and structured structure that reflects which agents would unconsciously understand how a particular field functions. It has also been suggested that the concept of 'institutional work can contribute to bringing the individual back into institutional theory', that it can 'help to re-examine the relationship between agency and institutions, and provide a bridge between critical and institutional views of organization' (Lawrence, *et al.*, 2011:52). This thesis has identified the institutional work of GUCM. Action in the institutionalized field occurs within a 'set of institutionalized rules' with 'appropriate action' reflecting the *rules* of the field (Lawrence and Suddaby 2006:220). Bourdieu's concept of agents' positions in the field being dominant and dominated can bring depth to the idea of institutionalized rules, clarifying ideas of the imposition of 'rules' and action being influenced by 'rules'. The concept of *agents* assumes membership within the field, and initiates the discussion of an agent's position within that field according to the momentarily static distribution of symbolic capital throughout the field.

The second way Bourdieu enhances the understanding of institutional work is through the concept of symbolic (inclusive of economic) capital. This concept can be used to further understand the institutional work issues of who engages in the practices in the field and also what the legitimate practices at any moment are. Symbolic capital is directly related to an agent's position in the field. What becomes, and remains, symbolic as capital in any field is explained further in Bourdieu's concepts of 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1977:164), a belief system seen in the field, and a *taboo on making things explicit* (Bourdieu, 1998:96). Bourdieu (1977:164) tells us that 'schemes of thought and perception [doxa] can produce the objectivity that they do produce only by producing *misrecognition* of the limits of the cognition that they make possible, thereby founding immediate adherence... to the world of tradition... taken for granted'. In other words, a

belief system in the field means that agents act according to (adhere to) the limits of these (objectified) understandings. The assumption for the organization studied during fieldwork was that it is usually more beneficial to work *with* perceived structural boundaries or hindrances rather than consistently working to change them. This is from the perspective of an emerging organization in the field that had not yet gained or established its desired position in the field. He also introduces the concept of a '*taboo of making things explicit*', which explains that 'to say what it really is, to declare the truth of the exchange... is to destroy the exchange' (Bourdieu, 1998:96). It is *habitus*, i.e., having 'a feel for the game' and 'having the game under the skin' (Bourdieu, 1998:80), that enables an agent to correctly misrecognize the truth of an exchange and appear to work according to a collectively understood belief system. Symbolic capital is at the core of this discussion and thus, actors' symbolic capital in any particular field can lead us to the understandings and practices that support and hinder the success or failure of the institutional work of actors.

Another issue is the difficulties met due to an organization, and those that work for the organization, working within more than one field. This thesis offers one such case. It shows us that the work involved in communicating the core purpose of an organization to the members of the field of music was overshadowed by the work demanded by those in the political field, by the funders. In this case, the work of developing the essential purpose of GUCM, as a hub for those working in music in Glasgow, was necessarily, due to time restraints, of secondary importance. Thus, the practice of legitimating the independent charity in the field of music could not be the focus of the Director until the organization had been legitimated by members of the, more influential, political field, something that was symbolized through gaining access to economic capital.

Jarzabkowski, Matthiesen and Van de Ven (2009:285) look at how organizations and their members 'cope with institutional pluralism'. Institutional pluralism is the way in which organizations act in two or more 'institutional spheres' when those institutions and the actors functioning within them show allegiance to varying fields thereby leading to the existence of 'persistent and deep-rooted tensions'. We can see the ideas of institutional pluralism reflected in the constant struggle felt by the Director and Board of

GUCM to respond to the rules of the field of music while simultaneously responding to the rules of the political field. However, it becomes clear, that the rules of the more influential field, in this case, the political field, will eventually have to be prioritised for an organization attempting to establish itself, even when this organization is attempting to establish itself in one of the less influential fields, i.e., the field of music. From looking at Lawrence and Suddaby's (2006) development of the concepts associated with institutional work, Jarzabkowski, *et al.*, (2009:285) suggest that further research 'is necessary to examine whether and how... types of work and practices associated with creating new institutions play out in the context of institutional pluralism'. Bourdieu's contribution is to enable explanation of this issue through his concepts of recognition, symbolic value, and the field of power. To explain further, the symbolic capital of the organization's members was fundamental to the organization's ability to acquire economic capital (due to the relative positions of GUCM and funders in the field of power). Although cultural capital gave the organization an inherent position in the cultural field, it did not guarantee recognition (symbolic value) in the political field. The cultural capital was thus recognized in the cultural field, but was appropriated only by a few agents who had the particular habitus to negotiate with its merit. The 'work' of the Director of GUCM was to increase the number of people who would claim ownership of the title. Although the organization was being managed by influential members of the political and cultural field, i.e., by those who sat on the Board of Trustees and those who put the bid together for the award, it was not yet recognized as definitively worthy by funders in the political field. Several different understandings of an organization, in this case the understandings of the members of the field of music, the members of the political field, and the members of the organization itself, can make it difficult for an organization to maintain perceptions of legitimate action, values and norms, especially where there is more than one observer.

The final issue in which Bourdieu can enhance institutional work's understandings is that of affecting change in the field. There are three main areas from institutional work that will be discussed in relation to this issue: emancipation; 'working' to change; and choosing to expend 'effort' to intentionally introduce new ideas to the field. Bourdieu negotiates this issue in various ways which will be shown below.

Firstly, the institutional work involved in ‘emancipation’ is achieved through ‘informing individuals of the institutionalized mechanisms of domination, helping them to reflect on those mechanisms and eventually develop the capability of changing those institutions... helping individuals to become able to perform institutional work’ (Lawrence, *et al.*, 2009:17), an idea that is quite similar to habitus. Habitus is the restructuring structure that informs agents’ actions within the field. Habitus is not only a structure in this moment, but also restructuring simultaneously, reflecting institutional work’s idea of developing the capability of change. Although the concept of habitus is complex, it can help develop the discussion as regards emancipation as it incorporates an individual’s capacity to evolve, but instead of needing to be emancipated by another, habitus informs us that the potential for emancipation is inherent.

The second area informs us that the Director could try to affect change by ‘working’ to change the ideas held in the political field as regards the usefulness of GUCM. She could try to affect change or could maintain the status quo, knowing that the status quo at this time did not result in being granted enough funding for the organization to survive. Bourdieu provides the tools required to discuss the ‘work’ of trying to affect change through the concepts of symbolic power, the *taboo on making things explicit*, and disinterestedness. The ‘work’ of the Director becomes clearer when explained using these terms (the following Bourdieusian terms are in italics for clarity).

It was clear that change was necessary in order for the organization to be granted funding, as not only did the organization need economic capital, but being granted funding is an important method of developing an organization’s, and thus its members’, symbolic power, in the cultural field in Glasgow. Perhaps, due to the visibility of GUCM in the cultural field in Glasgow, agents external to the organization recognized the struggle for economic capital that the Director of GUCM was engaged in negotiating for. The depth of this struggle made explicit that which it should not. Being a member of the field of music was to be disinterested, thus, to make it clear that the fundamental requirement for a member of the field of music is to acquire economic capital makes explicit that which should not be. An organization in the cultural field in Glasgow cannot improve its position without being able to acquire economic capital, hence economic

capital is the most valued and valuable resource in the field, rather than the assumed dominant value of cultural capital.

The third and final part of the discussion in relation to affecting change is the issue of affecting change through new ideas. Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) also, describe the effort, the 'practical, creative work necessary' in order to make new ideas take hold within an organization. The concept of *effort* is fundamental to the understanding of institutional work. However, their description paints 'effort' as something which is an intention of the actor. The actor can choose to change or maintain the acknowledged rules or norms of an institution. If the actor intends to attempt to change something, the actor must expend effort. If the actor intends to maintain the status quo, the actor must expend effort and resist any change that may be attempted by other actors. Although institutional work views 'work' as effort, Bourdieu offers an alternative understanding that shows the ideas of conscious intentionality need not be apparent. A 'pre-perceptive anticipation' of 'the game' (Bourdieu, 1998:80) and a *habitus* that is developed along with a sense of pre-perceptiveness means that an agent does not need to intend to work, to challenge, or to conform. This work happens as a result of having mastered 'in a practical way the future of the game' (Bourdieu, 1998:80). Thus, the agent is a part of the field, as much as the field, as a relational concept, is only symbolic of a field due to the presence of the agent and the agent's recognition of the game. Although the positions taken by agents within the field, i.e., Chief Executive, musician, or Arts Officer, for example, may appear to remain the same, it is the agents within the field that consistently reinforce the recognition of these positions as legitimate.

However, it is important to note that even though Bourdieu (1998:113) has used the terms 'field' and 'institution' interchangeably, it is the relational nature of the concept of field that is its main strength for this research. Wooten and Hoffman (2008:137) suggest that the institutional focus needs to be pointed to 'conceptualizing fields as mechanisms (Hoffman and Ventresca, 2002; Davis and Marquis, 2005)' rather than having a 'further emphasis on outcomes'. In order to do this, the research would need to focus on the field being a 'relational' space that enables an organization to interact with other members of other organizations in a meaningful way (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008:138). They conclude

that 'fields are richly contextualized spaces where disparate organizations involve themselves with one another in an effort to develop collective understandings regarding matters that are consequential for organizational and field-level activities' (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008:138). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:99) observe that social agents can 'get in' the field in order to 'transform, partially or completely, the immanent rules of the game...' and 'can work to change the relative value' of capital 'through strategies aimed at discrediting the form of capital upon which the force of their opponents rests... and to valorize the species of capital they preferentially possess'. What is being seen repeatedly in this discussion is a close link between what institutional work hopes to do and what Bourdieu already contributes.

Thus we can see that Bourdieu has a number of benefits for institutional work seen in the discussion above. The general questions being asked by the institutional work literature can be directly helped through consideration of Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and symbolic capital. Institutional work's discussion of 'institutional pluralism' (Jarzabkowski, *et al.*, 2009) is enhanced by Bourdieu's ideas of recognition, symbolic value, and the field of power, while symbolic power, the *taboo on making things explicit*, and disinterestedness add to the issue of affecting change in a field. Another contribution to this latter issue is Bourdieu's acknowledgement that conscious intention need not be apparent, referring to institutional work's focus on 'effort' as intention. Instead, Bourdieu maintains that habitus shows a pre-perceptive anticipation of the game, along with having mastered the future of the game.

### ***Institutional Legitimacy***

That which is legitimate can only be a passing judgement, a temporary consensus, and a momentary evaluation. Assumptions are taken-for-granted beliefs. Expectations are taken-for-granted ways of being in the field. Collectively understood expectations, achieved by members of the field, are recognizable as symbolic capital. An organization's taken-for-grantedness and fragility in the field influences how it functions. GUCM's main intention was to be taken as a legitimate player in the field. Work on organizational legitimacy emphasizes the 'strategic' and 'institutional' nature of legitimacy in the field, and is primarily built upon Suchman's (1995) typology of legitimacy, which is itself based

upon DiMaggio and Powell's (1983; DiMaggio and Powell, 1991) understandings of isomorphism. The three main types of legitimacy discussed are 'pragmatic', 'moral', and 'cognitive' legitimacy, along with their subtypes (Suchman, 1995). Bourdieu contributes to five issues found in the organizational legitimacy literature. Organizational position in a field in terms of dominant and dominated organizations and members of organizations can help to further understand the central issue of cognitive legitimacy. Legitimation of an organization in the field, as a practice or process, is enhanced through Bourdieu's principles of legitimacy. The dichotomous nature of the conceptualization of the organizational legitimacy literature can be negotiated through the incorporation of the relational nature of Bourdieusian concepts. The necessity for an organization to appear useful for the field, and the legitimacy granted by members of the field because of that, is an idea that can be highlighted and pinpointed through the interpretation of data using Bourdieu's triad of habitus, field, and capital. Finally, ideas in regards to homologous positions and double habitus give further depth to the concepts of the 'taken-for-grantedness' and 'delegitimation' of an organization in a field, both of which are important within the organizational legitimacy discussion. I deal with each of these issues below showing how they are dealt with in the organizational legitimacy literature followed by outlining Bourdieu's contribution.

The first issue is that of organizational position in the field. Understandings of legitimacy are changeable and not static. Positions in the field are constantly renegotiated, thus the taken-for-granted belief system is also constantly renegotiated as individuals or agents holding influential positions are challenged through those at the boundaries of the field attempting to gain position. Taken-for-granted ideas, process, and practices are negotiable and can be changed. An example of this can be seen through looking at some of the understandings in relation to funding applications. Having a 'track record of delivery' in the field reflects the field-wide belief that public money must be spent on something that is evidenced as useful for the collective. However, ideas of what is useful are open to renegotiation. The spending of public money in relation to benefitting the collective shows pragmatic, moral, behavioural, and socio-political adherence as well as being attitudinally consensual to, and cognitively orientated towards, a field-wide belief. Suchman (1995) describes an 'iconoclastic moral' challenge to cognitive legitimacy. This

is seen when an organization is not taken-for-granted as a legitimate, and thus fundable, member of a field because it is regularly questioned by funders and members of the field who feel that public money should be spent in a different way than the organization is planning i.e., an ‘iconoclastic moral’ challenge to the legitimacy and symbolic value of an organization. Bourdieu contributes the idea of dominant and dominated agents in a field. An influential position puts the organization in the situation of being able to (re)construct taken-for-granted ideas of field, yet, this is usually not what happens, i.e., as Bourdieu (1977:169) suggests, ‘The dominated... have an interest in pushing back the limits of doxa and exposing the arbitrariness of the taken for granted; the dominant... have an interest in defending the integrity of doxa or, short of this, of establishing in its place the necessarily imperfect substitute...’ In an influential position, an organization has more to lose through challenging the status quo than it has to gain by challenging it. The more taken-for-granted beliefs and assumptions of ‘ways of being’ in the field that an organization can reflect or achieve, the more symbolic capital the organization has, which, in turn, affects the organization’s position, and thus influence, in the field. If the members of GUCM were perceived by those in the political field as spending money through benefitting the public in a useful and collective way, it would have increased its symbolic capital in the field of music and the cultural field.

Also (as regards the position of an organization in a field), the discussion of legitimacy in the literature review led to the conclusion that all ‘types’ of legitimacy can be understood as cognitive legitimacy. However, Bourdieu’s concept of symbolic capital can also add to the discussion of cognitive legitimacy. Firstly, the concept of symbolic capital enables an understanding of organizational resources in an inter-relational and symbolic capacity rather than being seen simply as ‘symbolic resources’ (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005) as suggested in the institutional theory. If an organization does not have economic capital but it has enough cultural capital to be a legitimate player in the cultural field, then it needs to focus on social capital. GUCM had cultural capital but needed economic capital. The Director had social capital, but this did not result in improving the organization’s access to economic capital. GUCM had not gained the essential symbolic capital that could translate its value to the field. Bourdieu tells us that symbolic capital is a relational concept which makes sense because of what it means in response to the field and

habitus. He tells us that symbolic capital is 'any kind of capital (economic, cultural, academic, or social) when it is perceived according to the categories of perception, the principles of vision and division, the systems of classification, the classificatory schemes, the cognitive schemata' (Bourdieu, 1998:85). He also refers to symbolic capital in a way that brings it full circle to meet with the concept of cognitive legitimacy in this discussion. He tells us that 'symbolic capital is capital with a cognitive base, which rests on cognition and recognition' (Bourdieu, 1998:85). The use of symbolic capital in the field is tantamount to the legitimation of an organization, i.e., the more symbolic capital held by an organization or its members, the more recognizable the organization will become as a member of the field, leading to the potential cognitive legitimation of an organization, and also, a more influential position.

The second issue is that of legitimation as a process in a field. Actors within the field understand the actions and perceptions that will lead to an organization being perceived as 'legitimate'. Being perceived as legitimate enables an organization to become an accepted member of the field. An organization that is gaining legitimacy is an organization that is becoming understandable to other members of the field, and is thus an organization that is becoming perceived to be a legitimate organization by influential members of the field and eventually others. In other words, being a comprehensible (Suchman, 1995) organization is in the hope of eventually being a 'taken-for-granted' organization. Conferring and denying legitimacy are processes for evaluating and judging other members of the field. Understandings of what is, or is not, legitimate are unique to a field and become part of the processes developed in order for evaluation and judgement to take place. Individuals, acting on both their own behalf and on behalf of organizations, reinforce understandings of legitimacy through their acceptance of a field's processes. It is important to note that understandings of legitimacy are not constant or permanent, but are changeable and challengeable. Contemporary understandings of legitimacy are reflections of opinions held by the dominant members of the field which are dispersed throughout the field using mechanisms of legitimation (Bourdieu, 1990). Thus, we see systems of principles and values appear as rules that individuals in the field work by. The integration of differing values and principles in order to develop a new process of evaluation and judgement can itself happen through a

process of legitimation. Bourdieu highlights the integration of processes of legitimation for members of the field and the understanding of how to negotiate these processes through the development of principles that members of the field can follow. Bourdieu offers three principles of legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1993). Through his observation of the cultural field, the first principle is 'specific' and is seen in the 'recognition granted' by the peer group, or by those members of the field which are an organization's competitors. The second principle is in relation to 'consecration' which is explained as legitimacy granted by the dominant members of the field of power. The third principle is 'consecration' as legitimacy granted by the majority of a population, i.e., popularity. Thus, Bourdieu contributes to the idea of legitimation as a process through looking at it as being anchored by principles that members of the field recognize and acknowledge in their work.

The third issue is the fundamental problem seen in dichotomous thinking. The institutional legitimacy theory, serves to increase the tendency of dichotomous thinking, rather than the practical need, seen in the field, to understand the permeation of the process of legitimacy throughout the 'work' in the field, i.e., the relational nature of happenings in the field. The main point here is that Bourdieu highlights the relational nature of his concepts, rather than highlighting the differences between his concepts, whereas the literature on organizational legitimacy tends to point towards differences or dichotomies. Gollant and Sillince (2007) highlight a division in the organizational legitimacy literature between that which is evaluative and that which is structural. Evaluative legitimacy is granted by an audience (Suchman, 1995) of an organization, incorporating ideas of judgement, whereas structural legitimacy can be seen in how isomorphism<sup>39</sup> relates to the legitimacy of an organization (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

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<sup>39</sup> It is 'isomorphism' that accounts for the 'collective rationality' of a field, i.e., why organizations within the same field adopt the same structures or practices (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Three isomorphic processes - coercive, mimetic, and normative - result in the production of similar organizations in a field. An organization's ability to become an accepted member of the field is possible through a process of conformity. DiMaggio and Powell develop concepts of institutional isomorphism in their article which focuses on Weber's idea of bureaucratization. DiMaggio and

Such a binary distinction, however, simplifies the nature of legitimacy and legitimation and, also, it does not enable the relational understanding of field, seen in Bourdieu's field, capital, and habitus triad, to be examined. DiMaggio and Powell (1983; DiMaggio and Powell, 1991) highlight the coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphism that occurs in the field whereby organizations evaluate the state and actions of other organizations in the field in order to imitate, or act according to socially prescribed ways of being, both politically and structurally. In this sense, structural legitimacy is a form of evaluative legitimacy, as in order to achieve structural legitimacy in the field, the organization will have to understand which isomorphic pressures are relevant to them (i.e., which evaluations or isomorphic expectations apply to them). Legitimacy is constantly negotiating with evaluations of legitimacy which are concurrent with evaluations of the structural legitimacy of an organization. Suchman (1995) describes pragmatic and moral legitimacy as being evaluative in nature, and also refers to DiMaggio and Powell (1983; DiMaggio and Powell, 1991) as being a main source of influence for this typology. Thus, once again, we see isomorphism and the idea of structural explanations of legitimacy as being concurrent with evaluative explanations of legitimacy. Through the concepts of symbolic capital and the field, especially, Bourdieu enables a discussion of the legitimation of an organization which incorporates its relational nature and thus does not need to divide the discussion between structure and evaluation. Symbolic capital is only symbolic because of the structure of the field and the structure of the field is as it is because of understandings of what symbolises capital. They are inter-related concepts, and one cannot exist without the other.

In relation to the fourth issue of the usefulness of an organization in a field, I suggest that legitimacy is a function of the work of the field which is seen in an organization's attempt to be practical and reflect the dominant field-wide values. Values, in this sense, could also be described as the norms of the field. If the organization hopes to achieve conformity, then values as norms can be seen as a necessary function for the legitimation

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Powell's institutional isomorphism occurs in three senses – in a coercive sense, through mimetic processes, and also through normative pressures.

of an organization. The literature (for example, Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002; Suchman, 1995; Aldrich & Fiol, 1994) reveals a division between legitimated rules of the field somehow imposed upon an organization or member of the field (structural), and legitimated rules which have been internalised by the members of the organization and field and are thus understood as cognitive (normative). This concept of cognitive legitimacy is central to the discussion and is seen throughout the institutional legitimacy theory. The idea of legitimacy in the field being a function of the work of members of an organization is apparent in the study of GUCM and the issue can be further developed through looking at an example seen in the data using Bourdieusian conceptualization. For example, the most practical function for GUCM was as a symbolic title, recognized as such by the civic level of society in Glasgow. Although, the organization of GUCM needed to fulfil a fundamental purpose, at grassroots level, the title itself was practical for the dominant members of the field of music. However, if this understanding was made explicit by the Director, the organization would have been breaking a taboo on making explicit that which it should not, i.e., it would be pointing towards the title's symbolic value for the influential members of the field of music rather than the organization's sense of responsibility at a grassroots level. GUCM might thus lose the established position it had at the start of the period of its emergence as an organization. The struggle was between maintaining its emergent position, while developing an actual and practical purpose for the organization, an altruistic purpose showing GUCM to have a legitimate function in the field, as differentiated from the function of the title.

The final issue which Bourdieu can helpfully contribute towards: taken-for-grantedness. In order to maintain its taken-for-granted position, an organization may function according to different processes deemed acceptable by the field. Taken-for-grantedness is complicated by the fact that an organization is a part of more than one field, and thus responds to, and is required to show conformity to competing fields, in order to belong and retain its taken-for-granted position (Stryker, 2000). In this sense, there are external judgements that both enable and disable an organization's approval and cognitive legitimacy, thus making an organization's taken-for-grantedness fragile (Stryker, 2000). What is pertinent here is the potentiality for an organization's legitimation in one field to have the unintended consequence of delegitimation in another. '(De-)legitimation is

the process by which the legitimacy of a subject changes over time' (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008:57). Members of organizations who feel that their internalized values are under threat may attempt to undo the understood legitimacy (delegitimate) of the current prevailing norms; while those members who feel that their internalised values are being supported by the prevailing norms will attempt to reinforce the position of the current values (Stryker, 2000). Stryker (2000:204) finds that 'because there are multiple audiences for and mechanisms producing legitimacy, it is virtually guaranteed that organizations' search for legitimacy will produce some unintended delegitimation'. She (Stryker, 2000:204) also points out that Suchman (1995) highlighted the issue of delegitimation of an organization due to the presence of 'multiple organizational audiences' and 'multiple mechanisms for legitimation', adding that 'diverse legitimacy mechanisms may undercut, rather than reinforce, each other'. Stryker's (2000:204) earlier work (Stryker, 1994) also focuses on how different legitimacy mechanisms can 'work at cross purposes'. There are expectations from funders and from members of all symbolic fields that public money should be spent in a certain way and enable a particular sort of 'work'. By not achieving this, the Director risked the delegitimation of the organization in both the cultural and political field<sup>40</sup>.

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), from the perspective of institutional work and inclusive of Bourdieu's conceptualization of positions in a field, can add to this discussion. They (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006:248) understand that 'actors occupy simultaneous (and Bourdieu would add, homologous) positions in multiple field, and it is really the intersection and contestation of multiple logics within nested fields that provide actors the resources to engage in activities of contestation and reconceptualization that we refer to here as 'institutional work''. However, beyond the idea of 'homologous positions', Bourdieu (1998:118) contributes the concept of 'double habitus' that can help with understanding the struggle of functioning in more than one field at the same time. There is a 'structural double game with the objective definition of practice... seen in the most

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<sup>40</sup> It is important to differentiate between the delegitimation of the organization of GUCM, rather than the delegitimation of the title of GUCM.

ordinary forms of behavior' and 'the transfiguration is essentially verbal: to be able to do what one does by making people (and oneself) believe that one is not doing it, one must tell them (and oneself) that one is doing something other than what one is doing, one must do it while saying (to oneself and others) that one is not doing it, as if one were not doing it' (Bourdieu, 1998:115). This structural double game can be seen in the necessity for the Director to work at building social capital within the political field, whilst maintaining the charity as an independent organization in order to be in a position to build relationships with those in the field of music who worked at grassroots level, described as those who could be most benefitted by an organization like GUCM. In other words, the Director's work mostly consisted of building relationships with funders; however, as discussed above, to maintain its position in the field of music, this could not be made explicit.

As Bourdieu said:

'...structure suits a double habitus, endowed with the genius of euphemism, of ambiguous practices and discourses, of double meanings without a double game... this duality of mutually exclusive truths, as much in practices as in discourse (euphemism), should not be thought of as duplicity, hypocrisy, but rather as denial assuring... the coexistence of opposites... [the] work of denial or repression can only succeed because it is collective and based on the orchestration of the habitus of those who accomplish it or... on an unintentionally concluded or concerted agreement between the dispositions of the agents directly or indirectly concerned' (Bourdieu, 1998:118-121).

When the title of GUCM evolved to become an organization it took a recognizable form as an independent charity. Those responsible for establishing the organization set up an immediately recognizable organization that was comfortable for the political field and the cultural field due to its similarity to other organizations.

Thus, Bourdieu's understandings of organizational position in the field, legitimation as a process, dichotomous thinking, the usefulness of an organization, and taken-for-grantedness add to the discussion of organizational legitimacy in quite specific and useful ways as shown above. The connections between cognitive legitimacy and symbolic capital are examined. He offers three principles of legitimacy which can contribute towards the discussion of legitimation as a process. His focus on the relational nature of the concepts of field, habitus, and capital can greatly aid the issue of dichotomous thinking. A functional organization in a field is seen as a useful organization, an idea that

is enhanced through the presentation of data via Bourdieusian conceptualization. And lastly, the issue of taken-for-grantedness, a fundamental part of the organizational legitimacy discussion, is brought to another level through Bourdieu's idea of double habitus.

## Conclusion

The social space which was the cultural field in Glasgow (and Scotland) was a reflection of the symbolic power relations between agents that had been negotiated and were in a constant state of negotiation. Bourdieu (1990: 136) argues that 'official nomination... the act by which one grants someone a title, a socially recognized qualification, is one of the most typical demonstrations of that monopoly of symbolic violence which belongs to the state or its representatives'. The 'symbolic violence' is seen in the necessity for organizations and individuals at grassroots level to engage with an organization such as GUCM in order to be *free* to do the work they wish to do – composing or performing music, for example. The 'symbolic violence' is also seen in the process of a city becoming granted a title such as UNESCO City of Music, which was a process set by UNESCO in Paris and followed by the team who produced the bid for Glasgow. Being granted the title of GUCM, both in the case of the city being given it, and people in the city being enabled to associate themselves with it, can be seen in a practice that Bourdieu (1990:136) describes as a 'typical demonstration[s] of that monopoly of symbolic violence which belongs to the state or its representatives'. Bourdieu (1998:90) tells us that 'all things dominant celebrate and thus celebrate themselves' and they 'only fulfil the symbolic function of legitimation because they benefit in principle from universal recognition'. Thus, 'behaviors that render them homage, sincere or not, are assured a form of symbolic profit (conformity and distinction)' and it is this 'symbolic profit' which 'assures them a reasonable probability of existing' (Bourdieu, 1990:90).

This thesis asked how the members of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music view their organization's position and its sense of legitimacy within its field. It also asked how the members of GUCM negotiate for the positions they want, or need, in order to advance the organization. In a sense, Glasgow being granted the title was all that was required in order for GUCM to fulfil its function on an international level. However, what we see

through this concept of 'symbolic violence' is that, although it may eventually be shown that the title benefits people at grassroots level in Glasgow, the initial obvious benefits could only have been for the very people who brought the title to the city. It could only have been as such due to the consistent struggle negotiated by the Director in order to maintain and gain economic capital for the organization. The reliance on economic capital in the cultural field is a fundamental finding of this thesis. The influence of the economic field that spread to the cultural field via the political field shows the relational nature of the social world. Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:110) suggests that 'relations between fields... are not defined once and for all, even in the most general tendencies of their evolution', adding that 'the notion of field does not provide ready-made answers to all possible queries... it promotes a mode of construction that has to be rethought anew every time. It forces us to *raise* questions: about the limits of the universe under investigation'.

The PhD process itself deserves some reflection here. Overall, I developed an understanding of what the practical work of a researcher is: this took time along with learning to be content with uncertainty. The time spent collecting data in the field can sound manageable when discussed afterward. However, during that experience I had to learn many new skills such as, how to become an efficient note-taker - efficient in the sense of taking note of as much as possible without knowing which notes would be relevant. I had to learn to trust my ability to recognise the issues central to the working lives of people in the field. Sometimes I had to trust these decisions even though people with experience tried to guide me towards other issues. This guidance can be persuasive and induce self-doubt. I realised that people have differing levels of self-awareness. To understand one's own bias can be revealing yet the ability to repress some of the negativities one lives with is an important and useful skill. I felt a distinct need to recognise my own biases as much as possible in my position as researcher. The difficulty of being self-reflexive is that you learn people function without being aware of their own bias. I contend that my role as researcher is to point to what is happening in the world as I see it, but with full regard for people's entitlement to deny whatever knowledge they want to deny. In this sense, I have also reached an understanding of the importance of particular forums for the transmission of knowledge: in this case, the forum is a thesis.

People can then access the ideas of a researcher, if they so wish, or can ask a researcher for their opinion, if they so wish, but at no point, in my opinion, is it appropriate for a researcher to force, symbolically or otherwise, their understandings on people working and functioning at a level that we, as researchers who observe and interpret, do not function or work.

If I was in the role of a lone researcher in the field again, I would repeat my choice of methodology for data collection. Ethnographic data offers a particular viewpoint and offers a wider, more contextual, understanding of what is happening in the field. Even though it would have been possible for me to add data from the formal interviewing of members of the field external to the organisation, and this would have offered even more depth to the happenings in the field, I feel it important to mention that during the process of data collection one of the most sought-after outcomes was focus. I was trying to funnel down the amount of information I was receiving in order to make some sort of sense of it and offer an understanding of what was going on. The point of this thesis became the perspectives of the field as understood by those who worked for and on behalf of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music. My choice of methodology in a different situation, i.e. not as a lone researcher learning the trade, would be different. I would aim to collect from as many sources as possible, including both quantitative and qualitative research, having both those involved in the process of data collection along with a group of outsider researchers interpret the data. This would, in my opinion, be the most effective way of producing knowledge.

The social world that I was observing was the world around Glasgow UNESCO City of Music. I refer to it as being within the field of music which is within culture, and even further I refer to these social worlds being within the political and the economic fields. Looking at the world around GUCM specifically, it is difficult to say whether these findings would apply in another field, especially to an 'emerging' organisation led by people with established positions of authority. Yet, the influence of the economic field can be applied to other social worlds - any field whose members understand a central function being the necessity for financial and economic capital. It is this influence which fuels the necessity for organisations to have money, and it also fuels the sense of the

political field being a tool used by members of the economic field to manage and organise the dominated social worlds of music and culture. Although this case presents the story of an organisation that was emerging as a member of the field of music in Glasgow, it shows the reality of the position of an organisation created without a specific pre-ordained pragmatic function but with the support of influential people, i.e. not so much an 'emerging' organisation, but an organisation with position according to those associating and associated with it. The field of music presented in the case of this thesis is specific to a social world as understood by the members of the organisation of GUCM (people who held position in the field independent to the position acquired as part of their association with GUCM). The interpretation of these understandings is presented in this document and it points to the different levels of importance attributed to the different members and organisations of that world. It is possible that the findings produced during the research are more generalizable to other fields, the field of art or literature, for example. However, without having observed and interpreted ethnographic data from these other fields it remains a suggestion.

I would suggest that future research looks closer at the accepted hierarchical ethos within the world that we live in, an ethos that is accepted and reinforced by those who dominate, and those who are dominated. This research begins to look at the permeation of the economic ways of being throughout the rest of the 'fields'. Future research could also look at how Boards of Trustees reinforce or challenge accepted understandings of both institutional work and ideas of legitimacy in the field. It shows how it is those with economic capital who decide who is included and who is excluded from working in an area, e.g. music, that they might not have the habitus to understand. Looking at the permeation of economic understandings from as many different cases as possible, i.e. from within as many different social worlds as possible, and eventually developing a position that may point to this dominance of economic understandings, is paramount to the work of research. It is also vital that we suggest other ways of behaving that might begin to dismantle the dominance of the economic processes accepted in most, if not all, social worlds as the way things are.

It was important, to the author, to produce a thesis that was *considered*, i.e., knowingly inclusive of the inherently privileged nature of the ‘work’ of combining theory, data, and analysis to achieve conclusions in regards to an observed social world. Although it is a privileged position to write a thesis, Bourdieu (1990:183-184) offers the following as a way to negotiate this issue:

‘The necessity of repudiating the temptation to act regally never imposes itself as absolutely as when it is a question of scientifically analysing the scientific world... It is however only if he apprehends the game as a game, with the stakes, rules or regular sequences that are proper to it, the specific interests created in it and the interests satisfied by it, that he can... *extricate* himself... and, simultaneously, discover himself to be *implicated* in the game, in a determined place, with his own determined and determinant stakes and investments.’

Thus, the conclusions of this thesis are part of the social world that was observed. In order to ‘extricate’ myself from the research, I, most importantly, had to acknowledge that as a researcher situated in the field of music in Glasgow, I became part of the world of the field of music in Glasgow. The thesis simply offers another way of looking at how the members of an emerging organization worked to achieve legitimacy in the field of music in Glasgow, during the period October 2009 until February 2011.

Throughout this thesis, it has become clear that the most influential field that GUCM needed to negotiate with was the political field, more specifically with the funders within this field. The prominence of political ways of being in the field is highlighted in all the literatures discussed here: institutional work; organizational legitimacy; and Bourdieu. For institutional work, the inclusion of an understanding of the political nature of ‘work’ is part of the very conceptions of the theory. For organizational legitimacy, some research has acknowledged the influence of the political field sooner, (e.g. Stryker, 1994), and other strands have recently reached this understanding (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008). For instance, Deephouse and Suchman (2008:68) suggest focusing on the ‘rhetorical, discursive, and technical struggles over what is legitimate and who is authorized to theorize and certify’. Although the issue of legitimacy is fundamental to the functioning of the field of music, it is important to note that it is not necessarily identified as such by those who participate in the field, i.e., the members of the field of music in Glasgow. The process of legitimation is one that every member of the field is part of and responsible to yet, it remains a misrecognized process. Due to this

misrecognition, established ideas of what symbolizes legitimate processes, legitimate organizations, and legitimate members of the field remain misrecognized, retaining the symbolic power of the influential members of the field. As Bourdieu explains:

‘It is the scientist who raises the question of legitimacy; he or she forgets that this question does not arise as such for the dominated... he forgets... that the practical recognition of legitimacy which is inscribed in certain actions or certain abstentions is not an act of free consent accomplished as the outcome of an explicit cognitive operation. It is inscribed, rather, in the immediate relationship between a habitus and a situation and finds no expression more indisputable than the silence of shyness, abstention or resignation, by which the dominated manifest practically, without even considering the possibility of doing otherwise, their practical acceptance... of the possibilities and the impossibilities inscribed in the field.’

(Bourdieu, 1990:112)

Finally, although Bourdieu’s field is described as ‘a structured space with its own laws of functioning and its own relations of force independent of those of politics and the economy’ (Johnson, 1993:6), this thesis does not understand this to be the case. The organization of GUCM was part of a field of music which recognized cultural capital, and required an organization to possess cultural capital, yet, it was the economic capital granted by funders from the political field that enabled the development of the organization’s position in the field of music. Although the members of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music felt obligation towards benefitting the cultural life of Glasgow through music, its focus was necessarily on building relationships with funders, acquiring economic capital, and thus, through this process and not any other, being recognized as an organization worthy of an influential position within the field of music.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1

#### 1A

Excerpt from:

**Minute of UNESCO Glasgow City of Music Steering Group** (Internal Document)

Monday 31 March, 2pm

Conference Room, RSAMD, Renfrew St, Glasgow

Begins:

#### 5. Ambitions and key targets

Operate in a creatively entrepreneurial way to empower existing organisations and enhance existing activities.

To work with existing stakeholders to increase the number of people experiencing and engaging with live music. This work should have a strong international dimension through intercity exchanges and scholarships to enable young musicians to travel to other UNESCO cities.

Develop a pool of high profile 'Ambassadors' for GCM including prominent musicians who are prepared to give their time in return for the opportunity to create special events.

One major event fanfaring the UNESCO title should take place within Year 1. This should encapsulate and communicate the objectives of the organisation. Ideally it should be cross-genre, and free.

Ensure high visibility of UNESCO title through signage, plaques etc

To ensure that by the close of year three that GCM has secured its position as a well established, credible and beneficial organisation, fully able to plan its next three years strategy, activities and fundraising.

## 1B

Excerpt from:

DRAFT SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES OF GLASGOW UNESCO CITY OF MUSIC DURING ITS FIRST YEAR (Internal Document)

Begins:

**Advance music by developing and managing programmes of projects, events, actions and schemes to inform and educate the general public (locally, nationally and internationally) about Glasgow's musical heritage.**

<b>EXAMPLE 1:</b> GLASGOW'S MUSICAL HISTORY: Commission, undertake and publish research projects into Glasgow's musical history to deepen knowledge of its musical heritage.	<b>PARTNERS:</b> GLASGOW'S UNIVERSITIES, MEDIA, CONCERT HALLS, GALLERIES, LIBRARIES, ARCHIVES, SMC, CSG, GCH	<b>BENEFICIARIES:</b> ANY INDIVIDUAL WITH AN INTEREST IN THE HISTORY OF GLASGOW, MUSIC, SCOTLAND AND ITS SOCIETY
<b>EXAMPLE 2:</b> GLASGOW NOW Deepen the understanding of Glasgow's music world through detailed economic and activity research - providing an ongoing record of trends and developments and disseminating findings.	<b>PARTNERS:</b> CSG, SCOTTISH ENTERPRISE, EDINURGH-GLASGOW PARTNERSHIP, STRATHCLYDE UNIVERSITY, GLASGOW UNIVERSITY, RSAMD	<b>BENEFICIARIES:</b> ANY INDIVIDUAL WITH AN INTEREST IN CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN GLASGOW'S MUSIC, EMERGING TRENDS IN ALL ASPECTS OF MUSIC MAKING THROUGHOUT SOCIETY.

**EXAMPLE 3:** Work closely with Glasgow’s media companies to generate special projects and extraordinary coverage of music in Glasgow e.g. special music supplements; broadcasting special events; publishing ‘song book supplements’, sponsoring workshops etc. and also buying into Glasgow’s Musical History.

**PARTNERS:** GLASGOW’S MEDIA COMPANIES, GALLERIES, LIBRARIES, ARCHIVES, SMC, CSG, GCH

**BENEFICIARIES:** ANY INDIVIDUAL WITH A GENERAL INTEREST IN THE HISTORY OF GLASGOW, MUSIC, SCOTLAND AND ITS SOCIETY; THOSE WITH AN INTEREST IN HEARING OR PARTICIPATING IN PERFORMANCES OF MUSIC IN GLASGOW

**EXAMPLE 4:** Develop a website as a highly useful tool, source of information, directory and distribution outlet. GUCM will be accessible by phone, post and in person, but will prioritise the website as its key tool for communications. The site will be designed to enable visitors to communicate in different ways – via straightforward email, but also, for example through specific polls, surveys and sub-sites including, e.g. ‘WISH LIST”: an opportunity for members of the public to propose and vote on key actions which they believe

**PARTNERS:** CITY OF GLASGOW MARKETING BUREAU, SMC, BBC

**BENEFICIARIES:** ANY INDIVIDUAL WISHING TO LEARN MORE ABOUT GLASGOW’S MUSIC, PARTICIPATE IN GLASGOW’S MUSIC WORLD, ACCESS EXAMPLE OF MUSIC AND MUSIC MAKING IN GLASGOW OR COMMUNICATE WITH THE GUCM TEAM ON MATTERS REALTING TO ITS WORK, MUSIC AND GLASGOW’S MUSICAL HERITAGE GENERALLY.

would improve the future of music in Glasgow. These need not be major policy initiatives, but they do need to be achievable and tangible. Proposals with votes above a certain level will be adopted and progress tracked online.

**EXAMPLE 5:** BROADEN OPPORTUNITIES TO HEAR THE WIDEST ARRAY OF GLASGOW'S MUSIC AND MUSICIANS:

Working with organisations who offer young, unknown or emerging musicians of all kinds from Glasgow opportunities to perform, gain experience and exposure for a wide range of musicians, to increase these opportunities and enhance their usefulness by inviting more promoters, journalists, programmers and managers to the events

**EXAMPLE 6:** Create a quarterly E-bulletin update on activities etc. will be mailed to all members, and any other interested parties who request it.

**PARTNERS:** CSG, CELTIC CONNECTIONS, RSNO, GLASGOW JAZZ FESTIVAL, BBC SCOTLAND, STV, MUSICIANS UNION, WEST END FESTIVAL, THE ARCHES, SCOTTISH MUSIC CENTRE

**PARTNERS:** CITY OF GLASGOW MARKETING BUREAU, SMC, BBC

**BENEFICIARIES:** MUSICIANS WHO WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO PERFORM, AUDIENCES WHO WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO SAMPLE A WIDE RANGE OF MUSIC IN GLASGOW.

**BENEFICIARIES:** ANY INDIVIDUAL WISHING TO LEARN MORE ABOUT GLASGOW'S MUSIC, PARTICIPATE IN GLASGOW'S MUSIC WORLD, ACCESS EXAMPLE OF MUSIC AND MUSIC MAKING IN GLASGOW OR COMMUNICATE WITH THE GUCM TEAM ON MATTERS REALTING TO ITS WORK, MUSIC AND GLASGOW'S MUSICAL HERITAGE GENERALLY.

**EXAMPLE 7:** Award “Ambassador” status to individuals who have had or continue to have an outstanding and beneficial influence on Glasgow’s music. These Ambassadors will be asked to lend their support to the cause of advancing music generally through acting as spokesmen, raising the profile of music in the city, mentoring, attending special events.

**PARTNERS:**  
 INFLUENTIAL  
 INDIVIDUALS WITHIN  
 GLASGOW’S MUSIC  
 WORLD

**BENEFICIARIES:** Any  
 INDIVIDUAL  
 ASSOCIATED WITH  
 GLASGOW’S MUSIC  
 WORLD WHO

**Advance music by developing and managing a programme of events, actions and schemes to assist musicians within Glasgow to advance their art.**

**EXAMPLE 1:** MUSIC SURGERY Work with partners to make free advice on current legislation, rights, funding, PRS, Musicians Union, facilities and opportunities etc to musicians in Glasgow

**PARTNERS:**  
 MUSICIANS UNION,  
 PRS, MUSICIANS  
 BENEVOLENT FUND,  
 SCOTTISH MUSIC  
 CENTRE, SAC,  
 SCOTTISH  
 GOVERNMENT,  
 SCOTTISH  
 ENTERPRISE

**BENEFICIARIES:** ANY  
 MUSICIANS, MUSIC  
 STUDENTS,  
 PARTICIPANTS IN  
 GLASGOW’S MUSIC  
 WORLD SEEKING  
 ADVICE ON THESE AND  
 RELATED MATTERS.

**EXAMPLE 2:** ‘HOW TO’ SEMINARS: Regular sessions targeted at younger musicians, sharing best practice and experience in tackling such issues as marketing,

**PARTNERS:**  
 MUSICIANS UNION,  
 PRS, MUSICIANS  
 BENEVOLENT FUND,  
 SCOTTISH MUSIC  
 CENTRE, SAC,  
 SCOTTISH

**BENEFICIARIES:** ANY  
 MUSICIANS, MUSIC  
 STUDENTS,  
 PARTICIPANTS IN  
 GLASGOW’S MUSIC  
 WORLD SEEKING  
 ADVICE ON THESE AND

publishing, new technology,  
effective self-promotion,  
stage craft, design,  
distribution, funding.

**EXAMPLE 3:**

INTERNATIONAL  
NETWORKS: Identify and  
facilitate opportunities to  
forge links, collaborations,  
performances, cultural  
exchanges etc, with other  
musicians in fellow  
UNESCO Creative Cities.

GOVERNMENT,  
SCOTTISH  
ENTERPRISE

**PARTNERS:** UNESCO  
CREATIVE CITIES  
ESPECIALLY THE  
OTHER CITIES OF  
MUSIC, BOLOGNA  
AND SEVILLE

RELATED MATTERS.

**BENEFICIARIES:**  
MUSICIANS, STUDENTS,  
PARTICIPANTS IN  
GLASGOW'S MUSIC  
WORLD WITH AN  
INTEREST IN FORGING  
INTERNATIONAL LINKS  
AND BUILDING  
INTERNATIONAL  
UNDERSTANDING  
BETWEEN CITIES.

## 1C

Excerpt from:

GUCM Year 1 Revised A (Internal Document)

Begins:

Year 1 is exceptional for the obvious reasons: as a new company GUCM needs:

- 1) to put in place its administrative systems, staffing, design and planning systems (activity, budget, cost/benefit analysis etc.).
- 2) Launch itself effectively

Thanks to the diligence of the Interim Management Group (IMG), the in-coming director of GUCM should take control of a fully established company, a registered charity with a secured budget for its first three years. This frees him/her to concentrate on the critical matters of:

- 1) research and consultation locally (Glasgow), nationally (Scotland) and internationally (UNESCO, Bologna, Seville)
- 2) taking forwards projects aimed at promoting and advancing Glasgow's music and musicians
- 3) following on items 1 and 2 above, agreeing targets and setting priorities with the board and implementing key programmes GUCM will pursue in its first three years,
- 4) preparing its launch, by which time it should have at least 12 months of activities defined and programmed, to enable it to benefit from the media interest surrounding the launch to the maximum degree.

The table below summarises an ambitious but possible range of activities to be established for year 1.

NB This is presented at OSCR's request for information only, prior to the appointment of GUCM's director. It is subject to review and amendment by the Director. It closely

reflects the aspirations of the UNESCO Bid document, but is presented to offer an idea of activity rather than constituting an existing programme of activities.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE	1	Presented jointly with Bologna and Seville, create an opportunity for key stakeholders in the music worlds of the three cities to meet, debate, and explore opportunities for future collaborations	UNESCO / BOLOGNA / SEVILLE
INTERNATIONAL NETWORKING	2	An on-going process of Identifying and facilitating opportunities, links and collaborations with fellow Creative Cities. NB This is envisaged as complementary to the Conference but ongoing and less event led.	UNESCO, Bologna, Seville
CREATIVE CITIES NETWORK	ONGOING	Ensuring that GUCM's management and board are effectively plugged into the Creative Cities Network, vigilant for potential benefits and partnerships that may benefit Glasgow's music world.	UNESCO
SENIOR BRIEFING	2	Targeted at senior figures (politicians, civil servants, managers, directors, funders, providers, press and media). These briefings would present outcomes of research projects to key opinion and policy	CSG, SAC, SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT, SCOTTISH ENTERPRISE

		formers.	
<b>ACTIVITIES TO PROMOTE AND ADVANCE MUSIC AND CULTURE GENERALLY</b>			
AMBASSADOR AWARD CEREMONY	1	Potentially linked to the launch, Ambassador status will be awarded to individuals who have major influence on Glasgow's music. The Ambassadors will be asked to lend their support to GUCM initiatives, participate in its activities in ways they prefer (e.g. through mentoring, attending fundraising events, lending weight to lobbying etc.) and will also work with GUCM to create special projects.	GCH
LAUNCH	1	GUCM's launch is a critical and unique opportunity to set its agenda publicly and communicate key messages across the sector both directly and through the media. It needs to include performance, collaboration, launch of key initiatives and a clear 'road map' or the first 3 years	PERFORMING ORGANISATIONS AND VENUES ACROSS GLASGOW
<b>PUBLIC INTERFACE...</b>			
GUCM MEMBERS	ONGOING	GUCM Members will be able to contact GUCM through the same means as the general public. Additionally they will have a regular opportunity to meet the Director enabling him/her to	

		report to all members of GUCM (who will be broadly representative of Glasgow's music world) receive feedback and debate matters arising	
NETWORKS	ONGOING	Communications is one of the ongoing challenges for music organisations in Glasgow, and presents problems that cannot be resolved simply by creating new committee or networks. GUCM will both plug into existing relevant networks and examine ways in which communications might be enhanced seeking models of best practice from other sectors and countries.	
ADVOCACY	AS REQUIRED	GUCM will provide representatives to participate in forums, address meetings, conferences etc	
<b>MONITORING</b>			
ONGOING EVALUATION	ONGOING	The Director will agree clear, measurable targets and priorities with the Board which will be monitored regularly at board meetings	
GENERAL AUDIT	4	The Director will also maintain a 3-monthly audit of activities to test the reach, equality, diversity and accessibility of GUCM's activities, measured against its stated objectives and targets	

## Appendix II



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