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

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

Abstract

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

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

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

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

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

Paper type: Research paper

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows: first, we outline the theoretical perspective of institutional work, linking it to conceptualizations of practice and resourcing. Then we present the methodology of the study underlying the article, including case selection, methods of data generation, and analytical approach. Against the general background of how the notion of

cultural and creative industries was first conceived in the British context and subsequently spread, we then present the empirical findings. The overall process through which CCI was introduced into Lithuanian cultural policy and the key actors involved are outlined, together with the institutional work performed, the various practices enacted and the resources created through them. The mechanisms at play in the construction of resources – what we label *resourcing techniques* – are then defined and discussed. The article is concluded by a discussion of the applicability of our findings to the general study of policy change.

Theoretical background

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

Points of departure: Institutional work and issues of agency

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

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[1] It could be argued that challenging the reining institutional order would also entail disruptive institutional work but, as the empirical account will make clear, this was not the case.

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categorizations in which the boundaries of meaning systems are rearranged (Lawerence and Suddaby, 2006).

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

It is a key notion within the institutional work perspective that individuals actively engage in such work, but it is equally recognized that agency is "something often accomplished through the coordinated or uncoordinated efforts of a potentially large number of actors" (Lawrence *et al*., 2011: 55). This element of distributed agency (Smets and Jarzabkowski, 2013; Reihlen *et al*., 2010) – in its recognition of different actors responding to each other's actions and contributing different pieces of work to institutional change or stability (Garud and Karnøe, 2003) – constitutes, in our view, an aspect of institutional work in need of further exploration and empirical support. Through a description of how different instances of institutional work connect to and draw on each other, our study constitutes an empirical investigation of the distributed agency involved in institutional work. But the distributed nature of the agency underlying

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

The creation of resources through practice

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

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

Framing institutional work as performed through the realization of certain activities, and in line with Whittington's argument, we see such activities as instances of praxis, i.e. of "actual activity, what people do in practice" (Whittington, 2006: 619). The praxis we have studied and analyzed

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is of the formal kind, mostly connected to the management or decision-making level of the cultural policy administration, and it is derived from organizational and field level practice, in the sense that praxis constitutes the enactment of practice. Otherwise put, underlying the praxis are a number of practices that, when drawn on and engaged in, also give rise to resources. Through such resourcing, i.e. "the creation in practice" (Feldman, 2004: 296) of *assets* and *qualities of relationships*, resources are constructed and subsequently put to use in the performance of institutional work. Feldman (2004) identifies networks, authority, trust, complementarity and information as resources constructed through practice. Her study describes how the same resource can be used in different ways and activate different schemas for action. While Feldman talks about how changes in practice lead to changes in resources and the understandings and uses of these resources, she does not focus on the underlying resource-creating mechanisms that are activated through practice. This is what we do. We argue that the analysis could be developed through an examination of the techniques employed to generate the resources needed to perform institutional work, and eventually change policy. Unpacking the resource creating mechanisms activated through practice, our analysis outlines how – i.e. by employing what techniques – the resources necessary to perform institutional work were created in the policy change process under study.

Methodology

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

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

Data generation

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

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

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

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

Analytical approach

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

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

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

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

Case study
Background: CCI and Lithuanian Cultural Policy
The idea of CCI is connected to the growing prevalence of a market logic in society at large (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). The basic idea is that culture and cultural activities do *de facto* contribute to national employment and economic growth, and that this contribution can, and should, be both acknowledged and supported (Garnham, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Culture is thus accorded economic worth – besides artistic and democratic worth – which has proved to be a politically appealing conceptualization. The origin of this conceptualization can be located to Great Britain in the 1980s and 1990s (see Pratt, 2005). Here, ideas about the links between culture and economy were neatly packaged and "sold" to, first, the Greater London Council and later, in the 1990s, Tony Blair's New Labour government (cp. Nisbett *et al*., 2015). Through statistical and mapping exercises, combined with the promotional efforts of the British Council, the UK Department for Culture, Media and Sports managed to direct the attention of both other states and the European Union towards the notion of CCI (Garnham, 2005). The EU then gradually came to acknowledge the potential inherent to the idea of CCI. And once CCI was on the EU agenda – connected to financing through inclusion in the Structural Funds and

incorporated in the framework program *Creative Europe* – its spread and inclusion into national cultural policies gained momentum.

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

Table 2 summarizes the analysis of the policy change process. It outlines the institutional work performed, the practices underlying this work, and the resources created through the enactment of practice (A=asset, Q=quality of relationship).

---------- Insert table 2 about here----------

Introduction

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

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

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

> *Our director… was very impressed by creative industries and what it brings to the economy and how it relates to the arts and cultural sector (interview, program manager BCL)*

As the ECPC had already organized a number of conferences – inviting politicians and the public – related to various ways of funding the cultural sector, the BCL approached the ECPC and the two organizations decided to co-host an event on CCI. The purpose of the conference was, according to the proceedings, to "introduce Lithuania to the notion of creative industries" (ECPC 2003: 13) and it gathered a number of high-level politicians and well-known cultural operators. Prominent guests included the Lithuanian Ministers for Culture, Finance, and Economy as well as former British Secretary of State for Culture, Chris Smith, as key note speaker. A speech was also given by entrepreneur/actor Audronis Imbrasas – ex dancer, cultural journalist, and director of the Arts Printing House[3] and described as "very active during the introduction of CCI in Lithuania" (interview, manager Arts Printing House). Further, the connection between CCI and EU-level policy was highlighted, as both the EU program Culture 2000 and the work of the Committee on Culture, Youth, Education, Media and Sports at the European Parliament were invoked, underlining "the creative industries as a new sector for funding" (ECPC 2003: 13). The conference and its speakers conveyed an image of culture as actively contributing to the economic and social development of the state, and British experiences and examples were presented throughout. Accordingly, the program included sessions on the UK Creative Industries Mapping Document as well as presentations with titles such as "Creative Industries Development in North East of England", "Culture as an Economical and Social Factor and its Possibilities to

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[3] The Arts Printing House is a venue for performative arts.

Assimilate the Structural Funds in Lithuania" and "What are the Creative Industries in Lithuania". Through the conference, political awareness for the idea of CCI was raised, concrete examples of CCI practice were made available, and new connections between participants were established:

> *…the Ministries actually told the BCL that "it's the first time that we found some commonalities in our work" … there is some point in common… it connects the sectors that usually wouldn't work together (interview, program manager BCL)*

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

Exploration

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

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

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

Analyzing the explorative phase of the policy change process, the institutional work performed consisted of *educating* and *theorizing*. In London Lithuanian politicians and civil servants were educated in knowledge and skills necessary to support the idea of CCI (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), while the Mapping constituted an attempt to develop and specify abstract categories (of what activities to include under the label of CCI) and elaborate chains of cause and effect (for how existing problems could be solved, and for why they constituted problems) in relation to CCI (e.g. Kitchener, 2002). Underlying this work were the enacted practices of *knowledge-*

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

Formalization

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

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

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Development of the Creative Industries, which contained the official Lithuanian definition of CCI as: "activities based on an individual's creative abilities and talent, the objective and result of which is intellectual property and which can create material wellbeing and work places". The strategy identified priority areas for development in connection to CCI and also contained a list of activity categories[4] included in the Lithuanian version of CCI (Liutkus, 2010). Both definition and categories bore a strong resemblance to the UK original.

In the formalization phase of the policy change process the *educating* and *theorizing* work hence continued, and was later complemented by *defining* work through the approval of a formal, political strategy. Through the international forum additional presentations and discussions took place while the provision of best (UK) practice continued and was used as a model for subsequent Lithuanian development. In formulating a strategy, the field of CCI was explicitly defined, demarcating the boundaries of membership (i.e. what activities to include and, consequently, what to exclude) and providing a top-down, civil service perspective on what areas to prioritize and develop. Accordingly, a rule system "that confers status or identity, defines boundaries of membership" (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 221) was constructed. The Ministry of Culture identified a "lack of framing" for CCI, and hence acted to provide such framing through the enacted practices of *signaling* and *formalizing*. By way of constructing and politically approving a strategy document the symbolically important signal that the government perceived CCI as a significant area worth-while to direct attention to was sent off. Also, by taking charge of the definition of what constitutes CCI, the Ministry retained certain control over the development of the field. Using the created resources of *networks* and *information* in the defining work connected to the strategy, the additional resource of *boundary control* was created, as membership as well as future priorities had now been defined by the Ministry. However, a strategy is – after all – merely a document and not actual, practical changes. In the next, and final phase of the policy change process defining work continued through attempts at concretizing the political decisions concerning CCI.

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

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Concretizing

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

In the absence of substantial CCI investments or concrete developments, a small group of initiated and invested individuals decided to try and concretize the lofty strategies by connecting them to "real" money. Pooling their experiences from the cultural field and the workings of the Lithuanian system of public administration, a network of academics – such as Arūnas Gelūnas, professor of Art and Philosophy and later to become Minister for Culture (2010-2012) – and local cultural operators with experience from work with CCI abroad, was formed to navigate the "Lithuanian jungle" (interview, president NACCI) of administrative systems surrounding the Structural Funds. With the aim of accessing the Ministry of Education and Science's **National Complex Programs** (NCP:s; EU funded governmental programs for the support of research, education and innovation[5]) the network proceeded to conduct a **feasibility study** to ground and strengthen the argument that CCI should have its own program.

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

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

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backing by a formal National Association it was "hard for the Ministry of Education and Science to ignore the report" (interview, official Ministry of Culture). In the report a number of arguments in favor of investments in CCI activities were put forward, statistical data on the significance of CCI to national economy was presented, and extensive reference was made to European studies and reports such as "European Culture Economy" (by the European Commission). The report allegedly contained "many success stories" (interview, representative Republic of Užupis[6]) as well as examples drawn from other European CCI policies. What really seemed to catch the decision-makers' ear was the "application of statistical theory" (interview, representative Republic of Užupis) in order to establish the economic value of the sector. Adopting an economic lingo, the report concluded that "the implementation of [an NCP] would contribute to … the competitiveness of the Lithuanian economy, creating added value and encouraging innovations as well as improving the presently insufficient adoption of the structural funds of the European Union" (Antanavičiūtė *et al* 2008: 87).

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

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

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[6] The Republic of Užupis is a creative quarter in Vilnius, symbolically proclaimed an independent republic, by a collective of artists in 1997.

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

Discussion

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

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Figure 1. Process model of resourcing in the policy change process.
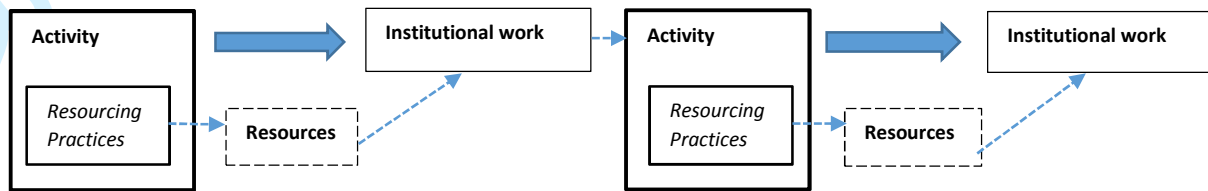
The model illustrates that each formal activity engaged in contained resourcing practices that produced resources that were used in the performance of institutional work. Institutional work in the first instance then functioned as the base for new activities, and so on. The process as such seems straightforward, but the question of how, more precisely, resourcing practices create resources remains to be answered. In the next section we will therefore discuss the characteristics of, and relations between, resourcing practices and the resources created.

Resourcing Techniques

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

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

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

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

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

A third, and final, resourcing technique employed was to borrow legitimacy, and this was done in relation to both individuals and organizations. Hence, legitimacy was created through endowment, as when the ECPC and the BCL invited prominent guests (politicians and cultural operators) to partake in their networking, modelling, and knowledge-sharing, or when the NACCI gathered high-profile academics and "local celebrities" with vast cultural networks to engage in their enacted similarity-construction. In a variation on Selznick's (1949) co-optation mechanism, the credibility of these individuals was drawn on to create legitimacy around the idea of CCI and authority in relation to the activities engaged in. Borrowing of another kind can be conceptualized as taking place in relation to organizations. The actors involved in the process co-operated, created connections, and reacted to each other's activities, and we argue that an essential element here was that the institutional work performed involved individuals acting *through organizations*. Contrary to accounts of the power and ability of institutional entrepreneurs as change agents (e.g. Battilana *et al*, 2009), our study demonstrates that an organizational grounding greatly facilitated the performance of institutional work through enactment of practice. Throughout the policy change process individuals acted as representatives of organizations, hence borrowing the legitimacy, position, status, and authority (Brunsson & Sahlin-Andersson 2000; Ahrne & Brunsson, 2011) of these organizations when engaging in practice and performing institutional work. To further strengthen the argument: on the one occasion where no organizational base for performing organizational work existed – i.e. when lobbying for an NCP – an organization was created specifically to bring power and support to the claim, hereby contributing to the authority needed in the construction work.

Contributions and Conclusions
This paper has argued that the application of an institutional work perspective contributes new insights to the understanding of policy change. The example of CCI in Lithuania demonstrates that change unfolded as a process, but that the different steps in the process did not necessarily

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

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

First of all, the illustrated "inter-wovenness" of Lithuanian cultural policy in international – and particularly EU-level – processes is relevant to other areas as well. Previous research (e.g. Djelic and Sahlin-Andersson, 2006; Jacobsson *et al*, 2015) on the mechanisms behind, and effects of, membership in the EU and other transnational organizations has demonstrated that states are in fact highly susceptible to policy ideas and developments within such arenas. Connecting to Meyer and colleagues' (1997) argument on world society, no state wants to be left behind in the race towards modernization and rationalization, meaning that the resourcing techniques of using experiences from different fields and eliciting external support are likely to function in relation to many cases of policy change.

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

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

To conclude, in this study we reconstructed a particular policy change process, identifying the institutional work underlying it and the resourcing techniques sustaining the work. We have accounted for the specific contingencies of the case of Lithuanian inclusion of CCI in national cultural policy, and connected this development to a number of general tendencies affecting policy development more generally. As such, the study constitutes a first step towards a more fine-grained and nuanced understanding of policy change, building on distributed agency and shared resourcing practices rather than on autonomous actors and rational decision-making.

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

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

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

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