



Emerald

Qualitative Research
in Organizations
and Management

**Policy change as institutional work. Introducing cultural
and creative industries into cultural policy**

Journal:	<i>Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management</i>
Manuscript ID	QROM-05-2016-1380.R1
Manuscript Type:	Original Article
Keywords:	Institutional work, Resourcing, Cultural and creative industries, Policy change

SCHOLARONE™
Manuscripts

Policy Change as Institutional Work: Introducing Cultural and Creative Industries into Cultural Policy

Abstract

Purpose: Policy change is frequently framed as resulting from governmental strategy based on explicit preferences, rational decision-making and consecutive and aligned implementation. This article instead explores the theoretical perspective of institutional work as an alternative approach to understanding policy change, and investigates the construction of resources needed to perform such work.

Design/methodology/approach: The paper is based on a case study of the process wherein the idea of cultural and creative industries was introduced into Lithuanian cultural policy. The main data generating methods are document studies and qualitative interviews.

Findings: The analysis demonstrates the ways in which the resources needed to perform institutional work are created through the enactment of practice, and through the application of resourcing techniques. Three such techniques are identified in the empirical material: the application of experiences from several fields of practice, the elicitation of external support, and the borrowing of legitimacy.

Originality/value: The study offers an alternative approach to studies of policy change by demonstrating the value of institutional work in such change. Further, it contributes to the literature on institutional work by highlighting how instances of such work, drawing on a distributed agency, interlink and connect to each other in a process to produce policy change. Finally, it proposes three interrelated resourcing techniques underlying institutional work.

Keywords: Institutional work, Resourcing, Cultural and creative industries, Policy change

Paper type: Research paper

Introduction

Cultural policy is an area where substantial ideational change has occurred in recent years, and as such it provides a suitable case for the study of policy change. While policy change is traditionally understood as resulting from governmental strategy based on explicit preferences, rational decision-making and consecutive and aligned implementation (cp. Gordon *et al.*, 1977), we propose an alternative approach. Here, the concept of *institutional work* (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006) is explored in relation to policy change, through the empirical example provided by the introduction of the notion of cultural and creative industries (CCI) into cultural policy in

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Lithuania – a recently democratized country undergoing intense institutional transformation (Rindzevičiūtė 2012; Rindzevičiūtė *et al* 2015).

In the cultural policy field, creative industries constitute a radical break with traditional rationales of state cultural policy. Throughout the modern era, the concept of culture has been considered to be “the cornerstone of democracy”. The connection between culture and democracy was the *raison d'être* for cultural policy, intended to function as a way to realize certain goals in relation to the organization of cultural practice. Strengthening values such as (liberal) education, equality and democracy has been a longstanding goal of European cultural policies, turning cultural policy into a humanistic project and an essential component of a democratic society. The notion of cultural and creative industries can be seen as challenging this association between culture and democracy, as it introduces alternative motives for cultural expression and potentially new goals for cultural policy: profit and economic growth. As such, the introduction of various programs and other initiatives related to CCI – where culture, rather than being regarded as a democratic right, is basically treated as a tool for generating economic growth – represents a succinct case of policy change entailing ideational and ideological as well as organizational shifts. Since the 1990s the cultural policies of most European (and other) states have moved in the direction of increasingly legitimizing culture and cultural subsidies in terms of economic benefit (McGuigan, 2004; Gray 2007), and probing into these processes can provide opportunities for a deepened comprehension of the dynamics of policy change more broadly.

Within policy studies several different approaches to policy change can be distinguished (Sabatier, 2007), ranging from the *rationalist* understanding departing from interest-based behavior, to the *historical-institutionalist* accounts of path-dependencies, and the *sociological-institutionalist* take considering the importance of cultural norms (e.g. Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004). In this article, and in an attempt to bridge methodologies focusing on either agentic actors or determining structures, we instead propose an organizational approach to policy change through the concept of institutional work. Hence, we view policy change as the outcome of such work. Institutional work, defined as “the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions” (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006: 215), rests on two main assumptions. First, it views individuals and organizations as actors capable of intentional action and, secondly, it regards such action as essential not only to institutional

1
2
3 change, but also to the regular upholding and conservation of institutions. Accordingly,
4 analytical focus is directed at the ways in which action and actors affect institutions in the
5 different phases of creation, maintenance and disruption (Lawrence *et al.*, 2009). The
6 institutional work perspective provides a possibility to capture both structure and agency – and
7 their interrelations – and therefore represents a dynamic view on institutional change. This article
8 treats the introduction of the notion of CCI into cultural policy as entailing a radical shift in
9 perspectives, and as an illustrative case of a new idea (and connected interpretations,
10 understanding and practices) challenging the established institutional order, i.e. traditional,
11 democratically-oriented cultural policy. Adopting CCI-policies means adopting a new definition
12 of the purpose of culture: *from* viewing culture as valuable and essential for a democratic society
13 and dependent on public subsidies to thrive, *to* largely regarding culture as an industry,
14 incorporating a market logic (see Thornton and Ocasio, 2008) and focusing on cultural
15 entrepreneurship and growth.
16
17

18 Framing policy change as the result of institutional work directs attention to what actors do, i.e.
19 what activities they engage in and with what outcome, when policy is changed. Rather than
20 viewing policy change as solely flowing from political decision-making to administrative
21 implementation (cp. Fixsen *et al.*, 2005), we investigate the process through which the idea of
22 cultural and creative industries was first introduced to, and subsequently formally adopted into,
23 the context of Lithuanian cultural policy. In order to assume actorhood and engage in
24 institutional work, actors need resources (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006; Zietsma and Lawrence,
25 2010), but the source, character and construction of these resources remain under-explored
26 within studies of institutional work (Zilber, 2013; Hwang and Colyvas, 2011). Inspired by ideas
27 from practice theory (see Schatzki, 2001; Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011) the explorative aim of
28 this article is to investigate and analyze how the resources needed to perform institutional work –
29 and eventually change policy – were constructed, in practice, when the notion of CCI was
30 introduced and anchored in Lithuanian cultural policy.
31
32

33 The remainder of the paper is structured as follows: first, we outline the theoretical perspective
34 of institutional work, linking it to conceptualizations of practice and resourcing. Then we present
35 the methodology of the study underlying the article, including case selection, methods of data
36 generation, and analytical approach. Against the general background of how the notion of
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 cultural and creative industries was first conceived in the British context and subsequently
4 spread, we then present the empirical findings. The overall process through which CCI was
5 introduced into Lithuanian cultural policy and the key actors involved are outlined, together with
6 the institutional work performed, the various practices enacted and the resources created through
7 them. The mechanisms at play in the construction of resources – what we label *resourcing*
8 *techniques* – are then defined and discussed. The article is concluded by a discussion of the
9 applicability of our findings to the general study of policy change.
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19

20 Theoretical background

21 Institutional work constitutes an evolving theoretical perspective, and is still developing in
22 different directions (Zilber, 2013; Lawrence *et al* 2013). Two main issues within the broader
23 framework are particularly relevant to our study: the kind of agency involved in institutional
24 work and the nature of the resources needed to perform work.
25
26
27
28

29 Points of departure: Institutional work and issues of agency

30 Institutional work, as introduced by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), attempts to capture themes
31 concerned with agentic action in institutionalized contexts. In outlining the nature of institutional
32 work, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) explicitly define a number of forms of work connected to
33 creation, maintenance and disruption of institutions, and since our study deals with the
34 introduction of a new idea that challenges the existing institution of democracy-based cultural
35 policy, our focus is on *creation work*¹. Nine forms of institutional work are linked to the creation
36 phase, and the typology has been used as a framework for empirical examination of the relation
37 between purposeful human action and institutions (Gawer and Philips, 2013). We primarily use it
38 as a sorting- and categorization device and as a focal point for analyses. The first three forms of
39 work – advocacy, defining, vesting – reflect overtly political work in which actors reconstruct
40 rules, property, rights and boundaries that define access to material resources. The second set of
41 work – constructing identities, changing normative associations, constructing normative
42 networks – emphasizes actions in which actors' belief systems are reconfigured. And the third
43 group of work – mimicry, theorizing, educating – involves actions designed to alter abstract
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55

56
57 ¹ It could be argued that challenging the reigning institutional order would also entail disruptive institutional work
58 but, as the empirical account will make clear, this was not the case.
59
60

1
2
3 categorizations in which the boundaries of meaning systems are rearranged (Lawrence and
4
5 Suddaby, 2006).
6

7
8 The agency underlying institutional work has attracted attention as it rests on the assumption that
9
10 actors doing institutional work are capable of purposive, intentional action. Here, the writings of
11
12 Emirbayer and Mische (1998) have been used to nuance the initial statements, pointing to
13
14 institutional work incorporating different kinds of agency (see Lawrence *et al.*, 2009; Battilana
15
16 and D'Aunno, 2009). Accordingly, a *practical-evaluative* and present-oriented kind of agency,
17
18 and an *iterative*, routine-based one are seen to be working together with the more commonly
19
20 assumed future-oriented *projective* agency, directed at “an imaginative engagement of the
21
22 future” (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998: 984). Whereas some authors have opened up for different
23
24 kinds of agency being combined in various ways in the three phases of creating, maintaining and
25
26 disrupting institutions (Battilana and D'Aunno, 2009), others seem more inclined to underscore
27
28 the primacy of the practical-evaluative agency as it is under-explored (Smets and Jarzabkowski,
29
30 2013). Accordingly, we view the policy change process as structured around the involved actors
31
32 focusing on the contingencies of here-and-now, and on work task accomplishment, rather than
33
34 departing from ideas of “grand institutional design” (*ibid*). However, in this focus on getting the
35
36 job done, actors still have ideas for future outcomes while connecting to experience and what has
37
38 worked in the past (Jarzabkowski *et al.*, 2012). Related, and complementing the dimensions of
39
40 agency and their relations to each other, is an understanding of *who* it is that acts and holds
41
42 agency.
43

44
45 It is a key notion within the institutional work perspective that individuals actively engage in
46
47 such work, but it is equally recognized that agency is “something often accomplished through the
48
49 coordinated or uncoordinated efforts of a potentially large number of actors” (Lawrence *et al.*,
50
51 2011: 55). This element of distributed agency (Smets and Jarzabkowski, 2013; Reihlen *et al.*,
52
53 2010) – in its recognition of different actors responding to each other’s actions and contributing
54
55 different pieces of work to institutional change or stability (Garud and Karnøe, 2003) –
56
57 constitutes, in our view, an aspect of institutional work in need of further exploration and
58
59 empirical support. Through a description of how different instances of institutional work connect
60
61 to and draw on each other, our study constitutes an empirical investigation of the distributed
62
63 agency involved in institutional work. But the distributed nature of the agency underlying

1
2
3 institutional work constitutes only one dimension of a policy change process, and we must also
4 tend to the question of the skills and resources needed to perform institutional creation work. In
5 order to do institutional work actors need resources (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006) but, as Zilber
6 (2013) points out, the construction of such resources constitutes work in itself and therefore
7 needs further examination.
8
9
10
11

12 The creation of resources through practice

13 Instead of viewing institutional work as part of a linear process, an explicit focus on concrete
14 practices employed by actors in relation to institutions has been suggested (Lawrence *et al.*,
15 2009) and realized in several studies. Hence, institutional work has been connected to the
16 sociology of practice, paying particular attention to “the relationship between specific instances
17 of situated action and the social world in which the action takes place” (Feldman and Orlikowski,
18 2011: 1241). The connection between work and practice is strong, but different understandings
19 of it exist. Where for instance Zietsma and Lawrence (2010) frame institutional work as aimed at
20 altering practice (through what they label “practice work”), others (Smets and Jarzabkowski,
21 2013; Smets *et al.*, 2012) rather see institutional work as stemming from practical work, in the
22 sense of occupational tasks and activities (Kagan and Lounsbury, 2011). Here, practice provides
23 the basis of institutional work and this is also how we view the relation.
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33

34 Given the noted “practice turn” in social theorizing (see Yanow, 2015; Styhre 2003) several
35 avenues for relating work and practice have been proposed (see e.g. Miettinen *et al.*, 2009). In a
36 seminal volume Schatzki (2001) proposed that practices be understood as the shared skills and
37 understandings that constitute the prerequisites for activity, meaning that actions – which we see
38 as the concrete building blocks of work – are embedded in practices. Further, Barnes (2001)
39 suggested that practice should be treated as involving thought and action together, and that to
40 engage in a practice is to exercise a power. In this way the engagement in practice and the
41 construction of resources are linked. However, this link needs further exploration and empirically
42 grounded refinement, as the constructed nature of resources has so far not been paid due
43 attention within studies of institutional work (Zilber, 2013; Hwang and Colyvas, 2011).
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52

53 Framing institutional work as performed through the realization of certain activities, and in line
54 with Whittington’s argument, we see such activities as instances of praxis, i.e. of “actual activity,
55 what people do in practice” (Whittington, 2006: 619). The praxis we have studied and analyzed
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 is of the formal kind, mostly connected to the management or decision-making level of the
4 cultural policy administration, and it is derived from organizational and field level practice, in
5 the sense that praxis constitutes the enactment of practice. Otherwise put, underlying the praxis
6 are a number of practices that, when drawn on and engaged in, also give rise to resources.
7 Through such resourcing, i.e. “the creation in practice” (Feldman, 2004: 296) of *assets* and
8 *qualities of relationships*, resources are constructed and subsequently put to use in the
9 performance of institutional work. Feldman (2004) identifies networks, authority, trust,
10 complementarity and information as resources constructed through practice. Her study describes
11 how the same resource can be used in different ways and activate different schemas for action.
12 While Feldman talks about how changes in practice lead to changes in resources and the
13 understandings and uses of these resources, she does not focus on the underlying resource-
14 creating mechanisms that are activated through practice. This is what we do. We argue that the
15 analysis could be developed through an examination of the techniques employed to generate the
16 resources needed to perform institutional work, and eventually change policy. Unpacking the
17 resource creating mechanisms activated through practice, our analysis outlines how – i.e. by
18 employing what techniques – the resources necessary to perform institutional work were created
19 in the policy change process under study.
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36

37 Methodology

38 The article builds on a case study (conducted between 2011 and 2014) of a process of policy
39 change. The change investigated consists of the introduction of a new policy idea into an
40 established policy field, and since the change unfolded as a process rather than as a single event
41 it contained numerous actors, activities, connections and results that need to be considered.
42 Accordingly, the study employs a process-tracing approach but one that is directed at capturing
43 the complexity and interconnectedness of the process rather than at uncovering causal relations
44 between events. We are, in Dyer & Wilkins (1991: 615) words, aiming at “describe[ing] the
45 context in which events occur, and reveal[ing] the deep structure of social behavior”, and the
46 case study helps us illustrate and elaborate on relevant theoretical constructs (cp. Siggelkow,
47 2007). The choice of the Lithuanian process as an instructive case was motivated by the fact that,
48 in this context, CCI was introduced rather recently into both policy and practice. Also, the
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Lithuanian case offers an easily identifiable “starting point” for a process study, allowing us to spot the moment when the institutional work took off.

Data generation

In order to trace and analyze the studied policy change process two methods for generating data were employed: document studies and qualitative interviews. In relation to the first category, texts such as governmental policy documents, conference proceedings, official reports, promotional material, and newspaper articles were investigated to identify relevant events, actors, lines of argument, and outcomes, together with the unfolding relations between these elements. The documents provided a rough outline for how the notion of CCI came to be incorporated into Lithuanian cultural policy, which was complemented by interviews with central actors, holding specific insights into the various sequences of the process.

The study includes 19 qualitative interviews with stakeholders representing various governmental bodies, educational institutions, and cultural organizations (both state- and privately run) that were involved in the introduction of CCI. The interviewees are individuals that were either key to the different steps in the introductory process or held particularly relevant positions in relation to Lithuanian cultural policy in general or CCI. As the Lithuanian cultural field is small and densely interconnected, many of our interviewees could be sorted into both of these categories. Interviews were conducted with individuals representing the following organizations: the British Council Lithuania (2), the European Cultural Programme Centre (1), the Ministry of Culture (2), Vilnius Academy of Fine Arts (2), Gediminas Technical University (1), the Academy for Film and Performing Arts (1), the National Art Gallery (1), the Philharmonic Society (1), the Arts Printing House (1), the Republic of Uzupis (2), the Community Building Consultants/Uzupis Incubator (1), the arts factory Loftas (1), the arts incubator Rupert (2), and the National Association of Creative and Cultural Industries (1).

The interviews were open-ended and loosely structured around the general themes of process background, event details, important actors, elaborations and personal experiences as well as opinions in relation to CCI. The majority of interviews were conducted face-to-face on the interviewee’s workplace, lasted between one and four hours, were digitally recorded and later transcribed *verbatim*. In order to increase the general contextual understanding of the case, as

well as the validity of later interpretations, interviews were frequently performed in tandem by two of the authors, which also facilitated subsequent analytical work.

Analytical approach

Departing from the combined material of documents and interview transcripts, the first step in the analytical process consisted of constructing a timeline of the introductory process. In outlining the process of including the idea of CCI into Lithuanian cultural policy, a number of formal activities were singled out – by our informants and in the documents analyzed – as particularly relevant to the development. Within the time period 2003-2009 eight such activities were realized, together encompassing the institutional work leading up to policy change. Hence, the interrelated activities of the first *high-level conference*, the *study trips* to the UK and the *Mapping project*, the *international forum* and the *drafting of a strategy document*, the *feasibility study* together with the formation of a *national association for CCI* and the approval of a *National Complex Program for CCI* were singled out as essential to the development and used as anchor points for further analysis. The timeline below (table 1) illustrates the process.

----- Insert table 1 about here-----

In relation to each of the activities certain actors were active – initiating, organizing, and driving their realization – and different kinds of institutional work were accomplished. In a first analytical step we used the categories already proposed by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) to sort and define the kinds of work involved in relation to each activity. We then proceeded to a deeper probing into the different steps of the process moving beyond the surface structure, or *fabula* (cp. Pentland, 1999), of “observable” formal activities – such as conferences, study visits and mappings – to identify what practices the actors involved engaged in. The realization of each activity entailed the enactment of a number of practices that were sifted out of the material through a second coding. Accordingly, these practices were analytically derived from our understandings – based on interview and document descriptions – of what was “going on” within the formal activities, and subsequently categorized and labelled. From the practices hence defined we then (logically) derived a number of different resources employed in the performance

1
2
3 of institutional work. The resources created were, in line with Feldman's (2004) findings,
4 categorized as either *assets* or *qualities of relationships*.
5
6

7
8 Departing from the thus obtained understanding of the policy change process, i.e. structured
9 around the practices enacted and the resources created, we then turned to the third, and final step,
10 in our analysis. In this step, we aspired to catch the underlying mechanisms feeding into the
11 creation of resources through the enactment of practice. By taking a step back – to observe our
12 observations – and by grouping some of our findings together, we were able to discern three
13 mechanisms at play when resources were created in the process under study. We labelled these
14 mechanisms *resourcing techniques*, since we understand them as being activated by the actors
15 involved in the enactment of practice (although not necessarily on a conscious strategic level).
16 These techniques were hence framed as a bridge between the practices enacted and the resources
17 created.
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27

28 Case study

29 Background: CCI and Lithuanian Cultural Policy

30 The idea of CCI is connected to the growing prevalence of a market logic in society at large
31 (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). The basic idea is that culture and cultural activities do *de facto*
32 contribute to national employment and economic growth, and that this contribution can, and
33 should, be both acknowledged and supported (Garnham, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Culture is
34 thus accorded economic worth – besides artistic and democratic worth – which has proved to be
35 a politically appealing conceptualization. The origin of this conceptualization can be located to
36 Great Britain in the 1980s and 1990s (see Pratt, 2005). Here, ideas about the links between
37 culture and economy were neatly packaged and “sold” to, first, the Greater London Council and
38 later, in the 1990s, Tony Blair's New Labour government (cp. Nisbett *et al.*, 2015). Through
39 statistical and mapping exercises, combined with the promotional efforts of the British Council,
40 the UK Department for Culture, Media and Sports managed to direct the attention of both other
41 states and the European Union towards the notion of CCI (Garnham, 2005). The EU then
42 gradually came to acknowledge the potential inherent to the idea of CCI. And once CCI was on
43 the EU agenda – connected to financing through inclusion in the Structural Funds and
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 incorporated in the framework program *Creative Europe* – its spread and inclusion into national
4 cultural policies gained momentum.
5
6

7
8 In the early 2000s Lithuanian cultural policy development harbored two distinct trademarks:
9 ongoing efforts to handle and come to terms with the Soviet past, and a susceptibility and
10 openness to foreign ideas and models, particularly those connected to pending EU membership
11 (Svensson, 2009; Jacobsson, 2010). Enter the notion of CCI. As our empirical analysis will make
12 clear, a number of different actors engaged in a number of different activities, the result of which
13 was the anchoring of CCI within Lithuanian cultural policy. This constitutes a solid case of
14 institutional change, but change that was neither strategically planned nor orchestrated. Rather,
15 the change process contained a number of activities, performed by actors focused more on
16 “doing their job” than motivated by ideas of policy change. Instead, the different actors
17 performed “their” institutional work and the works added up. In the sections to come a narrative
18 constructed around this institutional work, and the practices generating the resources needed to
19 perform it, will be presented. Departing from the activities outlined in table 1 the policy change
20 process has been broken down into four phases: introduction-exploration-formalization-
21 concretization.
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32

33 Table 2 summarizes the analysis of the policy change process. It outlines the institutional work
34 performed, the practices underlying this work, and the resources created through the enactment
35 of practice (A=asset, Q=quality of relationship).
36
37
38
39
40
41

42 ----- Insert table 2 about here-----
43
44
45

46 Introduction

47 The first step in formally introducing the idea of CCI in the Lithuanian context was taken in
48 2003, when a **high-level conference** entitled “Creative Industries: A European Opportunity” was
49 co-organized by the European Cultural Programme Centre (ECPC) and the Lithuanian branch of
50 the British Council (BCL).² The ECPC was a public body (connected to the Ministry of Culture)
51 charged with keeping track of opportunities for cultural activity funding arising from pending
52
53
54
55

56
57 ² The British Council is a non-departmental public body (NDPB), which means that it is not an integral part of any
58 government department and carry out its work at arm's length from ministers.
59
60

1
2
3 EU membership. The BCL was charged with generating value and goodwill in relation to the UK
4 as well as creating and maintaining valuable international co-operations and partnerships. Hence,
5 none of these organizations was directly active in the field of cultural activity but functioned as
6 “sector organizations” overlooking the field and trying to influence policy – directly or indirectly
7 – through various kinds of information activities and by drawing on their connections to the EU
8 and the British Council, respectively. In relation to CCI the BC headquarters in London had set
9 up a special department with experts assisting national BC offices, and after having participated
10 in a workshop on UK work with CCI, the BCL management team was enthusiastic about the
11 possibilities and promises implied by this novel take on culture:
12
13
14
15
16
17
18

19
20 *Our director... was very impressed by creative industries and what it brings to the*
21 *economy and how it relates to the arts and cultural sector (interview, program*
22 *manager BCL)*
23

24
25 As the ECPC had already organized a number of conferences – inviting politicians and the public
26 – related to various ways of funding the cultural sector, the BCL approached the ECPC and the
27 two organizations decided to co-host an event on CCI. The purpose of the conference was,
28 according to the proceedings, to “introduce Lithuania to the notion of creative industries” (ECPC
29 2003: 13) and it gathered a number of high-level politicians and well-known cultural operators.
30 Prominent guests included the Lithuanian Ministers for Culture, Finance, and Economy as well
31 as former British Secretary of State for Culture, Chris Smith, as key note speaker. A speech was
32 also given by entrepreneur/actor Audronis Imbrasas – ex dancer, cultural journalist, and director
33 of the Arts Printing House³ and described as “very active during the introduction of CCI in
34 Lithuania” (interview, manager Arts Printing House). Further, the connection between CCI and
35 EU-level policy was highlighted, as both the EU program Culture 2000 and the work of the
36 Committee on Culture, Youth, Education, Media and Sports at the European Parliament were
37 invoked, underlining “the creative industries as a new sector for funding” (ECPC 2003: 13). The
38 conference and its speakers conveyed an image of culture as actively contributing to the
39 economic and social development of the state, and British experiences and examples were
40 presented throughout. Accordingly, the program included sessions on the UK Creative Industries
41 Mapping Document as well as presentations with titles such as “Creative Industries Development
42 in North East of England”, “Culture as an Economical and Social Factor and its Possibilities to
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56

57
58 ³ The Arts Printing House is a venue for performative arts.
59
60

1
2
3 Assimilate the Structural Funds in Lithuania” and “What are the Creative Industries in
4 Lithuania”. Through the conference, political awareness for the idea of CCI was raised, concrete
5 examples of CCI practice were made available, and new connections between participants were
6 established:
7
8
9

10
11 ...the Ministries actually told the BCL that “it’s the first time that we found some
12 commonalities in our work” ... there is some point in common... it connects the
13 sectors that usually wouldn’t work together (interview, program manager BCL)
14

15
16 Our analysis of the introductory phase of the policy change process places the institutional work
17 performed within the category of *advocacy*. Political support for CCI was mobilized through
18 direct and deliberate techniques of social suasion (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Elite politicians
19 and cultural operators were invited and experts – on the subject matter and on organizing for
20 networking and knowledge-sharing – guided the interactions taking place. Within the context of
21 this formal high-level conference, the experts enacted practices of *networking* and *modelling*, as
22 participating decision- and policy makers were introduced to and acquainted with: 1) British
23 practitioners and civil servants as well as representatives of other Lithuanian ministries, and 2)
24 the British model of CCI policy as well as more concrete examples of CCI functioning in
25 practice. The pointing out of already existing Lithuanian examples of CCI, the reference made to
26 EU funding, and the engagement with the successful British model were all techniques used to
27 focus attention (cp. March & Olsen, 1979) on the new idea, subsequently placing it on the
28 political agenda. As a result of the conference resources were hence created in the shape of
29 newly formed *connections* between ministries with previously limited exchanges, *information* on
30 models and existing practice, and political *attention* to a new policy idea. These resources were
31 then applied and used in the performance of the simultaneous and continuing advocacy work.
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44

45 Exploration

46 Following the formal introduction of CCI an explorative phase unfolded within the policy
47 change process, and a number of tentative initiatives to more firmly establish the new idea within
48 the Lithuanian context were made. In the years 2004 and 2005 the Lithuanian engagement with,
49 and exploration of, the British model for CCI policy continued through study- and exchange
50 visits to the UK as well as the test application of a particular UK instrument for the assessment of
51 CCI possibilities: the so-called Mapping Document (a list, i.e. definition, of creative industries
52 providing a standard for how to view and frame CCI). Shortly after the first CCI conference the
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 BCL organized a number of ministerial **study visits**, inviting representatives from the Ministries
4 of Culture, of Finance, and of Economy to participate in programs specifically designed by the
5 British Council headquarters in London. The Lithuanian civil servants met with British creative
6 industries agencies and were presented with the British perception and organization of CCI
7 initiatives. One participant described the trips as providing “important educational support and
8 platforms for socializing” (interview, official Ministry of Culture), giving way to deepened
9 Lithuanian discussions: “they saw how it works in the UK and came back, and then they had
10 several meetings again to discuss which ministry should take the lead ... and whether there was
11 need for a strategy” (interview, program manager BCL). Consequently, and against the backdrop
12 of not wanting “to be left behind in the global CCI process” (interview, official Ministry of
13 Culture), the Ministry of Culture and the ECPC initiated a Lithuanian **Mapping Project** similar
14 to the UK model.
15

16
17 The Mapping Project was performed by a Lithuanian group, consisting of academics, business
18 representatives, and municipal officials, assisted by the BCL and a number of British experts.
19 The main objective of the Mapping was, according to the project report, to “assess the
20 possibilities, obstacles and feasibility of [CCI] development in Lithuania” (Mazeikis *et al*, 2005:
21 10) and to draw a mapping document for the counties of Alytus and Utena. These mappings were
22 then intended to function as a baseline for strategies in several counties. The report concluded
23 that the counties held “potential for development of a [CCI] strategy” given that the main
24 obstacle of a “great alienation between artists and businessmen” (Mazeikis *et al*, 2005: 28) was
25 removed. In the report CCI was framed as “one of the most prospective and modern fields of
26 economy and culture” and ought to be politically prioritized as an alignment with “the tendencies
27 of EU development and the Lisbon Strategy” (Mazeikis *et al*, 2005: 29-30).
28

29
30 Analyzing the explorative phase of the policy change process, the institutional work performed
31 consisted of *educating* and *theorizing*. In London Lithuanian politicians and civil servants were
32 educated in knowledge and skills necessary to support the idea of CCI (Lawrence & Suddaby,
33 2006), while the Mapping constituted an attempt to develop and specify abstract categories (of
34 what activities to include under the label of CCI) and elaborate chains of cause and effect (for
35 how existing problems could be solved, and for why they constituted problems) in relation to
36 CCI (e.g. Kitchener, 2002). Underlying this work were the enacted practices of *knowledge-*
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 *sharing* in relation to the study visits, where UK experts presented their models and experiences,
4 and *modelling* in relation to the Mapping, where an attempt was made to directly apply the
5 British instrument to the development of Lithuanian policy. Accordingly, through these
6 explorative activities a number of resources were created: the previously established connections
7 between representatives of various ministries were reinforced as *networks* that also included
8 British experts; *information* on both British experiences and models and Lithuanian prerequisites
9 and needs was obtained; and a certain kind of *authority and legitimacy* was achieved in relation
10 to the promise of CCI through the application of an established and accepted model (the
11 Mapping Document). Together, these resources constituted a base from which to do educating
12 and theorizing work, and such work continued in the next phase of the policy change process.
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20

21 Formalization

22 In 2005 the BCL and the ECPC organized yet another formal event to promote and develop the
23 Lithuanian engagement with CCI. This time an international dimension was included, as the
24 **international forum** – entitled “European Opportunity: Creative Industries for Regional
25 Development” – invited Ministers of Culture and cultural officials from neighboring Baltic
26 States as well as from the Balkan states. In organizing the workshop the BCL drew on its
27 connections with BC offices in the other Baltic States and also continued to rely heavily on
28 British expertise (consultants and other experts) when it came to “the ideas, structure and content
29 of [CCI] development” (Estonian Ministry of Culture 2010: 4). The purpose of the workshop
30 was to “help the Ministry of Culture develop a national strategy for creative industries”
31 (interview, program manager BCL) and according to the conference proceedings the Ministry
32 indeed “seized the opportunity to adopt the [UK] definition [of CCI] and content into their
33 cultural policy agenda” (Estonian Ministry of Culture 2010: 6).
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44

45 Following the forum, the formalization and inclusion of CCI into cultural policy took off at the
46 Strategic Planning Unit of the Ministry of Culture. By then, BCL involvement in the policy
47 change process became less intense as the issue now lay in political hands and “the people in the
48 Ministry had established contacts with the UK experts ... and they exchanged lots of ideas and
49 worked together” (interview, program manager BCL). According to the head of the Strategic
50 Planning Unit, the notion of CCI was, at this point, “driven by new cultural practices and there
51 [is] a lack of framing for these new relations to be articulated” (interview, official Ministry of
52 Culture). Such framing was subsequently provided by the 2007 **Strategy for the Support and**
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 **Development of the Creative Industries**, which contained the official Lithuanian definition of
4 CCI as: “activities based on an individual’s creative abilities and talent, the objective and result
5 of which is intellectual property and which can create material wellbeing and work places”. The
6 strategy identified priority areas for development in connection to CCI and also contained a list
7 of activity categories⁴ included in the Lithuanian version of CCI (Liutkus, 2010). Both definition
8 and categories bore a strong resemblance to the UK original.
9

10
11
12
13
14
15 In the formalization phase of the policy change process the *educating* and *theorizing* work hence
16 continued, and was later complemented by *defining* work through the approval of a formal,
17 political strategy. Through the international forum additional presentations and discussions took
18 place while the provision of best (UK) practice continued and was used as a model for
19 subsequent Lithuanian development. In formulating a strategy, the field of CCI was explicitly
20 defined, demarcating the boundaries of membership (i.e. what activities to include and,
21 consequently, what to exclude) and providing a top-down, civil service perspective on what areas
22 to prioritize and develop. Accordingly, a rule system “that confers status or identity, defines
23 boundaries of membership” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 221) was constructed. The Ministry of
24 Culture identified a “lack of framing” for CCI, and hence acted to provide such framing through
25 the enacted practices of *signaling* and *formalizing*. By way of constructing and politically
26 approving a strategy document the symbolically important signal that the government perceived
27 CCI as a significant area worth-while to direct attention to was sent off. Also, by taking charge
28 of the definition of what constitutes CCI, the Ministry retained certain control over the
29 development of the field. Using the created resources of *networks* and *information* in the
30 defining work connected to the strategy, the additional resource of *boundary control* was created,
31 as membership as well as future priorities had now been defined by the Ministry. However, a
32 strategy is – after all – merely a document and not actual, practical changes. In the next, and final
33 phase of the policy change process defining work continued through attempts at concretizing the
34 political decisions concerning CCI.
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54

55
56 ⁴ The following subsectors are included: crafts, architecture, design, film and video production, publishing, visual
57 and applied arts, music, software and computer services, advertising, Radio and TV programs and broadcasting and
58 the performing arts (Liutkus, 2010: 16)
59
60

Concretizing

Following the Strategy, CCI had been awarded a chapter (listing political priorities in the area) in the government program for the years 2008-2012 (Liutkus, 2010) and, as a result of co-operative efforts between the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Economy, CCI had also been included in the Lithuanian Strategy for the use of EU Structural Funds for 2007-2013. Being present as an eligible category in political documents represents a signal of importance, but this signal was still weak. As the BCL had, by 2007, basically withdrawn its engagement in the matter handing it over to the national political sphere, which focused on its preferred line of practice (i.e. formalizing and signaling), there was now room in the policy process for a movement “from below”. In this phase institutional work was largely performed by the actors intended to be touched and steered by emerging CCI policy, i.e. individuals and organizations active (or with vested interest) in the field of cultural activity and production.

In the absence of substantial CCI investments or concrete developments, a small group of initiated and invested individuals decided to try and concretize the lofty strategies by connecting them to “real” money. Pooling their experiences from the cultural field and the workings of the Lithuanian system of public administration, a network of academics – such as Arūnas Gelūnas, professor of Art and Philosophy and later to become Minister for Culture (2010-2012) – and local cultural operators with experience from work with CCI abroad, was formed to navigate the “Lithuanian jungle” (interview, president NACCI) of administrative systems surrounding the Structural Funds. With the aim of accessing the Ministry of Education and Science’s **National Complex Programs** (NCP:s; EU funded governmental programs for the support of research, education and innovation⁵) the network proceeded to conduct a **feasibility study** to ground and strengthen the argument that CCI should have its own program.

The feasibility study was summarized in the report “Lithuania’s Creative and Cultural Industries” (Antanavičiūtė et al. 2008). In order to increase the report’s potential impact, the hitherto loose network was transformed into a formal organization – the **National Association for Creative and Cultural Industries** (NACCI) – which soon gathered some 40 members (ranging from Lithuanian Filmmakers’ Union and the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, to individual cultural operators). Given the combined weight of these members and the

⁵ In 2008 eleven NCPs had been approved by the Ministry of Education and Science, covering areas such as biotechnology and biopharmaceuticals and civil engineering and transports.

1
2
3 backing by a formal National Association it was “hard for the Ministry of Education and Science
4 to ignore the report” (interview, official Ministry of Culture). In the report a number of
5 arguments in favor of investments in CCI activities were put forward, statistical data on the
6 significance of CCI to national economy was presented, and extensive reference was made to
7 European studies and reports such as “European Culture Economy” (by the European
8 Commission). The report allegedly contained “many success stories” (interview, representative
9 Republic of Užupis⁶) as well as examples drawn from other European CCI policies. What really
10 seemed to catch the decision-makers’ ear was the “application of statistical theory” (interview,
11 representative Republic of Užupis) in order to establish the economic value of the sector.
12 Adopting an economic lingo, the report concluded that “the implementation of [an NCP] would
13 contribute to ... the competitiveness of the Lithuanian economy, creating added value and
14 encouraging innovations as well as improving the presently insufficient adoption of the structural
15 funds of the European Union” (Antanavičiūtė *et al* 2008: 87).
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26

27 The feasibility study and the creation of a national association proved worthwhile activities, as
28 they lay the ground for the NCP “Lithuanian Cultural and Creative Industries” which, in 2009,
29 was awarded approx. 2.7 million € for 2010-2011. The approval of the NCP represented an
30 acknowledgement of the importance of the sector in relation to innovation (alongside areas such
31 as laser physics or biotechnology) as well as a substantial, and concrete, investment in CCI. Once
32 the program was in place it “became much easier for cultural and creative activities to gain
33 access to further structural funding” (interview, president NACCI), and the policy change had
34 thus completed the circle from introduction to concretization.
35
36
37
38
39
40
41

42 Analyzing this final phase of the policy change process, the institutional work performed can be
43 categorized as evolving around *defining* and *constructing normative networks and identities*. The
44 defining work done by the Ministry of Culture was picked up and refined by the NACCI, whose
45 instigation meant the creation of inter-organizational and inter-individual connections that
46 defined relevant peer groups and normatively sanctioned practices within the field (Lawrence &
47 Suddaby 2006). Through the feasibility report a specific take on CCI, focusing on statistics and
48 economic value rather than cultural content, was conveyed, defining who and what was
49 appropriate within the field. As this report provided the basis for the NCP its definition held real
50
51
52
53
54
55

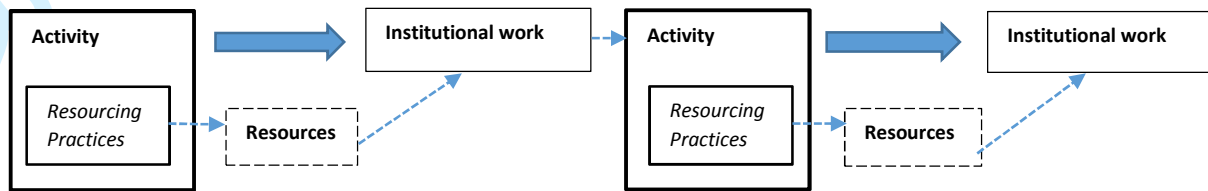
56
57 ⁶ The Republic of Užupis is a creative quarter in Vilnius, symbolically proclaimed an independent republic, by a
58 collective of artists in 1997.
59
60

1
2
3 importance. Underlying the defining and constructing work in this phase were the enacted
4 practices of *constructing similarity* (in the feasibility study, where reference to and comparisons
5 with developments in other states and in the EU were continuously made), *organizing* (in the
6 creation of the NACCI) and *formalizing and signaling* (through the official status of the NCP
7 and its importance in terms of funding). Through these practices *attention* was again created and
8 directed to the area of CCI – and from yet another Ministry with real money at its disposal –
9 while *authority* was created through: 1) the demonstration of CCI importance in the international
10 context of cultural policy; and 2) the construction of a formal organization, which, in itself,
11 represents a social category bestowed with legitimacy, status and authority (Brunsson & Sahlin-
12 Andersson, 2000; Ahrne & Brunsson, 2011). And when an official document for CCI with
13 political power was in place the same kinds of practices (formalizing and signaling) and
14 resources (boundary control) as in relation to the Strategy for the Support and Development of
15 the Creative Industries were activated, only this time they gained a more concrete impact through
16 the connection to funding.
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31

32 Discussion

33 In this paper we set off to understand the dynamics of resource-creation in relation to
34 institutional work. In the reconstruction of the policy change process instances of institutional
35 work were identified, and in order to perform this work resources were needed. Our main
36 argument has been that these resources were created through the enactment of highly
37 institutionalized practices. We have demonstrated that the actors – ministerial, administrative,
38 international or private – engaged in practices of networking, modelling, knowledge-sharing,
39 formalizing and signaling, constructing similarity, and organizing. We maintain that these
40 practices are all institutionalized in the field of politics and policy making (cp. Garsten *et al*,
41 2015) and therefore not particular or unique to the process we have studied. Rather, they
42 constitute routine work (cp. Feldman and Pentland, 2003) for policy makers and civil servants
43 regardless of policy field or sector, and can hence be seen as sources of resourcing (Feldman,
44 2004). By enacting these practices the actors involved contributed to resourcing and various
45 kinds of resources (networks, information, attention, boundary control, authority and legitimacy)
46 were created. We integrate our overall findings in a process model (see figure 1).
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Figure 1. Process model of resourcing in the policy change process.



The model illustrates that each formal activity engaged in contained resourcing practices that produced resources that were used in the performance of institutional work. Institutional work in the first instance then functioned as the base for new activities, and so on. The process as such seems straightforward, but the question of how, more precisely, resourcing practices create resources remains to be answered. In the next section we will therefore discuss the characteristics of, and relations between, resourcing practices and the resources created.

Resourcing Techniques

The analysis of the policy change process demonstrated that, with the exception of the Feasibility Study and the formation of NACCI, the development was largely driven by public and policy oriented bodies. Lithuanian public organizations were active, as was the British Council together with consultants and public experts. The (initial) lack of involvement from cultural operators makes the inclusion of CCI a policy change driven from the top rather than initiated from below. However, the change was not driven by any one particular actor. According to Lawrence and Suddaby (2006: 228), a key element in creating a new institution lies in the ability to establish rules connected to rewards and sanctions, and only very few actors “have that ability tied directly to their position”. In our case, this ability to some degree existed in relation to the Ministry of Culture, but the Ministry was not particularly active in the process. Instead, other organizations enacted practice and created resources, hereby constructing what Lawrence and Suddaby (ibid) calls the “cultural and moral force” that can function as another way to create new institutions. This force is embedded in communities of practice – consisting, in our case, of political actors and other policy makers – and depends on the co-operation and connections within these communities. The description of what was going on within the Lithuanian policy change process – and in relation to each of the formal activities – demonstrated the co-operations and connections formed between, and drawn on by, the actors involved. It addition, it highlighted the

1
2
3 boundary spanning capacity (cp. Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010) and entrepreneurial skill
4 (Battilana *et al*, 2009) displayed by key actors. These actors, whilst engaging in institutionalized
5 and resource-creating practices, continuously made use of certain techniques – *resourcing*
6 *techniques* – that aided the resourcing and constituted patterns across activities. Placing the key
7 activities involved in the policy change process alongside each other, and attempting to identify
8 and label the generative structures or mechanisms (Pentland 1999) involved in resourcing, we
9 suggest that the resources needed to perform institutional work were created through the
10 interrelated reliance and use of *experiences from several fields of practice*, of *elicited external*
11 *support*, and of *borrowed legitimacy*.
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19

20 In the re-constructed process of policy change it was repeatedly revealed that the actors doing
21 institutional work drew on experiences from, and connections to, several fields of practice
22 (Campell, 2004; Tomson, 2008). The BCL, while enacting practices of networking, modelling
23 and knowledge-sharing in relation to conferences and study visits, drew on its connections to the
24 British headquarters and to sister organizations in other states. In a similar way, the ECPC relied
25 on its general knowledge and insights in relation to EU priorities, strategies, and funds.
26 Regarding the practice of modelling in the Mapping project, experiences from both the British
27 context and the academic and business communities were tapped into, according credibility and
28 weight to the project and its results. Related, the Ministry of Culture relied heavily on the British
29 precursor when engaging in formalizing and signaling through the formulation of its CCI
30 Strategy. Also, the NACCI, in its enactment of similarity construction, employed experiences
31 from a number of fields – such as personal experiences from CCI in other states, immersion into
32 statistical theory (*viz.* the power of numbers, see Hopwood and Miller 1994), and general
33 acquaintance with the Lithuanian public service .
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44

45 Further, resources were also continuously constructed through the making of reference to and in
46 other ways eliciting external support (normative as well as financial) for the policy change. This
47 is what we saw when the ECPC, in its engagement in various kinds of modelling, recurrently
48 referred to the British success story and the growing EU interest in CCI, with connected financial
49 opportunities. It also happened when the Ministry of Culture, formalizing and signaling, applied
50 the British definition of CCI, and in the ever so frequent use of the successful British example –
51 the notion *per se*, its definition as well as connected practices – by the BCL in its enactment of
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 networking, modelling and knowledge-sharing. Also the NACCI partook in the same kind of
4 eliciting in its similarity-constructing practices, where success stories and foreign examples were
5 used to create credence for arguments. In the enacted practices of modelling and similarity-
6 construction, the simultaneous work of other Ministries of Culture could also be elicited in
7 support of Lithuanian efforts – as in the case of the International Forum and the Feasibility
8 Study.
9

10
11
12
13
14 A third, and final, resourcing technique employed was to borrow legitimacy, and this was done
15 in relation to both individuals and organizations. Hence, legitimacy was created through
16 endowment, as when the ECPC and the BCL invited prominent guests (politicians and cultural
17 operators) to partake in their networking, modelling, and knowledge-sharing, or when the
18 NACCI gathered high-profile academics and “local celebrities” with vast cultural networks to
19 engage in their enacted similarity-construction. In a variation on Selznick’s (1949) co-optation
20 mechanism, the credibility of these individuals was drawn on to create legitimacy around the
21 idea of CCI and authority in relation to the activities engaged in. Borrowing of another kind can
22 be conceptualized as taking place in relation to organizations. The actors involved in the process
23 co-operated, created connections, and reacted to each other’s activities, and we argue that an
24 essential element here was that the institutional work performed involved individuals acting
25 *through organizations*. Contrary to accounts of the power and ability of institutional
26 entrepreneurs as change agents (e.g. Battilana *et al*, 2009), our study demonstrates that an
27 organizational grounding greatly facilitated the performance of institutional work through
28 enactment of practice. Throughout the policy change process individuals acted as representatives
29 of organizations, hence borrowing the legitimacy, position, status, and authority (Brunsson &
30 Sahlin-Andersson 2000; Ahrne & Brunsson, 2011) of these organizations when engaging in
31 practice and performing institutional work. To further strengthen the argument: on the one
32 occasion where no organizational base for performing organizational work existed – i.e. when
33 lobbying for an NCP – an organization was created specifically to bring power and support to the
34 claim, hereby contributing to the authority needed in the construction work.
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51

52 Contributions and Conclusions

53
54 This paper has argued that the application of an institutional work perspective contributes new
55 insights to the understanding of policy change. The example of CCI in Lithuania demonstrates
56 that change unfolded as a process, but that the different steps in the process did not necessarily
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 build on a deliberate intension to change policy. Rather, the activities engaged in were grounded
4 in practice and past experience (paralleling Emirbayer and Mische's (1998) iterative agency) and
5 in view of providing a partly new framing for culture (involving a projective agency). Mainly,
6 however, they were connected to opportunities occurring in the here and now; they seemingly
7 evolved around seizing opportunities and responding by engaging in institutionalized practice
8 (drawing on practical-evaluative agency). When enacting practice, resources – constructed
9 through experiences from various fields, solicited external support, and borrowed legitimacy –
10 were created and used in the performance of institutional work.
11
12

13
14
15
16
17
18 The reported study relies on a single-case design and the patterns we have outlined need to be
19 substantiated in further studies, preferably on policy areas more politically central than culture.
20 Nevertheless, the study makes two main contributions. Firstly, it provides an empirical
21 illustration of the process of institutional work, including underlying practices and resourcing,
22 and taking into consideration the situatedness and context of the evolving change. Accordingly,
23 it represents an attempt to “think of actors, actions and the institutional contexts within which
24 institutional work is carried out” (Zilber, 2013: 89) and to focus on both actors' agency and
25 structures. Secondly, the study adds to developments within institutional work by tying it to ideas
26 about practice and resourcing and by identifying resourcing techniques. While the peripheral
27 standing of cultural policy in the realm of politics might bring questions as to the generalizability
28 of our findings, we maintain that the identified resourcing techniques hold a wider applicability
29 as the dimensions behind them are common to several policy fields in today's globalized and
30 interconnected world.
31
32

33
34
35
36
37
38 First of all, the illustrated “inter-wovenness” of Lithuanian cultural policy in international – and
39 particularly EU-level – processes is relevant to other areas as well. Previous research (e.g. Djelic
40 and Sahlin-Andersson, 2006; Jacobsson *et al*, 2015) on the mechanisms behind, and effects of,
41 membership in the EU and other transnational organizations has demonstrated that states are in
42 fact highly susceptible to policy ideas and developments within such arenas. Connecting to
43 Meyer and colleagues' (1997) argument on world society, no state wants to be left behind in the
44 race towards modernization and rationalization, meaning that the resourcing techniques of using
45 experiences from different fields and eliciting external support are likely to function in relation to
46 many cases of policy change.
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4 Secondly, the prevalence and importance of organizational connections and networks in relation
5 to policy development can be linked to processes of governance (e.g. Knill and Lehmkuhl, 2002)
6 and governance networks (e.g. Sorensen and Torfing, 2009). Here, the role and prominence of a
7 variety of actors – both state, private, and NGO – and the emerging relations and exchanges
8 between them in relation to policy development is underscored, meaning, again, that the
9 resourcing techniques of using experiences from different fields and eliciting external support
10 seem relevant in a broader context of policy.
11

12
13
14
15
16 Thirdly, the noted primacy of numbers, economic growth, and – foremost – formal organizations
17 within the cultural policy change process, is related to worldwide tendencies of marketization
18 (Djelic 2006; Thornton and Ocasio, 2008) and rational organizing (Meyer and Rowan, 1977;
19 Ahrne and Brunsson, 2006). As (political and other) attention and faith are increasingly focusing
20 on the market as the primary structuring device for public engagement (Djelic, 2006; Ahrne *et al*,
21 2014), and as formal organizations can be viewed as the central actor category in marketized
22 environments, the power and attraction of such organizations is considerable (Brunsson 2006).
23 Accordingly, it would seem that to act through organizations and to borrow the legitimacy
24 derived from their standing, constitutes a viable resourcing technique within many more policy
25 areas.
26
27

28
29 To conclude, in this study we reconstructed a particular policy change process, identifying the
30 institutional work underlying it and the resourcing techniques sustaining the work. We have
31 accounted for the specific contingencies of the case of Lithuanian inclusion of CCI in national
32 cultural policy, and connected this development to a number of general tendencies affecting
33 policy development more generally. As such, the study constitutes a first step towards a more
34 fine-grained and nuanced understanding of policy change, building on distributed agency and
35 shared resourcing practices rather than on autonomous actors and rational decision-making.
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50

51 References

- 52 Ahrne, G., Aspers, P. and Brunsson, N. (2014) “The organization of Markets”, *Organization*
53 *Studies*, vol 36, pp. 7-27
54
55
56 Ahrne, G. and Brunsson, N. (2011), “Organization outside organizations: The significance of
57 partial organization”, *Organization*, Vol 18, pp. 83-104
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5 Antanaviciute, R. *et al* (2008) Lietuvos Kurybines ir Kulturines Industrijos [Lithuania's Creative
6 and Cultural Industries], Vilnius

7
8 Barnes, B. (2001) "Practice as collective action", in Schatzki, T., Knorr-Cetina, K. and von
9 Savigny, E. (eds.) *The practice turn in contemporary theory*, Routledge, London

10
11 Battilana, J. and D'Aunno, T. (2009). Institutional work and the paradox of embedded agency. In
12 Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca (Eds.), *Institutional Work. Actors and Agency in Institutional*
13 *Studies of Organizations* (pp. 31-58). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

14
15
16 Battilana, J., Leca, B., and Boxenbaum, E. (2009) How actors change institutions: Towards a
17 theory of institutional entrepreneurship. *The Academy of Management Annals*, 3, 65-107

18
19
20 Brunsson, N. and Sahlin-Andersson, K. (2000) "Constructing organizations: the example of
21 public sector reform", *Organization Studies*, Vol 21, pp. 721-746

22
23
24 Brunsson, N. (2006) *Mechanisms of Hope: Maintaining the Dream of Rational Organization*.
25 Malmö: Liber

26
27 Campbell, J. L. (2004). *Institutional Change and Globalization*. Princeton: Princeton University
28 Press

29
30
31 Djelic, M-L. (2006). "Marketization: From intellectual agenda to global policy-making". In
32 Djelic and Sahlin-Andersson (eds), *Transnational Governance. Institutional Dynamics of*
33 *Regulation* (pp. 53-73). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

34
35
36 Djelic, M-L. and Sahlin-Andersson, K. (2006) *Transnational Governance. Institutional*
37 *Dynamics of Regulation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

38
39
40 Dyer, W.G. and Wilkins, A.L. (1991) "Better stories, not better constructs, to generate better
41 theory: A rejoinder to Eisenhardt", *Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 16, pp.613-619

42
43
44 Emirbayer, M. and Mische, A. (1998). What is agency? *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol
45 103, pp. 962-1023

46
47
48 Estonian Ministry of Culture (2010) *Creative Industries in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania*, the
49 Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian Ministries of Culture, Tallinn

50
51
52 ECPC (European Cultural Programme Centre), (2003), *Creative Industries: A European*
53 *Opportunity*, Vilnius: European Cultural Programme Centre

54
55
56 Feldman, M.S. and Pentland, B.T. (2003) "Reconceptualizing organizational routines as a
57 sources of flexibility and change", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol 41, pp. 94-118

- 1
2
3 Feldman, M. S. (2004). Resources in Emerging Structures and Processes of Change.
4 *Organization Science*, Vol 15, 295-309
5
6
7 Feldman, M. S. and Orlikowski, W. J. (2011). Theorizing Practice and Practicing Theory.
8 *Organization Science*, Vol 22, 1240-1253
9
10
11 Fixsen, D. L., Naoom, S. F., Blase, K. A., Friedman, R. M. and Wallace, F. (2005).
12 *Implementation Research: A Synthesis of the Literature*. Tampa, FL: University of South Florida
13
14 Garnham, N. (2005) "From cultural to creative industries: An analysis of the implications of the
15 'creative industries' approach to arts and media policy making in the United Kingdom", *The*
16 *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol 11, pp. 15-29
17
18
19 Garud, R. and Karnøe, P. (2003) "Bricolage versus breakthrough: distributed and embedded
20 agency in technology entrepreneurship", *Research Policy*, Vol 31, pp. 277-300
21
22 Gawer, A. and Phillips, N. (2013). Institutional Work as Logics Shift: The Case of Intel's
23 Transformation to Platform Leader. *Organization Studies*, 34, 1035-1071
24
25
26 Gordon, I., Lewis, J. and Young, K. (1977) "Perspectives on policy analysis", *Public*
27 *Administration Bulletin*, Vol 25, pp.26-30
28
29
30 Gray, C. (2007). Commodification and Instrumentality in Cultural Policy. *International Journal*
31 *of Cultural Policy*, Vol 13, 203-215
32
33
34 Hesmondhalg, D. (2013). *The Cultural Industries*. (3rd edition). London: Sage
35
36
37
38 Hopwood, A. and Miller, P. (1994), *Accounting as social and institutional practice*. Cambridge
39 studies in management 24, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
40
41
42 Hwang, H. and Colyvas, J. (2011). Problematizing actors and institutions in institutional work.
43 *Journal of Management Inquiry*, Vol 20, 62-72
44
45
46 Jacobsson, B. (2010), *The European Union and the Baltic States. Changing forms of governance*,
47 London: Routledge
48
49
50 Jacobsson, B., Pierre, J. and Sundström, G. (2015) *Governing the embedded state. The*
51 *organizational dimension of governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
52
53
54 Jarzabkowski, P, Le J. K. and Feldman, M. (2012) "Toward a theory of coordinating: creating
55 coordinating mechanisms in practice", *Organization Studies*, Vol 23, pp. 907-927
56
57
58 Kaghan, W. N. and Lounsbury, M. (2011) "Artifacts, articulation work and institutional residue"
59 in Rafaeli, A. and Pratt, M. (eds.) *Artifacts and organizations*, Lawrence Earlbaum, New York
60

1
2
3
4
5 Knill, C. and Lehmkuhl, D. (2002) "Private Actors and the State: Internationalization and
6 Changing Patterns of Governance", *Governance*, vol. 15, pp. 41-63
7

8 Lawrence, T. B., Leca, B., and Zilber, T. B. (2013). Institutional Work: Current Research, New
9 Directions and Overlooked Issues, *Organization Studies*, Vol 34, pp. 1023-1033, (special issue)
10

11 Lawrence, T. B. and Suddaby, R. (2006). Institutions and institutional work. In S. Clegg, C.
12 Hardy, T. B. Lawrence, and W. R. Nord (Eds.), *Handbook of Organization Studies*, 2nd edn. (pp.
13 215-254). London: Sage
14

15
16 Lawrence, T. B., Suddaby, R., and Leca, B. (2009). *Institutional Work. Actors and Agency in*
17 *Institutional Studies of Organizations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
18

19
20 Lawrence, T. B., Suddaby, R., & Leca, B. (2011). Institutional work: Refocusing institutional
21 studies of organization. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, Vol 20, 52–58.
22

23
24 Liutkus, V. (2010) *Cultural policies and trends in Europe, Country Profile Lithuania*,
25 <http://www.culturalpolicies.net>, retrieved 05/03/2012
26

27 March, J. and Olsen, J.P. (1979) *Ambiguity and Choice in Organizations*, Scandinavian
28 University Press, Oslo
29

30
31 Mazeikis, G., Cernevičiute, J., Scigliniskiė, A., and Tatarune, I. (2005). *Creative Industries*
32 *Mapping Document in Alytus and Utena Counties. The Summary of the Study*. Vilnius: The
33 European Cultural Programme Centre
34

35
36 McGuigan, J. (2004), *Rethinking cultural policy*. Berkshire: Open University Press
37

38 Meyer, J. and Rowan, B. (1977) "Institutionalized Organizations. Formal Structure as Myth and
39 Ceremony", *American Journal of Sociology*, vol 83, pp. 340-363
40

41 Meyer, J. W., Boli, J., Thomas, G.M. and Ramirez, F.O. (1997) "World Society and the Nation
42 State", *American Journal of Sociology*, vol 103, pp. 144-181
43

44
45 Miettinen, R., Samra-Fredericks, D., and Yanow, D. (2009). Re-turn to practice: An introductory
46 essay. *Organization Studies*, Vol 30, 1309-1327
47

48 Nisbett, M, Lee, D, Hesmondhalgh, D and Oakley, K. (2015) *Culture, economy and politics. The*
49 *case of New Labour*, Palgrave Macmillan, London
50

51
52 Pentland, B.T. (1999) "Building Process Theory with Narrative: From Description to
53 Explanation", *The Academy of Management Review*, vol 24, pp. 711-724
54

55
56 Pratt, A. (2005) "Cultural industries and public policy", *The International Journal of Cultural*
57 *Policy*, Vol 11, pp. 31-44
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5 Reihlen, M., Smets, M. and Veit, A. (2010). "Management consultancies as institutional agents:
6 Strategies for creating and sustaining institutional capital". *Schmalenbach Business Review*, Vol
7 62, 317-339

8
9 Rindzevičiūtė, E., Svensson, J. And Tomson, K. (2015) "The international transfer of creative
10 industries as a policy idea" *The International Journal of Cultural Policy* (iFirst, 2015): 1-17

11
12 Rindzevičiūtė, E. (2012) "Post-Soviet Transformation of Lithuanian State Cultural Policy: The
13 Meanings of Democratisation". *The International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 18, pp. 563-
14 578.

15
16 Sabatier, P. A. (2007) *Theories of the policy process*, Westview Press, Boulder, CO

17
18 Schatzki, T. (2001) "Introduction. Practice Theory", in Schatzki, T., Knorr-Cetina, K. and von
19 Savigny, E. (eds.) *The practice turn in contemporary theory*, Routledge, London

20
21 Schmidt, V.A. and Radaelli, C. M. (2004) "Policy Change and Discourse in Europe: Conceptual
22 and Methodological Issues", *West European Politics*, vol 27, pp.183-210

23
24 Selznick, P. (1949). *TVA and the Grass Roots; A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization*.
25 Berkeley: University of California Press

26
27 Siggelkow, N. (2007) "Persuasion with case studies", *Academy of Management Journal*, vol 50,
28 pp. 20-24

29
30 Smets, M, Morris, T. and Greenwood, R. (2012) "From practice to field: a multilevel model of
31 practice-driven institutional change", *Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 55, pp. 877-904

32
33 Smets, M. and Jarzabkowski, P. (2013). Reconstructing institutional complexity in practice: A
34 relational model of institutional work and complexity. *Human Relations*, Vol 66, 1279-1309

35
36 Sorenson, E. and Torfing, J. (2009) "Making Governance Networks Effective and Democratic
37 through Metagovernance." *Public Administration*, vol 87, pp.:234-258.

38
39 Svensson, J. (2009) *The regulation of rule-following: Imitation and soft regulation in the
40 European Union*, Stockholm University, Stockholm (academic dissertation)

41
42 Thornton, P. and Occasio, W. (2008) "Institutional Logics", in Greenwood, R., Oliver, C.,
43 Sahlin, K. and Suddaby, R., *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*, London,
44 SAGE

45
46 Tomson, K. (2008) *Amnesty in Translation. Ideas, Interests and Organizational Change*.
47 Stockholm: Stockholm University (doctoral thesis)

1
2
3 Whittington, R. (2006) "Compelling the Practice Turn in Strategy Research", *Organization*
4 *Studies*, Vol 27, pp. 613-634
5

6
7 Yanow, D. (2015) "Book review: Practice Theory, Work, and Organization: An Introduction"
8 *Organization Studies*, Vol. 36, pp. 689-691
9

10 Zietzma, C. and Lawrence, T. B. (2010). Institutional Work in the Transformation of an
11 Organizational Field: The Interplay of Boundary Work and Practice Work. *Administrative*
12 *Science Quarterly*, 55, 189-221
13

14
15 Zilber, T. B. (2013). "Institutional logics and institutional work: should they be agreed?" In M.
16 Lounsbury and E. Boxenbaum (Eds.), *Institutional Logics in Action, Part A* (pp. 77-96). Bingley:
17 Emerald Group Publishing Limited
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Table 1. Chronology of activities and actors in the policy change process.

Activities	First conference	Study visits	Mapping	International forum	Strategy document	Feasibility study	National Association for Creative and Cultural Industries (NACCI)	National Complex Programme
Year	2003	2004-2005	2005	2005	2007	2008	2008	2009
Key Actors	British Council Lithuania, European Cultural Programme Centre	British Council Lithuania, British Council London	European Cultural Programme Centre, Ministry of Culture, Lithuanian expert group	British Council Lithuania, European Cultural Programme Centre	Ministry of Culture	Interested/ invested individuals	Interested/ invested individuals	NACCI, Ministry of Education and Science

Table 2. Summary of institutional work, practices and resources in the policy change process

Activities	First conference	Study visits	Mapping	International forum	Strategy document	Feasibility study	NACCI	National Complex Programme
Institutional Work	<i>Advocacy</i>	<i>Educating</i>	<i>Educating, theorizing</i>	<i>Educating, theorizing</i>	<i>Defining</i>	<i>Defining</i>	<i>Constructing normative networks & identities</i>	<i>Defining</i>
Enacted practices	Networking Modelling	Knowledge-sharing	Modelling	Networking Knowledge-sharing	Formalizing Signaling	Constructing similarity	Organizing	Formalizing Signaling
Resources created	Connections Information Attention (A)	Networks Information (A)	Information (A) Authority, legitimacy (Q)	Networks Information (A)	Boundary control (A)	Attention (A) Authority (Q)	Authority (Q)	Boundary control (A)