Cultural Entrepreneurship
Unlocking Potential through Value Creation

Submitted by Meghan Peterson to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the challenges and opportunities of cultural entrepreneurship, exploring current conceptualisations of cultural entrepreneurs and to find new perspectives and recommendations for cultural entrepreneurs of the future. Cultural entrepreneurship is a contested, yet essential aspect of the growth of artists and arts organisations globally. Though there are similarities, this research demonstrates that cultural entrepreneurs from different backgrounds, industries and of varied sizes need different things and have different barriers so cannot be understood in the same way. Digital technologies and local networks do offer new possibilities for innovation however these are limited in scope and require further investigation and investment. Despite psychological, political and financial barriers to entrepreneurship in the creative industries, finding a balance between artistic, social, economic and institutional innovation for the various actors throughout the arts offers key insights to how artists and arts organisations can be more entrepreneurial. Through a grounded theory approach, this research connects previously disparate fields of cultural policy, social entrepreneurship and business model innovation to derive new perspectives of how cultural entrepreneurs can survive and thrive in the dynamically shifting world. Themes that emerged through the data analysis connect in new ways to Cohendet et al.'s (2012) 'Anatomy of a Creative City', outlining the underground, middleground and upperground actors; Albinsson's (2017) theories of the quadruple bottom line in the creative industries; and a value ecosystem's approach with a focus on value creation (Allee, 2002; Curtis, 2017). From this combination of literature and data collected, a novel approach to understanding cultural entrepreneurs emerges, creating a model to understand more holistically how value is created and captured for the artist or arts organisation. This model has a range of practical approaches intended to provide tangible pathways into combining the concepts of the quadruple bottom line, value ecosystems and different conceptualisations of cultural entrepreneurs, offering a novel contribution to all of these fields in addition to, and most significantly the topic of cultural entrepreneurship.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Abbreviations

DCMS- Department of Culture, Media and Sport

NESTA- National Endowment for Science, Technology and Art

ACE- Arts Council England

AHRC- The Arts and Humanities Research Council

NPO- National Portfolio Organisation

CIC- Community Interest Company

QBL- quadruple bottom line

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1.1 Cultural entrepreneurship and the creative industries

With impending funding cuts affecting many sectors of the creative industries and 'enormous economic and societal problems' present at a global level, cultural entrepreneurship is viewed by a growing number of arts managers, policy makers, academics and practitioners as a means of revitalising society (Hagoort, 2009, p. 21). Cultural entrepreneurs explore opportunities to develop cultural innovations that strike 'a balance between cultural and economic values' (Hagoort, 2009, p. 21). Cultural entrepreneurship fuses the 'artistic and the commercial, which have historically viewed each other with suspicion' (Bilton, 2010, p. 1). The complexity associated with this fusion means that there is no clear definition of cultural entrepreneurship, as it not only links creativity and business, but is also increasingly seen as a tool for wider social and systemic change (Ratten and Ferriera, 2017; Albinsson, 2017). Despite this complexity, cultural entrepreneurship is defined by three core aspects. First, there is a clear mission associated with the generation of value connected to culture or artistic innovation. Culture can be broad and encompass a wide range of societal norms and values, but in this sense, it refers to an artistic product or service. Secondly, there is a balance between an artistic or social mission and economic prosperity. Research in the field of social entrepreneurship offers insights into how this can be better understood for cultural entrepreneurs. Lastly, these entrepreneurs must recognise their place in a larger system, 'ensuring a vital cultural infrastructure within which the enterprise functions in interaction with other organisations and companies' acknowledging a responsibility to the world it operates within' (Hagoort, 2009, p. 70).

What was once referred to as 'the arts', then the 'cultural industries', cultural entrepreneurs now operate within the more overtly politicised sphere of 'the creative industries', with increasing local and national attention in policy rhetoric being placed on their economic and social importance (Oakley, 2013). These terms are still used interchangeably, however recent shifts in government policy mark a significant change in the value these industries are perceived to contribute economically. Government support was previously more aligned with high culture and support for core arts such as theatre, ballet and fine arts, but now encompasses a more wide-ranging and pragmatic focus with the creative industries' contribution to employment creation, social impact and economic growth (Throsby, 2008). The creative industries are now deemed by policy makers to make a more significant economic contribution than in the past and are positioned as the means to achieve other policy initiatives, such as those associated with social exclusion, urban regeneration and well-

being. It follows that cultural entrepreneurs are perceived to possess many of the attributes, values and objectives that have been previously been associated with social entrepreneurs (Dacin et al., 2011). In many instances cultural entrepreneurs are incorporating social change innovations once solely associated with not-for-profit organisations with the 'economic rationality and market-based approaches traditionally associated with for-profit firms' (Wilson and Post, 2011, p. 715), sparking innovations often spanning various sectors (Hearn et al., 2011). In the UK, the creative industries are 'growing more rapidly than other sectors in most parts of the country' while the average firm size in terms of employees and turnover has actually decreased, highlighting the importance of supporting small enterprises in the creative industries (Mateos-Garcia and Bakhshi, 2016, p. 5).

Many artists are cultural entrepreneurs, though not all cultural entrepreneurs are artists. The cultural entrepreneur is distinguished from the artist in that they are not only concerned with cultural production but also cultural distribution in their work, actively 'marketing and exploiting the content they create' (Bilton, 2010, p. 1). Though not every artist is a cultural entrepreneur, many behave entrepreneurially even though they do not self-identify as cultural entrepreneurs. The reluctance of some artists to identify with the cultural entrepreneur status demonstrates that there are perceived barriers between economic activity and creative practice. Many artists and those who work in the creative industries do not identify as cultural entrepreneurs and therefore does not encompass any part of their identity. They therefore reject entrepreneurial practices because they fail to identify as cultural entrepreneurs, therefore missing out on the potential to develop their art entrepreneurially in ways that align with their work and their values. In fact, artists' engagement with entrepreneurship is well-documented, though long traditions of patronage and subsidy have caused many to view entrepreneurship with distain and scepticism (Gehman, 2017; Gangi, 2015). The wider economic, political and technological changes stemming from the shift to the creative industries has also affected conceptions of the artist to that of the cultural entrepreneur, causing a shift in mentality away from the 'self-contained integrity of ideas, artefacts and content towards a definition of cultural content based on collective systems and networks' (Bilton, 2010, p. 2). This 'collective system or culture of entrepreneurship can also have a reciprocal benefit upon the economic growth of the region by adding value and employment (OECD, 2009; Piergiovanni et al., 2011). In this context, 'entrepreneurial culture is desirable, and it radically changes the nature of communities' (Hindle, 2010, p. 639), though in order for these entrepreneurs to work sustainably, considerations of how to attract them need to be supplemented by plans to support them and their development. In the past the arts may not have needed to be as relevant to the wider public, only to the patron or funding body, in contrast the cultural entrepreneur adopts a 'business philosophy' that is also a 'quality of society' that is 'based on personal responsibilities and innovation for renewing sectors and markets'

(Hagoort, 2009, p. 22).

Funding constraints are now putting pressure on organisations once reliant on public subsidy to be entrepreneurial too. This can be problematic in that it is sometimes perceived to over-commercialise cultural goods and services. There is enormous potential, however, in a wider application of entrepreneurial and creative processes in the creative industries and other sectors to provoke wider systemic and social change (Albinsson, 2017; McRobbie, 2013). The terms 'business' and 'entrepreneurship' have historically had a tenuous relationship with authenticity in the arts, with business-savvy artists or organisations often perceived to be 'selling out' and not focused enough on their creative outputs (Bilton, 2010). On one hand there is an implicit tension between monetary and cultural goods and services (Ellmeier, 2003), with the possibility of delegitimising creativity through their commodification, while one the other hand there is the potential of infusing the sector with new business models and the potential to change the dynamics of the economy as a whole (Potts and Cunningham, 2008). Despite tensions between artistic production and entrepreneurship, cultural entrepreneurship comes out of necessity for some, which means that tension between these activities are lifting, becoming an identity and lifestyle that many artists choose willingly (Bilton, 2010).

1.2 Cultural entrepreneurs: an introduction

As stated in the previous section, self-identification as a cultural entrepreneur can be problematic and also has a connection with the policy shift to the creative industries:

> The transition from art to cultural entrepreneurship produces a fundamental dualism in policy and practice, combining an attachment to traditional ideals of artistic integrity and value with a more pragmatic, commercial mindset. This in turn results in psychological tensions and perceptions which shape the role and identity of the individual cultural entrepreneur.
>
> (Bilton, 2010, p. 3)

The shift from 'the arts' to the 'creative industries' correlates to the rise of the cultural entrepreneur, and therefore the changing nature of cultural work (McRobbie, 2013). Despite the fact that the artist is likely to be involved at varying degrees in business activity, when the artist becomes a cultural entrepreneur, implicitly cultural work changes from one focused on creative production to one that also includes managing client relationships, administrative tasks and marketing, for example (Bilton, 2010). According to Throsby (2001), the creative labour market has four distinctive features:

1. The industry has a much higher occurrence of part-time workers and multiple job-holders.

2. There is a large disparity of income with most in a particular field earning significantly lower than a select few who are more established.

3. The high level of risk than other professions.

4. The intrinsic drive of the creative that offers many rewards outside of monetary ones.

Even though wages are characteristically low and there is 'generally an oversupply of labour', 'the non-monetary reward of being an artist' motivates most to stay in the sector, often at the expense of financial security and job uncertainty (European Commission, 2005, p. 9; Oakley, 2015). This research does not attempt in any way to overlook the challenging circumstances for many in the creative industries. As Oakley suggests, cultural entrepreneurship is not a choice, it is a necessary adaptation (2013). She iterates further,

> They set up businesses because that is the easiest way to carry out their practice. They get premises because they need to work away from the kitchen table. They take on projects to pay the rent, and other projects on the back of that. [...] They socialise relentlessly to the point where it resembles work more than play. They often articulate social and political concerns about the kind of work they do; but they carry it out while exploiting themselves and others, often with the barest of acknowledgement.

(Oakley, 2013, p. 145)

This is indeed the reality for some, although it does not have to be when we consider the insights offered by the literature on social entrepreneurship and business model innovation outlined further in chapters 3 and 4. There is a balance that can be struck between being business-minded and artistic, applying creativity not only to artistic expression but also to entrepreneurial innovation. Work in the creative industries is increasingly 'project based', 'freelance', 'entrepreneurial', 'informal', 'network based' and 'affective', becoming more collective, collaborative and inter-connected in the way it operates, challenging the misconceptions of the lone creative who works in isolation (Gill, 2009, p. 162; Konrad, 2013). Though individual creativity is a major factor at play in how the creative industries are shaped, the notion that art is 'the product of uniquely gifted individuals' working in isolation is one that is under growing criticism (Bilton, 2007, p. 27; Cox, 2005). In fact, the creative industries have a 'high level of mutual dependency', and 'while apparently rooted in individual skill, creative processes in the creative industries, are essentially collective' (Bilton, 2007, p. 27). It is widely understood that 'contacts that eventually lead to contracts rely on sociability' (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010, p. 13), offering sources of identity and continuity (Staber, 2004) and connecting with the

development of local communities and regional innovation (Ratten and Ferrera, 2017) further discussed in Chapter 2.

This research explores the complex nature of the cultural entrepreneur- the processes, business models and ecosystems of the creative industries and beyond that they operate within. Challenges around commercialisation and monetising aspects of what they do are explored in depth with an emphasis on business models- value creation and value capture (Afuah, 2014), drawing on research from social entrepreneurship and business model innovation to offer fresh perspectives. The thesis makes an original contribution to the literature by synthesising this triad of perspectives and developing a model to explore data derived from a wide range of cultural entrepreneurs. Another aspect of originality is derived from the use of grounded theory and the iterative generation of theory built from the data (Suddaby, 2006); further described in chapter 5. The research highlights how actors in the creative industries can work constructively and collectively to create and capture value in innovative ways, introducing a new typology in chapter 9 that emerged through the research. The intended impact is that actors of at all levels in the creative industries will mitigate the barriers to being entrepreneurial while considering the social and systemic change their work has the potential to make, thereby relieving the stress of feeling like they are 'selling out' and maintaining authenticity in their creative and business practices.

1.3 Aims and research questions

This research contributes to a growing body of literature in the UK and beyond about entrepreneurs in the creative industries by first drawing upon that body of literature around cultural entrepreneurship and the creative industries, incorporating literature on social entrepreneurship and business model innovation, before finally offering alternative perspectives into how value is created and captured by cultural entrepreneurs. There are gaps in knowledge about many facets of the cultural entrepreneur such as understanding the 'entrepreneurial competencies of the persons leading micro, or medium-sized enterprise' (Neugovsen, 2009, p. 77), the benefits and barriers to building networks (Konrad, 2013), how artistic creativity can be applied in an entrepreneurial context, complexities of value creation and value capture, and how far conventional entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship offer key in-roads into capturing the many ways that cultural entrepreneurs create value (Crombie and Lenoir, 2009). Originally based on a preliminary literature review, this research was designed to examine these points through in-depth, semi-structured interviews with twenty-two cultural entrepreneurs, with the goal of ultimately offering recommendations towards improving policy, education and training, strategic business development and the day-to-day

operations of these entrepreneurs. These concepts will be explored through the two research aims with their corresponding research questions:

1. To examine the validity of existing conceptualizations of cultural entrepreneurship in the academic and grey (i.e. policy) literatures with an emphasis on entrepreneurial value creation.

2. To develop new perspectives and techniques for the creative industries in the context of this project's emergent findings.

The first aim will be addressed by first exploring conceptions of cultural entrepreneurship within the existing academic and grey literature. In the analysis and discussion chapters, the notion of the business model will be examined through discussing a register of meanings that cultural entrepreneurs attach to the notion of value, how value is created and captured, and the various business models and approaches taken by a range of cultural entrepreneurs. This will be a means of exploring the research question related to commonalities and differences in entrepreneurial behaviour in the creative industries and how the business model can be a means of differentiation for cultural entrepreneurs from different sectors, sizes and backgrounds. The findings from this will then inform the second aim, to offer suggestions and new perspectives for cultural entrepreneurs in the context of the findings of the research study, introducing a new typology in Chapter 9 that will aid entrepreneurial behaviour to better understand the ways to create and capture value and how to best relate to other key players in the industry, further described in the section to follow.

This research arose initially as a collaboration between Exeter Cultural Partnership and University of Exeter's Business School. The original aim of the project was to map cultural entrepreneurs throughout the city of Exeter building upon previous research conducted during for my dissertation for MA Cultural Policy & Management mapping public art in Brixton, south London. I further explored cultural mapping through an internship with a professor from the MA who runs a cultural mapping organisation. Additionally, based upon my experience working as a cultural entrepreneur and running a small arts company (further discussed in section 5.4.1), the nature of the research project was well-aligned with my personal motivations and past experience.

To address these initial aims, early on in my research I conducted ten scoping interviews with various people who work in the creative industries throughout the city. These included independent artists, people who ran craft shops, and people who ran or worked in organisations. The general consensus from the information gathered at the meetings was that there was not enough pertinent data to

justify focussing solely on the city of Exeter, as that city has a difficult time retaining people to work in the creative industries and overall has a lack of companies working in that sector. As a result, a wider focus was adopted to allow for a wide range of perspectives and to connect with those integrating innovative approaches to creating and capturing value in the creative industries. This decision was not an immediate one, with multiple meetings with supervisors and members of Exeter Cultural Partnership before the shift of focus was made. The long-term aim is for research like this to ultimately make its way back to smaller cities like Exeter to aid in fostering cultural entrepreneurship.

1.4 Thesis Structure

The aims and research questions above were answered through a series of semi-structured interviews with cultural entrepreneurs who offer an in-depth understanding of how they create and capture value. The chapter outline of the thesis is as follows:

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 contain an in-depth literature review based on the three key themes of this research: cultural entrepreneurship, social entrepreneurship and business model innovation. These concepts emerged as most closely connected to the data and form the basis of the typology created; summarised at the end of Chapter 4. Chapter 2 introduces cultural entrepreneurship through key themes related to cultural management, cultural labour, cultural policy, cultural regeneration and regional innovation, while Chapter 3 delves more deeply into social entrepreneurship theory, namely how it relates to innovation, social mission, motivation, networks and developing social entrepreneurs. Chapter 4 aims to introduce business model innovation with particular focus on business ecosystems or constellations that offer a wider, holistic interpretation of value creation as a means of unlocking business model innovation.

Chapter 5 introduces the methodology and techniques utilised in the thesis. Data was collected from diverse types of entrepreneurs in the creative industries using a grounded theory methodology. Here I introduce my positionality as a researcher, in that I have past experience as a cultural entrepreneur, artist and staff member of multiple arts organisations; see section 5.4.1. The chapter outlines the basis of grounded theory and explains why and how it was used in practice.

The analysis in chapters 6, 7 and 8 proceeds to explore different types of cultural entrepreneurs (the underground, middleground and upperground, respectively), utilising a structure drawn from the social entrepreneurship literature; introduced in section 4.6. These chapters articulate some of the ways that value is being captured in new and entrepreneurial ways in order to generate revenue for individuals and organisations and to create a more comprehensive perspective on the types of value being created.

The discussion and ensuing conclusion in chapter 9 specifically focuses on the possibilities and potential for business model innovation for cultural entrepreneurs. This chapter is of considerable length considering it encompasses a critical analysis of the ways in which actors in the creative industries go about creating and capturing value both within and outside the creative industries is provided, before delving into recommendations for existing stakeholders and outlining future areas of research. The research addresses the need for a more nuanced perspective on cultural entrepreneurship, which is achieved through the combination of different bodies of knowledge, by adopting grounded theory to provide fresh perspectives and combining this with reflections upon my previous experience as an artist and cultural entrepreneur.

LITERATURE REVIEW: CULTURAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP

2.1 Introduction

The 'entrepreneur' is a change agent who 'unlocks capital' and 'redirects it to change the future' to unlock 'the wealth that lies within themselves' (Howkins, 2001, p. 136; Long, 1983). Well-known economist Joseph Schumpeter asserted that an entrepreneur's catalyst for a new venture comes from the 'creative destruction' or the breakdown of conventional systems, methods and designs to favour more efficient, resilient and innovative ones (Scott, 2006; Schumpeter, 1934). This 'identification, evaluation and exploitation of opportunities' (Shane, 2012, p. 12) combined with the ability to activate and mobilise resources (Wilson and Stokes, 2006) spans across sectors and industries (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999). Commercially-driven entrepreneurship, or what will be termed throughout as 'traditional' or 'conventional' entrepreneurship, whose primary mission is an economic one is merely a starting point for understanding how entrepreneurship in other sectors works and how it can be developed (Lumpkin et al., 2013). Entrepreneurship is increasingly being used in other contexts such as that of the social, public, community and cultural, opening up new insights into how entrepreneurship works in diverse contexts (Hagoort, 2010). Cultural entrepreneurship lacks a single definition, but in a simple sense, it is 'creating or identifying an opportunity to provide a cultural product, service or experience and bringing together the resources to exploit this' (Rae, 2007, p. 55). Cultural entrepreneurship has been a growing area in academic discourse and policy, yet there is still a great deal still to be explored, due in part to disjointed viewpoints within academic research related to cultural policy, cultural studies, social entrepreneurship, and business management. Existing research related to cultural entrepreneurship along with the key insights social entrepreneurship and business model innovation literature will be discussed in Chapters three and four. The emphasis of this chapter is on the value created by cultural entrepreneurs- to the sector, communities, the economy and society as a whole. The cultural entrepreneur will be introduced, followed by relevant explorations of creativity and innovation, the cultural entrepreneur and the city and motivating and developing cultural entrepreneurs.

2.2 The origins of the cultural entrepreneur

Entrepreneurship, while in the views of many (especially in the arts) is associated with profit motivations and exploitation, is increasingly being expanded to encompass many other forms of value (Wilson and Martin, 2015) as a way of thinking and acting in order to create a better way of solving

problems and creating value in society (Gangi, 2015; Beckman, 2015). Entrepreneurial behaviour involves a number of key activities: 'developing new and innovative products, proposing new forms of organisation, exploring new markets, introducing new production methods and searching for new sources of supplies and materials' (Kooyman, 2009, p. 94; Schumpeter, 1975). In contrast to owner-managers of small businesses, entrepreneurs 'share the willingness to assume risks in the face of uncertainty', have an 'alertness to opportunity' and 'see change as the norm and as healthy' (Kooyman, 2009 p. 94; Drucker, 1985; Stokes and Wilson, 2010). The entrepreneur takes existing resources, such as 'people, materials, buildings and money', redeploys them to be more efficient and creates new and sometimes more value, inferring a change to existing structures and ways of doing things (Stokes and Wilson, 2010, p. 32). He or she is a 'destabilising force' who searches for 'new methods, and new markets', involving 'a transformative process of social and market change that creates values for individuals and for society', (Stokes and Wilson, 2010, p. 32). This notion is expanded in the context of social, cultural, community and many other types of entrepreneurship (Gangi, 2015; Drucker, 1985).

Cultural entrepreneurship lacks a single definition, but in a simple sense, it is 'creating or identifying an opportunity to provide a cultural product, service or experience' and joining up resources to exploit it (Rae, 2007, p. 55). At their core, cultural entrepreneurs are creators 'who apply their creativity to the domain of opportunity recognition and venture creation' (Baronet, 2003, p. 2). Cultural entrepreneurship can come in many forms- from that of the individual, connected to concepts around the freelancer, the artist-entrepreneur and those who run or manage small businesses and even those who work as part of larger organisations, aligned with research on intrapreneurs (Martiarena, 2013; Oakley, 2015; Wilson, 2009); further discussed in section 2.5. In the academic and grey literature, cultural entrepreneurs are rarely differentiated which presents a gap in knowledge and is of particular importance in understanding how cultural entrepreneurship operates and when encouraging entrepreneurial behaviour (NESTA, 2017; Culture Label Agency, 2014); further discussed in section 2.6. Cultural entrepreneurship can be both extremely problematic as 'commercial tendencies are often considered anathema to authentic culture' (Dacin et al., 2010 p. 47) and a source of liberation and nuanced creative expression (Gangi, 2015). The argument throughout this thesis is steered toward the latter, as an opportunity to be freed from constraints of public funding with the ability to change systems and ways of working. In order to achieve its liberating elements, cultural entrepreneurs must achieve authenticity in their work through a balance of financial sustainability, artistic integrity and in many cases social benefit (Dacin et al., 2010; Beverland, 2005; Peterson, 1997), finding freedom by embodying Schumpeter's potential for creative destruction, 'capable of conjuring economic prosperity, interpersonal fulfilment, and even societal progress, with

cultural entrepreneurship' (Gehren, 2017; p. 10). In this sense, cultural entrepreneurship can be seen as an 'emancipatory process that challenges the economic, social, institutional, and cultural status quo' (Gehren, 2017, p. 10; Rindova et al., 2009). When unpicking the potential for art and entrepreneurial processes and their wider impact on society, 'art is a way to present ideas and ask questions' with the potential to 'transform and re-order the social' and can be seen as part of a wider social transformation process to create a 'new urban, social, and economic condition' (Daskalaki et al., 2015, p. 4).

However, cultural entrepreneurs are different from other types of entrepreneurs. The most obvious of these differences is the presence of value created through some form of artistic innovation (Bilton, 2017), with another key difference being a long tradition of reliance on public funding, requiring 'both public and private patronage' (Ratten and Ferriera, 2017, p. 165; Acheson et al., 1996). Due to the heavy reliance on public funding, there is a tension when culture is increasingly viewed as a commodity (Oakley, 2007). The creative industries by their very nature are political because of their long history of public funding. They use connections to policy initiatives such as regeneration and well-being as a tool within institutional and community development (Albinsson, 2017; Gehman, 2017). This has transformed the artist or cultural worker into the cultural entrepreneur, but because the creative industries are still tied closely to policy agendas, he or she now bears the burden of being a 'manager of society' of sorts (Ellmeier, 2003, p. 3) and a 'cultural intermediary, facilitating a dialogue between art and society, […] government, artist production and public finance, aesthetics and politics' (Mulcahy, 2003, p. 183). In the popular imagination, however, the stereotype of the artist endures; that is, a 'free spirit' who is 'unfettered by tradition' (Banks, 2006, p. 457), and one who rejects notions of monetisation in favour of public subsidy (Scott, 2010).

The argument presented is not that the creative industries are and should continue to be a public good supported by public subsidy, however, the reality is that the under-funded enterprises and organisations that drive this industry are facing diminishing funding and need to adapt accordingly (Mateos-Garcia and Bakhshi, 2016). Some would argue that this lack of funding is pushing some who work in the creative industries into being more entrepreneurial, when it is not in their nature or desire to do so (Oakley, 2015). However, the reality is that being entrepreneurial is increasingly necessary for the survival of the creative industries and can even be seen as an opportunity to shift systems and ways of working (Albinsson, 2017; Schumpeter, 1934). Research that deems entrepreneurship as problematic needs to be countered with observations that 'historically, very few artists worked as salaried workers' (Woronkowicz and Noonan, 2017, p. 2; Agrawal et al., 2010) and that artists and organisations who embraced the necessity of being entrepreneurial have benefitted in the long run. Seeing the opportunity that lies in entrepreneurial approaches has important

implications for unlocking the potential for those in the creative industries to apply their value in new and innovative ways. This viewpoint aligns with recent trends to consider culture, less in terms of the constraints of limitations on the amount of public funding available, and more as a public resource that other sectors, communities and organisations can draw on to benefit their missions (Uberbacher et al., 2015). It follows that there are new possibilities for cultural entrepreneurs to link their personal creative interests and skills with that of local, national and international needs through entrepreneurial practice and the strategic use of public resources available; further explored in section 2.5. This is not to discount the lack of ease with which some are able to pursue entrepreneurial endeavours, some based on personality and others based on lack or access to opportunities or resources based on cultural background, gender and economic advantage (McRobbie, 2013). Hence, in this context entrepreneurial ability is seen through the lens of those who have the freedom to pursue it (Wilson and Martin, 2015).

The first step towards understanding the value created by cultural entrepreneurs is to assume that opportunities are socially constructed, existing through an 'interaction between structural possibilities and agential action' (Wilson and Martin, 2015, p. 161). This perspective is similar to the dynamics present in social entrepreneurship, where wealth is perceived as a means to achieve some end with the primary objective to achieve a set of social missions with financial motivations often secondary (Gangi, 2015; Dees, 1998). For cultural entrepreneurs, these missions can be artistic, to create high quality cultural goods or services and can be social too, seeking to improve society through their work or the artistic work they encourage or foster in others. There is a common, yet fraught perception that 'art for art's sake', a cultural product with no obvious connection to commercial value, is a luxury or non-necessity (Gangi, 2015; Dissanayake, 1995; Davies, 2006). However, art offers immense value to society (Gangi, 2015, p. 251; Blacking, 1976), and my research seeks to contradict these fraught preconceptions, arguing that entrepreneurial action, creativity and artistic expression can work symbiotically, with purpose and integrity, informing arts training and actually empowering artists to be more successful in their careers (Gangi, 2015). When seen through this perspective, the creativity and innovation inherent in the arts and entrepreneurship can meld together to find a synergetic balance where the two serve to enhance one another (Gangi, 2015); further outlined in the following section.

2.3 Entrepreneurship, creativity and innovation

While creativity and innovation are overlapping concepts (Work Foundation, 2007), creativity can be understood as the birth of new ideas and innovation the 'successful exploitation' of them (Cox, 2005,

p. 3). Both of these elements are integral to the cultural entrepreneur. Creativity is necessary both for developing a creative product or service and also in the exploitation of them through innovative practice (Gangi, 2015). This dynamic combination has the potential not only to create value for the cultural entrepreneur, but value for communities as well, bringing together 'unique combinations of public and private resources to enhance social and cultural opportunities in an environment of change' (Rentschler, 2003, p. 163). There is an element of creativity in all entrepreneurial endeavours through the development of intellectual property by finding new solutions or ways of doing things (Wilson, 2010), despite the fact that creativity is most often associated with those working in the arts or cultural sectors. For some, however, integrating the structural and rigid nature often associated with entrepreneurship into the freedom inherent in the cultural sphere is perceived by some as a risk of damaging the notion of creativity as a whole (Eikof and Haunschild, 2007). An entrepreneur 'uses the tools of creativity and innovation to actualize this consumption by recognizing opportunities and generating products designed to meet specific needs' (Gangi, 2015, p. 249). However, for a business to be considered innovative, its intended market must consume the value proposition (i.e., the innovation, or the created value) offered (Drucker 1985; Timmons 1990). This does not negate the importance of this wide range of value created, for social, cultural, community and economic benefits. However, 'value unconsumed, cannot be considered entrepreneurial and, therefore, remains simply ideas' (Gangi, 2015, p. 249; Timmons, 1990), and the product will only have value in the future, if it takes its place in a future cultural field (O'Connor, 1999, p. 11).

Innovation, along with risk-taking and proactiveness, is one of the essential elements of being a cultural entrepreneur, with success deeply embedded in market profitability (Fillis and Rentschler, 2010). Innovation in the creative industries should arguably hold entrepreneurial practice as the exemplar, at the forefront of the industry's growth, demanding an understanding of the management of creative forces as well as those of innovation (Wilson and Stokes, 2006). A strong knowledge base combined with a cultural entrepreneur's solid position within the market fosters innovation while remaining close to their mission (Cox, 2005; Drucker, 1985). Aligning with difficulties commodifying cultural goods and services (Jeffcutt and Pratt, 2009), it is evident that creativity does not necessarily lead to innovation (Heebels and Aalst, 2010). Creativity can exist without innovation though innovation needs creativity, and in order to innovative entrepreneurial ideas to come to fruition, collaboration is a necessary part (Metcalfe, 2004). This has important implications when attempting to foster innovation, highlighting the importance of interaction in driving these ideas and businesses forward (Wilson, 2009; Hargadon 2003). The creative industries are constantly searching for new ways to innovate though organisations in these industries,

Face challenges in strategic management that are peculiar to the artistic or cultural area in which they operate; dealing with these challenges often requires adoption of innovative methods of cultural management, including the use of new value-oriented measures of success.

(Bakhshi and Throsby, 2009, p. 5)

Of particular relevance to innovation in the creative industries, technological innovation is a rich area of potential for entrepreneurial exploitation. One framework outlines four dimensions of innovation in the creative industries:

1. Innovation in audience reach- refers to new audience generation or different ways of engaging with audiences, often provided through digital technologies
2. Innovation in artform development- fostering new and experimental work
3. Innovation in value creation- finding new ways to measure the value they create for their audiences and wider stakeholders
4. Innovation in business management and governance- experimenting with new methods of cultural management

(Bakhshi and Throsby, 2009, p. 2)

The report calls for a fresh approach on 'how to articulate and, where possible, measure, the full range of benefits that arise from the work of arts and cultural organisations' (Bakhshi and Throsby, 2010, p. 6). Technology not only affects networks and how people interact with one another, but also the financial foundation of creative businesses, the business model, weighted with potential to uncover new revenue streams in the creative industries (Bakhshi and Throsby, 2010). Traditionally, innovation has been seen through a strictly economic lens, however economic measures are not sufficient considering innovation outside of the business sector, calling for new ways to think about and measure innovation (Bakhshi and Throsby, 2009; Miles and Green, 2008).

Balancing varied missions and motivations beyond purely economic ones affects how the entrepreneur innovates and ultimately how their business model develops too as a result. Another differentiating factor of innovation which connects to social and cultural entrepreneurs relates to the legal structures of companies (charities or for-profit organisations), connecting to differences between public and private sector innovation. Private sector innovation is 'driven primarily by competitive advantage', and therefore restricts 'sharing of good practice to strategic partners' (Curtis, 2017, p. 96). Public sector innovation conversely aims to 'achieve widespread improvements in governance and service delivery' to create value for social groups (Curtis, 2017, p. 96). There are further complexities in how innovation manifests itself for individuals in comparison with

organisations. Individuals are often more motivated by personal passion and talent rather than by maximising profit, and organisations typically have a more clearly articulated social or artistic mission, which adds another layer of complexity to business model generation (Svejenova et al., 2012; King's College London, 2017). For example, organisations who receive any form of public subsidy are required to demonstrate their commitment to improving society in some way through their work (King's College London, 2017). Cultural entrepreneurs (whether individuals or those acting in organisations) who are strictly for-profit in the way they operate, nevertheless need to be seen as credible and not too commercial (Gangi, 2015).

Recent research into not-for-profit innovation which connects to publicly funded institutions and those receiving public funds provides another perspective on innovation:

1. Product innovation – new products
2. Service innovation – new ways in which services are provided to users
3. Process innovation – new ways in which organisational processes are designed
4. Position innovation – new contexts or users.
5. Strategic innovation – new goals or purposes of the organisation.
6. Governance innovation – new forms of citizen engagement, and democratic institutions.
7. Rhetorical innovation – new language and new concepts

(Curtis, 2017, p. 97; Hartley, 2005)

These innovations outline the outputs and also the mechanisms of innovation, which potentially offer new ways of thinking about how the creative industries could embed themselves even further in the knowledge-based economy that it contributes so much to (Wilson, 2009). Innovation in any context is complex, but particularly in the creative industries where both individuals and organisations pursue multiple objectives and must be adapted around the mission, artistic quality, social objectives, resources and competencies for innovation to be achieved (Bakhshi and Throsby, 2009; Svejenova et al., 2012). Innovation in relation to the value created by cultural entrepreneurs is further outlined in the following section.

2.4 Perspectives on value in the creative industries

Value in the creative industries is 'created in the encounter between a person (or multiple people) and an object (which may be tangible or intangible, as in an idea or activity)', where 'neither is fully formed in the object, nor is it entirely produced in the eye of the beholder- but is produced in the encounter of the two' (ACE, 2014, p. 8). Many institutions in the creative industries 'play a vital role in

nurturing and advancing the arts' but also in creating value for society, operating in a challenging environment where they have to consistently 'reassess their business strategies to ensure that they are still capable of delivering on the artistic and cultural objectives' fundamental to their purpose (Bakhshi and Throsby, 2009, p. 1). Understandably, the ways value creation in the creative industries lead to innovation is not straightforward (Bakhshi and Throsby, 2009), and in fact very little is known about how the creative industries innovate and contribute to innovation in other industries. Most studies on value in the creative industries focus on use-value rather than exchange value, or the direct 'value that consumers gain from using a good or service' similar to tangible resources, rather than taking into account non-use value or intangible value which can sometimes be more significant (Baden-Fuller et al., 2017, p. 3; Scott, 2006). In particular, because the creative industries have received growing attention as agents of social impact and community change, non-use or intangible values become increasingly important as they are often not appropriately counted for in terms of their market value (Bakhshi and Throsby, 2009). As stated by O'Connor,

> Couching discussion around the 'value' or 'benefits' of culture has been a major theme in the world of publicly funded arts and culture since the growing threat of budgetary cuts in the 1980s (though it has always been there). Claims as to the external benefits of culture (the cultural industries adding employment to the list of such benefits) have been met by equally passionate attacks on the attempted reduction of art and culture to their functional (in this case economic) value.

(1999, p. 1)

The following four sections outline theory behind value in the creative industries, the growing importance of impact measures, the value of artistic innovation and digital innovation.

2.4.1 Theory

There have been various models of differentiating value in the creative industries, and with many of them based upon a high level of subjectivity, they are controversial and complex (Banks, 2006). The following offers a selection of key approaches. Challenges loom when attempting to translate artistic innovation or even social impact into monetary forms, hence in the creative industries, articulating how and what type of value is created is tenuous at best, as many of these concepts like cultural content, artistic innovation and creativity 'have no obvious metric' (Throsby, 2008, p. 150). In some more traditionally commercial sectors within the industries such as fashion, gaming, design or craft, for example, where there are more tangible products that emerge, capturing value can be more

straightforward (Throsby, 2008). However, when it comes to a ballet performance, an abstract painting or a theatre performance, for example, how valuable these activities or products that have no clear monetary metric are is subjective (Banks, 2006). Many of these art forms have associations with more elitist, high art notions, and still receive a large amount of public subsidy (Throsby, 2008). Hence, the value of cultural products or services is dependent on a range of social factors that determine their market value with not all industries having a comparable set of metrics.

Therefore, classifications in the creative industries are relevant particularly because of the implications on how value is placed upon various industries within the sector, with different opportunities and pitfalls coinciding with these classifications. Analysing theatre, which has traditionally received more public funding, alongside the more commercial video game industry, for example, raises questions of economic viability which inevitably affect the way society views these two very different creative sectors (Oakley, 2009). On one hand, it can make a strong case for the economic impact of the creative industries but on the other has the possibility to feel disingenuous, skewing data for the sector and ultimately making it more difficult to generalise connections between sectors (Henry, 2007). At times this leads to the impression that fields which are not as commodifiable are less valuable, though some would argue that attaching monetary value to more intangible outcomes in the creative industries actually devalues the work (Belfiore and Bennett, 2007). Placing so many broad industries into one 'creative industries' category can be problematic; while they are all related to 'creative' products and services, they may have very different needs operationally and particularly when it comes to business models, even if little is known about those differences (Culture Label Agency, 2014). It does not make the intangible aspects of the creative industries which are difficult to quantify any less valid and perhaps they contain even more future potential because there is intangible value created that has yet to be justly understood. How these intangible values related to social, cultural, public and community benefits are captured in a way that does justice to how these programmes operate is of particular and pressing relevance to the individual, the organisation, to the wider creative community and arguably, other sectors and businesses on a global scale (ACE, 2014).

One model that attempts to measure these intangible factors is the 'Concentric Circles' model, placing art forms such as literature, music, performing arts and visual arts which create value that is traditionally difficult to quantify, as the 'Core Creative Arts' (Throsby, 2008). In this model, film, museums and photography are positioned in the next layer and industries with sectors with arguably more tangible outputs such as architecture, fashion, design and video and computer games towards the outside layers of the circle (Throsby, 2008). This is a useful differentiation, however one issue is that what is deemed valuable in the creative industries is particularly subjective (Bonus and Ronte,

1997), relying on credibility and cultural knowledge to increase their economic value, where marketing and branding become critical aspects of individual or organisational success (Botti, 2000). In another model, Svejenova et al. (2010) offer insights on value in the creative industries, showing the value of the business model, or a recipe for value creation and value capture (Afuah, 2014), in identifying that value was created for a well-known chef by bridging knowledge from multiple industries and even developing a new 'language'. Value capture is articulated into revenue, reputation and competency, with a focus on the latter two, more intangible elements that would most likely be left out of traditional business models (further discussed in Chapter 4). Another 'intangible', creativity, was taken into account in terms of its relationship with generating value in the above categories, but also for its wider implications beyond the chef's consumers, his industry, and to society as a whole. The focus on reputation and competency ties into Bonus and Ronte's assertion that credibility and cultural knowledge are key in creating and capturing value, emphasising the role of marketing in this ecosystem (1997). ACE offers Holbrook's consumer value framework to interpret how untapped value may reside 'not in the product purchased, not in the object possessed, but rather in the consumption experience(s) derived therefrom' (Holbrook, 1999, p. 8). This experiential approach ties into value ecosystems; further discussed in section 4.3. This is also a key element when connecting to business model literature, particularly around use and non-use value, reinforcing that it is not the resources themselves that hold value, but the interplay and how they are used amongst stakeholders that create value (Bakhshi and Throsby, 2009). The following section on impact measures offers useful insight into how some of this intangible value can become more tangible.

2.4.2 Impact measures

Impact evaluation is one area of critical interest for funders and research bodies in the UK such as The Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), NESTA, ACE, The Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), and The Warwick Commission as a way better understand the value created through the creative industries. Particularly in the case of public funding, evaluating impact serves as a means of not only attempting to capture value created through the creative industries but also as a means of justifying funding decisions and even the validity of these industries from the global marketplace to the local community to the individual creator (ACE, 2014). Impact evaluation that positions the creative industries to address policy outcomes such as well-being, social inclusion, and regeneration was initially received with disdain and perceived as devaluing the mission of many artists and organisations characterised as 'high-quality art and meaningful cultural experiences' (Holden, 2004, p. 14). This hard rejection of impact evaluation has softened since, which can be attributed, in part, to the growing recognition of the overlap between intrinsic value, or 'the set of values that relate to the

subjective experience of culture intellectually, emotionally and spiritually' (Holden 2006, p. 15), and instrumental value, or 'the ancillary effects of culture, where culture is used to achieve a social or economic purpose' (Holden, 2006, p. 16). Measuring value in a societal context is a high priority in current policy and essential for the survival of the arts specifically where societal outcomes are used to decipher value such as regeneration, however these require longitudinal studies where causality is incredibly difficult and evaluation costs are high (ACE, 2014).

One way to begin doing this is through impact studies, using indicators of outputs to determine outcomes of cultural participation and engagement. Arts Council England focuses the value measurement as it is created for the individual, the organisation and the wider cultural sector, separating impact into 'concurrent impacts (happening during the experience), experienced impacts (observed post-event hours or days later) and extended or cumulative impacts (livelong engagement/memory-weeks or years later)' (ACE, 2014, p. 15). When it comes to concurrent impacts, biometric research such as heart rate and brain wave monitoring is perhaps the most practical method though problematic as it can interfere with the experience. Experienced impacts are most likely measured through post-event surveys and interviews while extended impacts are commonly assessed through retrospective interviewing and longitudinal tracking studies. Though often the most challenging to measure, the extended or cumulative impacts are stated as the key to unlocking the true potential of the creative industries towards demonstrating larger, societal impacts. It is one thing to offer a 'polished, absorbing, highly enjoyable cultural experience', however it is 'another to make a difference in how people think and feel about the world', or themselves for that matter, through cultural experiences (Bunting and Knell, 2014, p. 56). This cannot be done without a change in how the creative industries thinks about the value it creates, not just for its audiences but for greater society as a whole (ACE, 2014). Business model innovation in the context of the creative industries will be discussed in chapter 4, following a general introduction of the components of the business model and theories around business model innovation.

2.5 The cultural entrepreneur and the city

Entrepreneurship has been closely tied with economic development which in turn has an impact of the growth of the urban landscape (Woronkowicz and Noonan, 2017; Schumpeter, 1934). Particularly in the past 15-20 years, the creative industries have been linked directly to the 'economic prosperity of our urban centres' (Codignola, 2011, p. 54; Zukin, 1995), which aids the case for culture. Some studies focus on the institutional and economic frameworks in attracting creative business to a particular place (Landry, 2002), while others focus on the more organic factors such as the look and

feel of a place that attracts creative individuals to a place (Florida, 2002). More specifically in the context of Florida's work, the presence of talent, tolerance and technology is pivotal in attracting creative people to cities and should be embraced and encouraged by business and government alike (2002). Following on from Florida's research, other more recent studies have linked the presence of cultural entrepreneurs to the 'economic development of urban areas' as 'the success of regions to innovate is based on their ability to harness their cultural entrepreneurship' (Ratten et al., 2017, p. 164). While often depicted harmoniously in Florida's work, the politics involved in government-backed culture-led regeneration schemes can force tenuous relationships when creatives and government bodies work side by side (Shin and Stevens, 2013; Evans, 2005). These schemes can alienate groups that previously lived in these spaces or continue to cohabit these spaces because they are not involved, considered or benefit from these regeneration efforts (Kirchberg and Kagan, 2013). Both large-scale developments and small-scale enterprise can have a positive effect on economic regeneration, though many of the local people in those areas will not feel the benefits and are often driven out by rising rent prices (Konrad, 2013). Often artists and those working in the creative industries are the first to flock to under-developed areas of cities; they revitalise these areas and subsequently, many real estate developers, investors, politicians, universities and larger cultural institutions move in, hoping to benefit economically from these now thriving communities (Kirchberg and Kagan, 2013).

When considering the role of the creative industries in community development, 'social cohesion should be taken seriously' as it provides opportunities for 'people of all socio-economic and educational strata to profit from their talents' (Kooyman, 2012, p. 93). Hence, an 'economy focusing on creativity does not need to be an elitist economy. It can also offer new chances to marginal groups that have been unable to participate in urban and regional economic progress' (Kooyman, 2012, p. 93; Musterd et al., 2007). Everyone, irrespective of skill-level, age and education, has something to offer regional or urban innovation and economic development (Musterd et al., 2007). Hence, 'in order for the creative potential of a city to be fully expressed, the creative skills embedded in the local environment should be progressively revealed, enhanced, nurtured, interpreted and enacted collectively' (Grandaham et al., 2012, p. 1702). This makes an argument for innovative approaches to cultural entrepreneurship in urban development, with an emphasis on not only how to attract creative businesses but how to sustain the ones already present (Koppejan, 2009). In this view, the role of the creative industries is to improve the 'social and cultural lives of its inhabitants', but also allow for the collaborative effects of economic development, innovation and creativity to flourish (Boren and Young, 2013, p. 1811; Cox, 2005; ACE, 2014). Focusing on the importance of networks and the local landscape in the success of the cultural entrepreneur (Ratten et al., 2017; Konrad, 2013), the

following sections touch on various themes in relation to the cultural entrepreneur and the city: Cohendet et al. (2010) research on the anatomy of the city breaks down the three main players in the creative industries- the underground, middleground and upperground, and the importance of networks for the cultural entrepreneur. There has been little research about the direct links between cultural entrepreneurship and regional innovation; this gap in the literature is addressed in Chapters 6-9.

2.5.1 The Anatomy of the City

The 'Anatomy of the City' outlines three broad categories of actors in the creative industries, describing their positions and how they navigate the city: the underground, middleground and upperground (Cohendet et al., 2010). These categories emerged organically through data analysis, discussed at length in chapters 6-8. As this research encompasses cultural entrepreneurs who operate predominantly within an urban environment, strong connections can be made between these three layers and the groups identified through my research. Looking at actors in the creative industries through these categories emphasises the interconnectedness of a diverse set of key players. In this, communities are crucial:

> The development of creative products and services requires the progressive building of a common knowledge base that facilitates the understanding of tests, experiments and contexts of use. The functioning of communities is therefore critical, in the sense that they precisely provide the creative city with the inner local mechanisms and devices that are needed to explain, validate and disseminate the creative ideas.

> (Cohendet et al. 2010, p. 94)

The foundation of these creative products and services is the underground who are the creative individuals, artists and other creative workers not immediately linked to the 'commercial and industrial world', lying 'outside the corporate logic of standardisation' (Cohendet et al., 2010, p. 92). On the opposite end of the spectrum are the upperground which encompasses the formal institutions, such as those large cultural organisations or firms who focus on bringing ideas from the creative industries to market (Caves, 2000; Howkins, 2001; Hartley, 2005). In between these two is the middleground, the intermediary, described as the 'essence of the creative city and the cornerstone to understanding how the creative, artistic, and cultural industries on one side and the individuals who work in related occupations on the other side interact in creative processes' (Cohendet et al., 2010, p. 92). The middleground are integral because of the boundary spanning or

crossing of traditional organisational boundaries (Basov and Tippman, 2011), required to be able to connect and even fuse differences between the upperground and the underground (Perry-Smith and Shalley, 2003). In the context of the original research, these categories sit closely within the physicality of the city, describing the underground locations, the intermediary spaces and the larger organisations that make up a thriving creative city. In this research, the ties to physical spaces is present, but these categories also connect directly to different types of actors in the creative industries, encompassing the metaphorical places that these groups navigate. For example, the middleground as an intermediary force might be an art agency or even a publication that connects the underground with opportunities presented by the upperground, but could also be a common meeting place where different types of people interact such as a co-working space. While the underground is associated with more traditional conceptions of creativity (Klamer, 2011), they are clearly not the only ones exercising creativity, as every layer in this 'anatomy of the city' has a 'specific role in the creative process and fulfils the task other components cannot achieve' (Cohendet et al., 2010, p. 94). These three subsets are further outlined in the subsections to follow.

2.5.1.1 The underground

The underground are closest to the notion of the artist- creative individuals, that is, artists and other creative workers not directly linked to the 'commercial and industrial world', lying outside of the structure of an organisation (Cohendet et al., 2010, p. 92). Hence, when it comes to the dynamics which enable creative ideas to come to market, the underground operates on the more informal, micro-level. These players are at the 'level of the individual', however their individuality does not negate their reliance on other actors, both to fuel their making and in how they capture the value they create in different ways, whether it be revenue, reputation or competencies. These actors often navigate collectively, 'bringing together the creative, artistic and cultural activities taking place outside any formal organisation or institution based on production, exploitation or diffusion' and 'share a common deep interest for their art and culture, which defines their identity and lifestyle' (Cohendet et al., 2010, p. 96). Since organisational structures are not immediately visible, and they often coalesce informally, the status of members within the underground often depends on the amounts of contacts, credibility and reputation he or she can command (Cohendet et al., 2010). What they create is often not directly connected to monetary gains, so the underground will 'work for exposure, experience, friendship or interest. Some could charge fees, but do not; and most cannot, as they are not sufficiently established to do so' (Scott, 2012, p. 238). Hence, what motivates them to engage with 'minimal or limited financial return is either the promise of exposure or the opportunity to engage in activities that are in line with their career aspirations and identities' (Scott, 2012, p. 238).

One key point of distinction to make regarding the underground is the difference between the artist and the cultural entrepreneur. This is not a clear-cut distinction, however it is an important aspect in how the underground identify themselves. There is a dissonance between perceptions of entrepreneurial and artistic action, regardless of that fact that they are 'remarkably similar', operating with 'the same fundamental principles and for identical fundamental purposes' (Gangi, 2015, p. 251). Hence, one aspect of being entrepreneurial for the underground is a knowledge of the skills one has to offer and a self-identification of the underground as an entrepreneur and the actual process of being an entrepreneur (Albinsson, 2017). The underground therefore has to 'juggle and/or blend two identities: their identity as an artist, which provides them with work motivation and creative momentum, and their identity as a small business, which enables them to make a living' (Bridgstock, 2012, p. 130; Eikhof and Haunschild, 2006). Similar to social entrepreneurs (further discussed in Chapter 3), the underground can face 'complex and difficult identity issues', as those 'who have worked mainly in the non-profit sector may find it difficult to identify closely with the commercial side of the business' (Tracey and Phillips, 2007, p. 267). This tension between the profitable and value creating side of the business can be ultimately difficult and detrimental to the positive progress of the enterprise (Tracey and Phillips, 2007). Therefore, a strong knowledge of self is important in understanding the value that they as artists have to offer to the art world and society more generally as well as the confidence to pursue their entrepreneurial ventures (Gangi, 2015; Bridgstock, 2012). The process of pursuing an entrepreneurial venture can be risky, demanding 'a commitment derived from a belief in one's self and one's hunch or vision, therefore this understanding and confidence is crucial to mitigating that risk in the long-term for the underground. It is gambling on the future value of a product in a very volatile and fast moving symbolic circuit. It is sticking your neck out and riding on self-belief' (O'Connor 1999, p. 11).

2.5.1.2 The middleground

In the creative industries, there is increasing importance of intermediary spaces, places, and people in urban policy, particularly in fostering social and artistic innovation (NESTA, 2017; Cohendet et al., 2010). Intermediary people and spaces 'are gatekeepers, brokers and allocators of talent' (Gibson, 2003, p. 205), 'cultural catalysts who actively transform the local cultural landscape of the city' (O'Connor, 2009, p. 7). Here these cultural intermediaries are referred to as the middleground, sitting in between the underground and the upperground (Cohendet et al., 2010). They encompass the 'creative city and [are] the cornerstone to understanding how the creative, artistic, and cultural industries on one side and the individuals who work in related occupations on the other side interact in creative processes' (Cohendet et al., 2010, p. 92). Though some in the underground have direct

connections to the uppeground, for many the middleground provide the 'critical intermediate structure linking the underground to the uppeground, […] constantly navigating between the informal and formal world' (Cohendet et al., 2010, p. 97). These middleground players are, 'indispensable loci where spontaneity is progressively structured and shaped so as to be interpreted and understood by market forces' (Cohendet et al., 2010, p. 97). Through duel processes of exploration and exploitation on behalf of the middleground, creative ideas from the underground are brought to the awareness of the uppeground and opportunities offered from the uppeground are filtered down to the underground. Though it normally works with the underground as the primary formulators of creative ideas, knowledge production is not necessarily only bottom up, as creative ideas from the uppeground can also be filtered through to the underground. In short, they link the artists, creators and innovators of the underground with the larger institutions who offer opportunities, including but not limited to, funding, reputation building and exposure to much wider platforms and audiences. While the middleground is often not overtly present in the creative process and value creation in the underground, they are integral to shaping it, bridging differences between the uppeground and the underground (Perry-Smith and Shalley, 2003). The small companies run by the middleground serve as a binding agent between two, very different worlds, and this has significant implications for how they operate as entrepreneurs.

Building on concepts around the intermediary nature of the middle ground, boundary spanning is one key skill that often grants them the flexibility to navigate as these intermediary actors, bridging the asymmetries between different worlds (Basov and Tippmann, 2011). Generally, intermediaries 'are economic players who help buyers and sellers meet and transact, especially likely to emerge in sectors whereby information asymmetries are considerable such as in industries require complex knowledge' (Peng, 2014, p. 22). The creative industries no doubt require complex knowledge, and while the complicated value structures that surround them cannot be narrowed to simply 'buyers' and 'sellers', the general notion of intermediaries is helpful in understanding why the middleground serves such an important role. Many in the underground do not know how to appropriately capture the value they create, and they need the middleground in order to bridge the gap. The uppeground thrives off of the creativity, innovation and vitality offered by the underground, but can find it difficult to communicate with them, and in finding and nurturing talent (Cohendet et al., 2010).

This complexity of knowledge exchange and creation requires diverse networks and sets of communication skills, making it essential that the middleground maintains a contemporary understanding of how that complex knowledge operates and shifts according to trends, policy and technology. The middleground does this by, 'progressively codifying new knowledge,' and they 'provide the necessary cognitive platform to make creative material economically marketable and

viable' (Cohendet et al., 2010, p. 97). This intermediary position of the middleground links the underground to existing markets, or in some cases creates new ones (Cohendet et al., 2010). They have to have skills to relate and connect with people, with 'the social contacts and negotiation skills—which can leverage artists into profile enhancing performances, showcases, tours, influential media endorsements, and film, advert, computer game placements. Therefore, connecting with these 'super connectors remains a defining feature of the field' (Scott, 2012, p. 244), demonstrating a symbiotic relationship between the middle- and underground. Bringing together the social skills with the opportunity to leverage resources between the upper and underground starts with the middleground building a reputation for understanding how the industry works, thereby being a credible source both sides can rely on. Subsequently, the way they communicate with the underground and upperground is pivotal in building a reputation and the value it has to offer. This reputation can require years of hard work, but once obtained, 'serves as a powerful behavioural measure to signal to principals about entrepreneurs' credibility as intermediaries' (Peng et al., 2014, p. 27).

2.5.1.3 The upperground

The upperground is the structured, top layer of the anatomy of the city, characterised by innovative organisations from different sectors and well-funded arts institutions such as research labs, universities and cultural centres. They encompass the formal institutions like large cultural organisations or firms who focus on bringing ideas from the creative industries to market (Caves, 2000; Howkins, 2001; Hartley, 2005). These entities are essential for providing funding and for having the infrastructure and support the risk-taking of the underground to 'test new forms of creativity on the market' (Cohendet et al., 2010, p. 95). Although there are mechanisms that can be put into place to either support or detract from fostering creativity within the upperground, 'new creative knowledge may emerge and develop only if the underground and upperground act together in the same creative milieu' (Cohendet et al., 2010, p. 95; Chen, 2012). Increasingly, organisations in the creative industries have had to demonstrate their civic role as arts organisations, or 'the socio-political impact that organisations make on a place and its people through programmes of activity, or simply their existence' (Doeser, 2017, p. 3). As part of this it has had to re-examine how they work with their informal stakeholders such as artists in the underground as well as the intermediary spaces and people which can often include the communities they reside within (Doeser, 2017).

One integral aspect of fostering innovative, entrepreneurial activity for the upperground connects to encouraging creativity in the workplace through intrapreneurship, or entrepreneurship in an organisational context (Martiarena, 2013). While entrepreneurship is a synonym for 'autonomous venture set up', intrapreneurship 'refers to the generation and exploitation of new business ideas by

existing organisations', that is 'without assuming intrapreneurship a subcategory of entrepreneurship per se' (Martiarena, 2013, p. 28). In this context, new ideas come from 'the opportunity and space that these sites provide for individuals to develop their creative potential and to discover their distinct ideas, and then to actualize them with the help of others' (Wilson, 2009, p. 188). This connects directly to creativity studies where 'boundaries and constraints have an important correlation with the creative process' (Bilton, 2007, p. 89) and entrepreneurial bricolage where leaders 'make do by applying the resources at hand to new problems and opportunities' (de Klerk, 2015, p. 831; Baker and Nelson, 2005). In this sense, employees within the upperground can be a key resource for leaders to empower to pursue entrepreneurial endeavours. However, more often than not, intrapreneurs in their nascent state lack the intrinsic motivation and do not overtly recognise opportunities for bringing new business ideas to market and act more similar to employees than entrepreneurs (Martiarena, 2013). While risk-taking is an element of intrapreneurship and entrepreneurship alike, for intrapreneurs risk is shared between them and the organisation or company. Intrapreneurs do 'have a significant preference for paid employment and may lack the necessary skills and attitudes commonly linked to independent entrepreneurship' which has important implications for leaders hoping to encourage intrapreneurship amongst their employees (Martiarena, 2013, p. 37). As far as leadership encouraging intrapreneurship, one view in the context of social entrepreneurship is that employees should be allocated 10% of their time towards a new entrepreneurial endeavour, with salary incentives included and quasi-ownership (Curtis, 2017). This has not been explored in the creative industries but will be further discussed in Chapter 8. The successful navigation through the complexities of underground, middleground and upperground agents relies on the fruitful building and maintaining of relationships, both within the context of organisations and externally, further described in the section to follow.

2.5.2 Networks

In simple terms, a network can be classified as a 'set of nodes and a set of ties', and to understand a network means to understand the various actors within the network and who are connected to whom but also what the strength or nature of those connections might be (Brass, 1995, p. 42). Networks, both in the working world and in our personal lives, are an essential part of success, affecting everything from 'our health, to our career success, to our very identities' (Kilduff and Tsai 2003, p. 3). Access to networks is a major contributor to a healthy city and community, but also for the success of the entrepreneur (Pendergast, 2003). The proactiveness of building alliances has been shown to significantly augment market performance (Shu et al., 2013), with many of the resources required for entrepreneurial success accessed through network connections (Rothaermel and Deeds, 2006).

Particularly in the creative industries, who you know is essential for freelance jobs, building client relationships and growing a business (Konrad, 2013). As entrepreneurs often work on their own or in small groups and in environments where resources can be scarce (Uberbacher et al., 2015), the networks they build are perhaps even more important to the growth of their businesses (Pendergast, 2003), becoming an entrepreneur's organisation in many ways. They have more flexibility than larger organisations from fewer commitments with the freedom to adapt to trends more readily though the leveraging their networks (Howkins, 2001). In order to build networks and attract resources, 'skilled cultural action' is 'crucial' (Uberbacher et al., 2015, p. 927). Networks provide funding but also 'non-redundant resources' such as 'information, advice, social support and legitimacy' (Hindle, 2010, p. 604) that helps them to improve their performance and the continued development of their creative product or service. Networks are important in creating access to both opportunities and resources, but may also foster innovation (Dodgson, 2011) and can encourage the creative process. With the necessity of navigating the tensions of the business world and maintaining creative independence, the cultural entrepreneur has many 'different relationships for different purposes', though the nature of these relationships is 'poorly understood and under-researched' (Wilson and Stokes, 2006, p. 21). Networks have been shown to influence the decisions of cultural entrepreneurs to locate in cities where they are in close proximity to others (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999). Particularly because resources are scarce, and because of the 'difficulties with respect to the establishment of young cultural businesses, the systematic establishment of a trustworthy network with central players constitutes a reasonable approach for cultural entrepreneurs' which the urban environment is more likely to offer (Konrad, 2013, p. 317).

As stated previously, the creative industries and the work life of cultural entrepreneurs is characterised by project-based work (Cox, 2005; Gill, 2009) that involves short-term, fast paced and often high-risk vocations, particularly in fields related to cultural production (Bilton, 2007). These high-risk environments 'lack the normative structures and institutional safeguards that minimise the likelihood of failure', and 'depend on an elaborate body of collective knowledge and diverse skills' (Watson, 2010, p. 618), requiring trust and confidence to be built in a shorter period of time within a collaborative environment (Grabher, 2004). Though it is commonplace for the same people to continue to collaborate project after project, creating 'a latent reservoir of resources to be utilized when needed' and providing a certain level of stability for the project-based worker (Staber, 2004, p. 32). Hence, the nature of work for the cultural entrepreneur involves the 'practice of drawing on a network of social contacts, ties, and core members of successful previous projects to serve on successor projects' (Watson, 2010, p. 618; DeFillippi and Arthur, 1998; Jones, 1996). The methods and ease of building a team is highly dependent on pre-existing social networks, demonstrating the

value, both socially and economically, of the networks themselves (Crewe, 1996). In the creative industries, the nature of work and developing networks is often informal, blurring lines between professional and personal life (Ross, 2003). The 'it's all about who you know' mentality demonstrates the power of connections to finding work, but also the fragility of one's work options based upon maintaining relationships (Naudin, 2013; Ross, 2003). There is strong evidence for the importance and dependency upon networks for work opportunities, building reputation and for innovation, however, many in the creative industries lack the understanding of the importance of building these diverse networks and the integral skill of how to network and build these relationships, often doing so haphazardly and informally (Konrad, 2013; Hausmann, 2010). This often relies on serendipitous connections, 'to see bridges where others see holes' (de Rond, 2014, p. 342). Serendipity, 'may benefit from a degree of sloppiness, inefficiency, dissent, failure, and tenacity – on 'loafing and savouring the moment, of wandering and loitering and directionless activity of sorts' (de Rond, 2014, p. 342). This approach benefits from embracing unexpected discoveries, often outside of the normalised structures without a strong structure and emphasis on efficiency (de Rond, 2014).

The informal nature of the creative industries affects both work environments and hiring practices, 'which largely exist outside formal channels and are enacted through contacts and word of mouth' (Conor et al., 2015, p. 10). This culture which is reliant on contacts can be problematic in that it has been shown to disadvantage women, people from black, Asian, minority ethnic or refugee (BAMER) backgrounds and those of lower socio-economic status (Thanki and Jeffreys, 2007). These factors, combined with the often-ubiquitous job insecurity can lead to irregular work patterns; long hours; the 'you can't say no to a job' mentality; and taking on a second or even multiple additional jobs to maintain a steady income (Conor et al., 2015, p. 9). Networks do provide employment advantages for some, however in a positive sense they also serve to 'foster collaboration, trust and co-operation, and to provide support, resources and solutions to problems' (Watson, 2012, p. 625). All in all, if the project-based cultural entrepreneur has a consistent level of connection and information gathering with others throughout the industry, they should have the mobility to move from project to project and employer-to-employer through the power of his or her network (Christopherson, 2002). Not surprisingly, in these situations 'reputation becomes a key commodity, and networking and maintaining contacts a key activity for nurturing it' (Conor et al, 2015, p. 10). Another integral aspect around value created through networks relates to communities of practice. Communities of Practice 'are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and want to interact regularly to learn how to do it better' (McAlister, 2016, p. 2). Networks and communities of practice are key to understanding how the underground operates but are also a key resource that not only offers the opportunity for exposure; material gain; artistic support and innovation. Communities of

practice offer, 'deep mutual respect, collective responsibility, a culture of openness, an inquiring mindset, trust, and shared purpose' (McAlister, 2016, p. 2).

Cultural entrepreneurs can also benefit from connections and collaborations with networks outside of the creative industries such as venture capitalists, lawyers or people in other industries with access to resources for success in their work- to drive innovation and potentially even to spark creative ideas (Stokes and Wilson, 2006). Managing these relationships involves fostering diverse and dynamic resources for varied purposes. The strength of networked relationships is also important in the way opportunities arise, and in the ways that knowledge is shared, developed and communicated (Granovetter, 1983). Too many strong ties, or close relationships, can actually be a hindrance to innovation over weak ties, or acquaintances, because they can 'span multiple worlds' with greater access to diverse information and skillsets (Dodgson, 2011, p. 1122; Granovetter, 1983). This connects to structural holes, where 'people who stand near holes in a social structure are at higher risk of having good ideas' (Burt, 2004, p. 349). Since 'opinion and behaviour are more homogeneous within than between familiar groups, […] people connected across groups are more familiar with alternative ways of thinking and behaving, which gives them more options to select from and synthesize' (Burt, 2004, p. 350). This theory states that new ideas therefore stem from those who span across different sectors and ways of thinking (Burt, 2004, p. 350). There is a tendency for some to limit social interaction to people who are more similar to themselves, however those individuals who can connect with diverse types of networks, especially those which would be otherwise outside of their circles, are generally those who thrive and receive greater benefits from their work lives (Kilduff and Tsai, 2000); even greater promotions (Podolny and Baron, 1997); and may also be the ones driving innovation (Dodgson, 2011; Burt, 2004). In the context of the creative industries, studies using social network analysis, or 'the contacts, ties and connections between people in groups' (Ashton and Durling 2000, p. 4), demonstrate that the more links between various sectors, the more creativity and innovation was also linked to them (Joel, 2009). Thriving in the creative industries comes with plenty of barriers and difficulties (Ross, 2008; Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999), and lack of networks can be a barrier but can also be of immense assistance to the entrepreneurial process (Watson, 2012) and a source of motivation, further outlined in the following section, 2.6.

2.5.3 Digital places and spaces

As stated by DCMS in a recent white paper, 'technology is expanding the ways in which we make and experience culture; the digital dimension is becoming a 'place' in itself' (2017, p. 38). The rise of the digital age from its infancy was touted by policy and academics alike as one important key to unlock innovation and the entrepreneurial potential, particularly in the creative industries. Digital has in fact

increased cultural entrepreneurship by 'using multimedia communications to create businesses' (Ratten and Ferriera, 2017, p. 166; McRobbie, 2002). In addition to providing new ways to entrepreneurially approach business, digital technology also has the potential to democratise culture; 'technology and improved digital infrastructure has a crucial role to play in connecting communities', enabling 'better collaboration between cultural organisations and their partners', and helping 'them to reach more audiences' (DCMS, 2016, p. 31). This can range from social media interaction, live streaming, online exhibitions, digital platforms, online access to catalogues, libraries and archives, and many others (Culture Label Agency, 2014). Some artists and theatres are creating content solely for digital consumption, attempting to take advantage of the interactive aspect of digital technology, particularly tapping into the fact that digital can be used as a 'place' in and of itself, with varying degrees of success. Different art forms are able to benefit from digital technology more than others. Music artists in particular have felt the positive effects, taking 'advantage of the disruptive impact of digital technologies, which cut intermediaries out of the music art world, and opened up opportunities for artists to interact directly with their audiences' (Hirsch and Gruber, 2015; Patriotta and Hirsch, 2016, p. 883). For artists of any discipline, there is no doubting the impact of the rise of usage of mobile phones and social media to democratise sharing cultural content and creating new content too (Culture Label Agency, 2014).

As mentioned above, when digital was first on the rise there were grand claims made about its potential. Many of these claims have come to fruition, but digital has its limitations too (McRobbie, 2011). Open innovation in particular, 'can almost never be achieved virtually', with actors having to 'interact directly with one another through ongoing face-to-face exchanges in order to develop and integrate their creative ideas fully' (Grandaham et al., 2012, p. 1703). Subsequently, the 'creative process can only be efficient as long as the various agents regularly get together and meet in the different places and spaces offered to them by their local environment, therefore 'maximising the capacity to link the different actors of creativity' (Grandaham et al., 2012, p. 1703). This highlights the importance of intermediary spaces, but also emphasises the places where digital does not replace the power of physical spaces (Grandaham et al., 2012).

2.6 Motivating and developing cultural entrepreneurs

Motivation to fulfil a mission beyond a financial one is a strong area of distinction between traditional entrepreneurs and those in other sectors such as cultural entrepreneurs and social entrepreneurs (Dacin, 2011). Economic gain for cultural entrepreneurs is often an aside to the more salient goals of 'producing art that has a particular quality standard, pursuing an artistic niche that requires educated

or refined taste (as opposed to being broadly popular), or spreading as much art and culture to the largest number of people possible' (Preece, 2011, p. 111; Hansmann, 1986). Cultural entrepreneurs, 'may also pursue more self-centred motivations including self-aggrandizement through the artistic process (i.e., maximizing personal fame, or building organizational empires)' (Hansmann, 1986; Preece, 2011, p. 111). In addition, a certain 'cool' factor, or desire to construct an identity based on being a creative individual, motivates certain cultural entrepreneurs to make decisions based on what will maintain what they deem to be an authentic image, rather than what makes money (Naudin, 2009; European Commission 2005). Motivation and an innate connection to a mission outside of profit is important both branding and reputation with external stakeholders and for the internally, either within an organisation or between the cultural entrepreneur and him or herself (de Klerk, 2015). This focus on a wide range of missions helps them to feel that sense of integrity in what he or she is doing and to feel satisfied and driven to keep going, even when the money is not there (Gangi, 2015). On an individual level, many people become artists because of the 'intrinsic satisfaction gained from creative self-expression' though their work is also valuable to society, providing 'many wonderful forms of artistic value to meet needs, desires, and wants of human beings' (Gangi, 2015, p. 250). Many artists who are seen as non-commercial, use that reputation of authenticity and devotion to their art form to drive the consumption of their work, perhaps even sometimes subconsciously creating art to appease a particular market segment. Perhaps if the view that art has an immense impact on human consciousness to provide value through the expression of their art form, they would embody a greater sense of responsibility to humanity (Gangi, 2015). Due to the perception adopted by some that entrepreneurial action is averse to artistic action, many artists sacrifice monetary gains to remain professional artists, driven by 'a passion for their art and a melding of art and life into one experience' (Gangi, 2015, p. 250; Popovic, 2011).

As mentioned previously, not all artists are cultural entrepreneurs, but it can be the very passion that leads artists to create that can then lead to entrepreneurial development too. Initially, it is a passion that drives the creative process, and that passion can then,

> Lead to benefits such as venture growth as well as opportunity recognition and pursuit. Passion facilitates innovation through a sense of empowerment and energy, acting as a driving force for entrepreneurs to realize their vision and dreams.

> (Simpson et. al., 2015, p. 103)

Hence, passion for their craft can fuel their entrepreneurial motivation, and 'entrepreneurial passion can therefore capture the negative and the painful as well as the potential for creativity and affirmation. Passion is accordingly diverse and can take a plurality of forms' (Simpson et al., 2015, p.

113). Though the discourse in motivations towards cultural entrepreneurship literature can diverge in many ways, it 'often starts from the premise that entrepreneurship […] is driven by 'a set of personal motivations – autonomy, creativity – than in other allegedly more commercial sectors' (Oakley, 2013, p. 149; Oakley and Leadbeater, 1999, Banks, 2007). In terms of personal motivations, namely the project-based nature of the work, the desire for flexibility and the freedom it provides to move from place to place is important (Woronkowicz and Noonan, 2017; Markusen, 2006).

Conflict between cultural and economic motivations is a recurrent issue for cultural entrepreneurs, since creative ideas have the ability to be altered when used for profit (Adorno, 1997). As Fachin and Davel (2010, p. 12) explain,

> Whereas creative work tends to be spontaneous and incalculable, not following stringent rules, commerce necessitates administrative procedures to organize art economically. While the predominance of the having mode can weaken the very artistic resources of creation (i.e. an artistic practice dominated by an economic logic jeopardizes the resources vital to creative production), "art for art's sake" can hinder commercial objectives.

While conventional entrepreneurship is commonly associated with strictly commercial objectives of capturing value, in reality it is much deeper than that. It 'is a way of thinking and acting in order to create value' in any field (Gangi, 2015, p. 248). Similar to social entrepreneurship where 'wealth is just a means to an end, as the primary objective is focused on mission and only tangentially related to pecuniary motivations', many cultural entrepreneurs perceive their work in the same way (Gangi, 2015, p. 248; Dees, 1998). However, a shift is needed away from negative associations between entrepreneurship, commercialisation and creating an artistic product or service (Gangi, 2015). This shift may lie in motivating artists, when acting as entrepreneurs, to also 'understand how to create value in society within their art' and see the 'bigger picture' in the value they are creating (Gangi, 2014, p. 249; Beckman, 2011). Cultural entrepreneurs who are freelance or run their own companies deal with a certain level of uncertainty that those in organisations do not experience in the same way which can be a source or strife for some, but a motivating factor for others, thriving often the unpredictable nature of that lifestyle (Gangi, 2015).

Additionally, it is widely discussed that many artistic individuals by nature are not particularly entrepreneurial, whether it is how they were educated, their innate nature, where their motivations lie or even a misconception that to be entrepreneurial is somehow 'selling out' (Stokes and Wilson, 2005; Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999). Subsequently, there are barriers to overcome in helping cultural entrepreneurs balance organisational and creative missions and economic growth (Swedberg, 2006). This conflict of authenticity when it comes to entrepreneurial pursuits in the cultural industries can

potentially be transformed through entrepreneurial training and shifting perceptions, if they are recognised as necessary aspects of arts training (Gangi, 2015; Beverland, 2005). This transformation could come through linking creative processes with innovation. For example, Fillis argues that the 'central factors in the entrepreneurial process are innovation, risk-taking and proactiveness', all of which are also associated with traditional notions of the creative individual (2004, p. 12). Hence, 'it is proposed that the propensity for creative thinking is higher in the arts than in the majority of other sectors and so the propensity to be entrepreneurial is also higher in the arts' (Fillis, 2004, p. 12). This could then extend to the creative sensibilities of cultural entrepreneurs leading them to more divergent thinking when it comes to value creation, strategy and decision-making too (Baronet, 2003), as 'creativity, properly employed, carefully evaluated, skilfully managed and soundly implemented, is a key to future business success- and national prosperity' (Cox, 2005, p. 3). The independent and autonomous nature of cultural entrepreneurs (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999) has been celebrated and reinforced by education policy as well, with 'historical and contemporary links between cultural entrepreneurs and higher education institutions' (Banks, 2006, p. 464). Further skills training, curriculum development and collaboration in higher education is one of the most prominent recommendations for encouraging the growth of cultural entrepreneurship (Banks, 2006; Cox 2005; European Union, 2012; HKU 2010; Wilson, 2010). Policy changes at the local, regional, national and international level, access to finance, supporting digital innovation (HKU, 2010) and even greater awareness and publicity around the creative industries are among other recommendations for fostering and motivating cultural entrepreneurship more widely (Cox, 2005).

To foster cultural entrepreneurship there is a responsibility for higher education to provide reciprocal integration between management training and creative practice, bridging the gap between business, cultural policy and art, design and media departments (Wilson, 2009; NESTA, 2007). This remains an area for growth,

> There remains the issue, however, of how higher education provides the right sort of 'space' for students' creative potential to be actualized. The creativity literature broadly agrees that boundaries and constraints have an important correlation with the creative process (Bilton, 2007). However, there is no agreement on the extent to which creative thinking conforms to or deviates from existing boundaries and conventions (Wilson, 2009, p. 187).

Coinciding with current literature trends that move away from elitist notions of the cultural entrepreneur as somehow special and unique from the rest (Stokes and Wilson, 2006), there is a growing understanding of the importance of the relationships between the entrepreneur and other sectors (HKU, 2010; Cox, 2005). This can contribute to a wider sense of community both locally and

globally (Aageson et al., 2010), with shared work spaces such as incubators or hubs as a useful mechanism in those cross-sector connections. So, rather than worrying about who is and is not creative according to preconceived ideals of 'high art' (as in artists are creatives and arts managers are not) (Throsby, 2008), more time should be spent fostering creativity across sectors to spark innovation (Wilson, 2009).

2.7 Conclusion

Government policy has emphasised the creative industries' essential role economically, providing jobs and transferrable value to other industries, and addressing other policy agendas such as improving well-being and contributing to regeneration (BOP Consulting, 2010), though some argue that it neglects intangible, intrinsic benefits, aligning too closely with capitalistic economic paradigms (Cunningham, 2001). This has the potential to compromise some forms of creative expression that do not have a direct, transferrable economic value, commonly those with more social or cultural benefits (Wilson, 2010; Pratt, 2008; Oakley, 2009) devaluing 'input and independent ideas that cannot be quantified' (Hagoort, 2009, p. 18). However, the creative industries label provides a stronger case economically, with this agglomeration of industries lying at the intersection of art, business and technology (European Commission, 2005) and collectively providing substantial contributions to the global economy as well (European Commission, 2012). This change in terminology has also altered the conception of creativity or 'the creative', from one associated with artistic individualism, a genius of sorts and essential to the creative process, to one increasingly accommodated to more collective ways of working within a creative economy (Wilson, 2009) and directed to fulfil policy agendas as a tool to foster social inclusion, regeneration and wellbeing (Oakley, 2007).

The layers of the anatomy of the city (underground, middleground, and upperground) identified by Cohendet et al. have distinguishing characteristics and their intertwining nature allows 'new ideas to transit from an informal micro-level to a formal macro-level', through their interaction which involves 'combination', 'enrichment' and 'renewal of bits of knowledge' (2010, p. 92). This is done through interaction and network-building, providing useful windows into the dynamics of collaboration, innovation and exchange, with even the 'decisions both to produce and consume are determined by the choice of others in the social network' (Potts et al., 2008, p. 179). As part of developing networks, some cultural entrepreneurs build relationships that span boundaries of the creative industries, with people in other sectors. This process often involves bricolage, or 'seeking out alternative connections' in order to 'find the best fit between problems, resources and activities' (de Klerk, 2015, p. 829; Guercini and Runfola, 2012). Entrepreneurial bricolage is seen as 'a means to an end' for obtaining

resources or accessing knowledge and skills as needed (de Klerk, 2015, p. 829). The concept of collaborative bricolage is also a way that actors in resource constrained environments can 'work towards project-based interaction and to work as teams to be more creative in their operations that are characterised by scarce resources' (de Klerk, 2015, p. 837). This holds potential for unlocking innovation as well as digital, though under-researched. The contribution of social entrepreneurship literature is described in the following chapter.

LITERATURE REVIEW: SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP

3.1 Introduction

Social entrepreneurs are, 'restless, mission-driven individuals that strive to change the world, their cities, and their communities by implementing sustainable business ventures designed to create social impact' (Germack and Robinson, 2013, p. 5). These ventures implement new business models that address basic human needs (Seelos and Mair, 2005) with the potential to affect profound change to economic structures through the creation of new industries, development of new business models, and the reallocation of resources to address societal problems (Santos, 2012). Though many of the perspectives are the same, there are arguably many differentiating factors between traditional entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship. Similar to cultural entrepreneurs, one main difference between the two is in prioritising another mission over purely the creation of wealth, and in this case the mission is one of social benefit (Santos, 2012). Though all entrepreneurial endeavours have social benefits such as 'work, employment, belongingness, community, friendship, self-respect, social standing and a development of one's capability' (Southern, 2001, p. 265), these are seen as secondary to the prioritisation of economic value generation for conventional entrepreneurs (Venkataraman, 1997). In business model terms, social entrepreneurs focus on value creation connected to a social mission over value capture (Chell, 2007; Mair and Marti, 2006). Social entrepreneurs may choose a double (people and profit) or triple-bottom-line approach (people, planet, profit), for example, to capture and communicate this range of priorities based on often conflicting expectations from a wide range of stakeholders to foster long-term sustainability (Lumpkin et al., 2013); further discussed in section 4.4. Hence, 'in contrast to commercial entrepreneurship where value is often defined by markets and consumers and measured in monetary terms, entrepreneurship geared toward social change relies on a collective capacity to create an enterprise that generates value for citizens' (Daskalaki et al., 2015, p. 1; Mair and Marti, 2006; Steyaert and Katz, 2004).

3.2 Entrepreneurial process

Similar to approaches in entrepreneurship research, social entrepreneurs were first analysed by their personality traits (Chell, 2007), however much of the current literature utilises a more 'holistic' approach focusing on a combination of factors more connected to entrepreneurial process (Iancu, 2011). This approach views 'social entrepreneurship as a process of creating value by combining resources in new ways', with 'these resource combinations are intended primarily to explore and

exploit opportunities' to stimulate 'social change or meeting social needs' (Mair and Marti, 2006, p. 37). Further, 'when viewed as a process, social entrepreneurship involves the offering of services and products but can also refer to the creation of new organizations' connecting to deeper, wider systems change and institutional development (Mair and Marti, 2006, p. 37). While the goal of the social entrepreneur is to create social value, differentiating between social and economic value can be extremely problematic. Santos (2012, p. 337) outlines the following reasons,

1. All economic value creation is 'inherently social in that actions that create economic value also improve society's welfare through better allocation of resources'.
2. The scope of economic value is 'narrower than social value and only applies to benefits that can be measured monetarily, while social value includes intangible benefits that defy measurement'.
3. Differentiating between social and economic value requires 'subjective assessments' in that 'what counts as social and who is in need of social help […] assumes that there is some metric or set of values that make certain types of value creation social and others not'.

Instead a holistic notion of value is utilised in the discourse to follow, without the delineation between social, economic, public, cultural or other types of value, subsequently emphasising instead the distinctions between value creation and value capture (Santos, 2012). By not differentiating between different types of value, this does simplify understanding value being created, however measuring and quantifying that value is not straightforward. Much of the value created by social entrepreneurs is intangible, as some activities that 'create substantial value for society do not easily allow for value capture' (Santos, 2012, p. 338). This is often because of positive externalities where some target customers benefit from a venture's activities though are unable to pay for a product or service which therefore changes the customer-client relationship for capturing value (Santos, 2012). Social entrepreneurs often pick up the slack where governments or other social sector agencies fail, so the services they provide are difficult to capture in economic terms with even the basic needs offered such as food, shelter and water being too expensive in many of the locations where these businesses operate (Seelos and Mair, 2005). Though there are many diverse business models with equally as diverse funding streams, much of the funding comes from sources such as foundations, government agencies, donations and in-kind support (Dacin et al., 2011).

Connected to entrepreneurial process are three important pillars of social entrepreneurship- social innovation, opportunity recognition and resource leverage. They are further discussed in the subsections to follow (Chell, 2007; Morris and Lewis, 1995).

3.2.1 Social innovation

Innovation in relation to business models will be discussed in Chapter 4. In social entrepreneurship, social innovation, though it lacks a unified definition, can be described as 'the development and implementation of new products, services or models to meet social needs and create new social relationships' (Turker and Vural, 2017, p. 98). It encompasses 'innovative activities and services that are motivated by the goal of meeting a social need and that are predominantly developed and diffused through organisations whose primary purposes are social' (Austin et al., 2006, p. 2). Social innovation is an approach to solving problems that unifies the agent-centred approach that 'analyses the actions and behaviours of individual actors' and a more structural perspective that 'arises as a result of contextual factors' thereby connecting both approaches through understanding 'the interaction of the actor and context' (Turker and Vural, 2017, p. 98). This combined approach sees that 'innovation is not a result of individualised creativity undertaken in secret activities, off grid or below the radar of the wider governance of the organisation', but a more collective, iterative, social process of development (Curtis, 2017, p. 97). Applying innovation is a critical skill for a social entrepreneur as an individual, however it is also about people and their interactions within certain institutional systems to enable or sometimes disable those characteristics and skills (Curtis, 2017, p. 101; Turker and Vural, 2017). For solving social problems, many of which are termed as 'wicked' problems that are messy with no well-defined set of solutions, it is important that social entrepreneurs are flexible and dynamic in their approach to solving the problem, shifting their mindset and that of those around them to consistently work towards finding innovative solutions. This seems obvious but,

> What often happens is that entrepreneurs construct a social problem in their own mind, develop a solution to it, and then seek to implement it. This means that the problem has not necessarily been 'opened up' and considered from a variety of angles – the thinking becomes convergent on a single solution rather than divergent to a number of different possible solutions.

> (Curtis, 2017, p. 102)

The lean start-up methodology is one way to put this approach to innovation into action. The concept of a lean start-up, first developed for IT and software start-ups, is now being applied to many types of

innovative projects in other industries. A start-up is defined as 'a human institution designed to create new products or services', often under conditions where resources are scarce, and uncertainty is high (Ries, 2011, p. 8). The lean start-up developed as a way to integrate innovative ideas with what intended future user groups such as customers, clients or audiences want and need, building an iterative, 'continuous feedback loop with customers during product development cycles' (Mueller and Thoring, 2012, p. 152). Innovations must be 'desirable, viable, and feasible', with many companies placing too much emphasis on how feasible and viable it is for them to create a product or service without considering the users' desire- whether they want or need it, and fail as a result (Mueller and Thoring, 2012). When developing something new, the problem as well as the solution are quite unclear at the outset, so iterative testing with future users is essential to diminish the amount of resources wasted. The 'fail fast' motto of the lean start-up encourage 'small batch testing' where the 'sooner you realise an idea is not working, the faster you can update it and retest it' (Mueller and Thoring, 2012, p. 157). The lean start-up's business model should take this same iterative approach,

> The only way to build a great business model is to ruthlessly identify every possible assumption that underpins the model, drilling down as deeply as possible – then testing each assumption equally ruthlessly and rigorously. If the assumption passes muster, then proceed; if not, 'pivot' (i.e., adapt your business model). [..] Hence, the business model is less important than its evolution.

> (Zeyen et al., 2013, p. 102)

This mentality towards solving the complex problems is essential especially considering 'the complexity of a venture amplified by the added complexity of triple bottom line sustainability' (Zeyen et al., 2013, p. 102); further discussed in section 4.4. Opportunity recognition and resource leverage, discussed below, tie back into this concept; outlined in the sections to follow.

3.2.2 Opportunity recognition

Opportunity recognition is one of the most important factors in entrepreneurship, relating to the identification of either creating a new business or improving an existing one with a 'particular focus on unmet needs and creative use of resources' (Fillis, 2004, p. 13). The ability to recognise opportunities has been identified as one trait common in all types of entrepreneurs (Kirzner, 1979), and while this trait lies 'at the heart of entrepreneurship, be it social or commercial' (Corner and Ho, 2010, p. 636), opportunity recognition within social entrepreneurship is different. Opportunity recognition for social entrepreneurs can be led by the social mission (Dees, 1998) or by the social and institutional barriers to entry in a particular social market (Robinson, 2006). Often it is the market

failures and areas where governments, business and other not for profit entities fail that provides a fertile ground for social entrepreneurs to see opportunities to start their ventures (Iancu, 2011). In some cases, opportunity recognition is instigated by necessity because of government failure, but also by necessity, particularly in some developing countries where job opportunities are scarce (Wilson and Martin, 2015). This highlights that 'very different kinds of opportunities are accessible to people living under different regimes, countries and cultures' so it is important to understand the 'complex interplay between endogenous (internal to the person) and exogenous (external to the person) factors in explaining entrepreneurial behaviours and practice' (Wilson and Martin, 2015, p. 160).

Depending on the context, there are inequalities of freedoms for individuals to pursue entrepreneurial ventures, two well-researched approaches to identifying opportunity are discovery theory, which emphasises the objective nature of opportunities which lie waiting to be discovered (Wilson and Martin, 2015; Shane and Venkataraman, 2000) and creation theory, where 'opportunities are created rather than discovered' (Alvarez and Barney, 2007, p. 124). Both of these theories assume that opportunities arise from 'competitive imperfections' or market failures. Discovery theory sees entrepreneurial opportunity arising 'exogenously, from changes in technology, consumer preferences, or some other attributes of the context within which an industry market exists' (Alvarez and Barney, 2007, p. 128; Kirzner, 1973). Creation theory, however, views opportunities as arising endogenously, by the 'actions, reactions, and enactment of entrepreneurs exploring ways to produce new products or services' (Alvarez and Barney, 2007, p. 131; Sarasvathy, 2001). In this case, differentiating those who may be able to capitalise on opportunities created is dependent on the agency of the entrepreneur and the awareness he or she has to seeing them (Kirzner, 1973). Hence, 'opportunities do not exist independently of the actions taken by entrepreneurs to create them' (Alvarez and Barney, 2007, p. 131). Instead 'they act, […] and in acting, they form opportunities that could not have been known without the actions taken by these entrepreneurs' (Alvarez and Barney, 2007, p. 131; Baker and Nelson, 2005; Bhide, 1999). There is, however, a third approach, balancing in between the discovery and creation perspectives that combines to two, the capabilities approach (Wilson and Martin, 2015).

The capabilities approach combines the two, looking 'more to the freedoms people have to assert agency to act entrepreneurially rather than sensing why opportunities do or do not exist' (Wilson and Martin, 2015, p. 161). The focus on capabilities outlines the conditions necessary to exercise freedoms, understanding that opportunity is a social construct with motivation, intent and aspiration as necessary components (Wilson and Martin, 2015). Subsequently, the discourse moves away from the question of whether 'entrepreneurial opportunities are discovered or created and into the more

vital arena of whether someone is free to pursue entrepreneurial opportunities in the first place'
(Wilson and Martin, 2015, p. 166). In order for these freedoms to be exercised, there need to be
seven conditions present, three external and four internal. These external conditions include:

(1) the possibility of recombining resources (requiring both access and organization);
(2) the possibility of transactional (market) exchange; and
(3) the possibility of appropriating profits or value.

(Wilson and Martin, 2015, p. 162)

Internal capabilities include:
(1) entrepreneurial reflexivity
(2) entrepreneurial performance
(3) entrepreneurial creativity
(4) entrepreneurial intent

(Wilson and Martin, 2015, p. 164)

According to this theory, an individual can only exploit opportunities if these seven conditions are
present. Even if the entrepreneur or social entrepreneur identifies a void, or gap in the market, they
must have the ability to address it through both their internal capabilities and external conditions.
Once the void is identified and the other conditions are present, that void is then turned into an
opportunity that arises from the environment that the social entrepreneur is embedded in and takes
the resources at hand to turn the opportunity into a venture (Turker and Vural, 2017). The way that
opportunity and resources work together for the social entrepreneur is discussed in the section to
follow.

3.2.3 Resource leverage

Entrepreneurs, 'enable the firm to integrate, build, and reconfigure internal and external resources to
maintain leadership in continually shifting business environments' (Teece, 2014, p. 330). In much of
the conventional entrepreneurship literature, there is a strong focus on 'the relationship between
success and the entrepreneur's and organization's ability to leverage a range of resources' (Dacin et
al., 2010, p. 48). However, 'this literature primarily focuses on factors that are internal to, and to
some extent controllable by, the organization' (Dacin et al., 2010, p. 48). Despite the fact that, 'unlike
conventional entrepreneurs, social entrepreneurs rarely allow the external environment to determine
whether or not they will launch an enterprise', it is suggested that 'social entrepreneurs are more
likely to pay attention to external resources and develop creative mechanisms' to overcome barriers

(Dacin et al., 2010, p. 48). Hence, focusing greater attention on external resources than conventional entrepreneurs, social entrepreneurs and even cultural entrepreneurs are potentially more perceptive and adaptable according to the resources within the environments they operate within (Dacin et al., 2010). Connecting this with the aforementioned lean start-up methodology, acknowledging and engaging with external resources can be a way for entrepreneurs' endeavours to develop sustainably.

Resources for social entrepreneurs are viewed as relational, cultural and institutional. Relational resources include 'prowess in social interactions, established networks of formal and informal social ties, and access to communication channels and networks (Dacin et al., 2010, p. 49; Robinson, 2006). This relates to social capital which includes the social skills required for building relationships; the value of the relationships themselves; and the potential they have to enact and enable change (Dacin et al., 2010). For social entrepreneurs, external connections tend not to be seen as competition as often as they are in more conventional entrepreneurship, but more cooperatively, utilising coopetition to share resources and mobilise new ones (Akdogan and Cingoz, 2012). Relational resources provided through networks are further discussed in section 3.3. Cultural resources are 'the norms, values, roles, language, attitudes, beliefs, identities, and aesthetic expressions of a community, and are typically investigated as a resource that is internal to the organisation' (Dacin et al., 2010, p. 49). In the context of this research, cultural resources can also be seen as artistic innovation and the value created through cultural activity. Institutional resources refer to the 'political, legal, and institutional infrastructure from which individuals can draw' which is interesting considering that social entrepreneurship often emerges where government systems fail and there are 'significant socioeconomic, cultural, or environmental problems' (Dacin et al., 2010, p. 50). Related to entrepreneurial capabilities in the context of a social entrepreneurs' company, organisation, or 'firm', resources are a combination of 'tangible and intangible assets and people' that are combined (Teece, 2014, p. 340) and the whole is therefore greater than the sum of the parts (Wilson and Martin, 2015, p. 161). These are called combined capabilities, or the 'totality of the opportunities [one] has for choice and action in [one's] specific, political, social, and economic situation' (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 21). Building on the types of resources social entrepreneurs use, it is proposed that the way they gather these resources falls into four categories: 'networks and social resourcing, financial bootstrapping, strategies of effectuation, and bricolage' (di Domenico et al., 2010, p. 683).

Building resources through networks play a 'fundamental role in providing access to knowledge, information, and resources', including tangible resources like money and physical assets, and intangible ones like relationships and knowledge (Hearn and Pace, 2006; di Domenico et al., 2010, p. 687). Financial bootstrapping is a term that implies the integral role of 'resources not owned or

controlled by the entrepreneur' to create value (Harrison et al., 2004; di Domenico et al., 2010, p. 687). These techniques involve avoiding using funds raised externally from investors like venture capital, public equity, and debt financing, where entrepreneurs finance activities from their own wealth, or from the wealth of those closely associated with them', often relying more on an individual's character rather than the business opportunity itself (Alvarez and Barney, 2007, p. 142). Effectuation is a way of approaching entrepreneurial decision-making where,

> The entrepreneur envisions a range of possible pathways […] rather than a definitive goal or objective and seeks to exploit environmental uncertainty by responding intuitively to situations as they arise rather than eliminating uncertainty through meticulous forward planning.

(Sarasvathy, 2004; p. 687).

Connected to a lean-start-up methodology, the use of effectual thinking assumes an uncertain environment that the entrepreneur operates within and is useful especially in the early stages of development in order to reduce failure (Iancu, 2011, Dacin et al. 2010). With an effectual mindset, an entrepreneur wanting to address a social issue through a business venture first through considering the means available to address that issue. So, he or she would 'try to shape and create a solution to a social need based on resources at hand rather than trying to predict what the ideal solution would be and assemble resources to manifest it' (Corner and Ho, 2010, p. 638). Effectuation processes therefore are enacted 'by the unique combination of means at his or her disposal at a given point in time' (Corner and Ho, 2010, p. 638). In general, effectual thinkers pursue projects based on who they are (values and identity); what they know (knowledge and experience); and who they know (networks) (Zietsma and Tuck, 2012; Sarasvathy, 2001). The fourth element, entrepreneurial bricolage, builds on the capabilities approach by offering insight into how social entrepreneurs can 'apply the resources at hand in creative and useful ways to solve problems' (Gundry et al., 2015, p. 1). While social entrepreneurship can often flourish in environments with limited resources, social innovation may depend on how social entrepreneurs are able to use bricolage to find the necessary resources, harnessing a powerful tool to enact social and systemic change, addressing problems in new and innovative ways (Gundry et al., 2015). Connecting to the iterative nature of the lean start-up, having a mechanism for experimentation and trial is a crucial aspect of success in terms of sustainability and for continuing to drive innovation (Balan-Vnuk and Balan, 2015; Eppler et al., 2011). In short, 'in environments often characterized by resource scarcity and uncertainty, social entrepreneurs' bricolage becomes a necessary link in the chain' (Gundry et al., 2015, p. 19), often accomplished by putting mechanisms in place to create 'something from nothing' (de Klerk, 2015, p.

828; Baker and Nelson, 2005). This has implications for motivation described in the following section and for developing entrepreneurs through education and training; further discussed in section 3.5.

3.3 Motivation and mission for social entrepreneurs

One of the key distinctive features for social entrepreneurs is that their primary aim is to achieve a social goal or mission either through for profit or not-for-profit means, driving change through fulfilling societal needs that have been neglected by governments, charities or other commercial entities, serving as a primary motivation for social entrepreneurs (Santos, 2012). Governments, especially in developing countries, are often working under resource constraints and scarcity, which means they are unable to provide for the basic needs of their citizens (Austin et al., 2006). In situations of scarcity, many social entrepreneurs feel compelled to step in to make changes, identifying an opportunity to make an impact and motivated by the delivery of social and economic benefits, but often striving to deliver cultural and environmental benefits too (Santos, 2012). Where traditional entrepreneurship generally emanates from more self-focused desires such as wealth accumulation or self-employment, social entrepreneurship,

> Tends to derive from other-focused or collective-focused aspirations such as wealth giving or sharing, or community development. In terms of motivating both employees and customers, missions that include a social dimension tend to be more powerful in guiding behaviour than are strictly commercial ones.

> (Lumpkin et al., 2012, p. 764; Campbell and Yeung, 1991)

Mission is closely linked to motivation in social ventures, as a strong social mission will motivate employees or stakeholders to work towards achieving it beyond the monetary motivations of commercial enterprises (Dacin et al., 2010). Motivation is seen as one of the primary factors distinguishing social and commercial entrepreneurs, with the creation of wealth viewed only as the means to create social change (Iancu, 2011; Peredo and McLean, 2006). These motivations can be based on ethical and moral aims as an indebted endeavour to society, along with more personal motivations such as personal fulfilment also prevalent in many cases (Mair and Marti, 2006). Compassion has also been identified as a key motivator in social entrepreneurship, tied to 'helping society' and 'closeness to social problems', with these entrepreneurs often having a close personal connection to the social problem at hand (Germack and Robinson, 2013, p. 11). Similar to cultural entrepreneurs, many are also embedded in a local, community context, which provides further motivation and has the potential to 'transform local social contexts' (Daskalaki et al., 2015, p. 420).

Though mission and motivation are closely linked, there is, however, an important differentiation to be made between mission and motivation when someone becomes a social entrepreneur out of necessity such as when they do not have job opportunities and common in developing countries versus opportunity entrepreneurship where they see an opportunity or gap in the market that a social venture can fill. Hence, opportunity entrepreneurs 'start a business in order to pursue an opportunity', whilst necessity entrepreneurship is more requirement-based, with those involved starting a business because it was often the most feasible option available to them at that time (Wilson and Martin, 2015, p. 166). Both necessity and opportunity entrepreneurship connect to internal motivation to pursue an entrepreneurial endeavour, however a necessity entrepreneur might approach the venture with as much passion and motivation if there were other choices (Wilson and Martin, 2015). Further,

> Although helping others is often a motivation for their behaviour and an outcome for their activities (Zahra et al, 2009), this is not what primarily defines the role of social entrepreneurs in society. What is distinctive about social entrepreneurs is that they are economic agents who, due to their motivation to create value without concern for the amount they capture, will enter areas of activity where the more severe market and government failures occur.
>
> (Santos, 2012, p. 244)

Branding and marketing play an important role in ensuring that the mission of the social entrepreneur is represented authentically and also serves to motivate stakeholders so that they are seen as competitive but not too pushy, too focused on making money or disingenuous (Shaw, 2004). This connects to value propositions and how the individual or company creates value, including how that value is distributed to whoever consumes or participates in it (Afuah, 2014). Communicating a value proposition in an authentic way for a social entrepreneur helps to build a support network, or community of practice, which can foster the sharing of resources and can also serve as a means of motivating employees and other social entrepreneurs (Pattinson et al., 2016). While navigating the competition with other social enterprises is the key to success for any entrepreneur, there is also a collaborative, motivating element for social entrepreneurs. In seeking to address large scale complex, social problems, coopetition is a necessity, providing a rich area of research for the interplay between collaboration and competition between organisations and individuals (Akdogan and Cingox, 2012).

A social entrepreneur's motivation can also play an integral role in the decision about which management and legal structure to choose. However the 'legal form an entrepreneurial organisation actually adopts (profit vs. non-profit status) […] is less relevant for a definition of social entrepreneurship than the agents' motivations for economic action' (Santos, 2012, p. 342).

Regardless, the balance of creating social benefits and economic sustainability is a challenge for many social entrepreneurs. If they are too focused on a social goal they may lose sight of finding revenue streams or raising funding to support the sustainability of those same social missions. This ties into how success can be defined for social entrepreneurs. Social impact evaluation is becoming increasingly important in demonstrating the value social entrepreneurs create, through techniques such as social outcomes measurement and social return on investment (Hlady-Rispal and Servantie, 2018). If a high amount of social benefit is created, but social entrepreneurs fail to achieve financial stability, questions around whether or not that entity was successful arise. There is also the possibility for mission drift for not-for-profit social entrepreneurs who 'compromise their objectives or social mission in order to suit the agendas and priorities of large funding organizations, governments, and foundations' (Dacin et al., 2010, p. 52). Many of these pivotal relationships will be discussed in section 3.4 to follow.

3.4 Networks for social entrepreneurs

Relationships, or networks, are a key factor of success for the social entrepreneur. Research on networks and relational thinking challenge the idea that 'opportunity discovery is the product of cognitive processes' (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000), occurring as 'light bulb' moments in individual minds' (Fletcher and Watson, 2005, p. 121). Rather, opportunity recognition is the 'result of interaction processes that develop in a highly relational (and social) context' (Fletcher and Watson, 2005, p. 121; Steyaert and Katz, 2004). In this sense, 'the relational context incorporates the personal and family identities or life orientations of people as well as the cultural, social and economic context in which they are located' (Fletcher and Watson, 2005, p. 121) Therefore, because of the highly social nature of opportunity recognition and ongoing social venture development, they are not seen to be a fixed entity, but an evolving ecosystem of inter-related players (Steyaert, 1998). Social networks are integral not only to implementing social ventures, but also from the very point of opportunity recognition, demonstrating how vital networks are with the dynamics of entrepreneurial process and motivation. There are strong links between organisational success and social ties, as opportunities often develop in collaboration with stakeholders who the social entrepreneur can trust and rely upon (Dacin et al., 2011; Kent and Anderson, 2003). As such, 'relational resources provide opportunities to exchange information, leverage interpersonal relationships, and realize objectives' (Dacin et al., 2011, p. 49). In a motivational sense, much of the insights from social movements can be applied to the understanding of networks for social entrepreneurs, as they are both concerned with motivating others to take part in and support social change. Networks also tie into concepts around bricolage. Building on the notion of bricolage discussed in section 3.2.3, network bricolage is 'the combination

or recombination of existing actors and resources into a formal or informal network to generate self-sustaining and individualized incentives to achieve a variety of goals, including social goals' (Dacin et al., 2011, p. 42). They require not only personal motivation but also a mobilisation of people, often locally, to be a part of their change process (Andrews, 2001). This connects to another aspect of networks for social entrepreneurs- the importance of location and context for many of these change agents (Nicolopoulou, 2014). Local networks play an important role in building credibility (Shaw, 2004), motivation, opportunity recognition and perhaps most importantly on the identification, acquisition and utilisation of resources (Robinson, 2006). Within the various stages of entrepreneurial development, local embeddedness is beneficial to all stages, from start up to development and scaling up. Networks also play an essential role in developing social entrepreneurs, educating them formally and informally, further discussed in the section to follow.

3.5 Developing social entrepreneurs

Unless educators and students understand the fundamental nature of networks for social entrepreneurs, particularly in a community setting, 'they are likely to have difficulty knowing which members to talk to, how to talk to them, or how to invite them into the processes of framing the problem, generating solutions and implementing those solutions' (Elmes et al., 2012, p. 552). Likewise, they must also grasp the power dynamics with more top-down stakeholders as well, initiating a fragile dynamism between two, often disparate worlds (Elmes et al., 2012). As noted by Creswell, '[p]lace is not simply something to be observed, researched and written about, but is itself part of the way we see, research, and write' (2004, p. 15). With more entrepreneurial support at a local level, entrepreneurial success increases, some suggest it is the role of government to provide more vocational or accredited courses, particularly in how to network, starting from school age to truly incentivise individuals and organisations to be more entrepreneurial (Elmes et al., 2012; Nicolopoulou, 2014). In terms of formal entrepreneurship education and training for social entrepreneurs, many argue they should 'acquire the same skills and expertise as traditional entrepreneurs with respect to opportunity recognition, resource mobilization, and organization building' (Pache and Chowdury, 2012, p. 495). However, because it is the desire to foster social change that drives them, developing that passion should be nurtured alongside the more tangible skills needed to run a business (Pache and Chowdury, 2012; Tracey and Phillips, 2007). Additionally, it is important that social entrepreneurship education should be catered to help students be able to tackle the specific challenges faced by social entrepreneurs (Pache and Chowdury, 2012), particularly the importance of local embeddedness (Elmes et al., 2012) and cultural barriers (Dacin et al., 2011)

present in many entrepreneurial endeavours in the social sphere. Despite the growing interest in 'place' and 'sense of place' in management and organisational literature, a gap remains in how these aspects fit into social entrepreneurship education (Elmes et al., 2012, p. 534). As many cultural entrepreneurs also have a strong social mission and are also dealing with complex value systems, social entrepreneurship education can potentially offer key inroads into developing a more robust framework for education and training programmes for cultural entrepreneurs.

3.6 Conclusion

Social entrepreneurs are, 'restless, mission-driven individuals that strive to change the world, their cities, and their communities by implementing sustainable business ventures designed to create social impact' (Germack and Robinson, 2013, p. 5). These ventures implement new business models that address basic human needs (Seelos and Mair, 2005) with the potential to affect profound change to economic structures through the creation of new industries, development of new business models, and the reallocation of resources to address societal problems (Santos, 2012). Social innovation, opportunity recognition and resource leverage are key points of differentiation between social and traditional entrepreneurs (Iancu, 2011). Social entrepreneurs are motivated first by value creation connected to social impact, another aspect of difference for social entrepreneurs as compared to more conventional entrepreneurs (Dacin et al., 2010). Similar to cultural entrepreneurs, networks are integral for success, connected to driving innovation, identifying opportunities and leveraging resources to implement their ventures. Innovation for many social entrepreneurs is similar to not-for-profit innovation, combining a combination of earned income and subsidised funding from governments, trusts, foundations and agencies, often filling gaps where governments fail (Daskalaki et al., 2015). Connections to business model innovation are further described in the following chapter.

LITERATURE REVIEW: BUSINESS MODEL INNOVATION

4.1 Introduction

The business model is a 'framework or recipe for making money- for creating and capturing value' (Afuah, 2014, p. 4), providing a platform to understand the components that go into a business, identifying gaps and opportunities for growth (Arend, 2013). When combined with innovation, or 'doing things differently from the norm', business model innovation is 'a framework or recipe for creating and capturing value by doing things differently' (Afuah 2014, p. 4). Entrepreneurship and innovation are closely linked, with varied levels of innovation required to be entrepreneurial; however, as stated previously in the context of social innovation, innovation can also occur outside of an entrepreneurial context (Curtis, 2017). The business model offers a framework for innovation for the entrepreneur, and a way of encapsulating how an individual or organisation can 'create value through the exploitation of business opportunities leading to profit (Amit and Zott, 2001, p. 511). This encompasses the ways of generating profit but also the relationships that an enterprise has with internal and external stakeholders, or 'how it engages in economic exchanges with them to create value for all exchange partners' (Zott and Amit, 2007, p. 181). The value chain has traditionally been a mechanism for understanding value exchange as an entity moves from idea stage, all the way to consumption. In conceptions of the traditional value chain, the term value was substituted for 'supply', suggesting that each part of the chain should add value rather than simply moving the product along. So, in this there is an important shift where value chains should 'achieve value optimization rather than cost minimization' (Hearn et al., 2006, p. 4). Value creation therefore adds value for the customer and for others such as 'business owners, other stakeholders, employees and society in general' (Svejenova et al., 2012, p. 423). Value cannot in turn be captured, or turned into profit, in a supply chain unless it is first created and deemed valuable in the eyes of the consumer (Baden-Fuller, 2017). This chapter outlines the complexities of business model innovation in the first instance, before delving into perspectives on business model innovation in relation to the creative industries.

4.2 Business model innovation

The business model is a 'system of interdependent activities performed by a firm and its partners and the mechanisms that link them together', serving as a starting point to understanding how a firm creates and captures value (Zott and Amit, 2013). In the context that follows, the term 'firm' is also

synonymous with 'company' or 'organisation', which are more common in creative industries rhetoric. In a world that is dynamically shifting in large part through technological innovations, new enterprises and established companies alike need to constantly find ways to innovate and stay relevant to their customers, their industry and society (Svejenova et al., 2012; Amit and Zott, 2001). Business models are not fixed, rather they should be seen as living entities to be consistently revisited, revised and adapted to inform strategic decision making, helping entrepreneurs to 'find fundamentally new ways of doing business that will disrupt an industry's existing competitive rules, leading to the development of new business models' (Zott and Amit, 2007, p. 53). These do not have to necessarily be revolutionary disruptions but can be regular, iterative changes that cumulatively lead to dramatically new ways of doing things (Svejenova et al., 2012). This is a useful perspective when addressing complex needs of varied stakeholders through their work or solving complex, complicated problems such as in cultural or social entrepreneurship (Gangi, 2015; Curtis, 2017).

Business models are comprised of five components: customer value proposition, market segments, revenue model, growth model and capabilities. Customer value proposition refers to the things that a company or organisation 'can do for its customers to solve their problems and/or satisfy their needs better than competitors' (Afuah, 2014, p. 5). In short, the value proposition is how the individual or company creates value and how that value is distributed to whoever consumes or participates in it. Market segments are the 'groups of customers to whom a value proposition is being offered' while the revenue model is about 'how many customers get to pay how much for what product/service', and the growth model is how a business can 'grow profitably' (Afuah, 2014, p. 8). At the core of every business model is capabilities, or the 'resources (people, networks, brands, equipment, etc.) and activities that are used to create and capture value' (Afuah, 2014, p. 9). Resources are the toolbox of assets while the activities are the actions that determine just how value creation turns into value capture. Of all the five essential elements to the business model system, capabilities are the driver of the other four. So, 'changing the game', so to speak, does not necessarily mean coming up with a revolutionary new product or service, but in seeing one element of the above five components in a new way, such as providing an innovative solution using an existing product; finding a new market where value can be created and captured in innovative ways; or changing the way resources (including people) are used or interacted with (Afuah, 2014, p. 4).

Balancing the business model's five components is the key to sparking and sustaining innovation, seeing the firm or enterprise as a complex web of resources and activities with mechanisms in place to support and grow that web (Afuah, 2014). Business models are 'complex processes and mechanisms that drive wealth creation' (Zott and Amit, 2013, p. 403), and they should be viewed as

systems that create and capture value for a wide range of stakeholders in order to be used to their fullest potential (Arend, 2013). With a focus on value creation by and for all of these stakeholders, business models can be powerful tools for innovation (Arend, 2013), suggesting more of an ecosystem or constellations approach to be adopted in order to innovate in value creation and maximise value capture (Zott and Amit, 2013). Once centred more narrowly on the consumer to business relationship through linear value chains (DaSilva and Trkman, 2014), this new perspective on how business models operate offers new pathways for innovation both in more traditional commercial enterprises, charities, and perhaps even more critically to entrepreneurial ventures (Arend, 2013) such as cultural entrepreneurship described more in section 4.3 to follow.

4.3 Business model innovation in the creative industries

Business model innovation is an under-researched area of study and even more so in the context of the creative industries (Dümcke, 2015). However, for reference in this study, business model innovation in the creative industries is,

> Understood as a set of assumptions about how an individual entrepreneur or an organisation create value, deliver value to a customer, and capture the value and turn it into economic, social and/or cultural output.

> (Dümcke, 2015, p. 4)

Section 2.4 outlines conceptions of value in the creative industries and similar to social entrepreneurs, discussed in the following chapter, traditional notions of the business model do not apply directly to the creative industries. This is in part because of the history of public subsidy, but also the complexities inherent in value created- namely the presence of artistic innovation which has always been an aspect of the creative industries, along with social impact which is of increasing importance (Schiuma et al., 2015; Doeser, 2017). For many, 'the main focus of creative minds is on artistic innovation, not on innovating their business model' (Schiuma et al., 2015), with many in the underground or middleground who are small companies without the money to invest in external consultants to assist with business model innovation. In the context of the upperground,

> To make business model innovation work, a company needs knowledge of its partners, familiarity with its clients, and the support of its employees; it is a journey across managers' attention and inter-organisational networks.

> (Schiuma et al., 2015, p. 17)

This adds further importance for cultural entrepreneurs to see everyone in their network and who they engage with in any way as part of a business ecosystem; further outlined in the following section. Research on business models in other sectors do offer insights into business model innovation in the creative industries, however, much of this research has been conducted within the context of large organisations and companies, with a 'notable lack of research into the practices of small and medium-sized enterprises and organisations and particularly operating in the creative and cultural industries' (Schiuma et al., 2015, p. 12). Despite the lack of research in this area and the challenges of balancing financial viability with the less profit-oriented values of a cultural and social mission in a climate of diminishing public funding, there is great potential for business model innovation to propel the creative industries to even greater societal relevance. Their 'constellation of value impacts' can place them at the heart of ecosystems,

> Not only as providers of cultural activities, extending their audience, but increasingly they can play a major role as actors for social innovation and development as providers of cultural and creative services and catalysts for change and performance improvements of organisations operating in other traditional sectors.

> (Schiuma et al., 2015, p. 12)

One key element of this is the value proposition being viewed as a service in itself that can be designed and implemented particularly for the benefit of the customer experience, looking beyond one particular experience to a system of inter-related activities that give a holistic cultural experience or communication of artistic innovation (Munoz-Seca, 2010). This does not need to be a series of events or cultural activity but can include,

> A deeper understanding of authors' and performers' intentions, the circumstances of production, the presentation of situations, modalities to better interact and share knowledge between 'producers' and customers' and 'communities'.

> (Schiuma et al., 2015, p. 16)

The integration of these concepts should start in prototype form from the beginning of the development of an idea. Many of these elements are evident in cultural entrepreneurship literature outlined in chapter 2, namely the importance of the connection between cultural entrepreneurs and local communities and the importance of networks, and social entrepreneurship predominantly in the lean start up methodology, described in the following chapter.

Though it is not comprehensive, new business models in the creative industries have been mapped as follows,

1. Crowdfunding/crowdsourcing- the mass funding of a project, service, content, platform, production, work, etc. (Dümcke, 2015, p. 9).

2. Innovation labs, creative hubs, co-working spaces- spaces for trying out and testing ideas, experimentation and implementation of creative ideas.

3. Streaming- technological innovation where cultural content can be streamed in new contexts.

4. Self-publishing and printing on demand- publishing in small amounts and funded by the maker rather than depending on a publisher.

5. Gamification- 'adding game-like features to contexts that have nothing to do with the gaming industries', stimulating and motivating users' 'actions, ideas, interests, and interactions' (Dümcke, 2015, p. 10).

6. Peer to peer models- support networks where users are linked directly to one another through computers where no external support is needed.

(Dümcke, 2015)

In particular context of the micro-business, more aligned characteristically with the underground and middleground, the following typology is outlined,

1. Founding- business models often start as a start-up phase based on projects with the following project beginning once the previous one has begun.

2. Product types- many products are prototypes with short innovation periods.

3. Financing- this can be a difficult aspect for cultural entrepreneur and often relies on a variety of funding sources.

4. Methods of working- ways of working are often highly cooperative; dependant on networks; and have a high level of coopetition.

5. Cultural intermediaries- these are most closely aligned with the middleground and can be integral to success and failure for both the underground and upperground.

6. New physical platforms- these include tablets and social media networks and provide a new context for cultural content.

7. Copyright licensing- important for the retention of intellectual property but transaction costs can be a problem for the underground or small companies in the middleground.

8. Gender aspect- business models are characterised by a higher ratio of women starting companies.

(Dümcke, 2015)

As is evident in this menu of business models and the characteristics of business model innovation in the creative industries, there are constraints and difficulties but also a generous opportunity for growth and innovation. With a greater focus on business model innovation, cultural entrepreneurs, including organisations, can make their 'value creation capacity more sustainably and impactful' (Schiuma et al., 2015, p. 10). The relation to the business ecosystem is further outlined in the following section.

4.3 The business ecosystem

Implicit in business model innovation is the ability to conjure new approaches and business model designs that will account for new ways of perceiving value creation but also have the ability to adapt to external factors such as market forces and changes in technology (Bakhshi and Throsby, 2009). One concept that has the potential to shift how business models are used in the creative industries is that of the business ecosystem that extends beyond the confines of one specific industry, as an 'economic community supported by a foundation of interacting organisations and individuals' who 'depend on each other for their effectiveness and survival' (Zott and Amit, 2013, p. 407; Iansu and Levein, 2004; Keeble, 2008). Business ecosystems emphasise the ways that organisations or companies are interdependent with all their stakeholders, beyond the consumer and producer relationship in the value chain, to offer breakthrough approaches in how enterprises operate (Zott and Amit, 2013). Infused within that is the idea that a business is a living, breathing organism constantly shifting and adapting to its environment, which becomes key to its resilience and overall survival in the longer term. When the business model is viewed more as a set of interdependent activities with many different stakeholders, coopetition is more likely to occur, with the cooperative intertwined with the competitive nature of business, allowing resources to be shared and value-adding partnerships to be created (Kotzab and Teller, 2003). This cooperative approach demonstrates that innovation often stems from activities driven from outside traditional value chains. In this approach, the business model is viewed as 'a nonlinear sequencing of interdependent activities' that diminishes the need to view value creation as a value chain but rather as more of a network or web of dynamic actions that help a business to thrive (Zott and Amit, 2013, p. 409). This shift allows for a more open flow of 'unrealised value that could be unlocked with a change in perspective', particularly useful in 'more entrepreneurial and challenging environments' (Arend, 2013, p. 391) where 'money is not the

primary form of currency and the customer and the firm are not the primary players' (Arend, 2013, p. 395). This is relevant for innovation in for-profit firms but also to allow for charities, creative and social enterprises to better understand and articulate their value to multiple stakeholders in order to capture it more appropriately (Arend, 2013).

This wider focus beyond the traditional firm and customer relationship has many benefits. First, going beyond the traditional profit equation allows for firms to evaluate more than just gains from monetary exchanges, allowing for a more collaborative approach to business though integrating gains and losses to all stakeholders beyond the company and consumer. Secondly, this new approach allows for more information-rich relationships to thrive, encompassing morals and value systems that play a part in how a business operates. Third, it opens up control to be shared beyond traditional ownership to involve new structures for organising transactions. Lastly, it allows for the synthesis of the complexity that cannot be understood in monetary value analysis so that each action or non-action taken by a company is seen as information that adds depth and richness to the model (Arend, 2013). Its relevance is important in how a company or individual creates value but also how the business model is assessed and reassessed to adapt and improve for long-term growth and sustainability (Svenjenova et al., 2010). As stated previously, this new approach has immense potential for the creative industries, in addition to perspectives on value constellations; further described in the following section.

4.3.1 Value constellations

Value ecosystems or constellations offer a method of thinking more holistically about business models, drawing on concepts that look beyond the more conventional value chain approach. In a competitive world where technology is evolving quickly and changing the way things work, 'the fundamental logic of value creation is also changing and in a way that makes clear strategic thinking simultaneously more important and more difficult' (Normann and Ramirez, 2000, p. 65). In the value chain, 'strategy is primarily the art of positioning a company in the right place on the value chain- the right business, the right products and market segments, the right value-adding activities' (Normann and Ramirez, 2000, p. 65). The value chain makes the following assumptions; it,

1. Suggests a single linear process with one stage leading to the next.
2. Does not analyse the fact that value chain creation may be a competitive as well as a cooperative process.
3. Lends itself to mechanistic linear thinking. It suggests static rather than dynamic processes (Gossain and Kandian, 1998; Rainbird, 2004).

4. Suggests the chain in isolation and ignores the environment as well as the effect of processes or factors that are not strictly part of the chain but are important enablers, catalysts or context setters for the value chain (Rainbird, 2004).

5. Rests on a simplified notion of 'value'. For example, it assumes value remains 'in the product' ignoring externalities (i.e. product value derived from the relationship of the product to a system of other products).

6. Does not adequately capture the close, symbiotic relationship between a company and its customers, suppliers, and partners (Gossain and Kandiah, 1998)

(Hearn and Pace, 2006, p. 56)

It is clear that value chain thinking is a partial and limited way of conceiving of value creation. Aspects such as 'global competition, changing markets, and new technologies are opening up qualitatively new ways of creating value' (Normann and Ramirez, 2000, p. 65). Hence, innovative companies and organisations, 'do not just add value, they reinvent it' […] where the 'different economic actors-suppliers, business partners, allies, customers- work together to co-produce value' (Normann and Ramirez, 2000, p. 66). The value chain does not appropriately take into account the important role of knowledge and more intangible value created and exchanged, often the real foundation of value creation (Allee, 2002). Similar to the business ecosystem, value constellations see value exchange as a living system that incorporates knowledge and those intangible elements that lie beneath the surface but are integral to a successful, thriving value exchange.

Innovation differs greatly depending on the sector and the market an organisation belongs to, particularly those more publicly funded such as charities and arts organisitons that rely on public funding and the private sector, driven by competitive advantage (Curtis, 2017). Innovation in companies or organisation in both the public and private sector requires a culture of enabling intrapraneurship (Martiarena, 2013). Intrapreneurship in the public sector, or not-for-profit innovation often relies on the dynamic capabilities of the firm, such as 'access to alliances and/or partnerships'; a 'clear understanding of the organisation's mission'; 'access to specialised knowledge'; the 'ability to respond to the needs of clients and/or beneficiaries' and the 'ability to experiment with pilot programs', among others (Teece et al., 1997, p. 518; Balan-Vnuk and Balan, 2015). This is not dissimilar to companies that are for profit and focus primarily on trade, however a value ecosystem approach allows all value adding relationships to be considered and understood on an evolving, case by case basis depending on the tangible and intangible types of knowledge involved (Gawell, 2014). In an industry such as the creative industries that is complex and varied, the value-creating relationships are just as complicated. In an increasingly interactive world, the goal for many companies should not be 'to create value for customers but to mobilise customers to create their own value from the

company's various offerings' (Normann and Ramirez, 2000, p. 69). The creative industries context is discussed in the following section.

4.3.2 Value ecosystems and the creative industries

There is a lack of research on value ecosystems in the creative industries, however, research into a similar concept of value ecologies offers a useful starting point: 'the sector is highly integrated with other sectors of the economy – producing intermediate inputs and outputs in just about all sectors' (Hearn and Roodhouse, 2007, p. 4). Interestingly, 'analysis of occupational data shows that there are more creatives employed in other sectors of the economy than in those sectors designated as the creative industries' (Hearn and Roodhouse, 2007, p. 4), with evidence of higher rates of innovation than other sectors (Potts, 2006). The creative industries are a dynamic, networked sector where there are particularly useful arguments for the breakdown of the traditional, linear production and consumption model of the value chain toward the value ecology (Hearn and Roodhouse, 2007, p. 4). Similar to the business ecosystem or value constellation or network, the value ecology shifts,

1. Consumers to co-creators of value
2. From chain to network
3. Product value to network value
4. Simple co-operation or competition to complex co-opetition
5. Firm-level thinking to total value ecological system thinking

(Hearn and Pace, 2006, p. 57)

The value ecology concept moves the development of products, services and innovation away from notions of a fixed path, towards a more collaborative and iterative process of trial and feedback, similar to the lean start up methodology (Mueller and Thoring, 2012). The Warwick Report's 'Enriching Britain' also delves into the 'ecosystem' concept by comprehending the interconnectedness between organisations and artists in the creative industries to induce a 'flow of talent, ideas and investment from public and private sources that characterise them' (Warwick Commission, 2015, p. 21). This 'cultural and creative industries ecosystem' adapts through 'exploring innovative business models and investment sources' (Warwick Commission, 2015, p. 24), but this innovative approach should go beyond funding sources to encompass the ways diverse sectors have to learn from and share with one another so that the creative industries can add value to new people and markets.

Building on the value ecology, complexity theory adds another interesting layer to how these dynamic relationships and value systems can be conceptualised,

> Complexity theory argues that organisations that mirror the function of natural (organic) systems are better suited for turbulent business environments because of their ability to create and adapt. Firms that structure themselves as complex adaptive systems are able to operate in complex contexts with a high degree of flexibility, without degenerating into chaos.

> (Sawhney and Prandelli, 2000, p. 32)

Hence, the adaptive nature of systems described by complexity theory and the collaborative nature of value ecosystems, challenges the romantic notion of the lone artist/genius working in isolation as a path to creativity and innovation, to a notion where the consumer, visitor or audience member is a key part of the innovation process, moving beyond industry boundaries (Hearn and Pace, 2006). This is more fitting of a knowledge-based economy like the creative industries where there are a lot of externalities, or 'situations where the value of a product derives from anything outside of the product itself' and can make an integral contribution to the value ecology (Hearn and Pace, 2006, p. 59). The following section on the triple and quadruple bottom line (QBL) offers further insight on managing the conflicting demands of this value-creating ecology.

4.4 Triple and quadruple bottom line

The double, triple and even quadruple bottom lines are models of accountability for any company, organisation or individual, 'capturing an expanded spectrum of values and criteria for measuring venture success' (Bridgstock, 2012, p. 129). The double bottom line usually refers to 'people' and 'profit', whereas the triple bottom line is 'people', 'profit' and 'planet', integrating economic, social and environmental into monitoring and evaluating impact. This conceptual framework is useful for managing competing stakeholder needs and legitimises a more complementary way to measure performance measures where companies 'evaluate their social and environmental impact equally with financial viability' (Calton et al., 2013, p. 722). This approach, when utilised successfully, involves creating value with, not simply for, intended beneficiaries, requiring an entirely different mentality and new ways of doing business with a diverse set of stakeholders (Calton et al., 2013). For example, in the context of microfinance social enterprises,

> The history of microfinance lending in Bangladesh and elsewhere suggests that loans are not repaid and small ventures do not prosper unless the community (often embodied in a core group of local women) has sufficient social capital to hold borrowers accountable to

community norms. Accumulating social capital requires investing in long-term relationships to build trust within social networks.

<div align="right">(Calton et al., 2013, p. 722)</div>

In this case, bankers who do not adopt a mentality of partnership and even co-creation with their beneficiaries in developing countries often find themselves unsuccessful in micro-lending (Calton et al., 2013). A fourth bottom line, relating to culture has been introduced in some models, adopting the mentality that 'cultural vitality is just as important to society as social equity, environmental responsibility and economic viability' (Bridgstock, 2012, p. 130; Albinsson, 2017; Hawkes, 2001). In this context culture encompasses a broad definition of culture to incorporate a 'way of life' of different groups of people through the expression of their identities, belief systems, aspirations, values, dress, language, food and all aspects of their existence' (Bridgstock, 2012, p. 130), however it is applicable to culture in the perspective of those in the creative industries as well. Building on the concept of the QBL in the creative industries, Albinsson (2017, p. 385) outlines four aspects or 'bottom lines', economic prosperity, social change, artistic innovation and institutional development.

Figure 4.1: Albinsson's QBL of cultural entrepreneurship
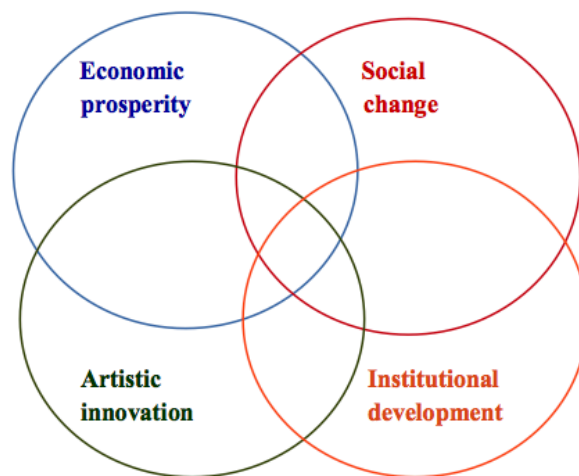
Economic prosperity, social change and artistic innovation are fairly straight forward and in other circumstances they may be referred to as economic impact, social benefits and innovative arts products, services and approaches respectfully. As shown in the diagram, these elements are not mutually exclusive and overlap in many ways so in this instance it is not useful to differentiate types of value into these categories, rather as intertwining motivations and principles of how value is

generated in general for cultural entrepreneurs. The last point on institutional development refers to the subversive potential of culture:

> Institutional economists identify the work done by cultural entrepreneurs as a vehicle for societal change of intangible habits and norms. A change of attitudes towards taking part in activities for economic development makes this kind of cultural entrepreneurship a vehicle for taking the economy from one point to another.

(Albinsson, 2017, p. 386)

This connects to recent political shifts in that 'instrumental cultural policies often have as one objective the use of cultural enterprises for societal, economic growth' (Albinsson, 2017, p. 386). In institutional development discourse, it is discussed by many to be a linear process in which the development of the institution in its conceptual form leads to economic development, but in this instance, it goes both ways. The potential for economic development in a wider community and institutional sense has the power to not only improve those specific places, projects, or people but also the wider structures where 'increased wealth due to growth may create higher demands for higher-quality institutions, greater wealth makes better institutions more affordable', and 'economic development creates new agents of change, demanding new institutions' to shift (Chang, 2011, p. 476). The QBL concept offers an interesting new perspective but lacks depth, especially in the context of different types of entrepreneurs. Balancing these varied bottom lines is essential for success and sustainability for the entrepreneur, further discussed in the context of this research in Chapter 9.

4.5 Conclusion

To balance the varied motivations, types of value created, types of actors and accountability of cultural entrepreneurs, a new typology of innovation in the creative industries will be introduced in Chapter 9. This model combines different perspectives on innovation from social entrepreneurship, cultural entrepreneurship and business model innovation, providing a unique contribution to the literature to date. The model first assumes that not all cultural entrepreneurs are the same and though the lines are not always clear cut, they fit into three broad categories: the underground, middleground and upperground (Cohendet et al., 2010). Previous research in this area explores these categories more as physical spaces, rather than actors or groups of actors and does not assume the position of the cultural entrepreneur, therefore building on this body of literature. Second, the research also makes new connections between literature in business model innovation and cultural entrepreneurship, previously a tenuous link at best. As demonstrated in the previous chapters, social

entrepreneurship and business model innovation literature can inform our understanding of cultural entrepreneurship (Albinsson, 2017). The following outlines three areas of literature of key relevance:

4.5.1 Social entrepreneurship

Social entrepreneurship research is a more mature area of scholarship than cultural entrepreneurship, and one that therefore provides valuable insights, particularly around balancing multiple missions and levels of accountability (Dacin et al, 2010) and in its history of not-for-profit legal status and public funding (Curtis, 2017). A social mission for social entrepreneurs is often paramount to an economic one which is similar to enterprises in the creative industries. While social entrepreneurship is different to cultural entrepreneurship in the presence of artistic or creative products and services, there is a strong focus on value creation when it comes to business model innovation (Daskalaki et al, 2015). This value creation focus is in alignment with social entrepreneurship literature, a body of research explored more extensively to date, and because of the synergies between cultural and social entrepreneurship, various theories from social entrepreneurship have been adopted. One that runs throughout is the lack of differentiation between types of value because it can be limiting (Santos, 2012) and ways of conceptualising social entrepreneurs- mission and motivation, individual characteristics, resource, process and the world they operate within (Dacin et al., 2011).

4.5.2 Value Ecosystems

Of particular importance in this research are concepts connected to a wider focus of the business model as a value ecosystem or constellations, rather than a simple value chain approach and an emphasis on value creation in business model development (Arend, 2013; Allee, 2003). Research into business model innovation calls for a more all-encompassing view of value, moving far beyond the linear value chain and into the larger ecosystem of value creation and value capture that emphasises non-monetary value. Since so much of the value generated in the creative industries is difficult to capture directly, this view could be of particular and even urgent necessity in the creative industries. The traditional notion of value being delineated by the consumer, adds complications in the context of the creative industries. Some believe that 'true art can never be made for a market', and 'instead of adapting to the market, art rather creates its own market' (Guillet de Monthoux, 2004, p. 89). Methodologies such as the lean start-up hold potentially useful strategies for navigating the varied needs of the consumer and the creator in relation to business models (Mueller and Thoring, 2012). As a starting point, with similarities to social entrepreneurship, understanding business model innovation

for cultural entrepreneurs relies on understanding the unique value they create first, or their value proposition, before that value can be thought about in new ways (Curtis, 2017). Most cultural entrepreneurs create 'different sorts of value for different audiences, [...] ranging from customers, to the wider sector or industry', to society at large, driven by a combination of action and serendipity (Svejenova et al., 2012, p. 423).

4.5.3 Quadruple Bottom Line

Models from social enterprise and value ecosystems offer strategies for implementing the concept of the QBL in a way that will foster business model innovation in the creative industries. The data revealed the complex relationships between value creation and value capture with many factors at play, often with the necessity of juggling varied relationships with the responsibility to fulfil a mission or motivation outside of generating revenue (Albinsson, 2017). At the core of the model is a typology for cultural entrepreneurs to balance conflicting priorities and accountabilities based on the quadruple bottom line. The four aspects of this model are artistic innovation, social change, economic prosperity and institutional development.

Data was gathered through using grounded theory, a research methodology little explored in cultural policy. This approach offers a novel perspective to exploring this body of research, particularly useful when coming from a high level of personal and professional embeddedness in the creative industries. Research aims and their corresponding questions were developed based on the limitations of the literature around cultural entrepreneurship, particularly the lack of depth into different types of cultural entrepreneurs, how they operate and potential areas of growth. Policy literature highlights digital technologies as an area of innovation, alongside networks, so those elements were integrated into the research aims in addition to a focus on value creation prevalent in social entrepreneurship discourse. The theoretical underpinnings of grounded theory and how it was used in practice are further discussed in the chapter to follow.

METHODS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explains how the research questions and objectives outlined in the introduction were addressed. First, the design of the research and the methodological stance taken are outlined, before delving into the analytical approach, interview design, data collection and the framework of analysis. The context for my personal connection to the data collected and prior experience is relevant to this research, which is introduced as a prerequisite to the analysis. Each case is then introduced to provide an analytical foundation for the analysis and discussion that follows. The research adopts a grounded theory approach. Grounded theory is a 'research approach or method that calls for continual interplay between data collection and analysis to produce a theory' (Suddaby, 2006, p. 636). A grounded method was integral in providing a fresh approach to the current and future potential for value creation and capture in the creative industries. Previous research in this field typically follows a positivist methodology, particularly in the grey literature produced by NESTA and others or based heavily on theory in the cultural entrepreneurship literature. To provide a fresh perspective, therefore, this research is grounded in qualitative data from practitioners. Other research studies have used methods such as multiple multi-variate analysis (Portfirio et al., 2016; Konrad, 2013); social network analysis (Lee, 2014); and in-depth case study analysis (Svejenova et al., 2010) to test theories related to cultural entrepreneurs. Generally, these studies have reviewed the literature or gathered data to test a theory, rather than letting the data ground the formation of a new theory. In this case, the data was in constant comparison with the literature which caused an assemblage of diverse bodies of literature to come together to create a new typology for how cultural entrepreneurs can navigate the industries and have a better understanding of the value they create and ways to capture it.

Interviewees were selected using snowballing, drawing first on previous professional connections, then guided by recommendations of interviewees and people serendipitously met through other means. The data was then used to guide analysis through coding, in line with grounded theory, making connections to the appropriate literature from diverse fields of business model innovation and social entrepreneurship. Particularly relevant literature was integrated into the analysis as appropriate, weaving together convergent theories from diverse bodies of literature and drawing it back to the data. The social constructivist worldview is integral to the design of the research to account for the subjective and very socially-dependent nature of entrepreneurs in the creative industries. This chapter begins with an introduction to research precedents in business model and

cultural entrepreneurship literature, followed by an overview of grounded theory, research design, interview overview, introducing the sample, and an outline of data analysis.

5.2 Research precedents

5.2.1 Cultural entrepreneurship

It is important to recognise the cultural location in which theories emerge. The term 'cultural entrepreneurship' originated in the UK, Europe and Australia in management and leadership studies, focusing a great deal on how shifts in public policy have had an impact on the nature of the sector- from cultural labour to changes in policy that have transformed the way that the creative industries are categorised and funded. These arguments have been highly critical of the previously described shift from 'the arts' or 'cultural industries' to the 'creative industries' for the incorporation of more commercial activities such as advertising and video game development, which were once regarded as outliers to the less commodified nature of the arts (Essig, 2017). On one hand, this shift has made a stronger economic case for the creative industries, but on the other hand, has added a new pressure to commercialise aspects of the arts that were once publicly funded, in order to justify a reduction in subsidy (Chang and Wyszomirski, 2015). This shift is tied as a neoliberal action in response to the 'withdrawal of the welfare state' (Ellmeier, 2003, p. 7), and also ties into concerns around employability in the creative industries for recent graduates of arts-based programmes throughout the UK and Europe (Bridgstock, 2012).

In a US context, cultural entrepreneurship is more commonly termed 'arts entrepreneurship' and focuses less on an organisational and leadership emphasis that 'grew from a (self-) employability perspective, and from within arts disciplines' (Essig, 2017, p. 128). This shift is most likely attributed to the varied conventions of public funding, as the US has conventionally been less reliant on public funding and therefore less influenced by public policy, relying more on private investment and earned revenue. Though there has been less support from public subsidy, the development of the arts in the US has been supported by foundations and the private sector. This has impacted entrepreneurship in practice through enterprise programmes, and also through training and higher education (Essig, 2017). In the context of this research, while there are some interviewees who have come from the US and Europe, the focus is on the UK, exploring how individuals and organisations embrace more entrepreneurial ways of working within their creative practice.

5.2.2 Business model innovation

The concept of the business model is not new, with a general definitional convergence as the 'design or architecture of the value creation, delivery, and capture mechanisms' (Teece, 2010, p. 172). Research in business model innovation is 'rapidly growing', but is 'less well understood' than the business model literature (Foss and Saebi, 2017, p. 201). Generally, there are four strands of business model innovation research. The first introduces business model innovation through definitions and conceptualisations, albeit varied (Amit and Zott, 2011). The second discusses it as an organisational change process 'requiring appropriate capabilities, leadership, and learning mechanisms' (Foss and Saebi, 2017, p. 208). The third focuses on the business model as an outcome of these organisational change processes, and the fourth emphasises the organisational outcomes of business model innovation on performance (Foss and Saebi, 2017). The focus of this research is primarily on the first component of business model literature, the definitional theoretical lens of a particular strand of business model innovation research more aligned with a holistic notion of value where 'business model innovation is about generating new sources of profit by finding novel value proposition/value constellation combinations' (Yunus et al, 2010, p. 312). This can involve a change in one component of the business model such as the value proposition but can also involve a change in several (Amit and Zott, 2012). One additional area of difficulty is the conditions the business model operates within- whether it is an organisation or individual, a well-established organisation or a new enterprise and critically for this research, the industry of operation. There have been some studies on business model innovation in the creative industries (Essig, 2017; Dumcke, 2015; Schiuma et al., 2015; DCMS, 2016; Svejenova et al., 2017), however many have been speculative in nature; using specific examples from one or two industries; or limited to one particular location, often outside of the UK. Concepts connected from business model innovation literature such as value proposition, value creation and value capture are adopted, and while the findings are conceptual in nature, they are empirically grounded in the data collected. To combat the subjective nature of personal experience and to adopt a nuanced approach, grounded theory was utilised, further outlined in the following section.

5.3 Grounded theory

Qualitative research, known to some as narrative research, can take many forms (Creswell, 2009). As I have previous experience working in the creative industries, both within organisations and as a cultural entrepreneur, grounded theory was chosen as a research methodology to gain a fresh perspective on a field I already know quite well (Suddaby, 2006). Grounded theory uses inductive analysis as its primary technique where, 'the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and

analysis' (Patton, 1980, p. 306). Grounded theory is a method for identifying and explaining social processes that are integrated quite closely into emerging themes in cultural entrepreneurship research (Lee, 2014; Konrad, 2013). This approach was particularly useful in this research context due to positionality related to personal and professional connections with interviewees, further discussed in 5.4.1, which carries the risk of assumed knowledge or participants withholding knowledge based on network connections (Platt, 1981). This risk was managed through simple, open-ended questions and clarifying follow up questions to ensure that points of potentially assumed knowledge were explained further. The analysis of the data proceeds through thematic coding techniques in accordance with a grounded theory methodology (Urquhart, 2013). Hence, grounded theory was utilised as a means of developing my own theory to further research in cultural entrepreneurship where the ways in which questions were explored changed as interviews went on and codes became more refined.

Grounded theory is an iterative, 'practical method for conducting research' that focuses on the interpretive process by analysing the 'actual production of meanings and concepts used by social action in real settings' (Gephart, 2004, p. 457; Suddaby, 2006). The grounded approach arose as a response to positivist approaches which 'hold a deterministic philosophy […] where causes probably determine effects or outcomes' and 'problems studied […] reflect the need to identify and assess the causes that influence outcomes, such as found in experiments' (Creswell, 2009, p. 7). Positivist approaches lend themselves to quantitative, scientific approaches where a theory is being tested, but can be rigid and limiting for qualitative researchers. In contrast, grounded theory was proposed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 as 'an organic process of theory emergence' whose purpose is to generate new ideas or new theories (Suddaby, 2006, p. 634; Bello, 2015). Used initially with both qualitative and quantitative data, it has become associated most often as a qualitative research method (Howard-Payne, 2006; Glaser, 1999). As stated by Howard-Payne,

> Grounded theory was to serve two key functions: first, to guard against theoretical stagnation an immobility via novel theory generation and, second, to institute an observation of field research as a source and locus of theoretical innovation so as to ground theoretical development in sound scientific data. Thus, Glaser and Strauss offered a novel methodology that could be applied to generate theory, based upon the data collected. This style of theory development, based on empirical investigation, would certify that the theory-product would be relevant to the phenomenon being studied.

> (2006, p. 52)

The original method described by Glaser and Strauss has two core concepts. The first is constant

comparison, 'where data are collected and analysed simultaneously' (Suddaby, 2006, p. 634). Constant comparison blurs the commonly distinct phases of data collection and data analysis into a much more fluid process where the researcher flips back and forth between the two. The second is 'theoretical sampling' where 'decisions made about which data should be collected next are determined by the theory that is being constructed' (Suddaby, 2006, p. 634). With theoretical sampling, the formation of a hypothesis is determined not by a pre-conceived theory to be tested, but rather by the data that is being gathered as the research progresses. The concept of theoretical sampling in this research was followed by snowballing, shifting according to interviewee recommendations, further outlined in section 5.4.2.

Those embarking on using grounded theory must be able 'to conceptualise, to organise, to tolerate confusion with some incident depression, to make abstract connections, to remain open, to be a bit visual, to thinking multi-variately and most of all to trust to preconscious processing and to emergence' (Glaser, 2003, p. 62). This approach requires a considerable amount of openness throughout, though especially at the outset, with prior experience and perceptions having the potential to create bias which can affect the data collection and its subsequent analysis (Walshem, 1995). Through this 'symbolic interactionism', 'researchers enter the world of their subjects in order to understand the subjects' environment and the interactions and interpretations that occur' (Loonam, 2014, p. 50; Goulding, 2002). New theories can begin to develop when the researcher has reached saturation with the data where no new data is presenting itself, and a theory or theories can emerge from the data from the 'ground up' (Loonam, 2014). At its heart, grounded theory is based upon constant comparison and theoretical sampling, however there are a variety of different ways to go about a grounded theory which can alter data collection and analysis considerably. Most notably, grounded theory's founders, Glaser and Strauss, diverged 'philosophically, theoretically and practically' after laying the initial foundation of grounded theory in their 1967 paper, creating two different approaches, described more below (Howard-Payne, 2016, p. 51). At its heart, grounded theory is 'simply the discovery of emerging patterns in data', however there are complexities and procedures that coincide with this theory are vast (Walsh et al., 2015).

Perhaps because it hasn't been very widely adopted by many scholars, it is safe to say that grounded theory is often misused and misunderstood, as there is 'little consonance as to what constitutes grounded theory research, and the procedural guidelines of such investigations are not entirely clear' (Howard-Payne, 2016, p. 50; Benoliel, 1996; Charmaz; 2014). Suddaby identifies a number of misconceptions about grounded theory. One of his observations is that grounded theory is sometimes used as an excuse to not analyse data, presenting 'incomplete or relatively undigested data' (2006, p.

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635). One reason for this is a confusion between grounded theory and phenomenology. While phenomenology 'emphasises the subjective experiences' in an 'attempt to capture the rich, if not mundane, detail of actors' lived experiences', it is presented without much analysis to show an authentic understanding of experience, which is far from the intention of grounded theory methodology (Suddaby, 2006, p. 635). Rather, it is an in-depth investigation into layers of data that produces sincere analysis and novel theory. If a mere presentation of data arises, without much analysis, this is often the result of stopping data collection too early or lacks the use of constant comparison method that further informs the route of data collection and analysis. Another misconception about grounded theory is that it is an iterative process which is then applied to more traditional approaches around theory testing. In many other research approaches, there is a cyclical relationship between data collection and analysis, though in grounded theory there is also the building of theory, not merely the testing of pre-existing theory. As stated by Suddaby,

> Grounded theory thus should not be used to test hypotheses about reality, but, rather, to make statements about how actors interpret reality. This is where grounded theory is most appropriate- where researchers have an interesting phenomenon without explanation and from which they seek to discover theory from data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). A key component of the constant comparative method is such critical evaluation of emerging constructs against ongoing observations.

(2006, p. 635)

Another common misconception is that grounded theory is a formula to be followed strictly. There are certain strong methodological choices to be made, however the process is intended to be iterative and creative at its heart, guided by the data collected. As stated by Strauss and Corbin, since

> There is an interplay between researcher and data, no method, certainly not grounded theory, can ensure that the interplay will be creative. Creativity depends on the researcher's analytic ability, theoretical sensitivity, and sensitivity to the subtleties of the action/interaction (plus the ability to convey the findings in writing). A creative interplay also depends on the other pole of the researcher-data equation, the quality of the data collected and analysed.

(1990, p. 19)

This is not an excuse, however, for there to be a loose and absent methodological approach as the basic elements of theoretical sampling and constant comparison still need to be present from which the researcher can then decipher appropriate data collection and analysis points (Suddaby, 2006). One of the criticisms of grounded theory is that it is not as robust as positivist approaches, however,

adding elements of coding and iterative analysis allows the researcher to have a more in-depth approach to reveal new insights from the data (Suddaby, 2006). The emphasis on creativity, along with its iterative approach to theory building are reasons why grounded theory was adopted as the methodology for this research. The following section outlines the analytical approach taken in response to grounded theory.

When it comes to analysis, inductive analysis is the key technique utilised in grounded theory. This type of analysis 'means that the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis' (Patton, 1980, p. 307; Bowen 2006). As part of inductive analysis, themes emerge when analysis takes place, 'capturing the essence of meaning or experience drawn from varied situations and contexts' (Bowen 2006, p. 13). Thematic analysis themes emerge from a single interview or set of interviews, which are usually 'quite abstract and therefore difficult to identify' but tend to come through more readily when the researcher takes a more outsider view, relinquishing as much previous experience and misconceptions as possible to let the 'obvious' appear (Bowen, 2006, p. 13).

Regarding this research study, there was a reliance on previous literature infused into the formation of the research questions, analysis and discussion. As the research methodology was unknown at the outset, the questions were derived after a general exploration of the literature to date on cultural entrepreneurship, social entrepreneurship and business model innovation. Once the research method was chosen, questions were designed in a semi-structured fashion to allow the interview to be flexible enough while still have a grounding enough to obtain useful data. In the analysis chapters that follow (chapters 6-8) there was intentionally a limited usage of literature in order to further extrapolate the ideas present in the data itself rather than relying on outside theories.

5.4 Research design

Research design outlines the tactics taken to conducting research, involving a philosophical stance, strategy and methodological approach, outlined in detail in this section (Creswell, 2013). The philosophical stance takes on the form of a worldview, or 'basic set of beliefs that guide action' (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 17). They are also referred to as paradigms, epistemologies and ontologies, or broadly conceived research methodologies (Crotty, 1998; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The philosophy in research design remains largely unseen, although having an impact on both how research is conducted, the needs identified and the ways in which data is analysed (Creswell, 2009). In this research, a social constructivist's approach to gathering qualitative data was deemed the most appropriate. This worldview is based on 'understanding, multiple participant meanings, social and

historical construction and theory generation', employed to account for the subjective meanings of the experiences and views of participants (Creswell, 2009, p. 6). The creative industries is both subjective and socially dependent in nature regarding what is deemed valuable to the industry and to society, so social constructivism is a fitting perspective. In social constructivism,

> Individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences—meanings directed toward certain objects or things. These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas. The goal of the research is to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation being studied. The questions become broad and general so that the participants can construct the meaning of a situation, typically forged in discussions or interactions with other persons.

> (Creswell, 2009, p. 8)

There are three basic assumptions of social constructivism (Creswell, 2008, p. 9). First, meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting. Qualitative researchers tend to use open-ended questions so that the participants can share their views. The second is that humans engage with their world and make sense of it based on their historical and social perspectives—we are all born into a world of meaning bestowed upon us by our culture. Thus, qualitative researchers seek to understand the context or setting of the participants through visiting this context and gathering information personally. They also interpret what they find, an interpretation shaped by the researcher's own experiences and background. Finally, the basic generation of meaning is always social, arising in and out of interaction with a human community. The process of qualitative research is largely inductive, with the inquirer generating meaning from the data collected in the field

Hence, research questions were designed to be broad in scope, so that interviewees were able to construct their own meaning through discussion. Following that, my role as a researcher was then to construct meaning from their responses using a grounded theory methodology. This was utilised to diminish the influence of my own past experience, with a recognition that researchers' 'backgrounds shape their interpretation, and they position themselves in the research to acknowledge how their interpretation flows from their personal, cultural, and historical experiences' (Creswell, 2009, p. 8). As a result, my role as the researcher is to 'make sense of the meanings others have about the world', and rather than starting with a theory, I was able to 'generate or inductively develop a theory or pattern of meaning' based upon this interplay between my own positionality and the data collected

(Creswell, 2008, p. 8). This social constructivist worldview is evident in the way the interviews were designed and conducted, further outlined in section 5.5. The choice of the sample, interview selection and data collection are further outlined in this section, however first, a look into how my positionality has shaped and influenced this research.

5.4.1 Positionality

As mentioned in the section above, a grounded theory methodology was adopted in order to mitigate as much as possible the bias of experience and background by taking a fresh approach. However, based on the subjective nature of this research and the perspective that all research is indeed situated within the world of the researcher in some way or another, it is important to further discuss positionality as it relates to the sample selection, collection of data and analysis (Haraway, 1988). I take a narrative approach to describing this in the section that follows, in order to best situate my experience in the context of the data set.

The creative industries have been a part of my life for as long as I can remember. My father was a medical illustrator, so I grew up with his illustrations, complex work projects on in-depth medical procedures and funny doodles always scattered around the house. From a young age, I was taught that the arts were important and I, out of all my siblings, was the one who latched onto drawing and painting. Until I was ten, we lived in a vibrant, diverse and dynamic part of the outskirts of the city of Chicago called Oak Park, where I felt at home and accepted amongst my peers. However, just before my 4th grade year, our family moved to Libertyville, a suburb about an hour away from the city and all the people and places I knew. The vibrancy I was used to was replaced by sprawled houses and subdivisions. There were no corner shops or restaurants in walking distance, which meant we were reliant on the car to get around, and even at a young age I could sense that the open-minded nature of my classmates, teachers and coaches where I lived before, gave way to a more 'small town', close-minded mentality of suburban life. In response, art became a refuge and a way to fit in. I drew and drew, with my school projects peppered with creative responses to my assignments whenever possible. I took art classes all throughout high school and when it came to university I decided to study for a BA in Fine Arts, focussing on ceramics and photography. Having been taught nothing about 'making it' in the art world, in terms of business or entrepreneurial skills, after graduation I felt at a loss as to where to start to build my career. After moving back to Chicago, I took on some commissions and art projects when I had the opportunity, but pivotally, I started teaching across the city of Chicago in many of the schools in rougher areas of the city with limited access to the arts. These areas are fraught with social issues, with poverty, inequality, racism, lack of access to health

care, crime and violence, part of everyday life for many of my students. It was in this environment that I witnessed first-hand the transformative potential of the arts in addressing social problems. My art classes calmed students with behavioural issues, allowed autistic children to shine, provided a therapeutic outlet for children riddled with grief after losing a loved one to gun violence and provided an alternative to managing anger that came along with many of the social problems listed above. It was not an easy journey, quick fix, nor did it work in every situation, but it gave me a glimpse into how art could be used as a tool for social change.

After four years, I left teaching and moved to London to pursue an MA in Cultural Policy and Management. The degree opened my eyes to the power of the arts in a community context, latching onto radical approaches to asset-based community development and cultural planning. I was enthusiastic about working in these fields after I graduated, though found it very difficult to find a job in my field. So, I decided to start up my own company, combining the knowledge I gained from my past experiences working with communities, other artists and young people, to form 21 Artists. The project provided artistic interventions in alternative spaces, with every project taking place in an alternative environment outside of a traditional gallery or museum in an attempt to engage with audiences and participants who do not normally engage with arts-based activity. The themes of the projects were also connected to the locations where each project took place to further connect the artists with each community and give them an opportunity to showcase their work. In 21 Artists, I found an entrepreneurial endeavour that not only helped me to make some money (though could have been much more successful than it was), but also helped to connect me to all different types of artists, some of which I interviewed as part of this research. Since starting my doctorate, I have also taken on a part time role working with universities and running social impact evaluation on projects at Battersea Arts Centre, which uses a creative, iterative methodology called 'Scratch', similar to the lean start-up methodology and user-generated design discussed in the literature review. They are also passionate about the arts and social change, with many of the projects I work on at the arts centre connected to addressing social inequalities through the arts.

In part, because of my connections through 21 Artists and my MA course in London, my experience exhibiting work in Chicago, and working at Battersea Arts Centre, I was able to approach many personal and professional contacts in the first instance to be interviewed for my research. While I tried to be as objective as possible about who I interviewed, these past experiences, along with an underlying passion and respect for the arts, have undoubtedly impacted the candidate selection, interview process and subsequent analysis. My positionality is an underlying assumption threaded through the research and when obvious influence was present, for example the awareness of

assumed knowledge when interviewing people I knew, these points are explicitly mentioned in the thesis.

5.4.2 Sampling frame and sample size

In this study, a non-probability sampling method was used in which the population size was not known:

> In qualitative research, a focus on one setting or a very small sample allows a more intensive portrait of activities and actors, but it also limits field researchers' ability to generalize and lowers the confidence that others can place in these generalizations.

(Schutt, 2015, p. 169)

While non-probability sampling does not achieve a representative study, it is useful when 'random sampling is not possible, when a research question calls for an intensive investigation of a small population, or when a researcher is performing a preliminary, exploratory study' (Schutt, 2015, p. 170). In grounded theory,

> 'Sampling' is driven not necessarily (or not only) by attempts to be 'representative' of some social body or population (or its heterogeneities) but especially and explicitly by theoretical concerns which have emerged in the provisional analysis. Such 'theoretical sampling' focuses on finding new data sources (persons or things) that can best explicitly address specific theoretically interesting facets of the emergent analysis.

(Bryant and Chamaz, 2007, p. 8)

The very first interviewees were chosen using theoretical sampling, allowing the research to be guided by the sample, and thereafter a snowballing approach was utilised where 'sample elements are selected as they are identified by successive informants or interviewees' (Schutt, 2015, p. 174). Snowballing is a form of purposeful sampling where cases are chosen 'because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon of the study' (Creswell, 2006, p. 125). Snowball sampling is 'useful for hard-to-reach or hard-to-identify populations for which there is no sampling frame', and as there are issues related to the self-identification of people working the creative industries as cultural entrepreneurs, this method proved useful in identifying subjects to research. In this case, because grounded theory was utilised, there was no clear sampling frame at the outset. However, due to the interconnected nature of many in the creative industries,

though often informally, snowballing was found to be a useful approach to finding cultural entrepreneurs to interview. Utilising a creative approach was helpful, however it is important to note that the sample is not representative and any 'generalisations must be tentative' (Schutt, 2015, p. 174).

Due to the complexity and depth desired for this study, a small sample size was chosen which ultimately led to the creation of subgroups within the study. This sample, while not representative, used snowballing to maximise the variation of the sample and was not reliant on my personal connections and bias, but reliant on the connections of the interviewees. Hence, the selection of the sample was based initially upon connections made throughout working in the creative industries over the past ten years, followed by recommendations from the sample and people I met at conferences and events. The sample initially selected were chosen based on my understanding of what a successful cultural entrepreneur was, based on an exploration of the literature to date and the following self-determined criteria connected to business model innovation in the creative industries:

- Interviewees are innovative in the ways they apply the value created in their artistic endeavours to capture value.
- Interviewees are innovative in the way they use their artistic endeavours and creativity to engage new and pre-existing audiences.
- Interviewees are in the process of developing or have developed a new and innovative product or service.
- Interviewees are actively engaged in training those working in the creative industries on how to be entrepreneurial.
- Interviewees are implementing new systems of operating and navigating the creative industries.
- Interviewees work for organisations who are doing one or some of the above.

The interviews that followed, which were obtained through the recommendations of initial interviewees, were based on their own self-identified assumptions of what it meant to be a cultural entrepreneur, hence reinforcing the subjective, complex nature of this area of study. As mentioned previously, this is not a representative study, however, the initial interviewees chosen were selected based on an attempt, though the contacts I had, to be as varied as possible and to represent a diverse mix of genres, ethnicities, cultural backgrounds and genders. The details of selection, the interview process and data collection are further outlined in the following two sections.

5.4.3 Selection and interview process

As mentioned previously, I obtained interviewees initially through professional connections with cultural entrepreneurs in London and Chicago. There are no doubt differences between cultural entrepreneurs in these two locations and the other locations of the interviewees who took part in the study; limited geographical sampling is one of the research limitations. The focus is on business model innovation, and for reasons of sensitivity around ethics and confidentiality, the specifics of each entrepreneur's specific location is not stated. Location was integral to many of the interviewees so their relationships with their localities was discussed without an in-depth investigation of each place; further discussed in Chapter 9. Following initial selection through personal and professional contacts, the sampling developed through snowballing, as participants in the research referred their contacts. Data was collected until it reached saturation, further discussed in section 5.4.5. I began conducting interviews in December 2015 and ended interviews in May 2016.

5.4.4 Ethics

The duration of this study maintained the utmost standards of ethics throughout, in accordance with the University of Exeter's Ethics policies. Additionally, due to the sensitive nature of the data collected, which is connected to business strategies and partnerships, it was essential that due ethical consideration was taken in the design and implementation of this research project. This was done in a number of ways. First, I obtained ethical approval from the information sheet and consent form given to each candidate, approved by the University of Exeter. Each interviewee was given a detailed information sheet (Appendix 1) that outlined the nature of the research project and the parameters of their participation in it and completed a consent form (Appendix 2) that confirmed their acknowledgement and agreement. As data was collected and analysed, supervisors provided helpful feedback to ensure the analysis was in line with these ethical standards. They helped me to also remain reflexive in the analysis process and see places where my own bias might be impacting my findings. This is an inevitable aspect of this research as it is nearly impossible for every researcher to remain completely objective, but objectivity was attempted whenever possible (Suddaby, 2006).

Throughout this study, all respondents remain anonymous and are instead given a name that reflects their gender and cultural background. An introduction to the sample can be found in section 5.6. Each interviewee was also given a code for their quotations that are cited throughout the analysis and discussion chapters. The first part of the code refers to their place in the creative industries (UP = upperground, for example), followed by a number allocated to them and their gender at the end. This helps to add a further context to their quotations during the analysis. In addition to their names, the

organisations have also been anonymised and any other distinguishing aspects such as other organisations they may have worked with; organisational missions; and university affiliations have also been omitted whenever there was a possibility for the organisation and the interviewee to be identified.

5.4.5 Data collection

Interviews were conducted with twenty-two people (14 female, 8 male) in the creative industries who create significant value from their activities either within an organisational or individual setting. These twenty-two interviews range from approximately 30-90 minutes in length and were conducted until saturation was reached. Interviews were conducted face-to-face, by phone or Skype in the UK in London, Exeter, Birmingham, Manchester, Bristol and Brighton, in the US in Chicago and New York City, and in Copenhagen in Denmark. A copy of the interview schedule can be found in Appendix 3. I understand the limitations of Skype and phone interviews, but I did my best to mitigate distractions as those interviews were being conducted. I took notes during each interview and then did some reflective free writing afterwards.

In general, women were much more responsive to my requests and more accommodating to find a time to meet and be interviewed. Ideally the sample would have been split (11 male, 11 women), however because women were more responsive, and I was guided by snowballing and the data that was being collected, I continued on until saturation; in other word I continued to sample until interviews were accounted for by my existing codes. At that stage, there were more women than men, so women remained the majority. It was not always easy to arrange interviews, with many who did not respond to queries, so in order to stay true to snowballing, it was important to continue with the contacts who were suggested and agreed. There was one particular instance where a male, English interview candidate who manages a 3D printing company asked me to come to his office for an interview. After I checked in at reception, I waited for an hour before I reminded him that I was there, in which case he apologised and said that he was unable to conduct the interview that day. He emailed to apologise and asked if we could reschedule. I agreed, and I came in again when the same thing happened once again. At that point, I thanked him for the consideration and left without following up to reschedule. This was the most extreme example, but generally white men were the most difficult to obtain confirmation from and follow through to interview. A few women and people from different nationalities actually followed up with me after I met them, in order to secure that they were included in my data collection. As a result, many of my interview subjects are from varied ethnicities and women are a majority in the sample. Despite the fact that I was open to people of all

ages, because the interviewees were selected starting with my own personal contacts, all but four of the interviewees are under 40 years old. Aligned with grounded theory methodologies, as soon as data collection began, the process of analysis began too. This was assisted by constant comparison using coding, further outlined in section 5.7.

5.5 Interviews

Grounded theory is a beneficial approach for management studies (Ng and Hase, 2008) and helpful as a mechanism to offer new theories to existing bodies of literature, especially when bringing diverse fields of study together (Urquhart, 2013). This was the reason why grounded theory was chosen as the method of data collection and analysis. Additionally, because of the creative nature of my own experience and that of my participants, the creativity and openness offered by grounded theory made that approach the most appropriate method of analysis (Suddaby, 2006). Previous investigations into cultural entrepreneurship has lacked the rigour and depth of more conventional entrepreneurship or social entrepreneurship research, which allows space for more genuine contributions to help these industries flourish (Oakley, 2015). Hence, grounded theory was employed to provide new perspectives and to counteract the bias of my own personal experience working in the arts and on various entrepreneurial endeavours. In alignment with a social constructivist view that all research is situated and therefore can never be completely unbiased, grounded theory proved to be a useful method of gaining a nuanced view in a field where I already have a degree of knowledge and expertise.

To do this, interviews were semi-structured with open-ended questions intended to allow space for interviewers to answer questions in ways that tap into their own personal experience of being entrepreneurial and navigating the industry, rather than explicitly leading them towards answering questions based on the literature or my prior experience. Each interviewee was asked a similar set of questions from a questionnaire designed based on the aims and research questions developed in the first year of research. Appendix 3 demonstrates the semi-structured nature of the interview schedule. There was a total of twenty-one questions beginning with an opening to give context and followed by questions under themes related to entrepreneurship, business models, networks, and digital technologies. All of the themes had supplemental questions in place as follow ups to gain clarification or to further build on an idea if necessary and to allow for the semi-structured nature of the data collection. Snowballing sampling was employed as a way of choosing interviewees in order to gather insights from as diverse a sample as possible and to be guided by the data, interviewing people who work individually, for organisations large and small, from different ethnicities, genders, ages,

geographical locations, disciplines and educational backgrounds. Notes were taken both during the interviews and reflective notetaking was conducted afterwards to gather initial impressions following each interview.

The snowballing method helped to find interviewees, while some were identified from internet research and referrals from others in the industry. In the constant comparison method used, there was an interplay between the sample, the literature and my own interpretation between the two. Therefore, the discussion and the subsequent model created refer back to the literature and are a combination of diverse theories that relate to the data in business model innovation, social entrepreneurship and cultural management. The integral body of literature which formed the basis of the analysis was the Cohendet et al. (2010) research on the underground, middleground, and upperground. In the following section, each interviewee and his or her organisation (if applicable) is presented as an alias, as it remains in the analysis, discussion and conclusion chapters to follow.

5.6 Data analysis

5.6.1 Introducing the sample

Based on the analysis of my sample, three thematic groupings emerged from the data according to the role that each individual played in the creative industries. Though complex and often fluid in the way they operate, these groups can be described simply as 1) artists who are working as sole traders or self-employed entities, or 'the underground', 2) intermediaries who are working on their own or in small companies they have started themselves who are not artists themselves in a predominant sense but work to connect artists with opportunities, or 'the middleground', and 3) people who work in management positions for larger organisations that they have not started on their own, but are acting entrepreneurially within the context of their organisations, or 'the upperground'. These classifications were introduced in the literature review and in the chapters to follow the data and this literature will be connected through the analysis and discussion chapters. First, each interviewee is introduced according to the category that they fall within through discussing a bit of their personal experience and the type of work they are doing now. Pseudonyms for names of people and organisations are used to protect anonymity in alignment with ethical considerations.

Table 5.1: Introducing the sample

Name/Code/Organisation Description
Upperground

Olivia/UP01F/Bridge Arts
Olivia studied psychology and education at a Russell Group university where she got involved with the student union there, putting on small events. Through that experience, she got into her role at the arts centre after working running events at a well-established university arts centre. She is now the leader of a small arts organisation in a 'very, very isolated' town in northern England, built as part of lottery-funded projects. Olivia describes her organisation 'as an organisation that works from its building rather than being just a building,' with a strong focus on community engagement. The building has three performance spaces and a cinema, however the organisation is aware that 'people want to experience art in the streets, in their own spaces whether it's community spaces or their own homes', so the organisation is increasingly focusing on taking work outside of the building through advocacy work and touring. She is also the co-chair of a national group of arts centres that serves as a network of venues committed to supporting artists to make new work from across her region.
Daisy/UP02F/Heritage Unlimited
Daisy went to university at Queen Mary University, studying Geography, before continuing on to do an MA in Citizens and Culture. She serendipitously missed the deadline to do her teacher training after that and ended up taking a temporary position with the organisation she works with now, a large heritage organisation that spans across the whole of England. She has now worked with that organisation for over ten years, and now holds the position of Visitor Experience Consultant based in Bristol, traveling around to various sites in her region, helping the managers of each site to not only reach targets, but to innovate and experiment with new ideas too.
Jeremy/UP03M/Queen's Library
Jeremy studied in the middle east and spent a year in Egypt and subsequently did a bit of journalism and work for this American non-profit in Medan for a number of years and then started working his current position. In all of that he did a mix of business development and working in partnerships with a web and communications focus. In his current position, Jeremy works on a significant, £17m project with a foundation in the middle east as part of a large cultural institution based in London, UK that is primarily a library and archive. He travelled a great deal when he was doing his degree, to the middle east, Zanzibar and India, learning Arabic along the way, which helped to provide key skills in navigating the collaboration with the middle eastern foundation.
Maria/UP04F/Heritage Unlimited

Maria works for the same large heritage organisation that Olivia does, though holds a more senior position, as Assistant Director of Operations for the northeast region. She has been working in the organisation for 18 years, starting off as catering manager after having run her own catering company. After catering manager, she became a property manager for 12.5 years, working her way up to helping to develop major projects with as much as a £5.4 million budget. In that role, she was 'managing the property, looking after a property, being the head of a property and being the person responsible for the property'. After doing that for a while, she decided to make a change and became the Assistant Director of Operations. In that role her 'job is to lead a portfolio of general managers who look after their properties,' and 'supporting a team of six General Manager's which covers the whole of the Northeast', with 'responsibility in different areas of [the organisation] regionally.'

Jillian/UP05F/NLA

Jillian came from a fundraising background, starting out working for a small charity and then working her way up to large organisations and charities working as a Campaigns Manager and doing Business Development and Marketing. She describes this experience as 'the best way to get into the industry,' and were pivotal in her getting the job in her current role as Executive Director of a small arts centre in north London. This organisation is a liberal arts venue in a 'tory heartland,' which has been a challenge for Jillian from the outset. The building was built as an arts centre during a short stint of Labour majority in the area but did not receive much support and even adversity for the space on behalf of the council, and when Jillian first took post, the building was failing and in need of drastic changes, both physically and in term of programming in the spaces. The building has several performance spaces, but she describes it as multi-arts, with a wide range of programming, much of which is catered to the large demographic of families in the area.

Middleground

Terrence/M01M/Gap in the Clouds

Terrence started Gap in the Clouds after a career in IT. He got a degree in Artificial Intelligence and then ran his own IT company, working in between clients in the UK and coders and developers in Egypt. His approach to running Gap in the Clouds is of someone coming from outside of the arts, running things in a systematic and analytical way. Gap in the Clouds, based in London, is a digital platform for artists of all different disciplines to showcase their work and connect with people who they may not have met or be able to meet in person if they are from other cities around the world. The site is also a place for employers to post opportunities for artists who can apply to calls for paid and unpaid work on the site.

Sasha/M02F/Future Forgers

Sasha started Future Forgers after she completed a degree in architecture from University of Bristol. Future Forgers started as a publication and exhibition for recent graduates to have a platform for their work and to gain exposure. She is now the Managing Director of the organisation based in Bristol that offers mentoring and creative enterprise training to empower young people to work in the creative industries. The organisation primarily supports young people who are not in education, employment or training to start careers in the arts. Future Forgers' space in Bristol has art studios, a shop, a café and workshop spaces. They have been offering workshops, courses, internships and work experience programmes since 2014.

Hans/M03M/Bright Lights

Hans, trained as an engineer, started Bright Lights with an internationally known artist friend of his based on his passion and experience in designing solar-powered mechanisms. He worked for years trying to get solar-powered airplanes to market without much success, and after a chat with his artist friend he decided to focus his expertise on designing lamps instead. These lamps are artist-designed, premium solar products with a social business model to benefit communities without electricity worldwide. Based in Denmark, alongside the work they do in rural areas in developing countries to provide light and jobs to local people, they also have exhibitions and events internationally.

Jean/M04F/Division

Jean works full time as a designer, running a design company that she started with her partner, but also runs a series of networking activities and training for artists and designers to help them to become more entrepreneurial. They run mostly in east London and though it is not a self-sustaining business yet, she is taking the knowledge she has gained working in the creative industries. They call themselves a 'business incubator using proven design-led techniques and rapid prototyping to de-risk new ventures'. Many of the budding entrepreneurs they work with are developing products they are trying to get to market.

Maggie/M05F/Swell

Maggie came up with the idea for Swell with a classmate of hers on an MA course in Cultural Policy and Management. They pitched their idea to a business start-up fund within the university and were successful which planted the seed for their business. They then took part in various incubator and start-up training programmes before they were then able to pitch for a greater amount of investment to get their business off of the ground. They call themselves 'fixers', 'secret weapons for solving creative problems', and they work with companies and organisations big and small to help them to source creative talent on a project-by-project basis. Rather than having to source creatives for specific projects, Based in London, Swell liaises with the companies to help them find solutions to their bespoke project needs. In turn, they help artists to find work through their matchmaking, 'fixer' services.

Hannah/M06F/1000 Minds

Hannah got the inspiration for the London-based organisation 1000 Minds when she was working for another, larger arts organisation in London. She noticed that while she was encouraging others to be creative, she was not feeling and being creative herself so she decided to take some time off and asked her friends to give her daily creative challenges to feel more creative. From that, 1000 Minds came about to explore the value of so-called 'everyday creativity' for every person in the UK, which they feel is the key to a passionate and fulfilled life.

Priya/M07F/Brooklyn Shines

Priya started her organisation, Brooklyn Shines, as a means of 'providing space and resources for interdisciplinary artistic collaborations and arts in education programming' in New York City. She has a background in dance and decided to start her own company because she did not see many multi-disciplinary art forms represented in NYC.

Denise/M08F/Yellow Days

Denise runs a company called Yellow Days based in Brighton which provides creative business workshops and coaching for clients from many different types of creative disciplines. She has 25 years of experience also working as a poet, stand-up comedian and theatre maker.

Chloe/M09F/BFArt

Chloe is the Executive Director of BFArt, an artist agency based in London that works to promote a small, select group of up-and-coming visual artists. They cover their studio costs, sell their work, develop cultural partnerships and encourage press exposure to build their reputation so they can focus on their work. Chloe started off working for high-calibre galleries but did not like the pressure and superficiality of the industry, so she decided to start something on her own that felt more authentic to who she is and the art world she wants to be a part of.

Nina/M10F/XL

Nina started off her career with a background in Marketing and Event Management, doing small projects for friends who were artists or who worked in the arts. This slowly became her full-time business, helping artists with their brand development as a curator, interdisciplinary artist and cultural producer. Based in Chicago, she now runs XL that helps artists through strategizing and consultancy. Through this work, she has also held positions with large cultural organisations and hotels and now has the freedom to pursue her own art career as a painter and photographer.

Underground

Jess/UG01F/YSL Flavours

Jess studied art history at university, and that combined with her love of cooking was what sparked her to start her own London-based company, YSL Flavours. Through combining her passion for art and culinary experimentation, her company, in her own words, 'champions the use of food as an artistic medium, with projects ranging from museum-style exhibitions and sculptural installations to interactive lectures and limited-edition confectionery'. She works with high profile museums, galleries and retail stores to combine history and the novelty and nostalgia of food to make a sensory art experience.

Nico/UG02M

Nico grew up in Portugal where he decided to enter a fashion competition on a whim. He ended up winning the competition which led him to train in fashion design to study menswear. After he graduated, he worked for a small, family-owned business as a head assistant to the head designer. He moved on from there to work a job in China that had major clients in the US, Europe and the Middle East. He designed 100-200 pieces for big companies every season which proved to be a lucrative training experience though ended up being very draining in the long-term. He then came back to the UK after a year and a half to help his friend start a brand and to teach at a university. After budget cuts, they got rid of his role at the university, so he decided to start his own company. He decided on an underwear company using organic cotton that is sustainably sourced and processed in a chemical-free environment based in London.

Whitney/UG03F

Whitney, originally from the Netherlands, was trained in performance in Amsterdam, and now based in in London, has been working across different media since then. She had worked mostly in film, music, digital and theatre before moving to the UK and meeting two other theatre directors who she went on to work and collaborate with as part of a company for about eight years. They made experimental theatre that worked on a commission basis and later became an NPO and did work with large companies, governmental organisations and universities around the UK. She moved on from there to work freelance to explore how her diverse knowledge and expertise could be used to develop projects that 'bring together artists, experts, academics, storytellers, game designers, coders, activists, companies, institutions and audiences to explore big ideas together'.

Sean/UG04M

Sean is a poet, writer and playwright who was born in Uganda before moving to Kenya, Saudi Arabia and then London, UK, where he is currently based. He sees himself as a combination of all of these cultures. While he says he always wrote poetry, he initially studied for a degree in biochemistry. After he challenged a professor on the theory of evolution, they failed him in every subject and he had to retake the exam that next year. This experience depleted his confidence and discouraged him from pursuing that field. Around that time, he started attending a local art college and used that as an emotional release and eventually started writing, performing and running workshops regularly while working at a bank. He later decided to quit working at the bank to be a

writer full time which he has continued to develop ever since, working with theatres, writing books and collections and performing internationally.

Martin/UG05M
Based in southeast London, Martin started off doing a drama degree in 2002, where he started a theatre company shortly thereafter and he later went on to get an MFA in theatre directing. He started another theatre company where he worked as a director and a producer while working side jobs running workshops in primary schools and directing for universities. He is now Artistic Director of a company that 'exists to provoke honest, playful and inspiring conversations about the biggest challenges which face our society. We use theatre to create connections within and between communities, both in the UK and around the world, and to bring previously unheard voices into the mainstream'

Femi/UG06M
Originally from Nigeria, Femi is a poet and theatre maker who moved to the UK when he was 12. He drew a lot in school and later on got into writing poetry and doing graphic design. He now travels a great deal working as a poet and playwright, and also runs a side company that brings people together through art and the urban landscape, gathering together 'complete strangers in a city from 6pm to midnight or to 6am where I get local artists to run workshops during the course'. He is based in London but works internationally on poetry and theatre projects and shows his work in major venues and platforms such as the National Theatre and the BBC.

Florence/UG07F
Florence grew up in Australia and originally started off her career working in an internet café during the 'golden age of web design and making things up' where she started a web design company with a few of the people she met at the café. She does not have a university degree but has worked for several large software companies creating 'web application stuff'. Through working for one of these large companies she got a job working with the Library of Congress in the US, trying to get public photography collections onto the internet. It was through that job where she got a chance to work closely with museum curators and librarians. After leaving that role and moving to London, she started a design firm that focuses on cultural heritage projects and now also runs a company that is 'object-oriented experience design for museums' that brings learning from museums into schools and peoples' homes through boxes that are designed around particular museum collections.

5.6.2 Coding

Put simply, 'coding is the term used for attaching conceptual labels to data', to formulate analysis (Urquhart, 2013, p.35). Coding is used in a variety of qualitative data collection and analysis techniques with grounded theory just being one of the ways this process is utilised. While there are various approaches to coding, it is important to understand the conceptual underpinnings of why coding is valuable in theory development: 'a theory is a relationship between constructs [...] so if coding helps us to build those constructs then it is also vital to consider the relationships between these constructs', or codes, which is one phase of the coding process (Urquhart, 2013, p. 36). In order to get the most out of the data and the process itself, the goal is to move beyond descriptive coding to analytical coding that asks more in-depth questions about what is really happening rather than merely summarising the data. While it may be possible to begin with analytical coding, descriptive coding offers a strong pathway to the analytical as it encompasses not only the identification of concepts through coding but also the links and relationships between these concepts to form a theory from them (Urquhart, 2013). The identification and refinement of these codes should be reflected upon iteratively throughout the coding process until saturation has been reached, whereby coding can cease (Bowen, 2006).

Three phases of coding are traditionally used in grounded theory and may differ slightly depending on whether Glaser or Strauss' approach is adopted. Coding according to Strauss uses open, axial and selective coding while Glaser identified open, selective and theoretical coding as the type of codes to use. Open coding is the way the coding commences for both approaches, 'assigning codes to a piece of data' in a more descriptive and open way so as not to close off any possible pathways the data may take (Urqhart, 2013, p. 45). Open codes, 'flesh out what is important and point to directions in the analysis that you may not have thought of, directions suggested by the data', often done line-by-line (Urquhart, 2013, p. 24). The overall aim is to ultimately pin analytic codes rather than purely summative ones, however the easiest way to begin is to choose descriptive codes as a pathway into the data. One useful way to start is by deciphering open, summative codes 'with the occasional analytic insight, [...] summarising the data with an open code and more analytic ones will emerge' (Urquhart, 2013, p. 81). Open codes are then grouped into selective codes which are wider contexts of analysing the data and once selective codes begin to find ways they relate to one another, then the researcher has entered the theoretical coding stage. Selective coding is the phase when coding proceeds more narrowly, working more deeply to add distinction to core categories. As stated by Urquhart, selective coding is the stage 'when coding is limited to only those categories that relate to the core category' (2013, p. 24). At this point, 'selective coding occurs is fairly obvious, as there are no new open codes suggesting themselves and definite themes are emerging. Categories become

'saturated' at this stage (Urquhart, 2013, p. 24). The Straussian approach to grounded theory requires that axial coding is done first, and because of this some view Glaser's approach as the simpler of the two (Urquhart, 2013). Axial coding is similar to selective coding though it combines selective coding with a coding structure of sorts prompted by 'causal conditions, context, intervening conditions, action/interaction strategies and consequences' (Urquhart, 2013, p. 25; Strauss and Corbin 1990). In short, axial coding is the process of compartmentalising themes while simultaneously analysing how they might relate to one another. Regarding the choice of a Strassurian or Glaserian approach, my research favoured a Glaserian style of analysis. This was in part because of his emphasis on the distinctive concept of theoretical sensitivity, or an 'openness to new or unexpected interpretation of the data', which combines literature, data, and experience, with 'attention to subtleties of meaning' as the data collected was analysed (Suddaby, 2006, p. 641). The term reconciles the 'tension between the mechanical application of technique and the importance of interpretive insight', valuing a more open, creative approach over the stricter formalities of data analysis Strauss preferred (Suddaby, 2006, p. 638; Glaser, 1978).

The final stage in all of grounded theory is that of theoretical coding, or 'when we relate the codes to each other and look at the nature of the relationships between the codes', thereby 'building the theory' (Urquhart, 2013, p. 26). There are a number of different coding families such as 'The 6 C's – causes, contexts, contingencies, consequences, covariances and conditions' that can be useful when linking codes and categories of codes, though true to grounded theory, the data should guide theory development so these methods of linking codes need to be flexible in nature (Urquhart, 2013, p. 27). When generating a theory, there are four components: means of representation, constructs, statements of relationship and scope (Urquhart, 2013, p. 106). To create that theory, theoretical coding, or 'the process of relating categories and the process of theorising about those relationships', is the means to get to that theory (Urquhart, 2013, p. 107). Some of the ways theoretical codes emerge can come from existing theories, pre-existing 'coding families' from theorists such as Glaser, other qualitative analysis methods and from theoretical memoing. Theoretical memos don't need to have the structure of the coding process though are a 'vital tool for theorising' where 'valuable and creative ideas about findings and relationships between categories are written down during the process of analysis (p. 110). Another useful tool in the theory development process is integrative diagrams which visually aid in linking categories and can be particularly useful to assist in the creative process of grounded theory and to provide yet another mechanism to gain new perspectives from the data (Urquhart, 2013). Both of these techniques were used between each stage of the coding process, further described in the following section.

5.6.3 Coding process

In practice, coding is a messy, creative and iterative process of discovery where decisions on directions of research were made in collaboration with the literature. Not having a grounding in a theory or in the literature proved unsettling at times but liberating in the next. As a result of the lack of grounding, there was an inevitability that some of the ideas needed to be sense-checked with pre-existing research in various fields of study, predominantly business model innovation, social entrepreneurship and cultural entrepreneurship literature. The codes were first and foremost influenced by that data, following in an interplay between the literature and my own interpretations. Emphasising the role of the researcher's insights and creativity in the coding and analysis process, Corbin and Strauss state,

> If the researcher simply follows the grounded theory procedures/canons without imagination or insight into what the data are reflecting- because he or she fails to see what they are really indicate except in terms of trivial or well-known phenomena-, then the published findings fail on this criterion. Because there is an interplay between researcher and data, no method, certainly not grounded theory, can ensure that the interplay will be creative. Creativity depends on the researcher's analytic ability, theoretical sensitivity, and sensitivity to subtleties of the action/interaction (plus the ability to convey the findings in writing)'.

> (1990, p. 19)

Inherent in this approach is the inevitably subjective nature of analysis using grounded theory. I tried to be as objective as possible, but I undoubtedly drew upon my past experience as a creative practitioner, an artist, educator, and curator, along with the data itself and the literature, to formulate new and innovative concepts. In order to begin the analysis process, I began coding using NVivo from transcribed interviews before the interviews were complete. Even before coding commenced, analysis began through notes taken during interviews and theoretical memos of reflective writing after each interview. As the interviews were semi-structured, there was a certain level of analysis and discernment involved even during the interview process to determine which areas were of importance and need to be teased out further. The notes were not coded as the interviews themselves were, however, they formed an integral aspect of the coding process through initiating analysis, albeit through reflective thinking that became part of the codes that were developed. The analysis process was as follows:

In line with Glaser's approach to grounded theory, the first codes identified were open codes, followed by selective and theoretical codes. The initial open codes were as follows,

- Entrepreneurial mentality and attitude

- Geography and location

- Learning

- Networks

- Strategy and approach

- Using digital to create and capture value

- Ways of creating value

- Ways of capturing value

There was overlap between some of these categories such as 'using digital to create and capture value' which were present in the 'ways of creating value' and 'ways of capturing value'. There is a clear connection between these codes and the interview questions which ultimately came from the research aims. Using NVivo was helpful to organise the codes and see the connections between them. Some of the quotes that were coded from the interviews were coded twice because of their overlapping nature. I found it difficult to adhere to the open coding from the outset as there was a tendency to delve more deeply into the data. However, where possible I tried to code the quotations using the broad, open codes initially before diving deeper into the data with the selective and theoretical codes. The coding process using Nvivo was methodological in that sense, however, interviews were coded differently depending on when they were analysed and when they took place. For example, the ones which were transcribed and analysed first were coded using open codes first, followed by a few selective codes. As more of the data was coded, more selective and theoretical codes emerged, and earlier data was revisited considering the new, more refined codes and further coded accordingly. During coding theoretical memos were used to keep track of new codes and to find connections between coding categories. Saturation was determined once new codes ceased to emerge in the coding of the data. For example, Chloe's interview was the first one to be coded, so more general codes such as 'entrepreneurial mentality'; 'ways of creating and capturing value'; and 'networks' were used, while Louise's interview was one of the last ones to be coded and was not coded very much because there were no new codes emerging. With the codes connected to Chloe's interview, these were revisited and some of them rearranged as larger themes such as 'identity' and 'learning' came out as predominant themes later on in the coding process. Hence, Chloe's data had to be coded with further detail as the selective and theoretical codes emerged. The full list of open, selective and theoretical codes can be found in Appendix 5.

These codes formed the foundation of the data analysis in Chapters 6-8, and as is evident in the codes, they encompass the practicalities of creating and capturing value and also softer nuances in the data such as attitudes towards identity, approaches to failure, learning from past experience and risk-taking. This is why, in the analysis, not only the elements of the business model such as creating and capturing value are explored, but also more personal aspects such as individual attributes and motivation which also emerged as key themes in the analysis chapters. As the data was collected through semi-structured interviews with more open-ended questions, there are some key aspects of the data that could not be included in the analysis, namely themes around developing entrepreneurial skills which comes under the theme of 'learning'. Also, interestingly, one of the questions in the interviews highlights the importance of being embedded in a particular location which has impacted the way cultural entrepreneurs operate, however this did not seem nearly as relevant as the importance of location in creating and capturing value. In this sense, it was important for many to have connections with the communities where they operate, however there was not as much discussion as to whether or not the city or location itself was of particular influence. These could be areas of future research, outlined in section 9.3.

5.7 Conclusion

Grounded theory was a novel and innovative approach to researching cultural entrepreneurship. The coding process in accordance with the Glaserian approach provided a useful way to find new perspectives in this under-researched field. In addition to strong connections to business model innovation, one concept embedded throughout my analysis that emerged from the data in relation to the literature was that cultural entrepreneurs have a strong resemblance to social entrepreneurs (Dacin et al., 2010). Subsequently, a previously outlined method of defining and analysing social entrepreneurs was adopted to the new data collected as the analysis evolved. This method focuses on 'four dimensions in the social entrepreneurship definitional framework: individual differences, operating sector, processes/re- sources, and primary mission' (Dacin et al., 2010, p. 43). Further details on each of these attributes can be found in the following chapter. Another aspect very prevalent in the analysis connects to social entrepreneurship literature is that of balancing multiple missions (social, cultural, economic, etc.) and the level of accountability associated with that so management literature in triple and quadruple bottom line were subsequently explored alongside analysis (Albinsson, 2017).

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS: THE UNDERGROUND

6.1 Introduction

Building on the detailed account of research design and data collection in Chapter 5, the focus for this chapter is the analysis of the underground. The underground are dynamic individuals who unite 'the creative, artistic and cultural activities taking place outside any formal organization or institution based on production, exploitation or diffusion' who 'share a common deep interest for their art and culture, which defines their identity and lifestyle' (Cohendet et al., 2010, p. 96). The underground will be examined according to four main themes outlined as key differentiating factors amongst social entrepreneurs: mission and motivation; individual characteristics; resource and process (value creation and value capture); and the world they operate within (Dacin et al., 2010). Whilst there are no doubt differences between the social and cultural entrepreneur, the more extensive research conducted in this social entrepreneurship literature provides a strong foundation for discussion and analysis in the context of cultural entrepreneurs in the underground. These themes will be discussed in relation to interviewees who can be classified as members of the underground, connecting interview findings with the literature.

6.2 Mission and motivation

In the data it was evident that motivation played a key role in the way the underground engaged with the world, with passion and motivation intricately linked (Simpson et al., 2015). In the absence of profit, passion is clearly a key motivator for the underground, as discussed in reference to the creative industries more widely in section 2.6. Motivation took two forms- the motivation to create and the motivation to be entrepreneurial. The first point begs the question- what drives the underground to create in the first place? A wide variety of reasons were stated but mainly fell into two categories. The first is the desire to feel and be creative- to make a high-quality artistic output; for self-expression; and for artistic innovation, tying into one key part of the quadruple bottom line model. The second motivation is for social benefits, or to use their work for social aims, tying into a second quadrant in the QBL model, social change. In short, these drivers were social (both building relationships and for social change) and artistic (the need to express themselves and create with others), working for 'exposure, experience, friendship or interest' in lieu of money in some instances (Scott, 2012, p. 238). The second aspect of motivation is the drive for the underground to be entrepreneurial in the way

they approach their work. For this it is important to make the distinction that being entrepreneurial and being commercial are two different things. The underground has found a way to navigate the challenges of making money in the arts and remaining authentic in the process. In the context of motivation, making money is a motivator, however, only in the context of furthering the social and cultural mission of their work. Many viewed this as an extension of their creative process. Motivation and connection to a mission is further discussed in the sections to follow.

6.2.1 Artistic innovation and social benefits

Feeling motivated to create was one key explanation as to why people dedicated their livelihoods to working in the industry. Food/visual artist Jess says, 'it's competitive in the creative industries. Love what you do but work very hard. There's no way a creative career is an easy career.' The motivation for creative expression or artistic innovation can come from a number of places. Some are driven by an innate connection to the arts with a drive to create beautiful things and express themselves in a way that is unique to them and their experience and their identity, as discussed in section 6.4.1. A desire to express themselves often comes from their identity which connects to how they view themselves as artists and often also connects to identity in and around who they are; where they are from; and barriers they have or seek to overcome as a way to connect to others' experiences with their art. As stated by British-Nigerian poet, Femi: 'if I had to bring it [his work] down to one word, it would be being an immigrant in the West and being a black man in the west because all of that gave rise to three words that are quite prevalent in my work which are identity, displacement and destiny.' He goes on to explain how because he moved around a lot when he was young, his identity connected to his status as an immigrant living in the UK has been a catalyst for him to make art. It underlies everything he creates, from poetry to theatre to graphic design. He fell into graphic design in his later teen years because it was 'art with a purpose', disillusioned with the pretentious tendencies of the art world, before delving back into fine art through poetry and theatre. Poet Sean says,

> There was a day when I realised what art meant to me. I went to a creative writing course and that day, my best friend, his wife and another lady were in our group, and they asked me, "Sean, what would you do if you couldn't write anymore?" I burst into tears. I was crying like a baby. In that moment, it took me off guard. It made me realise this writing is not a game for me. It made me realise I'm not doing this for the girls, the fame or the glory, this is something intrinsic.

The drive to innovate artistically and to create for self-expression remains a primary motivator in many cases, yet for some in the underground the creative output is merely a conduit toward achieving a wider social impact. Being entrepreneurial in some of these cases was a way to not only drive social change, but as a mechanism to change the systems that caused the problems themselves such as lack of jobs, training and opportunities for underrepresented groups in the arts. This ties into two quadrants of Albinsson's four 'bottom lines', social change and institutional development. Femi discusses the social benefits arising from his work,

> My background, has been moving from country to country, groups of friends to groups of friends trying to find artistic engagement and authentic platforms to be human or to find what is human or common amongst us regardless of culture, time, space, financial or socio-economic background.

In his work, the artistic and the social are closely intertwined, and his motivation to create is based on an intrinsic desire to express these aspects of his past combined with the social validation and value that comes from expressing that for others. Sean continues,

> Of course you want financial success but that's just for living. I would still do this if all my things were sorted out, I would still do this art. If all my financials were sorted, I would say, let's go write a book, let's go do a project, etc. It's about making a difference in the world, in the way people engage, in the way they connect.

6.2.2 Entrepreneurial motivations

Entrepreneurial motivation differs from motivation to create art, though for successful cultural entrepreneurs they are intricately connected, similar to Gangi's theories around the synergies between entrepreneurial and artistic innovation (2015). Innovating in the way they create and capture value is valid in its own right, but is also seen as a means to have a wider reach and a greater impact with the work they create. As stated by fashion designer Nico who is making clothing out of sustainable, organic cotton, 'the way I am approaching the business is not in a financial way. The way we are going about it is that I want to make a difference in the industry,' connecting to institutional development. Though the discourse in motivations towards cultural entrepreneurship literature can diverge in many ways, it often begins with the notion that entrepreneurship is driven by 'a set of personal motivations – autonomy, creativity – than in other allegedly more commercial sectors' (Oakley, 2013, p. 149; Oakley and Leadbeater, 1999, Banks, 2007). Nico's sentiments confirm this, along with Jess: 'I love every day and every week being different and some people they like the

structure and it can be really hard to work on your own, especially keeping up that motivation.' She continues,

> I had been working for a slightly larger company before, and I didn't like it. I didn't like the way people behaved when they were part of a larger machine. People did stuff they would never do personally, and they would do professionally, with the idea of professionalism being quite a negative thing at some point. So, I always think business has to be personal. Especially when your creative practice is so much a part of you, it's personal.

For Jess, she prefers working independently rather than a larger organisation, so a desire for autonomy provides motivation for her to act entrepreneurially. She continues,

> You just have to make sure that you're staying inspired. I'm always researching and staying engaged, not just being in your ivory tower, working with others, collaborating with others, going to things. Being active is really important.

Being entrepreneurial is a challenge for the underground not only in finding innovative ways to capture the value they create, but also in staying motivated to continue to work on their own. This is especially true for the underground because they often work project to project and do not have the same structure or team they work with all the time. Part of this distinction then falls to the characteristics of individuals who are drawn to and able to sustain that style of working, further outlined in the following section.

6.3 Individual characteristics

As mentioned in Chapter 3, some social entrepreneurship scholars encourage a move away from a focus on the individual traits, background and characteristics of the entrepreneur towards a stronger focus on entrepreneurial process and the context that entrepreneurs operate within (Santos, 2012). Personality traits, capacity and capabilities such as past experience, education and risk-taking are still important entrepreneurial determinants, and though a sole focus on these factors can be limiting, understanding them is significant. Building from the previous section, motivation and individual characteristics do not exist in isolation; they intricately and intimately connected. In direct connection to motivation for the underground, namely the project-based nature of the work, the desire for flexibility, autonomy and the freedom it provides to move from place to place is important (Markusen, 2006; Oakley, 2013 Woronkowicz and Noonan, 2017). The data confirms that many in the underground enjoy the autonomy of working on their own, aligning with a strong sense of purpose or conviction to create and a desire for flexibility and freedom to be able to travel. In Appendix 5,

individual characteristics are mapped out in a table based on quotations gathered in interviews as evidence for the claims made in this section.

The main point of distinction between individual characteristics in cultural entrepreneurs in the underground as opposed to other types of entrepreneurs is the passionate drive to be creative and express themselves artistically. As there are synergies between artistic and entrepreneurial action, the important link here is how the underground merge their entrepreneurial and artistic identities (Gangi, 2015). Part of this is a viewpoint is their own entrepreneurial identity, and how that then relates to their own efforts to building and maintaining their entrepreneurial capacity, or the 'set of knowledge resources and skills that are essential for an opportunity to be realised, combined with motivation to do so' (McKenzie et al., 2007, p. 30). When this relationship works well it ties into the creativity required for success in entrepreneurial ventures in Wilson and Martin's dynamic capabilities theory (2015). Other capabilities include entrepreneurial reflexivity, entrepreneurial performance, and entrepreneurial intent (Wilson and Martin, 2015, p. 166). Entrepreneurial performance relates to skills necessary to run a business while aspects such as the strong connection to identity are particularly important and relate to reflexivity. This was a key theme that emerged in interviews with much of the value created by the underground connected to identity or the concept of 'self' and how that relates to other people.

Generally, the underground already has a creative and reflexive practice purely from the process necessary for creating art (Naudin, 2013; Banks, 2006). However, the link between entrepreneurial and artistic creativity requires a reconciliation that it is acceptable to be entrepreneurial and even adopting it as an aspect of their identity. In the same way that creativity and innovation have made their way to mainstream rhetoric, as they were once restricted to that of bohemia and the avant-garde, the romantic idea of the artist as an isolated, creative genius is being dispelled, despite the fact that some of that rhetoric still remains (Oakley, 2015; Gangi, 2015). This relates to entrepreneurial intent, as there has to be an intent to pursue an entrepreneurial venture but also intent to be entrepreneurial (Stokes and Wilson, 2015). They are more concerned with being perceived to be inauthentic or 'selling out', then it is difficult for them to realise an intent to be entrepreneurial. As iterated by middleground interviewee Maggie, 'I think there is still a big stigma around selling out as an artist.' Often this comes with a rejection from others in the underground when they commodify their art practice, which will inevitably leave them in the realm of the underground separating them from the legitimacy that comes from connecting with the middle and upperground. When asked if she was a cultural entrepreneur, Whitney says, 'I've never used it but I'd like to think that I am because it makes me sound a lot more professional than I sometimes feel. I think I'm growing more

into one.' She expands on her skills have developed as an entrepreneur:

> I'm turning more into an entrepreneur in the skill set I've built up. I'm definitely cultural and my career so far is about creating and managing complex partnerships and translating complex ideas into cultural artefacts and productions. The entrepreneurship is something I'm growing into but it's also about creating a space and allowing yourself to be that way.

For Femi, he attributes his entrepreneurial nature to his cultural background and the way he was raised,

> There's just something resourceful about it- always getting up and making something out of nothing. Also, being an artist, you always question and are thinking about making something out of nothing because that's how we begin.

For Femi and Whitney, they have made that connection between being creative and their business practices. For Florence, when asked if she thinks of herself as an entrepreneur, she says, 'yes, I am starting to,' but hesitates because, 'there's quite a few wankers in the tech world who call themselves entrepreneurs and have really bad ideas and big chests who peacock around all the time.' She continues, 'I guess I don't particularly label myself like that because I think being a designer is much more interesting.' On her entrepreneurial abilities, she says, 'well I'm good at experimenting. Making things, trying things, talking about the things we're doing. I'm pretty good at sales which I think is a big part of entrepreneurship.' Florence's acknowledgement of her entrepreneurial abilities while also knowing the areas where she needs help, relates directly reflexivity and entrepreneurial performance (Stokes and Wilson, 2015). Through the data it was evident that this is still a struggle for some in the underground which is often something that can the middle and upperground are able to assist with. One of those is middleground entrepreneur, Maggie, whose company has been 'successful in teaching freelancers how to sell themselves,' supporting the assumption that artists in the underground can be taught to be more entrepreneurial (Wilson, 2009; Naudin, 2013).

For the combined entrepreneurial and artistic pursuit of the underground, it is often their identity which is integral to entrepreneurial performance. Creativity is inherent in artistic practice, however a key connection needs to be made for artists in the underground between artistic creativity and creativity as an entrepreneur. Identity was also a key resource that was leveraged to create different types of value, often related to cultural background. As their sense of identity was more often a key aspect of the value they created, identity is further discussed below in the context of process and resource, or value creation and value capture.

6.4 Value creation

The creative industries create immense value for society, building key resources that satisfy a plethora of human needs (Gangi, 2015). Similar to social entrepreneurs, resources for cultural entrepreneurs in the underground are the foundation that everything else is built upon, and the process includes the mechanisms and actions put in place to make the most of this resource through capturing that value (Santos, 2012). In the context of business model rhetoric, resource is another way of thinking about value created and process is linked directly to value capture, with value capture also relating to how resources are combined in production (Afuah, 2014). The emphasis of this section is the connection between value creation and value capture's holistic framework for the business model related to the business ecosystem or value constellation. Hence resource is substituted for 'value creation' and process for 'value capture' to more align with the rhetoric present in business model innovation. Connecting both their motivation to create and their motivation to be entrepreneurial, resource and process go far beyond merely financial gain for the underground. As discussed in the previous section, value creation and value capture for the cultural entrepreneur are often at odds with one another, though amongst interviewees, financial gain was seen as a necessary means to create more value for more people (Gangi, 2015). In most cases the key to reconciling the two dimensions relies upon a focus, first on the value they create, with the potential to capture that value as a crucial afterthought. Key themes connected to resource were identity, networks, and artistic merit and artistic skills, all connected directly to entrepreneurial process at a later stage, discussed in the final section.

6.4.1 Identity

As mentioned in the previous section, entrepreneurial identity for the cultural entrepreneurs in the underground is a challenge but is integral for success. The distinguishing factor of artists and cultural entrepreneurs in the underground self-identifying as entrepreneurs is pivotal and this aspect of identity was discussed in the previous section. The second aspect connected to identity- their cultural identity and identity are also connected in many instances to the type of value they create and are great motivators, contributing to their need for autonomy and connection to a sense of greater purpose. Regarding this identity, poet and theatre maker Femi states,

> 'If I had to bring it down to one word (to describe his work), it would be being an immigrant in the West and being a black man in the west because all of that gave rise to three words that

are quite prevalent in my work which are identity, displacement and destiny. I've had identity problems ever since I was born.

It is these identity 'problems' that his work explores, which is a key pillar for the value his art creates, his brand as an artist, and the way he connects with different groups of people. This then lends itself to building and maintaining financial support, or capturing that value, further discussed in the following section. He has a strong knowledge of self and awareness of his place in the world, even if these forces are at odds with one another at times, creating 'problems' as he says, but he uses that tension as the foundation of his work. Femi in particular is compelled to use his identity as a means of creating work that feels authentic to him, resonates with his audiences and connects him with other people. This helps him to stay motivated, sustaining a sense of confidence and conviction when pursuing his art. He truly understands how his voice can offer value to society, seeing his wider societal connection and context as a huge asset for the sustenance of his art form. Additionally, I would argue he is further driven to commercialise the poems, plays and graphic works he makes to 'protect a unique heritage' and his voice, a common theme seen amongst other 'arts- and culture-oriented social entrepreneurs' (Dacin et al., 2011, p. 47). Similarly, Sean discusses having the strength to use his identity as the foundation of his work,

> You kind of feel at times like the 'other'. You can't really write a story, and because I'm from Uganda but I forgot my language, so I felt like I didn't have permission to write about things that were locked in my memory and imagination. This tension is what I explore through my work.

Identity as an artist also has a key role to play in value creation. Artistic abilities and creative approach can be a key resource for entrepreneurs in the underground. Femi states that his work offers a 'high quality and bespoke approach to creating art rather than mass producing, just creating beautiful moments and beautiful things.' However, because value in the creative industries is so subjective (Banks, 2006), often the value the artists themselves place on their work is essential to how confident they feel in putting their work out into the world to be captured in some way. Often this is an awareness of their worth. As affirmed by Whitney,

> 'I think it's really thinking about the invitation. We are exciting. Creative people with good ideas are exciting to the world so that makes an easy sell. I don't think it's too hard but the thing that needs thought, before you enter that conversation, it's thinking about who you are and what you have to offer'.

Sean states,

It took a while in being confident, competent in craft but also confident in being vulnerable enough to tell a story and a lot of the writers on that first anthology published in 2010, a lot of those writers have published their third or second book now.

In short, as long as they believed in themselves and what they were doing, they had the courage to promote and sell their work with conviction in earnest. In opposition to that, if the artist did not feel confident in the work they were making, there was an internal conflict towards putting the work out there for people to see or buy. In this sense, honing the craft in the eyes of the artist is a necessary first step to being entrepreneurial with their work. Sean continues,

I had to learn how to put the art first which isn't easy because it requires discipline, writing time, and also you really have to be more responsible around applying for funding, working with people. I was really bad at that but now I'm a lot better and also willing to go further than before.

This proved to be the catalyst for the success of his work and a key to motivating him to publish many books and poetry anthologies. As Sean's quote exemplifies, similar to social entrepreneurship, the underground can face 'complex and difficult identity issues' just like those 'who have worked mainly in the non-profit sector may find it difficult to identify closely with the commercial side of the business' (Tracey and Phillips, 2007, p. 267). Therefore, a strong knowledge of self is important when having the confidence for the underground to pursue entrepreneurial ventures and also in understanding the value that they as artists have to offer to society. The process of pursuing an entrepreneurial venture can be risky, demanding 'a commitment derived from a belief in one's self and one's hunch or vision. It is gambling on the future value of a product in a very volatile and fast moving symbolic circuit' (O'Connor, 1999, p. 11). More on the value created through networks in the following section.

6.4.2 Social change

Create value through artistic innovation also leads to countless social benefits. These include the social benefit of connecting with others in the underground through collaboration and communities of practice and also to improve the lives of others through their work. Theatre maker Whitney says,

With [a theatre project of hers], because it was such a complex and important show, it struck a chord with so many people. The nature of it and the development of it started as a normal collaboration where we eventually worked with many diverse organisations to make it happen.

Collaboration in this sense is a way of sharing resources; creating new value; and having more of an impact with the work, tying into the importance of networks (section 2.5.2) in building these relationships. Whitney continues in reference to another project, 'I'm working with big organisations to bring culture, business and the public together. In this project, the process is as much of the art piece as the outcome is.' She continues,

> I make work where audiences are integral and bring them into new spaces, creating new partnerships. My focus right now is on how I create the biggest possible impact with it. How can we take those acting skills, those storytelling skills, those collaborative, making skills which I think theatre is perfect for art alone and how can we bring that to different contexts, spreading it far and wide?

In this case, the relationships built and the process of different players coming together, particularly those in the upperground, add another layer of value to the project. For Martin, a part of his motivation to push artistic boundaries with his work is also connected to how the audience would engage with one another and engage personally with big political questions. In short, he strived to impact the audience with his work. He says, 'I enjoy working with young people a lot', which has led him to incorporate community access work into the theatre shows he makes. For Sean, a similar social motivation is present too. He says, 'that's the way I realised I can make money- devise these projects I feel make a difference in the world.'

6.4.3 Networks

As discussed in section 2.5.2, networks are a key part of the success of the cultural entrepreneur, with the relationships themselves of essential value to the cultural entrepreneur. Whitney emphasises the value of building relationships: 'creative partnerships are the same as financial ones and building them is all about communicating value.' These networks can be partnerships but also closer to concepts around communities of practice where groups of underground actors work together to create value and ultimately offer opportunities for exposure and material gain but also for artistic support and innovation. Communities of practice provide, 'deep mutual respect, collective responsibility, a culture of openness, an inquiring mindset, trust, and shared purpose' (McAlister, 2016, p. 2). The underground often navigates collectively, 'bringing together the creative, artistic and cultural activities taking place outside any formal organisation or institution,' the status of members within the underground therefore depends on the' amounts of contacts, social capital and respect he or she can command' (Cohendet et al. 2010, p. 96).

Fashion designer, Nico, states,

> Selling is about working the relationship-side. So, I am selling the idea and at first, then they buy the product. The product is just the end result after they buy me and the idea. It's all about relationships. It's more important at the end of the day. They will keep buying the product if they are bought into me and the idea.

On whether or not she depends on her networks, Jess states,

> Constantly. They [her personal and professional life] are completely intertwined. The fact that I always have business cards on me, whatever I'm doing, wherever I'm going, is indicative of that. You never know who you'll meet and that works for some people. It's not about the hard sell, especially when it's creative. You don't want to push your creative project down someone's throat. You want them to get excited about it and often I really like meeting someone randomly at a private view and you end up talking really passionately about what you do. That for me is a much nicer introduction to what you do than having a business meeting.

In this case, Jess affirms the importance of building a network but also touches on her value proposition and the often-informal nature in which that proposition is communicated to her network as she builds it. Femi states that he now contacts funders and producers directly about supporting the making of his shows because he has built good relationships with them over the years, with many conversations brokered from 'good will'; 'artistic integrity'; 'consistency'; and 'work ethic.' To engage with his audience, social media plays a big role in that. He says, initially, 'I started to use Twitter to create a conversation about myself and my audiences but also to talk about poetry, about identity, about place, about voice and all of these things.' Eventually it has even become a way to create value through artistic expression, encouraging his audiences to collaborate on the medium and write poems together, both building his network and theirs.

On the process of building networks, Whitney offers this approach,

> It's about getting a project out there so people can discover you. Some people are nervous to talk about things that are not ready or unfinished, but it's important to talk about why you're doing it and communicating that. This is so you can identify as possible partners, but you can't sit and wait, you have to go out there and find people you want to work with.

While he doesn't enjoy the process of face-to-face networking, Sean iterates it is a necessary part of the work he does, 'I hate networking. If I could stay in my house, I would. Just leave me. But I made an

effort to go to things, even if they had a small glimpse of interest. A friend who needs support? Let me go there because you never know who you meet and a lot of times you meet the right people.'

6.5 Value capture

Put simply, value capture in the underground most often takes the form of a product or service (Albinsson, 2017). The underground is only entrepreneurial when artists find ways to translate the value they create into value captured, when their work is consumer by groups such as audiences, companies, and private donors. For a business to be considered innovative, its intended market must consume the value proposition offered which often address a specific need, using creativity and innovation to identify opportunities (Gangi, 2015; Timmons 1990). This does not negate the importance of this wide range of value created, for social, cultural, community and economic benefits, however, 'value unconsumed, cannot be considered entrepreneurial and, therefore, remains simply ideas' (Gangi, 2015, p. 249; Timmons, 1990). In short, entrepreneurship for the underground translates as creating value with an awareness of value created in order to find ways of capturing it. As stated by O'Connor, a 'product will only have value in the future, if it takes its place in a future cultural field (1999, p. 11).

With the focus on value creation, it is essential for the underground to continue to nurture the quality of their artistic output alongside the mechanisms they put in place to monetise their work. This includes the networks necessary to enable value capture, often creating many different types of value through projects with a wide range of stakeholders. As the underground are characteristically work under the radar of traditional organisational structures, the initial stages of building an image and an audience are normally achieved by doing things for free (Cohendet, 2010; Scott, 2012). This can even involve taking jobs outside of the arts or working on projects the underground might not be particularly passionate about. As stated by Jess, 'early on you have to take anything and everything that comes your way.' It is typically through the investment in artistic quality, providing social benefits and networks that creates a sense of 'buzz' for the underground. Thereafter, value capture, is based on producing work in 'multiple settings to form an audience, to stimulate consumption, and to generate marketable values. In many respects, 'buzz' is the presentation of a cultural entrepreneur's potential' (Scott, 2012, p. 244). Some members of the underground have direct links with the upperground who capitalise on the buzz of the underground, however, in order to turn this potential or 'buzz' into marketable value, the underground often needs to draw the attention of the middleground, further described in Chapter 7 (Cohendet et al., 2010). In terms of communicating that value to these intermediary agents, supporters, and audiences, social media is often a mechanism to

create buzz and develop audiences. As described by Femi, 'Twitter is the biggest way that I engage with my audience both nationally and internationally.' Whitney mentions crowd funding as another pathway to funding and creating buzz around their work: 'crowdfunding is a complex beast in itself but it's a great audience development tool for a company. We got £3k through that and people feel a real ownership. It was really exciting. I think it's an audience development tool rather than a fundraising tool.'

For the underground, creating this buzz is not necessarily a well-ordered, orchestrated plan. It is an extension of their artistic expression, something that comes naturally to the way they work, relying on a sense of experimentation and chance encounters. This connects to the power of serendipity, relying on 'a degree of sloppiness, inefficiency, dissent, failure, and tenacity' (de Rond, 2014, p. 342). Their openness to creative risk-taking; embracing unexpected discoveries and willingness to fail is ultimately all part of their success. This serendipitous approach is counter to the normalised structures which often characterise larger organisations that emphasise efficiency and minimise risk (de Rond, 2014). Femi emphasised how his career evolved 'organically' and Sean affirmed,

> So, I realised if I wanted to make my career work, I couldn't have the safety net. If I had that I would never really explore myself creatively and I would never know failure. If you don't know failure, you can never strive for success, sort of kind of thing. You would say, at least I'm getting money, I'm good, you know, and that was the kind of thinking I had.

These points emphasise the often haphazard, yet driven and risk-taking approach that is required for the underground to be entrepreneurial. As stated by Sean,

> A lot of this information about how to be an artist, I don't think it's a colour thing, there is no model. So, if I want to be a doctor, there's a model. You need these grades, you need this but if I say I want to be a writer, unless you've got some great book deal there is no model for a standard guy or girl, lady or woman to be an artist.

Perhaps in part this was because the people I interviewed are well-established and confident in their fields, there was minimal tension discussed between the entrepreneurial and artistic or social motivations in the underground I interviewed. However, many of the underground still receive grant funding from the Arts Council, British Council, European Commission, or other larger funders. This is often based on their networks and partnerships. As ___ states about when her company just started, 'We've had about 12 clients so far and the first few were very close contacts of mine who were basically throwing me a bone which was super nice.' Femi on how he gets funding for projects:

I think that trust is there and years of experience and a recommendation. A lot times if I have an idea for a project, I just email them and if they want to work with it, they say yes. If they can't afford it, they say no or advise me of who to work with.

In many instances, at the very least, grants provided research and development funding, the learning of which was then applied to something that could be more commercialised down the line. Whitney on transitioning from running an organisation that was well supported through public funds to starting out on her own: 'a part of entrepreneurship that I'm relatively new to is money. I have been lucky, very subsidised and very commissioned-based I've been working project based and you sort of have to.' In her case, the same curiosity that motivates her to pursue her art, also allows her to be open to learning and adapting when taking a more commercial approach to her work and connect with other sectors. In this sense, they are still acting entrepreneurially in the way they are creating value, but they still have some further steps to take in order to make earned income from what they are doing.

6.6 Conclusion: The world they operate within

The underground operates on the more informal, micro-level, working individually, though this is not to negate their reliance on other players in the middle and upperground to fuel their value creation, and value capture in how they turn that value into money. Many in the underground struggle to pursue their passion, however in the best cases, their passion for their craft can fuel the entrepreneurial spirit. Even a small recognition from credible sources in the middle and upperground can continue to fuel the passion and motivation of the underground (Scott, 2012). While some members of the underground are connected directly to the upperground, often they need to connect with the middleground to help them find better ways to capture the value they create. The middleground offer not only funding and financial opportunities, but also credibility and a building of reputation that can, not only help the underground externally, but also provide a sense of confidence in and justification for what they are doing. This recognition can provide further motivation to keep pursuing their art careers, even when the money has not come in yet, often in the form of awards, advice or exposure at first, with the hope of continued recognition and success in the future (Scott, 2012).

In the underground, 'commercial tendencies are often considered anathema to authentic culture', and cultural entrepreneurs need to subsequently find the balance against perceptions of cultural inauthenticity' (Dacin et al., 2010, p. 47; Beverland, 2005; Peterson, 1997). As interviews uncovered,

the underground is driven by a strong sense of purpose, whether it is cultural, social, artistic or otherwise, which lies at the heart of what they do. It is their internal motivation or intent and self-belief in the value they create that justifies their work to themselves and gives them credibility with the middle and upperground. This credibility is key to the development of their reputation, demonstrating their commitment to creative and/or social pursuits outside of purely economic drivers. As stated by Jess,

> Money is one signifier of value but there are loads of other signifiers of value. Value is how much time they [project partners and collaborators] are willing to give you; how much support beyond the money; and how much they are communicating about you and the project. All of those things add value and them providing it to you is dependent on you communicating the value you creating to them.

In Jess' case, she works closely with upperground organisations in the creative industries and some larger brands. In order to build those relationships and continue to get those opportunities she has learned how to communicate how the value she creates connects to the organisational mission and aims of these larger organisations. This value is relayed through how she communicates her value proposition in alignment with the aims of these larger organisations and companies she works with.

Some consider the social benefits through social change work or connecting with others in the underground even more important than the value or quality of an artistic product, especially for the underground artists just starting out (Scott, 2012). Based on this 'scarcity of resources in the cultural sector as well as the difficulties with respect to the establishment of young cultural businesses', cultural entrepreneurs need to consider 'networking and relationship building as one of their entrepreneurial duties' (Konrad, 2013, p. 317) and this is often in the context of a particular locality or region (Cohendet et al., 2010). As Femi describes about building his network, 'they [his theatre company collaborator] worked with me and realised how I created work with other people using the strengths of those people and always finding a common ground from which to speak. I think that trust is there and years of experience.'

Often the distinction between the underground, middleground and upperground are not black and white, with some in the underground moving in between different roles in the middle and upperground. Femi, for example, also runs a project that would be considered middleground, a platform for artists of all different disciplines to come together with audiences in public spaces in the form of all night events. He says about striking a balance between running both: 'I don't want to compromise on my other art form, and to be honest I love doing that more.' However, the artist platform supports the existence of the other:

When I partner with organisations [to run his arts event], they say, oh he does poetry and he's done a lot of stuff and has a certain number of followers, let's book him purely on the basis of that.

This is one way that he is able to further build connections between other middleground and upperground agents, and as evident through interview data, connections to the middlegound and the upperground can have many forms. Known for operating outside of the mainstream, often it is the underground who sets the trends only to be taken on board by the middle and upperground. As iterated by Nico:

They [big fashion companies] want to be the ones to make the first step, the trend setters. So, I am using all of that in my pitch to make a sale to convince the buyers to buy. I don't have the capital to buy large quantities [of materials], but they are selling things to me at a reduced price for smaller amounts. Business to business they are still making money, but they will tell you, oh, I am doing you a favour.

As stated by middleground actor, Maggie, who runs a company who connects freelancers with larger companies and corporations, 'a lot of artists don't think on the business side. We've been really successful in teaching freelancers how to sell themselves.' Giving more agency to the underground and providing training for them is clearly an opportunity for the middleground, amongst others further outlined in the chapter to follow.

CHAPTER 7

ANALYSIS: THE MIDDLEGROUND

7.1 Introduction

In the context of the creative industries, cultural intermediaries 'are gatekeepers, brokers and allocators of talent' (Gibson, 2003, p. 205), 'cultural catalysts who actively transform the local cultural landscape of the city' (O'Connor, 2009, p. 7). Here these cultural intermediaries are referred to as the middleground, sitting in between the underground and the upperground. They encompass the 'creative city and [are] the cornerstone to understanding how the creative, artistic, and cultural industries on one side and the individuals who work in related occupations on the other' relate, connect and ultimately benefit one another (Cohedent et al., 2012). While some in the underground have direct connections to the upperground, for many the middleground provide an indispensable, intermediary structure (Cohedent et al., 2012). Through duel processes of exploration and exploitation on behalf of the middleground, creative ideas from the underground are brought to the awareness of the upperground and opportunities offered from the upperground are filtered down to the underground. In short, they link the artists, creators and innovators of the underground with the larger institutions in the creative industries and even other sectors who offer opportunities such as funding, reputation building and exposure to much wider platforms and audiences. While the middleground is often not present in the creative process and innovative creation of value by the underground, they are integral to shaping it, fusing differences between the upperground and the underground and serving as tastemakers of sorts, choosing who in the underground is worthy of opportunities (O'Brien, 2017; Perry-Smith and Shalley, 2003).

The small companies interviewed in the middleground serve as a binding agent between two, very different worlds, and this has significant implications for how they operate as entrepreneurs. They often come from other sectors, so they do not tend to have the same complex relationship with money that many in the underground have. As stated by Chloe,

> I believe in the fairness of what you work is what you earn, so I was always driven to match my drive with earning money too. There's a real pride to generate the money that you have created on your own, which I like.

In turn, her view on money is, 'I see money as a reward to how much innovation, hard work and business is being conducted and that's it.' Additionally, because they are not showcasing their own artwork, rather choosing which products or services to promote, they do not have the same barriers

in relation to confidence and self-belief that many in the underground face. They start small companies, and often employ others either on a full-time or freelance basis to help run their organisations, so they have the flexibility to navigate around the bureaucracy that can often hinder entrepreneurial ideas in the uppergrounds. They are mostly for-profit companies or community interest companies, though they may have other, supplemental funding from grants and other forms of public subsidy. The people who run these companies are business savvy and often enjoy and even find creativity in many of the things that the underground characteristically do not enjoy, such as administrative duties and digital development. Each interviewee's career trajectory into their current positions is the most varied of the three categories, clearly benefitting from the diverse knowledge base, similar to theories on structural holes (Burt, 2004). The same four categories utilised in the underground will be further examined in the chapter to follow: mission and motivation, individual characteristics, resources and process and the world they operate within (Dacin et al., 2011).

7.2 Mission and motivation

For the underground, motivation is enabled through nurturing their artistic talent and connecting with others through their work. However, the middleground often do not have their own artistic work or the intrinsic desire to create and so they find motivation from other places. This then ties directly back into their missions and motivations for doing what they are doing in the first place. The two primary reasons for middleground actors to start their small companies were that they identified a need they are motivated to fill- either addressing a need in society or in helping the underground, and they wanted to do something more fulfilling when coming from other sectors such as, tech, communications or event management. Some also have experience working for larger organisations in the upperground in the creative industries and were motivated to start their own companies based on the same desire for autonomy expressed by many in the underground. These motivations are further outlined in the sections to follow.

7.2.1 Social change: fulfilling a need in society

Similar to social entrepreneurs, the middleground identify opportunities to fill a gap in the market using their skills to achieve a specific goal or mission tied in some way to fulfilling a social mission (Dacin et al., 2011). Motivators relating to a social mission that emerged from my research include:

- Shedding light on a social issue
- Building community relationships

- Helping artists with social aims to be successful

- Creating jobs

- Providing arts programming and projects in education settings

- Improving mental health and wellbeing

- Beautifying communities and public spaces

See Appendix 4 for quotations relating to each of the above. One compelling example of using an artistic product for social benefit comes from Bright Lights, a company that creates long-lasting, solar-powered lamps that provide light to communities in rural Africa designed through a collaboration between an engineer and a well-known artist. On discovering the need for this type of product, Hans says,

> Through my research, I realised there is a huge amount of people who actually don't have access to electricity, and I also didn't know the impact that not having access to electricity had. I basically made up my mind that I would use my skills to test an opportunity to address this problem. If you think you can do something, and the world needs it, then don't you have the obligation to do so?

Since then, he says,

> We've created jobs, have educated people about it, and created trade routes. Our customers want things aside from lamps. They want other things. So, the impact we do have in their societies far surpasses the giving model. We are seeing this as part of a whole movement.

In terms of the bigger picture, they aim to influence policy through their work too. He says,

> We use Bright Lights as a wedge to a wider discussion about energy access and poverty, clean energy, renewable energy to have a wider debate. We think its hugely important and the product is just one arm of our business.

On her motivation to run her company, Chloe of BFArt iterates, 'my drive is beyond me personally. I am trying to do something with a global impact'. Therefore, she says, 'fulfilling myself is not really what it's about. There are so many other people we are trying to help.' For Sasha, through running her publication turned pop up space, then permanent gallery, studio and retail space, Future Forgers, she was originally motivated by giving students and emerging artists a platform to show and sell their work, but soon found other ways to help young people. Realising the huge barriers for young people to get opportunities, paid or otherwise, in the art world, especially for those who had not gone to

university, she was motivated by offering employment to young people considered NEET (not in employment, education or training), often at the expense of her own livelihood. She says,

> Through running that space for 13 months I had the opportunity to employ myself or to employ 5 interns who had been unemployed for at least the last six months. Initially, instead of paying myself I paid 5 people, so personally I've only been paid for the last 6 months. I've always prioritised the growth of the business beyond my own income. To build something up that I cared about, I was willing to sacrifice a lot.

It was not easy for her but because of her drive and passion for what she was doing, she was willing to make the sacrifice initially to get her organisation off the ground. Through the commercial arm of her Future Forgers (otherwise a CIC) which is a maker shop where artists sell their work, she was able to make just enough money to support herself. She stayed motivated to continue by 'working with young people who are excited, talented, passionate, creative, was amazing.' On the moment of realisation when she knew she was following the right career path, she reflects, 'I thought, "I want to do more of this. This is where my passion lies, supporting young people to follow their dreams and their creative talents."' For Priya, she was motivated to create her company as a platform to develop a creative community: 'ultimately, I started it because I wanted a community, so I created it.' Adopting an effectual mindset, she says, 'I didn't have all the skills I needed but I had enough of a foundation and I was comfortable as a writer and I feel like that really helped me to put out there what I wanted to do.'

Hannah of 1000 Minds is motivated by a strong social mission, and the value of creativity plays a big part of that, as she is 'way more interested in the role of creativity in society than the arts.' She works towards large-scale, social impact through policy change as one facet of her work, but often it is the smaller stories and impacts through activities like creative challenges that keep her motivated,

> It really affected so many people. I just read this glorious blog someone wrote about it today. That's what I care about and that's what success is to me, seeing people affected by the work that I do.

Some have responded with criticism, saying she was doing was too far outside the realm of the creative industries,

> They would say, "Everything you're doing is out of the arts," and I was saying, "This is what I think the arts, needs." People think in a bubble in the arts. We are doing quite a lot now in the health sector.

This blending of value the middleground creates with other sectors has interesting implications for innovative business models, further described in sections 7.4 and 7.5 below.

7.2.2 Helping the underground

More often than not, the need the middleground addresses through their work impacts communities or the general public, but for many their primary mission is also to help the underground. This assistance takes various forms such as:

- Offering training and business support
- Promoting them on social media
- Building platforms to show their work
- Connecting them with paid opportunities
- Providing full agency support and representation
- Connecting them with other resources such as exhibition space and spaces in retail shops to sell their work

These are further outlined with quotations in Appendix 5. While some are motivated by a social mission outlined in the previous section, others in the middleground often build their entire companies around the support they offer the underground, building their brand and reputation off of the talent of the underground. For example, Jean offers entrepreneurial training and support for artists and start-up companies in the creative industries through a small company she runs alongside a design company in the underground that provides the majority of her income. She garners fulfilment out of helping artists, which comes from a personal place because she also works in the underground. She describes the type of support she offers the underground based on her personal experience:

> We take them from a project to project approach, to seeing their businesses as multi-stranded operation where some things make more money than others and being able to help them fund things like R&D is really fulfilling. In this climate, there are no bloody grants anymore. They are getting smaller and fewer and more demanding, so we are helping them to navigate these shifts.

Maggie describes not only her motivation for helping the underground but also for starting her own business:

When I looked around me, most of my friends working as artists were kind of content with just barely getting by. The shows they were putting on were great, but they weren't really thinking about how they could turn it into a business. I realised that I didn't just want to do stuff in the industry, I wanted to own a business. I wanted to help solve the problems for the people I wanted to support but I also wanted to support myself.

Terrence was motivated to start Gap in the Clouds from a passion for the arts, but also saw a need in the market. After working on some small-scale film projects, he realised that many projects involve diverse skill-sets, from writers to filmmakers and sound technicians, with a great deal of cross-over of skills, however opportunities are often compartmentalised. He noticed an adaptability and versatility of skills many artists have, but,

Then when you go online and look for how opportunities are presented, everything is in siloes. They keep the filmmakers in one basket, the photographers in one basket and there isn't this kind of space just for creativity. I also realised that creatives tend to be creative no matter the medium.

So, he says, 'I started breaking down the business case for how to bring opportunity to them. I started looking at how people source talent and how I could bring opportunities to the artists and that's where we are now.' Sasha was also originally motivated by a similar frustration of working in the creative industries, and how through that frustration came the need to help young artists in the underground,

I was frustrated because I had spent six years making work that no one ever saw because it was student work. I wanted to help other students to be able to show their work and get things out there. That was the idea behind the publication and later the pop-up space. What artists really wanted from me was to be able to put their stuff in the space, so I wanted a platform to show work, to sell work.

It was through that initial motivation that gave her the drive to start something up on her own; the drive to keep going and helped her find her purpose, further outlined in the following section.

7.2.3 Finding purpose in the creative industries

Many of the middleground come from other sectors, finding their way into the creative industries through various routes. Many were not trained in arts practice or management but were exposed to the arts growing up and some even had personal experience as an amateur artist in some capacity. As

stated by Terrence, when he worked for an IT company, 'there was an aspect that was missing.' To address that, he says,

> I looked into what inspired me and I realised that, throughout my life I did a lot of amateur creative fields. I had a lot of fun with it, so I started doing some research into what was out there.

From there, he worked to develop a creative platform that works to connect artists in the underground with opportunity and tries to address some of the issues around compartmentalisation of art forms he discusses from the previous section.

Despite spending a great deal of time nurturing and enabling the creativity of the underground, many in the middleground acknowledge that creativity in their roles is also important. Growing up, Hannah says, 'there was always a lot of singing and music and creativity in our house. Drama and singing were always things I did when I was young.' In addition to helping the underground, she is motivated by her own need to be creative and even see creativity in the management structure and day to day operations. From doing creative interventions in a large company in the upperground, Hannah affirms there is still a stigma that only artists are the ones who should be creative,

> One of the things we found is that there is a strong perception that art is what artists do, and artists are really celebrated as extraordinary human beings. They are, and to be an artist you do have to be an extraordinary human being, but it's a farce that they have these secret, special talents that we don't have.

For the middleground, there is an awareness that creativity comes in many forms and they are motivated by the need to be creative, even if it is in their leadership roles, and they are not the ones specifically 'creating' as someone in the underground would do. Tying into entrepreneurial creativity that is an internal capability necessary for developing a successful entrepreneurial venture, it is evident that interviewees value creativity as important not only in their roles but also for the other people who work with them, understanding how to utilise it to further their businesses and to connect with the underground.

On moving away from events management, Nina states,

> You have to find something that lights your fire, excites you, that you can do more regularly and then be able to find a way to make a living from it. Being able to assist or engage others in the process, is when you're really doing it. When you can do something that you love, do it enough to make a living and make a life and help people or collaborate with people along the

way, there's always going to be a chain or cycle of information and inspiration flowing. Keeping that cycle of information and inspiration going is an integral part of success.

Maggie talks about moving away from putting on commercial events in the music industry to starting her own company,

> I had a bit of a realisation that I loved everything I was doing [working for a record label], but I had that moment of what am I going to be doing 5 or 10 years from now? I looked around and thought that I loved writing about music and putting on events, but I want to do something that really matters, that gives back, something that has a real meaning behind it, not just put on another show. So, I got a little obsessed with how I could change my industry through starting my own company.

For Denise, she says, 'I suddenly became aware that what I wanted to do was train in some way, working with groups of people, and then I found doors being opened for me to start teaching others.' In her case, her company started as a combination of the skills she already had and, similar to the underground, serendipitous things popping up along the way (de Rond, 2014). The way that the middleground use their experience and skills to further these missions is further outlined in the section to follow.

7.3 Individual characteristics

As mentioned, the middleground are the intermediaries, holding positions that leverage value between the upper and underground. The companies of the middleground provide direct connections through taking resources and opportunities offered by the upperground and making them known or nurturing their relevance to the underground. This requires not only a strong motivation to start a company and fulfil a need in the industry, but also relies on certain characteristics and personal experience that has aided these types of entrepreneurs to be more successful. Similar to social entrepreneurs, these attributes do not serve as predictors to becoming entrepreneurs (Dacin et al., 2011), but it is worth noting common trends and the validity of previous experience to paint a well-rounded picture of the middleground. The following key themes- communication, past experience, being business-saavy, risk-taking and flexibility- emerged from the data and are discussed below. Quotes supporting each section can be found in Appendix 4.

7.3.1 Communication

Like other intermediaries, the middleground have to be good communicators in order to speak the two different 'languages' of the upper and underground. Part of that strong communication can come from understanding how they work and empathising with their needs (Banks, 2006). Those interviewed in the middleground have had personal experience creating art either professionally or at an amateur level or had previous experience working in other leadership positions in the arts prior to starting their own companies (further discussed later in 7.3.2). This provides a strong foundation for being able to communicate with the underground. The underground will ultimately benefit from aligning with the middleground but these players have to be able to communicate the value they offer to the underground in order for that trust to be built. They have to have skills to relate and connect with people combined with the strong network connections to leverage opportunities for the underground (Scott, 2012). This demonstrates a symbiotic relationship between the middle- and underground. The middleground does not have much to offer without the talent and creative capital of the underground, and the underground has the potential to benefit greatly from the platforms and support offered through the middleground that help to connect with the funding, opportunities and resources of the upperground. Bringing together the social skills with the opportunity to leverage resources between the upper and underground starts with the middleground building a reputation for understanding how the industry works, thereby being a credible source both sides can rely on. Subsequently, the way they communicate with the underground and upperground is pivotal in building a reputation and the value it has to offer (Peng et al., 2014).

A good reputation can come from a variety of factors, many of which relate to experience in the industry, past project successes, and strong social ties. Chloe realises her way of working revolves around helping the underground, she also acknowledges the need to nurture other players in her business. She says, 'The artists are at the core obviously because it's an artist-centric model. Everything revolves around the artists, but all the other key characters have been taken care of in some format.' Terrence on communicating what they do to multiple stakeholders: 'we need to speak a universal language for them and help them discover what they're looking for. So, communication is something we are working really heavily on.' Maggie affirms, 'I had to learn very quickly how to talk about my business and learn the angle that someone was coming from when they were speaking to us'. In terms of the way they communicate their brand, Hans says,

> It's a whole thing about being honest and doing what you're passionate about. I really don't believe in advertising anymore, and I think unfortunately a lot of advertising companies would have to agree. Consumers don't buy the sleek story anymore, they want reality.

For Hans, it is about telling a straightforward story and he says that the message about his company's value proposition is the same regardless of the context, however, the way they communicate varies depending on the audience. Similarly, Terrence says, 'we have had to speak different languages to different parties and have had to learn those languages and within the organisations themselves.' Nina affirms, 'when you talk about marketing, it's not about what you have to say most of the time but it's more about how people are receiving the information that you're dishing out.' She continues that she has an awareness of what she wants to share and how she wants to present it which comes in part from her degree in communications. Past experience is further outlined in the following section.

7.3.2 Past experience and the value of arts and creativity

Connected to motivation, past experience offers another insight into understanding how the middleground build credibility and networks and how those help them to navigate the wider sector. Some in the middleground have a background in the arts though have decided not to pursue it professionally and moved on to work in the middleground, finding their skills and motivation were better suited to enable and empower the underground rather than being underground actors themselves. Others hold positions in the upper and underground alongside their work in the middleground, which serves to further enable their success. For Chloe, she says, 'I read a lot of books when I was younger which inspired me to get into literature and the arts'. Hannah notes, 'drama and singing were always things I did when I was young. I did a lot of creative stuff,' which became more formalised as she grew older. After university, she started her own company and 'became really passionate about site-specific theatre because it felt really accessible.' Through this work, she made the shift in her mind away from being a practitioner in the arts to more of a producer-type role,

> By this stage, I became a do-er not a performer. I often say that I made a distinction that art is what artists do and most people make that distinction when they are much, much younger when they don't go into the arts. At that point I was thinking, "ok, I will help artists make art."

Before long, however, she realised that her own creativity was being stifled through working for other people, which included larger organisations in the upperground. She had a moment of realisation that the project she was most proud of was a performance event she curated in a railway station whilst she was at university. She states, 'although I loved my job, I had once again forgotten that I have my own ideas.' Even though she does not identify herself as an artist, she still understands the value of creativity in her practice and how she was able to stay passionate about the work she was doing. She

now makes an effort to infuse creative practice into her daily routine, discussing the benefits it has had on her life: 'I am now really interested in the link between creativity, agency and self-worth. I'm really fascinated by that and would love to do some more work around it.'

Priya, who also has a background in dance, affirms, 'we are all artists though we are not practicing artists as much as using producing and curating as our creative outlet right now.' Maggie states,

> We are all producers. None of us are recruiters. None of us come from resource management. We were all the ones who were working with brands and people before, so we know about creatives, because we were them at one stage.

She has a background working for a number of years in the music industry for a record company, but also comes from a musical family. She describes how getting £5k accelerator funding not only helped to motivate her and her business partner to further pursue their ideas in the initial stages, but also highlighted the value of having experience and knowledge of their sector,

> What I didn't value in myself in that I came from an art and not a business background is now what I think is our biggest asset. We come from the industry we are talking to. We understand our industry. We know what the problems are, so we know what the solutions should be in a way. Whereas all these business students had was having just gone to business school and didn't have the same creativity in the industry and the solutions we could come up with.

Many in the middleground were once also in the upperground in other sectors, which provide useful skills and contacts to bridge structural holes (Burt, 2004), however can be a challenge for legitimisation and networks. Nina talks about how it provided a fresh approach towards navigating the industry,

> My formal education is in international business and marketing with a focus on communication design which has translated a lot into how I curate and promote my shows. My journey led me from working in corporate marketing and digital while having friends who were artists who I was helping from time to time alongside that. I wasn't getting paid for it but wanted to help. Then one day I was doing it so much, and I really enjoyed it so I thought, maybe I should either turn this into something.

For Nina, having friends in the arts and working with artists for a number of years in her previous position helped her to gain credibility. She started off helping her artist friends slowly and often for free on the side, which allowed her business to grow organically and helped to mitigate the risk of entering into a new industry. Terrence, after completing a degree in Artificial Intelligence, he worked

in Finance before moving to starting his own IT company. He enjoyed it and was good at it but felt that something was missing. As someone who was used to self-starting and pushing projects on his own, he initially, 'did it very much alone, coded the first version myself, but realised that no one particularly engaged with it.' While his IT skills helped him to build the site and has helped him to streamline processes, he also realised it can be a barrier in some ways while growing his business. He did not have the networks of contacts beforehand, so he has had to continuously work at building his credibility in the creative industries. He says, 'IT has definitely changed the way I think about things. It has made me very logical, allowing me to break down big problems.' He agrees that helps him in some ways, but he says, 'I don't think it acts in my favour for sales and it doesn't act in my favour when I find myself surrounded by arts organisations.' When asked why, he said that in many sectors and in the arts in particular,

> Technology is one of those things that people have a paranoia with. They automatically think it's a big change; it's going to be useless. I've had meetings with arts organisations who have said, "We understand what you do, and we understand it will save us money", and they went through a whole list of understandings, ultimately saying, "We are sorry, but we don't want to use you."

While communication can be a strength for the middleground, as outlined in the previous section, there is a frustration and difficulty communicating value for some, particularly in the creative industries coming from other sectors. This all part of the learning process for the middleground. Part of the issue may be that they are not able to communicate in a way that resonates with the upperground or underground players or a way that will translate directly into sales or services offered. Some of this might be a lagging or cultural shift that is slow to take place on behalf of the creative industries. The middleground players, because of their backgrounds in other industries, may be more well-versed in things like technology that does not yet have a place with many in the creative industries, related to hesitations around digital further outlined in Chapter 5. Connected to theories on structural holes, diverse backgrounds in other sectors can therefore work for them in terms of bringing in innovative, new ideas, but can also be a point of growth in a traditional sector that is slow to catch up to trends and these new ways of creating value, outlined in section 7.4 (Burt, 2004).

7.3.3 Understanding business principles

Having an understanding of organisational and business structures is essential to entrepreneurial performance, one of the mechanisms that need to be in place for any entrepreneur to be successful (Wilson and Martin, 2015). Building on the previous section, it is often past experience working in

other sectors or in other administrative or managerial roles in the upperground that provides the framework for being able to act entrepreneurially. The middleground often use those skills to help the underground, either training them, providing a platform or taking those tasks off their hands completely. Nina saw an opportunity in this regard that she fills through her work,

> Most artists or creatives lack the administrative infrastructure to not be a headache for an independent gallery or business even though those are the very people who would be more accommodating to allow an emerging artist the space for collaboration or to show their work in their space. There was a disconnect there. Even if they were really excited about each other and really wanted to collaborate, there was this gap in the middle.

She has a background in marketing and event management so providing that administrative support came naturally for her, but she also had buy-in from the art world through her previous roles running events and through her personal network. Some, such as Jean, try and infuse creativity into the process of business development,

> Because business is an engagement with an audience and customers, you are in a lovely dialogue if you do it right. It's about what have you got; what do they need; and how might that work together.

When discussing whether or not business skills can be taught to the underground, Maggie says, 'I think it depends on the people to be honest. I think I always had it in me to do the business side.' On the potential of teaching creativity, she states, 'creativity might be a bit harder to teach actually but there are ways people are trying to.' While Chloe describes herself as someone who has always had a strong business drive, she is driven by her own passion to push boundaries. She continues,

> So that's the way I work. I want to intellectually further ideas and see where they go and how they will be tested. Therefore, I need to do everything on my own time and through my own curiosity so from that basis I think it's quite entrepreneurial. I like when there is a business drive as well as a cultural input. I want 50/50.

Risk-taking, another key attribute of the entrepreneur (Martiarena, 2014), was evident as a pivotal trait of the middleground. As her business grew, Maggie describes the risks she had to take to push things forward,

> It meant we were coming up with solutions that were really innovative and a part of that was allowing ourselves to enter that business world and not be frightened by it, taking the risk. For the two years after, I felt like I took so many risks. I wouldn't say I was brave, I was petrified, but I did it anyway.

Similar to the underground, many have taken many risks, sacrificing their own income and sense of security to start their own companies they believed in and that they knew were helping other people. Connected to the lean start-up methodology (Mueller and Thoring, 2012), Terrence states how their flexible, iterative approach has helped them grow as an organisation and take calculated risks along the way, 'so we do that in cycles, we reinvent ourselves. As a result, within the business we are fundamentally different in our processes and procedures and how we structure ourselves.' They are similar to the lean start up in that their site changes frequently depending on the user and the findings of their analysis. This affects the type of people he hires, particularly in that they match the adaptability and flexibility that the organisation embodies. He says, 'we are very iterative, and it takes two weeks for us to update the platform, so we literally have a new version of the platform every two weeks.' That adaptability however, comes with a necessity of discernment,

> One mistake that a lot of organisations make is they make decisions on behalf of the audiences. I don't think you can always let audiences tell you what they want because sometimes they don't know. I think it was Henry Ford who said, "If I had asked people what they wanted, they would have said better horses."

Sasha enjoyed the creativity that came with her seven-year Architecture foundation and MA course but decided that she wanted to use her creativity for other things. She describes this and her self-starting attitude,

> I realised I didn't want to do architecture, but I enjoyed being creative. Whilst I was doing that degree I thought about entering competitions myself but thought why don't I just start a competition instead? So, I started something called [publication name] which was back in 2012, and I won the [university entrepreneurship award] for the idea. They gave me a grant of £1000 which is how I started this whole business.

As stated in the previous section, starting her publication was motivated initially from a sense of frustration. She wanted to help students and emerging artists to show and sell work. It was through her driven and focused attitude combined with her personal experience that she was able to move things forward and have the bravery and creativity to start something on her own, with the reflexivity to learn by doing, and then adapt to that learning.

7.4 Value creation

Once a need or an opportunity has been identified, the middleground focus their efforts on fine-tuning the value they create and their value proposition, then finding ways to communicate that

value to the upper and underground. Though they liaise with both the under- and uppperground with the uppperground often offering funding and opportunity, their most invaluable resource is the talent of the underground. The talent of the underground, the way the middleground harnesses and communicates it, can be used to enable the underground to create many different types of value for more people and in different contexts discussed in the sections to follow.

7.4.1 Social benefits

While cultural entrepreneurs of any type are most often characterised by the value they create directly through artistic products or services, the social benefits play an integral part of how cultural entrepreneurs operate too. The middleground in particular are empowered by fostering social change, either directly through the programmes and projects, products and services they offer, but also in how they enable the underground to further their own social missions, relying on 'collective capacity [...] that generates value for citizens, measured in greater possibilities for living' (Daskalaki et al., 2015, p. 1; Hjorth and Bjerke, 2006; Mair and Martí, 2006; Steyaert and Katz, 2004). For Hannah, the value of creativity in society for social change is a primary resource created through her company. Her organisation receives commissions from companies (many of whom are outside the creative industries) and funding to do policy work about making a case to shift the wider, more traditional systems that couch the art world. She is continually asking herself,

> How do you move from a society of consumers to a society of citizens? It's so relevant to the arts because when people are actively engaged in their lives, it changes everything. Creativity to me, in culture and the arts, when it's held as this elitist thing only for 'gifted' people, it's actually incredibly dangerous. When it's embedded creativity where everyone can be creative, and everyone is a participant, it's an amazing thing for society. Creativity to me is the essence of expressing yourself and if you're saying only certain people can express themselves and other people can't, that's really dangerous. How do we work in the cultural sector to start to really shake up how we work with the public, in how they engage with communities, not in an audience development way, but thinking genuinely how do you make everyone creative and stop thinking about engaging people as an audience development tool?

This ties into the increasingly civic role of arts organisations to work engage in more genuine ways (Doeser, 2017) and to make the arts more accessible to more people (Warwick Commission, 2015). When Future Forgers first opened in 2014, their mission was to break down barriers for young people to gain employment in the arts. As they are very focused on creating jobs as well as providing space

for other emerging artists, they were able to leverage that value with the council to offer relief on rent and therefore access to better quality spaces. Sasha states,

> We opened as a CIC in June of that year and managed a great deal with the landlord. We said, "Hey, give us this building we can't afford for free for four months, and we'll pay the rates and get rate relief." So, we appealed to the council and asked for a rate relief so then we could take the money we were getting for rates to put towards rent. It was a big risk they took on us, and it was a hard negotiation. They didn't know us, but I think if you go for things then they happen.

Through her work she says, her staff are her 'biggest beneficiaries'. She says,

> Everyone who works here is a long-time unemployed young person who's creative and is now working in the arts and that's really important for us. If I employed lots of different people to work here, we wouldn't be close to our target audience.

She employs people who are 'really talented by a bit unsure of what their skills are' and her aim is 'being able to show them that they are great' and 'that they can use those skills for something that will actually support a business'. For Hans' company, they provide an environmentally-friendly and essential product for many in the developing world, but they also acknowledge the other social benefits to the communities they work with. He says,

> If we deliver 10,000 lamps in a country, in five years they will have about 100,000 lamps, because we empower local people to sell them. Then, not only have we delivered 10 times more units, we have also created a lot of pride, and we've proved that the product we delivered was something they actually wanted. We've created jobs and have educated people about it and created trade routes. So, I think the impact we do have in their societies far surpasses the giving model. We are seeing this as part of a whole movement.

As these three examples demonstrate, for some in the middleground, a social mission is not only a motivator, but it also is a key resource they use to leverage their product or service.

7.4.2 Benefitting the underground

The middleground are specialists at sitting in between the artists in the underground and the larger businesses or organisations in the upperground, often as the key link between the two. Three years after Sasha requested rent relief from the landlord to launch her company, described in the previous

section, Future Forgers now offers a wide range of services and are working towards being completely self-sufficient:

> So, the services we have now are a printing facility, gallery space, café, bookshop, retail space, and a training space which we rent for room hire for workshops like life drawing, mandala drawing or enterprise training- how to market your art, how to use social media as a promotional tool, how to design and brand your products, that kind of enterprise training. We have a studio where we house 18 artists and creatives all from different industries- fashion designers, theatre designers to makers to illustrators.

Chloe's business model revolves around the underground, as the artists are key to everything she does. However, she acknowledges that the key players are, 'the artists, the collectors and the press journalists and actually education as well,' and that all of those key players need to be 'taken care of in some format.' Similarly, on positioning his company in-between the under and the upperground, Terrence says,

> We struggled for a while because we are artist-driven, and we want to be representative of the artist but at the same time we represent the businesses who employ the artists and often what they need is very different. Obviously, they are trying to barter a deal together and we have had to speak different languages to different parties and have had to learn those languages and within the organisations themselves.

For Terrence, because he does not come from a background in the arts, he felt it was necessary for him and his team to find ways of better understanding the inner workings and needs of the underground using their own digital platform. He says, 'you can't expect people to embrace you or take on what you're doing unless you have an understanding of their pain.' So,

> In order to understand what people needed, we created the most ambitious festival we could afford. The ambition was to be able to have any creative skill be showcased, showing the work of at least 100 artists. The important thing is now we have that festival and because we've done it once, it was a test of our platform. So we've felt their pain and we can now talk to them in their language.

Through the festival, they were able to learn a great deal that helped to improve the platform and for future festivals. Of the festivals, he says, 'we now organise talks for the industry and we also serve as matchmakers in that space.' Based on that they were able to create opportunities for exposure for the artists involved while learning more about how to better connect with the underground. Maggie furthers this point:

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We do have to train people (in the commercial sector) how to brief and communicate with creatives. From the freelance and artist side, they are really bad about selling themselves. A lot of artists don't think on the business side and we've been really successful in teaching freelancers how to sell themselves. Sometimes we even help them write their bio and their CV and stuff. They have a lot of 'oh yea' moments'.'

While it is important for them to make money, Maggie also has a wider mission to change the way the creative industries operate, tying into a need for wider sector change, process innovation and institutional development (Curtis, 2017; Albinsson, 2017). Maggie says,

It's about trying to make the industry better. We manage reputations on both sides. If a client continuously mistreats our freelancers, we won't work with them anymore. That's different too and we are trying to make it better for everyone, whereas some companies really favour the clients. Our talent really respects that we are there for their best interest as well. A lot of our clients are not that skilled at working with freelancers. A lot of freelancers are not used to project management. It's not that they can't do it but aren't comfortable doing it. It was important that they have support from us to speak up when they feel the client isn't treating them with respect.

The middleground commonly serves as a resource for the underground, not only in providing platforms and exposure for their work but also offering business training and support. Many of them are focused on helping the underground to be more entrepreneurial. Jean states, 'the important thing for me about helping people to set up businesses is about having a sustainable economy that's based on real stuff that we make.' As stated further by Jean,

A lot of them don't want to do the business side anyways, hoping someone will do all that for them and they just have to turn up and be creative and do their thing they are really good at without having to do accounts; contracts; be clever about IP; not have to do all those things.

To address this, she built a training programme for artists that ranges from small, one-off workshops to a six-month training course. The course is 'informed by a design approach' and helps them,

To be flexible in their business thinking, just as flexible in their creativity in the things they're making, so we help them to see that running a business is as creative as running a show or a piece of technology. Basically, we apply prototyping to business development.

In this context, as part of the lean start up methodology, a prototype is a design, model or idea that is built in order to be tested and feedback gathered (Mueller and Thoring, 2012). As part of her approach, she helps the underground think differently about the value they already create and seeing

administrative and business tasks as an extension of their creativity. For many she works with, it is a complete mindset shift, but acknowledges that change happens, 'bit by bit', and her approach is to engage them by asking them, 'who has done really interesting things with business; how can you do that as well; and how can you find it not quite so culturally different from what you do?' They do this by 'showing them models as well to break down audiences and how to use their network to get to the people they want to.'

7.4.3 Connecting with the upperground

As mentioned previously, 1000 Minds celebrates the value of creativity for everyone, stripping down the misconception that creativity is only something that artists have, making a case for its relevance in other positions in the creative industries, and increasingly, in other sectors too. Hannah states,

> One of the things we found is the idea that art is what artists do is still very present in large cultural institutions. Artists are really celebrated as extraordinary human beings, which they are, but they don't have these secret, special talents that we don't have.

Part of the value her company creates is communicating and even validating the importance of creativity for every person, making a self-sustaining business from this basic premise. On doing projects for staff within larger cultural institutions, she continues,

> They work with artists, but they did not see themselves as creative. Actually, when we got them to take some time out to be creative it had a massive impact on them and what they were doing. It can be hugely problematic in the arts.

Maggie built her business through various accelerator programmes, which helped her to connect with the upperground, both in building networks for funding and understanding how they operate. Connecting with these programmes was integral to helping her and her team to understand the value they offer to the underground and the ways they could capture that value. She affirms,

> Most accelerators pay you but then they take a small portion of your business and provide this network of amazing mentors, investors, other entrepreneurs, etc., who are there to help your business succeed. They give you the resources to become a real business which is incredible. We went in there a skill swap website and we came out pretty close to what we are now. That wouldn't have happened without going through that process.

The resources she gained that were most useful to her was the networks she built, and more importantly, learning the ways she can engage with the upperground and speak their 'language'.

Through the accelerator, she gained access to seed funding and advice in order that she and her business partner could work on it full time. She was then able to better understand how they [the upperground companies] work, where the importance of digital was, and how she could turn the resources she had into something that was financially viable. From that, she says, 'we got all of our first clients from being part of the industry.' In terms of finding project partners, Jean finds them in the 'normal way. Go and chat to people. You're interesting, your place is interesting, might you be interested in this? Sometimes it works and sometimes in doesn't.'

On building her clientele, Nina says,

> A lot of it is referral. From time to time a will have an idea and I will have logged a particular organisation or institution who I think would be a great fit, and I will pitch it to them. Either they will want to do it, or they won't, but we will have a well thought out conversation either way. I've had people come back a year or two years later and want to work on something specific because of that initial conversation. Sometimes it starts with a conversation and things flourish from there. And also teaching. Teaching has helped too.

Her company works 'with all different brands and agencies, connecting them with the best talent for their projects. We are fixing problems with the best solution for them, and people really responded to that.' They work on specific projects put forth by larger companies in the upperground, and find solutions in talented, creative people in the underground. On working with the upperground, she says,

> They don't have the time and the right networks, even if they are big agencies. I get asked a lot why these big agencies work with us. Shouldn't they have these resources already? Nope. At the moment, every brand and every agency are having to be experts at everything, which makes specialist projects really challenging.

She uses their strong connections with the underground to link them with opportunities working in the upperground. They originally started as a digital platform but decided to apply digital innovation to the back end of the way they organise and source their contacts, further outlined in the following section.

7.4.4 The value of digital

The value of digital was more evident with the middleground than with any other group. Deemed as one of the key ways those in the creative industries can be entrepreneurial (Culture Label Agency, 2014), it is important to note perspectives on how digital technology can be used in this capacity.

Maggie and Terrence both set out to create digital platforms for the underground but have shifted the emphasis of their companies over the years to account for the still very face-to-face nature of the creative industries. Maggie had an important moment of realisation that completely altered their trajectory. She explains,

> We were sort of in love with our solution not with solving the problem, and that's what we should be obsessed with. We jumped to the conclusion that a digital platform was our solution from the start. We thought it was a skill swap website but actually we needed to be more focused on the solution.

So, rather than focusing on building a robust, outward-facing website and technical solution to solve her problem of linking the underground with opportunities, she used digital technology to build an internal organisational system and kept the external site simple and clear. She says, 'the core problem was that people [in the upperground] didn't know how to find good people to work with', and creating a digital platform was not a necessary solution to that, it was more about building relationships face-to-face. She states,

> If you're a more people-based business, it's more about the knowledge that only people have. The thing with tech is that too many businesses and industries are trying to make tech solutions when that's not appropriate. You can do everything through tech now, but do you need all these things really?

The core of what Gap in the Clouds does is a digital platform, though they decided to hold more events to build relationships in person. Terrence confirms Maggie's point that digital can be extremely problematic, having to do many things for free or at a low cost to build up a market. Terrence talks about the challenge of digital,

> We talk to people [in the upperground] about what we do, and they want what we have but they say, "Oh no, we want this to be free." I know the world tends to tell you that digital is free, but digital most definitely is not free. You can either give us something and then we can sell all your details off to a third party and make money like Facebook does and it's free and it's lovely or we can actually charge you a fee and do it the right way. We are quite anchored in our ethics.

He says of getting people to actually use their digital platform to find access to new talent,

> One of the biggest issues we face is people saying, "Oh we don't trust them [someone new and unfamiliar]. I'm just going to go with that same photographer." However, that decision

they are making to use the same photographer all the time is killing their creativity. They are making a decision not based on what they really want or need but what they have access to.

Digital is important for Nina and Chloe, but primarily in their marketing and promotions, to communicate their value proposition. Nina says, 'I use social media a great deal of the time, and I make sure my platforms are up to date. I have my website, stuff like that.' She continues, 'I don't use it exclusively, but I would say a great deal of the information that I have for shows, exhibitions, workshops, registrations, is done online.' She further iterates the value of digital for this purpose, 'the digital sphere is really important because you can really train your audience in a way that they know what to look for.' On the power of social media, she says, 'two of my biggest bookings for workshops happened through Facebook from people I had never met who said they were following me for a while.' Communicating her value proposition through social media is key for Chloe too: 'we use a lot of social media. Facebook and Instagram in particular are used a lot.'

It has been similar for 1000 Minds in that a digital platform has been a way to communicate the value they create, not capture it. She says, 'I think our branding is really simple and nice, but our website has always been a nightmare. I once thought, "Let's make a digital platform," but to be honest that isn't my skill.' For her, digital helps to communicate their brand and what they do, but similar to many of the other organisations it is the connections between people that matter to the success of the organisation. For both Nina and Hannah, they highlight the importance of maintaining email communication and are adamant that if anyone ever emails them, they email them back. This level and consistency of communication can often be a hurdle for the underground to do but helps the middleground to build trust. Emphasising the importance of personal connections, when discussing the importance of digital in the development of her course, Jean even goes so far as to say,

Take it away! We haven't got much. The interpersonal is so important but the tools we use are all digital. The products we use are digital and the content is digital, but what really matters is the face to face connections.

More on how the value created by middleground is captured, including digital elements, in the following section.

7.5 Value capture

Due to the organic nature of how the underground develops, often that same fluid, organic , serendipitous development happens when the middleground try to find ways to capture the value

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they create. Starting out it is very much about building relationships and trying things out. For Jean, a starting point for helping the underground to start thinking about value capture is,

> When creating a business model, we help them to look at how to capture value with what you do and maybe it's not just once, maybe there's multiple kinds. A good starting point for people is looking what they have that's repeatable or repurposable. What can you take that you've done and apply it in a different way? Is there a way that you can package things up?

For Jean, in order to prove their worth and communicate what they have to offer, they are aware that they have to build up a reputation for doing this type of work. At the moment, a large part of that is about building up evidence of this working as a way of capturing value: 'we are always doing feedback stuff with people, always capturing things, photos of stuff.' As they do this, they offer their services for free in exchange for the compliance of the companies they are working with to support and share feedback with them. She says, 'when we first started, even if they couldn't pay, the first few companies we did mentoring with our agreement was that we could talk about what we did.' Nina on starting out,

> I started doing little things like curating spaces or helping people with line sheets, inventory codes, little infrastructure things that were no-brainer because that's the world where I lived in. I didn't live in the world where I was creating physical things, but I was more creating systems and ways that people communicate. I started to figure out really quickly that the barrier between venues, whether it was live music, a retail store, a gallery, museum, restaurant, whatever it was, was communication. So, I started to do some programming-workshops in small groups to help with that, contracts and such and in the middle of that I started to programme a bit more.

For organisations that may not have strong links from past experience of working in the sector, the offer and opportunities may not be clear from the outset for either the underground or upperground, the solution to build that trust is often offering services up for free initially, supported through bootstrapping or working other jobs as their source of income. As stated by Terrence when asked about revenue streams,

> There's what we do now and what we will do in the future. What we do now is we have free services. At the moment, we are doing things for free because we feel like if we have some good listings, more artists will join us and that makes us more valuable.

It can be frustrating for him to put time and effort in without achieving the success he feels he should have, Terrence is optimistic about the potential of the platform and has plans in place for when the

creative industries catch up, confidently saying, 'eventually more people will pay.' He is continuing to be flexible, trying out ideas in the market until something sticks. At this stage, however, he says,

> What we find ourselves doing is consulting with people and giving a lot of time but actually not making any money from it. So, we are happy to do that up to a point but there needs to be a fall back, saying this is resources for us and it's valuable.

At the moment he does IT work on the side to support working without payment. For Jean, she runs Division as a side project to the work she does with her design business. It started organically by taking concepts she from a consultation she originally did with a large uppderground company through doing public workshops, where 'anyone who works in an area can come. Sometimes they pay for it and sometimes a place will ask us to do it for them.' Instead of spending too much time planning, she says 'rather than waiting for an audience or waiting for money or waiting for a building, you take what the thing will be, and you put it forward into being.' Her relaxed approach comes from her business being a side project, but also reflects the often-informal nature of how business develops in the arts.

After the iterative development through working other jobs and being part of the accelerator programmes over three years, Maggie was able to raise £150k of investment which solidified their business model. While a company like hers is aware of the varied types of value it creates, their revenue model is simple. They take a 15% commission from every project,

> If you work in our industry, then you have the problem to solve so it's really a no brainer once we get in our foot in the door somewhere. It's not a hard sell. We say, next time you need something, call us. It can be any size job, £150 design job to £200k festival so for them they can start out low-key and test the waters a bit, scaling up as needed.

They do not manage the creative process between the freelancer and the client, which helps to save them to time but also builds capacity in the underground freelancers and uppground clients they work with. They want to concentrate more attention on building clientele and maintaining their current relationships: 'the difference is that we are charging the same rate which is different than any other agency but we're just really trying to streamline the process.' While Maggie focuses on one way of making money for her company, Nina has a few different revenue streams that she focuses on. She generates income from curating shows by charging for entry, commission fees, and selling work. She uses her past experience in finance and event management and her growing knowledge of the arts to do consultancy for non-profits too,

I can go in; look at any pre-existing programme; and find a creative programme. Troubleshooting and budget awareness is something that has become a part of my life by default over the past couple years.

She also has refined her approach over the years into offering workshops for both the upper and underground,

I have several signature workshops. Some are institutional, but I also have my branding workshop for artists, and my creative career mapping for artists. I've taught the branding workshop everywhere from Brooklyn Museum to Malaysia to London to Chicago. I would say definitely one entrepreneurial side to what I do is the workshops and speaking engagements- being able to share the intellectual property.

She has built up skills over the years that is part of the way she captures the value she creates and perhaps even more importantly, she has the confidence to package them up as her own and present them. She affirms this by saying,

If we're talking about a project, the conversation is not whether or not I can do it, whether or not I can pull together an artist or a team or work with their team to get it done. That's not really the question. It's about whether or not it fits both of us, brand-wise, time-wise, budget-wise.

Though she now spends a lot of time helping artists and organisations in the creative industries, and is passionate about it, she emphasises,

My first clients were not artists; they were consumer brands. My first clients were social justice organisations; several marketing firms; through copywriting and branding. It's only been in the past two years that it's been almost exclusively arts and culture related.

1000 Minds also has multiple revenue streams- some connected to commission-based work within government, universities and other companies, and others more connected to policy work subsidised through public funding. Organisations in the uppergorund pay them to come in and do bespoke projects with their organisations,

We are doing something in a factory where they paid us. [One] City of Culture has been talking to us about paying us to do something there, and a large university too. If we are going to get public funding, that should be to do policy work and the mental health work we probably will need public funding to run for a while. I don't think we should have arts funding really unless it's for this high-level policy work. ACE at the moment has commissioned us so

we are not getting a grant from them, but we are getting a commission- a fee to run this consultancy all around the county looking at creativity and what it means.

She continues, in justifying their approach to generating earned income from the value she and her organisation creates: 'it's really exciting and that feels like a really good use of their money. Our interaction with them is not, "Please give us money," but it's, "We are doing this for you." Her approach demonstrates her confident approach, adding, 'I just find it exciting that we can earn money from doing it. There is so much more freedom in it.'

For BFArt, they have taken a traditional patronage model, and applied it in a modern-day context. Chloe affirms,

> It's a talent agency-driven model. So rather than investing in the art world, I invest in the person. You don't just buy art work, you become an investor in the artist as a person as they grow their talents. It's a cross-over with venture capitalists who will invest in entrepreneurs but also offer advice and a patronage model where patrons invest in a collective of artists that has been around for 200-300 years.

The core of her company is that she can allow artists to live comfortably enough, with the collectors actively acting as investors as they trust her and 'know what art is worth investing in. They buy the works of art and are connected to the artists' lives too.' So, at its core, 'the mission is to generate income for the artists. After that, the details are just part of building the brand, building cash flow.' Her other revenue streams come from working with universities, hosting events, talks and conferences.

For Hans, their company works on a mixed revenue model as well. The solar devices they sell in Africa is the core of their business, but they do not make a profit from them. Instead they sell the same devices in museums for four times the cost and earn money from special projects and programmes they run with museums, also helping out the underground. He says,

> We don't make a profit from the lamps we sell in Africa. We do from the ones we sell in Europe, and the idea was then to spend the profit on the lamps we sell in Africa, but we make too little from that. We sell too many in Africa and not enough in Europe. It's an investment, and we are a start-up. I don't know how long you can say that, but we have invested a lot in R&D; new products; in scaling; and working in more countries.

While Bright Lights is not quite where they would like to be in terms of profit, they have a clear sense of what their revenue model is and are investing where they need to in order to see profit longer term.

So, while the journey to reaching a place of running a self-sustaining, successful business was often organic, exploratory and filled with curiosity and uncertainty, the middlground interviewed had a clear sense of the resources they have to offer society; the underground; and the upperground; and how they capture the value they create. In order to get to that stage, it is clear they approach this value exchange more as a constellation or an ecosystem rather than a value chain, ensuring that the complex relationships involved in running their businesses are accounted for and bringing about new potential for revenue generation. This value ecosystems approach (Allee, 2002) helps them to understand the value they create and the players who are involved in that first before thinking about how to capture it through multiple revenue streams. Their aim is for them to then bring in revenue, then invest back into their organisations. As stated above, Future Forgers has a varied income stream through running a retail shop, café and studio space for artists. This allows them to continue to focus on creating social and creative value for emerging artists. Their studio space is their biggest source of income. Of bringing everything back to their mission as an organisation, she says, 'young people who come here to work seeing everyone else as young and creative and they can relate to them helps us to stay true to what we're doing.' Future Forgers also garners some funding from grants and project-based funding, however most of those organisations are not in the arts. Sasha says, 'we work with commissioners, and we get very little money from the arts. We get most of ours from social change organisations.' Their ambition in the short term is for them to be completely self-sustaining, as they are 25% grant funded and 75% trade funded, and reserve grant funding for additional projects: 'there is a necessity for us to obtain grants at this moment, but the financial pressure being lifted will only make our applications better.'

Hannah talks about realising that in order for her company to continue to grow, she needs to think more critically about the audiences she engages- what their needs are and how the value she has to offer can better address those needs:

> I am still really fascinated by how you scale up an idea and if you're doing a commercial product, you really have to think about audiences. You have to be able to scale up and you have to know about their needs if you are going to sell to someone. The arts don't do that very well but in the commercial world, you have to think, what does my customer want and how am I going to help them with it?

For 1000 Minds, their paid work has all come organically from connections they had in the past, and generally clients have come to them. To continually grow; legitimise the work they are doing; and capture value, they are thinking more critically about how to measure impact in different ways. She says,

At the moment, we've got a lot of nice anecdotal evidence or testimonials of people discussing the difference it's made to their day or their working practice. We are starting to do more rigorous research now with the mental health stuff, and how to evidence that. I think we do need more research, but I don't want to commission evaluation just for it to show us off.

Part of this growth and evidencing of their work is understanding the world they operate within, further discussed in the following section.

7.6 Conclusion: The world they operate within

When unpicking the potential for art and entrepreneurial processes and their wider impact on society, 'art is a way to present ideas and ask questions; it can politically transform and re-order the social. Hence, linking art and entrepreneurial processes can be part of 'wider re-organization/social transformation processes that co-constitute a new urban, social, and economic condition' (Daskalaki et al., 2015, p. 4). To fully delve into the potential for social transformation, it is important to understand the world in which cultural entrepreneurs operate, and the middleground are essential intermediaries in these scenarios. They are key figures in harnessing the potential to translate and transform the value created by the underground into the upperground and beyond to influence wider, organisational and systems change, in large part attributed to the way they navigate the complexities of the creative industries. This no doubt has connections to the benefits of location attributed to regeneration and the creative city and how that impacts value creation. The middleground plays a key role not only in bringing together the upper and underground, but also in the context of the city. They provide platforms for the underground to connect with audiences through their own platforms or those of the upperground.

It can be complicated for the middleground to navigate the complex social circles and politics of the upperground and the underground. However, for many there was a curiosity and even a sense of creativity and enjoyment gleaned from this process building relationships with these diverse groups. For most, they even enjoy this part and see it as an opportunity rather than a hindrance, understanding the need to build buy-in from both sides to be able to achieve their mission. Hans states, 'it's always just a little step by step curiosity and constantly looking for opportunity and it's really just me being a really curious guy and somebody that tries to push the boundaries of what we can do, and I was pushing from a very different angle'. Further, Terrence says, 'so it's about making that journey as pleasant as possible and scratching that itch and making sure they know what's in it for them'. Despite the fact that many do not have an arts background, their success depends on being

seen as trustworthy, well-connected and knowledgeable about the creative industries from both sides.

As with the underground, networks are crucial for the middleground to navigate the complexities of the upper and underground, so a conscious effort is put forward in building and nurture these relationships. Maggie states,

> We were really proactive at first. First tier connections were people that we knew, and the second tier was using the case studies for the people that we knew to build relationships with the people we didn't. We really used our networks. We asked everyone to recommend us to people, and now I do have a commercial director whose job it is to get work, but he still does it mostly through networks. That's a real thing. We are a networked company. We will recommend you people that we trust. All of the creatives we work with were recommended to us and it works the same on the client side in that all of the clients come from recommendations from other clients or from freelancers.

She realises the value of their network and as she stated, was not afraid of really utilising and even exploiting them to grow their company and get more clients. Further iterated by Maggie,

> A lot of our talent will do a job not through us, at another agency and then we'll get a call from that agency asking for help. So, it's really utilising people and their networks. That one was really interesting cause I never thought that our freelancers would send us work but because they have seen us and our process, they ended up being our best sales people.

For them, they not only were able to broker relationships with the upperground to build their clientele, but they maintained good relationships with their freelancers, the underground players to create a community of people who were also advocating for them and connecting them with more clients. When describing how she does this, Nina says, 'I'm a part of a number of different communities. I support people where I can, and they support me back. I'm always looking and listening, and it helps me to remain open.' Communities 'provide the creative city with the inner local mechanisms and devices that are needed to explain, validate and disseminate the creative ideas' (Cohendet et al. 2010, p. 94). For Chloe, her clients or patrons are the core of her revenue stream, however, these relationships have come about organically. She says, 'I never target openings or those types of places. It never works. The people who work with already form a good circle of contacts and, it just keeps expanding. I work more on cup of tea meetings. I don't' target. I've never target which makes it feel more genuine on the other side.' The key to success for her is having a high-quality offer, and the rest will follow. She says,

Good collectors come to you when you have good art, not the other way around. If you have bad art, they won't come to you. It's still based on having good artists, and usually when you have one you have ten because of their network. That applies to music and writers and poets too because they are all in the same networks anyway.

Sasha, when asked about the key to their success, says, 'networking has to be the golden rule. If you don't meet people, nothing happens. I feel like that's what we try and teach young people all the time. That's the thing that keeps things pushing forward the quickest. If you want to make changes and do things, meet the right people, do things, chat to them.'

For the middleground, some of the way they build their networks but also the way they develop their resources, is about building relationships outside of the creative industries. Chloe works primarily in the creative industries but spends a great deal of time with entrepreneurs in other sectors. She states,

I'm literally 50/50 so I have my arty friends and my non-arty friends. I listen to a lot of podcasts, all my friends are entrepreneurs, and I spend a lot of time around people who are entrepreneurs in IT, in any side of business really. Therefore, I am very aware of what's happening on the entrepreneurial side. I can have a conversation about artificial intelligence that I could have about art. I am generally curious about different ways to do things. Everyone around me is trying to further progress, whether it's artificial intelligence or algorithms or IT. They are progressing in their fields, and I find that interesting.

It is that varied network and perspective that is beneficial to the growth of her business, not only in strategy in terms of ways of working but also to build a diverse group of networks.

Part of that strategy to building diverse networks involves playing roles in the underground as well as a way to build relationships, but also to find more fulfilment in their work. As stated above, Jean juggles different roles in the underground and middleground, though contrary to Nina, her work in the underground subsidises her company in the middleground. She says, 'I run two things right now, a design and innovation agency and an incubation service for creatives and makers.' Nina, through her years of experience working in the middleground, is now embarking on doing more work as an underground artist, working in photography. However, her starting point is different as she acknowledges how her past experience has influenced how she works as an artist alongside her other work. She says,

Literally I've worked with thousands of people over the years, so now as I move forward doing more arts programming, both in traditional and non-traditional spaces, expanding my

curatorial practice, I've also made my own solo show. In my future as a working artist, I will continue to pull from all those experiences.

On the balance between her art practice and her business, she describes,

> I was never compelled to lead with my art. There was so much that I was compelled to do with others, share with others and I felt that running a business was the better way. I will continue to make my art, but I don't necessarily have to depend on my art in order for me to eat. So, when I make it, it's intentional. When I do a show, it's because I want to. I can take them, or I cannot take them. I can charge them full price or if some people have challenges, I can discount them and know they will really cherish the images in the space we're working in.

The middleground are versatile players, coming from diverse backgrounds and sectors, but they are crucial characters in understanding how the creative industries operates, and have the immense potential through their flexible nature and boundary spanning knowledge of other sectors to be incredible innovators in the sector and beyond. Before providing a wider discourse on my findings and recommendations for wider change, we explore the upperground in Chapter 8 to follow

CHAPTER 8

ANALYSIS: THE UPPERGROUND

8.1 Introduction

The entrepreneur 'takes existing resources, such as people, materials, buildings and money, and redeploys them in such a way as to make them more productive and give them greater value', implying a change to existing structures and ways of doing things (Stokes and Wilson, 2010, p. 32). Cultural entrepreneurship within the context of an organisation does encompass these concepts, however, they are in a category all of their own because of the complex and different set of relationships and resources. These organisational actors, known in the context of this research as the upperground, are 'the formal institutions like large cultural organisations or firms who focus on bringing various ideas from the creative industries into the market' (Cohendet et al., 2010, p. 92, Caves 2000, Howkins 2001, Hartley 2005). The upperground is the structured, 'upper layer of the creative city' characterised by the innovative organisations from different sectors and well-funded institutions in the creative industries such as research labs, universities and cultural centres (Cohendet et al., 2010, p. 95). These entities are essential for providing funding and for having the infrastructure to support the under and middleground; taking risks; and testing 'new forms of creativity on the market' (Cohendet et al., 2010, p. 95). The upperground are reliant on the underground for a multitude of things, so building and maintaining relationships with them is essential to the majority of institutions, which is often enabled by the middleground.

There are a large number of other key factors and relationships they have to juggle, which makes entrepreneurship in the upperground arguably more challenging but also potentially with more possibilities for innovation. The upperground interviewed are all leaders who hold some sort of management role within a cultural institution where enabling innovation often requires leaders to implement mechanisms for intrapreneurship, or entrepreneurship within the context of an organisation (Martiarena, 2012). All of the organisations have physical assets- a building, or multiple buildings- that proved to be key aspects of conversation when discussing value in their organisations. Two institutions are predominantly theatres with one is a self-described combined arts venue. The other is a large-scale charity heritage organisation and the last one is an internationally-renowned library. In terms of art forms, while each institution may focus primarily on one type of offering (such as theatre), those lines are blurry, offering multiple and multi-faceted cultural offerings in a variety of ways. Even in terms of those distinct cultural offerings, the style and target audience vary immensely, with considered thought put into the development of each one. For many, this is a balancing of

cultural offerings that are safe, yet commercially viable and others that are more experimental, providing a platform for the underground to experiment with new creative ideas. For these experimental ideas, there may not be a direct return on investment in terms of revenue generated from things like ticket sales, though it is an important part of maintaining a strong reputation with the underground and credibility in the wider creative industries. The individual traits of these entrepreneurial leaders followed by the value they and their organisations create and the world they operate within are further outlined in the sections to follow. However, first mission and motivation of leaders and their organisations is described in section 8.2.

8.2 Mission and motivation

Similar to the entrepreneurs in the under- and middleground, actors in the upperground also have strong social and cultural missions that kept them motivated and focused to lead or manage people within larger organisations. None of the leaders interviewed discussed a desire to work autonomously by starting their own enterprises or having the flexibility of being a freelancer which explains their positions within larger organisations. This is, however, a point of distinction between the upperground and these other two groups. Jeremy, Maria and Daisy work for larger organisations in management positions, and organisational and project-based missions were dictated by those higher up in the organisation. Jillian and Olivia are leaders of smaller organisations situated in buildings within a local community context and have much more autonomy and control over the mission of their organisations. Overall it is difficult to generalise about aspects such as individual traits and motivation because both their roles and the organisations they work for are different from one another and complex, however, the first two sections outline characteristics and motivation, followed by a section discussing the resources and process of turning those resources into value capture. The closing section outlines the world they operate within. Generally, motivations discussed were around enabling artists and communities through arts and culture, which includes improving access to high-quality cultural content. Entrepreneurial motivations are also further discussed below.

8.2.1 Enabling artists and communities

Leaders in the upperground are motivated by a strong social and cultural mission- to provide opportunities for artists and the communities they reside within and to create the highest quality cultural content possible with a wide range of stakeholders. For Jeremy, Maria, and Daisy, because they are working with heritage objects and places of historical significance, their motivation was often connected to finding ways to increase the accessibility of those objects and places to more people. As

stated by Daisy, 'it is about visitor engagement and getting people to visit our places but fundamentally we are here to conserve and look after those places forever for everyone and that's quite different to other heritage attractions.' As further iterated by Maria who works for the same organisation on what motivates her: 'I get to do something that I absolutely love which is looking after and accessing conservation and heritage.' Both Daisy and Maria's motivations centre around how they can use their organisational assets to encourage more people to either visit or engage with their historical artefacts and access to heritage. For Jeremy, he acknowledges a series of motivations for a project he is working on between the large library he works for and a project partner, a significant foundation in the middle east. He says, 'there is of course a recognition that the materials the library has needs to be better catalogued and digitised and made available' however 'politically and strategically decides not to spend any of its cores budget on digitising collection items.' This was a motivator for the for working the foundation and for employees, this element 'motivates people to go out and be aggressive about finding opportunities, partnerships, that kind of thing.' In terms of access, there was also a movement to make the inherently international items in the collection 'more widely available' so the project became part of their 'international strategy'. The ways these managers turn this motivation into value created and value captured happens is further discussed in sections 8.4 and 8.5 below.

NLA and Bridge Arts conversely are primarily focused on enabling and creating new cultural content rather than on historical preservation. They are also motivated by making culture accessible, driven by engagement with local communities and enabling those who might not normally visit or take part in cultural activities to come through their doors and engage. As stated by Olivia,

> We aim to respond to our community, making sure what we are doing is relevant to them and letting local people use the building. We want to help people to live better lives and we want to use arts and culture to do that.

They are focused on providing opportunities for the underground but also passionate about using arts and culture as a means of having a social impact on their local areas. From Olivia: 'we do need to instil a greater sense of what people can achieve and we have to inspire people to do that.'

8.2.2 Entrepreneurial motivations

For Olivia and Jillian who inherited financial difficulties when they started in leadership positions at their respective organisations, their motivations to be entrepreneurial stemmed from necessity. When they took the leaderships roles in their organisations, they were on the brink of closure, so they

had to think creatively about how they were going to bring money into their organisations. They both consciously stepped into roles in these organisations, up for the challenge of turning these organisations around. As stated by Jillian, 'I love change management, I love the idea of making a business change for the better.' Olivia discusses how the thought she would go in for a few years, apply her expertise to helping the organisation get back on its feet and change to another role, however the potential she sees in the area altered her plans: 'I arrogantly thought I would sort out the financial problem and move on but actually there is a lot to do in the northeast.' In both cases, building relationships within their communities was critical to achieving this. Olivia's strategy was to go out into the community to get people to come in, connecting with local charities and organisations and setting up a network to help artists from the northwest to get their work shown across the country. She was motivated by a strong social mission in that 'we [her organisation] want to help people to live better lives and we want to use arts and culture to do that', which then translated into being entrepreneurial about where funding for these social change-focused projects came from. The strong social focus helped her to approach funders who do not typically fund arts-based projects. Jillian reported that much of their funding was cut a few years into her time there, so her motivation to be entrepreneurial was based on survival. Due to her clever navigation of getting a large dance school to hire out many of the spaces for most of the year, the organisation is now thriving. This also motivated her staff to stay too,

> Crisis points were 2011-13. I'd say we only started to relax as we went into 2013-14 but no one left. Everyone holds their same loyalty and passion that we are going to be the last ones standing; we are going to show them.

Similarly, Jillian enjoyed the challenge of bringing the organisation back to life: 'it's about taking risks, even at our lowest ebb, we took risks.'

Maria and Daisy are managers within their organisation and so they do not have direct control over which entrepreneurial projects the organisation decides to implement. They do, however, have a strong culture of key performance indicators and other measures of success, which often has an impact on their entrepreneurial motivations. Jeremy's case is similar. He worked as a project manager on a large collaboration with a Middle Eastern funder with the consequence that there was little motivation for him to be entrepreneurial. It was an entrepreneurial project for the organisation though who were motivated by the large investment through the donor company, leveraging its brand to garner investment. The end goal of the organisation was to increase access to the content that this grant was digitising, so entrepreneurial motivations on behalf of many staff were not present. In Jeremy's view, this lack of entrepreneurial orientation was problematic as 'being

entrepreneurial is difficult for anyone who is trying to serve everybody' but the organisation 'just doesn't think in the same way about a commercial enterprise would think about its assets and how to make money off them.' This taps into the difficulties and challenges many in the upperground face around finding entrepreneurial angles within publicly-funded institutions whose role it is to increase access, and for more people to engage with what they are doing. This is further discussed in Section 8.5.

8.3 Individual characteristics

In terms of the individual actors interviewed, they work within much wider structures of the organisation. Two of the leaders I interviewed worked as leaders of smaller organisations and talked more about big picture innovation and were more open to risk-taking, embracing the dynamic changes inherent in the complex world of the creative industries. Interestingly, these two leaders found different ways to act entrepreneurially but both of them did so as a result of crisis, as discussed in the previous section. When they joined as leaders, both entered when the organisations were in a critical state- in fear of closing, in need of immediate interventions and in one case, drastic changes, which involved entrepreneurial action. The three people I interviewed who were part of larger institutions, managing projects and people, but not directors of the organisations themselves, focused more on discussing the day to day operations which is about managing people and the logistics of implementing projects. Similar to the middleground, the personal attributes of those in the upperground mean that they are valued communicators who work well managing people, accustomed to holding leadership or managerial positions. They have a passion for the arts and see its value for social change but are not practicing artists themselves. The value of creativity in their own lives and any past experience making art was not brought up in conversation. Jillian and Olivia, leaders of small organisations they did not start themselves, have traits much closer to those of entrepreneurs, speaking of taking risks and embracing change. What they discussed was more closely tied to intrapreneurs- they have a stake in the company by virtue of their role as leaders and enjoy the structure and stability that comes with working for an already-existing company (Martiarena, 2013). They do have diverse backgrounds too, often coming from other sectors, connecting to literature around structural holes where, 'people who recognize that the way other groups think or behave may have implications for the value of operations in their own group' and whose networks therefore 'have early access to diverse, often contradictory, information and interpretations, which gives them a competitive advantage in seeing good ideas' (Burt, 2004, p. 356). This is particularly true for Olivia who made a considered effort to connect with diverse groups of local stakeholders outside of the creative industries and brought that learning back into her organisation.

They both embraced taking risks, and almost enjoyed the challenge of bringing their organisations back from the brink of closure. As stated by Olivia,

> It's about change and being responsive. Confidence is a big thing and so is taking risks, and I think there is a bravery around that. We are never going to change everything if we don't take risks, and we don't try.

She continues, 'that's what makes you a really strong organisation. It's no good at being great at what you do, you have to be great at being able to change.' While they both have the ambition to change and the ability to take risks, they have the skills to support those other qualities. As iterated by Jillian,

> I was used to running a building. At my previous job, I was senior management, reporting in to the directorship. They went through a large capital programme when I was there, so I was completely privy on how to run a building from top to bottom on a massive scale with events management and fundraising and PR and marketing, so all those different elements came together.

Through Olivia's previous experience, she also had 'the grounding of working operationally and understood how the building works.' Hence, in this case there was a balance between entrepreneurial ambition and risk-taking with the management and operational elements that allowed them to be successful.

Maria and Daisy, conversely, work for a very large company as managers so their characteristics centred more around how to work with and manage people. While they are both passionate about their work, there was no mention of risk-taking, perhaps because they do not have as much autonomy in their roles. Rather, because they work for such a well-established organisation, they have to be much more considered when making decisions. As stated by Maria, 'when I make a decision today, that decision is going to influence 50 years down the line, so I have to be really clear and careful that those decisions are going to be the right decisions.' Their roles are more about managing people and how they can influence them to do what they want them to do. For Daisy, however, she found creativity in the way she manages others,

> Often, we are so driven by process because we know what works, but that way of working can shut down creativity. Taking a stab in the dark is a brave move to say, "Why don't you do it this way?" It's all about being quite creative in our influencing skills.

She continues, 'I can't do everything working in isolation. I need to be working across disciplines with administration, commercial teams, etc. That's success to me when you get all those people together.' Jeremy also works in a large organisation and discusses the importance of having creative freedom:

'the organisational environment is key for your posture and world view, that team environment and how you perceive yourself. To what extent you feel liberated to be free and create your own ideas.' However, because the focus of his organisation is on improving access, it can be difficult to encourage entrepreneurial behaviour,

> The focus on what makes money and what's being used, that mindset isn't really that prevalent. It's more about let's make everything available, let's work with everyone and therefore the dynamic you get is very hard to know your impact.

Despite this, there are ways that these large organisations and smaller ones in the upperground can be entrepreneurial, discussed in more detail in section 8.4 to follow.

8.4 Value creation

Interviews revealed that the majority of discussion when it comes to resources available are connected to people and place. The people encompass not only staff and the leadership who run the institutions but also other external stakeholders including visitors, audience members, community groups, arts organisations and artists. The concept of place includes the actual physical spaces and what they have to offer and the opportunity that lies within them, but also the positioning of that building within a wider community or location. It was evident that most interviewees in the upperground understand their civic role as arts organisations, or 'the socio-political impact that organisations make on a place and its people through programmes of activity, or simply their existence' (Doeser, 2017, p. 3). They were motivated by the civic aspect of their role to varying degrees and also demonstrated strategic means of putting that into practice. The following delves deeper into how this concept has worked in practice through the context of interview findings, first discussing resources or assets used to create value and the second section on the processes in place to capture that value.

8.4.1 Key stakeholders

It was evident from interview data that people encompass a key resource for the upperground- the skills that lie within the many key stakeholders they work with and the power that lies within the upperground to be able to channel those skills to the benefit of the organisation. These findings align with literature around business model innovation that the people or 'capabilities', should be 'central to every business model', and that includes the entrepreneur (Afuah, 2014, p. 9). In general, the upperground have an understanding of the key people involved in the successful running of their

organisation, as well as their own strengths and weaknesses as leaders and managers. They manage complex relationships and the majority of the conversation relating to people is about managing, motivating and encouraging their staff in addition to their relationships with the underground and their communities. In the case of three of the organisations, they are partially publicly funded institutions, which creates another layer of stakeholders they have to manage relationships with, whether that is local councils, funding bodies like the ACE, HLF or other large funders. Part of the responsibility therefore with public institutions is also the responsibility that a public institution has to, not surprisingly, the public. This further supports their understanding of their civic role (Doeser, 2017). Heritage Unlimited is a large heritage organisation that is a charity but receives no statutory or core funding from the government. They rely primarily on membership to bring in revenue which creates a different relationship with the public, seeing them more as customers, rather than the mentality of offering a public good. With the other three institutions, they are also charities who receive varying amounts of public funding which adds another layer of complexity. With more stakeholders there are more relationships to manage but also more opportunities to innovate, creating and offering diverse forms of value and finding new ways of capturing it. The following outlines various groups of people essential to the healthy functioning of the uppground, sectioned into categories of internal relationships, customers, visitors and audiences, communities and finally the underground.

8.4.2 Internal resources

Internal buy-in is key to the success of organisations in the uppground, as any leader can be as innovative as they would like, but without a staff of people on board to implement those ideas, organisations will fail. Fostering and implementing entrepreneurship from inside organisations, or intrapreneurship, is an important aspect of encouraging innovation (Martiarena, 2013). This is led by the leaders of each organisation interviewed, which was talked about with more detail from the leaders of Bridge Arts and NLA, Olivia and Jillian. It was evident that these two were the blue-sky thinkers and risk-takers, but also have the practical ability to lead a staff team within a small organisation to come along on that journey with them. In Jillian's management style, she finds it important to not only take risks herself but to encourage others to do the same. She says, 'people here get a huge amount of responsibility and trust. They go way beyond the job they are paid for and I will never stop anyone from trying out new things.' She encourages a 'relaxed' environment where her staff are free to have responsibility, ownership and autonomy over what they do, connecting around theories of creative constraint to encourage innovation (Bilton, 2007). In these instances, new ideas come from a combination of opportunity and space organisations or companies 'provide for

individuals to develop their creative potential and to discover their distinct ideas, and then to actualize them with the help of others' (Wilson, 2009, p. 188). On Olivia's approach to leadership,

> It is hard at times, but you have to lead staff with confidence because everyone has to believe that it's going to work. They have to believe in you and believe you are going to make it work. Even though sometimes you kind of shut the door, put your head in your hands and think, "This is really scary," you have to use that confidence because they want to invest in success and in organisations that are ambitious.

In Heritage Unlimited and Queen's Library, however, systems are more static and bureaucratic with more internal resources but less flexibility, therefore making implementing entrepreneurial ideas more difficult. Maria, Daisy, and Jeremy are not the leaders driving innovation but the ones implementing it, and subsequently the big picture ideas and strategy were not discussed as much as the strategies around working with others in the organisation. They discussed aspects like challenges of staff buy-in, which was not mentioned with as much frustration amongst leaders of the smaller organisations. Maria is more senior, and she is a direct manager of operations for a region, while Daisy's position can be more problematic from a leadership point of view because her role to consult the properties about visitor experience but ultimately, they can take or leave what she advises them to do and are not directly accountable to her. In their organisation, the 'properties are at the heart,' with the general manager of each property, 'accountable and empowered to run their own separate conservation unit' and 'supported by the consultancy.' There is a 'huge' responsibility therefore that falls on the general managers. They have autonomy, but still have targets and key performance indicators to adhere to. Daisy describes this way of working,

> The other interesting thing about being a member of the consultancy is that I can advise and support properties, but ultimately it is up to them. So, although we are one organisation, each property is kind of businesses on their own, so it will be the general manager who makes decisions on which direction they go in and how the money is spent. I can advise them and a lot of the time they will take it in, but I don't have the final say.

This proves fruitful in theory for encouraging entrepreneurial thinking and autonomy in implementing new ideas, but also can be difficult to get new initiatives off the ground. If the properties are run by managers who are not entrepreneurial in the way they think, preferring to maintain the status quo, and perhaps feeling pressured by the key performance indicators, embracing change and innovation can be difficult. Daisy discusses this issue,

> Sometimes it's frustrating because you can really see an opportunity of how things could be

done differently, and they just choose not to implement it. So, it's all about being quite creative how we influence people. Quite often it's a lot of negotiation and conversations to think about.

She does this through having conversations with those teams, and though 'it might have been a difficult conversation', it does change behaviour. To her, it's important for them to feel they have 'arrived at that place on their own but it's recognising you've been part of that process.' Many of the factors she uses to convince general managers is about building 'a connection with those local sites', which driven by their audience data. It's about 'who is visiting and when and being really clear who the offer is for and really clear with the why.' The staff receive support from consultants, but because of the size of their organisations, they have a formal training programme internally and invest in external training as well. Daisy describes,

> For some of our general managers, they've done some learning outside and learning from other heritage attractions and learned alongside them. For consultants, it might be that we go and work on a particular project outside of the organisation, offering our expertise and an opportunity for us to learn and develop that way.

Overall, her approach is about building relationships with the people she works with so that they will then be motivated to 'deepen their engagement with visitors.' Those relationships with visitors is 'absolutely need to get the income so it's more about going beyond the data. It's a balance of the two.' The process of building those relationships, between customers, visitors and audiences, is further described in the following section.

8.4.3 Customers, visitors and audiences

When looking at a business models for arts organisations from a more conventional value chain perspective where the artist or organisations creates a product or service, with that product or service then marketed, distributed and then consumed, audiences, visitors and customers are the most direct beneficiaries of that system (Albinsson, 2017). They are the ones who buy tickets, spend money at the cafes, purchase merchandise and become paid members. Generally, all the organisations of the leaders interviewed have an understanding of who these people are and have a strategy in place to increase these numbers. There is a conscious effort to diversify audiences, as many are located in areas where people residing locally are not traditional arts audiences or visitors, so they have to work hard to develop buy-in from the local communities. Based on recent research to support that generally consumers in the creative industries are not very diverse, they are generally

working strategically to bring in more diversity racially, culturally and socio-economically (Warwick Commission, 2015). This comes in a multitude of ways described in this section as well as the following section, 8.4.4.

For Heritage Unlimited, the visitor or customer provides a significant part of their revenue in the form of membership fees, ticket sales and money spent at restaurants and cafes, inside each of the venues are an integral resource in their organisation. Maria stated that visitors can pay a one-off price to attend their sites and many pay a membership fee, contributing to their membership, which is in the millions, further described in section 8.5. They understand their main asset lies in the properties themselves and the stories they provide for visitors. She discusses their focus on visitors and members,

> You have to give excellent customer service. You've got to give a reason to return. We have to have fantastic interpretation, stories, telling our stories really well to engage people. We need to give them the really good basics, which is a warm and friendly welcome. We then need the three take-aways which is toilet, tea and shop. Retail, because everybody who comes to a property wants a cup of tea and wants to be able to take something home. Customer service and leadership in customer service is absolutely fundamental for us.

Further described by Daisy on the process of seeing opportunities in diversifying audiences: 'each visitor experience should be different and unique a. for that visitor and b. depending where they visit.' Maria supports this: 'I think for our customers, it's massively about quality. You need to ensure that our places are looked after in the very best possible way so that they look and feel good. Bridge Arts and NLA each have a number of performance spaces they invite audiences into, balancing work that may sell better for people in the local area but is more conventional, work that favours the experimental and hires for the local community. Spaces are a range of sizes, providing a platform for artists in the underground at different stages in their career and appealing to varied audiences, further outlined in section 8.4.6. Since audiences for experimental performance can be limited in the northeast of England where Olivia operates, she says, 'we are running a big strategic touring project in the northeast which is about increasing the amount and quality of contemporary theatre that tours here', which is focused on helping the underground locally; encouraging the underground from elsewhere to come along and also as a mechanism to build audiences. Without a strong audience for theatre in the region, her approach has been 'you have to go out to get people in.' For both Jillian and Olivia, many of their audiences are local, playing into value of their work to the community, further discussed in the next section.

8.4.4 Communities- working with local beneficiaries

Drawing on concepts around the civic role of arts organisations, each of the organisations discussed the responsibility of their organisation to various external groups beyond audience development, users and customers. Affirming this role, some of the organisations interviewed demonstrate local communities are not seen merely as optional extra elements to existing programmes but are necessary parts to a well-functioning organisation in the creative industries. One of the significant shifts taking place in Heritage Unlimited have been a stronger external focus to engage with new groups of people, many of them local to their properties. Maria says, 'we are a very traditional organisation, but we are beginning to ramp up our external work. We've kind of been associated as the elitist ones up the hill.' In attempts change this they have realised that they need to 'be actively engaged and engaging' where they can be 'more relevant to more people and indeed where we are reaching out to other organisations especially now that money is incredibly tight in the public sector.' Through this increased external focus, they are able to provide opportunities for various smaller organisations and councils which gives them 'a broader purpose', and 'also resonates with founders and principles which is basically conservation and access to all.' Their central focus is still on their properties and maintaining their assets, but they are strategically working towards being more outward facing, engaging new visitors and the communities surrounding their properties. Maria says,

> Our core work is looking after what we've got but on the periphery of that we realise that it's no good for us not to look outward and be relevant to people around us so that's where the cities work is really coming into its own.

While they have a keen understanding that the majority of their money comes from memberships, Heritage Unlimited are trying innovative ways to build new memberships by bringing in diverse groups through school offerings, partnerships and business support to local communities. Maria states on partnerships with local businesses: 'that's where we've become more relevant to more people and indeed where we are reaching out to other organisations especially now that money is incredibly tight in the public sector.' The cities work she speaks of aims to use their assets to build capacity for smaller, local organisations. She says,

> Our new draft strategy is helping people where they live. That sort of partnership is really starting to fire up and clearly there are many people who want to work with us because of our brand; our experience working with conservation and access; and the way we can broker local communities to support themselves. It's not about us owning everything but about us genuinely supporting local enterprise to support itself.

Jillian and Olivia's process of bringing their organisations back from the brink of closure has involved not only stripping things back financially or being creative in the places they were looking for funding, but also building strong relationships with people and groups in the local area. For Jillian, it was about responding to the large numbers of families in the area: 'you ask how we got people round and to a very large extent it was building that family programme because they are the core round here.' Jillian continues, 'in the beginning, the relationships just weren't there and obviously now, looking back, we've done it.' Olivia says the key to her success is all about her perspective towards change,

> It's about change. It's about being responsive. It's about taking risks. It's about not being afraid and having confidence. That's probably, when I think about a lot of the things we've done, that's kind of been at the root of it. What got us through that process of turning it around from an organisation that was losing money to an organisation that was financially stable and could start to grow was confidence.

Since Jillian and Olivia's connections to local people are very much tied to their buildings and the area their buildings reside within, the analysis now turns to the exploration of place.

8.4.5 Buildings and the local community

Place is an important resource for the upperground. Place relates to physical buildings, but also the location and ecosystems that those organisations operate within. In contrast to the under- and middleground, all the upperground respondents operate within a physical building or are located in multiple buildings and locations in the case of Heritage Unlimited. In every case, the building was credited as an incredible asset to the organisation and provided a basis for innovation, further discussed in section 8.5. When Olivia and Jillian started their jobs with the organisations in a state of crisis, the buildings were not running very well, and the organisations had poor relationships with their local areas. Bridge Arts was in 'financial trouble. It had a really bad year the year before; had a massive deficit and wasn't really performing artistically,' having 'opened then closed again,' only to re-open again in 2003. For NLA, Jillian says, 'When I came in here, it had been open 18 months and wasn't really working fundamentally. No one had an idea about what they were doing.'

When Olivia first arrived, there was not only problems with the physical building, but in the approach taken to building relationships outside of the building. She iterates,

> When I first came here, [the organisation] had been very inward looking. I think it's a really common issue for new venues and from being at a new venue before I can really see how you fall into that trap. You're given the most amazing new building and you're running around

trying to find out where the light switches are. Your job is to get people into the building so you sit in the building and work really hard trying to get people in which is completely the wrong way of doing it. You have to go out to get people in.

Her success relied on seeing the building as an integral part of the local area. As they are a community building with a responsibility to serve, much of their work is focused on creating value through programmes based on the needs of local people. She says,

We have lots of programmes of activity. We've been commissioned by our local public health and clinical commissioning group to deliver work to older people; we work with young people; and we are running a massive programme around disability. We really are reaching out all the time and making sure we are responding to our local community.

The challenges Olivia and Jillian faced were difficult in terms of the physical buildings but perhaps more challenging regarding their buildings' initial position in the local area- with local groups and general consensus averse to and sometimes actively fighting against their success. In the case of NLA, the area is 'Tory, really Tory,' however, 'n the mid-1990s, they had this one blip which went to Labour and in that four years the seeds of the idea of [the organisation] came up.' So, the organisation was built during a short period of liberal government leadership in response to the lack of cultural provision in the area, where 'there were a lot of political promises made to the community, none of which materialised. Therefore, when they opened,

There was a lot of, "What is going on?"; "This isn't for us;" "You are turning us away;" "You are too expensive;" "We don't like your programming;" "Your technicials are terrible;" "Nothing works;" "You're not professional enough." Literally every section of the business was being pulled apart, so it took years of unwinding it. After this build, the Tories came back into power up here and they have been ever since. They have tried so hard to close us down.

Beyond the initial stages of opening, NLA continued to encounter adversity and difficulties from the council, and despite the fact that 'the political context has been really intense', she says 'many of the challenges have been very practical' with the first four years mainly 'operational.' Even when they started getting community buy-in, 'the council continued to maintain their position of, "We don't support you, you can exist, you stand on your own two feet."' Eventually the local authority cut 100% of their funding, which at the time was 32% of their total funding, so Jillian went to extensive lengths to ensure that the building remained open. Her approach was tied directly to using the building as an asset: 'I was determined that we weren't going to close and if we are going to close I will be the last to lock the door and we will have done everything we possibly can.' In addition to local authority

funding, they also lost their main tenant, a local college, and further funding from the London Council. To combat these setbacks, Jillian states,

> I got rid of a third of the staff, and I made nine members of our staff redundant, changed our season programming from three seasons to two, moved everything to digital as much as we could, and went out to the community.

In response to the sudden shifts in funding and the difficulties her organisation faced, she cut whatever costs she could and was forced to identify new opportunities within the local community to bring in revenue. This connects directly to an effectual mindset and entrepreneurial bricolage where leaders 'make do by applying the resources at hand to new problems and opportunities' (de Klerk, 2015, p. 831; Baker and Nelson, 2005), whether implemented intentionally or forced through situations like the ones Jillian faced. These drastic shifts propelled Jillian to be creative about how money was spent and how she could bring it back into the organisation. Of the new offer, designed to reach the large number of young families in the area, she says, 'there are lots of pre-schoolers. No lack of that in North London so we got a whole new group of people coming in. That was really important because people also weren't buying tickets at the time.' They were also having difficulty with hires because people 'weren't convinced we would be open in 6 months.' Subsequently, she decided the solution was in looking for longer-term tenants, similar to the local college, who would provide a steady income in order to continue to develop as an organisation. Quite serendipitously, in the summer a dance college in a critical position, needing a space for the autumn term, approached Jillian about using their spaces. Jillian continues,

> They came in for a tour, came back in about 20 minutes later and said, we want to do a deal. Literally 6 hours later, with no preparation, scribbling on the back of envelopes, we signed a deal which brought the school into the building for 12 months. That saved us for the long term, and that's what's so interesting about the model, because at that point we were both in the schtick. We were both lurching from year to year, and they were actually probably worse off than we were with 300 students enrolled for the upcoming autumn term with nowhere to put them. The college had just walked out and left all these dance studios behind, and they happened to find a space with dance studios already built in. It was a lot of serendipity. It's not something you can plan on at all.

Clearly her story links with ideas around the unexpected nature of serendipity, even in situations of entrepreneurial bricolage, where one can only be open and receptive to new opportunities and creative ideas to come to light (Smith and Paquette, 2010). Though the college agreed to pay a 'very large sum of money to pay rent', logistically there was a 'huge amount of compromise' to actually

integrate that many students into their space. They did not have to change their value proposition drastically but had to shift things more internally and with the amount of value they were then able to offer such as get rid most of their office spaces, gallery spaces and provide less community hire space. However, the benefits have far outweighed the sacrifice, 'as they've just become part of our community' then affecting the value created outside the college, making their programme 'much savvier.' She continues,

> We have quite a strong dance programme now. They have about 100-200 freelancers who come and go so that is starting to integrate into our programming so it's a lot more than them coming in to use our spaces.

Beyond their dance programme, because they are more financially sustainable, she says, 'then artistically what's happened is that we have now been able to invest so much more.' Not surprisingly, Jillian affirms,

> Ever since it's just been a story of growth […] our numbers are growing but then people get the confidence and once you have that, people trust you and once you have trust, it escalates. That's what's been fascinating to see, how certain triggers allow you to grow other aspects of the business.

The college has not only had an impact on their income with the addition of their rent and their artistic programme, but has also impacted their café sales, other hires and even contributed to changes in the local area. She says, now there are '330 students all buying accommodation, renting, purchasing, parents buying flats, buying food at supermarkets, and so on. The knock-on effect of regeneration has been really interesting.'

For Olivia, one major part of the value Bridge Arts creates is being 'responsive' to the needs of the local area, with that feeding into their wider strategy: 'it's about taking the learning we've got from doing it in our city and sharing that learning with other people.' So, one part of her role is to lead on making her organisation the best it can be for their community and the other part is the responsibility she feels to other arts centres around the country to help them to connect and share resources and knowledge. Both her responsibility to the community and the organisation she chairs ties directly into concepts around communities of practice, or a 'group of people informally bound together by shared expertise and passion for a joint enterprise' who 'share their learning experiences and knowledge in free-flowing, creative ways that foster new approaches to problems' (Pattinson et al., 2016, p. 507). The informal relationships she has built with the local community and with other organisations around the country through her attitude of responsivity have spawned new partnerships and ways to create value. This opening up of new ideas also connects to boundary spanning, breaking down

organisational boundaries to create new knowledge and value through her strong relationships with local organisations outside of the creative industries (Bullinger et al., 2010). Bridge Arts hires out their spaces to local groups too,

> We probably do about between 80-100 community led events a year. Groups come to us and want to perform on our stages and obviously there is a cost involved in that, but it's a subsidised cost. That feels really important because suddenly everyone attached to those performances sees us as somewhere important for them. That's how it should be.

The valued relationship these organisations have with the underground is further discussed in the section to follow.

8.4.6 Creating value with the underground

While the upperground organisations create a wide range of value through their varied resources such as their buildings, the underground still play an important role in their organisation. The underground create value through their work which is then captured by the upperground in some way. In addition to providing a platform for the underground to share their work, many offer other opportunities for the underground to create new value too. Bridge Arts and NLA support contemporary work while Heritage Unlimited and Queen's Library provide opportunities for the underground to respond to the value of their heritage assets. This is an integral aspect of the value they create for audiences and their local communities. For Olivia and Jillian's organisations who work directly with the underground to help them create new work, as leaders they are less directly engaged with the functioning of the underground and much more focused on navigating the complex relationships with the many different groups who are key to their survival and their success. Olivia expressed that because they are located in a 'very, very isolated' part of the northeast, they 'work with lots of artists from the northeast and all over the UK.' Jillian states that 'artistically we are a receiving house really. We are trying to partner up with productions that are doing interesting work to bring it in.' However, she is trying to encourage NLA to be more involved with the creation of new work through residencies and co-commissions,

> Residencies have been essential for us. This will help us to be co-commissioners and producers instead of just a receiving house. Most of what we do is based on a partnership model because it's the best way to work so we are part of those relationships. We'd like people to come to us to see a particular show. We'd like to become more of a creative hub for artistically high-quality shows, but you have to balance that with all the families out here.

Olivia also helps to support other arts organisations in the upperground to better support the

underground; develop more robust business models; and foster stronger relationships with their communities, while also working hard to support local artists in the northeast. She co-chairs an organisation that 'is a national group of arts centres we initiated and set up which is a network of venues committed to supporting artists to make new work from across the north.' For Heritage Unlimited, one part of their external focus is not only engaging more with communities and helping businesses on high streets but also helping smaller organisations and the underground. Olivia states,

> We have a bid in to [a larger funder] where we will be working with a number of cultural partners who will be covering the basis and clients for us to encourage young people known as rising stars who will come to the property and work with us in a number of ways on conservation. These include art, drama, theatre, and media. They will come to the property, respond to the property, and create a programme which will give them direct experience in their craft in a public forum but also provide us with an interesting programme.

In this instance, she acknowledges the power that the platform of a large organisation in the upperground has for underground artists, but also an integral part of their value proposition. In order to support the underground, often that funding comes from grants, as stated by Maria, 'we have good relationships with ACE and have gained grants from them to bring in artists and cultural partnerships to help respond to properties.' The organisation has a strong brand which then helps them to appeal to the underground for new ideas and serves as a platform for those ideas to be seen. How the wide range of value created by the upperground is then translated into value captured is outlined in the following section.

8.5 Value Capture

The tension between entrepreneurship and artistic innovation experienced by some in the creative industries, holding more of a synergistic approach, (Gangi, 2015) did not seem as much of an issue in the upperground. Their perspective, seeing being entrepreneurial and earning revenue from the value created through their resources, demonstrates that there is strong scope to be entrepreneurial and commercially-minded but driven first and foremost by a strong cultural and social mission. The creative industries have a complex relationship with commercialisation partially because of its relationship with public subsidy, further outlined in the section below, followed by discussions around earned income and the utilisation of digital in the upperground.

8.5.1 Public funding

The relationship public funding can be problematic for the upperground especially when they are seen as a public good, both in their perception of themselves and in their role externally because of receipt of public funding. This is especially true when institutions have a responsibility to provide free services such as libraries and museums. This was particularly evident for Jeremy, as Queen's Library receives substantial public funding. He discusses how difficult it is for the organisation to be entrepreneurial,

> Being entrepreneurial is difficult for anyone who is trying to serve everybody. If it's not constitutionally your role to bite off a particular customer segment and sell them something, it's not easy to be entrepreneurial. I think also there is just a kind of a posture to being entrepreneurial as well about creating some value in the system that someone is willing to pay for which isn't really adopted here. It's not that [the organisation] all the time isn't thinking about bringing new people in and get them excited, but it just doesn't think in the same way about a commercial enterprise would think about its assets and how to make money off them.

When asked about the ways that libraries could potentially be entrepreneurial, he says,

> That's a really good question. I guess it starts by making your collections available. If people don't know what's there, then they won't know how to enrich it and use it. That's something that's very overlooked, that low level plumbing made available in the collection to make it really accessible and useable before you get onto flashy toolkits and that kind of thing.

Jeremy brings up an additional hurdle in that many of the people who decide to work in an environment such as his large cultural organisation do not normally have or even want to be steered by an entrepreneurial mindset. Their priorities are much more on the democratisation of their services and increasing the diversity of who comes into the building rather than monetising aspects of their offer, not often seeing the potential link between the two. The work that Jeremy has done for Queen's Library, primarily on a large-scale archiving project with a middle eastern funder, was only able to come to fruition based on the strong brand and reputation of his well-established organisation and does demonstrate entrepreneurial thinking within the realm of public funding. The project used a large investment from a foundation in the Middle East to explore how, 'the internet could be a space for cultural, linguistic and educational exchange and that could cross borders that were not easily passed.' The project was based on digitising, and therefore attempting to democratise some of the content in their archive, but it was only through funding cuts and the vast collection already available in the collection that led to the partnership. Jeremy continues,

The library along with many other cultural institutions which I'm sure you know has had its budget reduced and so that was one of the ingredients in the background which has led to then working with partners like [the foundation]. I think the other is of course a recognition that the materials the library needs to be better catalogued, digitised and made available. The library politically and strategically decides not to spend any of its core budget on digitising collection items. So, it won't use any money from the government, only money from partnerships.

His organisation recognises that there are considerable funds available in some countries in the middle east, investing a great deal in improving its international reputation and improving their role in the creative industries: 'running through that part of the gulf there is a whole process of nation-building going on and one part of that is setting up new museums and new cultural institutions.' It is therefore beneficial for them to have an association with an internationally-renowned institution such as the library. The library leverages brand, reputation and high-quality content in exchange for money and a new service they can provide for all of their users. He states,

[The library] does have a good brand and a trusted brand. Lots of the things you'll notice about the maps and historical documents are that our catalogue is founded on best practice and international centres. We also have agreements that stipulate that control of the editorial content that the library produces rests with us, but the content is as open as we can possibly make it which is great.

The collection does not have obvious commercial value because it is a public good, but through the process of the partnership, both cultural and social benefits were created through the process of connecting with an international foundation, creating value educationally and culturally for people around the world. Enabled by the partnership, the pressure to commercialise in response to public subsidy cuts was relieved and still aligns with the library's mission to be as open to all as possible. As stated by Jeremy, the funding and its outcomes were significant,

There was about over £8m in the first phase of work. Then the second phase was 4 years, twice as long as the first phase. The second phase is over £9m, and of course [the library] gets to keep all the IP. If you searched it all now, you'd see the meta data. The images for technical reasons aren't as easy to show online, but overall, it's a really good thing for the library and for the users. The scale of the cataloguing is so detailed. It's one of the best planned and positioned cultural projects of its type in the gulf.

While this partnership and the funding that followed on from it was still public funding, their innovative approach to the partnership still connects to being entrepreneurial in how they identify

opportunities and leverage their resources and brand.

For Jillian and Olivia, the identification of new opportunities came from near crisis situations, more so in Jillian's case, through an urgent need to think differently. These opportunities came primarily through the way they approach relationships with their communities and used their buildings as a resource to find new ways to bring funding into their organisations. Bridge Arts has about the same turnover that Olivia's does, at about £2m, and also are less subsidised as a venue than many other arts organisations. Jillian continues,

> Our income breaks down as 25% of our income comes from the Arts Council from our local
> authority. I think that is actually quite low for a subsidised venue. When I got here it was
> about 45% so in the last 8 years we have worked really hard to grow other income streams
> and we've been really lucky to attain local authority funding as well as ACE funding.

They receive more funding from ACE than NLA, and also have a good relationship with the local authority who are 'very supportive' and give them funding, rather than charging them a service fee as in Jillian's case. According to Olivia, 'part of that is that we have positioned ourselves as a service organisation, as someone who provides something for the town, not just an arts organisation that needs funding.' She sees the 'community-led programme as being part of [the organisation]'s whole programme.' She continues,

> We used to see it as something very separate, and we made a very deliberate decision a
> couple of years ago to move the events coordinator who looked after hires into the
> programming team. There were some really amazing things happening in the building that
> weren't really on our radar because they were hires.

Due to Bridge Arts' steps to position themselves within the voluntary and community sector and their dedication to a social mission, it has helped to unlock a new source of project funding. She says another '30% is from fundraising and that includes some sort of big project funds like the strategic touring one,' also receiving 'a quarter million-pound grant a few years ago for work around disability.' She discusses the process of developing this work,

> We had been commissioned by the clinical commissioning group in public health to deliver
> some health-funded activity. That's been really exciting actually. I think there's a lot more we
> can do in the area, and I think sometimes arts organisations are really scared to do that
> because they think it's mission drift or 'we're not social carers, we're artists', but it's
> fundamentally about that I want more people to engage with arts and culture. If we can

provide the care, bring artists into that conversation, and develop that engagement, I think that's really exciting. As long as you keep art at the heart of it, actually there is loads more scope to work in those fields and that's been one of the really exciting new areas for partnerships.

Heritage Unlimited is primarily funded by over four million memberships but they also work with funders to support special projects with the underground. As stated by Maria, 'we have good relationships with ACE and have gained grants from them to bring in artists and cultural partnerships to help respond to properties.' These grants help them to provide opportunities for the underground and also to improve their brand and cultural offering by connecting with other, smaller organisations in the uppergound too. They also have 'a bid in to HLF at the moment where we will be working with cultural partners, including universities and a consortium of youth enterprise.' When talking about the motivations for the programme, she clearly sees the business benefits as 'it could be a really interesting way to engage a younger audience; get them to come to our properties; and create a programme for us which helps our repeatability.' She does not that the opportunity 'gives them realistic work experience to go out and practice their discipline in the real world,' this type of engagement seems disingenuous, almost tokenistic, as is not uncommon in the creative industries (Saha, 2017). This is in sharp contrast to Olivia who genuinely wants to change people's lives using art as a mechanism to do that, however this does not negate the social benefit of their work and its impact on participants. In most of these examples, grants for project funding are used to further the social aspect of their missions. There is an open acknowledgement that engagement and projects with a social impact can be tied closely to funding but also serve as motivation, funding and brand development, ties into connections to local communities and building audiences. As evident in the Heritage Unlimited example, all the work relates directly to the missions of their organisations but is of varying degrees of importance and authenticity to each organisation.

8.5.2 Earned income

As mentioned previously, both Jillian and Olivia have a significant portion of their revenue from earned income. Jillian says,

> Of our £1.9m turn over only about £400,000 is grants, everything else is earned income. 17% from ACE and probably another 8-10% from elsewhere. Everything else is self-generated and that's what's really good.

The funding they receive from the Arts Council makes up only a small portion of the money they

receive, and the other grant funding is used for project specific funding. She adds that aside from the small subsidy they receive, 'everything else is self-funded', and as a result, 'we are now stronger artistically than we were before, and we are now seen as an exemplar model. So many people come to us to see how it works.' While they are very grateful for their public funding, she says, if it all went away, they 'would survive.' Now, years after they opened amidst a great deal of negativity from the local community, losing their local authority funding, Jillian affirms,

> We are masters of our own destiny now. ACE is massively important to us and we don't take them for granted at all, but the conversation is more interesting. They take us more seriously, and we are more credible I suppose because we have done it on our own.

She continues, 'we experienced actually what I foresaw- to have a huge chunk of it taken away from you. You think you'll collapse and die but you don't.' After all they have been through, she now says that even if all their public funding got cut, they 'would find a way through it.'

Their earned income primarily comes from their café and from hires, including the high-profile hire from the dance school as the most significant part of that. While earned income from cafes and hires is not a new phenomenon in the creative industries, it is often not on such a grand scale, with the openness and flexibility that they approached the relationship with the dance school relationship. At that time, they had the advantage of being relatively new, without much prior already-ingrained events, activities and community relationships, so they were able to fully embrace this new organisation coming in. This openness and flexibility of embracing these tenants ultimately brought more earned income through ticket sales and class bookings with a knock-on economic impact throughout the borough. She continues,

> If you want to talk numbers, I am employing close to 200 people and we know half of them are North London-based, largely based in this borough. We have an entire other business attached to ours and all that brings. Just go down the economic argument that's got nothing to do with arts, you might as well be selling carrots, it's having a massive impact on the borough.

Subsequently, they are a pivotal aspect of the regeneration of the high street and bring in other supplemental funding into the borough. Says Jillian,

> Our position in the community is absolutely essential and I would like to see a much bigger role of regeneration on this high street. We are leading it, but it would be nice if the rest of the high street came with us on that journey. We are a complete cultural desert up here. It's good and bad because we don't have the competition.

She states the subsequent effect has also influenced the housing market with parents of students buying property; increased traffic in the local shops; and even other arts organisations opening as a result of them being a strong artistic and economic presence in the local area. Their artistic offering is still at the heart of what they do and does generate revenue from ticket sales but has to balance that with the shows and activities that also make money for the organisation. Jillian affirms,

> I call it the donut, the jam on the inside is our artistic content. Residencies have been essential for us. This will help us to be co-commissioners and producers instead of just a receiving house. Most of what we do is based on a partnership model, because it's the best way to work so we are part of those relationships. We'd like people to come to us to see a particular show. We'd like to become more of a creative hub for artistic quality shows, but you have to balance that with all the families out here.

Part of finding a balance for Jillian was building a strong family offering based on what they wanted but also slowly broadening their horizons to more contemporary, experimental offerings that have a higher artistic merit. She continues,

> Does not matter if you do or don't want to be a family venue, we are sitting in the heart of suburbia so a large amount of money coming into the box office should be through the family programme. If you can recognise that, and be comfortable with it, and you want to do artist residencies and all that, you realise that's what you put the risk into. It's just recognising where you want to put that risk. I've realised with our family audience, we have educated them to such an extent that there is a high percentage who are excited by the new, interesting work and not the standards. So, if you put on your Red Riding Hoods and then you put on something much more contemporary and different, they are actually flooding to it. We've been on that journey with them, but I think when we first opened they weren't educated and you have to build that with time.

They have also built their relationship over time with the community through community rates for hires and offering affordable rates local visual artists who 'are not great,' but as a way of offering opportunities to everyone are given a space to show their work. When they first opened and told these groups, 'we are only taking professional touring work, they all got really pissed off.' She says, 'I probably got more letters from pissed off visual artists than any other sector,' so they now hire out a community space for an affordable rate of £100 per month, which is now booked year-round. This covers the cost of re-painting the space and the private views bring in extra money to the café, but the real value is in the relationship it builds with the local community.

Bridge Arts has a high amount of their funding that comes directly from earned income, stemming

from them 'being responsive', 'taking risks' and proceeding with 'confidence.' She says, 'about 45% comes from earned income from our ticket sales and hires. Hire of the facilities alone brings in around £100,000 and that's with a turnover of about £2m so it is significant.' If she were to include some the funding they raise through fundraising that is closer to earned income, that number is higher,

> As I said, more that 50% comes from earned income, but obviously some of the fundraising income you could say is earned income if it comes from some sources, so I think we kind of operate with a social enterprise model.

She attributes that approach to working with a number of local, social enterprises, some of which have offices in their building. They also host residencies, commission work and take touring shows. When it comes to value captured for Heritage Unlimited, Maria says they have been increasingly more 'business-like' over the past 5 years. The organisation has an awareness that by being business-like it is a way to further their mission. She explains,

> We have an absolute understanding that we need to make as much money as we possibly can so that we can put it back in to conservation. Our assets are conservation which is why people join the [organisation] and why people spend significant money- whether it's on admissions tickets if they aren't members, renting out a holiday cottage, retail, catering, and donations. We have what's called a virtuous circle- we have fantastic places which are looked after in a contemporary fashion that people want to visit. That encourages people to visit. We give them a great experience which encourages them to open their wallets and spend money with us. That money then goes back into the business so it's absolutely critical that we behave both as a charity but also as a business to maximise our assets.

Heritage Unlimited is a clear example of an organisation that has charitable aims at its heart but also has the attitude of a business understanding that earned income is a key element to what they do. Maria's statement above demonstrates a viewpoint of seeing opportunity in the resources they have, continuing to build on maximising the potential that lies within them. Digital innovation is another area of value capture that is essential for the upperground, discussed in the section to follow.

8.5.3 Using digital

Incorporating digital innovation into revenue streams has potential in the creative industries, however it is difficult to go through the process of uncovering these revenue streams because of the lack of funding for R&D, especially amongst smaller companies (Throsby and Bakhshi, 2010). This is because in many cases there is a significant amount of resource involved in the development of these

technologies and a certain amount of risk that goes along with that which many companies cannot afford to take, both in terms of time and money. Often it is only the larger organisations in the upperground who are able to move forward with this investment, though even a substantial organisation like Heritage Unlimited, digital is still an area of development. All the organisations interviewed cite the importance of investing in websites and even online ticketing services, but the majority are still developing innovative ways of using digital to create and capture value. For Heritage Unlimited, according to Maria, they are,

> Upskilling properties to be able to create really good content so it should be far more interactive. People don't realise that we have the world's largest collection of stuff because all of our properties and their collections. That's going to be completely accessible online and if it's not available yet, it will be which is going to be really exciting.

Presumably that will then help them to build an international audience through their work and consequently create new value for a global market. She realises that,

> Revenue will inevitably follow because we are online we will attract people to come, visit our properties, and to become members because of our cause not just because of our properties. I think online is really great platform to do that. Ultimately with our online shop, there will be things people can buy which are inspired and produced for the [organisation] exclusively.

For Jeremy, the project he worked on in his organisation was completely centred around digital access of archival material. The project creates value through existing archival material by translating and transferring that material onto an accessible platform, leading to more democratised content. In the project there were problematic issues in how people could find relevance in the site, especially if they were coming in without much prior knowledge. He says,

> All these cultural institutions have huge amounts of archival content but it's hard to know how far you go with all that. What kinds of search tools do you provide? How do you help researchers get into your content? These are big questions for museums and libraries at the moment. It's kind of an existential thing to think about what libraries mean in a digital age.

One of the arguments against digitising content has been that it will decrease visitor numbers, because so much content is available online. Jeremy counters that by saying,

> Yet we have seen a growth in the number of businesses, and there have been more exhibitions and schools coming through the doors. The building and the physical space is not diminishing as an asset people want to use, it's actually increasing.

Perhaps this is because, even in the case of the large, more established organisations who are investing a great deal in digitising their archival material and creating interactive websites, the content is still based primarily on people and the physical assets- the buildings, properties, locations and artefacts that are primary assets to these organisations.

For marketing purposes, every organisation stated that having a strong presence on social media, websites, and other digital platforms is important. However, beyond that, Olivia states,

> We haven't done much around digital work with artists. There have been a number of shows that have come through that have used digital technology in different ways, but I think one of the slight frustrations in a way is that I'm not seeing a lot of really exciting theatre work-performance work that is using digital technology. If I was, then I would be using it more but it's not something that I'm really seeing.

Olivia does partner with a larger organisation to bring live streamed broadcasts of larger productions which helps to bring in new audiences, which has helped to diversify their offering and bring new audiences in. She says,

> We do stream live broadcasts in our cinema from bigger theatre companies that are starting to live broadcast. That's been really interesting for us, because it's brought a new audience in. All our live theatre programme here is new work so it's very contemporary. It goes away from the more traditional Shakespeare adaptations, so what National Theatre Live (live broadcasts of large-scale theatre performance in other venues) and other live broadcasts have done has enabled us to broaden our programme and bring in a scale and quality of production that we can't possibly present live on our stages at a small scale. And that's for a different audience so that's been really positive for us which has brought in revenue and new audiences in.

Generally speaking, the underground does not have the means to invest in this technology and would potentially be looking for this funding from the upperground, however the upperground similarly do not appear to be willing to take that risk. Further iterated by Jillian, 'technology moves on so quickly it's hard to keep up to date. You've got to be so cautious. We are very aware we are not cutting edge, but we are getting there slowly.'

8.6 Conclusion: The world they operate within

The world the upperground has to navigate is evidently complex, with a wide variety of stakeholders and factors that influence how their organisations not only survive but thrive in the current climate. The arts and now the creative industries have long been considered a public good, receiving large

sums of money from the government to subsidise activity and further the mission of funding bodies such as the Arts Council around themes connected to 'great art for everyone' (ACE, 2010), and social aims such as improving well-being and contributing to urban regeneration (DCMS, 2016), brought to the fore by Richard Florida's work on the power of the 'creative class' (2012). When the arts became the cultural industries and now, more recently the creative industries, incorporating more commercial sectors like gaming and architecture, there has been a push to justify public funding that is going towards all aspects of these industries, even the ones not traditionally seen as very commercial like libraries and museums (Oakley, 2013). As a result, arts organisations are having to increasingly prove how they are serving diverse groups of people, having an impact on those people, and are benefitting their local areas. Many of these traditionally subsidised organisations are now having to be more accountable for the funds they receive as stipulations of their funding, while at the same time, funding is shrinking, especially local authority funding (Oakley, 2013). This can be problematic in that it diminishes the value for some towards more traditional 'art for art's sake' aims, but it is also a breath of fresh air in thinking about the value of arts and culture in society, shifting the perception of the neighbourhood or the city as integral to artists and arts organisations (Rushton, 2015), and challenging organisations to 'animate, enhance and enable processes by which people exercise their rights and responsibilities as members of communities' (Doeser, 2017, p. 3). They have a sense of responsibility to not only be conduits of great art, but to be a place of social change and political action serving and benefitting many different types of people. This works counter to notions of the creative class being 'synonymous with the new bourgeois-bohemian component of the population with individual and protective values' (Kooyman, 2012, p. 93; Brooks, 2001) and recent studies highlighting that much of the creative industries is being consumed by the middle and upper classes (Warwick Commission, 2015).

Interviews with upperground organisations outlined in this chapter demonstrate that an economy focusing on creativity does not need to be an elitist economy, with the potential of offering new chances for groups not otherwise served by the creative industries to participate in urban and regional economic progress (Musterd et. al., 2007), and that 'a creative knowledge economy offers chances to people of all socio-economic and educational strata to profit from their talents' (Kooyman, 2012, p. 93). Olivia and Jillian are both dedicated to using their buildings as a way to connect with new facets of the community and be responsive to their needs, not prescribing what they think that community needs from a cultural institution. They see their communities as 'critical', providing the 'creative city with the inner local mechanisms and devices that are needed to explain, validate and disseminate the creative ideas' (Cohendet et al. 2010, p. 94). As iterated by Olivia, the 'local community and our relationship with key influencers and networks in that community engage with us

because it's those people who come and make things happen.' Olivia and Jillian's organisations in particular provide key insights into how flexibility and even their situations of strife and crisis helped them to think and act more entrepreneurially with other, external stakeholders. They provide key insights into how entrepreneurship in the creative industries can foster social and community change through their responsiveness to the needs of their local areas. They connect to concepts around the business ecosystem, which helps to support new ways of thinking about value beyond the value chain (Zott and Amit, 2013), relating to theories behind value webs (Allee, 2000) and value constellations (Normann and Ramirez, 1993). Olivia states, 'we want to help people to live better lives and we want to use arts and culture to do that.' Her perspective is integral when thinking about entrepreneurship as a means of empowerment and equalising opportunity for all and connects to social entrepreneurship which 'flourishes in resource-constrained environments (Desa, 2007), requiring social entrepreneurs to develop innovative solutions to society's most challenging social problems' (Gundry et al., 2015, p. 2). Cultural entrepreneurship, even in the context of organisations, has the potential to be a mechanism for social change, and it is evident that often opportunities for innovation come out of times of distress, where unfortunate circumstances are the catalyst for mobilising resources in a new way. They demonstrate an effectual mindset, taking on challenges as they arise, and entrepreneurial bricolage, using the resources available to their fullest potential to enact change and grow their organisations. Henceforth, innovation was enabled, and the organisations were able to thrive. By being 'responsive to your local community', in Olivia's case, 'you are aware of things happening regionally, nationally and internationally,' and the opportunities that come with this awareness is evident in the wide range of cultural offerings and the way they have developed relationships across the country. She states, 'we haven't operated in a little bubble in the northeast. We have absolutely made sure that we have connected to other organisations in lots of different ways.' They also have a diverse and wide-ranging cultural offering that reflects that too:

> The breadth- not all of our eggs are in one basket. We are working with a very wide range of people. Our programme is very broad- right through from music, work for families, comedy, theatre, cinema, there is a massive range of work. Sometimes things don't go so well, we had a really bad comedy period last summer where there just weren't that many comedians touring but because it's a small part of a much bigger thing, things kind of balance out.

Despite the fact that Jillian started off with high-art expectations for NLA, it is only because of her responsiveness to meeting local needs that they have been able to be so successful. Rather than be prescriptive of what she wanted to programme, based on her own ideals, she has adapted, based on the needs of the local area, with practices like programming for families and low-charge hires for the community. These organisations have a clear relationship with the underground, providing

opportunities for artists to develop ideas and show their work. There was not a clear connection to the middleground and the way in which they use intermediary agents, however because the interviews were from the perspective of leadership in these organisations, there are surely people within them who work in more intermediary roles such as producers. They are also no doubt connected to intermediary agents such as press and agents who represent the underground, despite the fact that this was not mentioned. This is an area of future research, among others, discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses cultural entrepreneurship and the varied characteristics of actors in the creative industries- their focus on value creation, their ability to empower and enlighten, and the potential they have to affect change in many forms. Similar to social entrepreneurship, cultural entrepreneurship prioritises value creation over value capture, often aligned with the intrinsic motivation to use that value as a vehicle of self-expression, connection and social change (Zahra et al., 2009; Albinsson, 2017; Matarasso, 1997). Difficult to generalise, this complex web of diverse motivations and types of value created through creative products and services intertwine with economic, social and institutional change (Albinsson, 2017) and offer a distinction from previous research. Due to this interconnected quality and difficulties in generalising value created, types of value are not differentiated into social, cultural, and so on, but discussed generally in relation to value creation and value capture (Santos, 2012). As previously stated, despite government initiatives, problematic issues related to the commodification and monetisation of cultural products and services remain, including the danger of stripping away artistic or cultural authenticity and the value of its intrinsic social benefits amidst the challenges diminishing public funding presents to the creative labour market (Oakley, 2013). This tension was evident in interview data, however the data supports that synergies between the creativity needed to make art and those needed to develop innovative entrepreneurial ideas can co-exist in harmony, and successful creative entrepreneurs are able to find this balance. Finding a balance requires a mindset shift away from the romantic idealism often associated with the 'starving artist' (Oakley, 2013) and seeing value capture in the creative industries as a process that, rather than using a logic of control, uses one of empowerment (Santos, 2012).

The creative industries are, by their very nature political, not only in the subject matter they address but also in the traditional funding structures of patronage and subsidy supported for centuries (Uberbacher et al., 2015; Woronkowicz and Noonan, 2017). There have been long-standing traditions for about the last hundred years around public subsidy in the arts and even longer for patronage, especially in the UK and Europe. Hence, cultural entrepreneurship calls for a move away from dependencies on public funding with the potential to be quite radical in its ability to free the industry from constraints that hold it at the mercy of political decisions about where funding should be

allocated and to whom. This is not to say that public funding should not exist, but the reality is that public funds are diminishing and those operating in these fields need to adapt accordingly. More innovative forms and uses of public funding that does still exist could provide the creative industries with more freedom. This involves institutional development or changing the structures that impose limits on what can be done in the creative industries, with entrepreneurship offering alternatives away from the parameters of funders. While the wealth of social and economic benefits created by creative industries should hold justification in and of itself as a public good (Throsby, 2008; Matarasso, 1997), in modern political systems where subsidies are being cut, the creative industries are having to consistently justify why they are valuable. Therefore, solutions to funding shortfalls can be found by working within the system to build divergent ways of generating economic growth whilst developing resources that still align with traditional standards of what is valuable in the creative industries. One powerful mechanism for moving towards finding these solutions lies in developing innovative business models in the creative industries that drive different types of actors towards empowerment, agency and autonomy. This research explores the potential for cultural entrepreneurship to create 'new products, processes and services while at the same time transforming the creative industries despite the scale, from small-scale artists and entrepreneurs to large organisations (Jones et al., 2016; Svejenova et al., 2010).

9.2 A new entrepreneurial model for the creative industries

To represent the diverse motivations, types of value created, types of actors and accountability of entrepreneurship in the cultural sector, a new model of innovation was developed. This model combines different perspectives on innovation from social entrepreneurship, cultural policy and business model innovation that emerged from the data, providing a distinctive contribution to the literature to date. The model first assumes that not all cultural entrepreneurship is the same and though the lines are not always clear cut, these entrepreneurial actors fit into three broad categories: the underground, middleground and upperground (Cohendet et al., 2010). Previous research in this area explores these categories more as physical spaces, rather than actors or groups of actors, however it emerged through this research that they were integral people in positions of change. Additionally, this research takes the nuanced approach of seeing these classifications from an entrepreneurial angle too. In assuming the position of the cultural entrepreneur, this research makes an important contribution to this body of literature. Second, the research also makes new connections between literature in business model innovation and cultural entrepreneurship, which have previously been tenuous. In particular, this research applies concepts connected to a wider focus of the business model as a value ecosystem or constellation to cultural entrepreneurship with an emphasis on value creation in business model development (Arend, 2013; Allee, 2003). This value

creation focus is in alignment with social entrepreneurship literature, a body of research explored more extensively to date, and because of the synergies between cultural and social entrepreneurship, various theories from social entrepreneurship have been adopted based on data collected. One that runs throughout is the lack of differentiation between types of value because it can be limiting (Santos, 2012) and ways of conceptualising social entrepreneurs- mission and motivation, individual characteristics, resource and process and the world they operate within (Dacin et al., 2011), and data was gathered using a grounded theory approach, a research methodology not yet explored at length for cultural entrepreneurship. This approach offers a novel perspective to exploring this body of research, particularly useful when coming from a high level of personal and professional embeddedness in the creative industries. At the core of the model is a typology for cultural entrepreneurship to balance conflicting priorities and accountabilities based on the QBL. The four quadrants in this model are artistic innovation, social change, economic prosperity and institutional development. The model is as follows:

Figure 9.1: Unlocking Entrepreneurial Potential
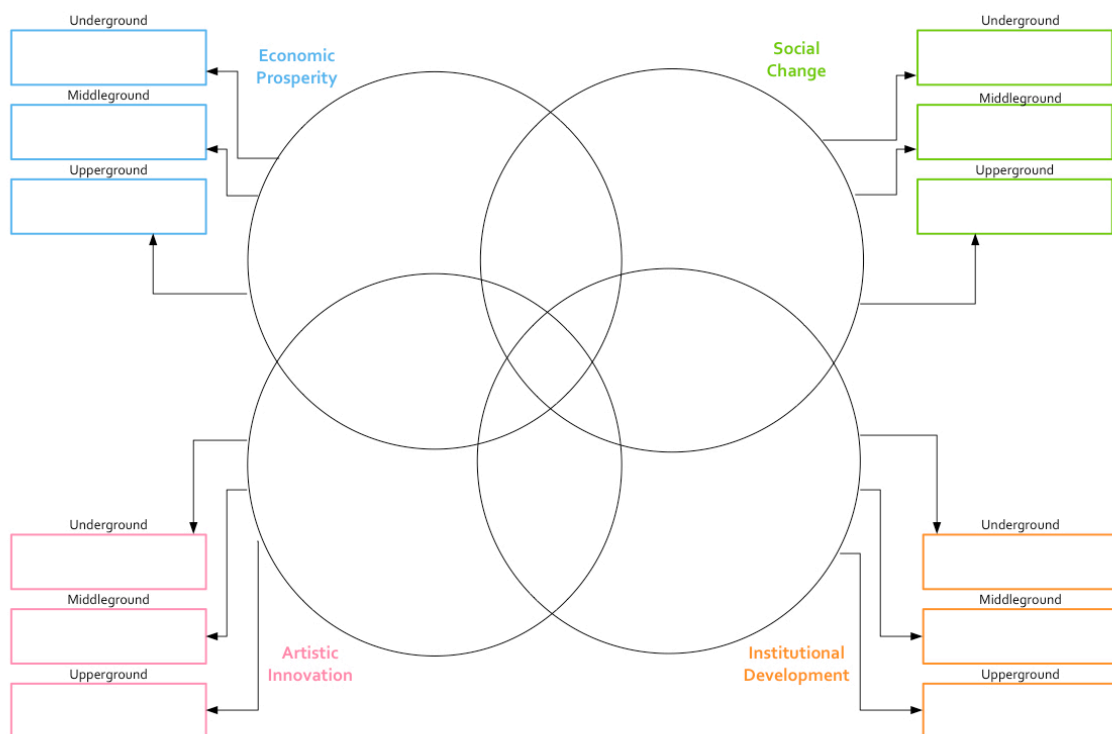
In line with value constellations, these four spheres of influence overlap, all part of a thriving ecosystem each individual or organisation encourages through the value they create. In alignment with the constantly-evolving nature of the business model, cultural entrepreneurs could use this

typology to revisit how they are balancing these co-existing elements alongside the practical working document in Appendix 6. Continuing with the value ecosystems approach, actors in the underground, middleground and upperground can be working within the creative industries or in other sectors. Any gaps each individual or organisation have are potential areas for growth or innovation, along with the ever present opportunity to expand aspects of work to other sectors.

Research on innovation in social entrepreneurship offers insights into how to better conceptualise business model innovation in the creative industries in the context of this typology. In summary from Chapter 2, this basic outline of different types of innovations provides a starting point further discussed at the end of each section. These include product innovation; service innovation; process innovation; position innovation; strategic innovation; governance innovation; and rhetorical innovation (Hartley, 2005), further discussed in section 2.3. This outline for types of not-for-profit innovation, pulled from social entrepreneurship, includes the more traditional methods of innovation such as products and services but also outlines some of the more knowledge-based types of innovation such as position; strategic; governance; and rhetorical innovation. Embracing all of these as possibilities for cultural entrepreneurs offers mechanisms to offer new pathways for cultural entrepreneurs to embed themselves even further in the knowledge-based economy that it already contributes so much to (Wilson, 2009). The typology will be explained at length later on in this chapter. First, the following discussion outlines the key findings of this research, followed by an analysis and recommendations based on the aims and research questions set at the outset of the research process through a preliminary review of the policy, grey and academic literature. The discussion to follow outlines findings from these research aims and questions based on data collected through interviews with a wide range of cultural entrepreneurs, connected to aims and objectives outlined prior to data collection and with current literature in related fields.

9.3 Aim one: Conceptualising cultural entrepreneurship

This aim was addressed through an exploration as to whether or not there are common characteristics based on the value they create, what their significant variations were and an attempt to understand why these variations exist. The common characteristics are outlined followed by the significant differences and the reasons behind these variations.

9.3.1 Common characteristics

It was evident that the wide range of actors in the creative industries interviewed are different in the ways they navigate the creative industries and in the ways they create and capture value. However, in much of the policy and academic literature, they are discussed as though they are on the same footing (DCMS, 2016; Albinsson, 2017). Before delving into the differences of the various actors in the creative industries, some similarities emerged that are useful points of discussion. These ideas are not new and connect with many aspects of the literature on conventional entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship. These similarities are as follows:

1. *They are driven by a strong cultural and/or social mission.*

   Passion is evident in the data collected. These entrepreneurs believe in helping people, providing jobs and opportunities or connecting communities through the arts. They believe in making beautiful things or in the value of creative expression, not just for themselves but for others too. This was the driving force and the value they were creating. Capturing that value was seen as merely a means to further that passion and continue to help and benefit more people through what they are doing. As stated by Nina, 'overall, success is being able to do what it is that you love to do and being able to make a living from it. For me that's art and working with people. Something that lights your fire, excites you, that you can do more regularly and being able to find a way to make a living from it and being able to assist or engage others in the process, is when you're really doing it.' Femi continues, 'I have a high-quality and a bespoke approach to creating art rather than mass producing, just creating beautiful moments and beautiful things. That's what motivates me.

2. *They have a reconciled relationship with money.*

   As stated above, money is a means to an end to furthering a creative and/or social mission, but all the entrepreneurs appeared to accept the practice of monetising aspects of what they do. This is not to say that this process is easy or that they do not do some things for free, but they knew what they would do for free and what they would not. They were not afraid to pursue and negotiate with various other organisations, funders or customers to provide money for themselves or their organisations, however they realised they needed to balance this with doing some things for less or free that may be closer to their mission. Because of the romanticisation of the concept of 'the starving artist' that still has resonance for many in the creative industries, this accommodation towards the practice of monetising aspects of what they do is helpful in finding ways to capture the value cultural entrepreneurs create with authenticity and creativity. Olivia states, 'fundamentally I want more people to engage with

arts and culture. If we can provide the care and bring artists into that conversation around funded projects and develop that engagement, I think that's really exciting. As long as you keep art at the heart of it, actually there is loads more scope to work in other sectors and that's been one of the really exciting partnerships.' Also stated by Whitney, 'income streams are commissions which pays for project and puts in money to the organisation to make work.'

3. **They have multiple revenue streams which relate in different ways to their core missions.**

   Related to feeling comfortable to ask for and negotiate money, interviewees understand they have a wide range of value they create and find different ways of capturing it. So, they are not depending wholly on one source of funding and these varied revenue streams are also related to different parts of an individual's motivation or an organisation's mission. Through this process they are also providing ways of balancing revenue earned from what they might view as more commercial activity and value generated from activity more aligned with socially- or culturally-embedded mission. For example, if a venue is hiring out their spaces, they may have community rates to both appease that stakeholder, but also to feel as though they are being more fair, altruistic and authentic in how they operate. Jean iteraties, 'multiple revenue streams are important so that they can be not just reactive to what changes come but also to be proactively engaged in what they want to do.' Olivia states, 'basically our income breaks down as 25% of our income comes from the arts council from our local authority. I think that is actually quite low for a subsidised venue. When I got here it was about 45% so after the last 8 years we have worked really hard to grow other income streams so we are more sustainable.'

4. **They understand and value themselves and what they have to offer.**

   In short, successful cultural entrepreneurs know themselves and value what they have to offer. They know what they are good at and they know where they have weaknesses where they may need to bring in other areas of expertise. While they have a reconciled relationship with monetising aspects of what they do, they also have a reconciled relationship with themselves and the value they add to their field. They navigate the world with confidence, valuing their abilities as artists, creators, leaders or as managers. By knowing the value of themselves and/or their organisations, they can proceed with authority, assertiveness and vision in finding ways to apply that value, make the most of it and capture it in ways that make sense to them. In the interview sample, this was a key theme that emerged and recommendations for how this may be cultivated are further discussed in Section 5.4. Nina

states, 'I have an awareness of what I want to share and how to say and present it and have an awareness of the times and how people would receive it.' Further iterated by Hannah, 'In terms of living a creative life; being an entrepreneur; and being successful living a life that you think is successful, having the time to reflect on who you are and who you want to do is the single most important thing.' She continues, 'doing that on a regular basis gives me so much confidence.'

5. *They all battle with legitimacy and the need to be authentic in what they do.*

Reputation and authenticity are important, with particular importance for this authenticity to peers to come from a genuine place. This ties into knowing themselves and what they have to offer. With a strong understanding of that, they understand how to communicate that value in ways that build reputation, trust and legitimacy for what they are about. They understand their brand, their message, their vision and know how to then communicate that authentically with the right audiences. This helps them to build the right types of relationships and to continue to nurture them with authenticity. As stated by Chloe, 'when I pitch to people, there is less fluffiness and I don't go on like a press release for three pages. I directly say, 'this is how it will benefit your business; this is how it will benefit my business; and this is how you will benefit the artist. Let's do it.' Sean continues, 'I came to the realization that I wasn't doing the right projects to reflect who I am now. You don't realise that you are your business. I had to think more critically about what I was projecting out to the world?'

6. *They have a positive approach to failure.*

Failure is inevitable, but the mindset of interviewees interpreted difficult situations as a welcome challenge and sometimes, perhaps subconsciously, as another way to exercise their creativity, connected to theories on creative constraint (Wilson, 2009; Bilton, 2007) and the motivation that comes in overcoming difficult, extrinsic challenges (Fillis and Rentschler, 2003). Their open, reflexive, flexible approach to challenges prove they are able to adapt easily and even saw failure as something that was not failure as such but a way that they needed to adapt or change to better fit a certain situation. In turn, they use what they have, connected to entrepreneurial bricolage (Gundry et al., 2011), with turning points and moments of clarity often coming from failure. Sean states, 'so I realised if I wanted to make my career work, I couldn't have the safety net. If I had that I would never really explore myself creatively and I would never know failure. If you don't know failure, you can never

strive for success.' Jillian on bringing her organisation back from near failure: 'everything it takes to sort out a building, from why the café is failing and why the audiences weren't there, had to be built back up; that began with taking risks. The relationships just weren't there and obviously now, looking back, we've done it.'

9.3.2 Significant difference: building on The Anatomy of the City

Generally, different sectors, types and sizes of organisations within the creative industries operate differently and have different needs. It is difficult to separate into distinct categories, however it emerged that there were three types of actors: artists and creators who work independently for the most part, small business owners who are not artists themselves but act as enablers and navigate predominantly without reliance on public funding and entrepreneurial leaders of organisations; later discovered in the literature as the underground, middleground and upperground respectively (Cohendet et al., 2010). This small body of literature exploring these areas provides a foundation for these research findings, and the data collected offers new insights into how these actors operate in and amongst one another and also in how they act entrepreneurially. There are distinct characteristics of each, although these categories are fluid, with some actors taking on different roles in different contexts. This analysis builds upon the very limited previous research about the underground, middleground and upperground in the context of entrepreneurial action. There are more well-researched areas around the artist as entrepreneur or cultural worker, intermediaries, and the dynamics of cultural organisations which relate to the underground, middleground and upperground respectively, and this research weaves them together through an entrepreneurial lens. The discussion below outlines new insights into how these different types of entrepreneurs operate, before delving into recommendations to extend the entrepreneurial potential for each with reference to the business model literature. The classifications of underground, middleground, and upperground are useful in describing how knowledge is created and exchanged and how actors operate within these fields, however it is worth noting that these can be very difficult to classify definitively, and actors often span two, or even all three categories. The following outlines the differentiations of each classification in the context of entrepreneurial action before delving into the challenges that come with these classifications and how they relate to one another.

9.3.2.1 The underground

For the underground, their identity is key, not only for artistic expression but also in how they navigate the creative industries entrepreneurially. This ties closely to the need to preserve their sense of authenticity, both amongst their peers and for themselves. So, if they are monetising aspects of

their art or creative output, it is important for them to feel that they are not 'selling out', creating just for money, causing them to lose their artistic integrity. In the data, it was evident that underground artists believed it was integral to maintain a level of authenticity in their work and how they pursue opportunities. Similar to social entrepreneurs, artists possess a strong desire to be perceived as authentic to whoever they create for and with, including those who consume their work- audiences, clients, visitors and perhaps even more so amongst peers (Santos, 2012). As the social aspect of the creative industries is so vital for the cultural entrepreneur of any type, with important gatekeepers to success in the middle and upperground, the recognition and acceptance of others in the underground should not be overlooked. Peer recognition is integral for the cultural entrepreneur in part because of the blurred lines between social and professional, personal and creative. Communities of practice are important sources of validation and value creation in themselves, so it is important for the cultural entrepreneur to feel accepted by their peers, who they often collaborate and depend on as a source of work in some for another.

Some in the underground still have barriers and hesitation to identifying themselves as cultural entrepreneurs or even as enterprising agents (Albinsson, 2017) The ones in the sample for this research all seemed to accept the term and sometimes embrace it when asked about its relevance to their work, or at least they focused on value creation first before attempting to capture it. Understanding the synergies between monetising aspects of what they do as part of their creative process and artistic practice is essential to feeling the internal motivation and justification to move forward with entrepreneurial ideas. Adopting the identity of being an entrepreneur seems to also aid in the acceptance of others in the underground, middle and upperground too. It was evident through the data that the combination of a focus on value creation and the acceptance of themselves as entrepreneurial actors not only assisted with acting and thinking in entrepreneurial ways, but also helped integrate their artistic or creative self and their entrepreneurial self. They seemed to extend their creative process into how projects come to fruition, turning their ideas into creative lucrative projects, which freed them up to explore a wide range of ideas and find creative ways to implement them. It was clear that they used bricolage when creating value, starting with the resources available, however scarce, and building upon these. For example, Femi had a background in visual arts though found that supplies were too expensive and not as financially viable, so he taught himself graphic design and started writing because pens, pencils and paper were affordable at that moment in time. He was able to apply his creativity using an effectual mindset to both being a graphic designer and a poet, and even though graphic design has more potential for commercial applications he saw them both as integral aspects of his artistic expression.

Others in the sample such as Sean and Martin claim they were not naturally business-saavy and had to spend time developing their entrepreneurial abilities, including learning the more tangible skills of marketing, accounting and finance, but also the softer skills like confidence and being able to network. Others such as Femi and Jess claim they have a natural business sense which helped them in the growth of their careers. For all, however, there was an important mindset shift towards accepting an entrepreneurial identity. As stated by Maggie, business skills are something that can be developed more easily than creativity and artistic innovation. This therefore opens up important implications for training and education, which is already being implemented in 'enterprise' education in schools and universities and could be developed further to cater to artists working in the underground as well as intermediaries and those who want to be entrepreneurial in an organisational context (Naudin, 2013). Maggie's comment also brings up a valid point that a cultural entrepreneur, no matter how skilled at marketing or business development, will not succeed unless their creative product, service or approach is of an appropriate quality with a certain level of artistic innovation. So, I would argue that there is a need to nurture creativity, alongside entrepreneurial training, for any course or programme that seeks to help entrepreneurs. This leaves a void once again for those who do not have formal training or education or come from other sectors. Those in the underground who were not trained in a creative field stated they were business-minded from the outset, which is perhaps why they were more inclined to pursue entrepreneurial ideas and accept the term. For those not entrepreneurially-inclined, there also exists an opportunity to utilise the middleground as brokers and translators of creative talent and ideas. In order for that to happen, the underground need to have an awareness of the skills they need in order to connect with others who can provide support, such as someone to help them with a website, marketing or negotiating with an agency. This requires certain pre-requisites: a high level of self-knowledge and self-awareness; confidence in their artform; and the networks to know whom to connect with.

Through the interviews, identity was also revealed to be a key resource that was leveraged to create different types of value, often related to the artists' cultural background. Identity relates to knowing themselves, understanding who they are and how they work. Their identity as artists was also integral in leveraging buy-in from the middleground and upperground, exemplifying the importance of artists and cultural institutions in making urban areas more attractive to live and work in, emphasised in much of the cultural regeneration literature (Konrad, 2013) and mentioned specifically in interviews by Whitney on the value of artists: 'creative people with good ideas are exciting to the world so that makes an easy sell'. In relation to the quadruple bottom line, the ability of the underground to create value through artistic innovation has implications for how the middleground and upperground engage with those aspects of the typology, but also for the underground to realise that in order to have

economic prosperity. They often need to connect with the middle and uppperground to fund the development of the work, for communicating their value proposition which will ultimately help them to garner success from their work. This is not to negate the importance of connecting with other underground agents for collaboration, for recognition and to demonstrate authenticity. It seemed as if other underground agents were gatekeepers, crediting their work and their abilities, before they were able to connect with opportunities from the middle and uppperground.

To put simply, entrepreneurial action in the underground is knowing oneself and what that artist has to offer. They know what they have to say as artists, who their audiences are and how they communicate with them. They often have multiple revenue streams, so are able to feel authentic and practice with a sense of integrity within what they do. Wherever they have gaps in their skills, they work with the middle or uppperground to fill those gaps. They have good connections with the middle and/or uppperground and see their business as an extension of the creative practice. They also cultivate relationships with others in the underground to nurture their artistic practice and for collaboration, credibility, recognition and opportunities. The distinguishing elements of these two groups are discussed in the following two sections.

9.3.2.2 The middleground

Literature on underground, middleground and uppperground or the 'anatomy of the city' makes the ultimate claim that actors in the middleground are instrumental agents essential to the well-functioning creative industries in each city (Cohendet et al., 2010). They are the critical intermediaries that link the creative ideas of the bohemian and avant-garde in the underground with the opportunities provided in the uppperground. In the interview data, these agents are well-positioned intermediaries assisting the underground in bridging the disconnection between the underground and uppperground opportunities in the arts, but also bridging to other sectors, which proved to be one key area of entrepreneurial activity. In order to act as this bridge, they have the ability to understand both the business and the creative side, communicating in an often-varied language between the two to appease and communicate value to both sides, which ultimately leads to value capture. Many were able to do this because of prior experience working in other sectors outside of the arts, infusing that experience into their business in the middleground. They are boundary spanners, pulling from diverse backgrounds, skill sets and organisational structures, 'standing near holes in a social structure', to then be able to bring in and incorporate new and innovative ideas (Burt, 2004, p. 349; Basov and Tippman, 2011). In the context of the literature, the middleground includes places that help to bring together the under and uppperground, but in the context of this research also consists of people who act as intermediaries in the arts (Cohendet et al., 2010). In the data, the middleground was comprised

people who act as intermediaries rather than the geographical locations they operated in, the latter providing one potential area for future research, delving deeper into the influence of intermediary spaces in the middleground to encourage entrepreneurship. In urban locations the middleground actors navigate a wide range of spaces- physical, online and in their networked connections. As mentioned previously, they have the skills, experience and credibility to be able to do this and these versatile agents not only encourage exchange in intermediary spaces but create new types of value in the way they bridge the two worlds.

In the data collected, many of the organisations classified as the middleground operate outside of the constraints of public funding and are often driven by the vision of a leader-founder who guides staff to follow their vision. Though many come from sectors outside of the arts, they have an affiliation with it through family or hobbies, or affinity towards it, which drew them into starting a business in the field. Similar to social entrepreneurs, they identified a need either in the creative industries or amongst a specific community where they could apply their skills to address that need (Santos, 2012). So, they started an enterprise to try to address this need, with an awareness of whom their value proposition was intended for, with a focus on value creation and the process of value capture being an evolving serendipitous process of effectual thinking (Kirchberg and Kagan, 2013; Valliere, 2014). In the middleground, there was an increased sense of pragmatism and professionalism that the underground sometimes lacks, and a higher degree of flexibility not always possible with the upperground.

The middleground are important in linking the upper and underground, and they also serve as key translators, predictors, decision-makers, and communicators of what is seen as valuable in the industry (Matthews and Maguire, 2014). In terms of value creation, the middleground are not only creating value for the under and upperground by linking the two, acting as brokers of knowledge and creative talent, they also are determinants of what is deemed valuable in the creative industries, setting and following trends often based upon personal preference and the preference of their peers (O'Brien et al., 2017), promoting certain artists in the underground over others. In the context of this research, BFArt is an example of a company that is based upon the talent of the underground though founder Chloe is ultimately the one who decides who in the underground to represent. This is based upon her own criteria, which is a combination of work ethic, dedication and artistic innovation. This places entrepreneurs like Chloe and the rest of the middleground in a relative position of power, which was clear in the data collected. The middleground entrepreneurs choose which underground agents they would like to work with and though they may have to compromise to work with the upperground initially, once they obtain a certain level of success they gain the leverage to influence the practice of the upperground too. One example is Maggie and her company Swell who see

themselves as bridging the under and upperground, while also educating them both on how to work with each other. If they encounter a company in the upperground who is difficult to work with or who does not treat the underground well, they will stop working with them. To get to this point, Swell and the rest of the middleground must build and demonstrate credibility to the underground in their knowledge and understanding of the creative industries which often comes through previous experience working in the sector, personal or family connections, or experience of being artists in the underground themselves. They need to somehow prove, often informally, that they know which artists are worth investing in, which often comes down to taste and a 'gut' feeling about whose work to support. It was evident in the interviews that one of the key functions of the middleground was to raise the level of professionalism in the underground and to enable artists to communicate their own value. These tastes often came from personal experience in the arts, and those with little personal or professional connections beforehand struggling to succeed.

In many instances, they add structure to the creative process of the underground to then be able to communicate their value with the upperground. This comes through formalised bids; exhibitions; proposals; organising publications; agency representation; public art installations; competitions; daily challenges; and awards to formalise their work into a way that the public and the upperground can digest more easily and giving credibility and motivation to the underground. These examples are how they also prove their credibility to the upperground as well, to make the talent of the underground more digestible for the upperground, where the value proposition is clearer, and they have a better understanding of value created. In terms of different types of innovation, their influence often goes beyond helping the underground to develop their creative product or service but serves to demonstrate the impact of artistic innovation and creative approaches towards governance, service, position and process innovation. For example, Hannah is working with notions of everyday creativity to connect with the value of promoting creativity in the workplace in other sectors, improving employee well-being and encouraging process innovation through changing the way things are done within the upperground companies 1000 Minds works with. Therefore, the key resource leveraged for the middleground is their intermediary nature, being able to communicate and add value to both the upper and underground.

In short, entrepreneurial action in the middleground is leveraging personal resources such as knowledge from other sectors, communication skills and a passion for the arts to somehow connect the underground with opportunities presented by the upperground. These intermediary agents identify opportunities, often by connecting with other sectors, to find innovative solutions to help both the underground and the upperground, therefore also serving as key gatekeepers of what is determined valuable in the sector. More on the influence of the upperground in the following section.

9.3.2.3 The upperground

The upperground in this research are leaders and managers of organisations that have not-for-profit status, which means they are either allocated some public funding or have responsibility to the public through their charitable status. The upperground does not necessarily have to encompass charitable organisations in the creative industries, and perhaps and even wider scope beyond the creative industries could have much more exciting implications for ways the underground and middleground can apply the value they create through opportunities presented in the upperground. Interviews with the middleground demonstrate this potential, as many work with companies outside of the creative industries. Entrepreneurial thinking in this category ties closely to studies in non-profit innovation and intrapreneurship, requiring a varied approach and skill set from managers and leaders and skill sets to enable entrepreneurial thinking amongst staff and balance responsibilities to multiple stakeholders (Ratten and Ferreira, 2017; Gawell, 2014). In order to connect with the underground, some staff members such as producers or curators act as middleground actors within their upperground institutions. For example, a producer acts as a means of connecting with artists who might create a theatre show for the producer's organisation. Within other types of organisations, that role might be done by a project manager or outreach coordinator, depending on the industry, organisational structure and size of organisation. This intermediary aspect was not explored explicitly in this research as none of these specific actors were interviewed, though I would hypothesize that in order for this to be done successfully, staff need to be given the autonomy to pursue these opportunities. This falls on the leader or manager to create an environment of creativity and freedom to empower staff to serve as middleground agents to connect with the underground. In theory, beyond the agency to connect with the underground, there needs to be an environment which embraces experimentation where failure and risk-taking are allowed as an important part of solidifying these connections. Although this was not a specific research question, Jillian for example discussed how she gives her staff a great deal of independent control over their work, without being micro-managed, which has led to greater staff retention.

Perhaps one benefit to having an internal system of middleground agents, theorised through a transaction cost economics framework, is that it is more cost-effective to bring this valuable function in house. It is likely that this process is driven by resource constraints within the upperground and because connecting with the middleground outside of the upperground organisations has greater risk to not deliver a quality product or act dependably without as much familiarity with the mission of the organisation or credibility (Gundy et al., 2014). However, this risk could potentially prove fruitful for fostering innovation (Tadelis and Williamson, 2012). Keeping the middleground in-house could create

a slloed, homogeneous sense of what is of value and what is not, shutting out new ideas that could potentially emerge from the underground. In either case, the middleground are still the brokers of value. In order to be given opportunities these intrapreneurial middle-agents need to somehow demonstrate they are credible sources of determining value with both their organisation and with the underground too. As was evident in the data, however, the artistic direction of the upperground is still determined by its leaders, with Jillian and Olivia in particular discussing how they favour certain work over others based on their own taste and a balance of what they deem to be artistically innovative and fruitful in terms of bringing in audiences who will buy tickets and other products.

The upperground provide opportunities but they do not always have the flexibility and the creativity to be able to implement or even come up with entrepreneurial ideas. As evident in the data, there are significant barriers both in developing an entrepreneurial mindset and implementing entrepreneurial ideas often based on hierarchy and large, bureaucratic companies such as Heritage Unlimited and Queen's Library. However, the reality of funding cuts and diminishing governmental support is an unfortunate reality that is making a heavy reliance on public funding outdated; a situation that the upperground are adapting to. Similar to the other two categories, analysis of the upperground data revealed value creation is once again a key focus, not only what it is but also who makes it and who it is for. In order to act entrepreneurially, value capture comes after value creation and proves far more complex than simply monetising aspects of what an organisation does. Maintaining mission authenticity and integrity is a key focus, and as long as that was maintained, there did not seem to exist a tension between generating revenue from value created. Reasons for this seemed to stem from the often-severe resource constraints and because commercialisation was still aligned closely with their organisational mission. Their view is that monetary income is a means to an end to further that organisational mission, but compromises were often made, and the flexibility of leaders was evident in the success of those compromises at the discretion of the leaders.

The leaders of the two smaller organisations on the brink of closing down leveraged the resources they had in a way that was by necessity due to their challenging position, tied closely to bricolage, combining what was available to move forward (Kickuk, 2012). Their entrepreneurial mindset, in an environment of resource constraints, pushed them towards the solutions adopted. Embodied in the way they went about creating new types of value was an understanding of their position in the local area, utilising aspects similar to an asset-based approach to community development by drawing on the relationships and needs already present in their local area (Varady et al., 2015). This helped them to gain buy-in from, and resolve tense relationships with local groups, leveraging their resources to improve 'physical, social and economic conditions' (Varady et al., 2015, p. 254), albeit sometimes in small ways. This did not seem to be an immediately conscious and strategic approach to regenerating

the area surrounding these organisations, but one that stemmed organically from the needs of the communities, alongside an understanding they need to align their organisational missions with the community in order to survive. This helped the upperground to continue to build upon their mission through this work and helped to motivate staff to keep going when challenges arose. Motivations to connect and collaborate with communities stemmed from personal passion, the needs outlined above, and from the responsibility of organisations that receive public funding to engage with and provide opportunities for diverse groups of people. This was potentially in response to recent studies showing that the creative industries are overserving certain demographics and underserving many others, particularly from BAME and those from lower socio-economic backgrounds (Warwick Commission, 2015). Public funding from ACE stipulates that the arts should be accessible and 'for everyone' (Hewison, 2011), though it was evident that this can provide challenges to entrepreneurial activity for some (for example, in the case of libraries), but opportunities to work within those constraints for others as evidence in the sample in Olivia's case, for example. In turn, they also have a responsibility to balance access with creating high-quality creative output, the value of which is a contested issue of debate on how to measure this high-quality creative content (Banks, 2006).

In the two larger organisations, those in Heritage Unlimited discussed the need to connect more with local initiatives and Queen's Library more to international ones, however this seemed much more motivated by the need for funding rather than an authentic means to empower and engage local people or international audiences respectively. This was evident in Maria's comments about how engaging local people was a way of building their members. Project funding, as in funding that covers the delivery of a particular project rather than funding for core costs, do provide useful sources of public funding from funders such as ACE, HLF or even large international foundations. These projects add value for the organisation and for various communities, whether local or online in the case of Queen's Library, and often also includes opportunities for the underground. Perhaps because these two organisations are so large with many employees, locations and stakeholders, it diminishes the innate responsibility to connect with the local community that comes with many of the smaller ones that do have some public funding and see it as a more necessary element of survival. At least in the case of Heritage Unlimited, they realise they are limited in who they serve are therefore reliant on the buy-in of local communities to deepen engagement and to continue to grow their memberships, even if it lacks authenticity. The process of genuine engagement with groups who do not normally engage with the arts comes with its own challenges which partnerships and project funding often offer opportunities to begin the process. This was certainly the case with Heritage Unlimited who also used project funding to engage with and provide opportunities for the underground. I would argue more attempts to use approaches like the lean start-up and asset-based approaches to community

development will help organisations to further build the demographics of people who they work with, but it will be done in a more genuine manner, with the desires and needs of those who they are trying to engage involved from the outset. Many have inherent resources in their buildings and their positions within their communities, to be leveraged in innovative ways depending on how they choose to do so. Looking to different types of innovation in governance, position and process, for example, can help the upperground think differently about the resources they have as sources of entrepreneurial action.

Entrepreneurial action in the upperground is about identifying and exploiting the value that lies in the resources connected to people and place. People are their networks, the underground they work with and oftentimes their local communities. Using strategies connected to an asset-based approach to community development, they not only have innovative leaders who focus first on value creation and are passionate about constantly creating new types of value, but they foster creativity and intrapreneurship amongst staff and collaborators.

9.3.2.4 Bridging these Worlds

As stated previously, these categories can be difficult to definitively separate, with some actors spanning two or even all three categories, and some not quite fitting in at all. However, they serve as a useful reference point to better understand the complex dynamics of the creative industries and how entrepreneurial action works within these different groups. Not all in the underground need the middleground to connect to upperground opportunities. Utilising technology for self-promotion offers pathways to moving beyond needing to connect with middleground actors such as agents, promoters or producers. For example, not all musicians need record labels to be successful in the music industry, nor do theatre makers need agents or visual artists need gallery owners. Creatives can connect directly with the uppergound through mediums such as social media. These self-driven, promotional tools can be a way to transcend the once prevalent constraints of needing to get signed and can be an extension of creative practice. This does not negate the underlying benefits that the middleground or intermediaries of culture provide in 'shaping tastes and ensuring the operation and function of cultural markets,' where 'contemporary cultural practices invariably require a complex process of mediation between producers and consumers' (O'Brien et al., 2017, p. 273). These 'tastemakers' connect artists and consumers of culture but also, 'play a pivotal role in 'framing' fields of cultural consumption' by determining what is of value, thereby shaping what forms of culture are available to various consumers of culture (O'Brien, 2017, p. 273; Maguire and Matthews, 2012; Bourdieu, 1983). So, even if the middleground is not directly present in the daily operations of the

underground, their impact on tastes and what is deemed valuable and worthy is present in a wider, cultural sense. Specifically when it comes to issues of inequalities of gender, sexuality and race in the creative industries, the underlying structures of labour and cultural production and consumption favouring a white Euro-centric market (Saha, 2017) have a definitive impact on the actions and cultural tastes of the middleground. However, this is an under-researched area so the exact nature of how these inequalities are perpetuated or even addressed is not clear, though there is general consensus that these tastes can be a barrier for many (O'Brien et al., 2017; Saha, 2017). Specific constraints based upon race were not discussed explicitly in the interviews, however, Sean, Femi and Nico who all moved here from other countries at various points in their lives from African countries talked about financial and language barriers, as well as barriers with access to resources such as how to obtain funding to support the development of their art form.

Due to the disruptive potential of entrepreneurship, cultural entrepreneurs are able to work outside of constraints based on gender, sexuality and ethnicity (Warwick Commission, 2015) based on the autonomy offered through entrepreneurship, with the potential to transcend or shift these barriers. While still having to operate within the constraints of a system based on certain traditions of cultural production and consumption, the freedom allowed through entrepreneurial processes has the ability to shift these traditions, for better or worse (as connected to Schumpeter's theories of creative destruction [Schumpeter, 1935]). Especially when connecting with other sectors outside of the arts in the same way that social entrepreneurs attempt to fill gaps when governments fail to provide services for its people (Santos, 2012), cultural entrepreneurship provides the opportunity to navigate around the structures limited by public funding or high art traditions to provide opportunities for large groups of society that are underserved and underrepresented by the current state of the creative industries (Warwick Commission, 2015). The individual in the underground, for example, does have some power in changing these structures, however it is a system-wide shift towards more independent, creative entrepreneurial thinking that will enable this change. If entrepreneurs are able to leverage the value they create in nuanced ways that circumvent these systems, then there is potential to divert power dynamics away from more conventional systems. While entrepreneurship in the arts goes far beyond economic development, money does hold power, especially in a resource constrained environment such as the creative industries. So, while the focus is on value creation within the data set, the ability to capture that value in a self-sustaining, creative, and innovative way is a tremendous asset not only to that individual but also in shifting the system that constrains them, further connection with ideas around institutional development.

This is not to diminish the difficulties that arise from the increasing commodification of culture and

the challenges of the labour market in the creative industries. Discourse against the commodification of culture highlights the potential that cultural entrepreneurship has to devalue investment in supporting 'art for art's sake' and increasingly focus on whether or not something will sell, thereby favouring appeasing audiences or consumers of culture. Literature connected to cultural labour brings up that there is an oversupply of labour in the creative industries making paid work unrealistic for many (Oakley, 2013; McRobbie, 2007), especially in early career stages with 'social contacts, including family links, playing an important role in 'getting in'', which 'has undesirable consequences for the social and ethnic mix of the labour market'. Similarly, 'the ability to sustain unpaid work, sometimes for lengthy periods, is clearly greater if one can draw on family resources' (Oakley, 2013, p. 151), connected to financial bootstrapping principles. I would argue that developing entrepreneurial capabilities and acknowledging entrepreneurial skills helps to empower action to navigate outside this under-resourced system and has the potential to make the creative industries more equitable and accessible. This offers a way forward for those who are naturally inclined towards being entrepreneurial but who are not currently served by the various limiting structures of the creative industries. There are difficulties for most working in the creative industries but this approach to cultural entrepreneurship opens up possibilities for a shift in thinking around how entrepreneurs can navigate within these shifts. This connects once again to social entrepreneurship and the potential of connecting the arts to 'the growth of radical social enterprise and new forms of co-operative in the cultural sectors and beyond (Oakley, 2013, p. 155; McRobbie, 2011). Due to the instrumental ties associated with the creative industries in policy in recent years, connecting entrepreneurialism with these types of social initiatives rather than that of public funding requires a revisiting of current policy structures, an area of further research.

9.4 Aim two: New perspectives and techniques

The second research aim was to suggest new perspectives and techniques for cultural entrepreneurs in the context of the potential of emerging digital technologies and local networks. This specifically looked at the ways thinking and acting entrepreneurially serves to create and capture value, looking to the potential of web-based platforms and local networks to offer untapped benefits. As demonstrated in the previous section, entrepreneurship in the creative industries is complex, dynamic and there is no one solution to fit every individual or organisation. Cultural background, social status, training, gender, sector and location and internal and external capabilities (Wilson and Martin, 2015) are all factors not only in the success of the cultural entrepreneur but how business models are constructed and implemented. While the way value is captured is a key aspect of business

model innovation, a focus on value creation provides a key pathway into how each individual or cultural institution can begin to think about entrepreneurial action. No matter the size or type of organisation or individual, they use a bricolage approach, combining and applying the 'resources at hand in creative and useful ways to solve problems' (Gundry et al., 2011, p. 1) to effectually make links between the value they create and ways to capture it. This process is often organic and serendipitous, without a linear method or structure. The excitement and challenge of that not knowing falls into the characteristics and temperament of many of the interviewees with the passion for the value they create as the motivation to continue pursuing opportunities and to keep innovating. Similar to social entrepreneurship that 'flourishes in resource constrained environments' (Desa, 2007), many cultural entrepreneurs face the same resource constraints and the same pressures and drives to have a social impact through their work (Oakley, 2013), with entrepreneurship as a way to work around and within those constraints. In short, the focus primarily is on making art and making a difference, with the ways to capture it proceeding that. While public funding allows actors in the creative industries to focus on value creation without concentrating too much on ways of capturing it, budget cuts and policy constraints offer another set of challenges. With a focus on their resources, the value they have to offer, and their wide range of stakeholders, therein lies incredible potential for innovation leading to creative entrepreneurship. Nurturing a holistic and well-rounded understanding of the value they create, who is involved and the other external factors that influence or have the potential to influence their organisations, provides a pathway towards entrepreneurial success but also one that will help maintain integrity for organisations and individuals alike; further described below. Before a new approach can be developed and utilised, an in-depth and thorough understanding of the type of value created is an appropriate first step.

Digital technologies do offer potential for innovation in the creative industries, leading to the development of entrepreneurial initiatives, however as evident from the data collected, industry may not be ready for the type of innovation theorised by many of the academic and policy documents. Digital is integral for the underground in creating value using social media and website development to communicate value propositions, however the type of investment in strictly digital resources for artistic innovation is not readily available. The middleground are perhaps the most advanced in terms of digital technology development, with many of the people interviewed creating digital platforms as their entrepreneurial endeavours, as in the case of Maggie and Terrence. These platforms, however, have not been easy to implement, often requiring a steep learning curve, regardless of the fact that the opportunity was there. As in Maggie's case, they even scaled down their original idea of developing a digital skill share website in favour of using digital technology more on the backend for staff to track the underground talent and uppecenrground opportunities they work with. For the

upperground, there is more investment available, however as is demonstrated in Queen's Library, this often requires a large investment from an external donor. There is still a great deal of potential for digital technology as a source of innovation for cultural entrepreneurs, but it needs to be developed with a critical eye towards the value it creates for a wide range of beneficiaries, not merely for the sake of the development of the technology in and of itself.

Local networks seem to offer even greater potential for untapped benefits to find new ways to create and capture value in the context of cultural entrepreneurship. Local networks offer incredible opportunities, not only for building audiences as was evident with organisations such as Heritage Unlimited, but in building genuine connections to create value with communities, not just for them. Organisations and individuals need to be responsive to their local areas, particularly if they have physical assets such as a building. Olivia and Bridge Arts in the data set is a good example of how from a starting point of connecting with people in a local area, entrepreneurial ideas can emerge. When she started in the organisation at risk of shutting down with a poor relationship with the community, her genuine intention was to build relationships, not only to get people to come into the building but also to explore how the organisation could benefit local people. She wanted to work alongside local people and develop projects, programmes and shows based on their needs, often creating with them. This led to funding from places such as commissioning bodies and the local authority, but the focus first and foremost was on the value created with and for the community first. Though it was not explicitly mentioned, strategies such as the lean start-up methodology offer possibilities for how creative people and organisations can begin this type of work, starting small and iteratively with prototypes, and building from there. Theories such as an asset-based approach to community development go one step further to create value primarily for community benefit, which for many arts organisations this is only one aspect of what they do. However, a more localised focus and nuanced approach to value creation can help organisations to create sustainable business models that also create immense social value by benefiting local people, in contrast to much of the negative rhetoric around cultural regeneration that brings in outside businesses and resources, often at the detriment of the people who live and work in these areas already. These aspects can be integrated into the following model of unlocking value for cultural entrepreneurs.

9.5 Building a new model for creative entrepreneurship

Building on the concepts that emerged from this research, a holistic model incorporating the quadruple bottom line, social entrepreneurs' concepts of value and value ecosystem, is proposed as a framework for innovation in the creative industries. This will be a means of identifying opportunities

and understanding resources. In addition, it also provides a means of translating these renewed understandings into practice. These can be drawn visually as metaphorical maps in ways similar to rich picture design (Curtis, 2017), put into a more formalised framework or laid out into a table. In this case, the rich picture design was the starting point for creating the frame work shown in figure 2 above and the table in Appendix 6 outlines ideas into a table. The following first describes the concepts integral to the new typology for unlocking value for cultural entrepreneurs before going into a more in-depth outline and application of the model put to use with examples in 9.5.2.

9.5.1 Combined theories for a new approach

As introduced in the context of this research in section 9.1.2, Albinsson's approach to the QBL offers an interesting new perspective but lacks depth, especially in the context of different types of entrepreneurs in the creative industries. Models from social enterprise and value ecosystems offer strategies for implementing the concept of the QBL in a way that will foster business model innovation in the creative industries. The data revealed the complex relationships between value creation and value capture with many factors at play, often with the necessity of juggling varied relationships with the responsibility to fulfil a mission or motivation outside of generating revenue (Albinsson, 2017). Literature on social entrepreneurship and value ecosystems offer useful insights into how value can be better understood and constructed for cultural entrepreneurs. The perspective on value generation, balanced with complex missions, combined with the bespoke framework of the value ecosystem, are crucial to assist in developing models that are bespoke and fit each individual or organisation, accommodating the variety of elements of the QBL at play when driving innovation. These perspectives will help the various actors in the creative industries to understand problems and their solutions, finding new ways to create and capture value. As evident in the data, these approaches are already being used, however much is left to serendipity or planned happenstance. While many elements are difficult to predict, individuals and organisations could benefit from a more strategic approach. Summaries on the key insights on social entrepreneurship and value ecosystems as they relate to the QBL are further described in the sections to follow.

As discussed previously, there are differences between social and cultural entrepreneurship, namely the presence of a cultural product or service, and the long tradition of government subsidy for the arts with its complicated and often unpredictable structure of what is deemed of value. However, the prioritisation that social entrepreneurs have on creating value connected to a social mission offers insights into how cultural entrepreneurs conceptualise their business models, particularly around the prioritisation of a social mission, requiring a strong focus on authenticity and legitimacy and the

influence of networks. Value ecosystems or constellations offer a method of thinking differently and more holistically about their business models, drawing on concepts that look beyond the conventional value chain approach where 'global competition, changing markets, and new technologies are opening up qualitatively new ways of creating value', and the traditional value chain approach is outdated (Normann and Ramirez, 2000, p. 65). Hence, innovative companies and organisations, 'do not just add value, they reinvent it. Since the value chain is 'woefully inadequate to understand the complexities of value in the knowledge economy' (Allee, 2002, p. 2), using this approach sees value exchange more as a living system that incorporates knowledge and those intangible elements that are difficult to quantify but are integral to a successful, thriving value exchange. Their focus within strategic analysis is not the company or even the industry, but the value creating system itself, within which different economic actors- suppliers, business partners, allies, customers- work together to co-produce value' (Normann and Ramirez, 2000, p. 66). It is important to mention that with innovation comes 'change and risk' which can be at odds with the 'consistency, equity and accountability' of services which were conventionally public goods, of which the arts are one type (Curtis, 2017, p. 96). Hence, for publicly accountable entities such as many organisations in the uppground, for example, it is understandable why business model innovation can be stagnated and difficult to achieve. Seeing a business model which deals with these complex issues as a living system of a dynamic list of factors pushes entrepreneurs to constantly revisit the problem and its solutions in the constantly evolving world of the creative industries (Curtis, 2017).

9.5.2 Putting the model into practice

To begin adding a practical component to the theoretical model, two aspects were explored. First each group (underground, middleground, uppground) was mapped according to where in each quadrant of the quadruple bottom line they appeared. This was subjective and based on the qualitative data gathered, however each one was assigned a place in the circle based on their responses to interview questions. A dot closer to the centre symbolised a more integrated way of using that type of value with the other aspects of the QBL, in that it was more connected to the other circles. If it was farther away, this aspect was considered more in its own. Where the dots were placed in overlapping circles, these areas were very integrated. For example, Bright Lights is conscious of how the social change they create is integrated with wider concepts related to institutional development such as renewable energy and sustainable development in developing countries. The artistic innovation aspect is directly related to the credibility of the lead artist who helped develop the product which is used to help the company to achieve economic prosperity. They have a mixed revenue model of income, allowing them to still provide their product to their target user group,

people in rural Africa, at a lower cost and charge higher prices for people who buy their products in museums and online.

In order to plot each individual or organisations, the following questions were considered:

Table 9.1: QBL Provocations

Economic prosperity	Economic prosperity/Social change	Social change
• Where does our earned income come from now? • What other funding do we receive? • Where are opportunities for funding that are not being tapped into?	• Social impact add to economic prosperity? • Build new audiences? • New sources of funding?	• What resources and opportunities do we have in our network? • What social groups do we work with and how do we work with them?

Artistic innovation/Economic prosperity	Artistic innovation/Social change	Economic Prosperity/ Institutional development	Social change/ Institutional development
• How do creative products or services lead contribute to economic prosperity?	• How can artistic excellence and social change work together, not at odds with one another?	• How can organisations and artists still survive and thrive financially whilst challenging systems?	• How does our social impact subvert and develop institutional systems?

Artistic innovation	Artistic innovation/Institutional development	Institutional development
• What is the creative output(s)? • Who is involved? • How is it artistically innovative?	• How do artistic products or services challenge failing systems?	• Where do we fit in the wider creative industries and cultural policy? • What other sectors do we or could we connect with?

Integrated into this process is an assessment of how the dynamics of the under, middle and upperground play out, using the questions in table 2 as possible provocations to encourage constructive thinking around the four aspects of the QBL. The following outline the sample mapped out according to where they fall into each category in the QBL, followed by a short discussion of their similarities and differences. For simplicity's sake, the underground, middleground and upperground boxes that connect to each quadrant in the model were taken out in this case because the text is difficulty to read, though they can be found in Appendices 7-9. The responses that fit into each box are also laid out in the table below the figure.

Figure 9.2: QBL- The underground
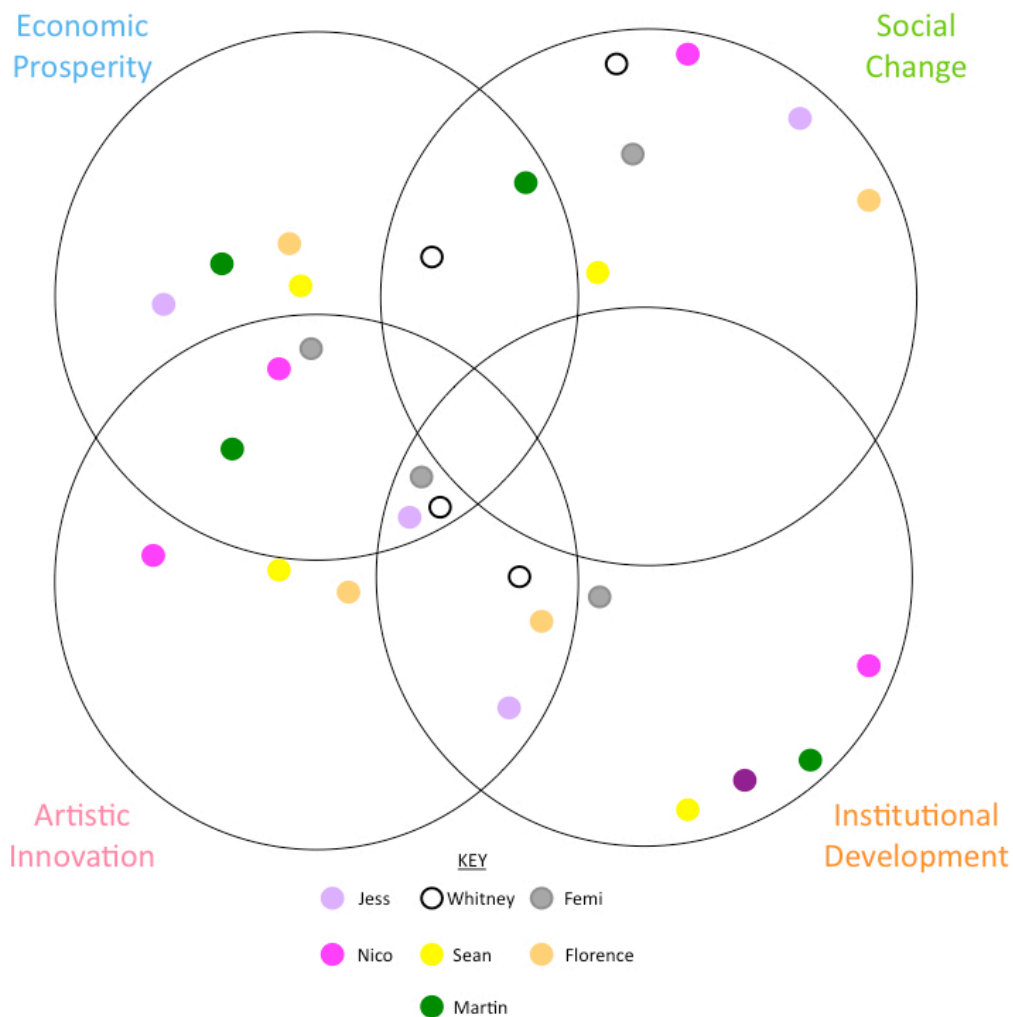
There are two observations that are striking in this mapping of the underground. First, the close connection between artistic innovation and economic prosperity, confirming what may seem obvious, that the economic success of the underground predominantly depends on their ability to innovate through their creative expression. Hence, they rely on their art for economic prosperity. Some are motivated by the potential for social change or institutional development, however for many these points are on the edges of the two circles, showing that they do not create this type of value on their own and perhaps is secondary to creating and capturing value directly from their art form first, and then social change and institutional development can follow later on. It is apparent also that it is challenging for the individual to balance all of these levels of accountability. For example, Jess is incredibly innovative in her art form, though does not connect at all with social change, which was also the case for others in the sample. Though it cannot be proved definitively, this is most likely because it is difficult to create any significant social change or change institutional structures without the resources and legitimacy leveraged by the middleground and upperground.

Table 9.2: Underground QBL value

Economic Prosperity

Underground	-Collaborating with other artists in the underground to leverage funding
Middleground	-Working with middleground to get opportunities and build business skills -Offers exposure/credibility -Multi-faceted income streams
Upperground	-Connecting with the upperground actors in and outside of creative industries for projects, commissions and a platform for their work

Social Change

-Empowering/motivating other artists, audiences/visitors through their work -Collaborating with other artists for greater impact	Underground
-Credibility, recognition and exposure for their work -Middleground helps to communicate social change with wider audience	Middleground
-Upperground offers opportunities to have even more social impact through their work	Upperground

QBL Model

Artistic Innovation

Underground	-Collaborating and sharing skills with others in underground -Continuing to invest in creative development
Middleground	-Gaining opportunities for innovative projects through middleground exposure and connections -Recognition for their art
Upperground	-Garnering opportunities for artistic growth from the upperground -R&D funding to experiment -Applying creativity in other contexts

Institutional Development

-Building communities of practice to address systemic issues -Collaborating with others to initiate change	Underground
-Using connections with middleground to leverage political power -Applying value of creativity in other contexts	Middleground
-Influencing larger organisations through their attitude and approach -Impacting regeneration and trends fostered by upperground	Upperground

The above demonstrates examples of what respondents from the sample might include in the way they connect aspects of the QBL with other categorisations in the anatomy of the city. These are simply examples of the most common responses, but connected to the second aim, these points offer suggestions for new techniques and perspectives to foster entrepreneurship, improve their businesses and organisations. Once again not a one-size-fits all solution, however, the hope is that some of this may provide a new approach and strategies, the specifics of which would need to be planned but also allowing for a certain level of serendipity to take place. For the underground, it is important for them to connect with other entities for collaboration and opportunities, but also to realise their power in influencing larger organisations through their more radical approaches and new ideas.

Figure 9.3: QBL- The middleground
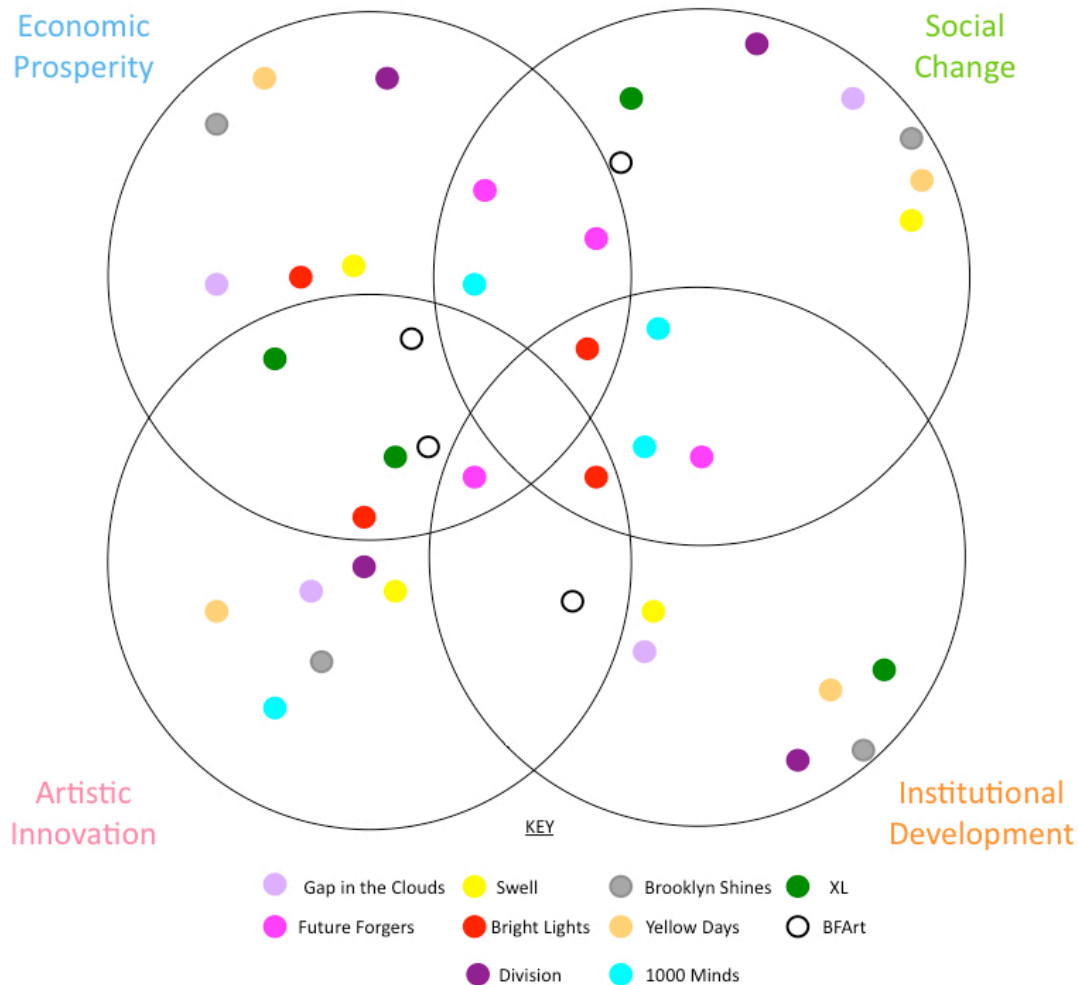
In contrast to the underground, the points on the middleground figure are more spread out and evenly dispersed across the four circles. This shows the necessity of balancing a variety of factors, but also perhaps an ability to do so since they do not necessarily have to be as focused on artistic innovation as the others do. They are fostering it, rather than creating it and depending on it themselves, so they can connect it more easily to other aspects such as social change and institutional development. Very few organisations are towards the centre for all elements, however a few organisations are close, particularly Bright Lights. This could be connected to the fact that their organisation spans a variety of sectors, or structural holes, and is therefore able to more easily connect and balance to a variety of initiatives. Some organisations are much stronger in certain areas and do not consider others much at all, which could be an area of growth and development to create and capture more value. For the middleground, each quadrant of the QBL has the following examples from the sample.

Table 9.3: Middleground QBL value

Economic Prosperity

Underground	-Providing funding/opportunities for underground -Skill building to help them to capture the value they create
Middleground	-Partnerships with other middleground companies to leverage funding -Communicating value to show impact
Upperground	-Multiple revenue streams -Could rely on combination of grants and earned income -Less public funding reliant

Social Change

-Providing a platform for underground to develop social change projects -Creating jobs -Addressing social problems	Underground
-Connecting with other middleground companies to create social change and demonstrate value	Middleground
-Working closely with other large companies and organisations to create social change	Upperground

QBL Model

Artistic Innovation

Underground	-Funding experimental, new art forms and artists through R&D -Empowering underground through skill-building and valuing artists
Middleground	-Connecting with other middleground tastemakers to leverage value with underground
Upperground	-Bridging arts with other sectors -Collaborating with upperground organisations in the arts to foster artistic innovation

Institutional Development

-Using lean start-up or asset-based approaches in collaboration with artists and communities -Empowering local people	Underground
-Using connections with other middleground agents to leverage political power	Middleground
-Bridging the creative industries with other sectors to develop new, innovative approaches -Introducing disruptive technologies	Upperground

As one would expect, the middleground is focused on connecting and communicating with both the upperground and the underground. They see the value in supporting and aiding the underground in their fostering of artistic innovation but also in the way they can leverage their passion and ideas for social change and institutional development. One of the aspects that was not so prevalent was how the middleground connects with other middleground companies through their work, an obvious area of future research. This could involve how they influence one another but also how they can use their power as middleground communicators and tastemakers to connect with others who have that same

skillset for opportunities. In that I would imagine it is important to find a common ground and leverage value from that as a starting point.

Figure 9.4: QBL- The upperground
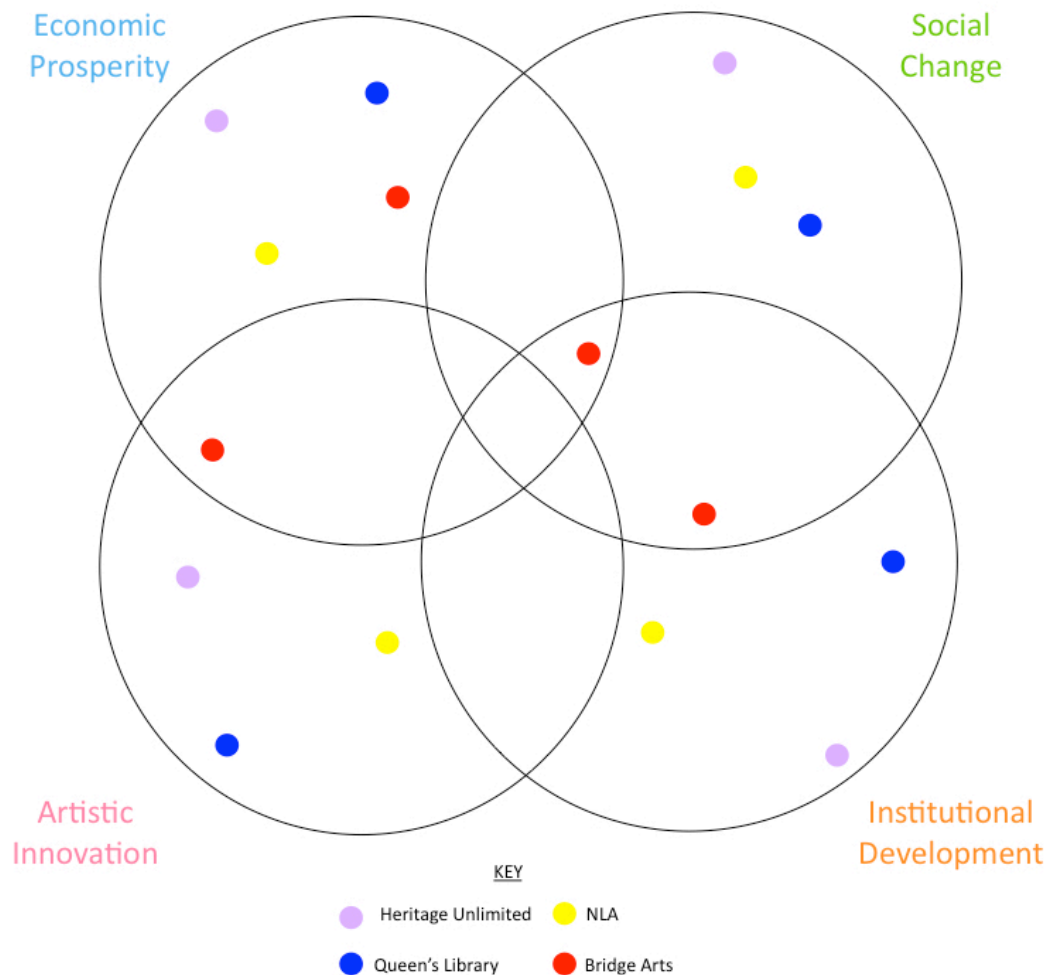
In this upperground diagram, one of them is polarised in any particular area over another and the points are quite spread out. This demonstrates that they potentially have to balance even more factors than the underground and middleground, most likely because they are charities and have an obligation to the public through their work, with a wide range of stakeholders they have to appease. Heritage Unlimited is the farthest points on the edge, showing that these elements are either not considered or are not connected much into the way they operate. Bridge Arts is the most integrated, with their approach to social change, for example, seen as a way to change traditional systems and the way things work through the type of funding they receive and the way they go about obtaining funding. The spread out, balanced nature of the points can also infer that their approach to risk can potentially be compromised because they have to appease so many people, many key people who are probably funders and the communities who use their buildings in a regular basis based on the

data collected. The following table outlines the detail of examples for each category in the QBL and how it relates to the categories of the anatomy of the city.

Table 9.4: Upperground QBL value

	Economic Prosperity			Social Change	
Underground	-Providing funding for underground -Opportunities for new artists in the underground			-Providing a platform for underground to develop social change projects -Creating jobs	Underground
Middleground	-Connecting with middleground to find underground artists -Middleground brings economic opportunities by communicating value			-Improving well-being and community cohesion -Middleground communicates social change with wider audience	Middleground
Upperground	-Obtaining funding from other large upperground organisations outside the arts -Co-commissions with other large companies			-Regenerate communities through working with local development, working with them	Upperground

<div align="center">QBL Model</div>

	Artistic Innovation			Institutional Development	
Underground	-Funding experimental, new art forms and artists through R&D -Empowering underground and valuing artists			-Using lean start-up or asset-based approaches in collaboration with artists and communities -Empowering local people	Underground
Middleground	-Connecting with middleground tastemakers to leverage value with underground			-Using connections with middleground to leverage political power	Middleground
Upperground	-Bridging arts with other sectors -Collaborating with other upperground organisations in the arts			-Less reliance on public funding -Innovative partnerships with other organisations outside of the arts	Upperground

For the underground, based on their more neutral nature of having to appease a variety of stakeholders, it is important for them to tap into the energy, enthusiasm and passion of the underground. The underground, because they are entities mostly on their own, they can take more risks and act more flexibly, which the upperground can tap into for credibility in the industry to be more artistically innovative. The influence of the middleground for the upperground was not

discussed as much but there is definitely an important element of what they do in the success of their work too.

Many of the aspects described in the previous section can be seen when each category is mapped as the same colour on one diagram.

Figure 9.5: Mapping the anatomy of the city
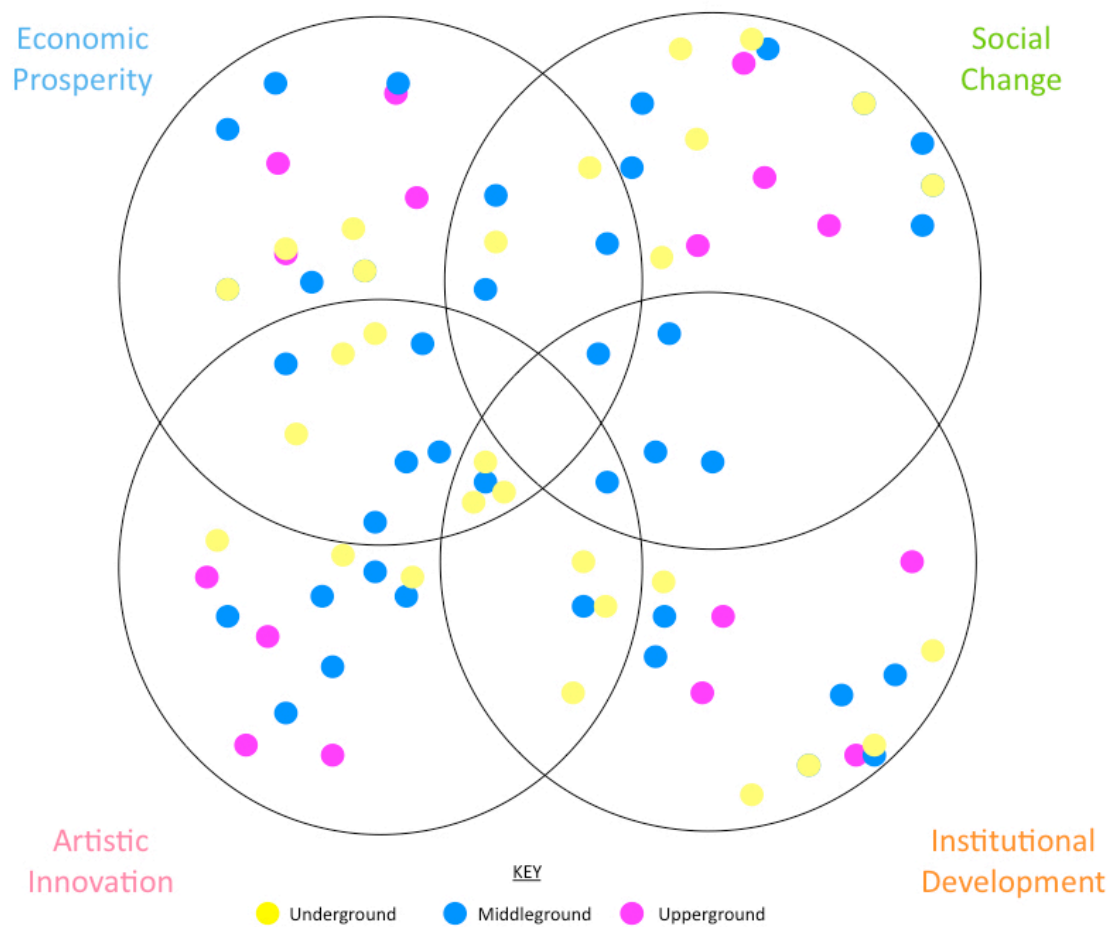
One important thing to note which is apparent in the aesthetic of the diagrams is just how difficult to generalise these different types of entrepreneurs it is, showing the difficulty of providing blanket, one-size fits all advice. One factor that makes this difficult is because there are more middleground actors than any other category, however the diagram still shows the underground as more skewed in the direction of economic prosperity and artistic innovation; the middleground as more integrated and evenly dispersed but closer to the areas where these quadrants overlap; and the upperground more generally in the middle, showing the balance they have to strike and perhaps even the fact they are not able to take as much risk. As is evident from the model, the areas that overlap are composed

mostly by the middleground, followed by the underground, while the upperground is does not occupy any of these spaces. This highlights the flexible and innovative nature of the middleground and some in the underground, where the value they create is intertwined closely with other circles in the model. The middleground operate with smaller organisations who are often not reliant on public funding, therefore do not have to appease to as many stakeholders as larger organisations. They can take more risks and are able to intertwine their work more closely with larger initiatives. Specifically in terms of institutional development and social change, many of these organisations are changing systems and the way things work such as providing more support for artists or shifting the way that the arts and creativity is valued in other sectors so in that sense, social change and artistic innovation are closely linked and therefore in areas where these circles overlap. Many of the upperground organisations have to be accountable to many different groups of people and funders, therefore are not able to innovate as much as the other two groups. The underground does have some high levels of integration between the value creation circles in the model, however because they are predominantly operating on their own, they do not have the resources to focus as much on institutional development, for example, because they have to focus more closely on certain areas. This highlights the notion that despite the fact that the underground is innovative in many ways and can identify opportunities, without the resource leverage of the middle and upperground, aspects such as institutional development are challenging. These areas of overlap mark a rich area of future research, with more formalised reasons for occupying these overlapping areas identified and analysed. As mentioned previously, the placements of these points are subjective and based on answers to questions that were not directly related to this model so could be up for debate. Additionally, indicators for each category were not set, however the data in tables 3-5 includes data related to each point and these aspects were used as another way of determining where these points would lie. One limiting element of this research is that it does not account for longitudinal studies of business model development.

Once the relationships are mapped out, to take it a step further, a value exchange analysis can take place based on a value ecosystem or value constellations ideology. This involves the following three categories and their corresponding questions:

1. Exchange Analysis- what is the overall pattern of exchanges in the system?
2. Impact Analysis- What impact does each value input have on participants?
3. Value Creation Analysis- What is the best way to create, extend and leverage value, either through adding value, extending value to other participants or converting one type of value into another?

(Allee, 2002, p. 12)

These three areas have been combined with theories around underground, middleground and upperground, along with the quadruple bottom line to create the following diagram:

Figure 9.6: Creating the Value Ecosystem

Value Exchange Analysis What is the overall pattern of exchanges between individual/organisation and other actors in the system?

Underground	Middleground	Upperground

Impact Analysis What impact does each value input have on participants? Who is impacted by the value that is created?

Economic Prosperity	Artistic Innovation	Social Change	Institutional Development

Value Creation Analysis What is the best way to create, extend and leverage value, either through adding value, extending value to other participants or converting one type of value into another?

Economic Prosperity	Artistic Innovation	Social Change	Institutional Development

Overall, value constellations offer the ability to see varied ways for cultural entrepreneurs to create new types of value or find new places to apply the value they already create. This figure presents a working document the can be filled in to further draw out possibilities and find an in-depth understanding of how value is exchanged, created and captured for cultural entrepreneurs. Based on the analysis, there are a variety of possible learning points for each subset of cultural entrepreneurs. For the underground, the value constellations approach could help them to understand their practice in a more holistic way, not just focusing on the artistic outputs but how that relates to cultural consumers and wider forces at play like trends, taste and policy. This could cause the underground to understand their work better in the context of these other forces, hence finding ways of capturing that value in new ways that are still in alignment with their mission and intrinsic drive to create. This could also unlock ways that their work could then potentially connect to other sectors as well, which could lead to more collaboration and accommodate areas where their skill set is lacking. For the middleground, this process can help them to better understand the needs of the underground and upperground to be better brokers of knowledge and exchange. For the upperground, this could be a

useful way to understand their assets better, such as their staff, their physical assets like their building or positioning within a community. This could lead to exploring new ways to integrate creativity and entrepreneurial agency amongst staff, finding new ways to leverage their resources and balancing for profit and not-for-profit elements of what they do. This will take time and effort for individuals and organisations to map everything out and sense test it with various others, either in the organisation, or, as an individual with trusted collaborators or networks.

Cultural entrepreneurship also has much to learn from social enterprise in that social entrepreneurs often base their businesses on needs within community or social contexts not being filled by government or the private sector. Rather than sectioning off social agendas such as well-being and regeneration and funnelling cultural activity sometimes haphazardly to fit those agendas, it is important to understand exactly what the needs are, connecting with beneficiaries so that both sides come together with fluidity. Culture cannot be a catch-all solution, but it can fit into many communities and sectors in new and innovative ways. This serves not only to provide pathways for new, entrepreneurial business models in the creative industries. This requires a new mode of working within an ecosystem approach to business model development. The creative industries are not representative of the social and cultural diversity throughout the UK, with many who are not participating or engaged, calling for 'an ecosystem that is more representative and expressive of all sections of society' (Warwick Commission, 2015, p. 32). Part of this lack of participation and engagement can be attributed to a disconnect between what publicly funded arts and culture is offering and what the general public actually engages with and enjoys, offering insights on the lack of relevance, accessibility and cultural education (Warwick Commission, 2015). By developing relationships with organisations outside of the creative industries, in addition to building up the 'ecosystem', innovative forms of value creation and capture will enrich and diversify the industry as a whole (Arend, 2013). Value can differ greatly depending on how engagement or participation takes place and the prior experience and knowledge present by those engaged. Participation in the planning, implementation and evaluation of cultural offerings, in contrast to a more passive consumption of this value, could provide a key way forward to understanding how a sustainable cultural ecosystem is possible. The process of developing a value ecosystem framework to outline a business model should be seen in the same way as a natural ecosystem is seen, as an ever-evolving network that is consistently growing, shifting and adapting to internal and external factors represented in the framework. This process is not a quick fix, but will no doubt unlock an organisation or individual's understanding of themselves and how they relate to others in alignment with their mission. There are various implications for future research based on this framework and to continue to explore these ideas, further outlined in the section to follow.

9.6 Research limitations

While there was an attempt at obtaining a comprehensive sample of different perspectives on cultural entrepreneurship, there were certain limitations to the research which are further outlined below, including strategies to mitigate these limitations when necessary.

The first potential limitation surrounds sampling bias in the snowball strategy I adopted. Based on my personal experience of working in the creative industries- as an artist, curator, project manager and educator- the primary foundation for connecting with interviewees was through personal and professional connections in the industry. Some interviewees came from conferences I attended, however, most of the sample came from pre-existing networks and then the people recommended from by that network. As a result, some industries, such as visual arts or theatre, where I have more personal experience, are better represented, than others such as literature or dance where I have fewer connections. My connections result from past collaborations on projects, past project participants, former colleagues, university recommendations and former classmates on an MA course. Additionally, while many interview prospects were pursued, only some were responsive to requests for interviews. Overall, women and BAME cultural entrepreneurs were the most responsive, with white men cancelling, withdrawing from the research or not responding at all to interview requests. This presents an area for future research, further described below. Grounded theory was a useful means of avoiding the bias of snowballing by giving open ended questions to provide a foundation for basic knowledge.

Following on from the bias presented through selective sampling described above, not only were the sectors within the creative industries not equally represented, but because of the open nature of the sampling provided through the snowballing method, some of the respondents were from other countries; most were UK-based. The connections to policy and grey literature was drawn from a UK context, providing a narrow national perspective on cultural entrepreneurship, which takes place within an international ecosystem; as demonstrated in the interview data collected. The shifts in policy in favour of entrepreneurship in the creative industries is no doubt influenced by policy from other countries and contexts, but these links have yet to be explored. Once again, this provides a framework for future research. This was mitigated through the open-ended nature of questions, removing situational and political difference when possible.

I have worked for 11 years in the arts, primarily in Chicago and London, and have a wide variety of networks in the arts from this work. I have pursued an art career myself along with starting a company working as a curator and project manager, which would have been most closely aligned with

an organisation in the middleground. This involved working as a professional artist but also working closely with many artists in the underground over the years. I also work part time within an arts organisation in the upperground in London that is primarily performing arts based. This is the reason that grounded theory was used, to attempt to convert impressions derived from disparate personal experiences within the sector into more systematic and theoretically informed knowledge. Despite the rigour of the grounded theory approach, bias is inevitable. There was a certain level of familiarity with many interviewees, which may have resulted in partial treatments. For example, participants may not have explained themselves thoroughly, because there was already an assumed understanding of the issues and concepts under discussion. In short, interview participants may not have explained certain aspects of what they do in full because of previous shared practice or experiences. Additionally, in the writing up and analysis, there was inevitably a certain level of bias based on past experience working in the creative industries that may have influenced the analysis. Much of my past work has been in arts education or working on developing social change projects which has also skewed the focus of my analysis and the choice of people to interview who also have a strong focus on social impact through the work they do.

While interviewees were encouraged to be as honest as possible and were assured their identities would be anonymous, some of the interviewees may have withheld information or couched their answers in particular ways to avoid risking too much. They may have left out some negative aspects of their work or exaggerated certain things, because I have a position in the industry that may have affected their responses (Platt, 1981). With some respondents it seemed as though they were saying what I wanted to hear or what they would present as if asked to give a lecture on the subject. Due to the fact that all the responses were subjective in nature, in that they required the candid insights of the interviewees, there is no objective measure. This could be that they had their own biased view of their work and its importance or could be that they were knowingly altering or changing details around to appear better than they could be. Allowing respondents to maintain anonymity helped them to be more open and candid with their responses.

Finally, as is evident in my experience, I have experience working in all three categories of under, middle and upperground and now my work spans all three spheres at times. The classifications are distinct in some cases, but in others they are much more fluid. It does not demean the importance of understanding these classifications and how they relate to one another, if only to understand how individuals and organisations can and do span multiple locations. Some of the interviewees quite clearly run multi-faceted practices where they span primarily the underground and middleground, stretching their work to focus mainly on their creative expression at times and others spanning it to help out others in the industry through middleground projects.

9.7 Implications for future research

It was evident from the research that there are strong implications for a wide range of future research on business model innovation for cultural entrepreneurs. These implications focus on both generalisations to do work in a wide range of sectors and more structured investigations around this topic area. In the first instance, as mentioned in the previous section the focus of this work was wide because of the snowballing methodology used. Hence, a fruitful area of future research would be to focus on specific sectors and test the research findings to come up with more specific recommendations that will aid each sector. As stated previously, the classification of "the creative industries" is relatively new, and there are some more commercial sectors such as advertising and architecture that have fallen into this wide category. Therefore, it would be useful to narrow the focus to a small number of sectors in the creative industries to develop more in-depth understandings of the dynamics at play and to offer new insights for innovation and fostering entrepreneurship. In particular, it would be interesting to explore sectors that have been traditionally publicly funded and still are, such as libraries, museums and theatres, but are thinking and acting entrepreneurially. As funding diminishes, entrepreneurial aspirations for these types of organisations will only increase, therefore making an increasingly strong case for innovation in these sectors to make them more resilient and self-sustaining. Alternatively, it could be interesting to take learning from entrepreneurship in other sectors, from the creative industries or elsewhere, and apply it to these more traditionally publicly funded institutions. There is more in-depth research that has been conducted on social entrepreneurship in the charity or not for profit sector which, if compared in more detail with charity organisations in the arts, could offer new insights into entrepreneurship within these institutions as well.

Secondly, in this research, no particular interviewee was given precedence over the other and hence the way their cases were understood was more general, without as much depth as something like a case study could offer. In this instance, breadth rather than depth was used in order to create a framework for business model innovation based on value ecosystems and the QBL. For future research, it would be fruitful to focus on one or a few best practice examples of people or companies that are entrepreneurial and could unlock further knowledge into how business model innovation works in practice. Within the context of the uppground, it would be useful to obtain a more well-rounded sample by interviewing multiple people within the organisation to explore themes in more depth and attempt to triangulate the data offered by the leaders themselves. While their honesty was assumed, it went uncontested, simply because there were no other opinions which were taken into consideration. It would be interesting, for example, to explore how creativity is enabled within larger

organisations, and how that influences intrapreneurship amongst other members of staff. This could be done by conducting more in-depth interviews but also through questionnaires and even ethnographic data collection based on staff interactions and leadership dynamics.

Additionally, based on the model developed for entrepreneurship in the creative industries, it would be extremely useful in testing and refining the model if there were the ability to test it in various contexts in the under, middle and uppperground to see how it works and if it is a useful tool. This will be useful in exploring not only if the model works but also how it differs depending on the type of organisation or individual. It seems as though it would be simpler and straight forward in a smaller company or on an individual basis than in a large organisation in the upperground for example but that is difficult to know for sure without testing it. Depending on where gaps are in the QBLthis offers areas of growth to then look back to the other value created and see how that could tie together more closely. This will most likely take the form of focus group sessions rather than interviews to work through the model and gather information to be analysed for further research.

Further, as the classifications of the under, middle and uppperground emerged from the data, not as much focus was made during the data collection phase around how these various classifications interact with one another. For example, when interviewing leaders of larger organisations, there was not as much discussion about how they interact with artists in the underground or how they work with intermediary factors like agents or platforms in the middleground. On the flip side of that, more detailed information could be gathered on the way artists in the underground connect with the middle and upperground, in particular the subtler ways the value judgements of the middleground affect the creative choices that are made by the upperground. This offers a rich area of future research that could unlock more information into the social dimension of how these categorisations of groups interact and exchange ideas with one another. Building on understanding more about how different types of cultural entrepreneurs interact and relate to one another, this may be more straight forward and in-depth if there was a focus on one particular subset of cultural entrepreneurs. For example, focusing primarily on the underground could give a more comprehensive understanding of how they then relate to one another as well is the middle and upperground. This could be a bit more specific as well to those which are self-sustaining from their practice. One of the findings from data collected is the possibilities held in working with other sectors as a source of applying the value created by cultural entrepreneurs in new contexts. As part of deepening understanding in this area, a potential area of future research could be around cultural entrepreneurs who are entrepreneurial by working primarily with other sectors. Some of the interviewees are already doing this, but it would be interesting to focus solely on how cultural entrepreneurs work with other industries such as health, regeneration, education, corporate, etc. One starting point for this research could draw on research

around cross-sector partnerships and collaboration focusing on collaborative value creation between non-profits and businesses (Austin and Seitanidi, 2012). Connected to research around structural holes, collaborative value creation shows that,

> The compatibilities and differences across the partners allow for diverse combinations of tangible and intangible resources into unique resource amalgamations that can benefit not only the partners in new ways but also externalize the socioeconomic innovation value produced for society.

(Austin and Seitanidi, 2012, p. 933)

This is particularly important because there is a lack of research around how these partnerships and collaborations operate in the creative industries. This could also include a widening of focus beyond primarily on cultural entrepreneurs in the UK, to other countries and the context they operate within. Most of the interviewees were based in and around London as well so researching other areas around the UK and perhaps doing a comparative study with other regions would be useful in understanding particularly how the entrepreneurs outside of large cities operate.

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26 October 18
Ref: 002

To Whom It May Concern:

As the Founder of an innovative enterprise contributing cultural, social and economic value to across sectors, I have asked you to participate in my research towards a PhD thesis on cultural entrepreneurship. This research is being conducted through the Business School at the University of Exeter exploring important themes related to a diverse range of entrepreneurs in the creative industries and beyond.

Objectives

Through my interviews, I aim to develop perspectives from a wide range of entrepreneurs in the creative industries and how they function within the context of the sector and more widely. The intention is to enhance our understanding of cultural entrepreneurs ultimately with a view to providing recommendations for how they may be better supported. I will ask you and other interviewees questions about key themes in your work that will shed light on how you operate in order to enable other entrepreneurs to thrive. As a participant, you will be directly involved in shaping the findings and recommendations coming from this research and potentially influence policy decisions should this research continue beyond my thesis.

Participation & Security

Your participation in my research will include a recorded interview should take no more than an hour. The University of Exeter operates under a strict code of ethics, so your privacy and confidentiality will be maintained as a core principle of this project and your participation is entirely voluntary. I will be using pseudonyms to protect your anonymity and I will not use quotes or details that may identify you or your business directly. If you would like to opt out of answering any question, you may do so at any time in the interview and should you wish not to be quoted verbatim in my research, please instruct me.

To ensure that your answers remain anonymous, your name, your organisation's name and any names you mention in your interview will remain anonymous, coded and placed into a table so that readers can differentiate between them.

Very much looking forward to chatting with you soon and should you have any queries in the meantime, do not hesitate to contact me.

Best wishes,

Meghan L. Peterson

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Ref: 02

Participant CONSENT FORM

Full title of Project: Cultural Entrepreneurship: Motivations, Solutions and Challenges to Capturing the Value they Create

	Please Initial Box
1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.	
3. I agree to take part in the above study.	
4. I agree to the interview being audio recorded	
5. I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications.	

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

Appendix 3: Interview schedule

I.	Opening	Supplemental Questions/Notes
	My name is Meg Peterson and I am a PhD student at the University of Exeter researching cultural entrepreneurship. I'm going to ask you some questions about your background, education, your work and how you navigate the art world from a business and creative standpoint to inform my research. I hope this research will allow me to learn new things about how cultural entrepreneurs operate to not only inform my research but to help other artists and cultural entrepreneurs be more successful with the work they do. The interview should take about an hour. Are you up for continuing and going on to answer some questions?	
II.	Body	Supplemental Questions/Notes
Introduction		
1.	Describe a bit about your background and how you got into the work you do.	Education Experience Background
2.	Describe your work (as an artist or within the organisation you work for).	For individuals: what sector? Work on their own or do they employ people? For organisations: what sector? How many employees? How long have they been running for?
3.	How would you define the creative industries in your view and why are they valuable?	Are you comfortable with the term? Do you think it's too catch-all?
Entrepreneurship		

4.	In what ways are you entrepreneurial?	What does it mean to be an entrepreneur?
		Did you learn these skills somewhere or is it something that you feel is intuitive?
5.	Would you describe yourself as a cultural entrepreneur? Something to describe yourself better?	Are you comfortable with the term? Do you think that it's too catch-all?
Business Models		
6.	How do you define success in your work?	What value do you create that you feel is a measure of success?
		What's the balance between what your measures are success is and what you feel that success is in society's terms?
7.	You as an entrepreneur /organisation obviously creates a great deal of value in lots of different ways. How do you find ways of measuring the value you create through your work?	Who is it valuable for?
		More valuable for some than others?
		Are these organised measures or do is it much more loose?
8.	What are the things that are integral to success an artist/organisation?	People?
		Location?
		Money?
		Support?
9.	How do you go about making money? What's the recipe for success?	Describe various revenue streams
		Who are those revenue streams connected to?
10.	Have you changed or adapted this recipe? If so, how?	How hard/easy was it to make these changes?
Networks		

11.	Who are the key people who help you to be successful in what you do, both within your organisation and outside? Where are they located and how do you connect with them?	How did you meet these people? Was it difficult to build these relationships? How do you maintain them?
12.	What pluses and minuses do you think that living here has?	Benefits and downsides of the city as a whole and of the specific location of where you work?
13.	How integral is your network in the success of your business?	Are there any key people, funders or supporters who have really helped you along the way?
14.	What other aspects do you need in order to be successful?	Technology? Experience? Education?
15.	How can organisations, government and other stakeholders be more helpful in meeting those needs?	Do they really know what your needs are and how to help you to be more successful or better off figuring things out on your own?
16.	How do you work with other sectors outside of the creative industries? What benefits does this type of work offer?	Have you worked in this way for awhile or has this been a new thing? What sort of support or collaboration do they offer? Do they add aspects that you wouldn't get when working within the creative industries?
17.	Where do you see the potential for the creative industries to create value for other sectors? Do you see this practice in your work?	Any good examples of good practice that you know of? Something you are trying to integrate into your work? Any new ideas you've had that you'd like to share?

18.	What training do you think could benefit your organisation and how it runs?	If there were more training do you think you'd take advantage of it?
Digital Technology		
19.	How do you use digital technologies or platforms in your work?	Online payment? Social media? Digitalisation? Networking? Collaboration? Offers revenue streams?
20	Are there any areas where you think you could use digital more? If so, where?	Examples of best practice?
21	Do you have any reservations in using digital technologies?	Have you had any bad experiences? Heard of other bad experiences by others?
III.	Closing	Supplemental Questions/Notes
	Well, that's the last question I have for you. Thank you so much for taking the time to chat with me; I really enjoyed learning more about you and your work. Is there anything else you'd like to add that you think would be useful to my research? Is there anyone else who you would recommend I talk to who could also lend some interesting insights into my research? Would you be available for a follow up interview at some point? Would you like to stay informed on how my research progresses? What's the best way to stay in touch with you? Thanks again and will be in touch!	

Appendix 4: Codes

Open codes	Selective codes	Theoretical codes
Entrepreneurial mentality and attitude	Diversifying revenue streams	
	Opportunity recognition	
	Resource leverage	
	Taking risks	
Geography and location		
Learning	Changing and adapting	
	Failure	
	Frustration and conflict	
	Learning from past experience	
	Professional experience	
	Serendipity	
	Training and Education	Formal
		Informal
	Turning points and moments of realisation	
	Un-paid work	
Networks		
Strategy and Approach	Expressing Creativity in Business	
Using digital to create and capture value	Funding and revenue streams	
Ways of capturing value	Getting paid work	
	Identifying gaps in the market	
	Products	
Ways of creating value	Communicating value	Branding
		Informal communication
		Marketing
		Websites & Social Media
	Creative Inspiration & Artistic Expression	
	Identity	Ambition
		Following passion
		Inspiration
		Knowledge of self
		Personal Philosophy & Beliefs
		Resilience
		Self-belief in skills and what has to offer
		Ways of staying motivated
	Social benefits	Creating jobs
		Helping others in the arts
		Working with communities
	Working with others	Building relationships
		Collaboration
	Working outside the arts	
	Working with arts orgs and artists	

Underground

Individual characteristics	Mission and motivation
Jess EXPERIENCE	
My background is in art history, so I got into it, going into it I wasn't sure I wanted to do an art degree. I always thought I would be an artist but I wanted to learn more. So doing art history was a really idea. In hindsight, I'm really glad I made that choice. My work is really research led so having a more traditional academic background has been really good. I was always thinking about wanting to be a curator and working with museums and ideas around cabinets of curiosity and that the museum should be more than a white cube space. When I did food history in my last year it was a eureka moment that food and that whole sensory experience worked well with the museum space. When I left university, I had various jobs in and around the creative field.	
MENTALITY AND APPROACH	
So that was when I realised that I wanted to be a maker as much as a facilitator so that's how I got into doing what I'm doing. In terms of how it got there was super organic. It started just by doing projects I was interested in and doing projects that I liked and just let it grow from there. It took awhile for the company to actually take shape because I always had an idea of what I wanted it to be, but I was just working and thinking and making. Mixing the old and the new is quite important. And you're just getting people to engage with food which is much more democratic. People engage with food in a way that they may struggle to do with art, even coming from an art background, I didn't like the snobbishness of it and how it can be super elitist and so I think food breaks down a lot of those boundaries. The people I've worked with was perhaps because I had an affinity for them or I liked what they did and we go on. Because actually there's a lot of trust involved. As much as you can have contracts and stuff like that, when you're an individual artist starting out, that contract doesn't mean much to you in the beginning so actually trusting someone is really important. It was about building personal relationships with museums, with people and let it grow quite organically. You have to have that strong foundation to build on which is trust and quality I think. It's trust for the artist but it's also trust for the client because mostly everything you're doing is bespoke and new so they have to trust that whatever you're going to do is going to be good. I'm a big fan of slow and steading and growing organically.	
SKILLS	
I enjoyed cooking but I was never crazy about it so it was a jump for me. I felt about cooking the way you might feel in an art studio, unrestrained making, so I equate it more to making work in a studio rather than cooking in a kitchen. All of my projects have been about, all my public projects which I suppose I do much more of, don't really do private projects, it's mostly for institutions for their temporary programmes or as installations for display or lectures. So it's that idea of using food as storytelling and breaking down barriers. Increasingly as a creative you can't just be an artist, you have to have familiarity with all sorts of different things. You have to be able to understand contracts and photography, anything you'll need to be an artist, you are a self-contained company. That definitely increased as the years went on and having a good familiarity with that is really important. You need to know when to debate certain points and when not to.	
MISSION AND MOTIVATION	
It's competitive in the creative industries. I do love that my work is so much a part of who I am but it does mean that you never stop working and that's a great thing if you love what you do. Love what you do but work very hard. There's no way a creative career is an easy career.	

I get to go to amazing places and meet amazing people and do amazing things.

I love every day and every week being different and some people they like the structure and it can be really hard to work on your own, especially keeping up that motivation.

I had been working for a slightly larger company before, and I didn't like the small experience, more business world. I didn't like the way people behaved when they were part of a larger machine. People did stuff they would never do personally and they would do professionally and this idea of professionalism being quite a negative thing at some point. So, I always think business has to be personal so especially when your creative practice is so much a part of you, it's so personal.

You just have to make sure that you're staying inspired. I'm always researching and staying engaged, not just being in your ivory tower, working with others, collaborating with others, going to things, being active, really important.

Nico
EXPERIENCE

I decided to enrol into a foundation course while studying English at the same time. That went well. It was a foundation art and design so I got to experiment with a bit of everything- photography, painting, etching, etc. It was a foundation in art so it hit all the applied arts. From there I had to build the start of my collection for my final show and London College of Fashion and they invited me to study at the college. No, I was designing. They would say oh, this is what we have and this is what we want. I would look at what they have and make 100-200 pieces and they would select the best and say, oh yes, this is what we had in mind.	The way I am approaching the business is not in a financial way. The way we are going about it is that I want to make a difference in the industry. I was born in Angola, central Africa and at the time there were no shops over there, all my clothes were made by tailors. I was curious every single time when my mum took me to get a shirt or trousers or a jacket or shirt or even a t-shirt made. I was always interested, he would take my measurements and then put a flat drawing on a paper and that flat drawing would turn into the clothes that I was wearing that were rounded and 3D and took my movements. I was really fascinated by that and every time I went back I was observing, observing, observing. Somehow I learned through that process of seeing him do that.

MENTALITY AND APPROACH

My main class was Design Development which was a new subject introduced by me. They were teaching students how to build and develop ideas. Creativity can be taught even though people say no, it's a process. I said listen, I have to teach them the process of business and designing. They pitched that and the university and government accepted.

SKILLS

I taught myself how to cut and how to sew and built all the collection. I won all the prizes and then I said, wow, have some talent here.

MISSION AND MOTIVATION

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Whitney

EXPERIENCE
I was trained in performance and I've always worked across different media. I started out in film and I was really interested in digital as well. I went to the Royal Art Academy in Amsterdam which is everything you can expect from a royal art academy in Europe. You do have classes for an hour where you talk about the colour blue and it was amazing. It was an amazing experience and by sheer coincidence I was living at the time in a house in Amsterdam that was the informal HQ of the hacking scene.

MENTALITY AND APPROACH
The last three months, I'm learning to listen to a new language, a new set of values and drivers and perception of value that is present in a more commercial world. So, again, it's about listening and really being open to learning continuously. I've never used it but I'd like to think that I am [an entrepreneur] because it makes me sound a lot more professional than I sometimes feel. I think I'm growing more into one. With the skill set I've built up, I'm definitely cultural and my career so far is about creating and managing complex partnerships and translating complex ideas into cultural artefacts and productions. The entrepreneurship is something I'm growing into but it's also about creating a space and allowing yourself to be that way. You have to be really good to be able to experiment that much in musical structure. Those three things are still so present in my work and so influential. I work still across different things and interested in the spaces in between art forms and the audiences in between spaces and new ways of telling a story.

SKILLS
AS a young artist, I had already made a lot of work in a lot of different disciplines. I did a digital art exhibition, I did an animation project in schools, film and directed some actors on foot and stage but not a massive production. When I came here, I started working in film initially but actually I really loved the process of making theatre. It seemed like the perfect space to investigate that which really creates partnerships and takes all the craft and structure to make this work where audiences are amazing and bring them into new spaces, new partnerships, really focus on if I make this work, how do I create the biggest possible impact with it? How can I take it beyond the walls of experimental thinking? I'm currently looking at impact. How can we take those acting skills, those storytelling skills, those collaborative-making skills which I think theatre is perfect for art alone and how can we bring that to different contexts, spreading it far and wide?

MISSION AND MOTIVATION
With [theatre project], because it was such a complex and important show, it struck a chord with so many people. By the nature of it, the development of it, it started as a normal collaboration with the National Theatre of Wales looking at Wales as a small country and what does that look like. We put something on that was sort of interesting but I realised that I wanted to work more with this concept of nations so we started working the Warwick and King's and then China Plate and that gang which was new and exciting. I'm working with the British Library and supported by the British Council and talking to the Southbank Centre so it's important to bring culture, business and the public together in a public space. This project is where the process is as much of the art piece as the outcome is. I make this work where audiences are amazing and bring them into new spaces, creating new partnerships. My focus right now is on how do I create the biggest possible impact with it? How can I take it beyond the walls of experimental thinking? I'm currently looking at impact. How can we take those acting skills, those storytelling skills, those collaborative, making skills which I think theatre is perfect for art alone and how can we bring that to different contexts, spreading it far and wide? Everyone is an expert in their own way so its about communicating your enthusiasm for their expertise. Why are you talking to them and why they are so compelling they must be part of your project but then it's about listening and really listening. Sometimes helping uncover their needs which they are not always so clear about themselves but investigating how this can be the best experience for them, with them.

Sean EXPERIENCE

I studied biochemistry at Queen Mary's. I'm from Uganda originally and I was born there but I've lived in Kenya, Saudi Arabia and here (UK).

There was a big talk in 2009, Spread the Word did a report, where they found out that only 1% of black writers, or BME writers got published on major or semi-middle presses. Out of that, the report was called Free Verse. Out of that they started a programme called The Complete Works and the programme consisted of 10 BME writers being mentored by 10 prominent writers over a 2-year development programme.

MENTALITY AND APPROACH: Risk-taking, failure

So, it was a risk. I say that because for almost a year of developing the show, I was only getting money from developing that show. I couldn't do workshops. I tried to but my friend was like, you're nuts, but I needed the money for my family. It was a risk because I just wanted to show people that I was an artist because if you keep doing workshops people see you as a facilitator and I've seen a lot of artists and people ask, where are they? Because people now relate to them as facilitators. It's a risky one but I am an artist and I will not stop doing workshops, if they facilitate the art. I had to learn how to put the art first which isn't easy because it requires discipline, writing time, and also you really have to be more responsible around applying for funding, working with people. I was really bad at that but now I'm a lot better and also willing to go further than before.

Failure. When you see a tax return and you see a bill that you spent so much on telephone, you won't make that mistake again.

I was working at at bank at the time and I remember reading a book by Deepak Chopra at the time that said the best way to make money is to do something that you love. I did not love working in the bank and I did not love that I could have been a biochemist. I had been working at the bank for 2-3 years and in your mind's eye, a man on the street would say, oh working for a bank you can earn lots of money. But when you work behind the scenes, you see how it actually functions and it's actually like the Wizard of Oz when you look behind the screen so I was like, am I chasing the bank because I want money? What can I actually do that will make a difference in the world? In that book it says if you do something that you love, other people if they do something they hate will give up while you carry on in the tough times.

I realised if I wanted to make my career work, I couldn't have the safety net. If I had that I would never really explore myself creatively and I would never know failure. If you don't know failure, you can never strive for success, sort of kind of thing.

SKILLS

Every year I got better in the sense of realising, ok I can actually be talented but I have to master my craft. People come here and do an MA at Goldsmith's for example but I realised my MA was kind of a self-taught MA, going to workshops, reading books, going to the theatre. I was part of a collective called Malika's poetry kitchen which was run by Malika Booker, Roger Robertson and Jacob Sander-Rose. We used to meet in her house, basically which is why it's called Malika's Kitchen. We would prepare food, eat food, read famous poets, do a workshop and then we would write. We did that every Friday and we did that for six or seven years. I used to go on loads of poetry workshops.

MISSION AND MOTIVATION

There was a day when I realised what art meant to me. I went to a creative writing course and that day, my best friend, his wife and another lady were in our group, and they asked me, 'Sean, what would you do if you couldn't write anymore? I burst into tears. I was crying like a baby. In that moment, it took me off guard. It made me realise this writing is not a game for me. It made me realise I'm not doing this for the girls, the fame or the glory, this is something intrinsic and from then on, I started thinking I need to apply for grants. I thought, if they take everything away, this is what I want to keep. That epiphany is never far from me. This is a gift but it's a gift I can't just squander.

You want financial success but that's just for living. I would still do this if all my things were sorted out, I would still do this art. If all my financials were sorted, I would say, let's go write a book, let's go do a project, etc. It's about making a difference in the world, in the way people engage, in the way they connect.

That's the way I realised I can make money- devise these projects I feel make a difference in the world.

Martin
EXPERIENCE
I started originally by doing a drama degree at Birmingham University which I finished in 2002. Upstart came about really as a final year project we were working on with a writer colleague of mine. And then I took two years off and went to Birkbeck and didn't really make any shows, did a lot of assisting. There I did an MFA in theatre directing which is a course that a lot of our generation of directors seem to have done. I was working for Empty Connections quite recently and they had a staff of about 30 odd directors and about half of us had been to Birkbeck.
MENTALITY AND APPROACH
Small 'p' and all that but that's what it seeks to do, engage audiences in the biggest questions. Making that work interactive demands of the audience that you participate in some way and engage with the questions that the show is asking in a much more direct way. I think it's about theatre is a conversation with the audience. It's about anytime you walk into one of our shows, there is more or less and explicit question about the kind of world we want to live in and I think we need to build on that going forward. It's having more opportunities to discuss and more action points that you can do after the show using the audience to become if not activists but active participants in a conversation. Life is getting too short to only do one thing.
SKILLS
We are artists primarily. For all that we can wave our principles in the air, the job is to engage rather than preach. It feels that if there is a relaxed and friendly, open opportunity to get people to talk about the big questions then we will always head towards that.
MISSION AND MOTIVATION
What we're doing organisationally is really embracing the fact that new writing is sort of where we started though now we are becoming much more innovative in our approach. We are starting to do digital only work that might be making more use of our YouTube channel or commissioning games or something for writers. That feels like it could be really fun and interesting. We were starting to make projects together and really enjoying that. So, we decided to set up a new company. That company is now closed but we are continuing to work together and the idea behind that was to make work that explored the boundary between theatre and game. What we were doing is talking about interactivity and audience involvement. What that meant was that we were making really political theatre. Small 'p' and all that but that's what it seeks to do- engage audiences in the biggest questions. Making that work interactive demands of the audience that you participate in some way and engage with the questions that the show is asking in a much more direct way. I enjoy working with young people a lot.
Femi
EXPERIENCE
All I wanted to be was my father, typical boy stuff. He ran a Coco Cola bottling company in Nigeria. He was a business man and he was involved in a number of business practices around making money. I was given an unconditional place in London College of Art to study graphic design, they deemed me an international student so the fees were really high, £10-£15k a year. I couldn't afford that, no way, no how. So I began to write because pens were cheap or free and I could always find paper. So I could be creative with my hands but without all the materials. I began writing poetry and starting carrying around a sketchbook with me and I began to write poems here or there and always sketching in my notepad.
MENTALITY AND APPROACH
Then I decided I wanted to be a graphic designer because it was functional, art with a purpose. Art became a little bit pretentious at that time.
SKILLS

There's just something resourceful about it, always getting up and making something out of nothing. Also being an artist you always question and are thinking about making something out of nothing because that's how we begin. Then someone asked me to design a flyer for them for a poetry event and I said yes without even knowing what a flyer was, how to design them. I downloaded a bootleg copy of Photoshop and taught myself how to use it and that's when I realised I could still be visually creative without paint, I could use a computer. I slowly began to immerse myself back into the visual art world and began working in the poetry community as a graphic designer until maybe 2007 where I began, something happened and began to work more as a poet and make more money.

MISSION AND MOTIVATION
If I had to bring it down to one word would be being an immigrant in the West and being a black man in the west because all of that gave rise to three words that are quite prevalent in my work which are identity, displacement and destiny. That has been my background, moving country to country, groups of friends to groups of friends trying to find artistic engagement and authentic platforms to be human or to find what is human or common amongst us regardless of culture, time, space, financial or socio-economic background My conversations (about work and creative projects) are brokered from good will and artistic integrity and consistency and my work ethic'

Florence EXPERIENCE
My background is that I grew up in Adelade in south Austrailia and got a job in an Internet café in about 1996, teaching people how to use the back button and searching and all that. I was making coffees and stuff. That was the golden age of web design and making things up so I formed a company with a couple of guys I met at this place, we made websites for people and made it all up as we went along.

MENTALITY AND APPROACH
Yes, I am starting to, but there's quite a few wankers in the tech world who call themselves entrepreneurs and have really shit ideas and big chests who peacock around all the time. So, I guess I don't particularly label myself like that because I think being a designer is much more interesting. I just think of myself more as a Director and a designer. That's what [advisors' name] is here to help me with, all the entrepreneurial stuff- figuring out how to describe what we're doing and asking people for money. The general advice about business models is try not to have too many ways to make money, like two.

SKILLS
Well I'm good at experimenting. Making things, trying things, talking about the things we're doing. I'm pretty good at sales which I think is a big part of entrepreneurship. I just think of myself more as a Director and a designer.

MISSION AND MOTIVATION
On that project, I really got a taste for this whole scene, meeting librarians and curators and going behind the secret doors of museums and seeing the stuff. I just love the people who work inside these places.

Middleground

Terrence (Gap in the Clouds) EXPERIENCE
I am Swiss and moved to London, graduated with a degree in Artificial Intelligence from King's College. I discovered after graduating that my skills were a little premature for what the market was needing. I actually got laughed off an interview with Microsoft because they spoke to me and said, oh, you are going to create Terminator? So if the big companies don't understand what AI is for, then I am going to move on. I worked in Finance for 3 years, to start with for Bloomberg and then I moved on to the London Stock Exchange.

I got bored of seeing big numbers go from the left to right so I started a company with a friend of mine who was Egyptian, moved to Cairo, started and IT contacting and consultancy firm there. We had 45 employees in 4 years and had contracts with Google and Porsche. We really built it up to a window-less room with a lot of dust and desert coming in to a proper office. I sold my share, came to London and realised I didn't know what I wanted to do next.

I actually started doing still photography for short films and watched how teams got together and in essence made these amazing products that were non-monetisable at all. It would take 30-35 people's sweat, blood and tears and started to think about how these people came together, their different backgrounds and thinking about how film needs writing, music, photography, it literally touches on every single creative field in the sector.

MENTALITY AND APPROACH

One mistake that a lot of organisations make is they make decisions on behalf of the audiences. I don't think you can always let audiences tell you what they want because sometimes they don't know. I think it was Henry Ford who said, 'if I had asked people what they wanted, they would have said better horses.

At first I did it very much alone, coded the first version myself, but realised that no one particularly engaged with it.

You need really experienced people to put up with the work load that comes. That's changing. I'm a firm believer in lean start up methodology, although we haven't been very lean, we've been quite chubby but we do believe in the mandate of eating your own dog food. That phrase was coined in Japan, I think it was the CEO of Toyota, basically you need to experience your own product.

SKILLS

I am good with streamlining processes, organising information that is still a bit fuzzy, very logical but the aspect that was missing was what was missing from the jobs I was doing before. I looked into what inspired me and I realised that, throughout my life I did amateur dramatics, amateur photography, I did a lot of amateur creative fields, touched into it and had a lot of fun with it.

IT has definitely changed the way I think about things. It has made me very logical, allowing me to break down big problems. That's helpful, but I don't think that it's very helpful in other things. For example, I don't think it acts in my favour for sales and it doesn't act in my favour when I find myself surrounded by arts organisations.

Technology is one of those things that people have a paranoia with. They automatically think it's a big change; it's going to be useless. I've had meetings with arts organisations who have said, 'we understand what you do, and we understand it will save us money', and they went through a whole list of understandings, ultimately saying 'we are sorry, but we don't want to use you.'

MANAGEMENT STYLE

So we do that in cycles, we reinvent ourselves and within the business we are fundamentally different in our processes and procedures and how we structure ourselves, internal communications.

It takes 2 weeks for us to update the platform so we literally have a new version of the platform every two weeks. We are very iterative which means that in two weeks' time that person has already lost touch so if they aren't up to speed, then they are going out and presenting to a customer and something has changed and they aren't aware of it.

MISSION AND MOTIVATION

Helping the Underground-
then when you go online and look for how opportunities are presented, everything is in siloes. They keep the filmmakers in one basket, the photographers in one basket and there isn't this kind of space just for creativity. I also realised that creatives tend to be creative no matter the medium.

'The answer was simple, they wanted money. So, I started breaking down the business case for how to bring opportunity to them. I started looking at how people source talent and how I could bring opportunities to the artists and that's where we are now.'

Finding Purpose- I am good with streamlining processes, organising information that is still a bit fuzzy, very logical, but there was an aspect that was missing. I looked into what inspired me and I realised that, throughout my life I did amateur dramatics, amateur photography. I did a lot of amateur creative fields, touched into it and had a lot of fun with it so I started doing some research into what was out there.
Sasha (Future Forgers) EXPERIENCE
I studying architecture so always been creative myself. I did a degree at University of Brighton, architecture is a 7 year course so I've done six years of that training and one year of that is one year of practice and realised I didn't want to do that so much but I liked it so much that I went back to do the Masters degree and from doing that I learned a lot about self-discipline which helped me to be an entrepreneur now, that learning and self-discipline through doing such a high level course. I started something called Paper Publication which was back in 2012, and I won the UWE Entrepreneur Award for the idea. They gave me a grant of £1000 which is how I started this whole business.
MENTALITY AND APPROACH
I realised I didn't want to do architecture, but I enjoyed being creative. Whilst I was doing that degree I thought about entering competitions myself but thought why don't I just start a competition instead? From doing it you realise it's something you realise you don't want to do. It was great exposure though and got me meeting loads of people, networking, so then I opened many more pop up spaces that grew in size and length of time in places all around Bristol. I was 26 when I started this and didn't have any commitments so I was in a position where I could live off nothing and still have fun. So, not everyone gets that opportunity when their older, they have families and such so I was able to take that risk and I was glad I did. It would be harder for me now to take that risk. They didn't know us but I think if you go for things then they happen. Self-belief and determination. If I doubted myself too much I wouldn't be here right now. Blind faith. If I work really hard on something, good things will happen. If I'm true and authentic.
SKILLS
So we appealed to the council and asked for a rate relief so then we could take the money we were getting for rates to put towards rent. It was a big risk they took on us and it was a hard negotiation. Networking has to be the golden rule. If you don't meet people, nothing happens. I feel like that's what you try and teach young people all the time. That's the thing that keeps things pushing forward the quickest. If you want to make changes and do things, meet the right people, do things, chat to them.
MANAGEMENT STYLE
Called that because I was working with different clothing brands and we were supposed to do it as a cooperative, not collaboration but it tended that way. So working with them but I managed out of that I was the only person who was able to run it so I took it on as my business so that's why there's Co-Lab and Paper. I've always prioritised the business and growth of the business beyond my own income. To build something up I was willing to sacrifice that. To build something up that I cared about I was willing to sacrifice a lot. With that I was working with a sole trader and had five interns working with me. No one I've employed has ever left so I just keep building this team which is exciting for us and shows that we've created a happy, supportive, caring working environment.
MISSION AND MOTIVATION
Social-

Through running that space for 13 months I had the opportunity to employ myself or to employ 5 interns who had been unemployed for at least the last six months. Initially, instead of paying myself I paid 5 people, so personally I've only been paid for the last 6 months. It's been quite a big shift. I've always prioritised the growth of the business beyond my own income. To build something up that I cared about I was willing to sacrifice a lot.

Working with young people who are excited, talented, passionate, creative was amazing. I thought, 'I want to do more of this.' This is where my passion lies, supporting young people to follow their dreams and their creative talents.

Helping the Underground-
I was frustrated because I had spent six years making work that no one ever saw because it was student work. I wanted to help other students to be able to show their work and get things out there. That was the idea behind the publication and later the pop up space. What artists really wanted from me was to be able to put their stuff in the space so I wanted a platform to show work, to sell work.

| Hans (Bright Lights) |
| EXPERIENCE |
| I was working on solar powered airplanes and I was doing that for many, many years. |
| MENTALITY AND APPROACH |
| It's always just a little step by step curiosity and constantly looking for opportunity and it's really just me being a really curious guy and somebody that tries to push the boundaries of what we can do and I was pushing from a very different angle.

They were the only ones we were concerned about at the time because if you don't know who your customers are you can't target them, you can't learn from them.

It requires a lot of knowledge to actually be able to judge that in a professional way but in a manufacturer putting out hundreds of thousands of products into the world, you have an obligation. You have to be conscious when you put products onto the market and in a long-term perspective it can be damaging if you don't think critically about what you do. It's the main reason why we do it. |
| SKILLS |
| Beautifully and I think once I tried it, it's almost a necessity. It's such a pity that most people don't do it that way. Being an engineer, I have no clue how to put in motion a piece of plastic that costs 50 cents. I can't do it and I think the interesting thing is that all customers no matter where they're from, they buy with emotions. We are emotional beings. |
| MANAGEMENT STYLE |
| He is one of the most famous artists in the world and that of course opens a whole lot of doors that I wouldn't be able to open myself. |
| MISSION AND MOTIVATION |
| Social-
Through my research, I realised there is a huge amount of people who actually don't have access to electricity. I didn't know that, and I also didn't know the impact that not having access to electricity had. That night, I basically made up my mind that I would use my skills to test an opportunity to address this problem. I thought, if you think you can do something, and the world needs it, then don't you have the obligation to do so?

we made prototypes, we went to Ethiopia, and of course we did another thing that some people forget but is very important. We defined our customers. Our target customers were women and children in Ethiopia.

They were not very beautiful. They were not emotional. They were practical and they were cheap but we tested them luckily before we did any sort of production because that's what you do. At one point, we were sitting and looking at pictures from one of our trips and especially looking at a picture of some ladies when they were on their way home from work. They were dressed in colours and patterns with very beautiful, romantic outfits. These where our customers. They were romantics and we were trying to deliver minimalism which was just a complete mis-match. |

we went back and had a completely different session where we actually didn't bring a prototype. We just asked our customers, how does prosperity look? How does beauty look? What is your favourite colour?'

we've created jobs, have educated people about it, and created trade routes. Our customers want things aside from lamps. They want other things. So, the impact we do have in their societies far surpasses the giving model. We are seeing this as part of a whole movement.

to a large extent we use Little Sun as a wedge to a wider discussion about energy access and poverty, clean energy, renewable energy to have a wider debate. We think its hugely important and the product is just one arm of our business.'

Jean (Division)
EXPERIENCE

I started work in community development at the age of 19 and that involves working in particular communities and animating them by understanding latent needs of those communities and getting people to express those needs and connecting those needs to services in and around the area. That was in Manchester. My first training was in community arts, a community arts degree. The idea was we had a sociological foundation but also the art skills as well in terms of drama, dance, visual arts and design. I later became a graphic designer after working as a community artist for years in Manchester and Cambridge. And then the design unit of Manchester city Council, trying to explain services to its citizens. I then went into a more high level design approach called design management and innovation. Since then I have been working as a strategic designer and innovation specialist with a whole lot of corporate clients and a four-year stint at the design council, developing design tools for people and businesses for government.

MENTALITY AND APPROACH

Because business is an engagement with an audience and customers you are in a lovely dialogue if you do it right of what have you got and what do they need and how might that work together.

Things are constantly in a flux of change.

Everything gets iterated with customers, audiences, whatever you call them, all the time, continuously.

And on every level so you're not risk taking too big a risk, you're already used to that risk.

One thing is that I don't want to starve though. There's this acceptance when you're living on a low wage as a creative person isn't fair. You can't think about wonderful things if you're hungry.

They have to suspend disbelief for awhile and trust it.

A good starting point for people is looking what they have that's repeatable or repurposable. What can we take that you've done? Is there a way that you and package things up?

Trying something out before you know exactly what it is and not being scared to mess up in public which I've done a few times. Doing it before you've worked out everything. It sounds like repetition but I think it's so important. Rather than waiting for an audience or waiting for money or waiting for a building, you take what the thing will be and you put it forward into being.

SKILLS

What they are wanting to do is still be in business which is a fact quantifiable thing but it's not really accurate. It's more to do with capabilities that we instill in them and it depends what they do with it.

There are things like being able to explore multiples of what they can do. One of the things people often do with what they have is that they've done one thing with it and one application of the idea and we get them to think of 50 applications of the idea so they have a resource of alternatives to what they can do and what they may want.

MANAGEMENT STYLE

I've been running a business for 11 years now and I never knew that I would. I went from a job and into the business without any money which is stupid crazy and foolish. Because business is an engagement with an audience and customers you are in a lovely dialogue if you do it right of what have you got and what do they need and how might that work together.

MISSION AND MOTIVATION

Helping the Underground-
One thing is that I don't want to starve though. There's this acceptance when you're living on a low wage as a creative person isn't fair. You can't think about wonderful things if you're hungry. You can't have a family and be sustained if you can afford to have one. The deserve the same opportunities as everyone else, get them on a stronger footing where people feel that they can do their creative best.

There are many artists or companies whose normal mode of operating is commissions, project to project, like lily pads. That's the massive pattern I see with everybody. We take them from a project to project approach to seeing their businesses as multi-stranded operation where some things make more money than others but being able to fund things like R&D is really fulfilling. In this climate, there are no bloody grants anymore. They are getting smaller and fewer and more demanding, so we are helping them to navigate these shifts.

Maggie (Swell)
EXPERIENCE

I went to an arts camp every summer called Interlocken, one of the most established arts academies in the world and I went from 9-16. It meant that every summer I was surrounded by some of the most talented, creative people. There were famous people like Jewel, who I don't know if they were there when I was there but you know, creative people. That meant that from a very early age I was surrounded by the arts and people. I also learned pretty quickly that even though I was talented in a lot of these different things, I could do ceramics, I could act, photography, play music, I wasn't particularly good at anything. There wasn't anything that grabbed me and made me feel like that was what I wanted to do but I always wanted to be around it. So early on I realised that I wanted arts to be a big part of my life I didn't necessarily need to be a part of making it but I got really passionate about supporting it. My whole family are musicians so one of the first things I did on the business side was that my brother had his band coming through LA and I ended up booking a gig for them at my high school. I was really passionate about how do I still be creative and do things but how do I support the people around me, like how to I make sure musicians are getting good gigs, how do I make sure they're being heard? How do I make sure that the photographer is being seen? That was always a really early desire for me was wanting to be around and support the arts and wanting to be instrumental in the arts.

MENTALITY AND APPROACH

What I didn't value in myself in that I came from an art and not a business background is now what I think is our biggest asset. We come from the industry we are talking to. We understand our industry. We know what the problems are so we know what the solutions should be in a way. Whereas all these business students had was having just gone to business school and didn't have the same creativity in the industry and the solutions we could come up with.

I think it depends on the people to be honest. I think I always had it in me to do the business side. Creativity might be a bit harder to teach actually but there are ways people are trying to. There's a lot of workshops and things corporates will host where they try and challenge their people to think differently.

SKILLS

We are all producers. None of us are recruiters. None of us come from resource management. We were all the ones who were working with brands and people before so we know about creatives, because we were them at one stage.

I always had a pretty strong creative vision but my vision was bringing people together in the right way versus, my art was if I put these three bands and this visual artist together for an event would create this amazing thing that wouldn't have existed if I wouldn't have picked those two other bands and this other artist. So I think I realised early on that my creativity was pulling together different artists and supporting artists.

MANAGEMENT STYLE

It meant we were coming up with solutions that were really innovative and a part of that was allowing ourselves to enter that business world and not be frightened by it, taking the risk. For the two years after, I felt like I took so many risks. I wouldn't say I was brave; I was petrified.
MISSION AND MOTIVATION
Finding purpose-
I had a bit of a realisation that I loved everything that I was doing but I had that moment of what am I going to be doing 5 years, 10 years from now? I looked around and thought that I loved writing about music and putting on events, but I want to do something that really matters, that gives back, something that has a real meaning behind it, not just put on another show. That was something that stuck with me especially because at my previous job we spent months planning and spent £150k for a lifestyle event that was fun but all of the sudden it was over and we just jumped to the next thing. So, I got a little obsessed with how I could change my industry through starting my own company.
Hannah (1000 Minds)
EXPERIENCE
Drama and singing were always things I did when I was young. I did a lot of creative stuff.   I started the Saxon Street Theatre and became really passionate about site-specific theatre because it felt really accessible.
MENTALITY AND APPROACH
Although I loved my job, I had once again forgotten that I have my own ideas. I did this development course, and one of the questions before you started was, 'What's achievement you feel most proud of?' The railway station was the first thing I thought of. That was ten years ago and the reason I was proud of that was because it was my idea and I did it. So I took a month off work and I had different people send me different creative tasks to do every day. Even having the courage to do daily creative challenges as a project gave me so much energy. People responded to the challenges. It was so cool.   The immediate change I noticed when I was doing the challenge was that if I was having quite a stressful month, whatever the day was like I would stop and do the challenge. Almost without fail it would change my mood and I would feel lifted or feel like I could look at something a bit differently. To me, I am really interested in the link between creativity, agency and self-worth. I'm really fascinated by that, and would love to do some more work around it.
SKILLS
By this stage I became a do-er not a performer. I often say that I made a distinction that art is what artists do and most people make that distinction when they are much, much younger when they don't go into the arts. At that point I was thinking, 'ok, I will help artists make art.
MISSION AND MOTIVATION
Social-   way more interested in the role of creativity in society than the arts.   it [their January Challenge activity] really affected so many people. I just read this glorious blog someone wrote about it today. That's what I care about and that's what success is to me, seeing people affected by the work that I do.'   They would say, 'everything you're doing is out of the arts,' and I was saying, 'this is what I think the arts needs.'   Finding Purpose-   There was always a lot of singing and music and creativity in our house, a lot of playing. Drama and singing were always things I did when I was young. One of the things we found is that idea that art is what artists do, and artists are really celebrated as extraordinary human beings. They are, and to be an artist you do have to be an extraordinary human being, but it's a farce that they have these secret, special talents that we don't have.
Priya (Brooklyn Shines)
EXPERIENCE

So I grew up dancing in Park Slope in a very nurturing environment which was based on technique but mostly based on bringing your ideas to life. It was such an amazing community.
MENTALITY AND APPROACH
I went off the college and had a similar experience, not nearly as nurturing as high school but after I graduated I came back to Brooklyn and craved that environment again but I couldn't find it. It very well could have existed but I couldn't find it for myself so for that craving and working for someone who was starting a festival and seeing how someone developed a start up worked, I just decided that I would create the environment and the community that I was yearning for.
SKILLS
We are all artists though we are not practicing artists as much, we are using producing and curating as our creative outlet right now, but we still have a vision of what we want to see in this community so it's a mix of those three things. The skills I've gained are really transferrable. I've taught myself a lot of skills for the Creators Collective because it was something I wanted to do and looked into it and taught myself or spoke to people that I knew and brought those skills into positions I've had that I didn't get paid for regularly. I didn't have all the skills I needed but I had enough of a foundation and I was comfortable as a writer and I feel like that really helped me to put out there what I wanted to do. So even though I didn't feel like I had everything I needed to start an organisation from the start, I knew I could build those.
MANAGEMENT STYLE
As I was working on my own, I started building a lot of connections with different people for specific projects because ultimately it's not very easy and lonely to do it on your own. It also helps in building connections to work with someone else so I did a lot of events and longer term projects connecting with a few different people and then about a year and a half ago I met my business partner now who is also my best friend and roommate and Artistic Director of the Creators Collective.
MISSION AND MOTIVATION
Social- Ultimately, I started it because I wanted a community so I created it. I didn't have all the skills I needed but I had enough of a foundation and I was comfortable as a writer and I feel like that really helped me to put out there what I wanted to do.
Denise (Yellow Days) EXPERIENCE
I go back to that midlife crisis time when I realised that I couldn't carry on doing what I was doing for years which was running a PR and business consultancy. I think that also coincided with an interest in spirituality, the world of mind, body, spirit. Those two change points seemed to have a connection.
MENTALITY AND APPROACH
I became involved with delivering a holistic model for business that had a spiritual basis in it and as a result of getting involved in the world of training what I discovered by listening to my intuition was that if I made these workshops fun, if I brought the arts in with storytelling and poetry, then one it was much more fun and people learned much more quickly and cleared their blocks. That's how I function, this is what my intuition is telling me to do and then I go do it and it works.
SKILLS
I can't do both booking performances and creative business development together. I don't' have the energy or the headspace to cope with that so there's a lot of small steps taken and always bringing things back to the three things you focus on. I get clients primarily through networking. Somewhere in that journey I suddenly became aware that what I wanted to do was train in some way, working with groups of people, probably more helping them to grow rather than run their businesses but then I found doors being opened for me to start teaching others about PR and presentation as a starting point because that's where my strengths were. I wouldn't say I'm too aligned with PR now but certainly presentation skills.

I think there is an underlying fear of the creative process because you have to step into a space where you're no longer in control and business functions on control.

We undervalue creativity in general. We don't undervalue the arts, we do respect and support it but not enough. You can't control art. I don't know when I'm going to be an overnight success. I always hope I will be with something I've written and performed but there is no such thing, you've been chugging away for 20 years and you don't know. Whereas a lot more control to be a success in business if you've got everything fitting now, you are almost certain you're going to be successful in terms of monetary return. It doesn't happen in the arts, you can have an exhibition hanging at Bond Street Gallery but how long will it take to be a success? There isn't a formula, that's about a journey in the dark and a lot of trust whereas with marketing it's about being in the right place at the right time with the right people at the right price. Although there is a prize to the arts, you can't position it in the same way. You have to go through a lot of pain and rejection, far more than you do in business because the creative soul is actually vulnerable.

MANAGEMENT STYLE
When I am doing one to ones, it is always bespoke because every client is different and they have different needs. There is a formula which is based upon my Golden Wheel system but within that it is about listening to my intuition and about listening to the client and taking my cues from that. It won't work if I do a one-size fits all. With one recent client we have integrated what she really loves to do with her day job so she thought she had to keep them separate.

MISSION AND MOTIVATION
Finding Purpose- I suddenly became aware that what I wanted to do was train in some way, working with groups of people, probably more helping them to grow rather than run their businesses but then I found doors being opened for me to start teaching others about PR and presentation as a starting point because that's where my strengths were.

Chloe (BFArt) EXPERIENCE
'I read a lot of books when I was younger which inspired me to get into literature and the arts'.

MENTALITY AND APPROACH
So that's the way I work. I want to intellectually further ideas and see where they go and how they will be tested. Therefore, I need to do everything on my own time and through my own curiosity so from that basis I think it's quite entrepreneurial. I like the idea that there was a business drive as well as a cultural input. In this way I think that maybe the BBC was too cultural and I wanted both. I wanted 50/50. I believe in the fairness of what you work is what you earn so I was always driven to match my drive with earning money too. There's a real pride to generate the money that you have created on your own, which I like. I see money as a reward to how much innovation, hard work and business is being conducted and that's it.

SKILLS
When I was a gallery manager, I didn't really like it. It was too administrative. I couldn't really go out of the gallery as much as I wanted which is actually how I drive a lot of sales and drive a lot of meetings in my current company. I think I was probably quite stubborn in that I wanted my own way of doing things. Why would I sell the art of someone else if I'm not convinced that it's something I'm not fully behind?

MANAGEMENT STYLE
I never target openings or those types of places, it never works. The people who are really good at that don't work with me. The people who work with me are have a good circle and it just keeps expanding. And I work more on cup of tea meetings. I don't' target. I've never target which makes it feel more genuine on the other side.

MISSION AND MOTIVATION
My drive is beyond me personally. I am trying to do something with a global impact so I think fulfilling myself is not really what it's about. There are so many other people we are trying to fulfil. The artists are at the core obviously because it's an artist-centric model. Everything revolves around the artists but all the other key characters have been taken care of in some format.'

Nina (XL)
EXPERIENCE
My background is just as mixed as the people that I work with. I am originally from Houston, I think you know that. I work for non-profit organisations to doing workshops around the world to being an archivist for video production to being a curator and an artist. They are all different ways of doing the same thing which is curating culture and being an advocate for the artists. I came to Chicago 9 years ago as a student and was working at NBC as well in their audience and promotions department. My formal education is in international business and marketing with a focus on communication design which has translated a lot into how I curate and promote my shows. My formal education is in international business and marketing with a focus on communication design which has translated a lot into how I curate and promote my shows. I have an awareness of what I want to share and how to say and present it and have an awareness of the times and how people would receive it. My journey led me from working in corporate marketing and digital and having friends who were artists who I was helping from time to time. I wasn't getting paid for it but wanted to help. Then one day I was doing it so much, I really enjoyed it I was thinking, maybe I should either turn this into something.
MENTALITY AND APPROACH
I didn't live in the world where I was creating physical things I was more creating systems and ways that people communicate and I started to figure out really quickly that the barrier between venues, whether it was live music, retail store, a gallery, museum, restaurant, whatever it was, was the communication administration. I have a couple mentors who don't take my crap, they keep me in line. I check in from time to time and I know I have resources intergenerationally that I talk to from tiem to time about differnet things. Being able to be a creative and bounce off ideas is really important. Keeping that cycle of information and inspiration is an integral part of success. If at any point one of those things becomes static, then your equity is at a decline.
SKILLS
Business Skills Most artists or creatives lack the administrative infrastructure in order to not be a headache for an independent gallery or business and those are the very people who would be more accommodating to allow an emerging artist the space for collaboration or to show their work in their space. There was a disconnect there. Even if they were really excited about each other and really wanted to collaborate, they would both come to this point and there was this gap in the middle.
MANAGEMENT STYLE
Now all these things come together which are a part of my life for the past nine years and I gave it in a non-linear fashion because that's pretty much how I integrate it into everything that I do. I am pulling from all those experiences all the time even if I don't know it unconsciously because there is so much about interaction and logistics and people that I've learned thousands of people. Literally I've worked with thousands of people over the years, you know personalities and conflict and challenges all repeat themselves after awhile.
MISSION AND MOTIVATION
I didn't live in the world where I was creating physical things I was more creating systems and ways that people communicate and I started to figure out really quickly that the barrier between venues, whether it was live music, retail store, a gallery, museum, restaurant, whatever it was, was the communication administration. Most artists or creatives lack the administrative infrastructure in order to not be a headache for an independent gallery or business and those are the main people who would be more accommodating to allow an emerging artist the space for collaboration or to show their work in their space. There was a disconnect there. Finding Purpose- You have to find something that lights your fire, excites you, that you can do more regularly and them be able to find a way to make a living from it. Being able to assist or engage others in the process, is when you're really doing it. When you can do something that you love, do it enough to make a living and make a life and help people or collaborate with people along the way, there's always going to be a chain or cycle of information and inspiration flowing. Keeping that cycle of information and inspiration is an integral part of success.

Upperground

Individual characteristics	Mission and motivation
Olivia: EXPERIENCE : psychology degree ; Experience running university events	
I got more involved in the artistic side but obviously had the grounding of working operationally and understood how the building works.	
MENTALITY & APPROACH : Openness, Flexibility ; Risk-taking ; Responsive; Passionate ; Confident ; Enjoys a challenge ; Persistent ; Embracing change	
You can achieve a lot through longevity. The arts centre was in a terrible financial situation when it first opened and like any new build not enough money had been given to start the business. It's very much part of my remit to be externally focused so some of the more strategic things we do. I think it is about talking and listening. You have to go out to get people in. Openness and willingness to engage with people. It's about change, it's about being responsive. Confidence is a big thing and I think taking risks. But I think there is a bravery around that. We are never going to change everything if we don't take risks and we don't try. There's lot of organisations that shout about things they've done successfully. I think it's less common to shout about things that you are going to try and be prepared to say that it failed and we were genuinely prepared to say if it failed so when we announced it, this is a six-month trial. That's what makes you a really strong organisation so it's no good at being great at what you do, you have to be great at being able to change.	
SKILLS: Operations; Business understanding	
It sounds very arrogant to say I am entrepreneurial so I will just kind of say that now. I am responding to your question in a way and I'm not sure that's a word that I necessarily use myself but it's nice, I like it. You think about entrepreneurs and they are people who take risks and people who make money and obviously we are not here to make money for private individuals, we are here to make money for the charity and invest it but that's great, we want to grow, we want more money to spend so we should be ashamed of that.	
MANAGEMENT STYLE: Balance of management and creativity; Confidence	
You have to develop your approach and the way you think about the organisation as a business as an organisation as well as a social enterprise and an artistic endeavour. And it is hard at times but you have to lead staff with confidence because everyone has to believe that it's going to work and you have to lead your board with confidence.	
MISSION AND MOTIVATION: Equalising opportunity; Challenge of turning organisation around; Social change; Working with communities; Helping artists in the northeast	
There was an air of expectation and cultural entitlement that I just found quite frustrating really. Responding to our community, making sure what we are doing is relevant to them and letting local people use the building.	

I arrogantly thought I would sort out the financial problem and move on but actually there is a lot to do in the northeast. There is so little cultural infrastructure.

We want to help people to live better lives and we want to use arts and culture to do that.

We talk quite a lot in this city about raising aspiration and inspiration and aspiration so there is a need to raise aspiration here, socially, educationally, in terms of ambition. We do need to instil a greater sense of what people can achieve and we have to inspire people to do that.

Daisy
EXPERIENCE: Geography degree; Citizens & Cultures MA; Temporary work led to full time position

I've been working for them for about ten years now and it was a complete accident I started working here. I finished my degree and then did my masters and the original intention was to use my masters to then teach. I went to Queen Mary, and I did a Geography undergraduate degree and then a Citizens and Cultures MA. In order to do that, I would have had to do teacher training but I missed the deadline so I had a year to fulfil so I was looking for temporary work.

MENTALITY & APPROACH: Bravery; Collaboration and teamwork; Inspiring and encouraging others

I think there is something around bravery, sometimes we are so driven by process because we know that works and sometimes that way of working can shut down creativity. Taking a stab in the dark and a bit of a brave move to say why don't you work with this person and do it this way?

I think it is that and it's all about team and I can't do everything working in isolation. I need to be working across disciplines with administration, commercial teams, etc and that's also success actually when you get all of those people together and you're not working in isolation.

SKILLS: Influencing skills; Openness; Advising and support; Building relationships

And learning from the external world as well. Just being really open.

I can advise and support properties but ultimately it is up to them.

Quite often being part of the consultancy team you've had a conversation with that team and it might have been a difficult conversation but at the end of that they are doing things in a slightly different way and they might feel they have arrived at that place on their own but it's recognising you've been part of that process.

Also to build that connection with those local sites.

MANAGEMENT STYLE: Creativity in management; Relinquishing control

The other interesting thing is being a member of the consultancy is that I can advise and support properties but ultimately it is up to them so although we are one organisation, each property is kind of businesses on their own so it will be the general manager who makes decisions on which direction they go in.

Sometimes it's frustrating and sometimes you can really see an opportunity of how things could be done differently and they chose not to it's frustrating. So it's all about being quite creative in our influencing skills and in how we influence people. Quite often it's a lot of negotiation

MISSION AND MOTIVATION: Managing and working with others; Working for well-established organisation; Women in leadership

Fundamentally it is about visitor engagement and getting people to visit our places but fundamentally we are here to conserve and look after those places forever for everyone and that's quite different to other heritage attractions.

Some of it is because within those ten years I have been doing different roles so there always feels like there is opportunity to move in different directions and take new challenges which I think is a really good thing. And I think fundamentally I love the places we work with and I want to share that with a wider audience. There is also something for me personally about some of the people I work with, some really inspiring women I work with in leadership. That feels really important because it's not just strong men but we've got some amazing women and I find that really inspiring.

Jeremy
EXPERIENCE: Travel and cultural awareness; Education; Communications

I have tried throughout my career to determine some sort of thread but if I had to choose something, it would probably be the Middle East. I studied in the middle east and spent a year in Egypt and subsequently did a bit of journalism and work for this American non-profit in Medan for a number of years and then starting working here. In all of that doing a mix of business development and working partnerships, that sort of thing, with a web focus and a communications focus as well. Education and communication, that sort of thing.

It was actually pre-911 that I became interested in it but I was always interested in it and all the cultures there with the possibility of travel.

MENTALITY AND APPROACH: Openness; Democratic engagement

The focus on what makes money and what's being used, that mindset isn't really that prevalent. It's more, let's make everything available, let's work with everyone and therefore the dynamic you get is very hard to know your impact.

SKILLS: Communicating with diverse stakeholders

In all of that doing a mix of business development and working partnerships, that sort of thing, with a web focus and a communications focus as well.

MANAGEMENT STYLE: Interest in working for smaller organisations, less hierarchy; Openness to encourage creativity

The organisational environment is key for your posture and world view, that team environment and how you perceive yourself. To what extent you feel liberated to be free and create your own ideas.

One of the reasons why I wanted to work with a new, smaller organisation was to be able to work in a radically small scale, high trust, energetic, dynamic organisation with low levels of bureaucracy and hierarchy. I wanted to see how that felt and to see what was going on because in bigger institutions, you have more hierarchy. You have more stratification by skill set.

MISSION AND MOTIVATION: Passion for working with the middle east; Digital democracy; Education

Libraries are very different from a lot of spaces on the high street in that they are a place where you can go and be part of a public good and experience that. Also, franky, there is a peace from being sold stuff and also and opening out as well. Even if you don't come into a place of books like a library or bookshop and use the books, there is still something inspiring about just being around books. The commitment and possibilities of knowledge.

I don't think it's in a bad way because there is definitely a trend more towards commercialisation, commercialising different things but I think the bigger issue is the people who work there that you recruit to fulfil a certain motivation for being there. That motivation may not be a commercial one for being there.

The big theme I was really interested in for a number of years was that the internet could be a space for cultural linguistic and educational exchange and that could cross borders that were not easily passed. For example, linguistic ones, could we have a conversation with someone Cairo? Could we better understand things that are important to them through the lens of historical events?

Maria
EXPERIENCE:
I've been working for the [organisation] for 18 years or thereabouts. I got into the work primarily because I got into catering and I was running my own business as a catering manager and decided I wanted to learn more about management. I had always been interested in walking my dog in countryside areas and realised that it was the [organisation]. There was an opportunity going up in catering, went for it and got the job.
MENTALITY AND APPROACH
When I make a decision today, that decision is going to influence 50 years down the line and have to be really clear and careful that those decisions are going to be the right decisions and that we will have thought through what this might look like in 50 years' time.
SKILLS
I did a lot of property, managing the property, looking after a property, being the head of a property and being the person responsible for a property. Having done that for awhile, I decided to make a change and became the Assistant Director of Operations and in that role my job is to lead a portfolio of general managers who look after their properties so my primary challenge is to lead and support a team of 6 GM's that I have which covers the whole of the NE, I have a regional remit in that I take responsibility in different areas for the trust regionally to being gardens and commercial. I was there for 12.5 years and the portfolio got bigger and bigger. I also go involved in major projects, one of which was to open a new property to the public for the first time. It was a £5.4 million budget.
MANAGEMENT STYLE
We have a matrix management structure and we changed the overall structure of our management about five years ago.
MISSION AND MOTIVATION: Managing and working with others; Passion for heritage and conservation
I started from an entrepreneurial angle to get into the trust in the first place and found that it was a marriage made in heaven because the trust gives me the intellectual stimulus that I want, the ability to make a difference that I want as well as doing something that I absolutely love which is looking after and accessing conservation and heritage.

Jillian
EXPERIENCE: Event management; Fundraising
I used to find volunteers and it was all very basic but it was a fantastic grounding in people skills, logistics, event management, basic budgets, PR, marketing, I had to do everything to make this happen. That was me and that got me into the career world and I actually think that job got me all the skills to see things through. All those event management skills are so important because you're having to run a project as a whole- from people to budget to marketing.
MENTALITY & APPROACH: Risk taking; Resilience; Enjoys a challenge; Confidence; Compromise; Trust; Embraces change; Flexibility
And of course in the build, there were a lot of political promises made to the community, none of which materialised. So there was lots of like, what is going on? This isn't for us, what is going on, you are turning us away, you are too expensive, we don't like your programming, your technicals are terrible, nothing works, you're not professional enough, literally every section of the business was being pulled apart so it took years of unwinding it. Everything it takes to sort out a building, literally, from why the café is failing and why the audiences weren't there, and how we were marketing and why the messages weren't there and why weren't people coming. We basically bent over backwards. It was a case of how high do you want us to jump? I'm very flexible in how I work and I think that filters down. It was a huge amount of compromise.

People get the confidence and once you have the confidence, people trust you and once you have the trust, it escalates.

I love change management, I love the idea of making a business change for the better but it's about taking risks, even at our lowest ebb, we took risks.

SKILLS: Operations; Sales; Fundraising; Building relationships

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It was quite sales-y actually in terms of there were targets and my budgets were millions but then it grew and I ended up managing the whole corporate business side of the Hall, all the boxes and corporates that came in and the café and food halls. They didn't have marketing in the Hall, it was really quite bizarre so I ended up setting up a marketing department, I re-branded the hall, we set up PR and set up marketing so really the job just kind of grew.

I was used to running a building. At my previous job, I was senior management, the head of title, reporting in to the directorship so I was used to sitting in on senior management meetings. They went through a large capital programme when I was there so I was completely privy on how to run a building from top to bottom on a massive scale, and events management and fundraising and PR and marketing so all those different elements came together.

You obviously get that opening when everyone appears and no one came back. The relationships just weren't there and obviously now, looking back, we've done it.

MANAGEMENT STYLE: Negotiation; Trust

I programmed every single event that came into the Hall which is all about negotiation.

I don't really care about clock watching and they know that. They know what they need to do and do it, if they don't I will come down on them like a ton of bricks. They do it on their own hours. I don't really mind, just be sensible about it.

People here get a huge amount of responsibility and trust and they go way beyond the job they are paid for and I will never stop anyone from trying out new things.

MISSION AND MOTIVATION: Challenge of turning an organisation around; Being a leader; Influencing change in a community

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I was interested, because I grew up around here, I saw this building be slowly built and the controversies about it being built and I joined 18 months after it opened. The Albert Hall is very traditional, you hit the glass ceiling quite quickly but then this job came up and that was 2006. It's been an amazing journey.

Crisis points were 2011-13, I'd say we only started to relax as we went into 2013-14 but no one left. Everyone holds their same loyalty and passion that we are going to be the last ones standing, we are going to show them. People are really happy here and it's lovely to see. Actually, in the last year we've had more people leave I think because we've started to settle.

I love change management, I love the idea of making a business change for the better but it's about taking risks, even at our lowest ebb, we took risks.

Unlocking Entrepreneurial Potential
The Underground

Economic Prosperity

Underground
-Collaborating with other artists in the underground to leverage funding

Middleground
-Working with middleground to get opportunities and build business skills
-Offers exposure/credibility
-Multi-faceted income streams

Upperground
-Connecting with the upperground actors in and outside of creative industries for projects, commissions and a platform for their work

Social Change

Underground
-Empowering/motivating other artists, audiences/visitors through their work
-Collaborating with other artists for greater impact

Middleground
-Credibility, recognition and exposure for their work
-Middleground helps to communicate social change with wider audience

Upperground
-Upperground offers opportunities to have even more social impact through their work

Artistic Innovation

Underground
-Collaborating and sharing skills with others in underground
-Continuing to invest in creative development

Middleground
-Gaining opportunities for innovative projects through middleground exposure and connections
-Recognition for their art

Upperground
-Garnering opportunities for artistic growth from the upperground
-R&D funding to experiment
-Applying creativity in other contexts

Institutional Development

Underground
-Building communities of practice to address systemic issues
-Collaborating with others to initiate change

Middleground
-Using connections with middleground to leverage political power
-Applying value of creativity in other contexts

Upperground
-Influencing larger organisations through their attitude and approach
-Impacting regeneration and trends fostered by upperground

KEY

Jess   Whitney   Femi

Nico   Sean   Florence

Martin

Unlocking Entrepreneurial Potential
The Middleground

Underground
-Providing funding/opportunities for underground
-Skill building to help them to capture the value they create

Middleground
-Partnerships with other middleground companies to leverage funding
-Communicating value to show impact

Upperground
-Multiple revenue streams
-Could rely on combination of grants and earned income
-Less public funding reliant

Economic Prosperity

Underground
-Providing a platform for underground to develop social change projects
-Creating jobs
-Addressing social problems

Middleground
-Connecting with other middleground companies to create social change and demonstrate value

Upperground
-Working closely with other large companies and organisations to create social change

Social Change

Artistic Innovation

Underground
-Funding experimental, new art forms and artists through R&D
-Empowering underground through skill-building and valuing artists

Middleground
-Connecting with other middleground tastemakers to leverage value with underground

Upperground
-Bridging arts with other sectors
-Collaborating with upperground organisations in the arts to foster artistic innovation

Institutional Development

Underground
-Using lean start-up or asset-based approaches in collaboration with artists and communities
-Empowering local people

Middleground
-Using connections with other middleground agents to leverage political power

Upperground
-Bridging the creative industries with other sectors to develop new, innovative approaches
-Introducing disruptive technologies

KEY

- Gap in the Clouds
- Future Forgers
- Division
- Swell
- Bright Lights
- 1000 Minds
- Brooklyn Shines
- Yellow Days
- XL
- BFArt

Appendix 8: QBL model for the upperground

Unlocking Entrepreneurial Potential
The Upperground

Underground
-Providing funding for undergorund
-Opportunities for new artists in the underground

Middleground
-Connecting with middleground to find underground artists
-Middleground brings economic opportunities by communicating value

Upperground
-Obtaining funding from other large upperground organisations outside the arts
-Co-commissions with other large organisations

Economic Prosperity

Artistic Innovation

Underground
-Funding experimental, new art forms and artists through R&D
-Empowering underground and valuing artists

Middleground
-Connecting with middleground tastemakers to leverage value with underground

Upperground
-Bridging arts with other sectors
-Collaborating with other upperground organisations in the arts

Underground
-Providing a platform for underground to develop social change projects
-Creating jobs

Middleground
-Improving well-being and community cohesion
-Middleground communicates social change with wider audience

Upperground
-Regenerate communities through working with local development, working with them

Social Change

Institutional Development

Underground
-Using lean start-up or asset-based approaches in collaboration with artists and communities
-Empowering local people

Middleground
-Using connections with middleground to leverage political power

Upperground
-Less reliance on public funding
-Innovative partnerships with other organisations outside the arts

KEY

● Heritage Unlimited ● NLA

● Queen's Library ● Bridge Arts